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AUGUST 5 - 12, 1991 VOL II NO. 32 N19

Citizen

IGBOS

ARE ANGRY



Ojukwu



Okadigbo

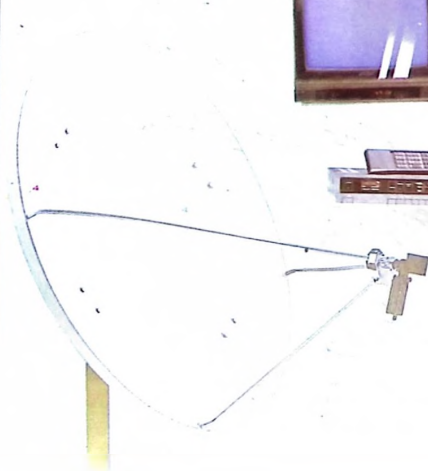


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Citizen

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PREFACE

They are not the sole clamourers for additional states, but right now they are easily the loudest. Indeed it seems they rekindled the latest spate of demands. We are of course talking about the Igbo or at least their spokesmen. Rightly or wrongly they have come to believe that they are yet to be fully reintegrated into the country's political economy following their Biafran misadventure. For evidence they say among other things, that they have been short-changed in the distribution of the number of states.

Whether this feeling of relative alienation is accurate or not, we thought it was worth looking into. And so we sent out Isaac Umunna, Ike Okonta, Bolaji Adebisi, Yinka Tella, Aluko Akinyele and Samson Ojo to talk to a cross section of Nigerians to gauge their feelings on the issue. The most unmistakable thing was clearly the depth of how the Igbo feel about their place in Nigerian politics and economics. Tell them that the average Igbo is no worse off than the average Hausa, Birom, Yoruba or whatever, and you get a look which tells you to "go tell it to the marines".

Citizen does not think more states would serve the nation any good or that it is a definitive solution to the ethnic problem. Indeed with so much left to do in the transition programme and with so little in the kitty, it is a wonder that the authorities seems to encourage the clamour. Even then far be it for us to deny a whole community the expression of their feelings, right or wrong.

In the last cover story I gave the first name of el-Zakzaky, the leader of the Muslim Brothers, as Mohammed. This was wrong. His name is Ibrahim. The error was inadvertent and any embarrassment caused el-Zakzaky as a result is regretted.

Muhammad Haruna

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Citizen, August 5, 1991

LETTERS

Financial Times and Nigeria

Sir

Following the reactions of the *Financial Times* of London, the British and the Nigerian governments regarding the Keeling affair, there is a need for more explanation.

The federal government of Nigeria would do justice to its image by telling us who are against the aluminium smelter plant which the government is very much interested in, being a key to its economic progress. We also require to know how much was spent on the OAU Abuja 1991 summit even though about eighty percent of the alleged amount spent for the hosting of the summit was on the Nigerian soil. However, I believe any amount of money spent on ECOMOG and Sierra Leone is a military secret and must remain so.

Ali Kolo
Maiduguri

The conquerers are back

Sir

The "whiteman" came and colonised the continent of Africa and achieved this with the help of the guns. During those years of colonisation, the continent and its people were subjected to various forms of degradation to the extent of making us beast of burden. However, the wise "whiteman" of today has thrown away the guns, but is now back to colonise us again or has already done so in some parts of the continent, depending on how you view the situation.

This time around, the new form of colonisation is being achieved with aid and loans. We now need UNICEF, WHO, UNDP, Hunger Project etc. to rescue our people from the clutches of death (AIDS,

Malaria, Cholera) poverty, hunger, illiteracy etc. Again, we need loans from IMF and the World Bank (a) to build hospitals, buy drugs and equipment, (b) to provide education for all by the year 2000, (c) for other developmental projects such as roads, housing, energy, agriculture, environment etc.

Because of this, we now receive orders from aid donor countries as to the types of governments, economic policies, educational systems we should install, before we qualify for loans and aid. The results is that we have once more lost our sovereignty and are now economically dependant on loans and aid.

Lawal G. Hassan
Sokoto

Newswatch palaver

Sir

The entire members of the Nigeria Union of Journalists, NUJ, *Newswatch* chapel view with utter dismay recent efforts by a section of the press to tarnish the image of *Newswatch*.



The diabolical attempts to discredit the credibility of *Newswatch*, are based on three assumptions:

a) that Etim Anim, *Newswatch* Senior Associate Editor and a senior member of the NUJ did not travel to Cote d' Ivoire for the magazine cover "Confessions of a Coup Plotter". It was alleged that *Newswatch* may have paid 5,000.00 Naira for the

story

b) that the man the *Newswatch* interviewed was either a con man or a mad man.

c) that Cote d' Ivoire could not be a haven for wanted dissidents.

However, evidence made available to security agencies, and added in the *Newswatch* edition of July 22, 1991, have shown that Anim was in Cote d' Ivoire at the time the interview took place. We are yet to be shown evidence by the section of the Nigerian press which has been making the allegations that Okekumator is indeed a madman or a con-artist, and that he is the same man alleged to have been visiting media houses to sell a fake coup story.

Despite all the proof to the authenticity of the *Newswatch* interview with the suspected coup plotter, our colleagues in other media houses have continued their campaign of calumny against the magazine.

The identical stories which have been published in some publications show that there is a gang-up against *Newswatch* magazine. The tape allegedly in the possession of Fred Chijuka, army public relations officer was passed on to him by a media organisation. We are convinced that these stories and the tape in Chijuka's possession are for inciting the security people against *Newswatch*. Even the ethics committee of the Lagos state council which should act as an umpire in the matter has already taken sides. The committee's letter inviting Anim to appear before it has already concluded that the interview did not take place.

We feel disturbed by the implications of this unholy development for our noble profession.

Chris Uroh and
Nats Onoja Agbo
Lagos.

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.

Meeting the Nigerian challenge



Nigeria, like so many other countries, is going through a tough economic period; a situation that requires creative and innovative management.

Various measures are already in place to turn the economy round in keeping with the exigencies of the times. For instance, emphasis is now placed on local sourcing of raw materials, exports, higher productivity through privatisation and on self reliance in Agriculture and Industry.

And UACN, Nigeria's leading industrial, commercial, technical and agro-based organisation, is naturally in the forefront of the economic recovery campaign. UACN has gone into large scale Agriculture and has consolidated its leadership position in the manufacturing sector. Greater emphasis is given to local sourcing of raw materials and export is being given greater attention.

UAC is an example of the successful blend of Nigerian investment and international participation. UAC of Nigeria Limited with the support of its technical partner, Unilever PLC, has over the last 100 years been contributing to the development of

Nigeria. UAC pioneered Nigeria's industrialisation programme and has ever since maintained its leadership position.

The company's particle board and timber processing as well as packaging factories are the largest in Africa.

This is in addition to running the most modern toiletries factory in the continent. Our food processing factories have satisfied the requirements of many homes.

UAC through its Federated Motor Industries has given a boost to the mass transit programme. UAC has an excellent reputation for her high quality textiles. The company's earth-moving caterpillar equipment have given support to the nation's agriculture and construction industries. The electronic and air conditioner business of the company service many homes and offices.

In spite of the current difficulties, Nigeria does have an important incentive though. Given the new concerted effort to turn the economy round, the good times seem not too far off.



— Always meeting the challenges of the times.

The angry Igbos

We insist that no more states should be created in Nigeria, for Igbos or for anyone else. That said, we concede that the Igbo anger in this matter is not without basis. It is truly ironical that the eastern minorities, who made up one-thirds the population of the former Eastern Region, have three states while the Igbos have two. Igbos now say they are "truncated" into two states and they want up to five more, given their population. We fear, however, that population is not the only factor in state creation, nor even is it an important one. If it were, the Hausas may as well say they are condensed in large states such as Kano and Sokoto and demand ten more. Nor is numerical imbalance between states a uniquely Nigerian problem, since California has twenty times the population of Arkansas and Russia has fifty times the population of Latvia.

We concede that, in Nigeria, the use of states as the basis for revenue allocation, civil service recruitment, scholarship awards, school quotas and ministerial appointments makes a difference. But while the number of states owned by any group will influence its political power, it does not altogether

determine it. In no case is the equality of states applied as an absolute principle; other factors are always considered, or should be. Besides, civil servants and ministers are not everything; the appointment of presidents and military service chiefs has nothing to do with number of states. Under conditions of military rule, a small group that is well represented in the officer corps will influence the regime more than a large group. Under civilian rule, the way a group plays its political cards is most important; thus, it could be that the Angas influence a regime more than the Hausa, or the Ibibio more than the Igbo, number of states notwithstanding.

The Igbos ought to be happy with their prominent role in the economy, civil service, professions, arts and sports. In terms of overall allocations of material resources, influence, power and status, these are more important than the number of ministers or allocations from the federation account. Even if the Igbo case for states is water-tight, not every historical wrong can be righted. Besides, we do not expect ethnicity to dominate Nigerian politics forever. In some years to come, Nigerian politics should be rid of the phrases "Hausa states" and "Igbo states".

This stinking loot

Something akin to the fate of BCC International is happening right here at home. Police investigations have led to the closure of three investment firms in Rivers and Bendel States and the prosecution before a special military court, of officials of one of them. Their offence is that their operations contravened the nation's banking law.

No doubt, the story of Resources Managers Limited, based in Port Harcourt, the Rivers State capital, is the most dramatic if only for the size of money involved — some 330 million Naira. According to a statement which the state government gave to the press last week, the police recovered 82.2 million Naira from the companies strong rooms, 47.2

million Naira from Umanah E. Umanah, its managing director's bank account and another 196.8 million Naira "deposited in the name of the company."

The trial of Umanah and five accomplices by the special military tribunal on the recovery of public property began on July 31, exactly two months after their arrest on May 20. All comments will have to wait till a later date. But the events leading to the exposure of this "Port Harcourt moneyman" have raised certain issues that must be mentioned.

First, Resources Managers appealed strongly to the public because it offered a 60% interest on 30-day deposits. The orthodox banks can only give a meagre 17 and a half

percent maximum. No wonder they complain of the public's negative banking habit. The lesson of Resources Managers is that if the banks want deposits to rise above their present low level they should be prepared to raise the interest they pay on them.

Second, the Central Bank's rejection of Resources Manager's application for a licence did not stop it from doing business. Its "several warnings" fell on deaf ears until it called in the police. It is not surprising that the apex bank could not draw sufficient power from the nation's banking statute. Enacted since 1969, a law as old as that must surely have loopholes that eagle-eye crooks

can so easily take advantage of.

Third, and perhaps the most disturbing is the calibre of people who patronised Resources Managers. It does not matter that the police and Umanah have given different figures of the depositors. What is more revealing come from the statement by the Rivers State Government. It said Resources Managers's depositors included "members of the armed forces, the police, civil servants, judges and magistrates...."

Umanah's group is being tried by a tribunal made up of people, whose colleagues at one-time provided Resources Managers and Umanah the money that set him up in this illegal business. What a pity!

OAU ad-hoc summit

The summit meeting of the Organisation of African Unity, OAU, Ad hoc committee on South Africa was summoned to its first meeting last week. It met in Abuja last week at the instance of General Babangida to prepare Africa's response to the decision by the outside world to lift the many types of sanctions imposed on South Africa as punishment for Apartheid.

In quick succession, South Africa's president F.W. de Klerk repealed some of the more obnoxious racist legislations. The notorious Group Areas Act, the population Registration Act and the Lands Act were swept away. And almost immediately the United States announced its readiness to lift economic sanctions. The International Olympic Committee and other world sporting bodies announced an end to the boycott of South Africa. This was followed by a similar decision by Japan and Australia and it threatened to become a bandwagon. And it alarmed the rest of Africa for a number of reasons.

Though the symbolic laws have largely been swept aside, the equally dreaded Internal Security Act and other no less important pillars and legislations of apartheid remain in force. Political prisoners have not been released as demanded by the African National Congress and indeed as it should be. Worst of all the most important ingredient in the

apartheid stew — the racist constitution — stands unsuspending.

Appropriately, Nigeria's President Ibrahim Babangida, current OAU chairman, on July 11, came out to sharply criticise the lifting of sanctions that followed the cosmetic change. He therefore went ahead to summon the ad hoc committee to Abuja.

Realising that the blacks have to first put their house in order, agreement was reached during the ad hoc conference to convene an all-party conference to unify the liberation movements into a single Patriotic Front.

The OAU chairman was mandated to undertake diplomatic initiatives to mobilise the support of countries and international bodies. Nigeria's external affairs minister, it is understood, will soon be shuttling around the globe.

Clearly no chances can be taken. With the revelations of the secret funding of the Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party and its affiliate trade unions to disorganise the ANC and foment township violence, while he was ostensibly engaged in dismantling apartheid, President Frederick de Klerk of South Africa has shown that he can not be trusted. Especially since what he has so far done is not irreversible.

If he wishes to be taken seriously again, he should suspend the racist constitution and agree to set up the interim administration that will finish the demolition of apartheid. Otherwise the ANC, PAC and others should just oil their guns.

Citizen

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ADAMU ADAMU

degrees of resistance each one of them gave in or gave his detractors in depending on what chance he got. Naturally the wind of change continued to blow — to the land where it was most needed. Where there were two sets (three sets) of human beings — *human beings*, (*human beans*), and *human bins*.

Judging de Klerk

Frederick W. de Klerk came onto the scene at a time when South Africa was desperately looking for change — change in its leadership (its president Pik Botha had just had a stroke that paralysed him) and change in its social set up (sanctions, having been tightened, were biting and black liberation fighters were getting bolder and more sophisticated). And so de Klerk came with the promise to change. And changed South Africa he did.

But change was in the air all over the world. It all began much earlier than Gorbachev — he was himself reacting to a new situation he had no hand in creating, but the credit now all belonged to him. He cut the tether on Eastern Europe. It went wild and later settled to get, understand savour its new freedom. Then it turned on Gorbachev himself. The midwife of a motherless child must have carried the pregnancy — even if only in arrears. Revolts and riots spread throughout the Soviet Union, to be succeeded by change and more change.

Then it came to Africa, and people rose up against those who had no welcome to overstay — Africa's leaders who either rigged, shot, or somehow found, their way to power and immediate, unending despotism. Slowly and with varying

Whites in Africa do eat beans and put their *trash* in *bins*, don't they?

In South Africa the only change the majority experienced was in their imagination. Many must have imagined that a day would come when they could travel, or own land or settle down in their place of choice in their country.

Such a land certainly needed change — and must have it. De Klerk came with it; or in, it came with de Klerk. But unlike the change in Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and much of Africa, the wind of change blowing over South Africa had a second set of midwives — Africa's leaders under the auspices of the Organisation of African Unity, OAU. They applauded as de Klerk began his demolition job.

One pillar of apartheid came down. There was silence all over Africa. There must be a catch somewhere and so many did not believe the change could come so suddenly — and apparently unforced by direct, recognisable violence. The second pillar came down — on the head of a speechless African leadership class. This class of course trades with South Africa at night and condemns it by day. But de Klerk had taken them by surprise. When the third pillar came down, there was continent-wide ecstasy. Everyone cheered and applauded — the saviour had come.

The question to ask is, "Who did he save — the Afrikaaners, the blacks or the corporate being of South Africa?" The time of ecstasy was certainly not the time for thinking. Borders began to open and South Africa began to shed its pariah status and got ready to apply for membership of the OAU.

Then the South Africans admitted funding Inkatha Freedom Party of Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Zulu chief. Wow! The blacks are still at daggers drawn, killing each other. But so they are! And that's bad enough but not good enough reason for Apartheid to get any longer lease of life. It must die. De Klerk lost credibility, no doubt, as he had been caught speaking with tongue in cheek, saying "Yes" and "No" at one and the same time.

African leaders quickly remembered that de Klerk had forgotten to repeal the Internal Security Act and release political prisoners. The United States, arguing perhaps correctly that the term "political prisoner" is subject to varying definitions, lifted economic sanctions. Those released by de Klerk had satisfied its own definition, that is. It was followed by Japan and Australia. The European Community was fondling its sanctions lever when the OAU smelled danger. Stop it, its *Ad hoc* meeting advised.

"The Internal Security Act is still in place. It deprives blacks of freedom", the *ad hoc* committee reminded the world. "And there are many political prisoners still in South Africa's jails".

De Klerk is more intelligent than we all think. He has forced African governments to charge him with a crime that they themselves commit. The internal security act is everywhere — and so are political prisoners. A case of pot calling kettle *white*. Yeah and de Klerk is white, you know.

States creation

Igbos are angry

Igbos allege marginalisation and press for "damages."

