

This is the biography of Asiwaju Bolanle Ahmed Adekunle Tinubu.

ASIWAJU: THE BIOGRAPHY OF BOLANLE AHMED ADEKUNLE TINUBU

by Moshood Ademola Fayemiwo, PhD and Margie Neal-Fayemiwo, Ed.D

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ASIWAJU

A portrait of Asiwaju Bola Ahmed Tinubu, the former President of Nigeria. He is wearing a traditional Yoruba cap (fila) with a blue and white pattern, a red and blue striped shawl (sokoto), and a red beaded necklace. He is smiling and has his right hand raised to his forehead in a thoughtful or respectful gesture.

THE BIOGRAPHY OF BOLANLE AHMED ADEKUNLE TINUBU

"In this authoritative biography of Asiwaju Bolanle Ahmed Adekunle Tinubu, written by two intrepid authors—a Nigerian and an American, you will read about a young man of humble beginning, who rose to the apogee of success by dint of hard work, doggedness and Grace of God. It is a compelling story of a man, who lost his father early in life and was single-handedly brought up by his mother... Read this biography, which is the life story of, unarguably the leader of the Yoruba race of our time, a great Nigerian and distinguished patriot."

With Foreword By
OGBENI RAUF AREGBESOLA
GOVERNOR, STATE OF OSUN, NIGERIA

ASIWAJU
THE BIOGRAPHY OF BOLANLE AHMED
ADEKUNLE TINUBU

Moshood Ademola Fayemiwo

and

Margie Neal-Fayemiwo

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The Jesus Christ Solution Center, DBA 410 W. 4th Street Cameron, TX 76520 Tel: 254-605-4035; 254-563 3856 Email: moshoodfayemiwo@gmail.com

All Correspondence should be directed to: The Jesus Christ Solution Center, Jesus Christ House P.O. Box 123 Cameron TX 76526-0123

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CHAPTER EIGHT

THE PRO-DEMOCRACY YEARS



Gen. Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida had taken Nigeria through series of convoluted military-to-civil rule transition programs between 1990 and 1993 with the various political transition programs gulping several billions of tax payers' money. At the beginning of the military regime's transition program, a new form of political arrangement was put in place known as diarchy. This was a combination of army and military officers ruling in conjunction with Nigerian politicians. Gen. Babangida staged the military coup of August 26/27, 1985 with the murderous intent to morph into a military-civilian dictator. As some of his inner circle disclosed, he wanted to become the first Nigerian military leader to morph from a military tyrant to a civilian autocrat; the likes of Gnassingbe Eyadema of Togo, Mobutu Sesezeko of the Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire) and the rest misbegotten tyrants, dictators and military bufoons in Africa of the 20th century.

For sure, the signs of this frightening possibility in Africa's most populous nation were visible very early in the Babangida Years. He began by courting the friendship of President Eyadema, who administered the West African nation of Togo with iron-fists for nearly forty years (1966-2005). Babangida also learned some funny and strange tricks from the former president of

Egypt, Mr. Hosni Mubarak, a dictator of immense proportion, who ruled Egypt for thirty years (1981-2011). It is on record that Babangida was determined to prop up President Samuel Kanyon Doe of Liberia, another military autocrat, who put his personal ambition above his nation and caused a civil war in that West African nation in ten years (1980-1990). That was the reason Babangida moved the military and defense wings of the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) to Liberia when the internecine war in that country began in August 1999 with the aim of maintaining Doe in power.

Although, Babangida knew that Nigerians are sophisticated and would not allow him to replace his military epaulette with a civilian grand boubou, he nevertheless devised an ingenious way of actualizing his forlorn dream. As Col. Tony Nyiam, one of the daring army officers that staged the 1990 abortive *coup d'état* known as the Gideon Orka coup against Babangida disclosed, the wily general sent some middle level army officers very early in his autocratic regime to the South African nation of Chile to understudy the diarchal political system in that country. In Nigeria, the incessant incursion of the armed forces, especially the soldiers, into the nation's political system was becoming a serious migraine to many political analysts and academicians. In 1966 when the first military *coup d'état* took place, another counter-coup occurred again within a space of 12 months. In 1975, another military *coup d'état* took place again and almost immediately in six months, a counter *coup d'état* occurred again. These were "official *coups d'état* not to talk of numerous attempts by disaffected and adventurous military men to seize power by force. Not only were these violent power seizures deleterious to democratic growth, precious lives and

resources wasted; in addition to the instability caused in the system. Consequently, many analysts and political leaders began to push for a diarchal political arrangement. This is a system of government agreed to by the voters that, instead of keeping members of the armed forces from political participation, they should be allowed to stand-in for elections like their civilian counterparts.

