DEMOGRAPHER REPLIES *GUARDIAN*, IGE AND CO.

MAY 18 — 24 1992, Vol. 3, No: 20

Citizen

₦10 HARD ON NEWS, STRONG ON VIEWS.

UNCLE SAM'S VIEW

THE MASSES ARE ANGRY

UK	£1.00	The Gambia	D4	Kenya	Sh10.00	West Germany	Dm6.00
Canada	C$1.00	Ghana	C500	Saudi Arabia	Rls10.00	Zimbabwe	Z$2.50
CFA Zone	800	Liberia	US$1.00	Sierra Leone	Le200		
France	15F	Italy	L2000.00	USA	$3.50		

Like the Spider, ABS is perfecting the art of mortgage banking in Nigeria

The Spider.
For centuries, the world has been fascinated by this insect that is renowned for its skills at spinning beautiful webs.
Its greatest attributes remain resourcefulness, creativity and perfection.

ABS and the Spider. Two of a kind. Just like the Spider, our mortgage loan services and savings schemes are efficient, flexible and result-oriented.
They are designed to make your dreams come true;
Whether you are building your own house or for commercial purposes.

ABS... *The bank you should build on.*

Abuja Building Society Limited
No. 8 Ali Akilu Road, Box 10031, Kaduna
☎ 062—216624, 214836 Fax 216624

ABS

Concepts & Images

CONTENTS

Citizen
May 18—24, 1992
Vol. 3 No. 20

COVER STORY
Cost of Living

SAP has pushed Nigeria's poor to the wall, and they are angry as hell

Page 11

Uncle Sam's eyeview

Outgoing US ambassador, Lannon Walker bares his mind in a 90-minute no-holds barred interview

Page 29

Departments

BACK-OF-THE-BOOK

Peters: No overaged players in my camp. Page 38

FROM THE EDITOR

For several weeks as we worked on this week's cover story, we faced a dilemma; in these terrible times how do you tell the story of the widespread hardship experienced by the proverbial common man without inflaming passions? We thought we finally had the answer this week. Then the fuel riots started, notably in Lagos, and that heightened our dilemma. People everywhere were expressing anger at the government for being unable to stem their pains, but it was only in Lagos and a few other towns that the anger seems to have boiled over and resulted in riots. Beneath those riots there were political undertones, as the blame for the hardships seemed to be placed on the shoulders of people from a particular section of the country. The story in other words, was a political minesfield through which a reporter had to pick his way very carefully.

The Lagos riots which actually started last week, seemed to have died down but resumed with greater violence on Wednesday and Thursday. As we prepared to go to press it looked like it had been contained. But then the situation remained so tense there was no telling if matters would not deteriorate further. Hopefully, it will not. And politics or no politics, hopefully the riots, unfortunate as they are, has sensitized the authorities into doing something to stop the rot. Like having a second look at money - guzzling institutions such as MAMSER, DFFRI, NDE, Better Life etc, to see which ones should go. Like getting out of Liberia and other foreign adventures we have saddled ourselves with.

As for fuel scarcity government will do well to focus on corruption in the oil industry instead of pursuing the red herring of smuggling.

The cover this week was written by **Mahmud Jega** with reports from **Yinka Tella** *with* **Isaac Umunna** *and* **Nduka Ezeogu** *in Port-Harcourt and* **Tayo Odunlami, Samson Ojo, Tola Sunday** *and* **Bolaji Adebiyi** *in Lagos*, **Abu Mohmoh, Rabiu Barde**.

Citizen (ISSN 1115 2389) is published by Citizen Communications Ltd. G11 Unguwar Kanawa, PMB 2334, Kaduna. Tel. 230165 Fax. 210037 Telex. 71704 Lagos Office: 10A Acme Road, Agidingbi, off Isheri Road, P.M.B. 21742, Ikeja.Tel: 821389 Telex: 27061. Enugu Office: 21 Edingburgh Road, Ogui New Layout, Enugu.

LETTERS

The coup that never was

Sir,

Your cover story on the above is a master-piece, regarded in the press as one of the best in investigative journalism.

But let's regard it as rumour for now. Sooner or later the truth shall manifest itself.

Ntingwutobong E. Udofiah
9 Lawal Street, Oregun, Lagos

Sir,

For the first time in 20 months, I missed weekly *Citizen* newsmagazine. When I could not see it on the newsstands on Monday it did not worry me because I was sure of getting it the next day.

To my dismay, my "regular" vendor on sighting me said as follows:- *Citizen don carry better news, e e don finish*". A visit to all other vendors in Garki and Suleja was also fruitless. I was only "fortunate" to catch a glimpse (and read the caption) of the magazine in the hands of

another fellow at the motor park.

But for the prevailing economic situation in the country, I could have subscribed — and would have saved myself this unfortunate situation. To "right" this "wrong", I suggest you increase your circulation in Abuja — the city is fast growing.

Mohammed Bukar Umar
Garki, Abuja

©

Citizen mix-up

Last week's edition carried the wrong date on the cover. The date read April 11-17 instead of May 11-17. The fault was Citizen's not the Printer's Devil. We are sorry.

— Editor

Keep it up!

Sir,

May I begin by commending your magazine which has so far maintained fairness in accurate reporting of the facts as they are. It is a relief to pick up a magazine that is not obsessed with 'north bashing' the favourite pastime of the majority of the southern press. Do keep it up and always try to maintain a good balance.

The one thing that irks me (and several other people) about the magazine is the last page, **Definitions in Humour**. The humour is just *not* there. The page just manages to trivialise the whole magazine. This is the opinion of a lot of people. Could it be dropped? It may be a hard decision being that it is written by an executive editor but kindly look at the issue objectively. We all want a good, professional magazine.

Besides that, I think you are doing a good job.

Maryam Isma
UBA, Lagos

One man's meat, they say, is another man's poison. You say a lot of people dislike Definition-in-Humour. Our mails so far suggest a lot more like it. Many say they go for it first. We are sorry if it irks you, but for now we will keep it.

— Editor

©

Supping with apartheid

Sir,

Million greetings in the spirit of struggle for your nice piece of journalism on the Frederick de Klerk agenda.

Little wonder they say that "wonders will never end". South Africa is it? Indeed Walter Rodney said that "reasoning is in its self misleading". The venomous name of apartheid is poisonous to Nigerians. So then, the citizens of this country are not shaken in their stand against the demon of apartheid; anarchy and man's inhumanity to man. Those who seek for cheap popularity against the voice of reason and the masses will soon discover their records in the history of times.

ANC, PAC and fellow African countries in the spirit of struggle, should not be shaken in their minds. The truth will soon emerge in the horizon. On this spirit of struggle, I say *aluta continua*.

Cele N. Okonkwo
Zaria

©

Re- Pro-league in a mess

Sir,

In contemporary Nigeria and the world at large, everything has been on the fast lane and so also is football; if we can't improve after three years, I think we may as well continue with the amateur title and yet wear a professional look.

There are, however, good reasons for the poor showing of pro-league. One of them is the mass exodus of Nigerian players to foreign lands; but the most painful part is the engagement to a third or fourth division club at ridiculously low fee.

The NFA/Pro-league has failed to provide necessary regulatory systems to ensure a cordial working relationship between the NFA as a body, the pro-league board on one hand and the pro-clubs on the other.

U.T. Shua
Bauchi

New Phone Number

We have changed from our old number 212165 to 230165. Readers and advertisers to note please.

— Editor

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 Ungwan Kanawa, PMB 2334, Kaduna.

SAP has failed

The point has been made again and again. Perhaps, in the beginning, authorities believed that the thing about people being in dire economic straits was a figment of the imagination of radicals, human rights activists and other "subversive elements". Well, far from it. At the first meeting of the enlarged Council of State in Abuja in April, at least three Nigerians of great eminence, the Sultan of Sokoto, the Ooni of Ife and Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe all drew attention to the precarious situation of the people.

How does any country intend to achieve economic recovery and long term prosperity when its people are not so much as eating food? When public and private transportation are in shambles? When education and health services are beyond the reach of most of the people?

Besides, the huge contradictions of SAP are all too glaring. Or perhaps, as the IMF says, these are the contradictions of the Babangida regime's own handling of structural adjustment. There is too much affluence in the midst of suffering, too many overnight millionaires, too much corruption in evidence, too many wasteful public and private projects.

It is now time to address the fact of the dismal failure of SAP as presently conceived and implemented. It has caused much more suffering than was anticipated. It has lasted much longer than was predicted. And it has achieved much less than was hoped for. Where lies the fault? Most Nigerians have no confidence in the present adjustment policies, and we understand that the international finance community has little confidence in them too. This is because government has missed the central idea of structural adjustment, which is to get your priorities right. The cost has been exorbitant. Too many lives lost. Too many lives in distress. Too many social values turned on their heads. And too little sensitivity and sincerity on the part of government.

Government should not have waited for riots to occur before it addresses itself to the plight of people. SAP has failed. We are now at the crossroads.

Caution

The Vice-President Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, has been expressing concern at the campaign spendings of presidential aspirants. He told reporters some ten days ago that while the aspirants were busy spending huge sums of money "the parties they allegedly belong to are restricted as to ways and means of raising money." This, he said, was "unwholesome." The federal authorities, he went on, feel so concerned that they have instructed the National Electoral Commission to investigate the ways and means of presidential aspirants with a view to disqualifying those with dubious sources.

As if on cue, Professor Omo Omoruyi, the director general of the Centre for Democratic Studies, Bwari, said last week that it was wrong for the presidential aspirants to carry on outside the structure of their various parties.

We cannot agree more with Vice-President Aikhomu that the way some presidential aspirants have been spending money is indeed "unwholesome". Not only do the sums bandied about boggle the mind in these hard times, this style of politics can only entrench corruption. Two things, however, worry us about Aikhomu and Omoruyi's concern. The first is that it is coming rather late in the day. The campaign for the presidential tickets of the parties have been on for more than a year now.

Indeed for some candidates it is almost two years. In other words, the "unwholesome" campaign spending didn't start today. To then start issuing threats only today against "overspending" by candidates tantamounts to changing the rules as we go along and this can only strengthen the views of those who doubt the military's commitment to January 3, 1993.

The second thing that worries us is all this talk about spending and running campaigns outside party structures. One can forgive the vice-president for such talk, but coming from Omoruyi, who has been professing politics all these years, it is rather dissapointing to say the least. A presidential system, unlike a parliamentary system, is essentially a no-party system. It is a system in which party allegiance is necessarily loose. In any case how does it make sense that someone seeking the mandate of his fellow party members to run for an office should pass on his campaign funds into a common pool? Where then is the competition? True, as Omoruyi says, the party structure must exist in the first place before an aspirant can use it to win an election. But that is the responsibility of ALL party members not just those who want to run for office. Besides, there no limits to individual contributions to parties?

We share with the authorities their concern for the unwholesome money politics that we have been seeing. Still that cannot justify any retroactive rules. In carrying out its threat to disqualify those who have engaged in "unwholesome" spending, the starting point should be what has been spent since the authorities officially put the aspirants on notice. Also the authorities have to define in precise terms what "unwholesome" spending means so that aspirants can seek redress in the courts if they feel their rights have been abridged.

Banda: time up?

There are fears that life President Hastings Kamuzu Banda of Malawi may have carried out his threat of feeding at least one of his opponents to crocodiles. Pro-democracy activist, Chakufwa Chihana, who returned to Malawi from exile last month, is presumed dead though calls for his release are still being made. While we pray the fears turn out to be unfounded, the situation in Malawi has been quite intolerable even without the Chihana incident.

While a blissful wind of change has been blowing all over the world, including Africa, the haven of blood-thirsty sit-tight dictators, the Malawian government has so far shown only a willingness to resist. Banda, who has been president since the country's independence in 1960 and will by law continue until he falls dead, has said he has no time for any pro-democracy demonstrators.

He has built for himself an unenviable reputation as one of Africa's most autocratic, vain and neo-colonialist leaders. Thirty-two years after Malawi's independence, Banda has not taken the elementary step of Africanising the public service. Many key officials of the Malawian government are still foreigners. Kamuzu Banda is known to promote civil servants on the basis of ability to speak good "Queen's English". He has built an elite school where all the teachers are Europeans. Banda, who has no wife, has promoted his "Official Hostess" Cecilia Kadzamira to the status of designated heir. Banda has never broken diplomatic ties with South Africa even at the peak of apartheid. He does not attend any OAU meetings, and he has shown no interest in African unity. On all counts, Banda is a disgrace to Africa and is unfit to rule an African country.

Chihana, who braved the odds to provide his countrymen a much-needed symbol to focus their struggle, must have counted on the outside world to provide at least moral support. Unfortunately, Africa chose to look the other way. And if the rest of Africa has failed to care, international aid donors have now begun to tie what they give to changes in how dictators misrule their countries.

And It is not surprising, therefore, if Chihana finds no supporters in Africa — most of the rulers will be like him if they have the chance.

Banda may be one of the more obscene, but he is not the only leader in Africa who is a 20th-century anachronism. All of them deserve to go to give Africa a much-needed respite.

We extend our support to the suffering people of Malawi and wish them every success in their struggle against what is clearly an anachronism in this or any century. Malawi without Banda will be a country ready to play some sensible, useful role in Africa and the world. And that is how it should be. We hope the time comes soon enough.

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 airconditioner 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.

MOHAMMED HARUNA

we seek to persuade the public to our positions by speaking half-truths, and often times, even bare-faced lies, then we must be our own worst enemies.

No one, I think put, this point better than Solana Olumhense, one time editor of the late *Thisweek* magazine, in his article in *The Guardian* of July 4, 1983 whose title I have borrowed for this piece. That article, I believe, is compulsory reading for every nant Lagos press and found them buried in obscure corners. That is, when they were carried at all. Does it then surprise anyone if those suffering from the fuel shortage in Lagos and the south think those of us up north are living it up while they, whose land produces the oil, are suffering?

