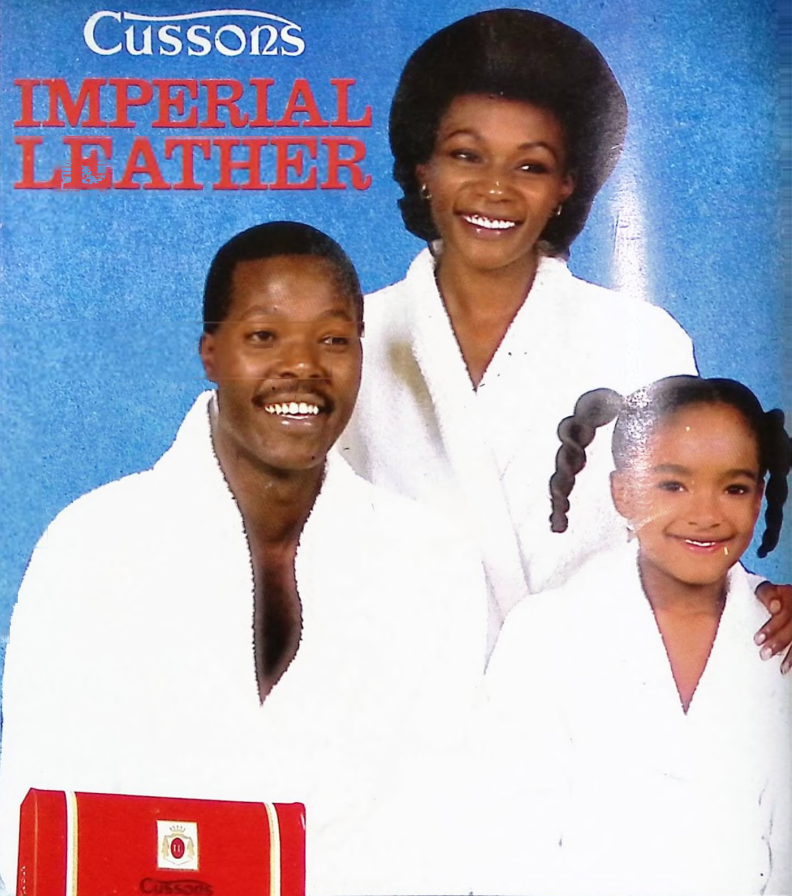




# Cussons IMPERIAL LEATHER



...the long lasting toilet soap

There are some little luxuries you and your family can enjoy everyday of your lives - like Imperial Leather, the classic toilet soap with its gentle lather, rich creaminess for a soft, soft skin that's smooth to the touch.

Bring a little luxury to your family today and everyday with Imperial Leather, the long-lasting soap.

**a little luxury everyday for all the family**

LEGAL DEPARTMENT  
SIGNATURE

# CONTENTS **Citizen**

July 29 — August 5, 1991

Vol. 2 No. 32

## Our mission: Islamic Republic of Nigeria

A small but much publicised Muslim group vows to Islamise a multi-religious Nigeria.

Page 12

## Umanah/Police Who took the balance?



The case of "money doubler," Umanah takes a new twist as he alleges that he left behind more millions than the authorities declared they found in his strong-room.

Page 26



El-Zakzaky, Leader of the Muslim Brothers

### Leaders

- Dying to travel 7
- Save the Naira 7
- Don't attack Iraq 8

Departments	Page		
LETTERS	5	ENCOUNTER	29
MOHAMMED HARUNA	11	AFRICA	32
"Voodoo Bank" latest	26	WORLD	34
Ondo governorship race	27	BUSINESS & ECONOMY	35
		BILKISU YUSUF	38

# Citizen

All the News in Perspective

**Editor-in-Chief:**  
Mohammed Haruna  
**Deputy Editor-in-Chief:** Bilkesu Yusuf  
**Executive Editor (South):** Kabiru Yusuf  
**Executive Editor (North):**  
Adamu Adamu

**General Editor:** Mohammed Feroz  
**Principal Staff Correspondents:**  
Tawey Zalka, Mahmud Jega, Ike Okonta  
**Senior Staff Correspondents:** Abu K. Momoh;  
Belaji Adedoyi; Aluko Akinyele;  
**Staff Correspondent:** Isaac Umanu;  
To's Sunday, (Business): Olayinka Tella; Joe  
Olagunwo, (Sports)  
**Reporter/Researchers:** Samson Oje; Rabiu Barde  
**Sub-Editors:** Tijani Isah; Zainab S. Olatunji  
**Proof Reader:** Dorothy Hinyari  
**Deputy Arts Editor:** Oluwale Olusunkanmi  
**Senior Graphic Artist:** K. Belatun Oyelade  
**Graphic Artist:** Samuel Oifong  
**Press Photographer:** Abubakar Yakubu  
**Senior Computer Operator:** Suleiman Garba  
**Computer Operator:** Thomas I. Balemi  
**Computer Trainee:** Chris G. Guton

## CITIZEN COMMUNICATIONS LTD.

**Boards of Directors:**  
Turki Muhammadu (Chairman);  
M D Yusuf, Umaru Abdul Mutallab;  
Ade Olawoye, Lawal Idris;  
**Local Directors:** Bilkesu Yusuf (Executive); Kabiru  
Yusuf (Executive); Adamu Adamu (Executive);  
Mohammed Haruna (Managing)

**Deputy Finance Manager:**  
Alhassan Kudgi  
**Accounts Officers:**  
A. T. Muhammad, Usman Musa  
**Credit Control Officer:** Tunde Sumaila  
**Stores Officer:** Ezra Gudson  
**Marketing Officers:** Usman Kudiri; Isfaka Ajibola;  
**Marketing Assist:** Justina Akpan; Adamu Jibrin;  
Umar M. Musa; Boniface Okoro  
**Adverts Executives:** Emmanuel Emeje;  
Oluobunmi Adeoye; Stella Emele; Yekini  
Abdullahi; Timothy Ekwebelem  
**Sales/Advert Asst:** Hassan A. Adebayo  
**Administrative Officers:**  
Mullammed Ndallman; Nkechi Anoh  
**Secretaries:** M. J. Doko; Mary Egharevba  
**Typists:** Osage I. Ebuchi; Imoh Odot  
**Receptionist:** Dinatu S. Kyon  
**Clerks:** Amma L. Abdullahi; O'lahode S. Rotifa; Alabi  
Olakunle  
**Drivers:** Bagudu Makun; Jehit Odebeju; Umar  
Adamu; Fasaal Balogun; Ezekiel Jayeoba; John  
Okoh  
**Office Assistants:** Abbas Garba; Kingsley Benson  
**Dispatch Rider:** Las al Olayiwola

## PREFACE

They are perhaps the most misunderstood group in Nigeria today. We are talking of the self-styled Muslim Brothers a.k.a Shi'ites, movement started in the late 70s by Muhammad el-Zakzaky. The Shi'ite label in itself is demonstration of how they stand misunderstood because they are anything but that. Shi'ites believe the supremacy of Caliph Ali, among Islam's first four Caliphs. These Muslim Youths do not. And in spite of their militancy, they seem to detest violence.

Still, wrong as the label may be, it is somewhat understandable. By their own admission their leading inspiration is Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini. And in keeping with Shia tradition, these Muslim Youths are very militant. In the circumstance, and since people are wont to find a short-hand description for identification of groups, it was almost inevitable that they would be tagged Shiites.

Since the Kafanchan religious crisis of 1987, the Muslim Brothers have attracted a lot of public attention. The recent Katsina riots, for which many of its members are being tried, brought their movement once again into focus. What really does this movement want? If, as they insist, they are not Shi'ites what are they? Why have they come to be associated with violence? How justified is this association? These are some of the issues Adamu Adamu and Bilkesu Yusuf, our resident "Mullah" and "Mullahess", as our in-house joke goes, set out to explore. What they found forms the week's cover story.

## LETTERS

## Fuel scarcity

Sir,

In your story on oil syndicate, none of your reporters visited Borno State which borders three neighbouring countries and face the same shortages of fuel like Sokoto, Katsina, Gongola and Kano states.

Honestly, if any of your reporters had visited Borno State before the story was published, you would have found it more interesting.

I plead to assist your reporter next time with transportation within Maiduguri town with my SUZUKI A100.

Happy one year anniversary in advance.

Ali Kolo  
Maiduguri

Citizen will be one on August

20. Editor

## Who is afraid of women's wings?

Sir,

The Nigerian man still believes he still lives in the 11th century when women were just common housewives. Politics is a game meant for both men and women, and it is therefore very wrong for the police to harass women only.

As far as women are allowed to vote, there is no point in banning them from forming women's wing in any political party of their choice. Alhaja Adedeji should bear all the torture being meted to her by the police and know that one day the president of Nigeria may turn out to be a woman and then women would have the courage to rub shoulders with their menfolk.

Nndi Obiosa  
Lagos

## 50 Billion Naira story

Sir

The attitude of the government to bamboozle it's citizens has now become a matter of concern.

William Keeling, according to the interview Bilkiyu Yusuf had with him, still stands his ground "that his story is perfectly correct". What we the citizens of Nigeria expected from the government was the publication of detailed documents to counter and prove the Keeling story as mere rubbish, before deporting him.

We are tired of living in a society where the citizens are kept in the dark as to matters relating to the general expenditures and incomes of our country. The government should face reality and stop presenting Nduka Irabor or Alex Akinyele to pronounce on any crisis affecting them.



When one looks at the way and manner Nduka Irabor "disproved" the story, it could be seen as loquacious and a spoof, because if the government felt there was no truth in Keeling's story, they would have come out openly with facts on how much we received as income for our oil earnings during the Gulf crisis, how much expenditure we undertook to sponsor the OAU and

ECOWAS, and the ECOMOG troops in Liberia.

We are still waiting for the government to come with its documentary facts and not words from the mouths of praise singers.

Nkechi Orlu  
Idah

Sir,

When one looks at press secretaries especially those in government, one wonders what their functions are i.e to put records straight or muck them up in the process?

What Nduka Irabor did in trying to dispute William Keeling's 50 billion Naira story only went further to nail the government's coffin.

This goes to show that the bunch, incidentally, headed by Alex Akinyele, have done more damage to our image than patch it. Left to me, except for Duro Onabule, all the others should be sacked!

By the way, why is Onabule silent these days? Can someone tell us please?

Bello Shehu  
Gusau

## Yawwah Mohammed Haruna

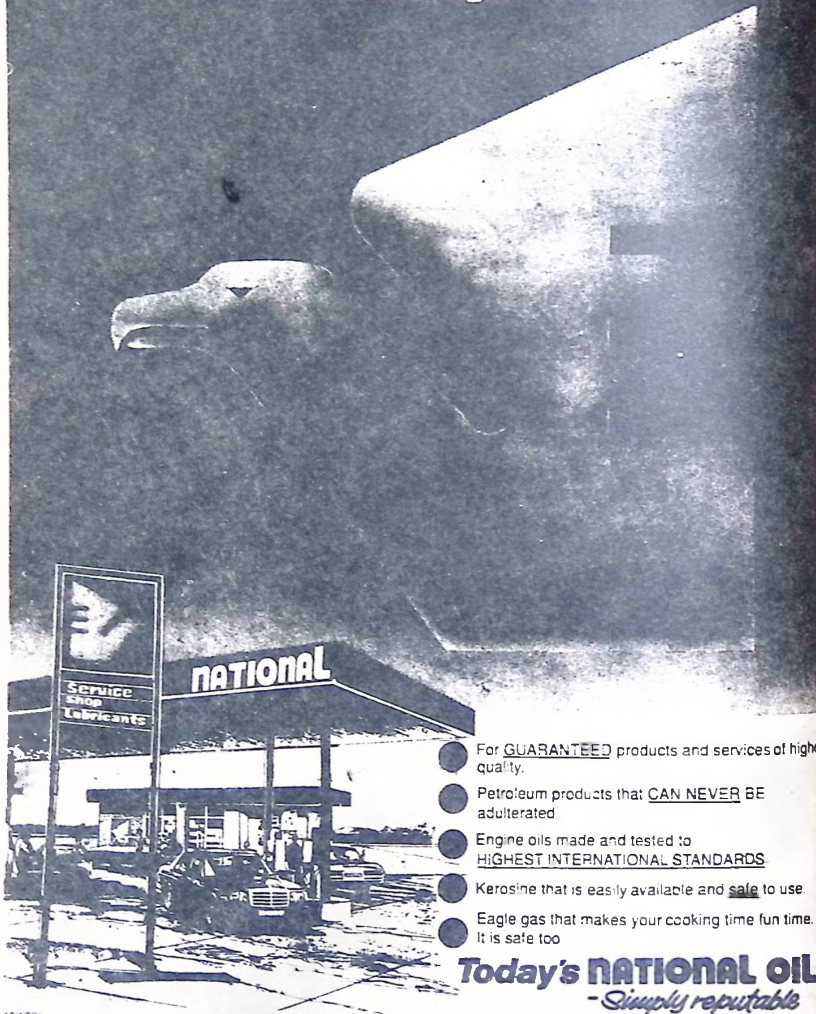
Sir,

Yawwah Mohammed Haruna, for your "HABA *New Nigerian*" in the 15th July edition of *Citizen*. You spoke the minds of millions of us who are struggling to keep our heads above the turbulent drowning water of, oh let me borrow "base emotions of the moment". I really thought the *New Nigerian* had been fully redeemed. Then suddenly that impalatable piece. "The 'Al-Ahram'" should please be careful and desist from such self-destructive pander(ing)s.

J. T. Yakubu  
Kaduna

Letters to *Citizen*, carrying names, signatures and addresses, should be brief and to the point. They should be typed double space and addressed to Letters Page, *Citizen*, G.11 Unguwan Kanawa, PMB 2334, Kaduna.

# Drive into Today's National



- For GUARANTEED products and services of high quality.
- Petroleum products that CAN NEVER BE adulterated.
- Engine oils made and tested to HIGHEST INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS.
- Kerosine that is easily available and safe to use.
- Eagle gas that makes your cooking time fun time. It is safe too.

**Today's NATIONAL OIL**  
*- Simply reputable*

# Dying to travel

To put it bluntly, public transport, especially in urban areas, is grinding to a halt and it is taking with it a large chunk of the compressed earnings of the average worker with it. It is also adversely affecting social relationships.

There is no day in any urban centre that one can fail to miss seeing a sizable number of people waiting for commercial vehicles at bus stops to take them to their various destinations.

It is usually a long wait. When commercial vehicles eventually amble along, the drivers invariably break the journey at short distances, compelling commuters to pay twice or thrice the normal fare on a single route.

Last week, for instance, the authorities in Kaduna State had to sternly warn commercial drivers not to engage in such practices.

One of the major reasons for the abysmal voter turn-out during the December 8 local government elections last year is directly related to lack of transport to the polling centres.

Now there is even talk of increasing fares up to 200 per cent. The reasons advanced for these are the government's reluctance to reduce import duty on vehicles, the escalating cost of spare parts and the increase in the price of locally assembled vehicles by up to 65 per cent. In some cases, the argument goes, some state-owned transport companies have hiked their fares, why not the private sector?

In the rural areas, the situation is more desperate. There, transportation, in most cases is simply not available. No one need be told what this is costing the nation. A bag of millet costs more than 300 Naira, maize 400 Naira and rice twice that. One strong factor that influences prices is the difficulty in bringing foodstuffs to the markets. Added to these are the activities of acute shortages of petroleum products.

How did we arrive at this appalling situation? The impression is that the federal government has steadily been providing money and buses to state governments under the mass transit scheme to complement the efforts of the private sector. If after pouring millions of Naira into the scheme and still one has to spend hours just to get to work, it is obvious that something is terribly wrong.

The economic cost and social dislocation resulting from poor transportation system to the nation is enormous. No one needs telling, especially government, that if things continue the way they are, no economic progress can truly take place. Neither can democracy be served. There is something great to be said about government taking practical steps, now, to ensure easier mobility.

The way to do it is to find a sensible meeting point among transport owners, local assembly plants and the government's policy on vehicle imports. Deregulation does not mean that government should confine itself to buying vehicles that breakdown within a year or allowing just about everyone to his own.

# Save the Naira

The Central Bank's recent campaign to win "respect" for the naira seems awkward in the light of recent

happenings on the foreign exchange market. Three months ago, when the Naira sank to 10.50 to the Dollar, we urged the authorities

(March 11) to do something about it. Two weeks ago, the Naira sunk again to 10.7652 to the Dollar, its lowest level since the coming of SFEM in 1986. We wish again to join many Nigerians in expressing concern for the Naira, whose value to the dollar now approaches the ridiculous.

When the Naira first sank in March, CBN responded by forcing banks to back up their demand for foreign exchange with Naira deposits. Simultaneously, CBN increased the Dollar supply to the weekly bidding sessions from 57.7 million Dollars to 120 million Dollars. The combined effect then was an appreciation to 8.7002 Naira to the Dollar.

This time, CBN has not made any response. Indeed, the apex bank's attitude seems to be of the kind recently urged by Oladare Olashore, managing director of Lead Merchant Bank, to the effect that the Naira should be allowed to find its market value, thus allowing the government to increase its Naira revenue by 40 percent,

after which it will fund relief measures and the economy will be restructured by an increase in non-oil exports.

Well, we insist that this old argument is no longer credible. For one, the Naira's current value has nothing to do with market realities; TCCPC chairman Hamza Zayyad has said that a foreign traveller's "market sense of the value of the Naira" is higher than what obtains here. Nor is the current value helping to restructure anything; NACCIMA president, Rufai Muhammed has said it favours not manufacturers but traders, "who are prepared to pay any amount of Naira to buy foreign exchange." Besides, the "restructuring" process is unduly costly; Dr. Akin Owoseku has calculated that for every 1 percent drop in the Naira value, there is a 0.09 percent drop in the GNP, a 0.12 percent decline in manufacturing output, and a 0.01 percent loss of consumers' disposable income.

Priorities are mixed up in this matter. We should not just campaign to respect the Naira; we must save it.