One of main proponents of this political arrangement was the first President-General of Nigeria; Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe. The revered statesman insisted that, since the soldiers first tasted political power via a bloody and violent *coup d'état* on January 15, 1966; it would be virtually impossible to keep them out of the political system. The anti-dote to insulate the military from the political process is a political arrangement where politicians and soldiers will take turns in running the country on mutually agreed terms. The idea was vigorously canvased in the 1970s up to the 1983 *coup d'état* occurred once again when the democratically-elected government of President Shehu Shagari was removed by Gen. Muhammadu Buhari on New Year's Eve in 1983/1984. When the Buhari regime was again removed via another palace *coup d'état* by his fellow soldiers twenty-one months later, the Babangida regime brought a diarchal political system into the political discourse for its own selfish reason.

The South American nation of Chile was plagued by incessant military incursion into its political process leading up to the violent *coup d'état* of December 1974 by Gen. Augusto Pinochet.

During his autocratic reign, Pinochet combined executive powers with an elected civilian president. Gen. Ibrahim Babangida discreetly sent some army officers to

Chile upon seizing power via a palace *coup d'état* in summer 1985 to go and study the Chilean military-civilian joint political power arrangement with a view to implementing same in Nigeria. To give vent to this diarchal vision, he announced his title as president, instead of head of state and commander-in-chief, armed forces of the nation. Suddenly, diarchy became a leitmotiv of the Babangida plan. Artfully choreographed and deceptively being telegraphed, Gen. Babangida began to implement this hidden political agenda. His so-called transition to civil rule program was suspect from the word: go. It had the signature of political 419 written all over it, as locals would say in Nigeria. His main objective was to discredit all known successors among the political class to a level that none of them would be able to mount any sustainable and formidable threat to his self-succession bid. By regularly placing a ban on certain group of politicians and accusing them of rigging the presidential primaries of their political parties, the wily general had unwittingly laid combustible and highly politically detonable land mines on the political field.

The first set of politicians axed by Babangida were: Adamu Ciroma, Emmanuel Iwuanyanwu, Umaru Shinkafi, Olu Falae, Sola Saraki and Shehu Musa Yar'Adua. Babangida had claimed that illicit funds were traced to the campaign expenses of these presidential candidates. Earlier on, he had banned all political parties founded and funded by politicians and established two government-owned, and funded political parties known as; "*a little to the right*" and "*a little to the left*" parties of National Republican Convention (NRC) and Social Democracy Party (SDP) respectively. Babangida had given an atrocious reason for creating these two government-funded political parties as insulating money from Nigerian politics. Every student

of political science knows that, political parties are formed by politicians of like minds, who associate freely to articulate for certain desired political objectives by competing for political power. Political parties are not formed by government in a well-functioning democracy, rather, it is the other way around. Equally instructive is the use of money in political participation, since competing for political power requires competing for votes among eligible voters. But in Nigeria's Babangida world of the 1990s, all known political norms were either re-written or discarded. As Babangida banned, unbanned and banned periodically known political actors, Nigerians began to doubt the credibility of the transition-to-civil rule program of the Babangida dictatorship.

Amid this political instability and fuzziness under Babangida, Chief Moshood Kasimawo Olawale (MKO) Abiola joined the presidential race. Suddenly, the nation's political atmosphere changed radically. During this time in Nigeria, MKO Abiola was, unarguably the richest man in Nigeria. If Babangida had the intention of crippling other politicians economically through his endless political transition program, he had a match in the richest man in the black world. Gen. Ibrahim Babangida had a match in Chief MKO Abiola. While earlier presidential candidates banned by Gen. Babangida were licking their political wounds, rumors began to swirl in the political sphere that, Gen. Babangida and Abiola had a secret pact; either as the joint ticket in the diarchal arrangement Babangida was planning to foist on Nigerians, or MKO was the anointed successor. For those who had their ears to the ground, MKO Abiola and Babangida had been friends for nearly 30 years when the latter was a young military officer. In addition, it was no secret that Chief MKO Abiola was the

chief sponsor of the Babangida military take-over of August 1985. Many political analysts surmised that, if there was any political and economic leader who knew the military very well, that Nigerian was Chief MKO Abiola. Consequently, as soon as Chief MKO Abiola announced his presidential run in 1992, the political atmosphere in the nation changed. The billionaire pitched his political tent with the Social Democratic Party (SDP). Senator Bola Ahmed Tinubu was one of the early senators that supported the presidential ambition of Chief MKO Abiola.