In short there is terrible ill-will abroad and I dare say no institution has worked harder to create and to fuel it than the press. Here it is instructive

Journalism as chained by journalists

Ten years ago myself and Ray Ekpu engaged in a debate on whether or not journalism was in chains. I said it was not, he said it was. If journalism was in chains, I said, journalists themselves did much of the chaining. Ekpu disagreed and said it was those in authority that were putting journalism in chains. As if to give him the last word, not long after our debate, the board of directors of *New Nigerian* where I was deputy editor at the time promoted me sideways into being what a cheeky friend of mine called "chief vendor". You could almost hear Ekpu chuckle when he wrote in the *Sunday Concord* of June 26, 1983 that I, in my new position, was the best evidence that public officials were responsible for chaining journalism. For not only was I promoted sideways, the company's sponsorship of my masters degree in journalism at Columbia University, New York, was cancelled and I was told that if I insisted on sponsorship myself I will have to resign from the company first. All these was for insisting on speaking the truth as I saw it, much of which annoyed the ruling NPN chieftains.

Ten years after our debate and having managed the *New Nigerian* itself and co-founded this magazine, I still believe we journalists are our own worst enemies. Naturally we have other enemies. But if we become errand boys of other people instead of reporting objectively, if journalist and non-journalist alike.

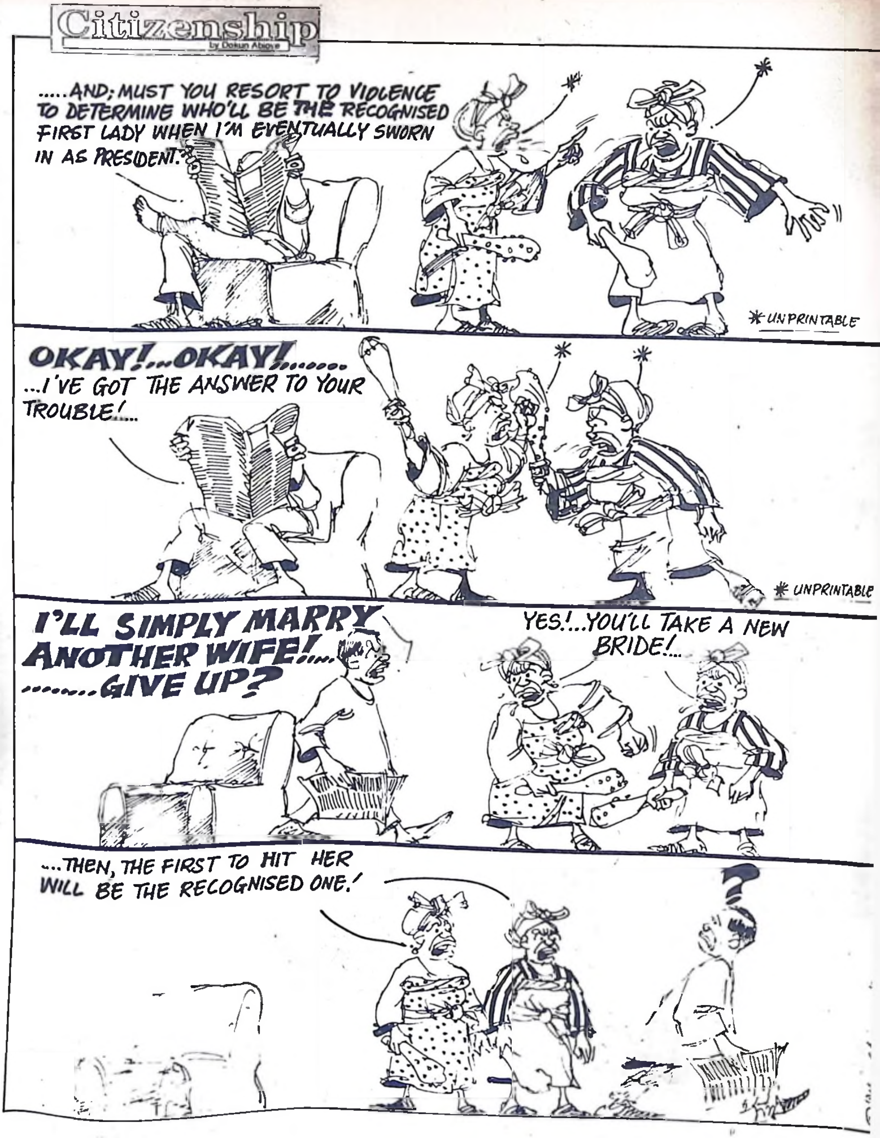
What, you may ask, is the reason for this retrospective piece? Two things mainly. First is the fuel riot that raged in Lagos as we were preparing to go to press. Fuel scarcity and the ravaging inflation may be the immediate cause of the riots, but the way the rioters seemed to target people from a particular section of this country, shows there are deeper political undertones to the riots. Not to put a fine point to it, there is a feeling that the north has unfairly cornered a disproportionate wealth of this country and northerners are therefore responsible for the harsh times most of us are facing. Specifically in respect of the fuel crisis, the shortage is blamed on an imagined policy by the oil minister, Professor Jibril Aminu, (quite conveniently a northerner), of pumping fuel up north, while those whose land produces the crude are left to suffer.

The truth, of course, is the exact opposite. For almost one year now fuel shortage has become second nature to most towns in the north. For places like Maiduguri, Katsina, Sokoto, Yola and Jos, it has been on for nearly two years and still persists. Here in Kaduna among other travails, people have been killed, petrol stations have gone up in flames and transport fares have gone through the roof as a result of the shortage. As a citizen and as a reporter, I looked in vain for news of the crisis on the pages of the domi- that a paper like *The Guardian*, the self-proclaimed flagship of the Nigerian press, would peddle rubbish about a barren sahel and fertile jungle as scientific truth all in a bid to discredit Census '91.

Ekpu is the second reason for my retrospection this morning. There was a confidential meeting between the press and security organisation in Bagauda on May 4 and 5. The meeting, one of several held fairly regularly, was at the instance of the Nigerian Guild of Editors. In the May 11th edition of *Newswatch*, which he edits, Ekpu dismissed the meeting as providing ground for "unvarnished arm-twisting". Clearly Ekpu was re-running his theme of journalism being chained by public officers.

"The Kano conference", he said, "is aimed at eroding the freedom of the press which is the bulkwork of democratic practice. It will serve no useful purpose. That's why I shall not be in Kano on May 4." Indeed he was not there. Instead he sent *Newswatch* itself through Soji Akinrinade his executive editor— which I would have thought was more important than Ekpu being there in his private capacity. If only he had waited for Akinrinade to report back to him, he would have found out that it was not a useless exercise. But even without waiting for Akinrinade, does it make sense that journalists are always right and everyone else is always wrong? You feel compelled to ask is this type of professional arrogance not more responsible for chaining journalism than anything else?

©


Citizenship
by Dokun Abioye
.....AND; MUST YOU RESORT TO VIOLENCE TO DETERMINE WHO'LL BE THE RECOGNISED FIRST LADY WHEN I'M EVENTUALLY SWORN IN AS PRESIDENT?
* UNPRINTABLE
OKAY!...OKAY!.......
...I'VE GOT THE ANSWER TO YOUR TROUBLE!....
* UNPRINTABLE
I'LL SIMPLY MARRY ANOTHER WIFE!.... ....GIVE UP?
YES!...YOU'LL TAKE A NEW BRIDE!...
...THEN, THE FIRST TO HIT HER WILL BE THE RECOGNISED ONE.!
?

COVER STORY

Living

The masses are angry

SAP has pushed Nigeria's poor to the wall, and they are angry as hell

The scene was a Mobil petrol station in Kaduna. For three hours, the elderly Yoruba truck driver and his 13 year-old son had pushed their totally dilapidated goods truck through the fuel queue of five rows, half-a-kilometre long each. At last they arrived at the pump that cold December evening, but as the petrol attendant began to fill up the tank, a gaping hole suddenly opened up and the fuel poured out as fast as it was being fed in. The elderly man and his son, trembling wildly, ran to the back of the truck and brought three jerry cans. But no, the law said no fuel in jerry cans during a crunch. There were angry shouts, curses and scuffles. The elderly man was trembling and pleading and was close to tears. At last someone stepped forward and said this was a special case, and the jerry-cans were filled. The next dilemma was how to move the truck. It won't kick-start, and the elderly driver and his son were too weary to push it ahead. More shouts and curses. Then, five motorists relunctantly came up and gave the truck a push. It sputtered, choked and started. Trembling wildly, smoke bellowing, the truck went off, with the young conductor hanging on the tailboard.

Billowing tear gas and demonstrators running for cover

It was the scene of SAP.

In everyday life, Nigerians frequently encounter symbolic scenes of "the gains of SAP". After nearly six years of the ruthless implementation of IMF-inspired supply-side economic measures by the military regime, conditions of life in Nigeria have reached rock bottom. Mostly to blame have been the government's controversial policies of currency devaluation, interest rate and prices deregulation, removal of subsidies on social services, embargo on employment and wage increases, and banning the importation of wheat and other cereals.

The total effect of SAP was to shoot up the prices of food, housing and transportation. The army of unemployed persons expanded, and social services for the poor and the middle classes all but withered away.

In six short years, Nigeria's once vibrant middle class has gone asunder. The concept of "three square meals", once taken for granted, has become alien. Gone from middle-class dining tables are bread, egg, milk, meat, butter, canned foods and assorted foreign cuisines. Ten years ago, a brand-new Peugeot 504 car cost the equivalent of a fresh degree holder's two-year salary; now it equals a 60-year salary.

In droves, elements of the former middle class deserted posh houses in the GRA's and headed for the city slums. No longer owning private cars, they displaced the poor from the taxi's. Abandoning expensive private clinics, they made for the government's own "consulting clinics" and further worsened their precarious state. Exquisite middle-class lifestyles collapsed; birthday parties, greeting cards and vacations became rare.

The fall of the middle class left in its wake the collapse of moral values once held dear. Reigning supreme is "419". Malama Qadaria Ahmed, lecturer at the Kaduna Polytechnic, warily observed that "the economic problem is encouraging some lecturers to be corrupt. You have some lecturers collecting money from students to pass their papers just to make ends meet. The temptation is there. Look at our vehicles!"

Another survival tactic of the beleagured middle class is to forgo all comfort. Malama Qadaria said, "I usually have morning and evening lectures. Before February this year, I will come home to rest after my morning lectures. Now, when I think of the transport fare, I stay in the school until my evening lectures are over".

No wonder that, when despair gave way to riots in Lagos last week, Dele Awosina, a 35 year-old accountant, joined in. "Your question on why am I demonstrating is impertinent!", Awosina told *Citizen*. "You have not been living in this country? I guess you are a graduate. How many of your classmates are lucky to get jobs? Those that have jobs now spend more than 70 per cent of their salary on transportation. Won't we eat, wear clothes, stay in a house? What of our dependants? Look, my brother, things cannot continue this way".


Taking to the streets and NANS president **Maiyegun:** *being raised shoulder*


Bafyau: *we may take leave of workplaces*

Also seen in the demonstration was Joseph Idowu, a lawyer. Idowu told *Citizen*, "I am not really a rioter, but I sympathise with these people. Recently, my mum was hospitalised for a week in Ebute-Metta. The family had to cough out over 5,000 Naira. Is this how things should be in a country when the minimum wage is 250 Naira?" All over the country, hard times have arrived. A lecturer at the Kaduna Polytechnic, pleading anonymity, said, "No need beating about the bush. There are just four of us (in my family). Before February this year, I usually give my wife 400 Naira to buy food items and I spend 200 Naira on soup ingridients. Since March, I have to spend 600 Naira on food items and 350 Naira on soup".

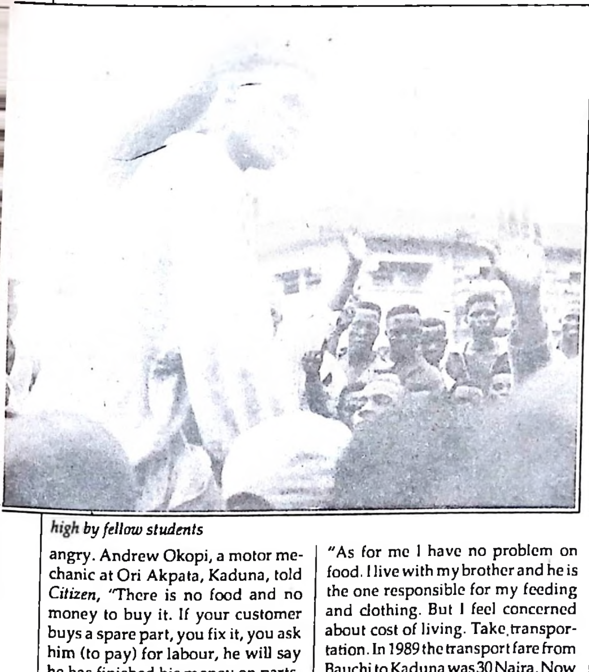
The "remassification" of the middle class had an immediate and costly effect upon the poor, incidentally, the overwhelming majority of Nigeria's 88.5 million people. In the best of times, the teeming urban and rural poor only "manage" to get by. Now, it is becoming impossible to manage. The cost of a tin of milk, a packet of detergent, an egg, a bar of soap, a loaf of bread and a taxi drop have all risen between 500 and 700 per cent in six years; most have doubled in price this year alone. At the same time, incomes stagnated or, in many cases, were lost altogether.