In a most curious development, deep into the transition to the Third Republic, while other groups are busy fighting for political power, the Igbos, one of Nigeria's three major tribes, are channelling their energies in another direction. Their interest in

political power for now could at best be described as being merely skin deep. The evidence of the motley crowd bating well in advance for presidential nomination in the two grassroots political parties, Chief Emmanuel Iwuanyanwu of the National Republican Convention,

in his numerous interviews with journalists, he enjoys more support from the Middle Belt and far North than from his kinsmen. Add to that the fact that no prominent traditional ruler in Igboland has so far insisted the Ooni of Ife (who advocates a Third Republic Yoruba



Ibiam and Zik (right), grand old men of Igbo politics

(NRC), stands out as the only serious Igboman in the fray. Even then, the business mogul and newspaper publisher traces a bigger chunk of the support he enjoys to outside Igboland. Going by his testimony

president) by calling for the choice of an Igboman as the country's next leader, and the picture becomes clearer.

The Igbo people are presently preoccupied with a different kind of "war". They want President Babangida to create three more states out of the Igbo-speaking area

of the country before he hands over power in 1992. "The Igbos", Dr. Mike Ogbalu, a former World Health Organisation official and currently a full-time politician seeking to govern Anambra State on the platform of the NRC, told *Citizen* in Enugu, "are a severely marginalised group, the most marginalised people in the country today". According to Ogbalu, "the Igbos were before the Nigerian civil war, entitled to about one-fourth of the national cake but now get less than half of what the Hausa/Fulani and the Yoruba, the two other major ethnic groups in the country each gets, despite the fact that the Igbo people constitute about 25 percent of Nigeria's population. By Ogbalu's calculations, only the provision of a 10 billion Naira special fund for the rehabilitation of the former Eastern Nigeria and the creation of three more states for the Igbos "can give the people a strong sense of belonging and motivate

them to release their resourcefulness and patriotic spirit for the genuine progress of this country".

The on-going campaign for at least three additional states in Igboland is a direct product



Okadigbo: We want justice

— indeed, the main product, of the perceived feeling of marginalisation being harboured by the Igbos. In Anambra and Imo states for example, the current feeling is that almost every single problem that has afflicted the Igboman since he fought, and lost the civil war in 1970 is as a result of the fact that unlike his Hausa/Fulani counterparts, he has only two states to call his own. In the Igbo-speaking areas of Bendel and Rivers states as well, the dominant feeling seem to be "seek ye first more states and every other thing will be added unto you."

"The tragedy," said a group of seven young generation Igbo lawyers in a recent memo addressed to President Babangida "lies in the fact that everything from revenue allocation, employment in federal service, admission into the upper chamber of parliament is based largely on a quota system that anchors on equality of states,

"Two more is the minimum for equity" — Ojukwu

At first he would not talk to us because we had apparently breached protocol. As his personal assistant explained to us, the usual thing is for senior editors of a publication to seek audience with the Chief and discuss parameters for an interview and then book a date. His P.A. had given us the impression we had an appointment for 31/7/91. To the Chief, however, it must have seemed that we simply drove up to his gate off the posh Queens Drive, Ikoyi, and sent in our business cards. He promptly sent word back that he had no appointment with us and so would not see us. We persisted and he

relented, somewhat. O.K., he would see us to exchange greetings, his assistant said, but no interviews. However when we were ushered into his living room — dominated by Bianca Onoh's huge portrait — and we explained our predicament, he relented completely.

In the half an hour or so interview he gave us Chief Emeka Ojukwu, the Ikemba of Nnewi, was his usual articulate self. Excerpts:-

Citizen: There are two contending views about the issue if integration of Igbos into the mainstream of Nigerian politics and economics. Some say they have not been fully integrated

while some people like your former deputy, General Effiong, say the Igbos have actually been fully integrated starting with the implementation of the three Rs and culminating in Chief Alex Ekwueme's Vice-Presidency and even Ukiwe's Vice-Presidency. What is your own position?

Ojukwu: First of all, I would like to thank you for considering me worthy of such an interview. To take the question that you have posed about the reintegration of the Igbos into the mainstream of Nigerian livelihood, society or togetherness, I will say that there are two... definitely two

aspects to it. I am here, I am talking to you in Lagos. That in itself, though symbolic, is positive proof of the reintegration of Igbos. The people in the various Sabon-Garis of the North again symbolically indicate this reintegration. I can continue giving a catalogue of such but then I would on the other side I could say to you also that when I look at the list of say Federal Permanent Secretaries, I find that they are not as many as the Igbos would wish. At the same time I would look at the entire security complex and say to you that at the highest point the Igbos are not as well represented as they

making competition for employment and admission into federal institutions the fiercest nationwide." This group, made up of Chudi Offodile, Emeka Asuzu, Robert Nnana Kalu, Oke Okoye, Dozie Ike, Sunny Ugwu and Obi Nwankwo, claimed that by being squeezed into two states, the Igbo people have suffered consistent deprivation for the past twenty-four years. Speaking in a similar vein, Chief Guy Ikokwu, a Lagos-based legal practitioner and a leading member of the proscribed Nigeria Peoples Party, estimates the total loss in Igboland, owing to the fact that the area was denied more states, at over 4 billion Naira in various forms of revenue allocation and distribution of amenities by the federal government in the last two years.

would wish — including the AFRC. Then, I could move from that and say to you that if you keep looking at various publications of the newspapers and so on you would find that there is still lingering the whole question of abandoned property in Lagos, in Port Harcourt and elsewhere. Again that could be negative of an integration because it is extremely difficult for a citizen to understand that he has been said to abandon his property in the polity of which he belongs. He is there. He is asking for it so there is question of abandoning it. So, these are the ways of looking at it. Eemmm... and I must add also that my answer cannot but be subjective as an Igboman. Whatever is being done you can say to me we are moving fast but to the Igbos it is not fast enough, because what we want is full

acceptance, full integration. We would like to feel we belong, we would like to feel we are not being suspected. These are the things and I tell you this is not an impossible dream. It is not an impossible dream because in the year 1956 when we were discussing independence, I remember that the North had certain fears. It is not for us to say whether the fears are justified or not. Once in a polity a large group of people have a fear you should look into it. The North had a fear that they were not fully represented in the Federal Civil Service. A Nigerian solution was found. People were recruited specially fed into the Federal Public Service, those already there were promoted — given double promotion if necessary to give the North a sense of security. Indeed to accommodate

The question some are asking is, why have Igbos chosen to isolate the issue of inadequate states and direct all their energies at it, instead of equally tackling the

Shehu Shagari, is that states provide access to opportunities. Same Okadigbo, "Everything is shared on the basis of states." Similar sentiments have been expressed by

"Two states for a people of more than 30 million," said the new breed of barristers, "is grossly inadequate. Other groups within the federation, of about the same population have not less than four states."

other facets of their perceived marginalisation? The answer, according to Dr. Chuba Okadigbo, a prominent Igbo politician and former political adviser to President

several other commentators. Among them are S. G. Ikoku, a veteran politician and economist, as well as Chief K. O. K. Onyiah, founder of the Godian Religion. The

this Nigerian solution, independence was delayed some what. So that we can all go together. What the Igbos are looking at today, and what they are suffering doesn't matter, you can say it is wrong cause, anything you like to say, the fact is that one-quarter of Nigeria feels it does not fully belong. It is the duty of the rest of Nigeria to make them feel that they belong. There are precedents. We know how to solve inadequate representation and fears of a group. We've done it before, we would like to see it done again.

Citizen: Thank you sir. It looks like one solution that has been offered at least for now is this issue of states.

Ojukwu: There is no problem that is subject to just one solution. The question of states: There is no doubt that the basic structure of Nigeria is

disadvantageous to Igbos. Aspirations, there is no doubt about it. Take, for example, I have talked about the security complex. Here is a people who could talk about their population vis-a-vis the rest and indeed a structure could take care of one in four or indeed two in four or one in three now facing a structural situation where they are two in 21. That is one problem. The second problem is in a region where there were a vast majority in the structure now finding themselves two to three with the so-called minority having become the majority in structure. These are things that worry the Igbos and this is why we all, every Igbo actually, irrespective of the age people you see opportunists who write the newspapers one thing or the other. The Igbos believe very fervently that



Ikoku: Igbos deserve more

ten Igbo leaders who are in the forefront of the fight for more states for their people made the same point in their memo to the president and members of the Armed Forces Ruling Council. In the memo, the

a lot of their problems would be solved in present-day Nigeria if instead of the two states — Anambra and Imo, there are four I know some people...

Citizen: Is that an absolute minimum — that is two more or...?

Ojukwu: Emm... As far as we are concerned, it is the absolute minimum for equity in the present state of Nigeria. Of course, the whole thing can be totally eroded if in granting that, elsewhere states are created in such a way as to reduce the percentage, if you follow what I mean. Because, okay, the Igboman wants to go to the NDA, there are a number of places if he gets four portions out of 21 portions, he is infinitely better than getting two portions out of 21. But if he now finds himself getting four portions out of say 30 or 40 *chuckles* then the effect of the four is totally

diminished. We would like actually and in this I am going beyond any mandate or any sort of consensus I have been part of, what we would like, what I would like, what Emeka Ojukwu would like to see is a conference where we set clearly the reasons for, the need for and the criteria for the creation of states, then set the modalities...

Citizen: In other words, a national conference

Ojukwu: Yes, a national conference.

Citizen: Basically addressed to the issue of states or....?

Ojukwu: I would like us to discuss everything because actually Nigerians have never, never actually been able to discuss their future. They tried at the ad-hoc constitutional conference during the crisis leading to the war.

Then, there was this latest move to set-up a national

Igbo leaders who claimed to be acting on the mandate of the Igbo people, noted that states are the basis for revenue allocation, representation in the Nigerian Senate, National Council of States, Federal Executive Council, federal agencies and parastatals, industrial and agricultural sitings, even in the military. The group of ten elite Igbo agitators consisting Chief Sam Mbakwe, Chief Christian Onoh (both second republic governors), Dr. Pius Okigbo, Chief S. G. Ikoku, Obi C. Onwuachi, Chief Charles Abangwu, Chief Emma Adiele, Chief E. O. Efeizomor II, Dr. Chuba Okadigbo and Chief R. B. K. Okafor, therefore, argued that since it was manifestly clear that states are development centres, such development should be equitably spread across the national board,

adding, "assigning only two states to Igbos is against the spirit of equity, justice and fairplay."

Population is the main platform on which all the campaigners are basing their argument that Igbos deserve more than two out of the 21 states of the federation. Both the ten Igbo leaders and the seven new generation spokesmen developed this theory in their respective memos to the president. "Two states for a people of more than 30 million," said the newbreed barristers, "is grossly inadequate. Other groups within the federation, of about the same population have not less than four states." On their part, the ten Igbo elder statesmen regretted the short-change of the Igbos in the calculus of states' creation, whereas the 1953

conference. It came from the wrong end but then Nigerians as a people have never really faced each other to discuss and decide the type of society they want. It is inevitable if we are really going to go further. You know, look at all the countries of the world. The countries that have made something of their own polities are those countries that were formed on the basis of a dream. today, over two hundred years after, if you pick up the basic document of the American Union or Federation or call it what you may, as you read them you still get goose pimples. You are overwhelmed by the dream that founded America. And yet, America is not perfect. But it suited and still suits the people who call themselves Americans. By and large, Americans believe that their situation

is a situation where their country is a melting pot of all cultures. Hurrah, they are doing it to the satisfaction of their kin. Next door, the Canadians have almost the same problems, the same composition. They believe there should be a mosaic, each person keeping his own culture but being part of the whole. And they are quite happy in it too. Of course there are frictions here and there... But what I would like to see again in that national conference is that we actually sit round the table and discuss what type of society we Nigerians would want. Most of the problems we are presently having actually derive from lack of definition. Do you know what you are? Are you a citizen of Nigeria or a citizen of your state? Can you citizenship be diminished by your moving from A to B or

and 1963 census showed that the Hausa, Fulani, Igbos, Yoruba, and even the northern minorities and southern minorities were relatively at par in terms of population. But what the group found more saddening was the fact that the eastern minorities had since 1967 overtaken the majority Igbo in the number of states. Said the Igbo leaders: "It still baffles the mind to imagine what logic informs the present situation in which 68 percent of what was formerly eastern Nigeria is truncated into two states (Imo and Anambra) while 32 percent is carved out into three states (Akwa Ibom, Cross River and Rivers)."

The political bureau of 1967 under the chairmanship of Dr. S. J.

Cookley, supported the case of Igbos for additional states, recommend-



Onoh: State are development centres

increase and enhanced by your moving from A to B. We are talking of states; is it, is it economic viability, what is the purpose of it? Nobody really know, there are religions. The problem of religion, we have not really sat down and faced each other to decided a consensus of the sort of limitations of religious interests in our polity.

Citizen: But excuse me sir, but how is this different from the Constituent Assemblies we have had?

Ojukwu: I suppose I will disappoint a lot of people. I came to be known in Nigeria wearing a uniform. I pride myself on having been essentially an amateur in military matters and I wore uniform but I am a democrat. We have never really, had democratic discussions. You cannot have a good discussion with big brothers looking over your shoulder; and you know what I mean by a big brother.

Citizen: You are talking of the Constituent Assemblies.

Ojukwu: Yes, when you cite that as a discussion, who selected the people?

Citizen: There were elections

Ojukwu: Yes, up to a point.

Citizen: But what of the first one in 1978?

Ojukwu: The first one wasn't too bad, but the thing to bear in mind, is that when their decisions become subject to veto, you are no longer there.

Citizen: You have talked about the structure of the Federation itself, the representation of the Igbos at the summit at the top and so on. What if the reverse, that is the presence of the Federal might in Anambra and Imo.

Ojukwu: I have deliberately avoided talking about that, because of my own antecedent, I would have wished other people to talk about it, I know

everything I say, now we have even been looking out at the contents of what went on before, but if you noticed, since my return, I have been avoiding making comments about military disposition, except when I have said a thing a couple of times, that I would like to see more Generals Okonkwo, or Okeke or Okoro.

Citizen: Talk of Federal presence in term of industry in the East.

Ojukwu: I come from a culture which is highly industrial, highly technological and I believe that it would be better for Nigeria to prepare itself to exploit the talent of these people and it is better to maximise their effort in the service of Nigeria. If it is not done, you will find the maximisation of these talents being channelled with clandestinity because they can not be stooped anyway. It is unfortunate for many reasons, that one thinks of

ing, on page 179 section 10.071 of the report, that more states should be created in Igboland "in the interest of fairplay and justice and to reassure the Igbo that they have been fully reintegrated into the Nigerian political scene and thereby end (their) profound sense of frustration." There is however no consensus among Igbos on the number of new states they want created for them. Some, such as Chief K. O. K. Onyioha, are demanding for no less than 5 new states. That much, according to the Godianist, is the natural entitlement of Igbos and "would be a true reflection of their numerical strength." A majority of the agitators, however, are calling for at least 3 new states, with Imo and

industries as things we just share across the board. I have always held a different notion. I believe that the land space of certain areas is a great national asset, and if properly utilised, it could balance up the resources that same people are sitting on in their own various areas, it is a question of blending. I believe for example that the Rivers or Bendel sitting on oil, have ever rights to sit on oil, God has given it to them, it is primarily theirs and they use it in leverage for the political position in the Nigerian Federation. Some will have population, that they will use also as leverage, some will have land space and mass agriculture which they will use as leverage but let us try to help each other aim at gaining the overall benefit of Nigeria. This

By Mohammed Harun and Yinka Tel

Anambra being split into 2 each and the Igbo-speaking people of Bendel State being carved out into a state.



Ogbolu: Wants 10 billion Naira for the Igbos

The demand for new states by Igbos is not in any way a recent phenomenon. Rather, it is a struggle that has spanned 2



Okafor: Igbos more in number

decades. The first shot was fired shortly after the civil war by agitators for Enugu or Wawa state. The movement germinated late in 1970 and proved its seriousness just a few months later. In a 23-paragraph petition entitled: ESM 1/1 dated March 20, 1971 and addressed to the then head of state General Yakubu Gowon, the group asked for a state of their own. Since then the demand for more states by Igbos has developed into something akin to the departing star in Christopher Okigbo's poem: "It comes and goes, leaving keen watchers of the political scene in the country wondering when next it will come again". But this time around, it seems as if the clamour for more states by Igbos is determined

"Only Babangida can end this "war" — Okadigbo

Dr. Chuba Okadigbo, former political adviser to President Shehu Shagari and a prominent Igbo politician drafted the memorandum of demand for the creation of more states in the Igbo-speaking areas. He spoke with our senior correspondent, Bolaji Adebisi last week on the logic of these new demands.

Citizen:- In the specific case of the Igbos, they are complaining of uneven development and uneven access to the federal revenue and bureaucracies. But can state creation resolve these problems?