THE MARCH 1993 SDP NATIONAL CONVENTION IN JOS, PLATEAU STATE



Since Gen. Ibrahim Babangida created two recognized political parties for Nigerians in his deceptive military-to-civil rule political transition program in 1992, Nigerians had no wiggle room for political preferences outside this quasi-government agencies. While Nigerian politicians with conservative capitalist credentials went for the National Republican Convention (NRC); those with radical progressive inclinations pitched their tents under the Social Democratic Party (SDP). Many in the SDP were surprised that, Chief MKO Abiola, a billionaire would take the risk of contesting for the presidential candidacy of a socialist-oriented SDP, but Abiola wasn't fazed. To understand the inter-play of political forces within the NRC and SDP, one needs to understand that there were sundry political associations already jostling for power.

When Babangida dissolved all the political associations, all the associations were compelled to fuse into either of the two government-created and funded political parties, but paradoxically to their inconvenience. Chief MKO Abiola had never been a politician. He was a successful businessman and was rich, very rich indeed. There were three main political power groups jostling for the heart and soul of the SDP and whoever could control any of the two would emerge as the presidential candidate. The three power groups were: The People Front (PF) controlled and mostly financed by retired Gen. Shehu Musa Yar'Adua. Among those in the PF and counted Yar'Adua as their leader were; Turaki Atiku Abubakar, who later became the vice-president of Nigeria in 1999, Ambassador Babagana Kingibe, whom Yar'Adua sponsored as national chairman of the SDP; Chief Arthur Nzeribe, an Ibo millionaire in his own right, who had tons of money to throw around, especially in the south east; Ebere Osieke, the dean of the college of law at the University of Jos, being pushed forward by Nzeribe as party scribe. Prof. Osieke's nomination was later voided by a court order.

Also in the PF were Ambassador Yahya Kwande, a Jos-based diplomat and businessman; Prof Ango Abdullahi, ex-vice chancellor, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria; Rabi'u Musa Kwakwanso, who later became governor of Kano state; Senator Sabo Barkin-Zuwo, former congressman and governor of Kano state (1983); Chief Yomi Edu of Lagos, Prof Abraham Babalola Borisade, who later became minister under Obasanjo, Abdullahi Aliyu Sumaila, former secretary to Kano state government, and Magaji Abdullahi among others. Later, when PF morphed into SDP, politicians like Chief Dapo Sarunmi, Chief Sunday Afolabi, and Dr Omololu

Olunloyo, former governor of Old Oyo state, Jubril Martins-Kuye of Ogun state; Alhaji Ibrahim Saminu Turaki of Jigawa state, and others joined the Yar'Adua political family.

The second political organization at the Jos convention was the People's Solidarity Party (PSP). The arrowhead of the PSP was the Sokoto-based politician and its first national chairman, Mr. Mohammad Arzika, who later became the minister of communication in 1999. Chief Olu Falae, former minister of finance under Gen. Ibrahim Babangida and few others belonged here. The third was the Progressive People's Party (PPP). Because retired Gen. Shehu Musa Yar'Adua and Chief Olu Falae had been banned from contesting the SDP presidential primaries earlier on by Gen. Ibrahim Babangida, the Jos SDP National Convention was open to three qualified and viable candidates; Chief MKO Abiola, Turaki Atiku Abubakar, who was being pushed forward and heavily-backed by the political god-father; retired Gen. Shehu Musa Yar'Adua, and Ambassador Babagana Kingibe, the chairman of the SDP sponsored by retired Gen. Musa Yar'Adua earlier on at inception.