Uncommon sights now came to stay. In many cities, retail traders no longer sold packets of detergent or sugar. "No one will buy a packet", an elderly retail trader at Kabala Costain, Kaduna, explained. Instead, a packet of Omo is split and rolled up in small bags of bread, 50 kobo each. Even *gari* is now sold in 50 kobo plastic wraps, as is sugar, rice and beans.

Understandably, the masses are angry. Andrew Okopi, a motor mechanic at Ori Akpata, Kaduna, told *Citizen*, "There is no food and no money to buy it. If your customer buys a spare part, you fix it, you ask him (to pay) for labour, he will say he has finished his money on parts. We can't eat three times. If we eat in the afternoon, it's enough. Till tomorrow". David Okorie, a trader at Wushishi Road, Kaduna, was also angry. "I can no longer eat what I want", Okorie said. "Travelling is hell. I used to travel to Onitsha with 15 Naira but now 100 Naira can't get me there".

Charity Elogu, a typist and mother of three in Kaduna, said, "Go to the hospital, you see what it cost you to see the doctor. Babangida said we should not have more than four children. If you go to hospital now, you will not want to born (sic) even one".

Nigerian society probably avoided collapse because of the elaborate social security system of everyone being "his brother's keeper". Zainab Garba, 23, of Tudun Wada, Kaduna, unemployed and single, told *Citizen*, "As for me I have no problem on food. I live with my brother and he is the one responsible for my feeding and clothing. But I feel concerned about cost of living. Take transportation. In 1989 the transport fare from Bauchi to Kaduna was 30 Naira. Now it is 25 Naira just from Bauchi to Jos and 40 Naira from Jos to Kaduna".



high by fellow students

On top of all the *wahala* came the fuel shortages. Some parts of the country's far north, especially Maiduguri, Katsina and Sokoto, have slowly become used to fuel scarcities. In Maiduguri, the scarcity has gone on uninterrupted for two years, and in Sokoto the situation has been acute since August last year. In Adamawa State, fuel shortage has been Governor Abubakar Saleh Michika's biggest headache since he assumed office in January. But when the fuel crunch arrived the metropolis of Lagos three weeks ago, the kettle boiled over. The great commercial city ground to a halt, and there were loud and heated calls upon the government to act.

Government's response, when it came last week, was belated. A judicial commission of enquiry headed by a supreme court judge, Alfa Babatunde Belgore, was sworn-in on May 12, to investigate the immediate and remote causes of the scarcity. Other members of the panel are Mr. Justice Omokri, Mr. Paschal Bafyau, Mr. O. Kusamotu, Mr. Bello Lafiagi, Chief G. Ogbodo, Mr. Willians Amumuda and Mr. Kola Akinleye. Clement Akpamgbo, attorney-general and minister of Justice later told *Citizen* that the non-inclusion of NNPC officials in the panel of investigations was a deliberate act by government to enhance objectivity. Some of the panel's members were too angry to worry about objectivity. Pascal Bafyau, a panelist and NLC president, caused a mild stir when he distributed a statement which he signed jointly with congress secretary Dr. Lasisi Osunde. The statement accused the NNPC of insensitivity and threatened "to ask workers to stay at home" if the situation did not improve by last Wednesday.

The very next day, there was trouble. At the University of Lagos, students woke up to what they thought was a normal day last Tuesday and made for the many campus bus stops on their way to classes. It was to become an endless waiting game, for the fuel crisis had grounded the buses. It was in this charged situation that union leaders sent notices inviting "Great Akokites" to attend a press conference at 10am.

When NANS president Olusegun Mayegun rose to speak, hundreds of students who converged at the students' union building shouted, "One God, one life! We want action!" The NANS president understandably spat fire. He called for the resignation of President Ibrahim Babangida and his cabinet on the strength of Babangida's ill-fated *Daily Times* interview, where "he asked his economic advisers why the Nigerian economy has not collapsed". The student leader also called for the suspension of the transition to civil rule programme and for an interim government to rule the country until elections are held.

The next day, Wednesday, Unilag students ignored a circular closing the university and poured into the streets to protest fuel shortages and other economic problems. One group went to Bariga, Gbagada, Oworonsoki, Maryland and Yaba, while another group led by Mr. Mayegun went to Ojuelegba. After a brief skirmish with the police at

John: *under the microscope*

Barrack bus stop, the students retreated, and the city's unemployed joined the fray. Fatai Rufai, a middle-aged tailor who doubles as a general purpose trader, was returning from Ikeja and got stranded at the Ladipo bus stop on Agege Motor Road. Joining in the great trek, he was suddenly hit by a police bullet on the shoulder blade and immediately passed out. He was taken by sympathisers to City Consultants Clinic at Odunlami Street in the nearby Ladipo Estate for treatment. When *Citi-*

Universities

Under lock and key

Fuel riots shield the public from simmering crisis in the nation's university campuses

For the government, the nationwide fuel scarcity which precipitated internecine riots in some major cities in the last three weeks, is not without its advantages. At least it helped to divert public attention from a simmering crisis in the nation's university campuses. In the last three months, a dozen of them have been shut due to student demonstrations against worsening welfare conditions and deteriorating facilities for academic work. Until last week when students of University of Lagos, Akoka, spearheaded a mass protest against the biting effects of government's economic policies and acute fuel shortage, few Nigerians knew that as far as the campuses were concerned, government was sitting on a keg of gun powder. The demonstration which was joined by an army of unemployed, disgruntled school children, aggrieved workers and hoodlums lasted for six hours. While the protest lasted, economic activities were paralysed and the police, out-manoeuvred on all fronts, kept off the streets. It was reminiscent of the 1989 SAP riots.

But what was acted out on the streets of Lagos last week, had been on in several campuses weeks before. At least six institutions remained shut last week sequel to students demonstration. They include Ondo State University, Ado Ekiti; Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria; St. Andrews College of Education, Oyo; Federal University of Technology, Akure; University of Ibadan and the Usman Dan Fodio University, Sokoto. UDU, Sokoto.has been closed for more than two months. The last to be put under lock was the University of Ibadan whose students, Professor Kayode Oyediran, the vice chancellor, had a rough time convincing to vacate the campus after it was shut May 7. The students, who had demonstrated for two days in protest against the authority's hike of intra campus bus ride from 50 Kobo to one Naira per drop, defied the vice chancellor's order for four days insisting that he overstepped his statutory power by not consulting with the senate before closing down the university. It was not until senate approved the shut down last week Monday that the students finally packed out. That was after they had called unsuccessfully for Oyediran's resignation.

As the students moved out of the campus last week, the senate set up a five man panel headed by Professor G.M. Bakare to probe the students demonstration and report its finding to it (senate) this Monday. The UI students demonstration penultimate Thursday, was, according to Maxy Ogede, the students union president, the climax of pent-up anger against the authorities over several unresolved issues including hike in examination fees, worsening welfare conditions and the university's refusal to recall student's leaders rusticated for students activism last session.

Similar reasons precipitated the demonstrations that forced the closure of Federal University of Technology, Akure, May 5, except that students there actually apprehended their vice chancellor, Albert Ilebomade, and locked him up for several hours. The students claimed they had been pushed to the wall by the authority's inability to solve their endemic accommodation problems. Prior to the demonstration the campus had been without light for two weeks. A corollary of that was acute shortage of water. The fuel shortages which led to hike in transport fares in the university town of Akure only acted as a catalyst for the crisis which occurred a month after the closure of a sister university domiciled in Ado-Ekiti.

Unlike FUTA, students of Ondo State University, OSUA, were protesting a 10 year old demand which had failed to receive positive hearing from appropriate quarters. Since its inception in 1981, the university had no students hostel. This was a deliberate policy of the Unity Party of Nigeria UPN, government, which established it, to maintain an off-campus system of education at both post primary and post secondary schools hoping in the process to cut cost. But OSUA students have always protested this policy which has left them at the mercy of shylock landlords. Added to prohibitive rents, is high transport fare they pay from their homes, usually several kilometres from the main campus, where they attend lectures. Usually too, commuter buses are few and it is always the survival of the fittest at bus stops everyday.

The Usman Danfodio University (UDU) in Sokoto was shut down by the authorities early in March following a clash between two student factions. A student religious body had tried to stop a function organised by liberal students, and the authorities tried to calm the situation by banning all registered associations on the campus. Both student factions protested the ban and rioted, destroying some property at the residence of the deputy vice chancellor, Dr. Zayyanu Abdullahi. *Citizen* learnt that attempts by the vice chancellor, Professor Abubakar Gwandu, to reopen the university on May 6 were stopped by the presidency, which said "there is no evidence that the underlying causes of the riots have been solved".

Although government has never implemented the decree against any university, it may well use it this time around given the precarious situation it finds itself.

Shortly before the spate of student demonstrations, university lecturers labouring under the crucible of stagnant poor wages had made known their intention to withdraw their services until federal government meets their demand for a major wage review. Aware of the implications of a strike by the academics at this stage of the transition programme, government asked Academic Staff Union of Nigerian Universities, ASUU to meet with its representatives to iron out things. Since March, the government team led by Dr. Senas Upanah and ASUU's delegate headed by its national president Dr. Attahiru Jega, have been engaged in closed door negotiations. Information filtering through the negotiation room is unsettling. Indications are that both sides are heading for a deadlock as ASUU has insisted on a minimum of 200 per cent salary increase against government's offer of minimal wage increase. ASUU's Jega said recently that he would not accept government's tokenism and gave government up to the end of this month to meet its terms. If that fails, government risks a strike action which may collaborate with the anger of students over worsening welfare conditions.

Jega: *we want 200% increase*

Watchers of the nation's education system are however surprised that bottled-up anger is blowing open at a time government seems to be making strenuous efforts at pacifying the universities. Over one billion Naira has been expended on the nation's federal universities in the last six months. Las month when Tejumade Alakija, an Ife princess, led 10 members of the committee of pro-chancellors to visit President Ibrahim Babangida, at Abuja, she complained desperately about the financial embarrassment the universities were facing. A sympathetic Babangida doled out a whopping extra-budgetary sum of 527 million Naira to be shared 25 million Naira each by federal universities. The pro-chancellors could not hide their gratitude as they went back to their disintegrating campuses. By that time, at least two universities, UI and UNN had not been able to pay their March salaries.

The April largese came a month after the federal government , as part of its SAP relief measures, announced a gift of commuter buses to some of the nation's institutions of higher learning. Somehow, these palliative measure have not stemmed the rising tide of student unrests. The most enduring testimony to this, is last week riots in Lagos which was masterminded by students of higher institutions in the megapolitan city.

By Bolaji Adebiyi *and* Mahmud Jega

zen visited the clinic later in the day, the hospital's proprietor was still unwilling to treat the bullet wound as Fatai reeled in excruciating pain.

If Fatai was lucky because he survived, Chu Nwachukwu (not real-name), did not have the same respite. Clad in blue tops and red checked shorts, he lay postrate in a pool of his own blood. He had been shot in the chest. His lifeless body soon became the rallying point for another onslaught against the police as anguish gave way to fury. Another wave of violence soon took over. Although the police public relations officer was unwilling to entertain enquiries last week, *Citizen* was able to ascertain five deaths arising from the riots in the Lagos areas alone.

On Thursday, the rioting spilled over into Lagos Island where rioters attacked First Bank headquarters along Marina and tried to force their way into Union Bank headquarters down the road. In one of the parking lots along the Marina, several cars were set ablaze. Tunde Adelani, 20, a motor mechanic from Mushin, who joined in the fray, told *Citizen*, "I am participating in this demonstration because I am suffering. As a mechanic, I toil day and night, nothing to show for it. Business has reduced because customers do not have money to maintain their cars".

Okafor Anosike, a 30 year-old spare parts dealer at Oshodi also told *Citizen*, "Why should fuel be scarce in a country that refines oil? In the last three weeks I have learnt to take whatever government says with a pinch of salt. I am now convinced that Babangida and his men do not care about us".

Also angry is Mama Gloria, 41, a trader at Ikeja. She said, *"No be say me I dey for riot o. Me I just dey pass jeje. But, Akowe, now. No be 20 kobo before? Rice no be food for poor man pikin like us again. You go need 50 Naira for one bowl. Even beans na 24 Naira now for a bowl. Upon all that dem wan make we dey spend the little money wey we get on motor! How poor man go survive now! Make you help us beg Babangida o. Na soso suffer-head".*

"Police is not my friend"

country hard no be small. A tin of Gari, na 100 Naira now. For March, na 55 Naira I buy am. A tin of milk na 9 Naira

After nearly six years of the ruthless implementation of IMF-inspired supply-side economic measures by the military regime, conditions of life in Nigeria have reached rock bottom.

The demonstrations were by no means confined to Lagos. In Ogbomosho, commercial activities had been paralysed on Friday, May 8, when irate students of Ladoke Akintola University of Technology, LAUTECH, blockaded the town's major highway effectively preventing tanker drivers from either advancing up north or moving further down to the south. The students, brandishing placards and making bon fires, engaged the police in a bruising battle for seven hours. They were soon joined by touts and market women who shut down their stalls in what the university students said was an "act of solidarity".

Rivers State, Nigeria's foremost oil-producing state, was not left out of the carnival of violence. Intermittent fuel scarcity which first creeped into public consciousness early last month, also provided the trigger. The patience of desperate commutters who initially bore the consequent hike in fares with a mere shrug of the shoulders, finally snapped, May 5, when it reached an unprecedented 200 per cent.

For two days hundreds of secondary school students rampaged in the state capital with approving glances from equally hard-pressed workers and traders. The students had, after waiting in vain for vehicles to take them to school at the usual charge of 50 kobo per drop, resorted to speaking with their fists. Scores of unfortunate commercial drivers were dragged out, beaten and their vehicles vandalised. Defying anti-riot police who had been called in to restore order, the students marched to the secretariat of the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) which they doused with fuel and duly lit up. Although 25 students were still in police custody last week, indications were that what obtains in the garden city of Port-Harcourt right now can only be described as uneasy calm.