Okadigbo:- Let's get this clear. The Igbos are demanding for more states, namely Wawa/

Enugu, Anambra, Abia out of Imo State and Anioma out of Bendel State. Our argument is very clear. It is not a question of resolution of sub-ethnic problem but a question of the imbalance in the structure of the federation. It's a case of structural imbalance in which the three major ethnic formations in this country namely Hausa/Fulani, Yoruba and Igbos each have four states plus **s u b s t a n t i a l** representation in other states of the federation whereas the Igbos have been consigned into only two states. That imbalance with its consequences in revenue allocation, representation in the armed forces, parastatals, banks, federally owned

institutions etc must be structurally redressed. That constitute a totally new form of state creation demand. So, the proportion comes in there (and) its a matter of fair play. Balance, justice, fair play and equity are the issues raised before the nation (by the Igbos) and the arguments are unimpeachable. It is also been argued that the minorities in the North have invariably the same population with the Hausa/Fulani majority. They too have more than four states. The minorities in the south with **c o r r e s p o n d i n g** population to the Igbos, have more than four states, but the Igbos again have only two states. The other argument is that in a region, i.e. the former

Eastern Region, the Igbos constituted 68%, the remainder which have three states have 22%. This is manifestly preposterous, and clearly imbalance, that is a people with 68% in given zone are now a minority in that same region state wise. This is our argument which in my view can stand any logical discussion..

Citizen:- What do you think about the suggestion that rather than create more states which invariably become unviable because of the revenue structure, we should have more local governments as units of government?

Okadigbo:- I am aware that there are a few intellectually lazy elements who talk about

to finally shed its departing war image and hang around long enough to accomplish its purpose. Already, the campaign has reached a frenzy and appears likely to remain so for a very long time. Long-nursed animosities are

speedily melting away as rival camps come together to chorus their demand for new states for Igbos before the handover of power to civilians late next year. In Ifo and Anamora states, the battle for new states has been elevated to an

electioneering campaign issue as smart new-faced politicians scrambling for constituencies pledge to dedicate their lives to ensuring that Igbos get more states. Outside the two states, several pressure groups are springing up and inundating the media with paid advertisements listing reasons why more states should be created for Igbos by the present administration. As Chief Guy Okunwo said in an interview with Daily Sun in Anamora State government-owned newspaper, the campaign for more states is the only issue in which Igbos have demonstrated 100 percent unity since the end of the civil war.

The demand for new states by Igbos is not in any way a recent phenomenon. Rather, it is a struggle that has spanned two decades. The first shot was fired shortly after the civil war by agitators for Enugu or Wawa state.

local governments as new units of government. I call them lazy if not weak because what were the immediate and remote causes of the civil war? Was it not Decree No. 34 of 1966 whereby Iroko unilaterally declared Nigeria a unitary form of government which led to the pogrom, genocide, fratricide, pogroms, civil war and finally this slogan of no victor, no v a n q u i s h e d , reconciliation, rehabilitation and all that? Why do people lose sight of these things? Somebody was saying we should have four hundred and fifty-three local governments or states. I think that is rubbish. Simply by swapping names does not change the statistics. Besides, if you want to use local governments units which you now want to call states, there is again the imbalance because there is no criterion for the creation of these units. So using local governments as units without looking at the fundamental

question of the criterion for the establishment of local government is being intellectually lazy or mischievous.

Even if we have to convert local government to states, we have to begin with a revision of local governments to see which is which and establish clear cut criteria so that anyone who doesn't meet the minimum requirement don't get it.

Citizen: You seem to be saying that there is a deliberate policy of the federal government not to create more states in Igboland. Are there concrete indications of this?

Okadigbo: I have just given you many. What else is the reason why you don't create it when you have created many elsewhere even though our demands have been there for long? Why is it that you have always created others and not these Igbos ones? They are to tell us why, we suspect that is a post-civil war phenomenon. That

has been inspired by the irredentism occasioned by the civil war as they perceived it. We have rejected that whole idea that we must continue to talk about the war. And we thought that, when under the Shagari administration, we were able to bring back General Yakubu Gowon and Chief Emeka Ojukwu, subsequently, that a great measure of reconciliation at the psychological and sociological level have been achieved. But now, the structural matter remains. President Babangida will become historical if he can change the situation (and) create the states (Igbos) in proportion to what the Igbos require in the federation. By doing this, he would have ended the war.

Citizen: You are asking for five states. Is this negotiable? If they give you one, will you accept?

Okadigbo: Well, it is only a poor negotiator who goes and rejects a state because he wanted

four and he was given one. (Okunwo says) let there be none. Definitely, if they create one, we have no choice than to take it and ask for more, because a creation of one does not solve the problem. It will only be tinkering with the problem. We want a solution, not partial solution or gift. Our demand is clear, legitimate and of right.

Citizen: What would you say about demands elsewhere in Bendel, Sokoto, Oyo, Kwara and Borno states?

Okadigbo: Bendel has a just case for more states. It was a region and mini-Nigeria. There are several ethnic problems in Bendel that require solution for which Anoma is one. Their case is clear. As for the others, I think when you tie developmental problems to state creation I think we can begin to talk about other agents of developments as a solution to the problem of underdevelopment in these areas of demand.

By Bolaji Adebisi

The seeming unity Igbo are brandishing in their campaign for new states is, however, not entirely surprising. Going by hints dropped by the 10 Igbo leaders in their memo to the government, the unity is traceable to the common feeling among the agitators that it will be easier for Igbo to have their ambition for more states fulfilled under a military regime than in the in-coming civilian dispensation. So convinced of this are those in the forefront of the campaign that some of them are suggesting that the on-going transition programme be tampered with if necessary to accommodate states creation by the Babangida regime. The 7 newbreed barristers purporting to speak for the younger generation of Igbo fall under this group. In their memo to the president, they sought to knock out the argument by some that it is too late in the transition programme to embark on states creation. The argument, said the seven, is preposterous, because "over 30 million people believe, very strongly too, that states should be created now and nurtured into fruition by your (Babangida's) administration, even if it entails tinkering with the transition programme".

Observers are, however, wondering if unanimity of purpose and aggressive drive for new states by Igbo will be enough to make their campaign bear the desired fruits. Already, hopes have been raised and dashed by the government and it is difficult to predict what will happen next. President Babangida, well known for his enormous dribbling skills, raised the hopes of agitators for new states to the high heavens late last May, when during a visit to his home state, Niger, he acknowledged the legitimacy of the demand for new states, promising that the requests would be considered on merit if properly channelled. The statement represented a significant shift in policy by the government

which, during the last state creation exercise in 1987, had ruled that no fresh clamour for states would be tolerated for the remainder of the transition to civil rule period.

Expectedly, the Minna declaration by the president sent state agitators scrambling for their drums, but before they could beat a tune in celebration, the government spoiled their party with Vice President Augustus Aikhomu's declaration in Owerri, Imo State, that the president had been misquoted.

Despite Aikhomu's dampener, however, the dominant feeling among pillars of the "more-states-for Igbo" campaign is that success is waiting at the corner. Even those who have a premonition that the big dream may not be realised in the lifespan of the present administration are not thinking of discarding their weapons of war. A prominent member of this camp is



Ironsi: Decree 34, his greatest undoing



Babangida: Will he oblige?

Reverend Hyde Onuaguluchi. The millionaire businessman and clergyman who built his shortlived NRC presidential nomination bid around a promise to fight the Igbo cause to a logical conclusion, has already given his word that if the NRC captures power at the centre come next year, the first thing he would do would be to ensure that Igbo get more states. Said Onuaguluchi, who made a tactical detour to the Anambra State

governorship race three months ago: "The heat will be on us as soon as we get into power to create more states out of the present Anambra and Imo states... The first thing people like Hyde Onuaguluchi would start to pursue is the creation of more states in Anambra and Imo".

here are some, however, who are not persuaded by the Igbo argument that the group is at par with the Hausa/Fulani and the Yoruba in population. Argued Al Bishak, a columnist and member of the editorial board of the *Daily Times*, "as far back as 1933, the census of the entire nation was scored thus: Northern Nigeria — 11.4 million; Eastern Nigeria — 4.3 million; Western Nigeria including Midwest — 3.6 million and Lagos — 0.216 million". Arguing further, Al-Bishak put the 1963 census figure thus: Northern Nigeria — 29,808,657; Eastern Nigeria —

12,467,328; Western Nigeria — 11,950,502 and Lagos 1,443,568. While acknowledging that there was merit in the Igbo demand for more states, especially when it is considered that each of the Igbo states has more than doubled the population of Rivers and Cross River, Al-Bishak pointed out that Igbo leaders' claims of parity with the two other major ethnic groups in the country is not supported by documented statistical facts.

Chief R.B.K. Okafor, a noted anti-sectarian politician and one of the protagonists of the transformation to a Tripartite State, says that the Igbo people are not united in their demand for more states. Okafor said Okafor in Lagos: "The intention of the Igbo people is not to create more states, because they belong to these areas whom they love, who have elected their leaders and pay their taxes. I am talking of people living in Igbo areas. You find that at the end of the day, the number of Igbo states in the (CPC) census will be more than those of Fulani on one hand and the Yorubas on the other".

On the surface, it would appear that the Igbo people are united in their demand for three additional states. There are however strong indications that this "unity" is more apparent than real. Faced with the realisation that the Babangida administration would likely concede only one or two more states to the area, a subtle but discernible crack has emerged in the hitherto solid and impenetrable wall. Citizens gathered that leaders of the Anioma State movement, sensing that the Wawa and Abia lobby are getting the upper hand, dispatched a high-powered delegation to Dodan Barracks in the first week of July to press their case. Sources close to the movement informed *Citizen* that its leaders are banking on the support of the first lady, Mrs. Maryam Babangida who comes from Asaba, a key town in the Anioma area. Said our source, "we fully realise it will be difficult for the Babangida regime to create Delta and Anioma from Bendel, and Wawa and Abia from Anambra and Imo respectively. We are therefore asking for two states, Anioma from Bendel and Wawa from Anambra".

Chief Chris Okolie, publisher of *Newbreed* magazine and a prime mover of the Anioma State movement, told *Citizen* that the demand for Anioma State does not have anything to do with the Igbo cause. Said Okolie, "our

demand for Anioma state has nothing to do with the Igbo cause. I am not an Igbo leader. What we are saying is that Bendel State has found itself in a static position over the years. As the former Mid-western State, it was one of four, then it became one out of 12, then one out of 19 and now one out of 21. Bendel State has found itself increasingly marginalised".

The politics of dichotomy which has plagued Anambra State since the advent of the second republic has also proved a cog in the wheel of the Igbo drive for more states. Following speculations that President Babangida has given the nod for the creation of Ebonyi State out of Imo and Anambra, leading agitators for the Wawa State

fear is that with the creation of Ebonyi State, some Wawa leaders' government councils would be removed from Anambra, thus relegating them (the Wawa people) to the minority position. Argued the Wawa leaders in their memo, "the creation of Ebonyi State will neither satisfy the desire of Imo or Anambra for more states. It will create more tension in both Anambra and Imo as the remaining Wawa people in Anambra State will become minority", adding "the Wawa people who even in majority in Anambra State were marginalised will become slaves in Anambra State if Ebonyi State is created".

While accusing fingers have been pointed at Dr. Pius Okiigbo as the brain behind the plan to reduce



Ojukwu: Two is the minimum

dispatched a memo to President Babangida arguing against the creation of the Ebonyi on the ground that it would give indigenes of the old Onitsha province the upper hand in Anambra State. Presently, the Wawa people (Anambra North) have more local governments than the south. Their

the Wawa clout in Anambra State Chief R.B.K. Okafor told *Citizen* that the controversy would not be allowed to deflect the Igbo people's campaign for more states. "There is nothing surprising about politician saying Anambra North or Anambra South", said Okafor. "There is no ethnic group that is static. The

must move, and when politicians want to win elections, they set up tribal or ethnic sentiments. Such phrases as Anambra "south" and "north" are signs of mere euphoria coined by politicians who want to win elections, but this cannot have any effect on our goals".

Faced with the unending demand for more states, some concerned Nigerians have floated the idea of abolishing the state structure altogether and making local government areas administrative units answerable only to the federal government. Dr. C.S. Momoh, a lecturer in the department of philosophy at the University of Lagos is a strong advocate of this "novel" scheme. In Momoh's opinion, the creation of more states would not solve Nigeria's problems. Said the philosophy teacher, "states should in fact be abolished. We should have a two-tier system of government — the centre and the grassroots. States do not provide anything. We can do without the third tier of corruption, inefficiency, incompetence, godlessness and embezzlement of public funds".

Dr. Okadigbo however dismissed the suggestion as a product of intellectual laziness. According to Okadigbo, it was a similar suggestion which made Major General Aguiyi Ironsi enact Decree No. 34 of 1966 which declared Nigeria a unitary form of government and subsequently resulted in the three year civil war. Queried Okadigbo, "Why do people lose sight of these things? Where do they want to take this country to? Somebody was saying we should have four hundred and fifty-three local governments or states. I think that is rubbish. Simple swapping names does not change the statistics".

Dr. Razak Uzamol, a history teacher at Lagos State University is worried that any attempt by the Babangida administration to create more states before the 1992 deadline would disrupt the transition

programme. Uzamol counsels that the issue of state creation should not be considered a priority for now. He also argued that in the event of more states created in the Igbo-speaking

stay there indefinitely but they must create states in Bendel, Imo and Anambra states". On his part, R.B.K. Okafor argues that the transition programme should be tampered

Faced with the unending demand for more states, some concerned Nigerians have floated the idea of abolishing the state structure altogether and making local government areas administrative units answerable only to the federal government.

area, the Federal Military Government would immediately be inundated with request for more states from other ethnic groups. "The implication will be definitely disastrous", a worried Razak Uzamol told *Citizen*. "Other ethnic groups will immediately demand for their own states and a state of

with in order to accommodate the creation of new states before 1992. "What I am suggesting is that the primaries for the governorship elections should take place in December and the elections in March 1992 to enable the federal government create states and that by December the states would have taken off and the new states would now have primaries and settle down to serious business".



Nwobodo: former Anambra State governor

confusion will ensue, disrupting the government's plan for a smooth transition to civil rule come 1992".

Igbo leaders think differently, though. Says *Newbreed's* Okolie, "We consider the issue of state creation more fundamental to the wholesomeness of the Nigerian nation than the transition programme. The military can in fact

As the 1992 deadline draws nearer, all eyes are focused on President Babangida by state agitators and by-standers alike. Will the creation of new states turn out to be his parting gift to Nigerians? For Dr. Okadigbo, Babangida is the man of the moment, capable of permanently healing the still-lingering wounds of the thirty-month civil war and thus endearing himself to the Igbo people for all eternity. The art of state creation is one that requires the surgeon's unerring precision, the diplomat's tact and the politician's gift for give and take. President Babangida, master juggler *par excellence*, has displayed these rare gifts in the past. Will he juggle the ball well enough this time to avoid upsetting the already unsteady apple-cart?

By Isaac Umunna in Enugu, with Ike Okonta, Bolaji Adebisi, Yinka Tella, Akin Aluko and Samson Ojo in Lagos

Governorship primaries

Many rivers to cross

Many governorship aspirants fall by the wayside as the screening committee of both parties gets cracking

Goldfish, it is said, has no hiding place. By the same token, politicians who aspire to public office are expected to be clean and beyond reproach. As the report of the screening committee of the two political parties began to trickle in last week however, it became obvious that many a governorship aspirant had a skeleton or two tucked away in his cupboard.

As the August 24 primaries inched nearer, the SDP and NRC adopted stringent criteria to screen the teeming number of governorship aspirants in the states. To be disqualified were aspirants who were discovered to have doubtful tax clearance certificates; indicted by negative reports compiled by the security agencies; unable to defend allegations levelled against them by petitioners; and unable to prefer evidence that they possess all the credentials claimed in their affidavit. Already, the 5-man screening committees of the SDP has wound up sittings in 18 states and Abuja, and over 20 governorship aspirants face possible disqualification. A prominent casualty is Titilayo Ajanaku, a governorship aspirant in Ogun State on the platform of the SDP. The 5-man screening committee had written to the Obafemi Awolowo University Teaching Hospital for information on Ajanaku who had worked in the hospital in the 70's. The Hospital authorities promptly replied, stating that the governorship aspirant was indebted to Obafemi Awolowo University Teaching Hospital to the tune of 6,308 Naira being part of a car loan advanced her in 1977. This was all the evidence the screening

committee needed. Ajanaku was duly informed to shelve her ambition to contest for the governorship primaries on August 24.

The ambitions of 6 SDP governorship aspirants also suffered a setback in Kwara State. Disqualified by the screening committee were Sunday Olutimayin, Ayotemole Raji, Joe Olorogun, Isiaka Jimoh, S.B. Adebayo and Usman Alabi. The 6 aspirants were variously accused of insubordination, indiscipline and disloyalty to the party. Said a mem-

ber of the screening committee, "the committee based its verdict on the information supplied by and on each of the aspirants". *Citizen* also reliably gathered that the executive committee of the Kwara State SDP will meet on August 5 to consider fresh allegations which were received in respect of a governorship aspirant who was tentatively cleared by the state governorship screening committee. *Citizen* also learnt that copies of petitions indicting the aspirant are already in the possession of the National Electoral Commission, the security agencies and top members of the NRC in the state.