## Don't attack Iraq

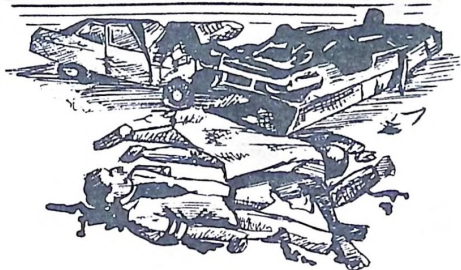
**T**he recent threat by the United States and France to attack Iraq again, six months after the Gulf war ended, was rudely shocking and most disturbing to us. The ostensible reason for the threat was that Iraq has failed to comply with the terms of the ceasefire agreement to release to international agencies the details of its nuclear research facilities. We recall that the Iraqis have released three lists of these facilities to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) between April 27 and last week, giving details of its facilities for nuclear research, development and construction.

The American and French threat to launch a military strike against these facilities reveals once more the arrogant and aggressive character of western governments in the wake of their Gulf war "victory". While the war lasted, the US and its allies went for targets inside Iraq

compiled in a thick book. To claim now that nuclear facilities still exist in Iraq is to invite the question: what were the Americans bombing all along? Houses, hospitals and air-raid shelters?

Iraq has no nuclear or chemical bombs, as CIA propaganda alleged. If it had, then its leaders were humane enough not to use them in the days of their country's worst crisis, when it faced an attack by 31 countries led by the US. The same cannot be said for the US and France. Both are known to possess huge stockpiles of nuclear weapons, 7000 warheads in the case of the US and 140 for France. The US also used nuclear bombs (in Japan, 1945) and chemical weapons (in Vietnam, 1965-72) when it faced a much less severe crisis than Iraq did.

Saddam Hussein, for all his lapses, is more sincere and more humane than either George Bush or Françoise Mitterand. We urge the western powers to leave the Iraqi people alone.



In 1990,  
4,380 of the deaths on the highways resulted from

**OVERSPEEDING,  
OVERTAKING AND  
OVERLOADING !**

What a shame ?

What future for our children ?

What future for our country ?

**OBEY SPEED LIMIT REGULATIONS NOW Before it is TOO LATE !**



PUBLIC ENLIGHTENMENT DEPARTMENT,  
FEDERAL ROAD SAFETY COMMISSION

# Citizen

ALL THE NEWS IN PERSPECTIVE

## Advertisement Rates

### (1) Colour

Inside Front Cover	—	N7,275.00
Inside Back Cover	—	7,200.00
Outside Back Cover	—	8,910.00
Inside Full Page	—	6,900.00
Centre Spread	—	12,640.00

Add 30% where separation are not supplied.

### (2) Black and White (Product)

Full Page	—	N5,100.00
2/3 Page (Horizontal/Vertical)	—	4,100.00
1/2 Page	—	3,000.00
1/3 Page	—	2,350.00
1/4 Page	—	1,980.00
Supplement	—	6,500.00

### (3) B&W (Congratulatory Messages, Public Notices, Supplements)

Full Page	—	6,500.00
2/3 Page	—	5,160.00
1/2 Page	—	3,780.00
1/3 Page	—	2,960.00
1/4 Page	—	2,490.00

### Conditions for placing advertisement in Citizen:

1. Copy date - Two weeks before publication date.
2. Specified positions - 15% surcharge.
3. Colour separations must be provided for colour advertisements.
4. Citizen reserves the right to accept or reject any advert.
5. Add 30% where typesetting & Artworks are not supplied.

*For further information, contact:*  
Sales/Advert Manager,  
Citizen communications Ltd.,  
G11 Unguwan Kanawa,  
P. M.B. 2334, Kaduna.  
Tel: 212165. Fax: 210037.  
Telex: 71704.

Legos Office: 10A Acme Road, Agidingbi,  
Off Isheri Road,  
P.M.B. 21742, Ikeja.



## MOHAMMED HARUNA

lution in the Nigerian press,' by becoming the first weekly magazine to compete effectively with the likes of America's *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines, in both the quality of its reporting and writing. Second I cut my journalistic teeth in the good company of Yakubu Mohammed, its managing editor, when we both worked at the *New Nigerian* for

money for a deal he said he had to clinch that day. I told him sorry there was no way I could use company's money for such a private thing. However to play safe I had him booked into Hamdala Hotel for two nights and then asked our Lagos office to confirm his claim from Dodon Barracks. He started giving himself away when I called Innocent Oparadike, then editor of *New Nigerian*, to speak to him in Igbo and he would not. The following day we confirmed he was coning us and in fact he was already wanted for impersonation. However by the time we went to the hotel to check him out and call the police, he had disappeared with the balance of our deposit for two nights.

At the corporate level, I am sure readers will recall how several years

## Miscellany

**I**t may sound like your typical but handy excuse — I am talking of the writer's block — for breaching one's deadline, but it was a bit of a problem putting this piece together.

There were, of course, lots of things to write on. Trouble was, my mind couldn't focus on any one of them. There was the fascinating chap from Port Harcourt, now in detention, who cashed in on human greed to make quite a bundle for himself and truly live it up. There was the tragic, actually doubly tragic because avoidable, plane crash in Jeddah in which Nigeria lost 242 returning pilgrims. Then there was the beleaguered *Newswatch* which seems to have managed to get itself in deep (expletive deleted) with its dubious story of self-proclaimed coup maker.

Last but by no means the least there was BCCI, whose operations all over the world was closed following charges of fraud, greed and all that. Naturally a whiff of the scandal rubbed off on BCCI (Nigeria) Ltd. However, luckily for customers, management and shareholders alike the bank remained intact and has since changed its name.

Of these four stories, *Newswatch* was naturally the one I was most attracted to. First, it wrought a revo-

lution in the Nigerian press,' by becoming the first weekly magazine to compete effectively with the likes of America's *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines, in both the quality of its reporting and writing. Second I cut my journalistic teeth in the good company of Yakubu Mohammed, its managing editor, when we both worked at the *New Nigerian* for

years. Dan Agbese, the magazine's deputy boss, was an older hand at the *New Nigerian* but for a couple of years I was his deputy editor when he returned in 1982 to edit the paper after long spells at the *Standard* (Jos), Radio Benue and in government. In

---

**The real tragedy is that we seem too eager to bury one of our own all in the name of competition.**

---

other words I have a personal interest in *Newswatch* because of my friendship with Yakubu and Dan.

Naturally I was worried when the story about the magazine being suckered by a self-proclaimed coup plotter broke out. I have not seen or talked to any of the three since then, but it is not difficult to imagine the nightmare they must be going through. However what really worries me is not so much the probability that they may have been suckered. No one is really above that. As managing director of *New Nigerian*, I was once nearly suckered by this fellow who came to my office claiming he was Commodore Ebitu Ukiwe's — then Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters, — brother. He wanted us to advance him some

ago a respectable German newspaper (*Der Spiegel*, I think) and the even more respectable *Times* of London and the *New York Time* magazine were conned into purveying a fake Hitler Diary.

So its not so much the probable coning of *Newswatch* that worries me, but the patent glee and the holier-than-though posture with which virtually all other magazines have been denouncing the magazine. Its all as if all they have been doing all these years was wait for the magazine to slip! The tragedy is not so much that *Newswatch* may have been damaged beyond repairs by the mudslinging whether it is justified or not. The real tragedy is that we seem too eager to bury one of our own all in the name of competition.

# El-Zakzaky What does he want?



El-Zakzaky: what manner of man?

## The leader of Nigeria's so-called Shi'ites kicks against the label and fights for an Islamic Republic of Nigeria

**A**s news of the violence in Kafanchan reached Kaduna in 1987, some Muslims retaliated. Rumour had travelled fast; fact had mixed with fiction while feelings of helpless sympathy heightened a state of siege and provocation. And things fell apart in the major towns of Kaduna State.

Few people began the massacre in Kafanchan that provoked the arson by still fewer people in various places, but the peace of everyone was affected. The majority on both sides, however, refrained from this murderous acts.

While the confusion went on outside, a group of young Muslims gathered inside the Sultan Bello Mosque, Kaduna were engaged in what they call *ta'aleem*. They were oblivious of what went on outside.

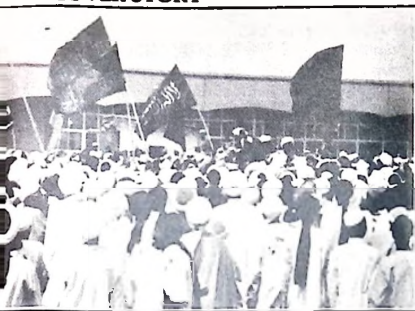
Suddenly some strange person — a professional rabble-rouser — entered the mosque and upbraided them for finding time to heedlessly continue with study while their Muslim brethren were being killed by Christians. He taunted them, called them cowards, treacherous scholars and shameless pretenders and stormed out of the mosque.

No one said a word and they continued with their study. When they finished they discussed the incident and unanimously decided that it was unIslamic to burn churches or harm innocent people. But the pull of fellow — feeling and provocation combined to make these young people unsure of the correctness of their stand. The charge of cowardice might also have hurt the pride of some. They therefore decided to find out. And

off they went to their leader-brother and spiritual guide. Soon enough the three of them in the car arrived at the non-descript resident of Malam Ibrahim Yaqoub el-Zakzaky in Kwarbai Quarters of Zaria City.

The roots of the revival were sown around the 1973-74 session at the main campus of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. At that time there was palpable disenchantment with the western civilisation that had promised so much and delivered too little. The previous decade was remarkable in many ways: Muslims, now possessing modern universities, had climbed to the pinnacle of westernisation and found no solutions there. It was also a decade within which most Muslim governments experimenting with socialism, communism, ba'athism, monarchy and capitalism had ample time to prove the hollowness. It became time to take a second look at good old Islam.

Islamic activity began competing with the academic programme of most students. The



His disciples welcoming him back from prison

Muslim Students Society, MSS, formed in 1954, was for the first time galvanised into action. Lectures, symposia, discussion groups, Arabic classes and prayer circles were formed in every hostel block. The atmosphere was richly spiritual. "The Islamic revival is a global trend", Malam Mukhtar said. "People are beginning to look for their own original, innovative and culturally bound solutions to their problems. It is therefore only reasonable that Muslims go back to their culture which is Islam".

While many factors were responsible for the revivalist trend one person who must take the credit for harnessing it well was Malam Usman Mohammed Bugaje. It was during his presidency that the

revival attained maturity. But though all issues were up for discussion, matters overtly political were mostly left to a c a d e m i c theorising. While the yearning to realise total Islam in their lives was uppermost in the minds of most students, a practical example of how this could be done was

lacking. The phenomenon therefore never passed beyond the Samaru campus walls. It had to wait for Iran. Meanwhile, many upheavals were taking place within the MSS itself. Most post-primary institutions have MSS branches and these send representatives to the Islamic Vacation Course, IVC, held annually at some selected venue. It was at the IVC that Malam Ibrahim el-Zakzaky made his appearance.

According to Malam Muhammadu Turi, one of el-Zakzaky's leading lieutenants, the activities of Malam Ibrahim prior to the 1979-80 session were under the aegis of the MSS. However, differences between el-Zakzaky and MSS mainstream began to appear most noticeable after each IVC. El-Zakzaky would insist, that ritualistic Islam is well-known enough but not practised. Instead of endless listening to lectures why not engage in *tahajjud* and other practices that would lead to *istiqama*, the state of wholeheartedly believing in and adopting the tenets of Islam — a sort of an intellectual uprising for the sake of Allah. This alone, he said, would lead to

the firming up of belief which would prepare Muslims for the inevitable clash with *Kufr* the totality of the power of unbelief.

Many of the MSS old guard had no time for el-Zakzaky or his new method. "The rowdy manner in which his supporters went about their business didn't help matters", one of them said. "All they did was deprive youngsters of their sleep in the name of *tahajjud*". An incident in 1979 saw el-Zakzaky leading Muslim students in protest against moral laxity and proliferation of alcohol on ABU's main campus. An incident that *New Nigerian's* Candido called the exploits of "miniature Ayatollahs". Similar incidents were to engage the nation's attention from then on.

In 1980, what Malam Muhammad called the proper take-off of the Islamic movement — the attempt to take it out of the university campus and involve the mass of people outside — took place by way of the "Islam Only" procession. This procession and painting of Islamic slogan in Kaduna, widely seen by outsiders as being of doubtful utility or even long-term harm, gave further notice of the growing boldness of the Islamic movement.

**B**y now no one in Islamic circles would say he was unaware of the existence of el-Zakzaky and his group. Without perhaps intending to do so, he had introduced a division among Muslim students. For almost half of the 1980s, you were either with him or against him. There was much that was confusing in his interpretation of *taghut*, the Qur'anic term that denoted a law giver other than, and in opposition to, Allah.

This interpretation depicted the nation-state, the flag and national anthem as manifestations of *taghut* that must be shunned. No doubt this served as a source of concern and friction when students refused to salute the flag or rise up for the anthem.



Like a king: El-Zakzaky being escorted into Zaria City

In Sokoto one such incident led to the arrest of students by police in 1981. El-Zakzaky who went to protest the arrest was himself detained and ended up bagging a four year jail term for a crime allegedly committed while he was in Zaria. He served his term in Enugu prison. In December 1984, he was taken to Kirikiri under Decree 2 for resuming his preaching. He remained there until August 1985.

**H**e was very philosophical about his prison experiences. "Prison is a training ground", he said. "You are cut off from all the outside world and have time for the devout worship of your Lord in isolation. It is good for your spiritual, moral and even physical training and it can serve as a vehicle for imparting the message to people".

In less than two years, el-Zakzaky was back in prison — again, it would seem, for a crime he did not commit. In the aftermath of the Kafanchan disturbances, in which he warned his followers not to participate, he was incarcerated.

According to Malam

Muhammad Turi, the agitation for his release and other innocent Muslims served as a vital rallying point to generate public support and sympathy for the movement. "The movement", Malam Muhammad said, "experienced its highest growth to date during the



Ajobola, Justice minister

1987-1990 period. The incarceration therefore produced a result that was the exact opposite of what was intended".

The group in Sultan Bello (Mosque) asked him whether and

how they should come to the aid of the bereaved Muslims of Kafanchan. He roundly condemned them for contemplating such an abomination. He angrily sent them away. They drove back to Kaduna and quietly resumed their *la'aleem*.

Later law enforcement agencies stepped in and enforced the law, and Mr. Justice Karibi-Whyte at the head of the judicial commission of inquiry trying detained suspects sent several scores of Muslims to jail. At their head was Malam Ibrahim el-Zakzaky along with some of his followers. He bagged and fully served a four year jail term — from 1987 until 1990, when he was released.

For el-Zakzaky prison may well be on its way to becoming his second home. He has been inside it since his first incarceration in 1981. He had been unrepentant for what took him to prison in the first place. He has given birth to a movement that is as much sneered at by its opponents as it is passionately worshipped by its supporters. In a sense, however, he is an unknown quantity. Except to his supporters, an impenetrable maze surrounds

## Women of the Islamic Movement

**A** group of young men in front of the Emir's palace, Zaria city eyed me suspiciously when I asked one of them where Malam Ibrahim Yakub El-Zakzaky's house was. "Its behind the palace, you go straight, then turn to the right when you reach the magajin gari's house". I thanked him and made my way through the tarred, narrow, pothole ridden road wondering whether it was as old as the city.

After making the turn, I went past an open

space and asked again which among the several houses was El-Zakzaky's. I was shown a simple bungalow with a verandah and a courtyard. The walls of the room were lined with bookshelves with a picture of the late Imam Khomeini hanging from the wall. I went into the women's section where a cheerful old woman and a young woman welcomed me. The latter disappeared into another room before she returned to say sister Zeenat will see me after her Asr

prayers

Prayers over, Zeenat invited me into her room. She greeted me warmly. I had known her way back in 1981 before she married Ibrahim El-Zakzaky when we were both participants at an intensive Arabic course in Kumbotso near Kano. After exchanging greetings, Zeenat made it clear that she would not have granted the interview if it had been any other reporter. "Sister, the press in this country have a way of misrepresenting people's

views whenever you grant them an interview, so the best thing to do is to keep quiet."

**Citizen:-** Do you belong to the shi'i (madzhab) school of thought?

**Zeenat:-** We are not shiites. We are following the Maliki school of Islamic jurisprudence which is the predominant school in this part of the world especially Nigeria. Infact I did not get to know about shiism until 1979 when the Islamic revolution took place in Iran. I was in form five

his message. No doubt the handful of students in 1980 have now grown into thousands perhaps spread in almost all states in the northern parts of the country. But little is known of his life or his preaching.

No doubt, the personality who inspired Islamic revolutionary

imperialist re-interpretation of Islam found many a ready ear in the Sunni world that had suffered much imperial arrogance. This appeal and consequent identification with his ideas explains the Shi'ite label stamped on Islamic activists worldwide, some scholars say.

**"Of course they portray the name to mean something bad," he said. "We are not saying there is anything wrong with the name. But we are saying that we haven't given ourselves such a name."**

movements around the world this century and is the idol of el-Zakzaky's Islamic movement — the Imam Ruhullah Khomeini — came from Iran's long Shia tradition of scholarship and protest. As events proved later, his appeal went beyond the Shia world and was able to surmount most of the sectarian divides that litter the Islamic landscape. His radical anti-

Though members of the Islamic movement are largely untroubled by the label, they are quick to point to the authority's desire to isolate them by labelling them. Some of them say the name was first used against them by Wahhabite Islamic group working for the government. The name seems to have stuck though not everyone is taken in.

"They are definitely not

Shi'ites," said Mukhtar Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, a sociologist and Arabic scholar, "Let me borrow the method of a British journalist to explain in detail what I mean. The journalist said, "We call people terrorists and we call them rebels and we call them freedom fighters. But it is in our interest to call them freedom fighters, we call them that because they are accepted by us as fighting for a cause which we support.

"When we call them terrorists or rebels, we call them that because they represent an ethic which we do not accept or we do not support or we do not see any material chance of our gaining by supporting it".

**T**here are many distortions in the media and they are deliberate".

But Malam Mukhtar, son of Nigeria's first prime minister and one-time Imam of the *Izala* in Bauchi, does not subscribe to el-Zakzaky's methods. He considers them rash. "Establishing an Islamic state", he said, "is neither realistic nor possible right now. An Islamic Revolution can't happen over

the time and the schools of Islamic jurisprudence I was exposed to were Maliki, Hanafi, Hanbali and Shafii. Although a Muslim is free to follow any of these schools, Muslims in Nigeria apply the Maliki law.

People call us shiites because they want to find a label for us but we are members of the Islamic movement.