In Abeokuta, Ogun State Polytechnic students, citing "harsh economic and social conditions" also joined the protest train last week. They marched through the Onikolobo, Onikoko and Ibara areas of the state on May 13, chanting slogans and disrupting traffic. Although the security forces were reported to have encountered fierce resistance in their attempt to douse the fire of the students demonstrations, there was no ready figure of casualties by the time *Citizen* went to press last week.

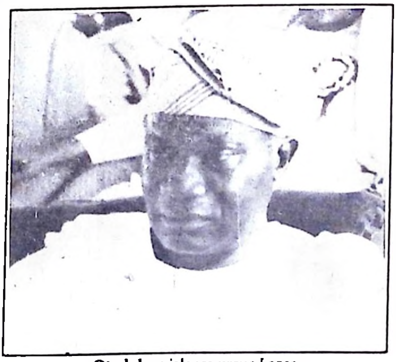
Aminu: *trying times*

Fuelling the people's anger last week were the glaring inequities of SAP, as well as the perceived insensitivity of government to the people's suffering. With most of the population in dire economic straits, the country's super-rich continue to flaunt their wealth. In an interview with *Citizen*, published in this edition, American ambassador to Nigeria, Lannon Walker, pointed to the number of V-Boot Mercedes cars in the streets and said Nigeria does not live like a debtor nation should.

Government's response to the crisis is woefully inadequate. In March, following the 100 per cent devaluation of the Naira, Vice President Augustus Aikhomu revealed a set of "relief measures" that most Nigerians scoffed at. President Ibrahim Babangida also incited the people against traders, whom he accused of arbitrarily increasing prices. In Kano, there was a stampede at the Sabongari market, when hoodlums, claiming to be responding to Babangida's call to "check" price increases, made to loot the market.

Alhaji Hassan Sunmonu, former NLC president and now secretary-general of the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU), summed up the feelings of many Nigerians last week when he said, "We are fed up. Nigerians have been pushed to the wall. The only desirable thing for President Ibrahim Babangida today is to voluntarily resign as the president of this country".

By **Mahmud Jega, Yinka Tella, Isaac Umunna** *and* **Nduka Ezeogu** *in Port-Harcourt and* **Tayo Odunlami, Samson Ojo, Tola Sunday** *and* **Bolaji Adebiyi** *in Lagos,* **Abu Mohmoh, Rabiu Barde** *in Kaduna.*



Otedola: *violence-prone Lagos*


Power Cables
only as the expert would make them
REFINERY
NAFCON PLANT
• All Aluminium Conductors (AAC)
Aluminium Service Cables
Aluminium Conductors Steel Reinforced (ACSR)
• Copper Wiring Cables Conduit and Surface
• Cables for Refinery and Petrochemical Plants
• Mains Cables with Aluminium or Copper Conductor with and without steel wire armour
• Control Cables with Solid or Flexible Copper Conductor
without steel wire armour
customer's specifications.
Throughout the production process, our products are subjected to the strictest quality control measures to ensure their safety and reliability
This has been and remains our worthy
vital infrastructural
You can always count on us
kabelmetal
NIGERIA
The Expert in Cable Making

Advertiser's Announcement

Seek ye the national bridge

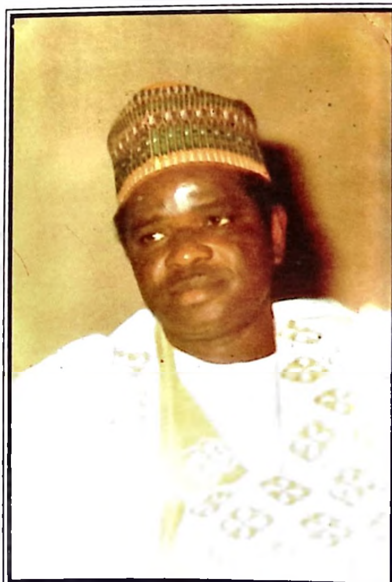
Choice '92, dedicated to the nomination of Alhaji Umaru Ali Shinkafi as the presidential candidate of the National Republican Convention, wishes to give you an insight into his remarkable life and thoughts

Excellence is the watchword

When, in 1979, the federal government of Nigeria awarded Alhaji Umaru Ali Shinkafi the national honour of Commander of the Order of the Niger (CON), it cited his "long meritorious service, high sense of discipline, dedication to duty, exemplary conduct and character, and above all, for his contribution to the maintenance of law and order and internal security in the country". President Chun Dhu Hwan of South Korea, citing his contributions to peace and international understanding, also honoured Shinkafi with the Grand Order of Mugungwa. The Nigeria Police awarded Shinkafi the Nigeria Police Medal for distinguished service, and in 1985 the late Sultan of Sokoto, Sir Abubakar Sadiq III, awarded him the prestigious title of *Marafan Sokoto*.

Excellence has been Shinkafi's hallmark since his formative years at the Barewa College, Zaria. As a school prefect in 1958 he was also declared the "school's linguist" that year for winning the prizes for the most outstanding performance in English Language, English Literature and Hausa. A year later, he responded to the exhortations of national leaders and joined the Nigeria Police, which was being Nigerianised at the time. Many people in Enugu still remember Shinkafi as the popular, dashing and daring "Hausa" inspector of the late 1950's. In subsequent years, he attended the prestigious Leadership Training Course at the Man-O-War Bay, in southern Cameroons; War Office Courses in London, and the Metropolitan Police Detective Training School, Hendon, England. Shinkafi studied law at the University of Lagos and was called to the Nigerian Bar in 1974.

Throughout the 1960's, Shinkafi went from one challenging assignment to another in Jos, Kaduna, Kano, Maiduguri, Ibadan and Lagos. He served in various departments of the police force, including traffic, minesfield, investigation and administration. Inevitably, national leaders began to take serious note of Shinkafi's promise. In 1969 he was sent back to Enugu to help formulate and implement the policy of reconciliation and rehabilitation.



The inspiring leaders in Enugu at the time were Alhaji M. D. Yusuf, Ajie Tony Ukpabi Asika, and the then Lt. Colonel Theophilus Danjuma. So valuable was Shinkafi's contribution to the rehabilitation policy that he was appointed chairman of the National Committee for the Reintegration of Igbos into the public service after the war.

In 1973, Shinkafi's promise was further recognised when he was appointed Deputy Commissioner of Police (administration) at Force Headquarters, a strategic position that policemen called "Chief of Staff, Police". In August 1975, the purposeful Murtala-Obasanjo regime took note of his accomplishments and appointed him federal commissioner for Internal Affairs on his "personal merit". The ministry was previously headed by the Inspector-General of Police.

Shinkafi did not disappoint Murtala and Obasanjo. Working with Alhaji Adamu, *Wazirin Fika*, who was his permanent secretary, they reorganised the ministry and instituted, among others, the policy of on-the-spot monitoring of the utilisation of expatriate quota through inspections. Within the then federal executive council, he was appointed to head the council commissions on prison security and on Nigeria Airways. He was also the alternate commissioner for external affairs, in which capacity he headed several OAU mediation, arbitration and conciliation committee meetings in Libreville, Gabon, on the Ethiopia — Somalia and Chad conflicts. He was also the chairman of the OAU Refugees Committee and *Chef de _Mission* of the federal government's special delegation to the Chadian peace talks, in which capacity he handled the backroom diplomacy that led to the Kano and Lagos accords of 1979.

In 1978, Shinkafi was reposted as Commissioner of Police, Oyo State as part of the disengagement from political office of those officers who could smoothly reintegrate into their services. In 1979, President Shehu Shagari appointed him to be director-general of the Nigeria Security Organisation. Shinkafi took over a force demoralised by the refusal of the Constituent Assembly to enshrine it into the constitution, as it had the armed forces and police. Things were not helped by the utterances of some civilian leaders who wanted to disband the organisation and set up a new one. Still, Shinkafi remoulded its training and organisation and was able to establish its relevance to civilian rule.

Since his voluntary retirement from public service in 1983, Shinkafi has been the chairman of the International Bank for West Africa, a farmer, a practising lawyer, and a frontline politician.

Stability is the key

Alhaji Umaru Ali Shinkafi, alone among the contenders for the presidency, has made stability the key issue of his campaign.

Stability, as used by Shinkafi, is no empty slogan, for he regards it to be the key to long-term prosperity and to the country's unity and cohesion. Stability will provide the answer to the many issues together called the national question. In other words, we should seek the stable kingdom, and all else shall follow.

Shinkafi's life-time experience buttresses this contention. He was an intimate witness to the grim events of the late 1960's and was an actor in the great struggle to restore order and stability after 1970. Shinkafi was also intimately aware of the factors, issues and events that contributed to the demise of the Second Republic.

Shinkafi does not just seek stability for its own sake. He has shown recently why stability is the key to economic recovery. Despite all our best efforts in recent years, foreign investors shun the country because they have no faith in its stability. He is also well placed to restore political stability, for it takes one to know one.

The bridge that he is

A civilian, Shinkafi intimately understands the military and has urged respect for the "psychology of loss" of power. A newbreed politician, he nevertheless possesses the maturity and experience of the oldbreed, having served several regimes, civilian and military, in highly responsible areas over many years. Literate in economic matters, knowledgeable in community relations, experienced in international affairs, skilled in administration and well versed in tradition, Shinkafi is the overall national bridge.

This time, vote for Umaru Shinkafi. **STABILITY** depends on it. **PROSPERITY** depends on it. **FUTURE GENERATIONS** count on it.

A newbreed politician, he nevertheless possesses the maturity and experience of the oldbreed, having served several regimes, civilian and military, in highly responsible areas over many years. Literate in economic matters, knowledgeable in community relations, experienced in international affairs, skilled in administration and well versed in tradition, Shinkafi is the overall national bridge.

CUU

Labouring in vain?

The controversial Council for Unity and Understanding cracks amidst predictions that it is heading for doom

They are birds of different feathers brought together by a common purpose. But after toiling tirelessly for several months to realise their collective dream, members of the controversial Council for Unity and Understanding, CUU, are beginning to steel themselves for the shock of failure, which a growing number of political pundits say is inevitable.

The CUU, a political pressure group comprising opinion leaders from the southern and middle belt states, aims to give Nigeria her next president from anywhere other than the far north. This goal, according to Dr. S. G. Ikoku, a veteran politician and a CUU member, is unholy and destined to fail.

"The CUU", Ikoku told *Citizen* in Enugu, "represents only factions of the east, Yoruba and the middle belt. It has no way to compel all the people in their respective areas to vote the way they (the CUU members) want."

He described the CUU as it is presently constituted as a gang-up against one section of the country. This strategy, Ikoku declared, "is counter productive". He called for the integration of the far north into the CUU "if it is to be a success". Anything short of that, he added, "will not be healthy" because "every section in Nigeria should come together and discuss who should be the next president of the country."

Ikoku's position betrays a crack on the hitherto solid wall of the CUU. It is a crack which, going by results of *Citizen's* investigations, has forced some members of the movement to reassess their views on where the next civilian president of the country should come from. Commodore Ebitu Ukiwe (rtd), one-time chief of general staff, belongs to this group of "repentant" CUU activists. Ukiwe, a CUU top notcher, told *Citizen* in Oguta, Imo State that it does not matter to him anymore where the Third Republic president hails from. "My interest" he said, "is that we must have a leader to be a role model who will be able to fight poverty and impoveration which we face now. The issue is not whether he is Hausa, Igbo or Yoruba."

Ukiwe *and* **Ikoku:** *it shouldn't matter where the president hails from*

Other southern politicians interviewed cautioned all the presidential candidates who are serious in their aspiration to lead Nigeria, to have nothing to do with any of the sectional groupings that now litter the country's political terrain. Chief Donatus Aguiyi, National Republican Convention caretaker committee chairman in Abia State, believes that it is tantamount to political suicide for any presidential candidate to go about his or her campaigns on a tribal or sectional platform. He noted that "any politics based on ethnic grouping is not in the interest of Nigeria" and predicted that "the best presidential candidates will emerge after the primaries based on personal merit."

Delving into history, Chief Aguiyi advised the presidential aspirants to learn from the experiences of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe and the late Chief Obafemi Awolowo. He rates the two among the best politicians ever to come out of Africa, but concluded that they failed in their bids to lead Nigeria because many people saw them, first and foremost, as tribal overlords.

Ironically, the CUU has of late come under severe attacks by presidential candidates from the areas whose interests it claims to be championing. Leading presidential aspirants from the south, such as NRC's Chief Emmanuel Iwuanyanwu and Chief Arthur Nzeribe of the Social Democratic Party, have all disowned the organisation, as well as other such sectional groupings.

Chief Nzeribe, who spoke to *Citizen* in Oguta, dismissed the CUU as an unpatriotic movement with imaginary political influence. He advised his fellow presidential aspirants not to lose sleep over the activities of such groupings because they are "totally irrelevant" and "of no consequence."

By Isaac Umunna *in Umuahia* *and* **Tony Uko** *in Oguta*

Citizen, May 18, 1992

Osun State

A blow below the belt

In a surprise move last week, five leaders of the state legislature hostile to Governor Adeleke resigned their leadership positions

Five members of the Osun State House of Assembly were forced to resign their leadership positions, May 11, for "misleading and misrepresenting" the house to the public.