These SDP governors were said to be backing the presidential bid of Ambassador Babagana Kingibe, who had resigned his position as chairman of the party to contest the presidential primary: Ali Sai'd Birin-Kudi, governor of Jigwa state; Kolapo Olawuyi Ishola, governor of Oyo state; Bukar Abbah Ibrahim, governor of Yobe state; Chukwuemeka Ezeife, governor of Anambra state; Bamidele Isola Olumilua, governor of defunct Ondo state; Alhaji Mohammed Sha'aba Lafiagi, governor of Kwara state; Chief Olusegun Osoba of Ogun state; Chief John Odigie-Oyegun of Edo state; Chief Felix Ovudoroye Ibru of Edo state; Alhaji Isiaka Adetunji Adeleke,

governor of Osun state; Mr. Fidelis Naanmiap Tapgun, governor of Plateau state; Maina Maaji Lawan, governor of Borno state; and Rev. Fr. Moses Orshio Adasu, governor of Benue state. Since the political godfather; retired Gen. Shehu Musa Yar'dua had been banned and had fallen out with his political godson; Ambassador Babagana Kingibe; the Tafida pooled resources together with Chief MKO Abiola to ensure that Kingibe did not clinch the presidential primary election of the SDP. Chief MKO Abiola had the twin advantages of being apolitical, and unarguably the financial muscle at the primary. Ambassador Kingibe and Chief MKO Abiola were neck-to-neck at the first ballot, because virtually all the SDP governors supported their erstwhile national chairman, who apparently assisted them in their previous governorship primaries in the states previous year.

Fully determined to stop Kingibe, the Tafida directed all the delegates that voted for Turaki Atiku Abubakar to vote for Chief MKO Abiola against Kingibe. Earlier in the day in March 1993, Chief MKO Abiola had held a closed-door meeting with retired Gen. Shehu Musa Yar'Adua at the residence of Ambassador Yahaya Kwande on Ibrahim Taiwo Road, where it was agreed that the forces of both MKO Abiola and Atiku Abubakar should collaborate to stop Kingibe. The trade-off on Chief Abiola's part was that he would pick Turaki Atiku Abubakar as his running mate after the convention. Everything went well and Chief Abiola agreed to this political arrangement. He won the SDP presidential primary in Jos and there were wild jubilations across the country. However, on returning to Lagos and in preparations for the June 12, 1993 presidential election, MKO Abiola ditched the political arrangement he had with the Tafida, and instead announced Ambassador Babagana Kingibe as his running mate.

Immediately Chief MKO “betrayed” the Tafida and the Turaki group, the soul of the SDP shifted to who controlled the national executive of the party. Being a political tactician and strategist, the Tafida methodically hijacked the party by sponsoring his core loyalists as SDP national executive members: Tony Anenih, a former police officer who owed his professional rise to Shehu Musa Yar’Adua, while the Tafida was chief of staff supreme headquarters and *de facto* vice-chairman of the military regime of Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo (1976-1979) became party chairman. The rest members of the executive were under the control of the godfather: retired Gen. Tafida Shehu Musa Yar’Adua.

Meanwhile, the other political party, NRC held its national convention at the Presidential Palace Hotel, Port Harcourt, Rivers state. Led by Tom Ikimi as national chairman, the NRC had the following elected governors, who controlled the soul of the party. Those governors elected on the platform of the NRC in 1992 to 1993 under Gen. Babangida’s brief diarchal arrangement were: Alhaji Saidu Barda as governor of Katsina state; Alhaji Abubakar Saleh Michika, governor of Adamawa state; Chief Michael Otedola, governor of Lagos state; Chief Evan Enwerem of Imo state; Kabiru Ibrahim Gaya of Kano state; Rufus Ada-George, governor of Rivers state; Clement David Ebri, governor of Cross Rivers state; Obong Akpan Isemin, governor of Akwa Ibom state; Dr Ogbonnaya Onu, governor of Abia state; Dr Okwezilieze Nwodo, governor of Enugu state; Malam Yahaya Abdukarim of Sokoto state; Alhaji Mohammed Dabo Lere, governor of Kaduna state; Dr Musa Inuwa, governor of Niger state; Prince Abubakar Audu, governor of Kogi state; Alhaji Dahiru Mohammed Deba, governor of Bauchi state; and Alhaji Abubakar Musa, governor of Kebbi state. In Port Harcourt, Alhaji Bashir Othman

Tofa, a wealthy Kano businessman clinched the party's presidential candidacy by defeating three challengers: Dalhattu Sarki Tafida, a Kaduna medical doctor, who later became Nigeria's High Commissioner to the UK; Mr. Joe Nwodo, an Ibo businessman from the famous Nwodo royal clan and Chief Pere Ajunwa, an Ijaw businessman.