**Citizen:** So what are the aims and objectives of the Islamic movement and how does the movement hope to achieve these?

**Zeenat:** To ensure that muslims are given an opportunity to live according to Islamic

injunctions. That is not a new concept in this part of the world because we had an Islamic state during the time of Sheikh Usman Dan Fodio who established the Sokoto Caliphate. Then the Europeans came and colonised us and undermined Islam. They imposed western ideas and way of life and our society began a system of decline. But the colonialists succeeded because our people mingled Islam with elements of disbelief *Kafirci*. Now the Europeans, have left but their system of disbelief *Kufr* has prevailed.

**Citizen:** But

Muslims have stuck to their way of life with and without colonialism.

**Zeenat:** No, Islam is being sabotaged by the imposition of this western system of life. That was why Malam (her husband) called us to join this Islamic movement, to find our roots, restore our Islamic culture and shun the *Kufr* (disbelief) system imposed on us by the colonial masters. We are committed to ensuring that Allah's religion triumphs over heathen practices and disbelief.

**Citizen:** What are the strategies for establishing this new Islamic order

**Zeenat:** We have a multi-dimensional

strategy. It involves preaching and teaching. The men go around and preach to a mixed audience of men and women, while the women focus on other women in their preaching activities. My preaching activities like those of other Muslim sisters takes us to different parts of the country. Here in Zaria we run a primary school for children in the morning and the women in the afternoon. The brothers (men of the Islamic movement) attend evening classes. In addition there are *ta'alam* (study groups) at night.

**Citizen:** These are routine activities all muslim organisations

night".

He added that whoever fights for power was an opportunist, as Sheikh Uthman Fodio said. "Imam Khomeini was not looking for power. It was a gift that came with performance", he said.

To Malam Mukhtar, members of the el-Zakzaky's Islamic movement must exercise patience and retrace Khomeini's steps. He listed patience, integrity love and piety as the qualities the movement needed to develop before it could hope to succeed.

But for el-Zakzaky's doing that doesn't necessarily mean sitting down to fold his arms. "It is not our business whether it happens in our life or that of our children or grandchildren," he said. "Our business is to do our part. Victory is with Allah and He brings it when

He decides. If it is in our hands we will have been able to say when. But as long as we live we shall continue the struggle".

**E**l-Zakzaky, born and bred in Zaria, is in his 30s and is an uncertificated political science graduate of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria (His certificate was withheld because of his Islamic activities — in particular the episode of the "miniature Ayatollahs" that led to the dismissal of several of his followers). Contrary to some reports he has never been to Iran to study nor have any of his current followers. He prefers not to discuss himself. "I have no followers", he declared. "These (meaning the people seated in front of him) are my fellow brother Muslims, and I am a Muslim

individual like any of them". Simple enough, but his message is more complex. And what is it?

In measured and very deliberate tones, he spelt it out. "We have already made a covenant with our Lord in which we sold our lives and whatever we possess in this world", he said. "The materialist cannot understand a bargain with a Lord whom they cannot see, to be rewarded in a paradise they do not believe in".

And if that is what you call fundamentalism so be it. Malam Muhammad Turi, himself a highly articulate graduate of accounting, said: "The Islamic movement," "is calling towards the establishment of an Islamic set-up as opposed to the present Kufr system existing now".

He further said, the future of the world, not just Nigeria, belongs

undertake. So why is there so much antagonism between members of the Islamic movement and the security agencies?

**Zeenat:** As you can see we are a harmless group of Muslims going about our lives as our religion demands of us. But the security agents are harassing us for nothing. They arrest, detain and imprison us on trumped up charges.

**Citizen:** I know your husband, Malam Ibrahim El-Zakzaky was imprisoned for some time.

**Zeenat:** My husband has been imprisoned several times. When he was a student at the Ahmadu Bello University, he was detained for one week. In Sokoto in May 1981 he was arrested, tried and convicted for "inciteful preaching and sedition." He served a prison term in Enugu in 1981. He was

released in 1984 and we got married in July of the same year. That was only the beginning of our problems. During the Buhari / Idiagbon administration, Malam was arrested again and detained. That incident was most disturbing. I was two months pregnant and we were then living in his father's house. Some security agents came and asked to see him. He interrupted his meal, went out to see them and they just took him away. He was detained for nine months without charges. He spent two weeks in a torture chamber before they moved him to Kirikiri maximum security prison. In 1985 when Babangida came to power, he was released.

**Citizen:** Did he write a petition to protest against his detention without trial?

**Zeenat:** Of what use is a protest that will not

bring redress? To show you that the security agencies were determined to make life difficult for us they came back to arrest Malam again in 1987 when the Kafanchan religious crisis took place. We were here in Zaria City unaware of what was happening elsewhere but our house was raided by police. At *Maghrib* (sunset) they came in their vehicles with guns and tear gas as if they had instructions to lay siege on the home of unarmed, harmless citizens. They stayed outside until late at night when they started breaking doors and windows shouting surrender! We came out opened the door to let them in. They took Malam and some brothers who were living with us. I was eight months pregnant but they also took me along with seven other sisters. After

sometime the women were released but Malam and two of the brothers were arrested in our house were brought before the Karibi-Whyte tribunal which tried the people arrested for the Kafanchan riots. They were not in anyway involved in the riots but they were imprisoned just for belonging to the Islamic movement. Malam was sentenced to five years in prison but he spent four years and six months and he was released. The constitution of this country guarantees freedom of association so why are we being harassed? I was informed that the police discovered that Malam and the brothers were innocent and regretted their action. But then it was too late. They should leave us alone because no amount of intimidation or repression and oppression will deter us

to Islam. Being an Islamic state, he said, was nothing new to Nigeria. "Less than 200 years ago," he said, "Nigeria was an Islamic state. It shall happen again in future."

**Y**et though admiration for an Islamic state is strong among all the members of the Islamic movement, the strategy for achieving it is not as clear cut. According to el-Zakzaky the way is to continue "doing our duty" which is preaching the truth, according to the dictum of the Qur'ani method of "enjoining good and forbidding evil." That will take time to bear fruit.

Malam Hussein Abubakar, an el-Zakzaky's lieutenant in Bauchi, said, "Our goal is to establish an Islamic state," he said. "Or perish in the attempt."

While initially Islamic effort tended to confine itself to the domain of the divine and left Caesar's turf untouched, el-Zakzaky admitted that it was the Islamic Revolution in Iran that provided inspiration and gave new light. "It became clear after the Islamic inspiration that the struggle must be from without the system," he said, "If you do it from within you have to play the rules of the game, and very soon you become part of the game."

The resemblance in tactics employed and the open declaration of admiration for Iran inevitably led to the charges and labels of the members of the Islamic movement being Shi'ites. Dismissing these charges el-Zakzaky said "they (the authorities and the media) gave us this name in order to alienate people

from our movement. Of course they portray the name to mean something bad," he said. "We are not saying there is anything wrong with the name. But we are saying that we haven't given ourselves such a name."

"We are not Shi'ites," Malam Hussain said. "But today at the SSS office they have a file on me stating that I am Shi'ite. This is very funny. All other people give themselves names except us. I declare to you that I am not Shi'ite. If I were I would declare it openly because I fear no one."

In debunking the imposed label el-Zakzaky's group got unexpected support. "These young people don't even know what Shi'ism is," said Sheikh Abubakar Mahmoud Gumi, spiritual leader of the *Izalatul Bida'ah wa Iqamatis Sunna*. "They only

from our goals of creating a just Islamic society.

**Citizen:-** What form will this Islamic society adopt in a multi religious society?

**Zeenat:-** The Islamic movement has no artificial, geographical barriers. Darul Islam (the home of Islam) is worldwide. Here in Nigeria our conception of the society is nationwide and it's applicable to all aspect of the muslim's life. If we as muslims adhere to the tenets of Islam, Allah's religion will triumph and even Christians will be happier. The fear of Islamic society expressed by Christians is due to their ignorance of the religion. If they know it and they see Muslims living according to the rules of Allah's religion the Christians will admire them and all will be well.

**Citizen:-** Please give us a brief background of your life and your

philosophy.

**Zeenat:-** My father is from Ibadan and my mother is from Bida. I have lived all my life in Zaria. I was born here and had my primary education at the Saint Georges School here in Zaria, from there I proceeded to government Commercial College Muchia, Zaria then to Katsina College of Arts and Science. After graduation I enrolled at the Institute of Administration ABU Zaria to study Banking but I was expelled for "inciting preaching."

**Citizen:-** And you did not make an attempt to return to school or do some home studies?

**Zeenat:-** No, I have ceased to admire western system of education but my Islamic education is continuing. Malam is my teacher and that of many sisters and brothers.

**Citizen:-** Why is he

able to exert so much influence over Muslim youth, male and female.

**Zeenat:-** Simple. He adheres strictly to the tenets of Islam. He treats the women with compassion and understanding just as Islam enjoins all Muslim men to do. Malam helps us with the household chores and the brothers are emulating him. Our men do not oppress women so why shouldn't we feel special? If only all muslim men would treat their women with the compassion we receive the society will be happier. My philosophy of life is to live in peace according to the tenets of Islam. No compromise.

**Citizen:-** What do you do for a living especially in those times your husband was in prison?

**Zeenat:-** I am a full-time housewife. But I do some dress making to

supplement our income. The material things of life are not a priority with the members of the Islamic movement. We believe in Allah and he provides for us. I can't take up a salaried job because I have my children to look after and I don't believe in abandoning my children to maids. They are a trust from Allah and I intend to execute that trust to the best of my ability.

**Citizen:-** Who looks after them in your absence when you go to teach and preach?

**Zeenat:-** There are muslim sisters who look after them when I go out and I do the same for them when they go to attend to their own needs. We are a community of Muslim brothers and sisters who help each other. I have three children, one girl Nusaibah and two boys, Muhammad and Ahmad.

By Bilkisu Yusuf

admire what happened in Iran, but in reality there are no Shi'ites in this country."

To be a Shi'ite, Gumri said one must prefer Sayyidina Ali bin Abi Talib above all companions of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW) and insist that all forms of leadership and guidance come from the progeny of the Prophet. Several members of the Islamic movement told Gumri that the name Shi'ite was first applied on them by preachers of the Isala' sect in 1981. Tired that their campaigns and polemics against Tasuruwa' sermons were wearing thin, and fearful that the rising tide of students' Islamic activism would drown them, the members said, Isala' preachers for a time put sermons aside and began castigating the brothers.

While the Shi'ite tag may take time to come off if it will, a more serious affair for the Islamic movement appears to be the widely held view by people that they are violent. Owing to the Maitatsine disturbances, people seem programmed to expect violence from any Islamic event; often the view is helped by the almost certain skirmish with security forces that follows attempts by el-Zakzaky's Islamic movement to preach or demonstrate.

"There was never a time when this movement went against any group of people — Muslim or



Sheikh Gumri: unexpected support

Christian," el-Zakzaky said. "We do demonstrate against anything we feel is contrary to Islamic principles when it is applied upon us. But there was never a time when there was what you might call a clash between us and any one."

El-Zakzaky felt those who accuse his movement of violence simply allow themselves to be taken in. "What type of violence?" he asked. He took a typical example — what happened in Katsina. There, he said, there was a demonstration by Muslim brothers against a publication and against an utterance. "We were not even demonstrating against the Daily Times of Nigeria or its other publications," he said. "We were only after Fax Times, the magazine in which the Holy Prophet and Jesus were insulted." And even according to reports, when his followers stormed the Daily Times' office they impounded and burnt copies of Fax Times and withdrew peacefully. "Then after the demonstration there was violence by police," he added. "Policemen rioted. The papers and even the government blamed the Muslim brothers for the crime committed by the police. Ask the people of Katsina, who bear your people, threw tear gas into your houses and kindled fire to public buildings? They would tell you it was the police."

If what el-Zakzaky said was accurate it only proved one thing: it was a difficult thing to win the propaganda war against the government. But a more than that, even some Ulama' accuse the government and security agencies of making worse a situation they consider to be already bad. "Why do they keep molesting these young people?" One of them asked. "If you threw him into prison at the slightest opportunity why should you be surprised that his movement grew. It is your fault."

Some of them say the authorities should leave him alone so long as his methods are peaceful. Other observers who do not wish to

be identified, however, say it will be extremely difficult for the government to fold its arms while someone publicly declares that he does not recognise its legitimacy and authority and even advocates open rebellion to its laws.

But for others the solution is easy. Malam Mukhtar who regards the phenomenon as more of an economic problem advocates an economic solution. He warned that unless government draws up a blueprint to cater for the Muslim brothers' psycho-social frame of mind, it will continue to misunderstand them and their problem. "Provide them with means of learning trade and make easy for them means of social mobility," Malam Mukhtar said. "They want to get married and take care of their families. And if they had a profession or something to do, they would put more of their energy into it."

Many of them are married and have children. Inevitably the charge is made that they are sponsored by Iran. "We do not receive funds from any source outside or even inside the country," Malam Hussain Abubakar said. "Certainly our brothers do not look like those who receive funds from abroad." El-Zakzaky himself said once a journalist suggested that Iran must be sponsoring the Muslim brothers. "I threw back the question at him," he said. "Tell me, how much money will you be given in order to join the movement considering the danger and the risk of even being killed? Of course he was not ready to accept any amount."

Malam Hussain added, "if the authorities look to the efficiency and effectiveness of our programme, the response of the people and the failure of hardships to stop us at all, we conclude that we must have foreign support, it doesn't make sense. Many things that have foreign support in the country hardly function. Our effectiveness lies

our commitment. And money can't buy that."

This commitment could be seen in the discipline exhibited by the members of the Islamic movement and the respect they show to their brother leader. Throughout the long interview for this story, there was pin drop silence as he spoke.

Many of his followers are educated; some are graduates like him. Malam Mukhtar said they were always found to be intelligent high achievers with an acute sense of recognising and reacting to social inequity. Most of them forsook family and friends in order to come and live near him.

**D**espite the local popularity with, or the power wielded by a distant lieutenant over, brother members he would always preface statements with phrases like "as my teacher Malam Ibrahim el-Zakzaky said". During the fracas with Colonel John Madaki, governor of Katsina State, one follower was quoted as saying that if el-Zakzaky gave the order that he be brought, he would be brought. "If not, it would not be for lack of the attempt".

By chance or by unintended design, followers of el-Zakzaky have come to be identified with the abandonment of modern western schools and shunning employment especially with the government which is seen as a corrupting *taghut* that cannot be reformed from the inside. This charge has been denied, and indeed many do attend schools and some do work.

However, el-Zakzaky's movement has not all been smooth sailing. While the authorities and security agents continue to harass and, perhaps, infiltrate the cadre of his supporters, an internal disagreement which began two years ago has effectively split it in two. While the network of the Islamic movement appears to have remained intact, several individuals, some of them prominent have left. The renegades

or deserters as they are seen from the inside have made no attempt to form another Islamic movement even though most of the individuals maintain they are still loyal to the ideals that brought them together in the first place. But why did they leave?

Most of them say they left because they detect a lack of direction in the leadership. "While we have remained true in professing to establish Islam in our lives", one of them who wishes to remain anonymous said, "we have reneged on all the other things we promised to do". He listed the lack of a clear-cut academic programme and the wearing of zeal in pursuing a programme of self-purification. Another alleged that the leadership is wallowing in opulence and

Abubakar Maimujalla, secretary of the Islamic Unity Organisation, el-Zakzaky and his group are people dedicated to Islam. "They mean to work for Islam but most often they transgress bounds due to ignorance and immaturity", he said. "Besides this I have no other complaint against them".

Mukhtar Abubakar, however, attributed all their shortcomings to some sociological reasons basically because he saw their whole phenomenon as a sociological problem.

"One can say that el-Zakzaky's group is that of a motivated frustrated and, to a large extent, impatient youth who, by their nature want truth and they want to see things in their correct, pristine form", Malam Mukhtar said. "As a

---

**In debunking the imposed label el-Zakzaky's group got unexpected support. "These young people don't even know what Shi'ism is," said Sheikh Abubakar Mahmoud Gumi, spiritual leader of the *Izalatul Bidi'ah wa Iqamatis Sunna*. "They only admire what happened in Iran, but in reality there are no Shi'ites in this country."**

---

luxury. But in the unfurnished parlour where el-Zakzaky sits with his followers and receives visitors, evidence of luxury was sorely missing.

Outside observers who had never been members have mixed and varied views of the movement. They range from the flattering to the outright condemnatory.

Alhaji Mustapha Muhammed, a retired federal official and an admirer of el-Zakzaky, said, "These boys are the best on the Islamic scene. If only they can learn to be more mature and not allow themselves to fall victims to the plan of their enemies". He didn't elaborate.

According to Malam Suleiman

result they are itching to bring about a premature change. They are bad midwives."

Everybody seems to have accepted the fact of their commitment and potential, but the majority appear wary of their methods. Hajiya Nana Mahmood, a pharmacist in Abuja, said members of the Islamic movement had some ideas that should be examined for the betterment of Muslims. "But those ideas must come through a gradual process," She said. "El-Zakzaky is running a personal government and claiming to be a representative of Muslims. "He should share his knowledge through reasonable and tolerant teaching."



## Tafawa Balewa crisis

## Witnesses, memoranda galore

Three months after the carnage, few people believe life has returned to normal

At the Bauchi multi-purpose hall, for the past three weeks it's been a parade of all shades of memoranda and cross-examinations. Mr. Justice Bolarinwa Babalakin Commission of enquiry looking into the April 22 crisis in Bauchi State knows no rest. They may not, for as long as the sitting lasts. In the first two weeks of the commission's proceeding, *Citizen* learnt, it has been able to dispose-off only about ten memoranda out of about 96 sent in by individuals and organisations. In essence, the commission may need another eight weeks to conclude the presentation and cross-examinations of persons who have their memoranda recorded.

What are the causes of the April 22 crisis? As far as the submissions of various persons are concerned, the commission will find out that other than being, as widely reported, a straight forward religious face-off, the crisis is mainly an ethnic one that found comfort in religious sentiment. This is also not conclusive. For the "Sayawas" killed even their tribesmen who are Muslims". The government of Bauchi state doesn't agree.