Those swept off by the surprise change of guard include Nike Omoworare, deputy speaker, Wahab Olatoye, majority leader, and Kehinde Adediran, deputy majority leader. Others are Ahmed Gbadegesin, the chief whip, and his deputy Jinadu Adetoyi. They were all accused by 31 of their colleagues, who came to the house that Monday morning armed with a motion for vote of no confidence, of substituting their personal opinion for that of the house on several matters. They complained that by their act, Omoworare and her colleagues had misrepresented the revered legislature to the public as a band of retrogressive elements holding back the tide of the states' progress. This, said some of them, led to the sacking of the legislature, April 22, by a mob protesting the delay in the passage of critical bills affecting public interests.

The battle ground of Osun

The five embattled legislators last week dismissed the allegations against them as trumped up charges engineered by an executive intent on making the legislature a rubber stamp. Their colleagues were not impressed by what appeared to be an arrogant response to their charges and moved swiftly to impeach the five. It was the intervention of the speaker, Wale Afolabi that saved the situation and got the enraged legislators to settle for an acceptance of their erstwhile leaders' resignation letters.

Even then, Omoworare and her colleagues remained unrepentant as the content of their resignation letters berated their colleagues as an intimidated lot. Omoworare railed in her May 11 letter of resignation that she was quitting because "the executive arm of the government had succeeded in intimidating the legislature, thereby stopping the (sic) members of the house from saying the truth by checking the executive."

The letters were accepted by an overwhelming majority of 31 out of 45 members. Only 12 of them voted against the motion. Five other members of the legislature were to benefit from what appear to be the smashing of Group 26, the band of legislators antagonistic to Isiaka Adetunji Adeleke, governor of the state. Niyi Owolade became the new deputy speaker in the

Omoworare: *out but unrepentant*

> **Citizen can now reveal that for most of penultimate week, Adeleke's lobbyists spent several hours and days at the legislature and homes of legislators selling the need for a change of attitude to the executive.**

election that followed immediately after the passage of the motion for the acceptance of the former leader's resignation. A retired army captain, Isaac Ogundele became the majority leader and would be assisted by Sunday Onifade. The office of the chief whip is now being occupied by O.A. Akintola whose deputy is Amusa Disu.

Coming a week after a truce was signed by the legislature and the executive, last Monday's event surprised keen observers and citizens of the state which has moved from one political crisis to another since last years' governorship primaries of the Social Democratic Party, (SDP). *Citizen* learnt that at that peace meeting, both sides agreed to work together for the progress of the state. To this extent, compromises were made on some key issues. They include the need for the executive to consider the welfare conditions of legislators with a view to providing them with facilities and basic infrastructure that will assist them in discharging their legislative functions properly. In order to maintain a cordial relationship, the executive was to embark on a cabinet reshuffle which would weed out some functionaries seen as liabilities to the government. These functionaries, some of whom had played key roles in the election of Adeleke as governor, but who had by their reckless utterances and disdainful acts unbecoming of public officers, the legislators insisted, must go. *Citizen* gathered reliably that those to be shown the way out include Femi Falana, a special adviser to the governor on project monitoring. He it was that was fingered as the main cause of several unfavourable press report about the state. He was alleged to have threatened to beat up a journalist. The legislative liaison officer to the governor, the man whose job it is to liaise between the executive and the legislature was also to be a sacrificial lamb. The legislature was to reciprocate by dropping all on-going probes against the executive and deal speedily with all bills initiated by the executive.

Afolabi: *probe shall go on*

Accordingly, the speaker who is also a lawyer, declared, to the chagrin of the executive members who flanked him at the conference, that the probes into the alleged unconstitutional award of 175 million Naira contracts and the mob attack on the house would continue.

But there were immediate indications that the truce like the earlier ones will not last. On that day, Wale Afolabi, the speaker, flanked by Isiaka Adeleke and Adesuyi Haastrup, the deputy governor, told government house correspondents at a post-truce press conference held in the governor's office that although both sides have agreed to co-operate with one another, the legislature would remain steadfast in its sworn goal of instilling public probity and accountability in public officers. Accordingly, the speaker who is also a lawyer, declared to the chagrin of the executive members who flanked him at the conference that the probes into the alleged unconstitutional award of 175 million Naira contracts and the mob attack on the house would continue.

If Adeleke was angry, he did not show it, but he went back to his political analysts and strategists to ask for the way forward. They advised him to mobilise sufficient resources to woe over more legislators to his side and smash once and for all the hostile Group 26. He did just that. *Citizen* can now reveal that for most of penultimate week, Adeleke's lobbyists spent several hours and days at the legislature and homes of legislators selling the need for a change of attitude to the executive. The governor's lobby was joined by those of the functionaries who, by the truce of May 7, were to be shed from the cabinet. The result of both lobby groups was last Monday's change of guard in which Group 26 was caught completely off-guard. By last week's voting pattern, at least 12 of its members crossed over to the governor's side. Some of the "carpet-crossers" are supporters of Inadosu Ladapo, the defeated SDP governorship aspirant, who since the February truce has been more concerned with snatching the vice-presidential ticket of Major General Shehu Musa Yar'Adua.

Osogbo, the state capital was calm last week and many hoped that it will remain so for a long time. The realisation of that hope will depend on the maturity of those who the people of the state have entrusted with political power.

By Bolaji Adebiyi

Jerry Gana

The man of the Middle

Former MAMSER boss, shoves aside the question of morality to have a go at the nation's number one job

Gana *and* **Danjuma:** *What connection?*

As the chairman of MAMSER, Professor Jerry Gana had pranced the length and width of the country, preaching the gospel of self-reliance and social justice. So, when on Friday, May 8, the former MAMSER boss climbed the dais at the Murtala Muhammed Square, Kaduna, the impressive audience might have been expecting another bout of "mass mobilisation". Well, not exactly. The speaker was mobilising, but not for a certain national course, but his own person. Jerry Gana, might as well have screamed: "I want to be the president of this country... Please, do let me serve you the more."

Of course, it was not that the audience never knew what Professor Gana's mission was that Friday afternoon. Apart from the obtrusive newspapers advertisement, the whole of Kaduna was under a kind of siege by the Jerry Gana campaign team: about a week to the May 8 date, radio stations were regularly announcing the launching of the Jerry Gana candidature. Besides, the whole of Kaduna, the roundabouts, especially, were all taken over by the banner inviting all to the launching of the candidature of Jerry Gana.

The launching was impressive. If audience participation or attendance in campaign rallies is any guide, then Jerry Gana's entry must be distinguished as not "just another". The huge crowd that gathered was complemented by the equally remarkable high-class attendance. With Alhaji Abdulkadir Balarabe Musa, a former governor of Kaduna State directing the "orchestra", the audience couldn't have been expecting an average performance. The audience got much of Balarabe and Gana himself, a little of General T.Y. Danjuma, former chief of army staff, and also a little but mysterious presence of Alhaji Lateef Jakande, former governor of Lagos State, himself an SDP presidential aspirant.

For Balarabe Musa, there is nothing sinister about Jakande's presence. He said, was to show Nigerians that progressives don't fight when they compete for political offices. Jakande later amplified this statement, saying that he came to express solidarity with Gana. "The two of us are the only progressives presently contesting for the post of president in the country". It was so easy to say so, just like it was so easy for the enlightened sector of the audience to keep wondering, who will be the other's running mate between Gana and Jakande. As one reporter puts it, "there are still some rivers to be crossed".

General Danjuma also explained his own presence. He said it was a reaffirmation of his commitment to the success of Gana's candidature, for it is time for a brilliant and honest Nigerian to rule the country, instead "of the bunch of amateurs parading themselves to be elected as leaders".

Professor Jerry Gana had a lot of explanations to do: he had earlier told newsmen that "I don't have money, but I am sure we will not sell the leadership of this country." But won't the very late disengagement from a government agency prove a dangerous thing? Gana disagreed, pointing out that public service is not for a private gain but a public good. On top of this is the urge to serve the country more, especially with some Nigerians prodding him *ala* the black American, Jesse Jackson, to *run Jerry, run*.

As expected, Professor Gana's programme is not quite different from those of other candidates — the only difference may be his refusal to disclose his trump card against the country's array of problems.

Professor Gana says he is a clean newbreed offering himself as another pick for Nigerians to "choose between honest leadership and money bags whose only qualification is their ill-gotten wealth". Professor Gana can distance himself, from the linkage people say they see, with the Christian Association of Nigeria, CAN, but it will take some tremendous wriggling to convince the people that he is a man of and from the Middle — the Middle Belt. This particular political newbreed of a region — the Middle Belt—almost completely dominated the dignitaries' list.

By **Rabiu Barde**

FOMWAN
Armour against AIDS

Muslim women gear up for the battle against moral laxity and AIDS

May day apart from being the worker's day had an additional significance for the members of the Federation of Muslim Women's Association of Nigeria, FOMWAN. It was the first day of the federation's national health workshop on AIDS. Organised in conjunction with the federal ministry of health, the "train the trainers" workshop attended by FOMWAN members from all the states and Abuja had as its theme "AIDS Education Amongst Muslim Youth in Nigeria".

FOMWAN's involvement in health enlightenment programmes dates back to 1986 when its first annual conference held in Lagos was devoted to Islam and family planning. Another conference held in Jos earlier this year focused on causes of vesico-vaginal fistulae, VVF and what could be done to stem the scourge.

The May day AIDS workshop which opened at the multi-purpose women's centre in Katsina added yet another brief to FOMWAN's health education agenda.

In his speech as the special guest of honour, the deputy governor of Katsina State, Alhaji Abdu Aminchi, who represented the governor Alhaji Saidu Barda, commended the federation for embarking on a massive health education programme to eradicate ignorance on the dangers of all sexually transmitted diseases especially the incurable AIDS. Alhaji Abdu attributed the alarming spread of the disease to moral laxity and urged FOMWAN to continue its campaign for moral reorientation of the society. In a keynote address, the representative of the minister of health, Dr. Tokunbo disclosed that the first evidence of AIDS in Nigeria was identified and reported to the health ministry in 1985. Since then the ministry has established a national AIDS control programme which has been conducting research and educating the population on AIDS. Although the incidence is still low, relative to many other countries in Africa such as Zaire, Uganda, etc, the prevalence of AIDS is rapidly increasing—a factor that should give us renewed commitment to end the spread.

Okunnu: *no sex out of wedlock*

The president of FOMWAN and former deputy governor of Lagos State, Alhaja Lateefa Okunnu in her welcome address stressed the need for all muslims to live according to the tenets of Islam. Alhaja Lateefa stated that AIDS is a manifestation of the moral bankruptcy of our society to which Islam has an age old solution — chastity. "Islam is unyielding on the prohibition of sex outside wedlock. This is the cardinal principle of morality in Islam and a veritable panacea to the spread of AIDS in the society particularly among the youth". The FOMWAN president disclosed that the federation has selected the youth and adolescents as its target group for the AIDS education and control programme. In addition the "train the trainers" workshop will be organised by all state branches of FOMWAN with representatives of all local government areas. The objective is to launch FOMWAN AIDS preventive programme among muslim youth through out the country particularly during the annual FOMWAN week and youth vacation programmes.

With the opening ceremony over, the participants went through two days of intensive training. The workshop was divided into modules that dwelt with such topics as introductory lecture on Sexually Transmitted Diseases, STDs misconceptions and scientific overview of HIV. The introductory lessons which were summarised in a pamphlet cleared many misconceptions about modes of AIDS transmission. Contrary to widely held belief, AIDS is not spread through casual contacts such as: touching or hugging a person with AIDS:-

— coughing or sneezing

— looking after an AIDS patient

— eating or drinking from the same pot or cup

— using the same toilets or bathing in the pond

— animals or insects such as mosquitoes and bedbugs do not transmit AIDS.

However, modes of AIDS transmission were identified as:-

— Sexual intercourse with an infected person who may look and feel alright but still have AIDS.

— Use of unsterilised needles, syringes, blades, knives and other skin piercing tools such as those used for piercing ears, barbing, circumcision or tribal markings.

— Through blood transfusion with infected blood.

— An infected pregnant mother can also pass it onto her child before or during child birth.

Armed with these basic lessons the participants were battle ready to launch the offensive against the deadly disease.

By Bilkisu Yusuf *in Katsina*

FO

Census '91 results

Critics have got it all wrong

By
Dr. Abba Lawan

The 1991 Census provisional results released in March have, as expected, continued to generate comments and criticisms in the media. Most of the criticisms have been on the regional distribution of the population. The critics, including Bola Ige, Ebenezer Babatope, Frederick Fasheun, Pini Jason and *The Guardian* in an editorial (28/4/92), claim that, according to what they call, "Principles of geography and demography", the further one is from a tropical rain forest environment, the fewer the number of persons that should be found. Based on their reasoning, states such as Kano, Sokoto, Bauchi and Kaduna, in the "desert, agricultural, rural" north should have returned smaller populations than states in the "forest, industrial, urban" south.

Let us start by explaining some concepts that appear confusing to Bola Ige and Co: There is no desert zone in Nigeria. Apart from Southern Nigerian rain forest, we have three gradations of grasslands in the North. Furthermore, population size is a different concept from population density. Size refers to total number of persons in a territory or region. Density relates number of persons to an area. Specifically, density of population is the number of persons per square mile or kilometre. The 1991 Census figures reveal that the south, a smaller physical area — one-quarter of the country — is more densely populated than the north. The north, three-quarters of the total land area, has a larger population but lower density than the south. The concentration of people in a small area, such as Lagos State, because of visibility, falsely suggests, like a mirage, a very large population relative to other less dense areas. Thus, simply because the south is more densely populated than the north it does not follow that it should automatically have a larger population.