While the SDP screening exercise appear turbulent and chaotic,



NRC's Ikimi: stringent criteria adopted

the NRC, at least for now, seem to be in control of the situation. In an interview last week, Doyin Okupe, the party's national publicity secretary told *Citizen* that all the aspirants would be made to pass through

various screening committees including the party's National Executive Council. Enumerating screening criteria, Okupe informed *Citizen* that if allegations or petitions against any of the aspirants was found sustainable, the aspirant would automatically be disqualified. Said Okupe, "5 members will be constituted in each state to perform the task. Their major duty is to examine the credentials of the aspirants and consider all the petitions that might have been alleged against them. If any of the petitions is found to be correct, the candidate will be disqualified".

While the screening criteria of both parties have been clearly stated and made public, some of the disqualified aspirants have alleged that the screening committees are less than fair in their reports, and in some cases, even biased. In Lagos State for instance, reports that aspi-

screening committee are trusted party officials. Moreover, they are mainly drawn from outside the state to avoid their being lobbied by aspirants". Added Bosede Oshinowo, Lagos State NRC chairman, "the screening committee is not a committee of witch-hunters. If all the aspirants scale through the hurdles, then there would be no need to disqualify them".

Disqualified governorship aspirants have the right to appeal to the state and national executive committees of the party. Until such appeals are disposed of, they remain aspirants as they may continue to campaign as if they are qualified. Exploiting this clause, some of the aspirants who were axed by the screening committees have taken their case to the state executive council of the parties. Others have queried the screening committee's move to pry into their

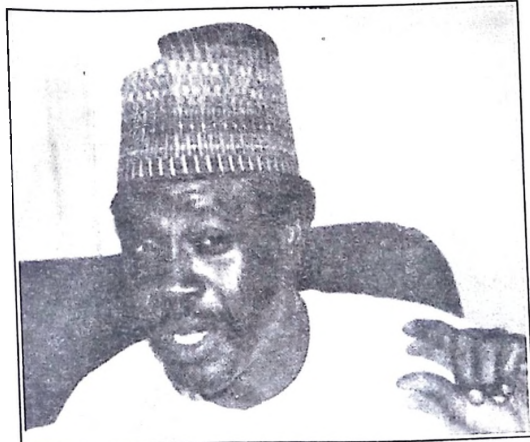
out in support of immediate declaration of assets, arguing that whoever offered himself for public office should be able to cope with the demands of such an office no matter how ridiculous they might seem.

While the screening criteria of both parties have been clearly stated and made public, some of the disqualified aspirants have alleged that the screening committees are less than fair

Kayode Ajala, a political science lecture at Lagos State University, (LASU), sees the introduction of screening committees as an indication of seriousness on the part of newbreed politicians. According to Ajala, the decision by the two parties to subject their prospective flagbearers to critical scrutiny is in itself an evidence of political maturity. "Nigerian politicians have come of age", Ajala told *Citizen* in his office last week. "During the First and Second Republics, nobody bothered about such things as social probity, accountability and ethical behaviour. Now these issues are discussed and more importantly, politicians are taking them quite serious. This is as it should be".

If properly handled, the screening exercise could well turn out to be the stone that would kill two birds for the two parties. Not only would the number of governorship aspirants be significantly reduced, the bad eggs among them would also be shown the door by the time the various screening committees are through.

By Ike Okonta with
Samson Ojo



Kingibe of the SDP: 20 face possible disqualification

rants in the two parties have started lobbying members of the screening committee is making the rounds. Okupe however dismissed the allegations as baseless and without foundation. "The members of the

(aspirants) private bank accounts. Argued Isiaka Adeleke, an SDP governorship aspirant in Oyo State, "the exercise amounts to a rape on economic secrecy of the aspirants". A few aspirants have however come

UNN Go home, Profs

Brain drain not withstanding UNN sacks 30 professors

About 30 professors of the nation's premier university, the University of Nigeria, Nsukka (UNN) will next month be swept out of the ivory tower and into the cold hands of unemployment.

The mass purge of the egg heads, reportedly approved by the UNN governing council early in the year, is being described by the institutions' authorities as "a normal retirement exercise in strict observance of government regulation on retirement of employees, based on age and years of service".

Citizens learnt that the governing council of UNN, met on February 19 and 20 this year and deliberated extensively on the provisions of the Pensions Act, especially, Section 4 (1) and (2) of decree 1080. In a

release dated March 6, 1991 Ref. UN/RC/205, Uria Umeh, registrar of the institution, informed the UNN community that the governing council had resolved that staff of the university should retire from service at the age of 60 or after 30 years of continuous or merged public service.

Casualties of the governing council's sledgehammer include eight most senior readers of the university, 17 senior lecturers; several principal officers and about 86 other employees who were said to be affected by the age ceiling or years of service.

A breakdown of non-academic staff affected by the retirement flush shows that: 10 persons from the department of student affairs, six from library services department;

seven from bursary and works and lines department respectively, 10 from registry, five from university schools and three from personnel services, are on their way out of UNN.

Reliable sources informed Citizens that the affected officers have already been served with letters informing them of their retirement with September 30, as effective date. But some of them got earlier retirement dates.

Citizen investigation showed that the UNN academic community has accepted the impending exercise in good faith and is bracing up for its consequences. The general belief in the institution is that the mass retirement will not exacerbate the problem of inadequate academic staff which is already haunting the country's models of learning due to the rising spectre of brain drain.

Gozie, Arazu, UNN's image maker, described the exercise as a "normal attrition" and "across board".

By Boony Okon in Nsukka

President Babangida in Borno Monday 22 — 25 Thursday July 1991



The President delivering an address



Shehu of Borno El-Kanemi took part in a mini-darbura that welcomed the President to Maiduguri

Citizen, August 5, 1991

Governor Idris Garba's three years of progress

Bio-data

Colonel Idris Garba was born to Abu Mohammed and Zainab Garba who were peasant farmers, on 6th July, 1947 in Gulu in Lapai Local Government Area of Kano State.

He was educated at Elementary Primary School, Gulu from January, 1954 to December, 1959 and Lapai Senior Primary School where he completed his primary education in 1962.

Colonel Idris Garba began his military training in January 1963 when he entered the Nigerian Military School, Zaria and on completion in 1967, he proceeded to the Nigerian Defence Academy, Kaduna. He was commissioned on November 20, 1968 as a Second Lieutenant.

Immediately after commission, he was posted to the Infantry Division as a Troop Commander in the 2nd Field Artillery Regiment, Onitsha, during the Nigerian Civil War. Between September, 1969 and the end of the war, he was the Commanding Officer of 2nd Field Artillery Regiment (Rear) based in Ibadan.

He was promoted full Lieutenant on 18th July, 1970, after which event he proceeded to the Soviet Union for the Artillery Troop Commander's course from July, 1970 to September, 1971. On his return, he was appointed Battery Commander in Oyo where he served from September, 1971 to October, 1973. During this period, he also attended the Young Officer's course. Shortly after this course, on March 9, he was promoted to the rank of Captain.

In 1974, he moved from Oyo to Kaduna as Instructor at the Nigerian Army School of Artillery, (NASA). While still here, he attended the Technical Gunnery course in Larkhill, Salisbury, United Kingdom from May to August 1975. He subsequently rose to become Chief Instructor, NASA, Kaduna before leaving in August 1976 to become the Commanding Officer of 36 Field Artillery Regiment, Bauchi. By December of the same year, he became a Major.

From Bauchi he attended the Field Artillery Officers' Advanced Course in Fortstill, Oklahoma, USA from June, 1977 to February, 1978. On his return, he was made the Acting Divisional Artillery Commander, Jos from February to August, 1978.

Between August, 1978 and September, 1979, he was at the Command and Staff College, Jaji where he obtained his PSC qualification. At the end of his course he was appointed Commanding Officer, Heavy Artillery Regiment, from Sep-

Citizen. August 5, 1991



Man of the moment Colonel Idris Garba

tember, 1979 to July, 1981. During this period between May and December, 1980 he served as the Company Commander of 82 Infantry Battalion of UNIFIL, the United Nations Interim Forces in Lebanon.

After attending the Regiment/Battalion Commander's course at the Nigerian Army School of Infantry, (NASI), Jaji in 1981, he was appointed the Commanding Officer of 342 Support Regiment, Zaria, where he was until November, 1983. On 5th December, 1983 he was elevated to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and posted as Deputy Defence Adviser to the Nigerian Embassy in Moscow. He held this position till November, 1986 when he returned to Nigeria.

From December, 1986 to December, 1987, he was the Commanding Officer, Short Service Course Wing of the Nigerian Defence Academy, (NDA), Kaduna. While serving here, he was promoted to the rank of a full Colonel on 1st October, 1987. It was also from this post at the Nigerian Defence Academy, that he was appointed Military Governor of Benue State and was sworn-in on 17th December, 1987 by the president. On 22nd December, 1987 he assumed duties as the 8th Governor of the state since its inception in 1976.

He formally assumed duties as the 10th Governor of Kano State on Thursday, 4th August, 1988.

Education

Kano: Bridging the gap

The assumption of office by the incumbent military governor Colonel Idris Garba, facilitated the rapid development of education in Kano thereby making it possible to establish more schools in the state. As a result of these development education in Kano State grew very rapidly to the extent that the state now boasts of 3,276 primary schools with over 20,000 classrooms and an enrolment of about 1,198,730 of which 406,453 are girls. Post Primary Institutions have increased to 226 with 115,271 students in 1990. Staff strength at post primary level has risen to 5129 by 1990. In addition to this, the state established a number of institutions of higher learning where students pursue various academic and professional courses. In fact the present military administration instituted a committee to study the possibility of the establishment of a state university. The committee has since submitted its report which was further reviewed by a Technical committee.

The state education policy

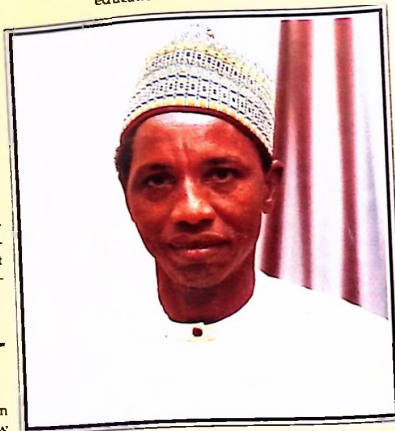
The general policy on education in Kano State is consistent with the New National Policy on Education. In fact Kano is one of the seven states in the federation that pioneered the implementation of the New National Policy on Education popularly referred to as the 6-3-3-4.

During the last three years of this administration, the ministry has been putting greater emphasis on the following as its priority.

1. Greater expansion of education provisions to make it possible for all school-age children to be brought within the fold of formal education;
2. Greater expansion of women education to close

the alarming gap in the participation of girls and boys in the schools.

3. Greater emphasis on Science and Technical Education to secure formidable manpower base for national and state development.
4. The development of mass education with the aim of



Deputy Governor: Alhaji Abba Abdullahi

creating a formidable base for mass mobilisation and literacy.

5. The development of non-madic education for both adults and children so that they can meaningfully contribute in the task of national development.

The responsibility for the attainment of these goals is shared between different departments in the Ministry of Education and a number of parastatals whose activities are coordinated by the Commissioner of Education.

Parastatals

The effort of Ministry of Education is supplemented by eight autonomous parastatals. Each of these parastatals has a governing board and a chief executive who is its accounting officer having the general control of his capital and recurrent accounts. The parastatals are:

- Kano State Polytechnic headed by a Rector.
- Kano State College of Education headed by a Provost.
- Kano State Agency for Mass Education headed by a Director.
- Kano State Library Board headed by a Director.
- Kano State Science and Technical Schools Board headed by an Executive Secretary.
- Kano State Scholarship Board headed by a Secretary.
- Kano State Primary Schools Management Board headed by a Chairman.
- Kano State College of Arts, Science and Remedial Studies headed by a Principal.

The progress, activities and achievements of both the ministry and parastatals un-

der it have gone a long way to further enhance the development of education in the state.

For instance, the State Scholarships Board had on record 8279 students, 77 of whom were on overseas scholarship in the 1985/86, but by 1989/90 session the number had risen to 10,882 students including 57 students on overseas scholarships. The annual expenditure budgeted is 13.1 million Naira.

Library

The importance of Library serv-

ices in educational institutions and to the general public cannot be over-emphasised. This government is committed to the provision of divisional libraries at the local government areas and an ultra-modern library complex at the state headquarters. From 1988 to 1989 a provision of 1.5 million Naira was made for the construction of five divisional libraries at Jahun, Ringim, Danbatta, Birnin Kudu and Rano. Towards the on-going construction of library complex, government had made provision of 5.8 million Naira in 1988, 3.2 million Naira in 1989 and 4 million Naira in 1990.

The Agency recorded tremendous increase in its readership from 94,700 readers in 1985 to 650,000 in 1989.

Since the inception of the present military administration in 1988, the Agency for Mass Education has intensified its programme through which illiterate workers in Federal, State and Local Governments as well as the private sector are trained.

The Agency in collaboration with Directorate of Social Mobilisation (MAMSER) opened 1000 literacy classes with an enrolment of 25,458 learners, 5,575 of these were female.

The table below shows the comparative enrolment from 1988 — 1989:

Year	Class	Enrolment	Male	Female	Total
1988	1120	20,437	7,563	28,000	
1989	1000	19,550	5,447	25,005	

The present military government had over the years, given education top priority by allocating the largest budget to Ministry of Education so as to raise its standards both in quality and quantity.

Primary education

During the last two years, the present military administration initiated many policies to improve primary education. One of the prime innovations made by the government is the establishment of the (now defunct) Primary Schools Management Board in December, 1986. Its creation was promoted by the deteriorating condition of primary education, the poor maintenance of school infrastructure, and pathetic condition of primary school teachers. Its staff strength

was over 30,000 out of which 26,000 are teachers.

During the boards's tenure, a total of 391 classroom blocks were rehabilitated while 150 new ones were constructed. Classroom furniture worth over one million Naira was purchased and distributed to schools while the sum of 9 million Naira was spent on the purchase of exercise books, chalks, text books and other materials.

In order to up-grade the standard of primary school teachers, a total of 578 teachers were sponsored to in-service training for various professional courses in institutions of higher learning. In addition, during the 1989/90 session, several referred grade II teachers have been sent to the College of Education Gumel and Kumbotso campuses for Special training programmes to enable them obtain National Teachers Grade II Certificate.

Post Primary education

There has been a steady and remarkable improvement in post primary education in the state since the inception of the present military administration.

This general improvement in post primary education is indicated by the fact that, as a result of the expansion at the post primary level, the projected enrolment rate of primary school leavers into post primary has since exceeded the 50 percent envisaged in the programme. Thus the illiteracy rate which used to be as high as 95 percent has now been slashed to an estimated 55 percent during the present military administration.

Major achievements

Colonel Idris Garba's, major achievements have been in Education especially that of women. As a result of this, provision for girls education has become enormous and over-stretched, thus making it mandatory for the ministry to establish more girls institutions.

In 1988 and 1989 four additional



Alhaji Ado Gwaram SMG

girls institutions and one for boys were opened at Danzomo, Danzabuwa, Kaugama, Sani Mainagge and Tarauni.

In spite of the dramatic increase in the number of girls institutions for boys within the last 3 years, demand for girls admission into post primary institutions continued to increase. Consequently in January, 1990, 3 boys boarding institutions were converted to girls institutions at Gwaram, Garki and Dutse.

During the period under review, escalation in the cost of classroom furniture prompted the Ministry to make special request for a grant from Government for the repairs of broken furniture in various schools in the state. Over 15,000 set of student desks and chairs were rehabilitated through direct labour by our Technical Colleges and Vocational Centres.

Individuals and organisations were mobilised to assist government in its educational endeavours. consequently, various donations involving land, cash, instructional materials, infrastructural facilities and buses were received from communities, individuals and organisations.

Islamic education

It is the deliberate policy of the state government to encourage the development of Quranic and Islamic studies in general, hence the establishment of Islamic Education Depart-

ment which is solely responsible for the development of Islamic Education in the state.

In pursuance of its social policy, the Government made a provision of 1.165 million Naira in 1989 for the construction of twenty Quranic classes in the former twenty local government areas of the state. Most of the buildings were completed. Plans we also made to build the same classes in the newly created local government areas back in 1990. These are in addition to the existing Islamiyya and Quranic Schools in the state that enjoy annual grants from government.

In 1988 and 1989, 345,292.21 and 1,756,172.15 Naira were spent on the construction of Quranic Schools.

The commercial posture of Kano State

From the inception of the present administration the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Co-operatives has recorded immense achievements in the following areas:

Commerce Department

The zeal of promoting and sustaining the commercial posture of the state had been carried out through the famous Business Education Programme being run by this department. Thus, during the period under review the programme "Kasuwanci Da Sana'a" on television and another "Kasuwancin Zamani" a Radio programme, were instrumental to achieving remarkable success more especially in enlightening the business community and the general public on privatisation exercise of the Federal government.