Alhaji Bashir Tofa picked Dr Sylvester Ugoh, an Ibo politician, technocrat, a Harvard-trained economist and former governor of the Central Bank of Biafra as his running mate. On Saturday June 12, 1993 Nigerians of all stripes across the thirty states of the federation, including the federal capital territory, Abuja trooped out in their millions to cast ballot for both Chief MKO Abiola and his running mate, Ambassador Babagana Kingibe of the SDP and Alhaji Bashir Othman Tofa and his running mate, Dr Sylvester Ugoh of the NRC.

THE JUNE 12, 1993 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION



Majority of Nigerians were fed up with the military and wanted an end to the dictatorship of a decade after Gen. Muhammadu Buhari toppled the Shehu Shagari civilian administration in 1983. Nature even concurred with the Nigerian voters as the weather was conducive to voting in June when it normally rains in the nation. The banana peel feared by political analysts was that there would be political violence which the Babangida dictatorship would cite as excuse to finagle with the

outcome of the election. Secondly, many feared that the SDP would lose for fielding Chief MKO Abiola, who was a Moslem with a fellow Moslem; Babagana Kingibe as running mate. Thirdly, many political analysts feared that voters would cast ballot along ethnic and tribal contours.

By dusk on election day, most of the election returns had been received at virtually all the newspaper houses and television stations across the nation, including the national secretariats of the two political parties. Based on the Option A4 arrangement put in place by Prof. Humphrey Nwosu, former political science teacher at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka and chairman, National Electoral Commission (NEC), votes were to be counted at the polling stations in the presence of representatives of the two parties. This measure reduced voter irregularities and increased the credibility of the election. Years later, Nwosu disclosed: *“Chief MKO Abiola won the June 12, 1993 Presidential Election square and simple, period!”*

The voting patterns of the June 12, 1993 presidential election demolished tribal and ethnic primordialities; set aside moth-eaten factors of religious and sectarian divides. Chief MKO Abiola and his vice-presidential running mate won in the northern Nigeria, southern, and eastern Nigeria geo-political zones. The SDP candidates garnered over 60% of the total votes cast in the historic election. Of the 30 states of the federation, Chief Abiola won in the following 19 states and the federal capital territory: Akwa Ibom, Anambra, Benue, Borno, Cross River, Delta, Edo, Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Kwara, Lagos, Ogun, Ondo, Osun, Oyo, Plateau, Taraba, and Yobe states, including Abuja, the federal

capital territory. In northern Nigeria, there was nuanced feeling about Chief Abiola's election victory, even though the billionaire politician trashed his NRC presidential opponent, Bashir Othman Tofa in his home state of Kano. On the other hand, Bashir Othman Tofa and his running mate, Dr Sylvester Ugoh received 6 million votes in the following 11 states: Abia, Adamawa, Bauchi, Enugu, Imo, Katsina, Kebbi, Kogi, Niger, Rivers and Sokoto. Chief MKO Abiola failed to receive at least one-third in only Kebbi and Sokoto but won at least one-third votes in 28 states thus satisfying more than the constitutional requirements of being declared the legitimately and duly-elected president of the federal republic of Nigeria.

The various election observers and international monitoring groups that exerted all efforts against the Babangida dictatorship to monitor the election concluded in their reports that the June 12, 1993 presidential election was free, fair and indeed credible. There was no doubt that the late Chief Moshood Kasimawo Olawale Abiola won the epochal election.