It is also wrong to say, as Census '91 critics argue, that a high level of urbanisation in an area (that is, the percentage of population living in urban areas), necessarily implies that the region will have a larger population than a more rural one. Put in other words, just because a region or territory has a high percentage of its population living in urban areas, it should not necessarily have more people than a largely rural one. For example, the fact that the USA is more urbanised does not give it a large total population than China which is largely rural. So also Canada versus Nigeria or Singapore versus India. Therefore, to argue, as the *Guardian* and other critics do, that the more urban south should have, because of that urbanisation, a larger population than a more rural north is incorrect. The same is also true of the relationship between electricity consumption, level of literacy, standard of living and total population size.

Several factors determine the distribution of population of a given territory or region; any student of population geography or demography knows this. It is incorrect to say that a single factor — what critics call "geography" — determines whether or not, and how many, people live in an area. In fact, factors such as duration of human habitation, past political stability or exposure to wars and slavery, soil, prevalence of diseases, location of economic activities act could be, and most often are, more critical than "geography". I discuss below how some of these factors influence the distribution of population.

Let us start with the physical, geographic factor. Bola Ige *et al* believe that a tropical rain forest environment, independent of other factors, is more favourable to human survival or existence than a grassland How true is this belief? A comparison of maps of the distribution of worlds population with that of vegetation reveals a most significant pattern: Universally, tropical rain forest areas, as found in southern Nigeria, are not densely settled. In fact, a notable geographer, Clark (1975:230) confirms, for Africa as a whole, "the most densely populated climate zones tend to be those of the Savanna (as found in northern Nigeria) and the Mediterranean climates where there is a marked division into rainy and dry seasons ... Except in certain areas where powerful cultures have evolved, moist forests have been associated with low population densities, not only because of the thickness of vegetation and the difficulties of clearing, but also because of dimunition of soil fertility after clearance and high incidence of diseases as well as limitations of human technology to tackle such environment". Beaujeu-Garnier (1978), another population geographer, describes this region as, "impenetrable, indestructible, hostile in every way to human life... The soil can only support meagre and infrequent harvests. Man is but a marginal being, menaced and infested". That is the main reason why the Amazon forest of Brazil, Zaire, Congo, Cameroun, Gabon etc are sparsely populated. The same environmental condition, among others make forest areas of southern Nigeria not produce much of the food being consumed there. In contrast, northern Nigeria, the territory considered by the *Guardian* and Co as inhospitable is *in fact* the place which provides, for man, at the existing level of peasant technology, the essential for survival: food. The Guinea, Sudan and Sahel zones, although the driest parts of the country, have the highest agricultural output in the land: their cereals, tubers and livestock feed the nation. That is why agriculture in this country is essentially northern Nigerian. Thus, if one relies only on the geographic factor, then the population figures returned by Census '91 for forest southern Nigeria could not have been plausible. They would have been highly suspect. Luckily, other factors are more significant in determining the distribution of population. One of such factors is the duration of human habitation in an area — what Beaujeu-Garnier calls "age of peopling"; According to her, "Populations living in the same place for a long time, even though they may develop but slowly, will end by becoming more and more numerous... A population with its roots in the remote past has a tendency to adapt itself very closely to the natural environment". Thus, one would expect — and Census '91 figures reveal — populations to be large and dense where ancient polities existed. Specifically, regions where Kanem- Borno and Hausa kingdoms in the north, Yoruba states in the West and village societies of Iboland were located in the past are today areas of large populations. I need to emphasise here that the oldest and largest polities that existed in what is now Nigeria were located in Northern Nigeria, in the grassland belt. The people of such areas as mentioned above have continued to remain in their "homelands" despite the vicissitudes of physical environment such as diminished soil fertility (as in Yoruba and Ibo lands) and droughts (as in Hausa and Borno lands). The populations have become territorially immobile.

An effective political organisation, as found in those ancient kingdoms, ensured a peaceful and secure environment free from enslavement. That was necessary for agriculture, for the development of commerce and manufacturing and for general economic prosperity. In such environment therefore, populations grew. In contrast, areas exposed to chronic instability, to wars and slave raiding, were sparsely populated and are today a veritable reminder of past inhuman condition. This is why the middle belt is thinly peopled.

Economic attractiveness, including presence of commercial and industrial activities, is another factor that explains population distribution. Areas of intense economic activities usually attract migrations from, especially, neighbouring, less endowed territory. It is one of the factors put forward by some critics to support the thesis of larger southern population. Yes, a coastal strip of Nigeria is a zone of intense economic activities: that is mainly Lagos, which is the premier commercial and industrial centre in the country and which attracts the largest migrants from all over the country. Other coastal areas do not offer the same opportunities and, are, therefore, not attractive destinations for large scale migration especially of people from northern Nigeria. In addition, the claim that any state in the south other than Lagos is industrial is false. Furthermore, it is not the coast alone that is characterised by intense economic activities. Kano, (and a larger Kano — Kaduna axis) in northern Nigeria is the second most important economic zone in the country. And, on the whole, the north has become over the years, a more attractive destination for southern Nigerians to migrate to than south for northern Nigerians.

To Bola Ige and Co I say, put sentiments aside, give us, if you have any, rational, scientific reasons why Census '91 results are incorrect.

There are other equally important factors including prevalence of diseases, soil, etc, that, together with those discussed above, explain the distribution of the population of any given area.

Let me as a footnote talk about Kano/Southern Nigerians, who have never ventured outside their "moist forest" enclaves, often wonder why Kano in the grasslands should have a large population. They should now be enlightened. Kano State sits on the most agriculturally productive part of this country. And, as a scholar of this region, Mortimore (1972) points out, "Kano has been a centre of power in Hausa land for more than 1000 years, a factor which has enabled a large sedentary population to grow in relative security. Kano City was (and continues to be) a centre of commerce and manufacturing and enjoyed a close economic relationship with its rural environs". Economic prosperity, a productive agricultural sector, commerce and manufacturing were conducive to early large population. Today, Kano is the largest and most significant city in Savanna Africa, drawing migrants from far and near. It should therefore be no surprise that Kano is the second most populous state in the country.

In light of our preceding discussions, how plausible are Census '91 results which shows a slight northern Nigerian numerical superiority? The results are, contrary to what the critics say, quite consistent with geographic, demographic and historical expectations. Knowledgeable individuals such as Sir Adetokunbo Ademola, and organisations such as the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) are satisfied with them.

An assumed anomaly here and there, as in case of former Oyo State, should not detract from the validity of the overall results. To Bola Ige and Co I say, put sentiments aside, give us, if you have any, rational, scientific reasons why Census '91 results are incorrect. Many of you are lawyers and you have demographer friends. Go to the tribunal.

Dr. Lawan, *a demographer writes from Kano*

Minna

Murder at dawn

The killing of a well-known politician in Minna leaves the people dazed and uncertain of the future

Minna, the capital of Niger State, may never be the same again. Friday, May 8, the usual tranquil nature of the town was taken over by the mournful look of the people who got an early start with the news of the cold-blooded murder of a well-known politician — businessman.

Alhaji Abdullahi Wachiko had always been a popular figure in Minna. And his popularity did not include being a deal merchant whose manner of death could be a little bit predictable. But at the dawn of that Friday, assailants whose number is not quite known stormed his house, demanded for some money which they did not get. They were offered property such as the deceased's Mercedes Benz car and other property including those of his wife. The intruders rejected the offer but instead took the Alhaji's life.

Murders — smoothly organised, have never been a commonplace occurrence in Minna. The shock that gripped many since that Friday may remain insoluble for days to come. Unfortunately, everything connected to the murder remains an enormous piece of puzzle. Even the deceased's wife who went through the agony of watching, movie-like, her husband's murder has said almost next to nothing that can assist the police with the investigation.

Hajiya Atta Wachiko, the deceased's wife, narrated how some men, some of them very young, broke into the house, apparently after taking care of the securityman. Contrary to the widespread belief, Hajiya Atta said the assailants were allowed into her bedroom, where Alhaji Wachiko was sleeping, because they promised not to harm either of the couple. After gaining entry, the assailants insisted that Alhaji Wachiko must give them their own share of the money he allegedly collected from Alhaji Bamanga Tukur, a presidential aspirant on the platform of NRC and a certain contract settlement from Abuja. Wachiko was Tukur's Niger State campaign co-ordinator.

Wachiko: *a terrible end*

For his life, Alhaji Wachiko offered to part with his Mercedes Benz car and some of his wife's property. Suddenly the assailants forgot about the money they came for. They also ignored the deceased's cries for mercy, which the wife said almost brought the house down. One shot him; and another used a weapon, most likely a knife, to rip open the victim's abdomen. With the intestines and other entrails hanging out in a bloody mess, mission was accomplished. The assailants, leaving the now bereaved wife with a big wound on the arm and the gateman close to death, vanished through the twilight of dawn.

The fact that Hajiya Atta and the gateman, (who unconfirmed reports say died at the Minna General Hospital), were both said to have recognised one of the assailants and Alhaji Bamanga Tukur's disclosure that the deceased did not collect any money from him may not actually lead to any discovery. Instead, the latter issue might have been used by the assailants to take the expected heat off their back. This plan seems to be on an unstoppable course.

Most people are of the view that the criminals have only used the money angle when actually, they had planned to murder Wachiko long before they reached his destination. The same people also corraborated Alhaji Bamanga Tukur's assertion that the deceased had been using his own money to aid campaign in the state.

Perhaps, the angle that offers much hope of cracking the case is Hajiya Atta Wachiko's recognition of one of the assailants. Many seem to be leaning towards this angle, apparently because of the well-known fact that the Wachikos household has been the centre of one of Minna's celebrated acerbic family feuds. This is moreso, because the youngman, Hajiya Atta claimed she saw, is said to be a familiar face in the house.

Over a week after the murder, nothing has happened. Only that rumours, most of them of incredible quality, have taken the place of any substantial progress the police or anyone may be making. But, daily, suspicion keeps shifting from the case of Bamanga's campaign money to other issues. Now, it is either that it was money problem that got out of control — which is unlikely, since the assailants had the opportunity of collecting some money from the deceased — or a political point is being made in which only the deceased's political, or even business bed fellows will understand. Everyone keeps guessing.

By our reporter

ENCOUNTER

Lannon Walker

Uncle Sam's eyeview (I)

Ambassador Lannon Walker, gangling and silvery haired, arrived *Citizen's* boardroom 30 minutes behind schedule; he was preceded by an advance party, including his young "expert" who interjects whenever he stumbles with figures.

Uncle Sam's chief representative in Nigeria is amiable, confident and patronising. Mr. Walker's language is almost entirely devoid of technical phrases; instead, he makes his argument as a nursery school teacher would with his pupils. "My job", he said, "is to make sure you understand what my country's views are, in very, very clear ways".

In some cases, though, these views will have to be carefully extricated from a scenario laid out by the ambassador. For example, the implied criticism of the Nigerian government's spending policies as the chief reason for the failure of its adjustment programme. In other cases Mr. Walker deadpanned; although he said Libyan sponsorship of terrorism is "widely known", he said he does not know that Israel has nuclear bombs.

Excerpts from the 90-minute interview:-

Walker: *My job is to explain America*

Citizen: Why is it that the US is pressing for the lifting of the ban on wheat imports?

Walker: You know, this question has been given to me every time I have met with the press since I first arrived in Nigeria two and a half years ago. I usually begin by saying that I did my homework before I came and I saw that my predecessor, Ambassador Lyman, had made a speech in Owerri, in which he talked about ... the subject of the speech was US— Nigerian relations. I read that speech carefully ... a very long speech, it talks about everything. And in one small part of the speech, at the end, he points to the problem of the wheat ban and he says that it is better if you use tariffs, rather than the ban, to protect your local industry ... an economic solution. That solution, by the way, is widely accepted by *all* international economists, by *all* international organisations, and is one of the basic rules of the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs, GATT. So what he said was not a very remarkable statement. What happened was that somehow, the Nigerian press was set aflame by this question. Somehow they were incited to take this as a major problem. And the next thing you knew, the entire press in this country was out after my predecessor.

Citizen: But sir, we think there is a newsprint bulletin out from the US information (service) here which talked about Nigeria now being on the "hit list".

Walker: What you read was the annual report of our trade representative on the state of trade restrictions and other things that harm US exports around the world. In Africa, I think Nigeria was the only one mentioned. And what the report said was true. It was the report of the facts, and the report says that Nigeria imposes a ban on wheat, rice, other cereals, and that this was once one of our largest markets and that this had hurt our market.

If the American government so decides *and* if the U.S. Congress I believe agrees, then a country can be listed under section 301(C), which is a series of sanctions. You'll know about that when it happens. You won't have to speculate about it. The article does not say that you're on that list. It can't say that, because you're not on the list. It's very simple.

Citizen: Mr. Walker, the United States itself has stalled conclusion of the Uruguay round of the GATT talks by maintaining high tariffs on agricultural imports to the United States.

Walker: Well,, there's a difference between bans and tariffs. Sorry. I mean, the ban is not really an accepted practice in international trade. We can argue about tariff levels until we're blue in the face, as we are. We can argue about a series of things and that's a legitimate subject of negotiation. Certainly if you impose a tariff

Minna

Murder at dawn

The killing of a well-known politician in Minna leaves the people dazed and uncertain of the future

Minna, the capital of Niger State, may never be the same again. Friday, May 8, the usual tranquil nature of the town was taken over by the mournful look of the people who got an early start with the news of the cold-blooded murder of a well-known politician — businessman.

Alhaji Abdullahi Wachiko had always been a popular figure in Minna. And his popularity did not include being a deal merchant whose manner of death could be a little bit predictable. But at the dawn of that Friday, assailants whose number is not quite known stormed his house, demanded for some money which they did not get. They were offered property such as the deceased's Mercedes Benz car and other property including those of his wife. The intruders rejected the offer but instead took the Alhaji's life.