Similarly, the commerce department organises the participation of the state government in both domestic and international trade fairs. Such participations serve as a good forum through which the state commercial potentialities and investment opportunities are constantly being exposed to investors both within and outside the state. Thus, in November 1988, Kano State won second place position at the 9th Lagos International Trade

Fair. This spelt out the performance of the Ministry in the conduct and co-ordinations of Kano State based companies at the trade fair. In its efforts to promote commercial activities thereby achieving greater economic development of the state, the Kano State, in 1989 allocated portion of land to the Kano Chamber of Commerce, Industry, Mines and Agriculture to develop as permanent trade fair site in the state.

Its export promotion unit vigorously exploits the available opportuni-

ties in the export sector with a view to enlightening and educating potential exporters in the state. Reliable data compiled on exportable items from the State serve as good reference sources. During the period under review, such information was disseminated to the world business community. The resulting enquiries about export products from Kano State was impressive to the extent that it led to a number of companies in the state expanding their market outlets beyond the country's borders.

As a backup, the activities of the Committee on Adulterated Products is increasingly paying off as evidenced by increased general awareness of the possible effects of such products. Through several operations carried out in major markets in the state with a view to identifying and flushing out the sellers of such products, the committee had so far made a considerable impact.

An enhanced distribution network serves the sale of petroleum products across the state. This was achieved through the combined efforts of the states more than 120 surface tank petroleum dealers, the major petroleum marketers and the independent petroleum markets in the state. The state petroleum crisis management committee works vigorously to avert petroleum shortage in the state.

Industry Department



Alh Sagir Mohammed: Information Commissioner

Industrial growth

In view of the new industrial policy introduced by the federal government, the Industry Department has since directed its efforts towards giving the required assistance and advice on how to exploit the incentives contained in the policy documents. This is also paying off.

Pollution control

The potential danger posed on the environment by industrial wastes generated by industries in Kano has been a matter of concern to the department. Thus, the department in collaboration with the State Environmental Protection Committee is working seriously towards ensuring the proper disposal of industrial waste in the state.

Co-operative Department

During the period under review the department has been playing its traditional role which aims, amongst others, at mobilising people to pool their resources together for the improvement and transformation of the economic resources of the state as well as enhancing the social well-being of the masses particularly the peasant farmers, artisan craftsmen and any others. Consequently, the Department has assisted in the formation and effected the registration of societies.

Women in politics

High temperature

They are tired of being shoved around they want the centre stage

Not satisfied with the response of women to the political stimuli, women organisations and agencies involved with the political transition programme and the National Commission for Women, NCW rolled up their sleeves to get more women to participate actively in politics. The NCW has since sent directives to all the states to organise political awareness rallies to enlighten women on the political programme and to ensure a massive turn out at the registration centres.

The tone of the rallies was virtually the same, why should women disenfranchise themselves by refusing to register? Those who are not registered can not vote, why not exercise your right as a citizen and vote? The flurry of activities did not begin nor end with the rallies, two other political transition agencies were busy talking to women. The Centre for Democratic Studies, Abuja in conjunction with NCW organised a dialogue with female political aspirants. The event proved to be a down-to-earth analysis of the problems facing the female politicians. Holding simultaneously with the Abuja talk-shop was the two-day National Workshop on Women and the Transition Programme organised by the MAMSER national headquarters, at the Plateau Hotel, Jos. The workshop drew participants from various women organisations across the country. The wife of the military governor of Plateau State, Mrs. Alice Madaki, was the guest of honour. In her speech to declare the workshop open, Mrs. Madaki urged women to brace themselves for ac-

tive participation in all spheres of development. In a paper titled Making Women Organisations an Effective Pressure Group For Mobilisation and Development, Dr. Victoria Nwigwe, the head of department of French, Alvan Ikoku College of Education, Owerri outlined various strategies for invigorating the grassroots women organisations. Dr. P.E.B. Uku, the Bendel State director of MAMSER threw a bright light on the cultural factors militating against women's active political participation. Oppressive widowhood practices, misinterpretation of religion and the traditional socialisation system in various cultures featured in her paper titled Men's Perception of Women; Its Effects on National Development. My paper titled Mass Media Women and the Transition Programme, dwelt on the role women ought to play in the transition programme and what the media could do to promote the laudable campaign for political awareness.

The National Population Commission, NPC was ably represented by one of its commissioners, Hajiya Toma Ibrahim who presented a paper on the Role of Women in the 91 Census.

In a five point communique issued at the end of the workshop the participants succinctly reflected the mood of the majority of women. They observed that multiplicity of women organisations exist at the grassroots level which serve as initiators of development programmes and organs of mass mobilisation and advocated greater interaction between these organisations and gov-



Mrs Madaki: Women deserve centre stage

ernmental agencies involved in mass mobilisation.

On politics, the workshop noted with disappointment that few women are contesting elective posts despite the mobilisation programmes embarked upon by various agencies. This they attributed to the dearth of financial resources and negative societal attitude to women's active political participation. The participants therefore recommended that mass mobilisation programmes should be targeted at men to ensure a replacement of age long prejudices against women with a liberal and supportive disposition.

The mass media was acknowledged by participants as purveyors of societal change and the catalyst for information dissemination but they expressed their dismay at the media's negative portrayal of women and their activities. The workshop then urged media practitioners to eschew sensationalism and portray women in their more positive roles.

The workshop also observed that politicisation of past census exercises had eroded the reliability and accuracy of the figures and called on the national population commission to emphasise its demographic values of the society.

By Bilkis Yusuf in Abuja

OAU

Firmer on South Africa

Inkathagate which broke in South Africa last week deprived President F.W. de Klerk of what sympathy he had expected from African leaders who met in Abuja

Leaders of the 14 African countries that make up the OAU adhoc committee on Southern Africa rose from a 2-day mini-summit meeting in Abuja last week dashing what hope South African President F.W. de Klerk might have been nursing of a softening of the African position on sanctions against his country because of its apartheid policy. Indeed, Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida who became chairman of OAU during the Abuja summit in June did hint that Mr. De Klerk would be encouraged along the path of democratisation.

But in Abuja last week the mood was not that of appreciation for what the racist leader had done so far to dismantle apartheid but

one of disgust over *Inkathagate* — an exposure of a clandestine South African government hand in the violence in the black townships. A communique which the African leaders issued at the end of the meeting said the scandalous funding of Inkatha Freedom Party, a rival black movement to fight the African National Congress, had "created a crisis of confidence, seriously threatening the process of change".

It said it was up to Mr. De Klerk to "rebuild confidence and promptly begin the process of negotiation towards a new constitution which would lead to the establishment of a democratic, non-racial government within a time frame to be agreed by all parties concerned". Specifically the adhoc committee requested that a constituent assembly and an interim government be elected as a first step.

The committee pledged to give 25,000 American dollars (about 2.7 million Naira) towards the hosting of a conference of all anti-apartheid movements inside South Africa later this month. It is expected that the conference will give rise to a patriotic front against apartheid. The committee came in after countries which had earlier pledged to finance it withdrew or made "unacceptable political conditions", according to an ANC spokesman at the meeting.

Also, the committee condemned the partial lifting of sanctions, by some countries, notably the United States, saying that it was premature because the process of

change in the apartheid enclave was not yet irreversible. Its communique appealed to the U.S and Japan, which, too, has indicated its intention to drop some sanctions to keep the pressure on Mr. De Klerk to hasten the democratisation of his country.

Speaking on the subject on the first day of the meeting, current OAU chairman, President Babangida said Africa was not asking those countries to support anything strange to them. "What we seek from them", he said, "... is a commitment to support democratic change in South Africa and the sustenance of our efforts to bring about that change". Later, away from the venue of the mini-summit, Nigeria's external affairs minister, Major-General (rtd) Ike Nwachukwu was to announce that the OAU would undertake "shuttle diplomacy" in the U.S, Japan and European Community countries to preach democracy in South Africa. "We shall go round and speak to some leaders, for them to see that the values they uphold in their countries are brought to bear on South Africa", he said.

The Presidents who showed up in person in Abuja were Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Yoweri Museveni (Uganda), Quett Masire (Botswana), Hassan Nwinyi (Tanzania), Antonio Montario (Cape Verde) and Kenneth Kaunda (Zambia). Angola, Namibia and the Congo were represented by their foreign ministers.

By Tawey Zykka



Babangida: we want change in South Africa

Madagascar

The danse macabre continues

The opposition takes more government offices, but President Ratsiraka believes the last laugh will be his

President Didier Ratsiraka was still his proud and defiant self at week's end. Before foreign journalists whom he invited to the presidential palace on the outskirts of Antananarivo, he cynically asked: "Why should I give up just because thousands of people are marching?" Indeed, anti-government demonstrations have been almost a daily spectacle in the capital since June 10. The aim has been to force the president's resignation and a national conference to decide Madagascar's political future.

The news conference president Ratsiraka called at the weekend, observers say, was as much to reply the opposition as to tell France, the formal colonial power, which has been pressuring him to drop out of the scene that "president Ratsiraka is not ready to give up office". He confessed that not everything he had done had been perfect, but that was only to be expected. "I am not god", he said.

Like France's Charles Louis XIV who in 1789 said *L'etat c'est moi*, President Ratsiraka has come to see himself as the epitome of his country's unity. This would be in danger if he quit now, he said. According to him, Madagascar has been the first democratic country in Africa and who but he has been its architect. Everything required for democracy, he told his opponents, was already in place: multiparty politics, a free press and free trade unions.

Besides, he claimed he had conceded "every conceivable concession", yet the opposition is not appeased. His concessions announced last week were the repeal of the state of emergency declared July 23, release of six opposition leaders detained under the emergency law, the sacking of his cabinet on July 28 and promise of a referendum on a new constitution.

Conciliatory as the president appears to be, the opposition are saying his concessions have come

too late. They say his days in power are over. As far as they are concerned, all that remains for the president is to "negotiate his departure from power". But they would let him save face by allowing him to stay on for a few months but only as a ceremonial president. He should give up all his power to a prime minister nominated by the opposition.

President Ratsiraka was given until August 9 to meet the opposition's demands. He gave his reply almost immediately: resignation is out of the question. In reply the 16-party Lifeblood Committee expanded its shadow cabinet and occupied more government offices at the weekend. "It's impossible to negotiate with president Ratsiraka", said Jean Rakotoharison, a retired army general appointed shadow president a fortnight ago.

Both sides are spitting fire in a test of political strength, which fortunately has not drawn blood so far. President Raatsiraka said that with or without the opposition he would announce a new government this week. The opposition said they were prepared to ignore him and would run the country themselves. They rejected the president's offer of a dialogue but announced that they were returning to the committee, composed of pro-government parties and opposition representatives, which is preparing the ground for a national conference. The committee's work was disrupted a fortnight ago following the arrest of six opposition leaders.

By Tawey Zakka
with agency reports

The news conference president Ratsiraka called at the weekend, observers say, was as much to reply the opposition as to tell France, the formal colonial power, which has been pressuring him to drop out of the scene that "president Ratsiraka is not ready to give up office."

Iraq

On the brink

Encouraged to revolt by the west, now the people are being pushed on to a quagmire

The Iraqi people are in a dire straits. They are in dilemma.

The Kurds, especially and the Shiites who have answered calls from the West to revolt against President Saddam Hussain are on the brink of death. Worse, is the fact that their friends have abandoned them — in search of the lone head of Saddam. And also in search of weapons of mass destruction, which, they have reckon, they and only they should have in stock. Since the expected ouster of Saddam has proved a difficult job, the people thought they would, at least be free to eat. This is especially so, for according to reports, Iraq has allowed a UN inspection team to have a look at the sites of its uranium deposits.

The world is now aware of the situation in Iraq courtesy of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan who is in charge of the UN agency for relief efforts in Iraq. He was reported to have said that "it is evident that for large numbers of the people of Iraq every passing month brings closer the brink of calamity." The only thing the people of Iraq have to say was to ask their "friends," what they have done to deserve such a cruel and nasty treatment. The situation is indeed pathetic. Apart from the prohibitive cost of food and other life essentials, there is chronic malnutrition among children. Relief agencies in Iraq have reported that most families cannot afford food and other materials which are inadequate anyway. It is as serious as that. It is even worse. About 600,000 Iraqis are said to have

registered as destitutes, just to have "access to public feeding centres."

Perhaps, the situation is not so serious. For, the UN is still to get together to approve a resolution that will allow Iraq to sell a limited part of its oil to buy food and medicine. Iraq hoped that when the UN sanctions committee and the security council ease the blockade which has been on since August, 1990, it will export over 1 billion dollars worth of oil and then use it to save the lives of many who have lost all hopes of a return to the pre-Gulf war days. But, the problem still remains that the West doesn't trust Saddam anymore. They don't have a reason to trust him anyway. In the same way, the Iraqi people can't still understand why they should be made to suffer for the sins of a soul.

On Wednesday, it was reported that the UN mission that went to Iraq discovered that Iraq has large quantity of chemical weapons, which they estimated to be nearly four times more than she admitted. That is bad news for the Iraqi people. The US and its allies are said to be serious about attacking Iraq once more, until it satisfactorily account for its weapons of mass destruction. What it means is that whatever action the West takes against Iraq now, it can point to Iraq's dishonesty as its justification.

In between these conflicting claims, is the propaganda warfare both Saddam and President Bush have launched against each other. Saddam told his people that western leaders hate them and so they want to starve them. He was



Saddam: "West hates you"

quoted as saying that western leaders "cared more for stray dogs and cats than the Iraqi people." As far as Bush is concerned, the main problem is Saddam himself. But who cares — certainly not the Iraqis — about the cause of their suffering? Their main concern now is to see hunger — and ultimately, disease — wiped out.

Going by the earlier arrangement, the West said the reason for the war was not to oust Saddam, but to dismiss him out of Kuwait. His ouster was left at the discretion of the Iraqi people themselves. That was why they were urged to revolt. Now after several months since the end of the war, the people have been unable to topple Saddam. Instead they have been facing continual horror — they are hungry and tired. An empty stomach and weak legs can't be relied upon to do any changing attempt. It is only then fair that the people are calling their "friends" their enemies — for denying them food, even though they have been unable to do something with Saddam.

By Rabiū Barde with
agency reports

Moscow summit

New frontier

With the signing of START, the world may be at peace again, or will it?

Last week in Moscow the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev and President George Bush of the United States formally signed the long awaited Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START). The treaty signed after a two-day talks between the two leaders provides for reduction of long range nuclear missiles by a third of its present level in their countries' arsenal. It's first attempt to limit long-range nuclear warheads stockpiled by the two superpowers and their allies. To ensure compliance, the nuclear sites in both countries will be opened for inspection. The USSR has around 30,000 nuclear war heads and 50 nuclear power stations scattered around the country. The US runs a close second. Under the terms of the treaty the two sides would however retain more than 6,000 nuclear war heads.

The Moscow summit which is the first in the post cold war began about a decade ago. It was an attempt at arms control following the massive arms build up in Europe and America. The Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT) is one of such attempts at arms control. But this failed principally because of mutual distrust and lack of political will between the super powers.

The coming in to power of Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985 changed all that. Some say it is the economic difficulties at home that forced his hand. Under the twin-programme of "Glasnot" and "Perestroika," President Gorbachev first recalled home thousands of Soviet troops stationed in Afghanistan since 1980, and lowered the iron curtain on the various communist countries of the Eastern Europe.

Mr Gorbachev went ahead to revive the seemingly paralysed START summit in Geneva in 1985 where he met with Reagan for an exploratory talks. A similar meeting scheduled for last February in Moscow failed to hold. The true reason had to do with strain in the American-Soviet relations when Gorbachev deployed soviet troops to quell the agitations of independence in the Baltic republics.

Despite the enormous domestic turmoil, the West sees in Gorbachev, the man with whom it can do business. He even got an invitation to join the western leaders for a special session at their London summit last month. Although he did not get the needed cash aid, he got sympathetic hearing. His efforts was given further boost last week when President Bush announced at a banquet dinner that his country has granted the Soviet Union the status of most favoured trading nation. This move which has to be ratified by the US congress would lower barrier on trade between the two countries and bring the Soviet Union in line with America's other trading partners but with conditions.

Yet not many people are comfortable with the formidable presence of soviet conventional armed forces stationed in Europe and Asia. The US Chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff, General Colin Powell advanced this fear in the talks with his Soviet military counterpart in Moscow shortly before the summit began. The Red Army is indeed the world's largest with four million men and women in uniform, absorbs 35 percent of the Soviet budget.

Paul Nixon, and President Ronald Reagan's chief arms nego-



Bush and Gorb: new buddies

tiator said he is bitterly disappointed by the outcome of the treaty. He said the disparity of nuclear facilities between the two powers is unfavourable to the US. Another American defence expert, Frank Garvin, said START agreement is a political convenience for the White House but will in the long run cost the US her security.