**OFFICIAL RESULTS OF THE JUNE 12, 1993
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WON BY CHIEF MKO ABIOLA**

STATE	NUMBE R OF VOTES WON BY TOFA	PERCENTA GE OF VOTES WON BY TOFA	NUMBE R OF VOTES WON BY MKO	PERCENTA GE OF VOTES WON BY MKO	TOTAL NUMBE R OF VOTES CAST
Abuja FCT	18, 313	47.84%	19,968	52.16%	256,500
Abia	151,227	58.96%	105,273	41.04%	334,490
Adama wa	167,239	54.28%	140,875	45.72%	414,129
A/Ibom	199,342	48.14%	214,787	51.86%	371,288
Anambr a	159,258	42.89%	212,024	57.11%	847,274
Bauchi	524,836	60.73%	339,339	39.27%	406,132
Benue	186,302	43.06%	246,830	56.94%	282,180
Borno	128,684	45.60%	153,496	54.40%	342,755
C/ River	153,452	44.77%	189,303	55.23%	472,278
Delta	145,001	30.70%	327,277	69.30%	308,979
Edo	103,572	33.52%	205,407	66.48%	427,190
Enugu	284,050	51.91%	263,101	48.09%	349,902
Imo	195,836	55.14%	159,350	44.86%	228,388
Jigawa	89,836	39.33%	138,552	60.67%	726,573
Kaduna	356,860	47.80%	389,713	52.20%	324,428
Kano	154,809	47.72%	169,619	52.28%	442,176
Katsina	271,077	61.30%	171,162	38.70%	286,974
Kebbi	144,808	67.34%	70,219	32.66%	488,492
Kogi	256,732	54.40%	222,760	45.60%	352,497
Kwara	80,209	22.78%	272,270	77.24%	1,003,397
Lagos	149,432	14.46%	883,865	85.54%	357,787
Niger	221,437	61.90%	136,350	38.10%	484,971
Ogun	59,246	12.22%	425,725	87.78%	964,018
Ondo	162,994	15.58%	883,024	84.42%	437,334
Osun	72,068	16.48%	365,266	83.52%	641,799
Oyo	105,788	16.48%	536,011	83.52%	676,959
Plateau	259,394	38.32%	417,565	61.68%	1,026,824
Rivers	640,973	63.37%	370,578	36.63%	469,986
Sokoto	372,250	79.21%	97,726	20.79%	469,986

Taraba	64,001	38.58%	101,887	61.42%	176,054
Yobe	64,061	38.41%	11,887	63.59%	38,281

THE ANNULMENT OF THE JUNE 12, 1993 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION



As Nigerians were jubilating, especially in the historic city of Abeokuta where Chief MKO Abiola was born and in the states controlled by the SDP, a terse statement in the form of a press release was sent out of the military office of the then deputy military vice-president of the junta; Mr. Augustus Aikhomu. The provocative press release, undated and unsigned simply announced that the results of the June 12, 1993 presidential results should be discarded and discountenanced. It called on media houses in the nation to halt further announcements of election results from the various polling stations across the nation. The apex electoral body; NEC was ordered by the junta from certifying further elections results. The reason(s) for the gag was completely obfuscated.

Nigerians were taken aback and a state of farrago gripped the Nigerian landscape.

Bedlam ensued. There was tension across the nation. Many could not believe their eyes and their ears on what was coming out of the Ibrahim Babangida military junta. Then soon, Gen. Ibrahim Babangida himself later addressed the nation at prime time, but gave the banal malarkey that Chief MKO Abiola's government would be overthrown by the military, if the results of the just-concluded June 12, 1993 presidential elections were upheld. Who made the Nigerian armed

forces the guardian angels of Nigerian democracy? Something must be done. The Babangida military junta must be told loud and clear that Nigerians would not be taken for a ride. This was the genesis of the first pro-democracy struggle in the history of Nigeria. But the uncoordinated response of Chief Abiola's response to the annulment itself was disconcerting to many Nigerians. Nothing seemed to move the needle in actualizing the mandate, except Nigerians were being told that consultations were on-going. Nigeria was in a state of higgledy-piggledy, because of the annulment and all activities snarled to a halt throughout much of summer 1993. The Babangida regime became impotent. Nigerians poured into the streets in their millions and the nation was on the brink.

At the height of the pro-democracy struggle, many events and activities took place which many books have been written and surely, many more are still in the works. Unable to contain the mayhem and state of anarchy and lawlessness generated by the criminal annulment of, unarguably the freest and fairest presidential election in Nigeria's political history, Gen. Babangida was forced to step aside in August 1993.

The crisis compelled the wily autocrat to put in place an interim government, known as the interim national government (ING) headed by Chief Ernest Shogunle Shonekan as a stop-gap administration to facilitate, perhaps, another election in the succeeding year or give Babangida another opportunity to return to power. No one really knew the game plan, but what was discernible in the political atmosphere was crisis of immense proportion. The ING headed by Shonekan was still birth. It lasted for only few months from August to November 1993. The following people served in the

