

internal affairs. Several complaints have since been made to Libya's ambassador in Nigeria—whose mother is Nigerian—protesting against Qaddafi's meddling, and the ambassador has been threatened with ejection from Nigeria.

The Borno incident set the stage for the Kano unrest. It is no coincidence that high-level Kano sources

blame the recent unrest on the Yen Awaki sect, which has its origins in Cameroon and Chad—both of which are geographically close to Borno.

'A flare-up of tribal rivalries'

The mooted Borno-Kano linkage may presage the outbreak of wider unrest throughout Nigeria's states.

According to the *Daily Telegraph* of London Dec. 30, "the disturbances may spread wider than Kano and may not be entirely sectarian. There are reports from Lagos of 'border clashes' between some of the states in the Nigerian federation." These episodes, the *Telegraph* suggests, "may be the result of a flare-up of tribal rivalries" throughout Nigeria.

The *Telegraph* projection has a basis in the political facts of life in Nigeria. By his intervention into Borno, Qaddafi greatly exacerbated an already delicate political struggle in that state between the state ruling party, the Greater Nigerian People's Party (GNPP), and the federal ruling party, the National Party of Nigeria (NPN).

The GNPP is a small, regionally based party founded by Waziri Ibrahim, a Nigerian merchant who made a financial killing running arms during the 1967-70 civil war. Since mid-1980, Shagari's NPN has been carrying out a systematic political challenge to the GNPP in Borno and in the state of Gongola to Borno's south. One aim of the challenge is to undercut the working alliance between the GNPP and the NPN's main political rival, the Nigerian People's Party (NPP), headed by Obafemi Awolowo, a leader of the Yoruba ethnic grouping in southwestern Nigeria.

Awolowo has been engaged in strident polemics against Shagari's government throughout 1980, and has been systematically cultivating a mood of secessionism among his Yoruba grouping if his demands for power are not met in the future.

As the GNPP-NPN fight heats up, Awolowo may decide to intensify his own secessionist demagoguery as a countermove. Then, what would occur in Nigeria is the intersection between northern-Muslim fundamentalism and Yoruba fundamentalism. The interplay between northern, Yoruba, and southeastern-Ibo chauvinisms was what brought about the late 1960s events. The repeat of this dynamic is now threatened.

A 1960s dynamic?

Qaddafi's activities alone might not be enough to blow Nigeria apart, given the intent of majority internal forces to avoid sundering the country. But Qaddafi is not alone. The suspected roles of Israel and Iran have already been cited. The specific British targeting of Nigeria is evidenced in a Dec. 26-28 three-part series in the Lazard-Frères-controlled *Washington Post*, profiling labor unrest and tribal hostilities in Nigeria.

Sudan: trigger for U.S.-Soviet conflict

The Sudan delegation to the Dec. 23 Lagos summit on Chad left before the summit had officially ended, outraged that the summit could not agree to strongly denounce Qaddafi's invasion of Chad. Sudan is vulnerable to destabilization operations by Qaddafi due to its deteriorating economic situation, aggravated by a recent IMF-dictated cancellation of planned development projects. From neighboring Chad, Qaddafi is ideally situated for operations into Sudan.

Any such Libyan activity will prime Egyptian President Sadat to carry out his role as anti-Soviet gendarme for Africa, an assignment that was one of the secret clauses of the Camp David agreements. Egypt has historically close relations with Sudan, and has troops stationed in Sudan.

This would set the stage for U.S.-Soviet conflict in the eastern and Horn of Africa regions. On his latest trip to the Mideast, Henry Kissinger also went to Somalia, where he advocated that the U.S. should supply arms to Somalia. This would push a reluctant Ethiopia to grant military bases to the Soviets, which would embroil Ethiopia in a regional superpower conflict that would sabotage its development efforts.

The economic collapse in Sudan, territorially the biggest country in Africa, has aggravated tensions in the country, which was the scene of a protracted 17-year-long civil war resolved in the early 1970s.

In January, President Numeiry will begin implementing a decentralization plan, creating semi-autonomous regions in a desperate gamble that will only make the country more vulnerable to destabilization. Qaddafi has links to the opposition in Sudan, and supported a coup attempt against Numeiry in 1976.