A Soviet general and editor of military historical journal, said it is madness to give into what he called western inspired reforms. According to him, such conversion is a national disaster and that it is an attempt by America to destroy the Soviet Union as it did to German arms factory during the wars, but this time, it is doing it without the bombs.

By Abu Mommoh with
agency reports

Nigeria Airways

Will the Eagle ever fly?

Nigeria Airways is poised to receive the TCPC's surgical knife, but will this save the ailing national carrier?

When the Nigeria Airways changed its logo from the elephant to the eagle in 1988 the impression then was that it was ready to fly. Three years after the change, however, the eagle is yet to soar higher than the elephant. The wings of the eagle have been weighed down by indebtedness, bureaucracy, mismanagement and sheer

administrative incompetence.

Several attempts to salvage the ailing corporation have not succeeded, not even the unprecedented retrenchment of about 3,000 staffers of the airline in 1988. Nigeria Airways recorded a profit of U.S\$12m in 1977 during the tenure of Captain Paul Tahal. Since then, the account has always been in red. Thus, after several years of lacklustre performance, the federal government came to the conclusion that the best way to give the national carrier a new lease of life was to privatise it.

In 1989, a Presidential Task Force (PTF) headed by Air Vice Marshal Abdullahi Bello was given the mandate to prepare the airline for commercialisation as the first step towards privatisation. The PTF completed its assignment in December 1990 and submitted its recommendations to the federal government.

Among several other

recommendations, the chairman of the Technical Committee for Privatisation and commercialisation, Dr. Hamza Zayyad and other members of the committee paid a visit to the Ikeja headquarters of the airline in the last week of July for on-the-spot-assessment. During the visit, the picture of the airline as painted by its acting managing director Captain Jonathan Ibrahim was anything but encouraging.

According to Ibrahim, the aircraft fleet composition of the airline currently stands at sixteen, ten of which are serviceable while the remaining six are beyond repair. The financial position of the company is even more gloomy. Long term debts stand at 630 million Naira while current debt to suppliers amount to 35 million dollars. Moreover, for 1991 alone, the airline requires 26 million dollars to pay for 'D' and 'C' checks for 13 aircraft in the fleet.

It was against this background, that the managing director of the Nigeria Airways anchored his argument that the airline is not yet ready for privatisation. Rather, Captain Ibrahim wants the period of commercialisation to be extended to a minimum of two years during which the long term debt of the airline would be absorbed by government and its capital base increased to match its 3 billion Naira asset base.

With its present condition, Ibrahim contended that "a leap into private ownership without the tutelage of commercialisation, may spell down for the National Carrier, and the Nigeria Aviation Industry". To him, the financial position of the Nigeria Airways is not an exception in the industry, pointing out that many private airlines abroad and in Nigeria have gone bankrupt in recent years, while some of the major airlines in the industry, which are privately owned are tottering on the verge of bankruptcy.

Dr. Zayyad, TCPC chairman,



Momoh ; Chairman (below) a crashed national carrier



Bello: his scalpel may cut deep

would not agree with the management's view, however. According to Zayyad, there is no reason why the national carrier, with the enormous but unutilised resources at its disposal, can not break even and post a tidy profit. He therefore gave the green light for the commercialisation of the airline to begin.

With the setting up of a sub-committee to effect this, the journey to privatisation has finally begun. But the question is: what will be the fate of the 4,356 staff of the airline made up of 2,121 senior staff and 2,235 junior staff?

Citizen learnt last week that of these, about 3,000 may be thrown into the unemployment market. The chairman of the Board of Directors of the airline, Tony Momoh was brutally frank on the issue. Said Momoh last week, "those who can not fit in the new scheme will normally in the natural order of things drop off".

For now, the retrenchment fever has gripped some staffers of the airline and some of the staffers have prepared their mind for the worst. However, Frank Aiyede, Assistant General Secretary of the Air Transport Services Senior Staff Association of Nigeria told *Citizen* last week that the management was yet to tell the association about any plan for retrenchment.

According to Aiyede, the

management of the airline had at its last meeting with the various associations within the airline promised to float subsidiaries where the surplus workers would be absorbed. *Citizen* gathered that the subsidiaries would be in the area of hotel and catering, automation, printing, tourism and real estate.

The airline according to a senior management staff who spoke to *Citizen* in confidence is stinking with corruption. He told *Citizen* that the airline is viable and could easily make profit but for the activities of some unscrupulous management staff who squander the airlines resources. Fuming with anger, he cited the example of the automation project which the management could conveniently handle through direct labour but which instead was contracted out at the staggering sum of 10 million Naira.

Until the bad eggs in the organisation are identified and flushed out, he argued, the elephant will find it difficult to fly.

By Tola Sunday

Adebayo Adedeji

Lament of the home comer

Outgoing Executive Secretary, Economic Commission for Africa lets out the frustrations of an International civil servant who returns home

Flanked on all sides by organisers of the monthly News Agency of Nigeria (NAN) Administration, stepped into the conference chambers of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA) with remarkable surefootedness last Monday. His mission: to deliver a lecture on "THE E.C.A.: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS OF ECONOMIC GROWTH IN AFRICA".

As United Nations Under-secretary-General and outgoing Executive secretary of its Economic Commission for Africa, Adedeji's ability to sufficiently address the

issue at hand was not in dispute. The select audience drawn from the press, the academia, the diplomatic corps, the organised private sector and the bureaucracy exuded an air of expectancy.

As the Guest Lecturer settled into his seat on the dais, a battery of press photographers pressed forward for vintage shots. A half-smile played carefully around the lips of the homecoming professor who seemed to lend more than a whiff of credence to press speculations about his political ambitions with the way he consciously cut different poses for

the benefit of the photo-journalists. Speculations have been rife that he has an eye on the presidency.

However, Professor Adedeji himself would soon make evident with his grim lecture, what was at issue at the NAN/PANA Forum was not mere politicking. Dignitaries at the occasion including Dr. T.P. Enodien, a Director-General in the presidency, representatives of Finance Minister Alhaji Abubakar Alhaji and his Information counterpart Chief Alex Akinyele, NAN chairman, Chief Oyekunle Oluwasanmi, PANA's West African representative, Randy Zormelo and



Adedeji: Africa must look inward
NLA Director-General Dr. George Obiozor were soon treated to an evening of frank assessment of the African condition.

Professor Adebayo Adedeji's position is that African countries should be more inward-looking in

their search for an antidote to the continent's economic crisis since turn-key economic propositions from Europe and North America have proved unsuitable for the African environment.

As far as he is concerned, "if as a continent we have been unable to avert looming economic disaster, it is not for lack of timely warnings, not for lack of ideas as to what our strategic response should be. It is because African governments do not practice what they preach and tend more often than not to fail to stick to agreed strategies and policy frameworks". He drew the attention to the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) which since 1976, when it came out with its treaties *Revised Framework of Principles for the Implementation of the New International Economic Order in Africa*

(1976-81-86) has been consistent in recommending an indigenous approach to the economic transformation of the continent.

As Adedeji admitted however, the E.C.A., not being a supra-national organisation could only advise, even cajole, African member-states not impose its will. Most pathetic as far as the E.C.A. Executive Secretary is concerned, however, is the fact that no African country has attained the limits of its production potential.

Said Adedeji, "if a country like Nigeria had achieved its optimum, it would have by the sheer weight of its size pulled up Africa The crisis in African can, in a way, be said to be the result of the crisis in Nigeria. Africa needs its own tigers. We have problems because we don't have any".

By Yinka Tella

BUSINESS BRIEFS

Texlon beauty pageant

Texlon Nigeria Limited — a renowned textile manufacturers will exclusively sponsor the 1991 edition of the popular beauty pageant; Most Beautiful Girl in Nigeria. The beauty pageant proper will be preceded by an avant-

garde fashion show featuring famous names in the fashion industry.

In a short speech at the signing of the agreement of the sponsorship with Goldmark, an advertising company in Lagos, a director of Texlon Nigeria Limited, Krush

Anklesaria, said that the sole sponsorship was part of the company's contribution to the cultural development of Nigeria.



LBN director gets honour

The Marketing Director of Lever Brothers Nigeria PLC, O. S. Babatunde was last week honoured with "Marketing Executive of the year." Award for 1991. The award was conferred on Babatunde at Nike Lake Hotel, Enugu.

According to a statement from LBN headquarters in Lagos, the annual award is organised by the department of marketing of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka to honour deserving marketing practitioners.



Left to right, Bruce, Mirchandani, Anklesaria and Nwagbara

Banking Young Turks take over

Banks now prefer younger executives with MBA certificates to more experienced but less qualified personnel

Keen watchers of the banking sector believe that employers now prefer the new generation of bankers, who are young, well educated and dynamic to their other counterparts who although experienced, do not have the benefit of a university education. It is not uncommon to find an advertisement for banking personnel concluding with: "In addition to ACIB or B.sc, a second degree in banking and finance or MBA will be an advantage".

This new trend, *Citizen* learnt, is causing some disquiet in the industry especially among the older generation bankers who did not possess university degrees.

At the recent 1991 Banker's Forum, a participant from Nigeria Arab Bank raise the issue of alleged preference for applicants with MBA and M.Sc (Banking and Finance) to those with ACIB certificates by employers in the banking industry.

He observed that if the situation continues, the number of candidates who enrol for the ACIB examinations would reduce drastically.

Emmanuel Ibe, chief executive of Acumen Centre, Lagos, attributes the sudden "popularity" of the MBA certificate to the changing nature of Nigeria's business environment. According to Ibe, the banking sector has become more sophisticated and competitive with the result that banks now prefer to hire young, well-educated and dynamic executives who can easily adapt to the new scheme of things. Financial analysts also point out that the course content of the AIB certificate programme unlike the MBA degree course is streamlined and restricted to banking alone. On the other hand, they argue that the MBA course content is wider in scope and arms the student with the necessary tools to compete effectively in the fierce banking environment.

Meanwhile, at the recently concluded Bankers Forum, Femi Adekanye, president of the Institute said that the organisation would soon review its course content to reflect the recent changes in the nation's financial sector. The institute has also taken the bold step of sponsoring M.Sc courses in banking and finance in some selected universities in an attempt to bridge the gap between theory and practice.

The position of the Chartered Institute of Bankers is that all aspiring bankers, regardless of their academic qualifications must sit for, and obtain the institute's certificate before they can be certified professional bankers. Femi Adekanye, president of the Institute told *Citizen*, "even if you have a P.hd degree, you have to sit for the Institute's examinations before you can become a professional banker".

Citizen gathered that the "favoured" status of MBA graduates has generated a cold war between the young and well-educated bank executives and their older but less qualified counterparts. This war is often carried into company boardrooms with adverse effects on the day-to-day running of the affairs of the banks.

On the winning trail

Boots Nigeria PLC, the pharmaceuticals giant, has made a dramatic comeback to the hall of corporate high performers. After several years of lacklustre performance, the company served notice in June 1990 that it has hit the right business cord by posting an after-tax profit of 1.73 million Naira. Exactly one year later, Boots profit score-card soared to 4.004 million Naira, a whopping 133.5% increase over its 1990 result.

Yusuf Ahmed, Chairman of Boots PLC who addressed shareholders and members of the board of directors during the company's annual general meeting last week. "It is exciting to observe

that your company's 1991 half year turnover result has already exceeded the total turnover and profit after tax performance of the entire year of 1990." According to the chairman, demand for the company's wide range of projects has increased so tremendously that management has set in motion a permanent production programme of day and night shifts to cope with increased public demand.

Established in September 1960, Boots has over the years, carved an enviable image for its self in the pharmaceuticals industry. Its range of products — PR Paracetamol tablets, Febrilix Syrup, Penetrol Inhalant, Calamine lotion and

steadily regaining its former prominent position in the drugs and cosmetics market.

Boots commenced local manufacturing of different range of products in 1981. PR tablets, the company's major locally manufactured product is one of the oldest branded analgesics in the country. Said Yusuf Ahmed, chairman of Boots Nigeria PLC last week, "our local sourcing of raw material components for some of our manufactured products has increased and we are optimistic that this trend will be further amplified when the petrochemical project gets to the stage of processing pharmaceutical raw materials in the near future.

By Tola Sunday



KABIRU YUSUF

in the number of depositors. He even told the magazine how his system of "money brokerage" worked

"The basic principle behind the scheme is the marketing of forms known as investment form to prospective customers. If a customer

Umanah has not committed any offence against the Rivers State Government *per se*. The offence he committed was against the Naira. He was bastardising the Naira". What does "bastardising" the naira mean? The Central Bank of Nigeria in a letter to the Rivers authorities dated May, 1991, and signed by J.I. Osinowo, Director of Bankings supervision was more helpful. It said "although resources Managers Nigeria Limited applied to us for the issuance of a license through its solicitors to operate a fund management, brokerage and investment company, its current activities of advertising for and collection of deposits are duties reserved for licensed banks. Its actions, therefore, contravenes the provisions of section 1 and 27 of the banking Decree 1969....."

Now, isn't the Central Bank supposed to be at the forefront in sorting this out? What are penalties against the mushrooming finance houses that also collect deposits and pay higher than the 21 per cent interest rate ceiling? In what way is Umanah's operation different? "Action governors" don't understand these matters. Governor Abbe had made quite a splash on network news, but "Operation Naira Storm" may do more harm than good. First, thousands of families in Rivers State would lament the loss of the 60 per cent interest they believed Umanah would deliver. Second given the wide discrepancy between the government and Umanah's list of depositors, can the refunds be made without creating more squabbles?

Lastly, Justice Bello Gusau, last year called "an inexperienced judge," has another hero on his hands. If Umanah is also sent to Bama Prison, President Babangida might as well tactfully avoid Rivers in his round of state visits.

The government has had enough "exposure" to last the transition period.

Too much government

This government has a public relations "guru" as its Minister of Information, but in the last one year, it has been losing one PR battle after another. Last week, one Umanah E. Umanah and five of his employees were arraigned before the Special Tribunal on Recovery of Public Property accused of "corruptly enriching their firm (Resources Managers Nigeria Ltd, RMNL) by deceiving the public that they would pay 60% interests on deposits. Incidentally the same tribunal jailed Rivers famous son, David-West in November last year; on similar charge.

In the latest case involving RMNL the issue goes beyond sentiments. According to the Rivers state government, 77,414 depositors from various walks of life in the state are believed to have lodged their funds with the Port-Harcourt based company. They trooped to Umanah in their thousands; soldiers, policemen, traders, students, even magistrates and judges because the company paid 60 percent interest on one month deposit, (later stretched to 3 months).

In the only interview he gave since he was arrested and his company closed down in May, Umanah boasted to the *Nigerian Economist*, that "my total number of customers was about 440,000, which cut across all sectors of the society. Umanah said he had been operating since November 1989 and it was his good track record that led to an explosion

invests 5 Naira, the amount covered one form. In order to pay 8 Naira to such customer at the end of 30 days, the company must sell two other forms to two new members at the cost of 5 Naira each. The company will now realise 10 Naira from the sale of two forms and pay out 8 Naira (or 60 per cent interest) as promised to the first customer....

Example: If a customer invests 100,000 Naira, he is to collect 160,000 Naira in 30 days. The company will make sure that all the required forms are sold. 100,000 Naira, will cover 20,000 Naira forms (i.e 100,000 Naira forms at 5 Naira each, which is 200,000 Naira. Now, 160,000 Naira will be used to pay such customer and the company uses 40,000 Naira as running cost. As indicated in the certificate, the company can only pay after the sales of the specified number of forms."

That this formula was working and investing more and more customers was confirmed by Rivers Police Commissioner, Owens Onoge who said that when he began investigating the company he had one major constraint: "Investigating him was difficult because I didn't even know which policemen to use. Most of them had invested their money with him. The same way as many of those in the sister forces (meaning the Army and SSS) did".

Governor Godwin Abbe, who personally led the operation that recovered millions of depositors, money, can only say, "really

Citizen

All the News in Perspective

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Super Eagles whitewashed Stallions of Burkina Faso Page 47

Citizenship
By LEWIS ALLEN

**...THEY BOMBED
OUR OFFICE!....**

**...I HAD TO WALK AND CRAWL!...
...MY OFFICIAL BICYCLE WAS MANGLED!...**

BOMBED?!

HAA!



**...IN SOME OTHER ZONES
THEY'RE SENDING HIRED
KILLERS AFTER EACH OTHER!...**

**THESE POLITICIANS!...
THESE POLITICIANS!...**

**THEY'RE VERY
UNPATRIOTIC!**



**...SOON IT WILL BE
SCUD MISSILES!...
...WISH WE HAD PATRIOTS
FOR NIGERANS!**

**THAT'S
RIGHT!**

**WE'LL SEND PATRIOTS TO LECTURE
THEM ON PATRIOTISM!...
...HE'LL GO WITH
YOU!...**



**WE ARE MISUNDERSTANDING
THIS YOUNG MAN, FA!...
...HE MEANS 'SCUD PATRIOTS...
...ANTI MISSILE!**

??