On Tuesday, July 16, Alhaji Umaru Alkaleri, Director-General in charge of security at the Government House, appeared before the commission to defend government position. Even though it was the government's prepared memoranda, one contradiction was easily noticeable. While the state governor and other officials keep stating that normalcy has returned to all the areas affected by the crisis,

Alhaji Umaru maintained, under cross-examination, that "normalcy has yet to return to Tafawa Balewa three months after the crisis". And the main reason, he said, was because the administration at the Tafawa Balewa local council has been unco-operative of government's efforts. He told the commission that the chairman of the local government, Mr. Habila Lumana's attitude verges on sabotage, for he has been thwarting "efforts to resettle those displaced during the disturbances." He didn't stop there. He accused Mr. Lumana of "appearing indolent and unconcerned about the plight of his people." To all these, Mr. Lumana was later to reply that "it was just an attempt to ridicule me."

Alhaji Umaru maintained government's stand that the crisis was ethnic and not religious. He however agreed that religion and the issue of an abattoir were an extension of the problem. It is more

an ethnic thing, he said, because since the Sayawas' assumption of the headship of the Tafawa Balewa local government it "significantly changed the political equation in the area and set the scenario for the disturbances". And that is because the "elite Sayawas" whose opinions are respected have concluded that the Hausa-Fulani are responsible for their economic woes.

One consensus that all the memoranda could be said to have reached is that something must be done about the Tafawa Balewa local council. The government wants a short term dissolution and transfer of the local government administration "until security is back to normal". Muslim Youths and other Muslims of Tafawa Balewa are calling for an outright breaking of the local government, as the only way lasting peace can be guaranteed. A former commissioner in the state, Dr. Bukata Rayghan Adamu thinks the way out is the creation of "chiefdom" for the Sayawas; one that would be free from the "interference and oppression from the Bauchi emirate council". The Anglican Bishop of the Bauchi Diocese, Right Rev. E. Chukwuma blames the totality of the crisis on the "usual" unfriendliness of the Bauchi people to strangers and Christians. The Muslim youths of Tafawa Balewa think it's the "barbaric nature of the Sayawas" that came into play. For Malam Danazumi Musa, a lecturer at the Bauchi Polytechnic, apart from the need to transfer the Tafawa Balewa L.G. headquarters to, say Bununu



Gov All: life returning to normal?

"and adequate compensation to victims is made and law and order restored," he emphasised that the crisis must not be seen as a direct confrontation between Christians and Muslims because the case was that of "Christian Sayawas against other tribes who are Muslims living or working in Tafawa Balewa." But, just what is the situation in Tafawa Balewa three months after the crisis?

**T**hursdays are market days in Tafawa Balewa. For a local government headquarter, the July 16 market day can easily pass for an unknown village market. It used to be busier before April 22. In fact, even the place the market is situated now used to be the town's central motor park. What was the market is still lying in ruins — the

businesses peacefully. All these look weak on the face of the various structures that could once be called houses. Besides, those that have fled are still staying away. Tafawa Balewa may, indeed, not be a ghost-town, but it looks like a police town.

From the motor park, now on the outskirts of the town, to Bununu Road, where the police station is situated, the most noticeable set of human beings are the police. *Citizen* found out that there are about five police units; two groups are of the ordinary police while the remaining three are mobile — including the Quick Intervention unit. An officer who heads one of the units, in an answer to a question said that although their presence is not a sign of normalcy, it is a sign of government's assurance to the people that their lives and property

are not returning, despite constant assurance from the government. A reliable source in Tafawa Balewa attempted an explanation. He says since all the houses destroyed are still lying as they have been since April 22, the owners may just be waiting for the compensation the government pledged to pay before coming home to put up new buildings. One other reason, the source adds, is that those who fled find it difficult to believe that the crisis is over. In other words, the tense mood that took over the town has not changed. Certainly not with threats, said our source, coming from outside the town, with a vow to strike at any time. We also got confirmation that most workers that fled the town have either decided to come to the town during office hours and then leave for neighbouring towns of Bununu, Bogoro, Das and even Bauchi or have resigned voluntarily — for, they have not been seen ever since. The local government chairman wouldn't comment, outside what he told the Commission.

The Central Primary School, which is close to the market and the First Bank branch office, which is facing the police station have been affected by the crisis. The population of the pupils has dropped. Before April 22, class six used to have seven arms (A-G), but the school now operates three arms (A-C). At First Bank along Bununu Road, a source said they are just managing to continue with business. The bank which used to make 50 transactions in a day now barely makes five. "People have stopped coming to us. They now choose to go to Bununu where there is a Nigeria Arab Bank branch. Those who choose to stay, only operate on skeletal basis". That is the situation that has now forced the management of the Bank into writing to its headquarters at Kano to report about its precarious situation.

By Rabiu Barde in Bauchi and  
Tafawa Balewa

## Tafawa Balewa may, indeed, not be a ghost-town, but it looks like a police town.

result of the rioting of April 22. When we inquired why the market was not witnessing the expected activity of such a day, *Citizen* was told that "since the economy of the town — of which the market is the main locale — is dominated by the Hausa-Fulani, who have fled the town in the wake of the crisis, Tafawa Balewa can't be expected to be the same." So, is that the normalcy that is being talked about?

A day before that Thursday, Governor Abu Ali was in Tafawa Balewa. The governor seemed impressed by what he saw. He couldn't understand why people keep saying that Tafawa Balewa is a ghost-town. In essence, life in the town is now normal. Of course life has returned to normal. But not the normalcy known, the type that gave way to disturbances on April 22. Granted that people go about their

are secure. However, as far as the DPO is concerned, the presence of his men is a normal thing, because "even in Bauchi there are police."

Alhaji Ado Musa, the chief Imam of Tafawa Balewa central mosque was at the commission in Bauchi on Wednesday July 17. He told *Citizen*, just like he told the commission that Tafawa Balewa is far from being normal. Alhaji Ado who said he had been away from Tafawa Balewa since the 26th of April, maintains that there is no talk of their going back home because "our houses which were burnt down during the crisis are still unrepaired; and until they are back to normal we may not go back". He disagreed with Governor Abu Ali that Tafawa Balewa is now normal, saying that the governor "only says what he's told by his aides."

We tried to find out why people

## Africa leadership prize

# A prophetess' honour

First Lady Maryam Babangida was recently rewarded in far away United States for leading the struggle against hunger among women at home

A prophet, goes the aphorism, is never recognised in his own country. This in a nutshell tells the story at home of Mrs Maryam Babangida's pet Better Life Programme for Rural Dwellers, which she initiated in 1987. At best it has been received at home with a cold cynicism and worst a court action was even brought against her for "wasting" the tax payers' money.

But her recognition was to come from outside. In far away United States, a jury was evaluating her work and when it was done, scored her very high. On July 15, in Lagos, she was given the Africa leadership prize for the fight against hunger. A Kenyan woman, Dr. Wangari Maathai was a joint winner.

Mr. Chester Crocker, chairman of the selection committee of World Hunger Project, who announced the award said during the ceremony that Nigeria's first lady was one of the most energetic mobilisers of the women folk. The former US assistant secretary of state for African affairs had this to say: "She is both a visionary and an effective organiser on both national and continental scale". According to him, the Nigerian president's wife drew her inspiration from her knowledge of the rural woman being a vital factor for human development.

Mr. Crocker picked for special mention Mrs. Babangida's initiative in getting the UN's Economic Commission for Africa, ECA, in 1989 to host Africa's first regional conference for women. Over 48 countries were in attendance. In addition, she was seen as "a rallying point for the



Maryam Babangida and one of her pet projects

aspirations and contributions of the disadvantaged".

It took the World Hunger Project recognition to open the eyes of the Nigerian population blinded by cynicism to the "immense" contribution of this "traditional housewife" to the upliftment of the lot of the disadvantaged women folk. Writing in *Daily Times* (July 25) M.C.K. Ajuluchuku, a self professed fighter for the cause of the poor had this to say of her: "No first lady in the past had sustainably concerned herself with the plight of underprivileged and hunger-stricken Nigerian women".

Tajudeen Kareem the same day wrote on *The Guardian's* "Focus" page: "She is no doubt the first wife of a Nigerian head of state to have projected her personality so forcefully on the nation's conscious-

ness". He went on to state the gains of the Better Life Programme 7,635 cooperative societies, 997 cottage industries, 1,751 new farms, 487 new markets, 419 women centres and 163 welfare programmes.

Before Mrs. Babangida, former head of state, General Olusegun Obasanjo had won the prize a year earlier. It carries a cash value of 100,000 American dollars. Asked by a foreign news correspondent what she would do with the money, the first lady replied that she has not had time to think about what to do with it. But she assured that when she eventually did it would be to advance the cause she had been fighting for which she has been rewarded.

By Tawey Zakka  
with agency reports

## Inauguration of Islam in Africa Organisation in pictures



Generals Gado Nasko, Shehu Yar'adua and Alhaji Ado Bayero, Emir of Kano at the ceremony



Malam Usman Bugaje, (right) first scribe of the IAO exchanging views with Dr. Muhammed Saleh Hussein (several) and Munnammil Sani Hanga

History was made last Monday, July 22, when the Islam in Africa Organisation was launched in the National Mosque, Abuja, to serve as a forum for Muslims in Africa to tackle their problems.



A cross section of guests

The inauguration was performed by President Ibrahim Babangida, represented by the Minister of Federal Capital, Abuja, Major-General Muhammadu Gado Nasko. The Chairman of the occasion was His Royal Highness, the Emir of Kano, Alhaji Ado Bayero.



Amira Lateefat Okunnu, Deputy Governor of Lagos State and Hassan el-Tourabi of Sudan

# Revision of voters' register

Problems of logistics have persisted in the on-going revision of the voters' roll which was exactly two weeks old last weekend

Eligible voters went to registration centres in trickles; the voter's card and writing materials were in short supply most of the time and cases of officials abandoning their posts have been reported.

At the Hayin Banki ward, registration unit of Makama Road, Unguwan Kanawa, code number KD 782 G, the booth was poorly constructed and could not even accommodate the registration officer. Damina Ibrahim, the registration officer, said he lacked a chair and a table on which to sit and write and this forced him to shift base to a nearby house. He also said that he could not display the old voters list because no board, gum or pins were given to him, and that he worked alone.

At the Gabasawa ward, registration unit of Kankia Road, Unguwan Sarki Musulmi, there is no KD 0707 registration booth at all and the registration officers are sitting on a single long bench with

their working materials. They said that they had run out of registration forms but were ordered to continue registering voters regardless. They too could not display the voters' register because they were not given the materials to do so. In their unit, the voters turn-out was impressive.

And at the Sullubawa registration unit of Katuru Road, the names of voters were displayed and it went ahead smoothly; only that they too had moved to the Borno State Government Lounge, because it provided them shelter from the rain.

Two registration officers shared one booth at Wurno/Rabah registration unit, Gabasawa ward, code No. KD 33 A. The booth was officially assigned to the officer at Wurno/Rabah unit, but his colleague at the Wurno/Runka unit, who happened to be without one joined his friend in his. They too could not display the register for lack of board and gum. Turn out this week, they said was an improvement upon the previous weeks though it was still unimpressive. The Resident Electoral Commissioner, Professor Pious Sada, told *Citizen* that that all polling stations were given the same amount of materials but problems arose because some units were more populated than the others.

Commenting on the general low turn-out of voters, the commissioner said the response was high; but because eligible voters were not evenly distributed, there was always a rush at the initial

stage followed by a slow decline and picking up towards the end. He said it had been completed in some villages.

Asked about a newspaper story which said the federal government was planning to reduce the number of voters, Professor Sada said it was not true. He stressed that the government was committed to seeing that eligible voters are allowed to discharge their civic responsibilities.

On the role of traditional rulers and communities, he said he was satisfied. The leaders were helping by encouraging people to come out for the revision. This is however, contrary to a report accredited to him in *The Reporter* newspaper, last week, where he was quoted as condemning traditional rulers for meddling in the revision.

The situation in Kaduna gave Governor Tanko ayuba cause for concern. He called a meeting on July 24 with Professor Sada and his MAMSER counterpart at which he expressed concern over the shortages and absence of staff. Such lapses, he said, have given rise to "a culture of suspicion and fears. The governor directed MAMSER to begin a massive enlightenment campaign to sensitize people to the importance of the revision.

Later that evening he made a television broadcast in which he stressed the need for eligible voters to perform their civic responsibility. Switching from an appeal to a threat, Colonel Ayuba said that "any civil servant (in the state) who is not ready to register has no business being a part of this administration".

By Kolawole Fatai  
and Abdullahi Usman



Aliyu: NEC Secretary

## Umanah Vs Abbe

## Who took the balance?

Ekanem Umanah, the Port-harcourt money spinner refutes governor Abbe's figures and set in motion a controversy...

**T**he ongoing controversy over the exact amount that was washed away in the vaults of the controversial Resources Managers Limited, discovered July 17, may have set the stage for another major scandal, which may have far-reaching effects in highly placed quarters. Indications are that some Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) officials, who supervised the counting of the money recovered by security agents from the 13 Abe Road strongroom of the company, may have some questions to answer.

Following the shocking discovery, July 17, Governor Godwin Abbe, had led securitymen, members of his executive council and CBN officials drawn from Enugu, Owerri and Port Harcourt, to count the money. According to the governor who addressed journalists after the counting exercise last week Tuesday, 77,109,750.00 Naira was recovered. But a few hours after the governor's announcement, Ekanem Umanah, the managing director of the company who has been behind bars since May 20, sent a note to his lawyer Mike Ozeikhona refusing the governor's figures. Umanah said he kept a total of 271.1 million Naira in his safe. According to the hand-written note he sent to Ozeikhona, Umanah insisted that 260.7 million Naira was kept at the Abe road "strongroom" while another 10.4 million Naira was in the Ikwerre Road office of the company. Umanah suggested that some Central Bank officials and security agents may have played smart when he said "we understood that the main strongroom in Abe was broken into by 10.00 am but the governor was invited to the premises by 4.30 pm, what happened at the interval between 10.00 am and

4.30 pm?" Weighty questions for the police and Central Bank officials who have insisted that the figures the governor disclosed to the press was what have been found so far. So where is the 84 million Naira that represents the difference between Colonel Abe and Umanah's figures?

The crisis of confidence engendered by disparities in the claims of Umanah and the police dates back to the beginning of the controversy in May. While Umanah said he had about 560 million Naira as deposits belonging to about 440,000 customers of which he lodged in his bank accounts in Port Harcourt and Lagos, the police claimed that they could only trace about 309 million Naira. There were however, those willing to resolve the doubts in favour of the government. Samson Akpan, a Lagos trader, believes that Umanah's aides may have kept away some of the money for their own use. But this is a remote possibility given the fact that all the senior management staff of the company who are likely to know the location of the "strongroom" have been in detention since May 20. Umanah, may, however, prove his case when he finally goes on trial for what police authorities call "illegal banking" contrary to the provision of S1 and S27 of the Banking Act of 1969. Section 1 of the said law prohibits anybody or company from carrying on "banking business" unless he is duly incorporated in Nigeria and "licensed to do so by the minister of finance". Section 27 of the Act also forbids unlicensed persons or company from advertising for deposits. If Umanah goes on trial for these two offences, he risks upon conviction "a fine of 100 Naira



Umanah (top) and Ozeikhona who is telling the truth?

for each day during which the offence is committed" as provided by S1 (3) of the Act.

He will also be "liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years or a fine not exceeding 40 Naira" for advertising for deposits.

By Bolaji Adebisi



## Ondo State Head or tail, Ekitis have it

Other ethnic groups in Ondo State concede the governorship to the Ekitis

All things being equal, an Ekiti indigene will become the governor of Ondo State come December 1991. This is because the two political parties, the National Republican Convention, (NRC) and the Social Democratic Party (SDP), have decided to put all their eggs in one basket — the Ekiti basket. And this is a throw-back of the ill-fated second republic. The Ekitis who make up about 53 percent of the state had in 1979, in deference to Chief Obafemi Awolowo, conceded the governorship of the state to octogenarian Michael Ajasin, an Owo and choice candidate of the late sage.

As compensation, the Ekitis were given the deputy governor slot and this was filled by Chief Akin Omoboriowo. But the gentleman understanding was that since Chief Ajasin was aging, he would not seek a second term and will thus, leave the coast clear for the Ekitis to occupy the governor's seat in 1983. This was not to be, as Chief Ajasin with the backing of Chief Awolowo bid for the post again in 1983. A series of cross-carpetting took place leading to the bloodbath of August 1983 when in a "miraculous" landslide victory Akin Omoboriowo, who by then had transferred his allegiance to the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), was declared the winner of the governorship election. The "electoral victory" was later to be reversed by the judiciary. Since then, the Ekitis have been waiting in the wings for an opportunity to occupy the driver's

seat in the Ondo State governorship bus. Even the military has not helped matters. Bamidele Otiko, the Naval Commodore who succeeded Chief Ajasin in the wake of the Buhari coup, is from Akure. Other governors have come from outside the state.

For the Ekitis therefore, the third attempt at democracy offers them another opportunity to provide leadership to the state. So far they are succeeding because no one from the other ethnic groups, (Akure, Akoko, Owo, Ondo and Ilaje) has shown interest, at least openly.

The Social Democratic Party, which is the leading party in the

in the Ekiti South local government area appears to be the leading contender in the SDP. Going for him is his early start in the contest and the support he draws from the old horses of the Awo political clan which presently controls the state party secretariat under the chairmanship of Mr. Kayode Blessing, an Idare. In fact, Olomilua was slated to succeed Ajasin in the ill-fated second republic. However, keen watchers of Ondo's slippery political terrain opined that the state secretariat's support for Olomilua may boomerang if care is not taken to assuage the discontent of his opponents who feel that it is unfair



Olajide

state is parading seven aspirants namely Ambassador Bamidele Olomilua, Professor Opeyemi Ola, Chief Olaniyi Ajayi, Dr. Kunle Olajide, Dr. Jide Akinyemi, Professor David Oke and Chief Dele Adu.

The NRC has a lesser crowd of two aspirants in Chief Ayo Ogunlade, a.k.a. Adegbemile, and Chief Gilbert Akinyede. Ambassador Bamidele Olomilua, a 51 year old diplomat and an Awolowo loyalist, from Ikere Ekiti



Ajayi

to the party helmsmen to take sides.