Murders — smoothly organised, have never been a commonplace occurrence in Minna. The shock that gripped many since that Friday may remain insoluble for days to come. Unfortunately, everything connected to the murder remains an enormous piece of puzzle. Even the deceased's wife who went through the agony of watching, movie-like, her husband's murder has said almost next to nothing that can assist the police with the investigation.

Hajiya Atta Wachiko, the deceased's wife, narrated how some men, some of them very young, broke into the house, apparently after taking care of the securityman. Contrary to the widespread belief, Hajiya Atta said the assailants were allowed into her bedroom, where Alhaji Wachiko was sleeping, because they promised not to harm either of the couple. After gaining entry, the assailants insisted that Alhaji Wachiko must give them their own share of the money he allegedly collected from Alhaji Bamanga Tukur, a presidential aspirant on the platform of NRC and a certain contract settlement from Abuja. Wachiko was Tukur's Niger State campaign coordinator.

Wachiko: *a terrible end*

For his life, Alhaji Wachiko offered to part with his Mercedes Benz car and some of his wife's property. Suddenly the assailants forgot about the money they came for. They also ignored the deceased's cries for mercy, which the wife said almost brought the house down. One shot him; and another used a weapon, most likely a knife, to rip open the victim's abdomen. With the intestines and other entrails hanging out in a bloody mess, mission was accomplished. The assailants, leaving the now bereaved wife with a big wound on the arm and the gateman close to death, vanished through the twilight of dawn.

The fact that Hajiya Atta and the gateman, (who unconfirmed reports say died at the Minna General Hospital), were both said to have recognised one of the assailants and Alhaji Bamanga Tukur's disclosure that the deceased did not collect any money from him may not actually lead to any discovery. Instead, the latter issue might have been used by the assailants to take the expected heat off their back. This plan seems to be on an unstoppable course.

Most people are of the view that the criminals have only used the money angle when actually, they had planned to murder Wachiko long before they reached his destination. The same people also corraborated Alhaji Bamanga Tukur's assertion that the deceased had been using his own money to aid campaign in the state.

Perhaps, the angle that offers much hope of cracking the case is Hajiya Atta Wachiko's recognition of one of the assailants. Many seem to be leaning towards this angle, apparently because of the well-known fact that the Wachikos household has been the centre of one of Minna's celebrated acerbic family feuds. This is moreso, because the youngman, Hajiya Atta claimed she saw, is said to be a familiar face in the house.

Over a week after the murder, nothing has happened. Only that rumours, most of them of incredible quality, have taken the place of any substantial progress the police or anyone may be making. But, daily, suspicion keeps shifting from the case of Bamanga's campaign money to other issues. Now, it is either that it was money problem that got out of control — which is unlikely, since the assailants had the opportunity of collecting some money from the deceased — or a political point is being made in which only the deceased's political, or even business bed fellows will understand. Everyone keeps guessing.

By our reporter

ENCOUNTER

Lannon Walker

Uncle Sam's eyeview (I)

Walker: *My job is to explain America*

Ambassador Lannon Walker, gangling and silvery haired, arrived *Citizen's* boardroom 30 minutes behind schedule; he was preceded by an advance party, including his young "expert" who interjects whenever he stumbles with figures.

Uncle Sam's chief representative in Nigeria is amiable, confident and patronising. Mr. Walker's language is almost entirely devoid of technical phrases; instead, he makes his argument as a nursery school teacher would with his pupils. "My job", he said, "is to make sure you understand what my country's views are, in very, very clear ways".

In some cases, though, these views will have to be carefully extricated from a scenario laid out by the ambassador. For example, the implied criticism of the Nigerian government's spending policies as the chief reason for the failure of its adjustment programme. In other cases Mr. Walker deadpanned; although he said Libyan sponsorship of terrorism is "widely known", he said he does not know that Israel has nuclear bombs.

Excerpts from the 90-minute interview:-

Citizen: Why is it that the US is pressing for the lifting of the ban on wheat imports?

Walker: You know, this question has been given to me every time I have met with the press since I first arrived in Nigeria two and a half years ago. I usually begin by saying that I did my homework before I came and I saw that my predecessor, Ambassador Lyman, had made a speech in Owerri, in which he talked about ... the subject of the speech was US— Nigerian relations. I read that speech carefully ... a very long speech, it talks about everything. And in one small part of the speech, at the end, he points to the problem of the wheat ban and he says that it is better if you use tariffs, rather than the ban, to protect your local industry ... an economic solution. That solution, by the way, is widely accepted by *all* international economists, by *all* international organisations, and is one of the basic rules of the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs, GATT. So what he said was not a very remarkable statement. What happened was that somehow, the Nigerian press was set aflame by this question. Somehow they were incited to take this as a major problem. And the next thing you knew, the entire press in this country was out after my predecessor.

Citizen: But sir, we think there is a newsprint bulletin out from the US information (service) here which talked about Nigeria now being on the "hit list".

Walker: What you read was the annual report of our trade representative on the state of trade restrictions and other things that harm US exports around the world. In Africa, I think Nigeria was the only one mentioned. And what the report said was true. It was the report of the facts, and the report says that Nigeria imposes a ban on wheat, rice, other cereals, and that this was once one of our largest markets and that this had hurt our market.

If the American government so decides *and* if the U.S. Congress I believe agrees, then a country can be listed under section 301(C), which is a series of sanctions. You'll know about that when it happens. You won't have to speculate about it. The article does not say that you're on that list. It can't say that, because you're not on the list. It's very simple.

Citizen: Mr. Walker, the United States itself has stalled conclusion of the Uruguay round of the GATT talks by maintaining high tariffs on agricultural imports to the United States.

Walker: Well, there's a difference between bans and tariffs. Sorry. I mean, the ban is not really an accepted practice in international trade. We can argue about tariff levels until we're blue in the face, as we are. We can argue about a series of things and that's a legitimate subject of negotiation. Certainly if you impose a tariff that is tantamount to a ban, then it's the same thing and you get the same reaction, that's not the proper way to deal with the trade issue. That's all. There's no surprise here. And I would like to ask you why Nigeria should be so upset about this subject, even if it were a subject. The United States of America makes no bones about talking to Japan when we're unhappy. It makes no bones about talking to Europe when we're unhappy. The Europeans and Japanese do the same to us and Nigeria says, "We want to be treated like a major power". So if we were to decide to have this discussion and to lay cards on the table, which we have not done, but if we were, so what? Doesn't Nigeria want to be treated like a major player?

Citizen: Does the US treat Nigeria as a major player?

Walker: Well, it depends on the subject. What subject do you want to talk about?

Citizen: Somebody described a diplomat as someone who tells you to go to hell in such a way that you look forward to the journey. Does that describe yourself?

Walker: It's the art of communication. If you can't find a way to communicate your views and keep the channels open, then you've not performed your function. Now, if a diplomat somehow doesn't get the message over because he's too polite or he's too "diplomatic" or he doesn't say things the way they are, then he's really not performing his function, because the function of diplomacy is communication between two states in which the diplomat is an intermediary. So he must above all be clear, consistent, and reliable. A diplomat does not speak for himself. A diplomat speaks for his country. So my job is to make sure that you understand what my country's views are, in very, very clear ways.

Citizen: Is it possible that sometimes ambassadors do confuse? What of the American ambassador to Baghdad, who was supposed to have given Saddam Hussein the wrong signals as to American views?

Walker: Yes, that's what some newspapers said, but that's not what the ambassador said.

Citizen: What did she say?

Walker: She went before the United States Congress and she said it wasn't true. She stood before the Congress, a woman, under oath, and she said that this was not true, and she gave verbatim and textual references as to when and under what circumstances she warned Saddam Hussein as to the consequences of military action. And when she was done, the American senators said, "Why didn't they send you up here before"? That's another question.

Citizen: So how did the confusion come about? It must have been someone's doing.

Walker: Well, Saddam Hussein said it. He lied. I beg your pardon.

Citizen: Mr. Walker, you have been ambassador to Nigeria for more than two years now. We have read this paper you have delivered in Abuja. It seems you are of the view that Nigeria should, after 1992, maintain present economic policies, probably tighten them up a bit, if we understand the paper quite right. Have you not been worried by the level of poverty in this country in the last two years?

Walker: Sure. But why do you think that what I had to say is designed to maintain or increase the level of poverty in Nigeria?

Citizen: At least in the short term that's what it has done.

Walker: Why do you believe that? What would be the economic logic of that?

Citizen: Cuts in government spending, especially cuts in social services spending, should....

Walker: Stop right there. Let's stop right there. Let's take the social services. Who says that government should cut its spending on social programmes?

Citizen: Apparently it is part of the IMF programme.

Walker: It is not. It is not. I beg your pardon.

Citizen: We have seen that in other countries that adopted IMF programmes.

Walker: I beg your pardon. I beg your pardon. The IMF will come in just as a person would if you had trouble personally with your finances and you went to the bank and the bank wanted your company or you personally, wanted some understanding as to what your plan was to get out of this, as I said in the speech. If you persuade them that you can live within your resources, they're not going to tell you that you should stop buying toothpaste and only buy something to shave with. Those are personal decisions. They're going to tell you that there's only 10 dollars out there. But how you use the 10 dollars is your business. Now I am not aware of any IMF or World Bank programme in the world that has ever said that a country should not spend its money on social services. In fact, most of these programmes encourage good investments for productive purposes and what they call human resource development, which is education and health. And they usually say that people are spending too much money on things like military spending instead of social services and that they ought to look carefully at some of the projects they're using. But it's first and foremost a false assumption to believe that good economic policy says you can't help the people. Now, as to the first point which I now address, about government spending, you're assuming that a cut in government spending is bad for the people. Let me

Do you have any friends like that? They look at your V-Boot and they look at your gold watch... and say, "Oh, that's okay, forget it"

explain to you why that's not true, and that the exact contrary is true. And now I'm not necessarily talking about Nigeria. What I'm going to say applies to Nigeria but it applies to America and it applies to any place. If a government spends more money than it has in the budget ... deficit spending, it spends more than it has .. to do this it can only get this money either from abroad or from creating money, printing money at home. Now in the second case, and this is the dangerous part, if there is money creation, deficit spending leads to money creation, then there are more Naira or more whatever it is chasing the same number of goods in the market. And inflation goes up. When inflation goes up, the average poor person in the street's income is reduced. That's what you see. They cannot afford it any more. And after that, after inflation is up and there's too much money in circulation, the Naira or the dollar, the currency, is devalued. The people pay more money in local currency to get the foreign currency. But you see, that's the way it happens. Too much deficit spending leads to money creation, printing money (by the) central bank leads to inflation, leads to devaluation. And in the middle there is income reduction, especially for poor people. So if you cut government spending, stay within the budget, inflation is kept under control, incomes buy more, and the Naira or whatever rate you're talking about tends to firm up. So you see, cutting spending is better for people. Now, another possibility is that when you do get money from abroad or locally ... for example, the government now gets more money from the sale of the Naira, doesn't it? ... how it spends this money becomes very important, whether they got it abroad or they got it domestically. If the spending is for non-productive things or prestige projects, then it doesn't do any good. It doesn't help the poor person. It contributes to the inflation. If it goes back into the economy in the right ways, so that it's productive, where it pays off debts owed to local businesses so they can hire more people and this sort of stuff, then it's good for them, and it keeps inflation (low). So how government spends its money is in fact the answer to the problem of the reduction of income and devaluation. So if the IMF or anybody else that you want to ask advises to reduce deficit spending, the reason we're doing this is because it's good for little people. I'd be happy to argue that with you.

Citizen: In the particular case of Nigeria it has increased the level of poverty. Are you saying the Nigerian government has not been prudent?

Ambassador: I said I was talking about any country.

Citizen: No, I'm talking about Nigeria.

Walker: Well, what do you think? I've described the system to you. You've lived here all your life. What do you think? Does it fit? Does the shoe fit?

Citizen: I want you to tell me.

Walker: Does the shoe fit? My speech talks about post-1992, and it says this is what I think the advisers may tell the new president. And I can tell you this, that I do not agree with the common wisdom that I hear here in the street about what the problem is, because most of the people that I talk to say SAP means devaluation, means reduction of income and I think that's wrong. I think that something else happened.

Citizen: What is that?

Walker: Exactly what I just told you.

Citizen: Let us ask a related question. Mr. Walker, is it possible in the near future ... let's say before the end of the century ... that the West will agree to cancel the debts of the Third World?

Walker: Official debts?

Citizen: Especially since there is no more arms race. Your country could donate a small amount. When you go back to the State Department, could you suggest that?

Walker: Do you have any friends like that? I mean, when you owe them money and they see you driving around in a V-Boot with a nice gold watch? And you say, "No, no, no, I don't need to pay the money back I owe you. I'm a poor man." They look at your V-Boot and they look at your gold watch ... do you have friends that will look at you and say, "Oh, that's okay, forget it"? Do you think so?

Citizen: Is that the main problems? That you don't

believe that we are poor enough ?

Walker: You have to prove it. You have to show us.

Citizen: *We are telling you that....*

Walker: You're telling me that everything is okay? I don't believe you. I don't want you to tell me. The international community has gone to the trouble of creating institutions for this purpose. They happen to be called the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. You tell them. They work for all of us. They will certainly be the ones that I'm going to ask.

Citizen: *No, that is not the perception of the people in these parts of the world. The IMF and such institutions are perceived as something that is basically anti-people in these parts of the world because they do tend to look at problems in generalised sorts of ways and prescribe the same solutions to every country's problems. This is what we have seen.*

Walker: If they do, they're wrong.

Citizen: *But that's what they have been doing.*

Walker: That may be a good criticism. That may be a legitimate area for debate. And any country that is willing to sit down and lay its cards on the table, show what resources it has, and look honestly for a solution, can turn to its friends and say, "Please help me convince this system here that we need some understanding of our special circumstances." I believe you'll be heard.