Governorship clowns

The murky but amusing side of the democracy coin is the fact that it imposes mediocres of assorted shades of jokers on the governed. And who are critics to quarrel with the people's choice?

There's this governorship candidate who does not believe in the power of posters as a campaign strategy. He has replaced posters with a sheet of wretched duplicating paper. A copy caught the attention of my eye. I assume that other media houses must have received theirs. In it one Professor, Alhaji, Dr. Hali Tazan made some incredible promises to the people of Sokoto State, should they elect him as their governor.

The first task this "redeemer" of a candidate would undertake is to

provide an air conditioner in all the prison cells in the state!! Never mind the fact that only two percent of Nigerians who are not criminals can afford to live in air conditioned houses! Hali's logic is to promote prisoners' rights over and above that of others. In addition to providing air conditioners, prisoners will also be entitled to uncontrolled visits from spouses, who may even be allowed to stay!

So come 1992, should Hali win the governorship contest, I can predict that all those families eking out a living will find a way of committing crimes that will earn them life sentences in prison. And who will blame them when they will have nutritious food and air condi-



tioned cells to live in? Some one observed that the guy's grey matter is over balanced upstairs. I am inclined to believe this.

However, the snag of the whole issue is the inability of the electorate to know which party Hali belongs to because it wasn't stated in the poster. What an aspirant!

Mid-year blues

The headlines varied but they all remarkably had one thing in common. Consider these: **Man attacks lady over spurned marriage proposal** (self-explanatory); **LG loses N2m to fake contractors** (some smart guys sensing that the Port Harcourt LG apparently had all the money it can handle, what with the 15% revenue allocation and all, printed and issued their own receipts); **Middle-aged woman murdered** (nobody knows the reason for the gruesome act, but someone in Katsina does); **Kuti flays ambulance service** (the minister's objection has to do with public attitude towards maintenance of everything belonging to government), and **Registrar declines judicial offer** (only the unnamed officer can clear things up because the story did not say why) - *National Concord*.

Adedeji blames Africa's woes on leaders (they turn deaf ears to sound advice and do not practice what they preach); **Poly rusticates two students** (cult members, no less); **Ayuba**

blames smuggling on porous borders (self-explanatory except that it is porous in more ways than the governor would care to admit); **Auto plants press for 100% tariff differential** (the difference between their spare parts imports and fully-built cars brought in by individuals and corporate bodies), and **Military should not dabble in politics**, says Ojukwu - *The Guardian*.

Robbers kill 2 DTV staff (all that just to snatch a wretched Peugeot car in Mubi); **Sayawa had always been confrontational** (self-explanatory), and **ABU agrees to pay minimum wage** (after the VC was violently told to do so) - *The Reporter*.

150 officers on trial (for among other things, indiscipline, as part of a drive to rid the force of unscrupulous officers) - *Daily CHAMPION*.

We won't register (three communities in Abuja are protesting lack of social amenities) **NTA staff sing war tune** (over non-payment of salaries); **LG staffers**

demonstrate (again, over non payment of June-July salaries in Kaduna) - *The DEMOCRAT*.

New Coins in danger (goldsmiths buy them by the sackful to melt them, just as before, to make jewelleryes) - **The PUNCH**. **VANGUARD** said that **Customsmen want Customs probed**. There isn't room for many, many more.

Well, did we arrive at the same conclusion; that there is simply too much agro in our society? There is something else I did not tell you; the stories were contained in just one day's edition of the newspapers - 30th July, 1991. One day fa! If so much can be reported in a day, the mind boggles as to what will get to be reported up to December. I mean, what would prompt Ojukwu, a retired and pardoned Lt-Colonel in the Nigerian Army and a General in the Biafran Army and who tried to dismember this great country, to disown military rule? Or a government minister who earnestly believes in preventive medicine balk at the prospect of "saving lives" on the roads? I call all these mid-year blues. What do you call them?

Pulse of hardship

Times are hard. The struggle to keep life and body together in the harsh face of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) is taking its toll on peoples' moral. They worry about stretching lean resources too far. So home economics fails, sweets tears flow and vanities reign.

Home economics

I have seven children
The eighth is on its way
In two years time I will reach the age
of retirement
Only yesterday I climbed the third
step of Grade level four
Not quite so long my second wife
left me
All because we can't afford eggs on
the breakfast table
The good one that chose to stay
Is now married to sighs and sneering
looks
Her looks kept piercing the inside of
my heart
Making me look stupid or a failure
as a whole
In the past a large sack greets a family
of ten
Comprising assorted shopping to
last a full month
Now the same amount hardly fills
three ten kobo bag
I have learnt to live in a rented house
Now these fifty years as a clerk.
The thought of retirement in two
years today
Fills my heart with choking sorrows
Not because of the salary
But where to house a family of ten
This is the riddle of home economics.

Ahmad Mainasara

Sweet tears

Lets get the tears of
Silence dried up
Even if it flows to

Both equator ends
Nor attend to pole's ends
Rays of evaporation are thirsty
There is this true complexion of life
Befitting you as
Intended by Allah (God)
In the prime of youth
You are societies' heart
That bleed through a facial mask
That roar in its pomp
That depict an ideal complexion
That displays creamy skin
That wield power through concrete
bones
That fume smoke from solid chest

As raw vim bubbles
Squeezing out tears
of silence
From able toil
Get the glow
Conspicuous above sinking
With closer rays
Get dried up the tears
Of silence
To rain your strength
To water societies'
Aspiration
To reap joy with
Flowing sweet tears.

Amin Sheid Anakobe

Vanities

Fools they may be, but are they
stupid?
The people — nothing is stranger
than if
They should as quickly learn to
cherish
Their chains and yoke as in a little
while
Begin to think those are wings —
only
Of wood and steel: If our people
should
know what our WARRIORS do
with their heads,
Where will they find the mind to
need WARRIORS?



And no *politrickster* dare demolish
his mysteries
By scanning the volume of fart from
anuses
Of WARRIORS lying in their clap-
trap lair—that tribe
Of oath-breakers. Their errors are so
dear
To them and they perpetuate their
vanities
To immortalise their backbreaking
dynasties.
Let our WARRIORS savour their *suqa*
and palmwine
The people may be fools, but are they
stupid?

Hyeladzira A. B. Shaffa

Mother leads the way

In the swollen throat
Of the street,
From chockful of crowds
And shouts of 'Bara'at'
Or abhorrence,
You knotted your veil
To mine
Mother,
So that you would not lose me
In the American dictionary
The welcome to a mystical song
Translates into
A hard metallic word—
'A bullet'.
Not to lose the way, nor stray
I should've tied my *chador*
To yours' mother
So drenched now in your own blood.

Anon

Varicose veins (I)

By Lynne Lamberg

These are swollen superficial veins most often appear on the inner side and back of the calf, and on the inner side of the thigh. They occasionally affect the lower arm. When they affect the anal region, they are called haemorrhoids.

Whether a varicose vein is visible depends on its location. In the thigh, veins may be concealed by body fat; in the calf, they bulge on the surface as masses of twisted, bluish cords.

What are the symptoms of varicose veins?

Obviously, one symptom is the appearance of bluish veins that stand out from the surface of the skin. Other symptoms are a feeling of heaviness or fullness in the legs, fatigued leg muscles (particularly at the end of the day), soreness after standing for long periods, muscle cramps in the calf, and itching or burning of the skin. Persistent swelling signals more advanced stages of the disease. Pain isn't usually a problem until the disorder is advanced, although women may find varicose veins particularly painful during menstruation.

What will your doctor do?

By inspection and manipulation, your doctor will be able to verify the presence of varicose veins, and tell where and how severe they are.

Your doctor may use an exam called the *Trendelenburg test* to determine the extent of the problem. In this test, a tourniquet is placed high on the thigh to obstruct the superficial veins. The patient then assumes

a number of standing or lying positions which allow the physician to judge direction and rate of blood flow in and between the two sets of veins.

Depending on the outcome of the test, a *venogram* may be done to determine the condition of the deeper veins. An iodine-based dye is injected into the superficial vein of the foot; tourniquets are applied to force the dye into the deep vein, and



X rays are taken to see if the deep system is open, or partially or totally obstructed. Generally a venogram is a hospital procedure, you are required to stay in bed and rest for a day or two after the test.

What are current treatments for varicose veins?

Fortunately, most people with varicose veins don't need surgery.

When overweight is a contributing factor the doctor's advice is clear-cut: lose weight.

Both obese and normal-weight

patients can frequently benefit from elastic support stockings that alleviate an elevated pressure on the veins caused by faulty valves. Often the elastic stockings provide relief for patients with uncomplicated varicose veins.

Women should avoid "one size fits all" support panty hose. Instead, choose a size that is proportioned to your height and weight. Make sure the panty hose provide even support all the way up to the waist and don't constrict the toes. Men's support hose should not have a constricting elastic band at the top.

Your physician may prescribe custom-made stockings that come in varying lengths and degrees of compression. The stocking must be replaced when they lose their elasticity, usually after three or four months' wear.

Sometimes elastic roll bandages are prescribed for even better support.

What about surgery?

When varicose veins are so advanced that surgery is necessary, the procedure that's most often performed is *ligation and stripping*. By making incisions near the groin and at the ankles, a surgeon is able to tie off and sever the affected saphenous vein. A flexible wire is passed up the vein from the ankle; the end of the vein at the groin is tied to the end of the wire and the wire is then removed, pulling the vein along with it. Sometimes other incisions must be made along the leg or part of the leg to tie off connections between the superficial and the deeper veins. In some cases, an incision must be made along the length of the lower leg.

Culled from *Better Homes and Gardens*

Obasi Ajaelu

Murder most bizarre

Politics of rancour reaches a climax in Imo State with assassins on the rampage

He was told that his life was in danger. He panicked and ran to the police for protection.

The police advised him to go home and relax, assuring him that his life was safe. But they were wrong. Four months after his unheeded save-my-soul message, the man's bullet-riddled and lifeless body lay crumpled beside his car, in his compound! He had been murdered by two masked hired assassins. Date: July 2. The assassins' motive: To shut him up forever and so protect their political interest — and those of the men who paid them to execute the dastardly act.

Nze Ajaelu, a Social Democratic Part, (SDP) stalwart in Ihitte Uboma, Imo State, until the night of July 2, had been many things including a salesman with G.B. Ollivant and R.T. Briscoe. On leaving paid employment Nze Ajaelu, a Cambridge certificate holder went into the supplies business. After operating from Enugu and Aba for sometime, the politician in him implored him to return home and answer his people's call for service. To take care of his needs and those of his three wives and 10 children, the veteran salesman built and managed a modest eating home which he christened Solar Hotels. The hotel, located on the Umuhia-Etiti-Mbano Road and just a shouting distance from the Ihitte Uboma local government headquarters at Isinweke, has been under lock and key since the proprietor's bizarre death in the hands of his political enemies.

As a politician in the second republic, Nze Ajaelu belonged to the ruling National Party of Nigeria, NPN, where he contested for the constituency chairmanship and won.

Ironically, it was that lightning rise to the top that has cut short his eventful life, for emerging funds indicate that the loving husband and father of seven boys and three girls was assassinated for knowing too much and for refusing to keep it



Ajaelu: his son has clue to who the murderers are

to himself. He was, it was alleged, given 50,000 Naira not to testify against the (Ihite Uboma) chairman but rejected it. He was then threatened that he either accept the money or he would be dead.

The assassination threat got to the police last February. Chief Benjamin Uwajumogu, 28 and Ihite Uboma SDP chairman on February 25, petitioned the Imo State police command, alerting it that his life, as well as that of Nze Ajaelu and Chief Matthew Ebegbulem, the SDP Umuihi ward chairman, was in danger. He alleged that a National Republican Convention, NRC top shot in Ihite Uboma had placed a 15,000 Naira price on his head and those of his two close political associates, the key witnesses in the

protracted legal tussle between the two parties over the local government chairmanship, won by NRC's Chief Francis Anamekwa in the December 8, 1990 elections. Chief Anamekwa has lost to SDP's SS Nwanne at the local election tribunal but later regained his seat after the appeal tribunal ruled that the lower court lacked jurisdiction to hear the case. The SDP then took the fight to the Transition to Civil Tribunal in Lagos.

Citizen investigations in Ihite Uboma showed that Chief Uwajumogu's petition to the police, instead of bringing the desired results, backfired. Chief Uwajumogu and Nze Ajaelu were picked up and detained for several hours by the police in Ihite Uboma after being accused by Alhaji (Chief) Musa Egwin, the NRC local government deputy chairman, who was implicated in the petition, of passing false information to the police. Alhaji (Chief) Egwin, popularly known by his nickname Ogbunigwe (mass killer) has been in detention since Nze Ajaelu's murder. He is the prime suspect in the case and was nabbed on the evidence of Ezenwa, the 15-year-old son of the deceased who claimed to have recognised the NRC chieftain's voice and face while he allegedly temporarily removed his mask to ensure that Nze Ajaelu was dead.

Nze Ajaelu's elimination, Citizen learnt, came four days before he left for Owerri with Chief Uwajumogu enroute to Lagos for the bruising local government chairmanship battle, scheduled for hearing on July 8, by the transition to civil rule tribunal.

Dickson Sanomi, Imo state police commissioner, has confirmed that Nze Ajaelu's assassination had a political motive. He described the incident as unfortunate and assured that the culprits would be made to face the full rigours of the law.

By Isaac Umunna,
in Ihite Uboma

The trial of *Newswatch*

Former *Newswatch* staffer, charges *Newswatch* of ethical misconduct but the magazine editors declined to defend themselves

The failure of *Newswatch's* editor-in-chief, Ray Ekpu and senior associate Editor, Etim Anim, to appear before the Ethics Committee of the Nigerian Union of Journalists, (NUJ) Lagos State Chapter last week raised once again the issue of the ability of the union to subject its members to organisational discipline. For the thirty-eight journalists who were present at the committee's proceedings last week Tuesday, it was a matter for serious concern, taken against the backdrop of spirited attempts made by the government to put in place a Press Council that will discipline erring journalists. Government has not been able to constitute the council partly because of NUJ's objections to its composition.

Indications that the *Newswatch* editors may not appear before the committee began to emerge on 25th July, when its union chapel in a protest letter to Sanni Zorro, the union's national president complained that there was a grand design by some magazines who are in competition with *Newswatch* to tarnish its image. They expressed their lack of confidence in the Ethics Committee of the union's Lagos council alleging that some of its members had already expressed their bias against their magazine. Said Nats Agbo and Chris Uroh the chapel's chairman and secretary who signed the letter, "we have incontrovertible evidence that Richard Akinola, the committee's Chairman and some other members are already boasting that they will nail *Newswatch*".

Last week when proceedings opened in the Dele Giwa Memorial Conference Hall of NUJ Light House, Victoria Island, Babalola,



Ekpu and Zorro: who wants to kill *Newswatch*?

the Lagos Council Chairman, spent close to ten minutes trying "to correct the misconception in certain quarters that the committee was hurriedly put together to witch hunt". Babalola said, the committee is one of the standing committees of the union created by its constitution as a means of enhancing journalists code of conduct and ethical standard.

Efforts to get the comments of *Newswatch* on its absence at the proceeding proved abortive as Yakubu Muhammed and Etim Anim, the only senior editors of the magazine *Citizen* met last week decline comment.

About thirty eight journalist including NUJ national president Sanni Zorro were present at last week's proceeding which was spurred by a 10th July, 1991 petition written against *Newswatch's* Ray Ekpu and Etim Anim, by its former staffer Samuel Omatseye, now deputy political editor of *National Concord*. In the one page petition ad-

ressed to the Chairman of the committee, Omatseye complained against what he called *Newswatch's* "brazen travesty of investigative journalism and mania for manufacturing scoops" as contained in its cover story titled "The confession of a coup plotter" published July 8, 1991. He said that the man, who was interviewed in the story was an impostor who, if *Newswatch* editors had exercised their professional discretion and competence, would have so discovered.

Omatseye told the committee of five, made up of Tunji Bello, political editor of *National Concord*, Chris Ngwu, Chief Mike Ozekhome CLO's director of legal services, Francis Komolafe and Richard Akinola's its chairman, that he was propelled by the interest of the profession to defend it from unethical attacks. To buttress his position, he referred to *African Concord's* interview with Lt. Col. Anthony Niyam and Chief Great Ogboru, two wanted coupists, in its 29th July

edition, which he said had photographs of the twosome in the London office of the magazine. Omatseye also accused *Newswatch* of "semantic delusion" saying that the magazine made strenuous efforts to deceive the ordinary reader that the interview took place in "Ivory Coast" instead of *Newswatch* office at Oregun.