Another damper for Ambassador Olumilua is a cocoa scandal in which he collected the sum of 300,000 Naira in 1989 from a foreign company, Niger East Enterprises Limited for the purchase of cocoa beans, a contract which he could not fulfil. A court action by Niger East Enterprises led to Olumilua's company, Ben Hope Ventures Limited being asked to pay the sum of 71,250 Naira to Niger East. But Olumilua was

imperturbed. Said he to *Citizen* in his Ikare home: "there is nothing about it, people are just making a mountain out of a mole hill and that wastes our ignorance because most of the people who are voting do not know anything about the issues that are before them. They are only moulding".

Kunle Olanipekun is a successful medical practitioner and a director of the prestigious Group of Medical Practitioners, Ibadan. A self-styled "arm-chair critic and a commentator", Olanipekun said of his situation: "I am not the atmosphere of the time to more so than I used to be. This is why I have decided to come out and contribute my own share in the development of Ondo State". His youthfulness and unblemished background would appear to have garnered considerable support for him among the youths who seem determined to wrestle political power from the old brigade.

There is Dr. Olajide Akinyemi, a 47-year-old indigene of Ekiti in Ekiti North local government area of the state. Believed to have the best organised secretariat and a well coordinated campaign strategy, Akinyemi is reported to have the whole support of some politicians at the federal level and so he is well financed. He showed considerable political weight in the last congress elections when he successfully unseated Chief Olu Falae's Ilesa Ward from Dele Olumilua who happens to be Falae's candidate.

He told *Citizen* that he is propelled into politics by his urge to make Ondo State a technologically advanced state.

Another newbreed in the race for the Ondo government house is Chief Olaniyi Ajayi, a 47-year-old economist, business administrator and computer system analyst. He was also an ex-commissioner for local government and chieftaincy affairs between 1984 and 1985, in the state. Ajayi believes that his past experience in government would assist him in transforming the state

from its historic backwardness. Consequently, he plans to see to it that the bitumen deposit in the state comes out on steam and that the limestone belt which is shared with Ogun State is developed to give room for a cement factory. The bitumen, he said, will not generate revenue but will also help in the development of roads since granite chipping is found abundantly in the state, and this in turn will aid industrialisation, when all the roads are tarred.

Analysts told *Citizen* that Chief Ajayi's chances would have been brighter if he had started early. However his trump card lies in his personality and the fact that he comes from Oyo local government and the Ondo North Senatorial District which happens to be the home base of Chief Ayo Ogunlade a.k.a. Adegbemile, the NRC strongman in Ondo State.

**T**hrough all the governorship aspirants are from Ekiti, the balancing act has to be performed within the Ekiti North Senatorial District where five out of the seven SDP gubernatorial aspirants come from. The five; Professor Opeyemi Ola, Dr. Kunle Olajide, Chief Dele Adu, and Chief Olajide Akinyemi, said observers, must reach a consensus and present a formidable candidate if they do not in the first place want Ekiti North Senatorial District to miss the opportunity of producing a state governor for the first time and secondly if they do not want a landslide defeat from the NRC if Chief Ogunlade who hails from the same Senatorial District emerges as the NRC flagbearer.

Two other old breeds within the SDP who are part of the jostling for the government house are Chief Dele Adu and Professor David Oke. Dele Adu, 51, was a member of the National Assembly between 1979 and 1983. David Oke, a professor of English, who abandoned the classroom for politics in 1978 was a senator in the second republic.



Ogunlade

These two, analysts say, have to contend with the towering influence of Olumilua and the determination of the youth to douse the fire of the old brigade in the SDP.

The struggle in the NRC is not as intense as in the SDP. The battle line is drawn between two well known politicians — Ayo Ogunlade, a Chief and one time minister of information and culture, and Chief Gilbert Akinyede, a Lagos-based legal practitioner and former Action Group strongman. Of the two, Ogunlade appears favoured to clinch the party's ticket. Analysts point to his efforts in improving the economic backwardness of the state by establishing industries which could generate employment opportunities for the indigenes of the state.

As for Gilbert Akinyede the terrain may be rough just because his establishments are in Lagos. He is an indigene of Ode-Ekiti. Investigations revealed that his being in the NRC is not unconnected with his belief that the only channel through which the mantle of leadership can fall on him in Ondo State, is to move out of the Awolowo camp. But as his main opponent Chief Ogunlade said, "Chief Akinyede, though he fought for the creation of Ondo State, did nothing to nurture it". Well, that issue will be decided by party faithfuls come August 24.

By Bolaji Adebisi  
with Akinke Akinyele

Yusuf Ladan

# Broadcaster for all seasons

Media librarian, presenter, playwright, producer, artiste and manager, Alhaji  
Yusuf Ladan *Dan Iyan Zazzau* excelled in all

I got involved with playwriting accidentally, as some people say", said Alhaji Yusuf Ladan. "As a librarian at the Broadcasting Company of Northern Nigeria (BCNN) in 1962, I helped to present children's programmes on both radio and television. At one point, the producer of my television programme was worried because the writer of his scripts, an undergraduate student of the University of Ibadan, was going back to school, so I offered to help out". According to Alhaji Yusuf, playwriting in the early 1960s wasn't such a sophisticated thing. "We just moot an idea", he said, "then collect artistes, give them roles to play and we go over to the studios".

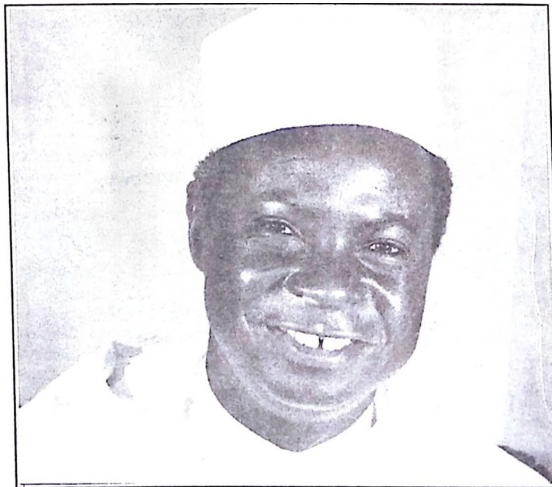
From this accidental beginnings, Yusuf Ladan went on to greater things. "My boss, the head of sound", said Ladan, "did not like what I was doing for television, since I was a radio staffer. At a point, he said I should do for radio what I was doing for television. I therefore wrote a pilot copy of *Zaman Duniya Iyawa Ne*, which was accepted, and we started". This programme went on to

become one of BCNN's greatest productions in the 1960's and 1970's, reaching record audiences and creating great fictional characters. Many of the episodes were also reproduced as photo comics, which Yusuf Ladan also wrote.

Stumbling into broadcasting wasn't Yusuf Ladan's first career accident. Born at Danmaigauta village in Bakori district, present-day Katsina State, in 1935, Yusuf Ladan went to primary school in Zaria and soon afterwards appeared at the Kaduna trade centre, to be interviewed for admission into a bricklaying course. This centre's principal refused on account of the pupil's tender age, and instead recommended that he be sent to a Middle School. Yusuf Ladan arrived there in 1954 and four years later, went on to the institute of administration, Zaria. After qualifying as a Third Class clerk, he joined the Northern Nigeria ministry of education and moved to BCNN as a librarian when it was established in 1962.

Although he went to BCNN as a librarian, Yusuf Ladan ended up in broadcasting. "I was kind of discovered", he said, having presented children's programmes over and above his own duties as a librarian. "I was transferred to become an announcer, but because I showed more interest in programming, I was again transferred to programmes, all within two years of joining BCNN". At programmes, he also shuttled between departments, including music and drama. He started as a junior producer and rose through the ranks, ultimately becoming the head of sound in 1976. (In the jargon of the BCNN at the time, "sound" meant the radio division).

Alhaji Yusuf came to occupy this position for many years because "there was no other position to go to". In 1982, by which time the station had become part of the FRCN system,



Ladan: accidental road to greatness

federal radio stations were established in the states by the Bagege regime, each headed by a general manager. On account of the size of the NTA's Kaduna news and programmes division, the respective heads became general managers. Ahmad Yusuf was appointed the general manager of programmes and held the position until 1967, when he became general manager of the Kaduna State Broadcasting Corporation (KSBC). Last April, he retired after 29 years in broadcasting.

I will say that quality has improved because we have more people now. These days, an individual may have one programme a week to produce and has all the time to concentrate on it. In the early years, we made a lot of sacrifices.

In that long and eventful career, Yusuf Ladan said "there were no low moments; it was all very exciting, probably because we were the pioneers". The famous radio station where he worked was in the thick of at least two dramatic events while he worked there: the coup of January 15, 1966 and the 1977 attempt by the then federal commissioner for information, Ayo Ogunlade, to restrict the radio to medium wave broadcasts. Of January 15, 1966, Yusuf Ladan said, "I was there, though I was then not an announcer. Only announcers and engineers encountered the soldiers directly because they came to work at 4 am. When they arrived, soldiers were all over the place. Later on, the rest of us came. We were searched and then allowed in. The soldiers ordered the announcers to play martial music. Then they took away some officers to One Brigade headquarters to record Nzeogwu's broadcast, which was brought back to the station and played. Nzeogwu never came to the station".

Ladan was also there in 1977 during the Radio Kaduna imbroglio. "We all felt very bad then", he said. "The Ogunlade plan was not put forward because our station interfered with Nigeria Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) broadcasts, as some say, but partly because of the power of our transmitters. At the time, we were owned by the states, and they wanted to restrict all state stations to the medium wave, say of 10 kw, so that none of them could be as powerful as Radio Nigeria or the Voice of Nigeria. But at the time,

we had a 250 kw medium wave, a 250 kw shortwave and another 100 kw medium wave transmitter. It was powerful; our signal spilled over into Niger, Cameroon and even the Central African Republic. However, our listeners in those countries were all Hausa listeners. They do not listen to our English broadcasts. We also know that they enjoy our programmes, for we receive their letters. Nor did we broadcast anything contrary to the policies of the Federal Government."

The campaign to reduce the Kaduna Radio to size was led by Ayo Ogunlade, while its most outspoken defender was Group Captain Usman Jibrin, military governor of Kaduna State at the time. "We were thankful at Usman Jibrin's support", Ladan said. "He was a staffer of the BCNN before he joined the Airforce". The Obasanjo regime responded to the public furor by removing the minister and accepting the governor's resignation from the airforce. The affair also led to a reorganisation of the broadcasting system in the country. BCNN was taken over by the federal government and merged with the NBC.

Through all these tumultuous episodes and years, Yusuf Ladan does not think that the quality of radio programmes in the country has fallen. "In the early years", he said, "we had many constraints. Equipment was not adequate and there were no vehicles to move around. Staffing was also inadequate. I will say that quality has improved because we have more people now. These days, an individual may have one programme a week to produce and has all the time to



Jibrin: lost his job for the radio

concentrate on it. In the early years, we made a lot of sacrifices. We worked from morning to night, going over from one programme to another. I had to produce four programmes every week". He admits, however, that modern-day producers may suffer from distractions unknown to the pioneers. "Today", he said, "for economic reasons, when one works here, he also has something else going on somewhere in order to make ends meet. Salaries alone cannot suffice. This may affect the quality of programmes".

Some other factors no doubt affect the quality of broadcasts, such as over-centralisation in the NTA.



**Moddiba: former DG, FRCN**

"Broadcasting is meant to inform, educate and entertain", said Ladan. "The information should first of all be local; one should know what is happening around him before going over to another area. As for entertainment, we should know the type of programmes that will entertain people. You cannot entertain with a programme that is alien to me. NTA prime time is dominated by network programmes. Local entertainment is mostly shown at a time when no one has the time to sit down and watch, except perhaps children".

Yusuf Ladan's attitude towards FM radio stations, generally considered to be the electronic equivalent of junk magazines, appears to be one of considered tolerance. "FM stations" he said, "are all right for commercial purposes and for the entertainment of teenagers. It is true that serious minded people wouldn't sit and listen only to music. These stations may not reflect our cultural values, which is why they are for

teenagers who do not appreciate our cultural values". In that case, why should public funds be expended to support them? Alhaji Yusuf says, "When you go to a market, there are so many things you see which you don't like, but other people like them. You should give others a chance".

**S**hould broadcast media be privatised or commercialised, in line with current trends in various sectors? Yusuf Ladan said of this, commercialisation may be all right, but privatisation may be impossible given the cost of running them, especially the television stations. Their commercial activities will not be able to sustain them, but it may subsidise some of their overhead costs".

Alhaji Yusuf Ladan holds the traditional title of *Dan Iyan Zazzau*, and therefore has some positive things to say about traditional rulers. "The institution of traditional rulers should continue as it is", he said. "You cannot democratise it, for if you do so there will be elections and therefore divisions. They are supposed to be fathers of their communities; they shouldn't be partisan". So, why not scrap the institution entirely? "Those who argue in this way do not know their value" he said. "An emir is the father of all his subjects, whereas an elected governor is the father only of his supporters. If the governor wants something done, he can at best appeal to his supporters, while the emir can appeal to all his subjects".

The great broadcaster's position on military rule is also one of considered toleration. "We make a mistake these days when we think the military are not fit to rule", he said. "They are well educated politically and they feel they can contribute to the nation's stability. If you go to Jaji, you will see that they are not just preparing for war, but for leadership generally. However, I do not support military rule. Nobody supports dictatorship".

Alhaji Yusuf Ladan, married with many children, retired from the public service in April, this year. Does he intend, as is now the vogue, to go into politics? "Even facially", he said, "I am not cut out for politics. If I promise you a running tap of porridge, I will like to make sure you have it". What then will he be doing? "I will try to grab a job somewhere", he said. I wouldn't know if it will be another media job, but I have no plans for self-employment". Probably because, after 29 years, the great broadcaster, now out of a media station, is like a fish out of water.

**By Mahmud Jega, Mohammed Bomo, and Bilkiu Yusuf**

South Africa

# What now?

At last the truth is out, black on black violence was the handiwork of South African government

**A**fter months of denials, the government of President F. W. De Klerk admitted last week that it was secretly funding the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), to incite black-on-black violence.

Law and Order Minister, Adnan Wlok said government funded IFP activities to undermine the African National Congress (ANC). He said a total of 600,000 dollars was spent over the past six years to support Inkatha and its affiliated trade union, the United Workers Union of South Africa (UWUSA). The money was in addition to 100,000 dollars paid to sponsor two IFP rallies, first in Durban in 1990, shortly after the release of Nelson Mandela. The second was at another Durban rally in November 1989.

Mr. Wlok said that the money was drawn from funds earmarked by the government for campaign against sanctions. He said government believed that an organisation such as Inkatha would have made a significant contribution to the fight against sanctions.

The *Weekly Mail* had revealed July 18 that the South African government had given Inkatha at least five million Rand to undermine the ANC.

The scandal revealed the extent of Chief Buthelezi's involvement in escalating black-on-black violence.

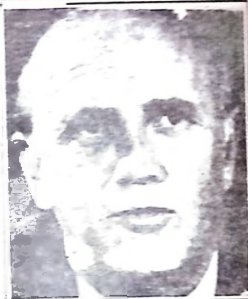
The revelation has drawn a fire from a broad political spectrum inside and outside South Africa. The Anglican Archbishop of South Africa, Desmond Tutu has called for

the resignation of de Klerk and his law and order minister, Wlok. He has also called for a judicial commission of inquiry to determine the depth of de Klerk's involvement. The call by Dr. Tutu has found support in the pro-apartheid Conservative Party which also expressed disgust at the scandal and called for the government's resignation.

ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, who feels justified by the revelations is furious. He said the negotiation process between the government and the ANC may be on the line. In an ultimatum to the government, the ANC demanded among other things a multiparty inquiry into the secret funding, resignation Wlok and Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan. The ANC also wants under cover armed units used against government opponents to be banned before it can take part in any talks on the country's future. Mr. Terror Lekoa, a new member on the ANC executive committee said Wednesday that the revelation had demonstrated to the world that the racists could not be trusted.

Wlok has offered to resign if it would help the negotiation with the ANC.

Chief Buthelezi, whose party is at the centre of the storm had initially denied knowledge of the secret funding but later confessed and promised to return the money. M.Z. Khumalo, Chief Buthelezi's personal secretary for 15 years resigned Tuesday after admitting that he took the money without telling his boss.



De Klerk: the racists can't be trusted

As soon as Chief Buthelezi's Khumalo admitted knowledge about the payments, the auditor general confirmed it. He said the money was paid from secret accounts operated by Foreign Affairs Minister P. K. Botha.

The scandal did not come as a surprise. The ANC has long accused the racists of backing the Inkatha Movement. The township violence between Inkatha the ANC has claimed over 10,000 lives since 1986.

The racists have always turned a deaf ear and instead blamed the ANC leaders for not doing enough to put a leash on its followers. The west preferred to believe the government.

Mandela told Journalists shortly before he left for Spain, the Caribbean and Latin America that he had told de Klerk many times that his government was involved with Inkatha but that he had ignored him.

As the world watches patiently on how de Klerk would ride the crisis and bring back on course the seemingly paralysed peace process on the future of the country all he could say was that he would make a statement after the meeting of the state security council.

By Abu Mommoh with agency reports

# Madagascar

## Who is in charge here?

The opposition failing to get President Ratsiraka to step down sets up its own alternative government

The pro-government *Le Journal de Madagascar* said last week that it was impossible for "two heads of state and two governments to cohabitate" and warned that President Didier Ratsiraka, as "sole holder of power" might be forced to declare a state of emergency or even martial law. Parliament dominated by the president's ruling coalition last week threw out a draft legislation on martial law but approved the lesser of the two evils: an emergency law.

Announcing the state of emergency in a radio broadcast on July 23, prime minister Victor Ramahatra said, "Monday excesses have forced the government to decree the state of emergency to restore peace in the capital," Antananarivo and environs. The emergency measures included a night-time curfew, a ban on public assemblies, house arrest and authority to carry out house searches at any time of night or day.

The very first victims of the new law were officials of the "alternative government" set up by the opposition 16-party Lifeblood Committee after it failed to get the president to surrender his powers to a transitional government at a meeting with him in the capital on July 15. President Ratsiraka's response then was to ask for time to consult with his government and his Supreme Revolutionary Council. The opposition did not grant him that but instead named its own government in the capital.

Former army general Jean Rakotoharison was named president and Professor Albert Zafy, a heart surgeon, prime minister. Those two and the opposition-named post and telecommunica-

tions minister were arrested almost soon after the state of emergency was announced. The appointment of the alternative government was the climax of a series of mass rallies which the opposition has staged on an almost daily basis since June 10 to try to force president Ratsiraka to step down and to scrap Madagascar's Marxist constitution adopted since 1975, when he came to power.