short-lived regime of Shonekan's ING: defense secretary: Gen. Sani Abacha; agriculture and natural resources: Prof. Jerry Gana commerce and tourism: Chief Mrs. Kuforiji Olubi, communications: Chief Dapo Sarumi education and youth development: Prof. Abraham Imogie, finance: Alhaji Aminu Saleh, FCT, Abuja administrator: Maj.Gen. Gado Nasko, foreign affairs: Chief Matthew Mbu, secretary of state (foreign): Alhaji Saidu Isa, health and human services: Prince Adelusi Adeluyi, internal affairs: Chief Ezekiel Yesufu, industries: Chief Ignatius Kogbara, information and culture: Mr. Uche Chukwumerije, attorney general and minister of justice: Mr. Clement Akpamgbo (SAN), petroleum and mineral resources: Chief Donald Etiebet, secretary of state (petroleum): Alhaji Ibrahim Ali, labor and productivity: Prince Bola Afonja, power and steel: Alhaji Hassan Adamu, secretary of state (power and steel): Alhaji Oladunni Ayandipo, police affairs: Alhaji Abdullahi Mahmud Koki, science and technology: Prof. Bartholomew Nnaji, transport and aviation: Alh. Bashir Dalhatu, water and rural development: Alhaji Isa Mohammed, works and housing: Mr. Barnabas Gemade, chairman, national planning commission: Mr. Isaac Aluko-Olokun, establishment and management services: Mr. Innocent Nwoga, States and Local Government Affairs: Alhaji Sule Unguwar Alkali, and secretary to the interim national government: (ING), Alhaji Mustapha Umara.

The ING even appointed legislative officers, against the backdrop of it as an unelected and unrepresentative contraption. Nigerians didn't vote for Chief Shonekan's ING and the swath of demonstrations and argosies of shut-downs and sit-ins against the military continued across the nation.

WHY GEN. IBRAHIM BABANGIDA ANNULLED THE JUNE 12, 1993 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION?



The Buhari-Idiagbon regime, which overthrew the Shehu Shagari civilian administration was characterized by acrimony, suspicion and intrigues and power play from the onset it took over power on December 31, 1993. The composition of the military regime was its first undoing. The head of state, Gen. Muhammadu Buhari was a no-nonsense military leader, who came to power to instill discipline into the fabric of the Nigerian society. While this was partly true, the power he gave to his deputy, Brigadier Tunde Idiagbon as head of chief of staff supreme headquarters caused ruckus among the top officered cadre in the junta. The chief of army staff; Gen. Ibrahim Babangida had to pass through Brigadier Idiagbon in major political and administrative matters. This led to friction since Idiagbon was a junior to Babangida.

Other civilian matters surfaced within the top echelons of the military command, which eventually reached a peak in summer, 1985. Gen. Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida staged his coup against Gen. Buhari with the help of the political and business elites, notably the late Chief MKO Abiola. While the latter was the power behind the throne in the early life of the Babangida regime, events later proved that, personal relationship, even among the best of friends can be ruptured by money, influence and power. These are the three domains the criminal annulment of the June 12, 1993 presidential election can be situated. Why did

Babangida take Nigerians through a convoluted transition-to-civil rule program, wasted billions of monies and at long last returned the nation back to another military dictatorship in 1993? Many Nigerians are still taken aback at the cavalier manner the June 12, 1993 presidential election was voided and the pain, anguish and suffering the nation went through.

First, Babangida didn't want to relinquish power. But more importantly, he annulled the June 12, 1993 presidential election, because of personal animosity between him and his erstwhile friend, Chief MKO Abiola. According to investigations conducted by the authors, and from interviews granted us by those who should know, Chief Abiola fell out of favor with his military chum, because of money. In early 1989, another close chum of Gen. Ibrahim Babangida; the military-turned civilian president of the Republic of Liberia; Mr. Samuel Kanyon Doe was facing serious opposition in his nation. The embattled Liberian leader had befriended Gen. Babangida very early in his administration and Babangida was so popular in Liberia that a school was named after the Nigerian military dictator. While Mr. Doe succeeded in transmuted himself from military sergeant to a civilian head of state, a crisis and an insurgency led by Mr. Charles Taylor was threatening his regime. Soon, the crisis snowballed into a bloody civil war.

In order to shore up the tottering regime of President Doe, Gen. Babangida used his clout in the ECOMWAS to raise a peace-keeping force known as ECOMOG to keep Mr. Doe in power. Unable to predict the outcome of the civil war, Mr. Doe called on Gen. Babangida to help him keep some money for the rainy day and for the upkeep of his family. It was such a