Colonel Fred Chikjuka, the director of Army Public Relations, and the second of the five witnesses that testified at the proceedings, agreed with Omatseye saying "when you discover that there is gross falsehood on what you believe in, you have to react". Although he agreed that *Newswatch* could still prove that the Army may be wrong, but as far as their record shows, the magazine could not have interviewed the wanted coupist. His evidence: The Army compared the life history of *Newswatch's* "coupist" with available Army records and found that there were gaping disparities. He

also revealed that State Security Service men had got in touch with Frederick Ajabor, widely believed to be the conman that outwitted *Newswatch*, and compared his voice with the voice on *Newswatch's* and *African Concord's* tapes. They were found to be the same. Rounding up, Chikjuka who said despite what *Newswatch* has done "he would continue to buy the magazine", adding "I sympathise with *Newswatch* because having reached that height and faced with this kind of crisis, it has to push itself up. But it is doing it the wrong way. I feel it's unfair to the Nigerian nation for *Newswatch* to have sold falsehood to Nigerians. *Newswatch* should apologise and let the matter end".

A Director of Military Intelligence (DMI), a Major who declined attribution told the committee that the *Newswatch* story was amateurish and must have been a figment of somebody's imagination. He chided the magazine for not cross-

checking its facts. Said he: "I think as journalists, there are certain basic facts which they ought to have known so that when someone is deceiving them they will know".

The committee has adjourned its sitting till Tuesday this week to enable it take more evidence from Colonel Chikjuka and five other witnesses. Meanwhile *Newswatch* and Etim Anim have, in separate suits gone to court. The magazine sued *African Concord*, and four others for libel claiming 40 million Naira as aggravated damages and 60 million Naira as exemplary damages for libel contained in *African Concord's* 29 July 1991 edition.

Anim is suing Colonel Chikjuka, for 10 million Naira for libel contained on page 3 of his press statement of 18 July, 1991 which was copiously quoted by the *African Concord* and some national dailies.

By Bolaji Adebiji

Vacancy

SENIOR ACCOUNTANT

Applications are invited from qualified candidates for the post of Senior Accountant in Citizen Communications' Lagos office.

Candidates must have a B.Sc Accounting with at least five years experience in a private sector accounting job, or be finalists in the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Nigeria examinations.

All candidates are advised to be ready for a test in bookkeeping during the interview.

Our offer is an attractive salary with wide-ranging benefits all of which are subject to negotiation. The successful candidate will be responsible for all accounting duties at the Lagos end, and will report to the Finance Manager in Kaduna.

Interested and suitably qualified candidates are invited to apply in writing and with full references to either of our two address.

Citizen Communications Ltd
G.11 Uguwar Kanawa
P. M. B. 2334
Kaduna

Citizen Communications Ltd
10 A Acme Road,
Agidingbi, Off Isheri Road
P. M. B. 21742
Ikeja

SPORTS

Super Eagles Cheers! but...

Their biggest victory in recent times but the embarrassing incident that preceded the match could easily have cost them the match

The graphic image that pops up frequently in the mind's eye since that memorable Saturday is that of a ruthless and angry giant smashing to smithereens with a sledge hammer some hapless weaklings who have a deluded vision of the possibilities of their overblown might. At the end of the big show down which took place at the mainbowl of the National Stadium, Lagos on July 27, apprehension, which had been eating away at the hearts of many Nigerians who have almost made a religion of the game of football, suddenly gave way to resounding victory and tumultuous celebration.

With a 7-1 victory against the Stallions of Burkina Faso, the Super Eagles did not only record their biggest victory in more than a decade; they also brought their campaign in the qualifying race for the Africa Nations Cup finals in Senegal next year to a successful climax.

It was a traumatic experience for Burkina Faso. Beautiful dreams and jealously guided ambition crashed to ashes for the Stallions when the crucial match they believed they would win and make their second appearance in the Nations Cup since 1978, turned out to be the one that earned them their most



Westerhof: not a "wasted hope"

humiliating defeat in all the matches they played in the Group 4 of the Nations Cup qualifier. Even though the Burkinables might have allowed a fleeting thought of a possible defeat in Lagos to cross their mind, they never showed it, and in fact they were imbued and inspired by some strange surge of over confidence that made them boast on arrival in Lagos that they were out to eliminate the Super Eagles right on their home ground.

The Stallions' confidence came from the 2-1 victory they had 2 weeks earlier recorded against Group leaders Black Stars of Ghana. Apprehension for the Eagles among Nigerians before that match was due to the fact that since the Nations Cup preliminary matches kicked off last year, the senior national team had not been able to click or strike a consistent winning formula. The fruitless experiment of fielding different players for different matches, most of whom were Europe-based who came a day or two to the matches had almost eroded confidence that the national team can win a match against any visiting team in Lagos without struggling badly.

But penultimate Saturday was different. The Super Eagles



The four-goal hero, Yekini being hugged by Eguavon

overwhelmed the Stallions because for once, the handlers of the national team were able to overcome their selection trouble, and came up with a squad that combined the punchy brilliance of the home-based players with the finesse and maturity of their Europe-based colleagues. In fairness to them, the Burkina Faso boys came well prepared for a very tough encounter. Since they were having nine points like their hosts, although disadvantaged on goal aggregate, they knew they needed out right victory against Nigeria to be in Senegal. A tall dream it was but they were not really discouraged, at least that was what the fast tempo of their game and their accurate passes, seemed to suggest during the first half of the match. But as it later turned out, they lacked the staying power and experience to wear out the Super Eagles. Instead, they burnt themselves out in the first half. And sustained attack from rejuvenated Super Eagles spelled disaster for the Stallions in the second half. The mesmerising moves of Fintidi George who came in for Augustine Eguavon, who was not quite in the game, and the clinical finishing of Rasheed Yekini, who nicked 4 of the seven goals, threw the Burkinables into disarray in the second half; their rear fell apart conceding 5 goals in that half as against 2 in the first half.

The significance of the Super Eagles' victory is not so much in the qualification of Nigeria for the Nations Cup finals next year, but the irony embedded in that victory. It can best be described as a victory for the home based players. The surge of inspiration that drastically changed the pattern of the game in favour of the Eagles came from Fintidi George of Calabar Rovers. Abdul Aminu of El-Kanemi who paired Denmark-based Uche Okechukwu at the central defence also played his role like a mature and cool-headed defender. Ajibode Babalade and Thompson Oliha who were introduced as second half substitutes, also played almost with the same maturity of their Europe-

based professionals. What this means is that the problem of shopping around Europe for players whenever we have any international match and the attending risk of not being able to get these players at the right time can be greatly reduced if greater attention is given to careful selection and grooming of home based players.

There was an ugly incident though that preceded the match. It sounded incredible that a team playing such a crucial match at home had to delay the game's kick off for almost one hour because of alleged negligence of duty by some national team officials who failed to bring the players' shorts and their boots to the stadium. And in spite of the delay, the Eagles still could not get their playing pants and had to play the first half of the match with trousers of their track suit which were hurriedly reduced to shorts with scissors in the dressing room.

Apart from the fact that such dereliction of duty on the part of some officials of the Nigeria Football Association (NFA) could easily have badly affected the spirit of the players and put them in low frame of mind for the match, that it happened the way it did and in the circumstance was a big disgrace to the country's pride. Not even the presence of the vice-president, Vice-Admiral Augustus Aikhomu (rtd) with other

top government functionaries could move the NFA officials concerned to do something fast to avert the shameful incident. Perhaps, the Super Eagles could have waited the whole day without playing pants, if the match officials had not threatened to call off the match. That would have meant a walk over right there at our own home ground, and an automatic qualification for the Stallions! The incident demonstrated clearly that the inability of the NFA to raise a standard team for the country in recent years stems mostly from gross administrative incompetence and lack of vision.

Meanwhile, it is now obvious that the January 1992 Nations Cup finals in Senegal will rate as the most competitive in the history of the tournament. This is because three quarters of the finalists rank among the best in the continent. Last year's World Cup sensation, Cameroon qualified from Group one, so also is Egypt, the continent's second representative in Italia '90. Group 3 produced Morocco, and Cote d'Ivoire while Ghana and Nigeria emerged from Group 4. Zambia got through from Group 5 while Kenya, Congo and Zaire qualified in that order from Group 6, 7 and 8. Cup holder Algeria and host Senegal bagged automatic qualification to the 12-nation tournament.

By Joe Olajuwon

7th National Handball Championship Better deal next time

When the usually colourful annual National under-18 handball championship kicked off in a drab atmosphere at the proposed site for the Kaduna Sports Complex on Saturday July 27, it was quite clear that something had gone wrong. And what deprived the competition of its usual colour was the general air of uncertainty

that had been haunting it right from the time Kaduna was proposed as host.

Unlike other states that have successfully hosted the championships in the past, Kaduna had to start from the scratch because the state had no single handball court of its own. Synthetic courts were to be built at the state's proposed sports

complex at Anguwar Muazu along Western By-Pass. Along the line however, controversy as to which company should build the courts and at what terms held up the job. Frantic efforts were made to get the championship postponed but Colonel Godfrey Nebo (rtd), chairman of Handball Association of Nigeria HAN stuck to his gun. As a face-saving device, Kaduna State hurriedly constructed hard courts instead of the synthetic one earlier proposed, just to make sure that the championship was held at the scheduled dates. But the courts were barely ready for the opening ceremony.

On July 27, the championship got off all the same without the usual press briefing that usually takes place at least one week to the competition, to create awareness and rally support among the sports men and fans of the host states. Nothing demonstrated the lack of adequate preparations on the part of the host state than the way the opening ceremony was conducted. There was no public address system for Governor Tanko Ayuba's message and that of the HAN chairman to be relayed. The secretary to the Kaduna State government, Alhaji Abubakar Ladan had to endure the embarrassment of reading out the governor's welcome message to the dignitaries and participants from the 13 states who were taking part in the championship without the public address system. The explanation given for this incident was that the state's sports council public relation officer John Amana, who was to come along with the public address system and other vital gadgets needed for the opening ceremony refused to show up.

The playing courts also posed another problem to the championship. Many of the players complained that any slight fall on the courts resulted to injuries because they were too hard. The players were also very bitter about their camping

site- Black Gold camp which is about 16 kilometres from the championship venue. Even the Kaduna State male team coach John Jatau had cause to complain about the way the state team were prepared for the championship. He said the handballers lacked almost

everything during their preparation.

The overall intention of playing host to the championship is to launch the state to the mainstream of sports development, according to Abubakar Tanko Ayuba. He said "Kaduna state has not been able to host any national championship



SMG Ladan (second left), Pikawi (centre) at the opening day



Kano female handballer in action at the championship

except football in the past eight or so years" because of lack of facilities. He further explained that the government decided to build a befitting sports complex and provide adequate sports facilities so as to enable Kaduna compete favourably with any state in other parts of the country.

But Colonel Godfrey Nebo (rtd) has his own reason for asking a state that lack sporting facilities like Kaduna to host the under-18 handball championship. He explain that it was a strategy being used by HAN to create awareness where interest in the game of Handball is still low, and to help such state develop its facilities. "Our policy at HAN is to go to areas where there are no facilities and encourage them".

By Joe Olajuwon

ADAMU ADAMU S

DEFINITIONS
IN HUMOUR

Weighs of the world

You must have heard this story. Many times. But I care not, I'll tell it again. And you'll like it. See whether you can learn from its logic.

Once upon a time, there lived an old man and his grandchild. As the boy — baby fat and all — began to grow into a man it became necessary to teach him lessons on the *ways of the world*.

"Come this way my child", he began. "The greatest wisdom in this life is to know that there can only be one God. Don't try to please everybody; in the end, if you are lucky, you may end up pleasing yourself".

Example is better than precept, even if it is the example of another. So our old man asked his grandchild to follow him for his first lesson in human behaviour. He led his donkey out and asked the bulky child to get on the saddle. He did and the old man led the way in the direction of a crowd.

As they approached, people stared at them as if in disbelief. "The youth of nowadays", some of them lamented. "What impudence! Look at that saucy child. He is young and strong yet will not offer the mount to his old man. Where are we heading to?"

The old man and child headed on. "Did you hear what they said?" he asked the child as they turned a

corner.

"Yes"
"Good."
Now come down".

He did and the old man mounted. The bulky boy led the way and he was soon wet with sweat, heaving and sighing. They met another group.

"O my God", they gasped. "Look at this selfish old man. Even

though his child is obese and asthmatic he wants to ride as the poor boy treks. They heaped scorn on the old man".

After they passed, the old man asked the child whether he had heard what they said. "Yes," he said.

The old man asked the child to hop on. He did, and almost immediately the donkey began to display signs of tiredness. The next group abused them for their cruelty. "If the boy is senseless, doesn't the old man know what is appropriate? How can they both ride this skinny beast? After passing the group, they dismounted.

Now they continued in single file — donkey leading, boy following, old man at rear. "Look at those *sakarkaru* coming," one man in the group called attention to them. "An old man almost dying of age and weakness, a fat young boy dying of breathlessness and yet they pull an unmounted donkey. What can be more foolish?!"

"Have you heard them all?"
"Yes."

"Then know that you can never please everybody. Just do what you think best."

The boy became a journalist. Now everyone tries to please him. He became one of those feared because of the evil they can do.

Transition

Politics — Politics is like a battle only a little bit more elaborate. There is a winner, there is a loser and everywhere is a battlefield. The winner goes to State House but the real winner is probably abroad. The loser is killed, wounded, missing in action or from the scene. Just like a battle.

Privatisation — There is little difference between Dr. Hamza Zayyad and Robin Hood; but that little is very great. First, Robin Hood was not a doctor. Second, he took from the rich and gave the poor. Malam Hamza takes from the poor and gives the rich.

SAP — A programme designed to make the pound sterling strong, scarce and desirable. What free work we did the British.

Minimum Wage — A salary cut is the unkindest cut. A minimum wage is the maximum that employers can't pay.

FOS — Federal Office of Stargazers. According to Twain there are three types of lies — lies, darned lies and statistics. Now, we have darned statistics. I beg your pardon, now we don't have darned statistics.

FRSC — Federal Road Safe Commission — a safe placed on Federal highways in which drivers drop their commission in order to have safety to proceed.

MWA — Magazine Writers Association. This association, like many "much-needed and virile projects whose importance cannot be over-emphasised", does not exist. If it does, it is only on paper. What does exist is expenditure and the contractor.

MRA — Association of the specie of Nigerians who have more dinners than appetites, can afford ten Naira for a magazine or have long necks to stretch and read somebody else's copy. Magazine Readers Association — virile readers, they, like projects, exist only on paper.

NPAN — News-piper Payer's Association of Nigeria. No wonder they call the tune.

NUJ — Nigerian Union of Jokers.

CITIZENS

When Alhaji Jubrilla Mohammed, 38, was recently appointed Managing Director of Sahel Publishing and Printing Company Limited, publishers of the *Nigerian Economist* and *New Age*, he felt neither shock nor surprise.

"I was being groomed for the post for a long time. I didn't really care because when the time came, it was rather obvious".

Alhaji Jubrilla, a Kano indigene and Ahmadu Bello University alumnus, obtained a B.Sc in political science in 1976 and a M.Sc in International relations four years later.

Orphaned in 1962, he had to rely on a half brother who was the headmaster of an elementary school



for subsistence. Jubrilla was an assistant lecturer at ABU, Zaria before joining *Triumph* newspaper, Kano as a pioneer staff. He edited the newspaper between 1982 and 1984 and then joined Alfa Communications, Lagos as general manager.



For someone who stepped into Bendel State University, Ekpoma in 1981 with only one thing in her mind — to obtain a doctorate before she is 24 — moral rearmament seems a drab turn.

Ms Robo Ukoko proceeded

straight to the University of Lagos for her masters degree after obtaining the B.Ed in English in 1985.

Two years from the realisation of her dream however, something snapped. "I realised the futility of it all" she says, "I was just being driven by the urge for titles".

Off she veered into public relations. But six months was enough for the romance to end. Ukoko now works for Moral Rearmament, an international organisation dedicated to the upliftment of universal moral standards, full-time

without salary, without allowances. "We depend on individual donations" she says.

She travels all over Africa spreading the message of re-armament. This month, she will be in Switzerland for the same purpose.

Ali A. Mazrui. That is one man whose egg-head is not just packed full of greying hairs. He is a package of humour too.

At the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs where he delivered the 1991 *Guardian* Lecture, he took time off to provoke rib-cracking laughter.

Would his call for woman-empowerment not lead to the "extinction of the male species," somebody wondered aloud. His retort? "Male chauvinism, it is, that wants to drive the whole of the human race into extinction."

Mazrui, 55, an internationally-renowned scholar from Mombassa, Kenya, obtained his doctorate from the prestigious Oxford University.

A vice-president of the World Congress of Black Intellectuals, Mazrui holds the Albert Luthuli Professional chair of Nigeria's University of Jos.

If he had his way, the next Nobel Peace Prize would go to an "unknown female peacemaker". Any nominations?



By Yinka Tella and Oji Onoko

Citizen, August 5, 1991

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