The Lifeblood Committee, though backed by the larger section of the population has been unable to unseat the president for three reasons. First, the top brass of the army is solidly behind him. On July 17,

nations of a president and prime minister were a "bluff and political farce". Third, France, the former colonial power, is irresolute on the political crisis in this country located in the Indian Ocean. While it says it favours a transition to democracy in Madagascar, it also wants president Ratsiraka to continue in power for "several months" yet. In Paris, there exists a strong lobby for the opposition. As one observer said, the French government "does not know who to support because the situation is (still) very confused".

Those factors may only be a

---

### The very first victims of the new law were officials of the "alternative government" set up by the opposition 16-party Lifeblood Committee after it failed to get the president to surrender his powers to a transitional government at a meeting with him in the capital on July 15.

---

generals and other senior army officers issued a communique saying that they did not recognise the opposition-named president and prime minister. Second, the opposition itself is divided. Sociology lecturer Manandafy Rakotonirina's leading opposition party, Movement for Proletarian Power, has also withheld recognition of the alternative government, saying the nomi-

temporary setback to the opposition. Whether president Ratsiraka, who in 1989 was re-elected for a third seven-year term can withstand the "wind of liberty" now blowing across Africa any better than his former colleagues in Benin and Mali, only time will tell.

By Tawey Zakka  
with agency report

## Middle East

## Peace by piece

Conference to resolve the Middle East crisis gathers steam, on Israel's terms

For the past couple of weeks, the Israeli Prime Minister, Mr. Yitzhak Shamir, had talked of nothing else but peace. After several talks with US Secretary of State, James Baker, Shamir said peace talks with the Arabs could "begin within a month or two." He told Israeli television that the possibility of an international conference to resolve the 43-year old conflict was made possible by Syria's "changed attitude" towards the Zionist state.

He likened Hafez Assad of Syria's new position of direct negotiation with Israel to that of late Anwar Sadat of Egypt who not only signed a "peace" accord with Israel, but became the first Arab leader to step on its soil. The fact that the accord cost Sadat his life and that there is no peace, is apparently lost on him.

Nevertheless western commentators were quick to point out that Shamir's attitude was the strongest indication yet that Israel might accept the same US "peace" proposals that Israel rejected last year.

The seven industrialised nations that met in London weeks ago had also spoken of a new world in which the United Nations, now virtually an American tool, be strengthened to effectively police the world in what it termed "preventive diplomacy." More pragmatically, the Group of 7, posing as peace brokers, had called for the suspension of Arab boycott of Israel in return for the halting of new settlements by Israel in the occupied territories.

But why is Israel and the west now reticent about peace talks? Isolation is one reason. Shamir is facing growing opposition at home over

his single-minded policy of non-accommodation. This has led to an open face-off with his foreign minister, Mr. David Levy and some liberal-minded clergy.

Another is the military superiority of the Zionists over their Arab neighbours. With the Arabs thoroughly cowed and occupied in the aftermath of the American war in the Gulf and the emasculation of Saddam Hussein and the PLO, Israel and the west are in a strong position to obtain "peace" on its own terms. This is why, like Egypt, Syria is being softened as the new champion of peace in the region.

Besides acquiring new weapons in the name of defence, America has continued to arm Israel even as it peddles its "peace" proposals. In May, President Bush announced "plans" to restrict arms sales to countries in the Middle East and the UN security council met in Paris in July ostensibly to find ways to make the region a nuclear-free zone. But Dick Cheney, US Secretary of Defence, on a visit to Israel, contradicted them all by saying that the US would pay three-quarters of the 300 million dollars that Israel needed to develop its arrow missile system and give Israel another 10 F-15 fighter planes.

It is notable that in his last statement on the possibility of the conference, Shamir avoided the two reasons that Israel had used effectively to scuttle all talks of peace; the exclusion of both the PLO and the UN from the proposed talks. Baker had advised the Israeli leadership to accept the talks, possibly to be held in Washington, and resolve the two



Shamir changed attitude?

issues later.

Israel does not want any UN participation, a point which Syria had consistently insisted upon, because neither Israel nor the west had accepted nor implemented the numerous UN resolutions to return Arab and Palestinian lands. Besides, the US is still in the Middle East imposing 15 or so UN resolutions against Iraq. To accept UN participation would be to expose itself to many of its resolutions it had disobeyed with impunity.

The other issue which has put Israel in a strong bargaining position is the intimidation and emasculation of the PLO from the talks. Israel has insisted that it would not deal with the PLO because it considered it a "terrorist" organisation even as it daily massacres Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

It would be interesting to see how the "peace" plan would be worked out without the PLO. As the Secretary General of the PLO, Mr. Jama Sourani, told *Citizen*, the US "peace plan denies the Palestinians their rights to self-rule, to choose their representatives...it means no more than an attempt to give time to Israel to bring in more settlers, build more settlements and change the demography of the occupied territories in Jerusalem."

By Mohammad Bome  
with agency report

## Banking

## Hardship in the East

**Mass sack of workers by Mercantile Bank sends junior workers of banks east of the Niger on strike, and hardship into the streets**

It could probably pass for the strike of the year, not because of its effectiveness, but for the mode of its execution. Unlike other industrial actions, which are usually announced and well advertised in advance, it came stealthily, like a thief in the night. For eight full days it persisted, forcing millions of people to languish for lack of cash. Customers of banks in the five eastern states of Akwa Ibom, Anambra, Cross river, Imo and Rivers, were literally swept off into hardship when they woke up on the morning of Friday, July 12, and walked into a secretive strike by junior workers of bank offices in their areas. From the remotest parts to the urban centres east of the Niger, junior workers of the affected financial institutions simple dressed up and went to their workplaces, only to loiter and chatter outside their offices, or to warm their chairs, doing nothing. Hardest hit were bank branches with a minimal number of senior staff.

Some of the bank branches, such as the United Bank for Africa's Agbani Road, Enugu office chose to lock their doors and appeal, through handwritten notices on cardboard sheets, for the understanding of their customers. But others, among them, African Continental and Allied banks, were able to devise ingenious ways of weathering the storm. By fully mobilising their senior staff, such banks were able to offer skeletal services, such as withdrawals, to their desperate customers. Such fortunate customers were, however, usually to leave behind their pass

books for some necessary entries by the junior staff after the industrial action. As the strike progressed, with no visible signs of ebbing out in the next few days, it became increasingly difficult for those not well connected in the banks with which they transacted business to get attention. At least two fortunate bank customers, one in Enugu and another in Aba, confessed to *Citizen* that they were able to make withdrawals only with the assistance of the managers and accountants of their bankers, with whom they shared cosy personal relationship.

Those who had no godfathers in the banks, however, suffered no end, even from day one of the industrial action.

Just as individuals suffered for the strike, so did business. At usually bustling markets like Ogbete in

Enugu and Ariaria in Aba, the crowds thinned out considerably and sellers mourned the low purchasing power of buyers. Those who were able to make sales were forced to take the security risk of converting their pillows into emergency vaults, while company sales executives gnashed their teeth, as it was almost impossible to get paid for services rendered. Lamented courage

The surprise industrial action, according to *Citizen* investigations, had its roots in the sack, on Wednesday, June 26, of 300 staffers by Mercantile Bank Nigeria PLC. The sack, announced in a press statement by Mrs. G.B. Ibanga, Mercantile Bank's public relations Manager, and dated June 28, affected three management staff, 90 senior, 31 intermediate and 176 junior staff



Gov Abbe and Baffa of the Union Bank

of the company jointly owned by Airwa Ibom and Cross River states. Mrs. Ibanga said in the statement that the mass purge was part of "far reaching reorganisation in the bank" and sequel to a "drastic in-house self-disciplinary measures aimed at putting the institution back on a firm footing".

The National Union of Banks, Insurance and Financial Institutions Employees, did not, however,

believe her. The union alleged that the rationalisation exercise had political undertones and that top officials of the bank had already concluded arrangements to replace those sacked with their relatives.

At the bank's imposing headquarters along Calabar-Abe Road in Calabar, our correspondent was referred to the Public Relations Manager, who was absent. He then sought audience with the general

manager, but was prevented from doing so by the private secretary to the chief executive. The secretary, a lady, accused our correspondent of gatecrashing into her office and maintained that no pressman could see the general manager unless he was permitted to do so by the public relations manager.

By Isaac Umunna in Calabar, Port Harcourt, Aba, Umuahia, Uyo, Uboru and Enugu

## NNDC

### "Comfar" for staff

A joint seminar on computer model for feasibility analysis and reporting "COMFAR", commenced last week Tuesday at the prestigious Banqueting Hall of Durbar Hotel, Kaduna at

The course was planned and organised by the New Nigeria Development Company (NNDC), and the United Nations Industrial Organisation (UNIO). The workshop, the first of its kind in NNDC, was organised to train forty executive staff from NNDC and the eleven States Investment Companies of Northern Nigeria to "increase their skills and abilities in industrial project preparation, analysis and appraisal using the computer software; expose participants to modern methods and techniques of project preparation as well as the application of the practical skills in the day-to-day operations of their organisations; facilitate and quicken the process of project appraisals and evaluation in order to enable them take off on schedule."

In his keynote and welcoming address, the chairman, NNDC Board of Directors, Major-General Muhammadu Jega (rtd), the Ciroma of Gwandu who also declared the workshop opened, stated that the course was planned to improve the computation of the statement needed

for economic and financial analysis of an industrial project, thus ensuring the best use of capital and human resources as well as utilization of scarce natural resource. He expressed his sincere gratitude to UNIDO for accepting their invitation to run the course and wished the participants a very successful course session.

Michael Davidson, leader of the three man delegation of the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation at the opening ceremony of COMFAR, conveyed the warm greetings of Domingo L. Siazon, Jr, the Director General of UNIDO, to the directors and participants at the workshop and

his sincere wishes for a fruitful training course. In the course of the seminar, the participants will be provided with a manual for the presentation of feasibility studies, a COMFAR manual, a guide to practical project appraisal and a manual for the evaluation of industrial projects. COMFAR was developed by UNIDO and is based on its "standard methodology in project preparation and appraisal as presented in the manual for the preparation of industrial feasibility studies." According to Michael Davidson, COMFAR allows repeated quick computations to analyse the sensitivity of risks involved and a quick approach to optimum solutions and help contract negotiations.

The workshop is unique in the sense that NNDC is a highly homogeneous group, is related to the banking sector, has the same professional background and is from the Northern part of Nigeria. For the next twenty-one days, the participants will learn the complex task of planning, appraising and evaluating pre-investment studies based on UNIDO's methodology.

"This three-week seminar," says Michael Davidson, leader of UNIDO's delegation, "is only an introduction to the important area of investment and may not be long enough to cover adequately all the topics of this wide subject. Nevertheless, the training should give NNDC a greater awareness of the complexities and considerations involved in the identification and



Jega: forging ahead

projects."

Present at the opening ceremony were the chairman, Major-General Muhammadu Jega (rtd), the Group-Managing Director, Daniel Ugbabe, the Executive Director, Management

Services, Babadu Girei; the Executive Director, Planning and Investment, Alhaji D.M. Shehu; the Executive Director, Operations, Alhaji Abdullahi Salihu, the Managing Director, Arewa Hotels, Alhaji Wada

Inusa; the Secretary to the Kaduna State Government, Alhaji Shehu Ladan and the UNIDO delegates, Michael Davidson, Reno Materno and Dr. Suhewajes.

By Abdullahi Usman

## BUSINESS BRIEFS

### MAN's AGM

The Lagos state government has been called upon to review the various levies and charges imposed on industries in the state. The call was made at the Annual General Meeting of the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (MAN) Apapa branch, Lagos last week. The branch chairman, Mrs. M. R. A. Adeleke noted that the various charges and levies imposed on industries in the state could negate the desired economic development of the state.

According to her, industrialists in the state are not against the payment of levies but she

believed that some of the levies were unjustified. Mrs. Adeleke reflected on the past and future of the country's economy and said that unless the Naira exchange rate is brought under control Nigerian Industry would lose its international competitiveness.

She observed that the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) ceiling of interest rate at 21 percent had not had the desired effect because the directive has been flouted by the banking sector.

She therefore appealed to the government to ensure that CBN guidelines on interest rates are complied with by the banks.

### No electricity, no sweat

The Union Tropic Merchants (Africa) Ltd., a Lagos based industrial company is introducing a new innovation in the world of modern technology called "the Nnannah 200 Cordless Pressing Iron.

The Iron has no electric connection but has instant heat up. The advantage of the newly formulated brand iron is that it can be used anywhere in the air, on the sea and on the land. Where there is no electricity.

According to the manufacturer — Union Tropic Merchants, its outstanding conveniences

is that it is invaluable in the rural areas where there is no electricity, acts as a travelling partner to your clothes. It is automatic in operation in that as soon as you press the button, the iron gets hot instantly.

Nnannah 200 Cordless Pressing Iron has an easily controlled temperature for all fabrics as it sets the temperature dial to suit the fabric from silk and nylon through to heavy cottons.

Union Tropic Merchants also recommends Dewport Gas as the only gas suitable for the iron and also for all cigarettes lighters.

### Dream debut

The Minister of Mines, Power and Steel, Air Vice Marshal Nura Imam (rtd) last week in Lagos advised Nigerians to translate their financial aspirations into reality by availing themselves of the opportunities afforded by finance houses.

Speaking at the formal opening of Dream Merchant Finance Limited, the mines, power

and steel minister observed that finance houses are catalyst for a rapid socio-economic development of the country.

He called on Nigerians to identify with Dream Merchant Finance and exploit its numerous financial services.

Earlier, the chairman of the finance house, Air Commodore Layi Atanda (rtd) said that the finance

house was incorporated by private Nigerian investors who believed that non-bank finance companies would enhance the growth of the economy.

Incorporated in December 1990. The non-bank finance house started operation on 26 March this year. Its services include funds management and investment.

By Tola Sunday



Layi Atanda, Chairman DMF



## BILKISU YUSUF

But we are yet to see the back of the BES, rather it has burgeoned into a regular practice, a kind of subsidy the public arranges to "honour" journalists and court favours. So entrenched is this BES ailment that corporate planners now set aside a public relations vote

nothing was forthcoming. They rubbed their hands in expectation and loitered around the hall — nothing. Then one brave reporter summoned the courage to address Hayatu. He introduced himself and expressed pleasure at meeting the chairman for the first time having heard so much about him. He however made it known to Hayatu that he was disappointed to know "you are one of us". The reporter was right because Hayatu told him in no uncertain terms that the issue of brown envelopes did not feature in the publicity committee's budget. How could a senior journalist encourage the reign of brown envelopes? Rather than promote the unwholesome grip of the brown envelope on the press boys, Hayatu was bent on setting a precedent for those organisations who have nurtured the BES to its worrisome level.

Between him and Haruna they agreed to invite the journalists to lunch at the Nicon-Noga Hilton where most of the guests attending the inaugural events were lodged. The offer was not turned down since it was the only option, an unexciting substitute for the envelope subsidy most of the infected journalists have come to regard as their share of public relations, PR vote. But this is precisely where the misrepresentation and distortion of PR begins. Where in any dictionary is PR defined as bribery? If PR includes distributing corporate gifts — diaries, pens, calendars, memo holders and products of the company, in appreciation of services rendered, that is not an anathema. I however challenge any PR consultant to tell me where and when PR became synonymous with bribing journalists to influence news coverage, manipulate public opinion and elicit favourable commentary when such is not deserved.

## Brown envelope syndrome

In the Second Republic, Alhaji Laulef Jakande, the governor of Lagos State was in Sokoto for an official function. The event was well attended, the reception was warm and all the participants hailed the wisdom — laden presentation made by Governor Jakande. As he was about to depart, one of the journalists, he must have been the boldest among the lot, approached the governor and asked him whether he had reserved "something" for "public relations". Being a veteran journalist, Governor Jakande knew very well what that "something" meant. He was disturbed but he suppressed the bile that must have risen from the pit of his stomach. Here at last was a confirmation that the much talked about Brown Envelope Syndrome (BES) had the media in its grip. But even more painful was the realisation that he, a veteran and a puritan in the job was being asked to "play ball". Governor Jakande decided to nip the BES bug in the bud. So he asked the journalist for his name and the media he represented with assurance that his press secretary will do the right thing.

The reporter's high hopes were dashed when Governor Jakande actually did the right thing by personally taking up this unethical behaviour with the local chapel of the Nigeria Union of Journalists, NUJ. The journalist was relieved of his post.

in the annual budget. A every event organised by these corporations "something" is distributed to all representatives of the various media organisations in attendance. That is supposed to guarantee not only routine coverage of the event but also prime pages of newspapers, and magazines or prime air time in the electronic media. So true is this unhealthy dualism of money for publicity and so widespread are the practices that have entrenched it that journalists who shun brown envelopes are becoming extinct. An endangered species in their commitment to uplift the profession and restore the integrity of journalists, these puritans are confronted everyday with evidence of the failure of their laudable campaign.

I witnessed a milder re-entrenchment of the Sokoto episode recently at Abuja. I was privileged like several of my colleagues, to be a member of the publicity committee of a newly established non-profit, non-governmental organisation. The chairman and secretary of the publicity committee were media practitioners, one an editor of a national daily, Aiyu Hayatu of *The Reporter*, the other Mohammed Haruna, the Editor-in-Chief of *Citizen*. A press conference held on the eve of the inauguration of the organisation in Abuja, was well attended. With the event over, the journalists looked at each other,

## CONTENTS

All the news in perspective

### SOCIETY

	Page		
CITIZENSHIP	40	MUSIC	45
PRIVATE EYE	41	LIFE	46
POETS' NEST	42	MEDIAWATCH	47
HEALTH	43	SPORTS	48
ARTS	44	DEFINITIONS IN HUMOUR	50



Maroko evacuees: Not comfortable but a home nevertheless. Page 46



**...EXCUSE ME!...  
...EXCUSE ME!...**

**YOU TWO SHOULD STAY  
A LITTLE TO HIS LEFT!...  
... WE 'LL MOVE A LITTLE  
TO HIS RIGHT!...**



**... Y'SEE, WE MUST LEARN FROM HISTORY!...  
...THE FIRST AND SECOND REPUBLICS FAILED  
BECAUSE THE OLD POLITICIANS' WEAKNESS  
WAS TRUGGERY!...**



**... YOU'RE QUITE RIGHT!...  
... THAT'S WHY THEY FAILED!...  
THEY WERE OLD AND WEAK!**



## NTA's missing millions?

**Y**ou have heard about the cost of hosting the OAU summit. About money spent on generator sets to fire up street lights, accommodation, protocol, communications, and transportation.