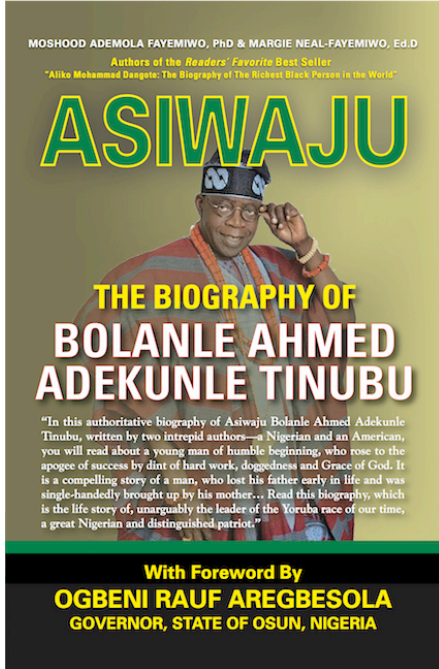
sensitive matter that President Doe could not take the risk of discussing the matter on telephone for fear of being bugged; thus, at the height of the civil war in his nation, President Doe flew into Lagos and was received at the presidential wing of the Murtala Muhammad Airport in early 1990. Gen. Babangida had fruitful discussions with Doe where it was agreed that the money that Doe wanted to keep aside should be given to Chief MKO Abiola, a mutual friend of both leaders, and unarguably a billionaire than the two leaders. According to a dependable source, who was a retired military general alongside Gen. Babangida and whose words the authors cannot doubt, *"Babangida told President Doe that, as a sitting head of state himself in Nigeria, he didn't want to take the risk of lodging such amount of money in his bank account, because he too was embattled in Nigeria. Babangida suggested the name of Chief MKO Abiola."* President Doe knew Chief MKO Abiola-which head of state didn't know Chief MKO Abiola since he had investments in virtually all the countries in the West African sub-region-and so Chief MKO Abiola took custody of the money.

The ECOMOG, made up of four thousand forces were deployed in August 1990 to Liberia to help protect President Doe from the coalition rebel forces of Charles Taylor and Yormie Johnson. As later feared, President Doe was brutally murdered by the rebel forces. After his death, Gen. Babangida sent for Chief MKO Abiola informing him that Nancy, late President Doe's wife and her children were after him to release the money left behind by their late bread winner. According to our usually dependable sources, whom we cannot second-guess, Chief MKO Abiola informed his friend, Gen. Babangida that the money was kept in his late senior wife's bank account; Alhaja Simbiat Atinuke Abiola and

he-Abiola-didn't have access to the account since Kola Abiola was in charge. Chief Abiola told Gen. Babangida to call Kola, his eldest son for the money. *"You know, Gen. Ibrahim Babangida considered it an utter insult for him to call Kola for the Doe's money, which Chief Abiola agreed to keep for the slain Liberian leader,"* our sources added. Initially, Gen. Babangida thought it was a joke, until Chief Abiola told Babangida; *"What's the big deal about the Doe's money anyway; after all, I've also shown favors to you in the past which you haven't paid me. After all, you're the head of state in Nigeria, why not issue a cheque to the Doe's family,"* Chief Abiola allegedly blurted out. When it appeared that Chief MKO Abiola wouldn't budge over the money, Gen. Babangida, as head of state paid the money to the Doe's family, but made up his mind to "punish" Chief MKO Abiola. *"The annulment of the June 12, 1993 presidential election was the ultimate pay-back Gen. Ibrahim Babangida extracted on Chief MKO Abiola. The national crises engineered by the annulment and the many lives that died were caused by this rift between two close friends separated by money,"* said our usually dependable sources, sources we cannot second-guess.

This was the cloak and dagger of the June 12, 1993 presidential election annulment. Gen. Babangida and Abiola kept this to themselves and wouldn't divulge during the crises, while innocent Nigerians died needlessly, because of the political debacle. Sen. Bola Ahmed Adegkunle Tinubu was oblivious of this deep secret between Gen. Ibrahim Babangida and the late Chief MKO Abiola just like other Nigerian pro-democracy activists committed to the de-annulment of the epochal election. Gen. Ibrahim Babangida could not hold on to power against the spate of crises and chaos generated by voiding the June 12, 1993 presidential election. He

instituted an interim national government (ING) headed by Chief Ernest Adegunle Shonekan in August 1993. But with atavistic chicanery, the Shonekan ING was overthrown by Gen. Sani Abacha on November 17, 1993.



This is the biography of Asiwaju Bolanle Ahmed Adekunle Tinubu.

ASIWAJU: THE BIOGRAPHY OF BOLANLE AHMED ADEKUNLE TINUBU

by Moshood Ademola Fayemiwo, PhD and Margie Neal-Fayemiwo, Ed.D

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