You have also heard about the construction of 300 units of houses, the presidential wing of the Abuja International Airport and of course the 50 breath-taking Mercedes Benz limousines and the 100 motorcycles imported for the occasion by Julius Berger.

But have you heard about NTA's seven million Naira? I will tell you. You see, the government knowing the poor state of NTA and the sensitivities of its 30 million viewers, decided to give it a helping hand in buying much-needed equipment to ensure uninterrupted live coverage of the summit. After all, you can't have all those dignitaries going home without a copy of probably their last moments of glory.

But let me tell you that but for the ingenuity of the engineers of NTA, the coverage of the summit would have been a full-blown disaster. During transmission, the Outside Broadcast van that brought the summit live to many homes simply exploded from exhaustion and old age.

I have it on good authority that as the summit approached, a man who loves to call himself the son of the tiger asked the NTA and other government organs of information to put in what they needed in terms of equipment to ensure that the summit was captured in full colour.

For these organisations in the throes of partial commercialisation and badly cash-strapped, it was an opportunity to refurbish their rusty and aged equipment and redress, at least the NTA, their tarnished programming image.

The NTA needs totalled 26 million Naira. The government through its son urged them to prune down their demands. The NTA said 16 million Naira was its bottom line. It was bluntly told to "manage" with seven million Naira. Furthermore, its proposals to buy the equipment itself was brushed aside. It was told that an arrangement had been made on its behalf for the purchase of the equipment. NTA had no choice but to refurbish a 19-year old Outside Broadcast van. Well and good, but the van disagreed with replacement parts and violently registered its protest by blowing up during transmission. Engineers had to work overtime to rig up direct transmission so that the rest of the world



would know the OAU was holding a summit.

Needless to say, to this day, the NTA is still awaiting the arrival of its equipment.

Not only that, the Voice of Nigeria, VON, which only asked for a mere 1.2 million Naira was giving 1.68 million Naira. The authorities there were winkingly told not to worry about the windfall; that someone would "work it out."

The obvious questions being asked are: what happened to the seven million Naira? Who authorised the award of the contract for the supply of the NTA equipment to an Apapa based company with an unlikely name? Where did the extra money for VON come from? Why was the approved expenditure not given to the individual bodies to make their own arrangements?

Now you see it, now you don't.

## Who was it?

**T**he government has set up a panel to find out who or what caused the crash of flight WT 2120 that killed 242 pilgrims along with five officials of Holdtrade and a crew of 14.

Before the panel swings into action there are couple of things worth noting. When government dissolved the National Pilgrims Commission, it said state governments were on their own. So, each called for an air

transport agencies to airlift its pilgrims. Three companies applied, but it soon became apparent that the competition was so fierce that long legs were needed to get the contract.

The federal government that had hands off Hajji, waded in to zone the airlift, thus Holdtrade was given Sokoto and Kaduna states. Whereas in Kano the travel firm had to wait for pilgrims, in Kaduna, pilgrims had to wait for an aircraft. In the end, it was Nigeria Airways that did the job.

There are other matters worth noting. Who is the senior govern-

ment official who ordered that instead of the Nigeria Airways DC10 sent to Jeddah by the minister of state to bring the pilgrims home, the ill-fated DC8 be used?

Who is this official who asked the DC10 pilot to "lose" himself in Jeddah so that he could not be found on the day the pilgrims met their deaths? Who is this official who contracted National Air Services of Canada? Why was Holdtrade involved in airlift after the minister of state had suspended its participation on July 9, two days to the crash? Why? Why? Who? Who?

## Pilgrims and martyrdom

The second air crash involving Nigerian pilgrims in fifteen years occurred two weeks ago in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. The country was engulfed in grief as a day of mourning was declared last Monday to pray for the repose of the souls of these guests to the house of Allah. Our poets mourn their death and reflect on politics of Hajj.

### The pilgrim

Caught in the confluence of dream  
You winked at the baby Arabian sun:  
Flowing in the ancient holy stream;  
You — a Moslem soulfully reborn.

All prayers said, all pebbles thrown,  
The black stone kissed, the Zamzam drunk,  
All sins repented and drowned,  
You're seated in a DC-8 rank.

Home bound, dream-filled, pains cured;  
At the oriental sun you winked.  
O inestimable jewel! bored  
At the hum, at the sun you blinked:  
The Nigerwards sun! Then the abrupt  
Cockpit signal, the swift U-turn,  
Pilgrims whispered; all these did disrupt  
Everything — when it's thought you'd gone!  
Did you scream my angel? Did you  
Recall that very immortal dream?  
Did you recall, as the burning plane flew,  
That everlasting love, ream upon ream?  
Promises uttered under a full African moon,  
Even though the folk tongues had lashed,  
Must have comforted you as soon  
As the bird shook, before it crashed.  
You must have lost all joy  
As everything was suddenly coming to pass  
In the Holy Land; but your boy  
Still feels the pain of losing such a lass  
In a blazing, bursting airborne trap;  
O descended African sun! Holdtraded

To a peril, now an egregious gap  
Grows — just as we earlier dreaded.  
Adieu, beseeching, covered pilgrim!  
Now our souls are agonized, your free:  
Hosted in the Garden; thus our dream  
Barely fulfilled; till I come, I agree.

Ibrahim Sheme

### Flight heavenward

Open your bloodshot eyes to the morn  
From the grave stone  
Rise as does the sun  
Oh heart torn and quartered  
Mother mine!  
Behold the yawning graves  
And the moulted mountains  
Flow in red hot lava  
Towards the plains of  
The day of Judgment,  
Fire-eating monarchs  
Not able to recant  
Their sins  
Now on the day of judgment repeat  
Their recantation  
Of sins committed.  
The moon, stars and sun  
Are merged together,  
Rise from your grave  
Along side your  
headless husband  
And your four newly martyred sons  
In their blood-stained shrouds  
For today the angels-reep moon and stars  
Reap from your fresh palm-tree  
O vine-tree laden with  
The fruit of martyrdom,  
Your being springs  
From the shadow of  
The scions of the  
House of housed of peace (of the Prophet)  
Sans guards, sans poison gas.  
When on your way  
To voice your 'bara'ath'  
Or Abhorrence  
Of idolators—  
When thou shouted  
'Down with Israel'  
Dobath-ul-Sagreh  
Or the Dome of the Rock  
Glowed approvingly.  
But in the eyes and hearts



Of the usurpers  
This called for a penalty.  
For cheering faith,  
Thus imprisoned  
Punishment was meted out  
By the usurpers  
To those who shouted  
'Bara'ath' or Abhorrence.  
Oh Lady seated in the shade  
Of the cypress tree in heaven,  
Mother mine!  
Are you on your way home  
From the Ka'abah?  
You are so much like  
Om-ul-Baneen  
Whose heart, like yours  
Was torn into four—  
Having sacrificed four sons  
In the way of Islam,  
Spread your tear-laden  
Veil over the plains  
Of the Day of Judgment,  
So that saintly ladies  
May pluck stars  
From the four corners  
Of this precious veil  
Now studded with your  
Jemlike tears.  
This veil of yours  
Bears witness  
That never was there  
A screen between  
You and your Creator  
You who were martyred  
In Mecca.  
Having risen to those  
Heavenly heights,  
May you enjoy  
The draught of Holy water  
From the Pool of Kowsar,  
Mother mine!

Anonymous

# Root canal therapy (II)

## What does a root cost?

**P**n the example of the broken tooth cited at the beginning of the article, the fee for a root canal and a new crown typically can range from \$350 to \$600. The fee for extraction and replacement with a bridge can range from \$475 to \$890.

But future problems would make the biggest difference in cost. Bridges wear out, and shaving down adjacent teeth for the bridge abutment—coupled with the difficulty of cleaning around the bridge—can lead to infection, decay, and more dental bill.

Your costs would be less, of course if you didn't have the tooth replaced at all, but this would be a mistake. The gap left by a missing tooth is unattractive, leads to malocclusion (improper bite), and makes chewing difficult.

## What to do when a tooth gets knocked out

Knowing what to do and acting quickly can make it possible to save a tooth that has been knocked out. If

## By Dan Kaercher

you, a family member, or a companion should have a tooth knocked out, here's what to do:

Pick up the tooth by the crown rather than the root and gently clean the tooth with water if possible. Don't use caustic chemicals or scrub the tooth vigorously; you may irrevocably damage the layer of cells on the root surface.

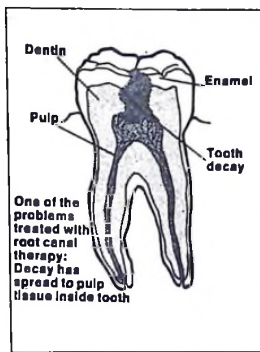
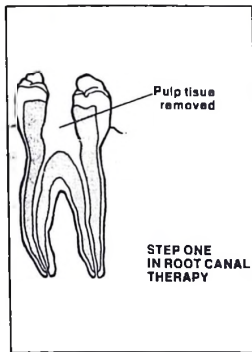
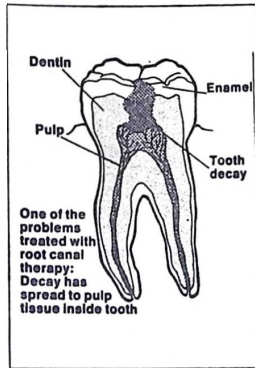
If possible, replace the tooth in its socket and try to hold the tooth in

position while you go immediately to a dentist. If this isn't possible, place the tooth in the mouth next to the cheek (this may sound distasteful, but it's the best way to keep the root cells alive). Or, put the tooth in a cup of water or in a wet handkerchief. The dentist then may be able to reposition the injured tooth in the mouth and reattach the tooth firmly in its socket; he will follow up later with root canal therapy. Once re-planted, a tooth can stay in place for years.

## Can older persons benefit?

According to the American Association of Endodontists, root canal treatment can be especially suitable for older persons. That's because the treatment is less traumatic than extraction which often causes the elderly more difficulties than it does younger persons. Even when teeth cannot be saved it often is possible to save the roots of strategic teeth to anchor bridges of partial dentures.

—Produced in cooperation with  
Lou Joseph



# Big dreams

Abiola Atanda a.k.a. "Madam Kofo" in the TV series "Second Chance" is poised to make a comeback with a multi-million Naira film

On screen is the highly successful businessman who junkets from one world capital to another, arranging deals and sealing others. An illiterate, with problem of communication, she enrolls in an adult education class to improve herself. Here, she meets all sorts of people who she consider not up to her "standard" and they suffer her tauntings. It was a role she played for three years and it made her a star. Even now, five years after the programme was rested, she still enjoys much attention.

"Second Chance", she says "really brought me out". It started the very first day it was aired. "I was going home after watching it at a friend's house when I heard somebody shouting 'Madam Kofo', 'Cash Madam'. I was surprised. Then others in the taxi joined him. I did not know what to do". It was something she got used to.

But for Miss Atanda, the road to stardom was tough. Her father, a wealthy flour distributor in Oshogbo had five wives, and over 25 children and abhorred women education. When Abiola's mother, a Modern 3 teacher, put her in school, it became a constant cause of friction between them, so much that she had to be secretly taken to Lagos to stay with her brother to complete her education. Here, too, another problem arose. The brother never wanted her to take part in drama. He beat her frequently.

Declared "best actress" in 1969 by the then governor of Lagos State, Mobolaji Johnson and awarded a scholarship, the brother ordered her to reject the offer. At the Lagos

Secondary and Commercial Academy, she was made head of the drama society Her incensed brother promptly sent her back to Oshogbo. It was here she finished her secondary education. She had to temporarily abandon drama.

When she started teaching, her interest in drama was rekindled and all through her two year stay in England, "where I studied catering at diploma level", the theatre remained her love. On her return, it was the TV that attracted her more. She got a part as "Mama Aderonbi" in Village Headmaster.

She enjoyed the experience and wanted to go back. But there were no parts coming to her even after repeated calls at the camp. Reluctantly, she switched to live theatre, performing at various times with Olukoso Theatre, Osunmare Theatre and Ogunde Theatre.

But these were mere side attractions. She wanted the Kleigh lights! Her uncle, Bayo Adenle was to later introduce her to Alhaji Arulogun, then manager programmes NTS who in turn took her to Ebony Ajibade, Tade Ogidan and Bode Alalade, (all producers at the time). Under them, she took part in "Ward 15". "Arm-Chair Theatre" and "Mirror in the Sun" before her big break came.

"I met Grace Egbagbe, she recalls, still flushing from the memory, "and she asked me to come for audition in Alalade's office. As soon as I walked in there, everybody started clapping with shouts of 'Cash Madam', 'Madam Kofo', everywhere". That was it. A new star was born.

Then suddenly, in 1986, the



Atanda: tall dreams?

programme was shelved. The reality of her situation dawned on her a few months later. She ran out of money. There she was, popular, known everywhere and hunger was staring her in the face. Who would believe it? She began buying waste paper from newspaper houses to make paper bags and sell!

Then a friend advised her to get a film script, arguing that sponsorship would come easy to someone of her stature. She wrote one, "Eda Ola Ropin" (Human life cannot be predetermined) and for months on end, traversed the length and breadth of the country scouting for sponsorship. Nothing!

She was getting despondent when it occurred to her. Why not celebrate the years on stage and use the occasion to launch a fund for the film? She tried the idea and in the course of looking for a chief launcher, met Alhaji Abdul Jabal Balogun, an Islamic scholar and philanthropist through his sister, Alhaja Amosa Kesinro. "He is the nicest person I have ever met", she enthused.

She got 120,000 Naira, the bulk coming from Alhaji Balogun who donated 25,000 Naira and Alhaji Sale Jambo, 50,000 Naira. She has since gotten an additional 100,000 Naira from Alhaji Balogun for the project.

Miss Atanda needs a whopping 2.5 million for the film.

By Oji Onoko

## A different kind of Reggae

Rootsy reggae vibes, Islamic liturgy find common pasture in Tundey Bright's music

How much cultural content ought to be evident in cross-over music? This is the question that Tundey Bright, a debutante brings to the fore with *Religious Crisis*, his current album.

Ordinarily, the album belongs in the reggae genre; but with an intriguing dimension. Reggae is a highly spiritual music form which has come to be associated with Rastafarianism. As popularised by the late Robert Nesta Marley, the rastafarian creed was heavily beholden to the late Emperor Haile Selassie, the Lion of Judea for inspiration and spiritual nourishment. Reggae, as it were thus emerged as the artistic channel for the expression of Jah's will, the vehicle for Babylon's destruction.

In *Religious Crisis*, however, the heavy pounding reggae rhythm assumes a new utilitarian ken. Tundey Bright wreaks creative violence on the idiom, stamping it instead with grains from his own individual essence and religious milieu. Instead of the Jah chants characterised by heavy borrowings from the Holy Bible, Tundey Bright defines new thematic frontiers which takes account of his own Islamic background as well as the contemporary unease in the religious firmament of Nigeria. Also absent in Tundey Bright's *Religious Crisis* is the conflicted orientation of mainstream rootsy reggae. Tee-Bee's approach is consensual although he is unambiguous in condemning the abridgement of personal liberties.

*Religious Crisis* is a six-track offer. Side "A" consists of the title tracks-*Religious Crisis*, "*Ise-Oluwa*" "*Allah Kakaoruwa*", "*Lalilah hilalau*" and "*Africa's unity*".

The album is thus a condensation of elements from diverse back-

ground-Africa, the Carribeans, Europe as well as the Islamic faith. Charges of artistic apostasy are therefore likely to be hawled at the artist if such are not sustained, then it would be because *Religious Crisis* is also a sibling of the identity crisis that most African musicians undergo; a sift of the diverse experiential orbit of Tee-Bee himself.

"*Salaam Alekun, Muslims: Peace unto you Christians*" he chants in the title track where he pleads for relig-



Bright: musically restless

ious harmony between, the two religions, having peace amongst men as their common theme, Tee-Bee cannot understand the reason for religious crisis. The music, in spite of its evident greenness is moving.

The Yoruba tracks, "*Ise-oluwa*" is more of cross-over music. It's major asset is, it is devoid of the revolting plastic affectation predominant in similar efforts by Nigerian musicians. No borrowed accents; no false airs. Just pure natural Yoruba.

Tundey Bright repeats the feat in "*Allah Kakaoruwa*" - the Hausa

track in side "B". It is likely that Hausa-speakers would find this track particularly interesting.

In "*Songs of freedom*" and "*Africa's unity*" he flays intolerance to truth on the part of those in power and sings about the plight of the African continent. The sound is upbeat and the social commentary is a study in Reggae orthodoxy. Unfortunately however, the lyrics lack real depth.

Due attention is neither paid to prosody nor the need to transcend crass sloganeering. Obviously Tee-Bee would have benefited here from the insight of an adept song-writer.

"*Lalilah hilalau*" must however be held up as perhaps the most successful offering in this album. In this track, the lyrics and the computers are in well-reasoned symphony. It is also here that Tundey Bright's promise most manifests itself. Not only is the beat danceable, the horn-riffs set the right spiritual tone for the music. He combines these with the richness of his Qur'anic education and the zeal of his faith to achieve a rare symphony that should make the track a collector's piece. His crooning voice - Mike Okri - like in texture also acquires a new depth here.

Tundey Bright (Tee-Bee), 23, from Osogbo, Oyo State of Nigeria attended Salvation Army, Saint Francis and Ansar-u-deen Primary Schools - all in Kano metropolis. He then proceeded to Anglican Commercial Grammar School, Osogbo for his secondary education. In 1985, he was in Kaduna to train as a graphic artist and painter before returning to Kano to set up Supreme Publicity - an arts gallery on Ahmadu Bello Way.

*Religious Crisis*, which he says is a culmination of his "musical restlessness" is released on ATB label and is being marketed by Tawakalitu Commercial Enterprises Limited.

By Yinka Tella

## Maroko evacuees

# Without a home

One year after the demolition of Maroko, the housing crisis has taken a turn for the worse

**M**ustapha Okediran, 45, a father of four, was once the proud patriarch of a happy and united family. He owned a modest four-room bungalow in Maroko and was building a second one when Governor Raji Rasaki's bulldozers struck on July 14, 1990. "My world simply fell apart", a sombre-voiced Okediran told *Citizen*. "My world simply fell apart."

It was the first anniversary of the demolition of Maroko and the venue was a dingy uncompleted block of flats at Ilesan Housing Estate in the outskirts of Lagos, the new abode of the Maroko evacuees. In attendance were former residents of Maroko and representatives of such human rights organisations as CLO, CDHR and WIN and Journalists.

Okediran continued with his story, "I was away in Ilesan when Governor Rasaki gave us the one week deadline. I didn't know. By the

time I came back, we only had one day to pack our belongings. But where could I go? When the bulldozers came, I was still trying to pack out a few things. But it was too late. My family scattered. My junior wife abandoned me and sought refuge in the bosom of a police officer. Two of my children are still missing and I don't know where they are..."

As with Okediran, so with thousands of former residents of Maroko whom Governor Rasaki's quit notice caught on the wrong foot. Three hundred and sixty-five days after Lagos State officials sent over sixty thousand families into the streets of Lagos, the chicken has finally come home to roost: in the shape of soaring house rent, homelessness and broken homes.

LivinusOkeke's, 26, presently lives under the overhead bridge over looking the National Stadium Surulere. His travails started two weeks after Maroko was demolished. His landlord came to his one-room apartment one Sunday morning in August 1990 and announced that he had raised the monthly rent from 50 Naira to 120 Naira. Besides, he wanted one year rent in advance. When the one month ultimatum which the landlord gave them expired, nine of the

tenants paid up. But Okeke couldn't. The Apapa-based construction company where he worked was in the middle of a financial crisis and could not advance him a loan. So his landlord recruited some thugs who threw Okeke out of his apartment. That same evening, he found himself under the overhead bridge in Surulere.

Okeke shares his new abode with six other "tenants", all young men like himself. They had pooled their resources together and bought thick cardboard sheets with which they covered both sides of the tapering end. The house thus covered on three sides while the fourth is wide open and serves as a door.

Other makeshift "homes" are also springing up in other parts of Lagos. The ever-busy Ojuelegba round-about provides a ready haven for the homeless. At Oshodi, the pedestrian bridge near the bus-stop has also been converted into a sanctuary for children whose age range between ten and fifteen. In the evening, they converge here and with torn cardboard sheets serving as bedding, go to sleep.

Meanwhile, at Ilesan Housing Estate, the former residents of Maroko, assisted by the Maroko Action Committee, a coalition of such organisations as CLO, CDHR, Nigerian Tenants Association and Women In Nigeria, are forging ahead in their effort to repossess their former home in Maroko. The general leader of the Maroko Evacuees Committee, S.A. Aiyeyemi told *Citizen* on the occasion of the first anniversary of the demolition of their former abodes that the people of Maroko have not given up their struggle. Explained Aiyeyemi, "there are speculations that the Lagos government wants to give out the land to some wealthy individuals. We shall of course resist this".

By Ike Okonta



Not comfortable but a home nevertheless

## MEDIAWATCH

## Libel Suit Adamu Ciroma wins

A reporter's recklessness has cost *Nigerian Tribune* .75 million Naira

A big name makes even bigger news. This is a familiar news value which reporter James Dadzie seized upon to grab a front-page headline in the *Nigerian Tribune* of October 19, 1989. "Ciroma benefited from Societe Generale Shares", the headline read. But it turned out to be one of the factors Mr. Justice Abubakar Datti Yahaya, a judge of the Kaduna State high court used in penalising the newspaper's publisher, African Newspapers of Nigeria for "recklessly" defaming a man who once "occupied prominent positions in this country — governor of Central Bank and a minister".

Alhaji Adamu Ciroma, *Dallatun Fika* was awarded 750,000 Naira general damages and an additional 2,000 Naira for damages suffered from adjournments caused by the absence of the defendant and his counsel in court. In the suit of libel filed in January this year, Alhaji Adamu asked for 2 million Naira. But Mr. Justice Abubakar in his July 19 judgment said that he believed "750,000 Naira is reasonable and will meet the ends of justice in this case".

In the suit, No. KDH/36/90, the plaintiff alleged that the *Nigerian Tribune* of October 19, libelled him in its report on a court case in the Lagos State high court, pitching former Senator Olusola Saraki against a former chairman of Societe Generale Bank of Nigeria, Nathaniel Kotoye. The *Nigerian Tribune* story said Dr. Saraki told the court on October 17, 1989 that he "gave" Alhaji Ciroma and "other friends" of his who helped him get a licence "two to five percent shares" in the bank.

Alhaji Adamu denied the story and demanded a retraction, an apology and restitution. A correction came in the form of a "news update" on January 12, 1990, almost three months after the publication of the story. No apology nor restitution followed. So Alhaji Adamu went to court.

In court, African Newspapers pleaded qualified privilege. Its counsel, Akin Ige, argued that the words which the plaintiff considered defamatory of him were indeed a fair and accurate report of the proceedings of the court. Fairness and accuracy are necessary for this



*Dallatun Fika: recklessly defamed*

defence to succeed. Even if those requirements are met, this defence will still fail if the plaintiff can prove malice on the part of the defendant.

In this case, the *Nigerian Tribune* failed the test of fairness and accuracy. A record of the proceedings of the Lagos State high court showed that Dr. Saraki merely expressed an intention to give Alhaji Adamu

Ciroma and other close friends of his "certain number of shares". According to Mr. Justice Abubakar, the court's record did not even suggest that the plaintiff knew of Dr. Saraki's decision, "not to talk of accepting the shares". This was what the *Nigerian Tribune* story imputed: bribery and corruption.

The judge found the imputation "severely injurious to the plaintiff" because his "status... has been lowered in the estimation of right-thinking men... so much that he could not be trusted to hold another responsible position". On whether the *Nigerian Tribune's* reporting of Alhaji Adamu Ciroma was malicious, Mr. Justice Abubakar said the impression was that it "was going for the jugular vein of the plaintiff".

He upheld the position of the plaintiff that malice was evident in the "substantial" inaccuracy of the newspaper's story, its reversal of the names mentioned by Dr. Saraki to make Alhaji Adamu's come first, its reporter's insistence on the accuracy of his story and a lack of apology. The judge described the reporter's verbal apology in court as "a casual apology", one of no consequence, "a cosmetic move, and a ruse". He believed that "it is a mark of greatness to realise a mistake made, and offer apology to those who have been wronged thereby".

Mr. Justice Abubakar found the conduct of Alhaji Adamu, on the other hand, "one of extreme reasonableness. First, he drew the attention of the defendant to the libel, sought correction, an apology and damages through his solicitors". He waited until the defendant contacted him before he took further action, the judge said.

Such a reasonable man who once occupied prominent public offices, he said, "should not have been so recklessly defamed". The plaintiff did not claim any special or aggravated damages.

By Tawey Zakka

## SPORTS

## Soccer

## Lamentations of a star player

Ace footballer, Adams Jele, explains why Bees are not swinging any more

He used to be a very happy sportsman, doing what he loves best — playing football, but nowadays his face wears a woe countenance of a man who carries an immense grudge over something. Those child-like and flickering smiles that used to play around his lips and give his face a boyish look have almost disappeared.

Adams Jele, an accomplished footballer of many years' experience, whose clinical performance as a defender of exceptional skill has endeared him to the spectators of the game across the country, is sad and angry. But strangely enough, his vein of unpopularity has nothing to do with unfulfilled dreams, declining performance or loss of fortune.

He still plays the game as deftly as when he made his debut at big time football with the legendary Mighty Jele of Joe many years ago. But Adams Jele, whose soccer wit and masterly performance seems to be growing with age like Roger Miller does not feel at ease tussling the round leather oboe to the delight of the audience again. Reason: Ranchers Bees, the club he has given all his bees since 1967 have crumbled and are almost dying, and sadly enough, there seems to be nobody to the rescue.

This ace footballer, who operates best at the central defence, describes the Kaduna based club as a pathetic shadow of its past: glowing achievement which once turned it to a household name. Jele is not only worried that, Ranchers Bees which played in the final of Africa Cup Winners Cup (Mandela Cup) in 1985, are now struggling badly at the relegation zone of the on-going

professional league division one. He is also concerned about the recent misfortune of the club at the just concluded States Challenge Cup final. For the first time in six years



Jele: a defender of emotional skill

Ranchers Bees who have carved a visible profile at the national FA cup final as runners-up, semi-finalists and quarter-finalists, were eliminated at the semi-final by a relatively young amateur division two club — Nigeria Universal Bank (NUB). "We have never had it so bad since I joined the club", says Adams Jele in a subdued tone, recalling also how Ranchers Bees were eliminated at the quarter final of the West Africa Football Union (WAFU) cup in April this year by Okwaku of Ghana. Ranchers won the cup in 1959.

"The problem of the club are many," he says, tracing the genesis of the misfortune of Ranchers Bees to early last year when the foundation of the administrative and

financial set-up of the club began to crumble as a result of crippling crisis. It all began when the programme Alkali Minister Umar Arwa, a business magnate who transferred

the club administration to the club after playing a long distance insurance Corporation (DIC) in 1986, suddenly backed out from financing the club as a result of what he described as dissatisfaction with the way the club was being administered. Things fell apart in the club before the end of last season when its chairman, Alkali Kabir Umar, a senior brother of the proprietor, announced his resignation from

the club. Ranchers Bees were at the verge of disbandment when this year's football season was about to kick-off. A take-over bid by Kaduna State government was engulfed in protracted controversy because of visible resistance from Alkali Arwa. And even with the eventual government take over, Ranchers Bees are still struggling pathetically with debilitating financial and administrative crisis.

"The financial position of the club is nothing to write about. Jele mused with drawn face. "You don't expect players to play with empty stomach and still put in the best. It's just not possible." The du he explains, continues to record dwindling fortune in the league

because the players sometimes stay two to three months without being paid their salaries. Inadequate funding has also affected the quality of the players currently playing in the club. Even few old reliables like himself and evergreen Ayo Ogunlana are now giving half-measured services to the club. They play at the club's home matches but stay back in Kaduna to tend their private businesses whenever their colleagues travel out for away

matches.

Most disturbing and damaging is the total break-down in the administrative set up of the club. If the club is well administered and run properly, Jeje believes that the money being realised from their home matches should place them in better financial standing.

The seasoned footballer however, does not want to see Ranchers Bees relegated to the archives of Nigeria football like

Leventis United and Abiola Babes. "I am appealing to the people concerned with Ranchers Bees or any organisation or government to do something and revive the club.

But Jeje will be more pleased to see Ranchers Bees former financier, Alhaji Aruwa back to the club. "He should come back and take over the club. I know he has done a lot for the club but this is the time we need him most. He should not allow the club to die".

## Teachers' Colleges Games Katsina beat them all

**K**atsina State with its aggressive sports development policy, especially among the youth, has proved once again that success in competitive sports has nothing to do with the age of a state. It demonstrated this with its victory over older states when its youth emerged the over all winners at the seventh All Nigeria Teachers' Colleges Games, held in Katsina town between Saturday July 13 to July 20.

At the end of a week long competitions in more than 10 events, Katsina who was fourth in the 1990 Games — held in Ibadan, came out tops. Its athletes won 15 gold, 18 silver and 14 bronze medal to emerge the winners. Bendel State which was also second last year maintained the same position with 12 gold 11 silver and 13 bronze. Benue State was third with 11 gold, three silver and 11 bronze while last year's winners Oyo State came fourth with nine gold, five silver and nine bronze. This year games, tagged Gobarau '91 brought together Teachers' Colleges athletes from eleven states and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja in the competition organised annually by Nigeria Schools Sports Federation,

(NSSF) an affiliate of International School Sports Federation.

In a speech, the state deputy governor Alhaji Aminu Zayyad Rafindadi declared that, "as part of our interest in the development of sports, the government has championed the course of hosting sporting activities, notwithstanding our limited facilities."

According to the president Chief Samuel Ayela Uwangue, Katsina state which began participating in 1988, a year after its creation has produced two outstanding athletes, Mufutau Hassan and Adamu Bello, who won silver and gold medals respectively at the International Schools Sports Athletic Competitions in Belgium (1990) and Hungary (1991).

From the Katsina experience, NSSF still has a lot of ground to cover before it can effectively implement its programmes of taking sports to the grass roots and its slogan of "catching them young". The poor attendance at its various competitions has greatly lowered the standard of its competitions. Last year in Ibadan only 12 of the 21 states of the federation and Abuja expected turned up. At the just concluded games in Katsina, only ten states and Abuja came and, some



Ayela-Uwangue: President NSSF

of those states like Kwara and Rivers entered for three out of the ten events competed for.

The aims and programmes of the association are also being threatened by cheats, indiscipline and inadequate funding. A glaring case of indiscipline was the refusal of Bendel state football team to show up for final against host state team at the closing ceremony. The Bendel team also held on to the soccer trophy which they won last year. It was not until the middle of the closing ceremony proceeding before they agreed to hand over the cup. Their grouse, according to the NSSF president was because of the decision of the associations executive committee that chess which was featuring for the first time in the competition was non scoring.

By Joe Olajuwon

ADAMU ADAMU S

DEFINITIONS  
IN HUMOUR



## With scoffs like these

**T**oday we live in the Age of Reason, don't we? That's why we were flooded and drowned by it. Reason, reason and more reason. It is its age — under the reign of His Plagiaristic Majesty Ache Raypu. Reasons were given to prove that Thomas Paine did not experience the pain of writing The Age of Reason, because at his age Paine had no reason to write. Get what I mean?

Don't worry, even if you don't get what I mean, I can get what he means. Who's he? He, the coup plotter who also plotted to confess. He failed in the coup plot but succeeded in the confess plot. He succeeded because some of us wanted to succeed — but they failed. And reasons and proofs were given — again. But reasons and proofs are insufficient to make what hasn't happened happen.

A coup plotter confessed. In Abidjan. And so what? When proofs are needed, immigration stamps and hotel bills are certainly not sufficient. An armed robber crossing the border and spending a night will still have the same proofs. Will that also mean he was interviewed a coup plotter? Yes. Proof is a commentary on the Age of Reason and both were not written by anyone. If you have read all this, forget you have. If you haven't, don't. It is only the rantings of of a jealous ant, jealous for an

international award, jealous of the flagship (black sheep?) of magazine journalism and jealous of 99 years of rock solid experience. Leave me alone.

**Age of Reason** — If you quote from one source without credit, that's plagiarism. If you quote from many sources, that's research. But if you quote

many sentences from one source, that's a search.

**Age of Madness** — There is junk; there is serious junk and then there is junk, seriously speaking. You must beat others by scoop or by crook. A double-breasted attack is best, and so, why not by a crooked scoop.

**Age of Suicide** — Condition exposed, apology impossible, delay dangerous, retraction fatal, silence unhelpful. *Symmetry* is often a prelude to cemetery, or is it?

**Age of Scoop** — That which must *orkar* has *orkared*. A scoop is what tries to alter this — publishing the story fast to become first and look foolish afterwards.

**Age of Murder** — Murder is the art of taking what you haven't put down. In humans, it is life; in journalism, it is the unreported but written story; in the art of the scoop, it is a story — all t's crossed, all i's dotted — walking in through the front, or back, door on two legs. And that's a comedy. When it comes in on four, it is a perfect tragedy.

**Age of Watchers** — Tell them off. If watching is passive and telling is active, one from the other equals active passivity. It leads to a smooth highway — down.

**News** — All news now tends toward advertisement. But what's the difference when both

have to be paid for? Isn't it time to give reporters receipt books?

**Advertising** — The advertising business is booming — press secretaries and corporate affairs managers are smiling their ways to millions — and the bank.

**Commission** — Everybody is a commission agent only that the commission has a different name each time. Profit, ten percent, dividend, salary or *dadi da kanka* (take Your cut-yourself).

**Realism** — Accepting what you don't change, changing what you can't accept, and then doing what you like.

## Condolences

I offer my condolences to a nation deprived of leaders who could speak out the bitter truth in times of tragedy. I offer my heartfelt condolences to a nation deprived of the flower of its youth in a preventable mishap. I offer my condolences to a nation possessing leaders who could and did embezzle its millions and yet stoop to pick up pittance sputtered with blood — innocent blood.

May God give refuge to a nation that is victim to greed and carelessness. May God be the protector of a nation whose *ulama* took leave of religion and preaching the truth. May God preserve the fabric of a society whose intellectuals prefer silence to speech, and who, when they speak, indulge in irrelevancies. May God have mercy on the nation that turns its pilgrimage into a pyre. May God accept from the weak their pleas and deal with the arrogant as he may please.

May God grant fortitude to a nation that is bereaved. May God decree that its population increases at a faster rate than selfish designs can decrease. And may He judge in His court all those who are above the censure of the courts of earth. And may He wipe the tears of the meek, and give them peace from distress.

and you thought  
**ASWANI**  
meant clothing?

**you're correct, but just.**



*and the rest?*  
**QUALITY**

**ASWANI TEXTILES - a household name.**



Aswani Textile Industries Limited

P. O. Box 93 Oshodi (Lagos Nigeria).

Factory: Plot 2D, Block A, Oshodi Scheme, Ilupeju Tel: 520560, 520569, 523818

Cable: ASWANITEX Lagos. Telex: 21494 ASWANI NG.

**"Most times I wonder**



**what life'll be without**



**a little help from**



**CAPL"**

For over 30 years, CAPL has been working hard for the well-being of Nigerians. CAPL's comforting presence can be seen and felt everywhere. From the antiseptics we use, the drugs we take, the chlorine that helps provide clean water, the refrigerants and insulators that cool our fridges, to explosives used for constructing the smooth roads we drive on. Not forgetting the dyestuffs that brighten



our clothes, agrochemicals that help put food on our tables, and hard-wearing paints that beautify and protect our buildings - and cars. With a wide range of trusted products manufactured by our four main divisions - Pharmaceuticals, General Chemicals, Agricultural and Paints - CAPL's goal is to make life easier and better for all Nigerians ... and that means you too!

 **CAPL** -improving the quality of life

HEAD OFFICE: 24, Commercial Road, P. M. B. 1004, APAPA, Tel: 803220-2, 803675-6.