Citizen: *On the ground, Mr. Walker, all the countries that have accepted the IMF conditionalities, everyone we have seen in Africa and probably in most other countries, has resulted in massive poverty. Their first consideration is that you pay your debts, as you keep saying. If, along the line, poverty increases, well, so be it. But first and foremost, pay your debts.*

Walker: Now, let me tell you something. Maybe we need to talk about this. Let's say that we're running this company here, the *Citizen* magazine, and we get into trouble and there's a reduction in our income. Something is wrong, people aren't buying the magazine, the price of electricity went up. We can't pay the rent and we've got so much income and we need this much, but we've only got this much. Okay? Option one: first option is we do nothing. We don't go to anybody and ask for help. We just don't do anything. What is the conclusion from that? It means that you're going to reduce your expenditures to the amount of money you have. Turn the lights off. You move into a smaller place. May be that works. But by definition, you're going to reduce the level of resources you have to work with. Okay? That option is available to you. Nigeria could do that. Going to the IMF or to the World Community is an option that increases the resources available to you. By definition...

Citizen: *I'm not so sure about that...*

Walker: Well, it does! Let me tell you why. If you go to the IMF today and you look at books, it works like this... They say, "Okay, here we are." You've now come and said you want to work this out and do better. The first calculation is, they say, "You need a growth rate enough to outstrip population." Okay? You need to have growth in your economy of five per cent. Population growth is, say, three percent. So ... two percent growth in your business to make it work. Now there are calculations that are quite uncontroversial as to what two per cent growth requires, in terms of investment, in terms of resources. And you calculate that, and let's say that the answer is 100...

But you need 100 whatever to get this growth. Now we

I've described the system to you. You've lived here all your life. What do you think? Does it fit? Does the shoe fit?

go back to the calculation: How much have we got? How much is there? And we look and we say, "Well, there's only 80 there." The system will try to find you the other 20. Now when they calculated the 80 the first time, they calculated that you had paid all of your debts ... all of them. But there's this gap of 20. So then they'll sit down and they'll say "Okay, what can we do on the debt?" And how much foreign aid can we get to make up the 20? So they'll reschedule, optionally, they'll reschedule part of the debt. But they look and they say, "Well, we'll reduce this so that we'll pick up 10 from reduced debt payments. So now you've got 90. And then they turn to the other people around the table, who have to be convinced by the IMF and the IBRD's figures and their plans for restructuring, and they say, "Fine, under these conditions. Our friends here are doing the best they can. And we think it's important. Let's chip in and put in the other 10. And they try to get you to your 100 so you can get this two per cent growth, which is more than you had when you started. That's the whole game. Now, some countries are really poorer than others, truly poorer than others, so they'll get a better deal on the debt. If Nigeria wants to get the best deal it can, it has to show what it's got. It has to show the books. It has to convince people what the resources are, how you're using them. It has to convince them of these other things.

By Mahmud Jega *with* Mohammed Haruna, Adamu Adamu *and* Mohammed Bomoi

HABIB NIGERIA BANK LIMITED

The Bank with a difference

BALANCE SHEET

AS AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1991

	1991 N'000	1990 N'000
ASSETS EMPLOYED:		
CASH IN HAND	20,192	10,251
BALANCES WITH OTHER BANKS	647,157	547,339
INVESTMENTS	148,358	147,257
LOANS AND ADVANCES	193,090	180,063
OTHER ASSETS	75,956	53,206
FIXED ASSETS	66,589	43,165
	1,151,342	981,281
FINANCED BY:		
DEPOSITS	796,580	604,256
TAXATION PAYABLE	21,119	19,598
DIVIDEND PAYABLE	15,750	7,000
OTHER LIABILITIES	230,950	295,558
	1,064,399	926,412
CALLED-UP SHARE CAPITAL	52,600	28,000
STATUTORY RESERVE	26,883	17,787
RESERVE FOR BONUS ISSUE OF SHARES		7,000
PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT	7,460	2,082
SHAREHOLDERS' FUNDS	86,943	54,869
	1,151,342	981,281
CONTRA ACCOUNTS		
ACCEPTANCES, LETTERS OF CREDIT, GUARANTEES AND OTHER OBLIGATIONS FOR ACCOUNTS OF CUSTOMERS (and customers' liabilities therefor)	282,728	289,371

Maj-Gen Shehu Musa Yar'adua (Rtd). GCON *Tafidan Katsina*	CHAIRMAN
Bashorun M K O Abiola *Aare Ona Kakanfo of Yorubaland*	DIRECTOR
Mallam Adamu Bello *Dan Iyan Adamawa*	MANAGING DIRECTOR/ CHIEF EXECUTIVE

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT

FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST DECEMBER, 1991

	1991 N'000	1990 N'000
PROFIT BEFORE TAXATION	44,893	33,847
TAXATION	14,568	15,000
PROFIT AFTER TAXATION	30,325	18,847
APPROPRIATIONS:		
STATUTORY RESERVE	9,098	4,712
PROPOSED DIVIDEND	15,750	7,000
RESERVE FOR BONUS ISSUE OF SHARES	—	7,000
RETAINED PROFIT FOR THE YEAR	6,477	136

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS

We have examined the Financial Statements set out above which have been prepared under the historical cost convention, and have obtained all the information and explanations which, to the best of our knowledge and belief were necessary for the purpose of our audit. Proper books of accounts which, have been kept at the Bank's Head Office and at each of the Branches accord with generally accepted accounting principles.

In our opinion the assets have been properly valued and adequate provisions made for losses and dimunition in the value of such assets. We have prepared the analysis of loans and advances according to the Central Bank of Nigeria Prudential Guidelines for Licenced Banks, 1990.

To the best of our knowledge and belief there was no contravention of the Banks and Other Financial Institutions Decree No. 25 of 1991 and other related legislation during the year ended 31st December, 1991.

To the best of our knowledge and belief the Bank complied with the guidelines of the Productivity, Prices and Incomes Board during the year ended 31st December, 1991.

In our opinion, to the best of our knowledge and having regard to the explanations given to us, the Financial Statements and Notes thereon which are in agreement with the books, comply with all relevant Statements of Accounting Standards, the Companies and Allied Matters Decree 1990, the Banks and Other Financial Institutions Decree No 25 of 1991, and all relevant Central Bank of Nigeria circulars in such a form as to explain and give a true and fair view of the state of the Bank's financial affairs as at 31st December, 1991 and of the Profit and Source and Application of Funds, for the year ended on that date.

KADUNA, NIGERIA
15th April, 1992

SULAIMON & CO.
Chartered Accountants

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Major General Shehu Musa Yar'adua (Rtd), GCON (Chairman), Mr Maqbool A Soomro (Pakistani) – Vice Chairman
Aare M K O Abiola, Mr Syed Iqbal Hussain (Pakistani), Mallam Musa Bello, OFR, Dr Ismail Babatunde Jose, OFR,
Mr Agha Fasihuddin Khan (Pakistani), Alhaji Abubakar Koko;
Mr Fazle Rabbi Salehjee (Pakistani) – Deputy Managing Director,
Mallam Adamu Bello – Managing Director/Chief Executive

RC 50750

Revenue allocation

Still a controversy

The revenue allocation controversy comes alive again in an awareness seminar organised by the revenue and fiscal commission at Enugu

Federal revenue or federation account is one phrase that has been common to both public and private individuals in this country for the past 45 years. It is the pool where money for the running of the republic is taken care of. But this popularity of the phrase is unmistakably due to its controversial nature in terms of revenue. Sharing base on both the vertical mode — sharing among the three-tiers of government in the country, the federal, state and local governments — and the horizontal mode — sharing among the states of the federation.

As at the last count, about eight committees on revenue allocation had in the past been set up in the country — from the 1946 Phillipson Committee to the recent Okigbo Commission, but none has arrived at any acceptable sharing formula. Says Dr. Bello-Imam, a research fellow at NISER, Ibadan. "Irrespective of the number of commissions and committees that have been set up to review the fiscal relationship in Nigeria, the issue has remained unresolved".

"The revenue allocation issue has always remained nearly the first problem incoming regimes have to grapple with since independence", the political bureau report of 1987 stated.

"The revenue allocation issue has always remained nearly the first problem incoming regimes have to grapple with since independence", the political bureau report of 1987 stated. This has even impinged on the unity and politics of the country and is one of the reasons for the setting up of a permanent fiscal commission body as provided by the 1989 constitution. Though it provided for the continuation of the federation account, it however did not lay down any formula for revenue sharing among the states of the federation. This issue has been left for the forthcoming National Assembly to tackle with the assistance of the National Revenue Mobilisation

Danjuma: *too much dependence on federal revenue*

Allocation Fiscal Commission, NRMAFC.

The criteria to be used by the National Assembly for the horizontal sharing among states is still uncertain, but in the past parameters like derivation, even development, tax effort etc, have been proffered and even used but the same old problem remained. Okwesile-Eze Nwodo, Enugu State governor, recently suggested during an awareness seminar organised by the NRMAFC, for top government officials at Enugu, that "as a result of its relevance as planning factors the new population figures should be used as a major revenue sharing criteria among others".

The vertical mode of revenue sharing has especially, of recent, been a source of discord between the states on one hand and the local and federal governments on the other.

The federal government has been accused by states of allocating large percentage of the revenue to itself, and to local governments to the detriment of states. John Oyegun, Edo State governor recently opined that "there should be a review of the existing fiscal relationship between the three-tiers of government in the federation".

Since joining the mainstream of inter-governmental fiscal relations in the country in 1978, local governments in the country have had their share of federation account increased from 10-15 per cent in 1990 and recently to 20 per cent. This controversy, according to experts, of who to have what, is a consequence of low revenue mobilisation by both the state and the local governments. The pattern of revenue mobilised by both the state and local governments in Nigeria, gives a picture of heavy dependence on financial transfer from the federal account", according to Imam.

Sharing the same view the National Revenue Mobilisation chairman, T.Y. Danjuma, a retired army general observed: "The dependence on federal hand-out will no doubt continue to erode their autonomy and make the states and local governments appendages of the centre which controls the source of their fundings".

Experts have suggested many ways in which the state and local governments could generate extra funds to run their administrations, among which are the establishment of printing press, pottery works and intercity transport services.

By Tony Oko *in Enugu*

Banking

In search of survival

Erstwhile president of Chartered Institute of Bankers suggests effective management as the way forward for an embattled banking industry

Banks have been asked to brace up staff pruning and salary cuts as the bitter effects of the March 5 deregulation of the foreign exchange market sink in.

Chief Femi Adekanye, immediate past president of the Chartered Institute of Bankers (CIBN) and chief executive, Commerce Bank Plc told *Citizen* penultimate Friday that a downward review of the mouth-watering salaries in banks cannot be isolated from effective management which he advocated as the most important factor responsible for the performance of a bank.

Chief Adekanye had in his valedictory presidential address to CIBN members harped on the efficient management of banks in the post-Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) period as the factor responsible for their huge profits, when compared with their pre-SAP performance.

Some economic analysts however disagreed with him, pointing out that most of the profits made by banks in the SAP era were derived from forex profiteering. This much Adekanye admitted to *Citizen*, but insisted that without proper management the profits garnered by the banks could not have been made.

The deregulation policy heightened fears that many banks may go under mid-March as they battle to beat the Central Bank of Nigeria's guideline ordering commercial and merchant banks to increase their share capital to 50 million and 40 million Naira respectively.

With only barely one month to the June 19, deadline, many banks are yet to meet the target and indications are that CBN may not extend the deadline. But Adekanye said that banks capital base ought not be the most important factor for banks' response to the changing situation, as implied by the CBN directive. Chief Shafi Sule, a past president of the CIBN and now chairman, Femstar Finance and Investments Limited, agreed with him. The thrust of their position is researches conducted by the commercial banks CEO, ably supported by findings of foreign experts. They showed that effective management has contributed more to the growth and expansion of banks than huge capital base. Of course, there are other contributing factors including non-qualitative factor like technical partnership and head office location.

Bank ownership and boardroom squabbles were also fingered as factors that affect bank performance. The current in-fighting among the directors of the Fidelity Union Merchant Bank which is now being resolved in the court, analysts say, is adversely affecting the bank's performance. To avert a re-occurence of the Fidelity scenario, the CBN was advised to be more actively involved in the composition of bank boards in order to put in place a frame work that would ensure that only men of unquestionable integrity are put on the board of banks. The CBN and the Nigerian Deposit Insurance Corporation, NDIC, were also advised to adopt more scientific approach in their supervisory and regulatory functions.

With over 140 banks now operating in the country, observers believe that the CBN might not be able to conduct research on Early Warning Systems (EWS) and bank performance models to enable it regulate banking functions effectively. Mr. Victor Odozie, deputy governor of the CBN admitted this much when he said at a seminar on the 1992 budget in February that the apex bank is not adequately computerised yet for its growing functions.

So how do banks interprete the managerial efficiency imperative to achieve the resistance quality and attain greater heights in the wake of the losses suffered by the March 5 deregulation of the foreign exchange market? The answer may be in rigorous recourse to sources hitherto neglected by banks in the post-SAP period. Some other analysts said banks should court the patronage of saving customers to source funds. Some of the banks are already doing this. The Universal Trust Bank (UTB) is offering a 500,000 Naira raffle bonanza to its customers as attraction. At the hallmark, the interest rate has hit 20 per cent mark.

Adekanye: *calls for more efficient management*

Beyond these, banks are venturing into the leasing business and intensifying their foray into insurance-related fields. As the going gets tough, initiatives such as these are what Adekanye's managerial efficiency will be all about.

By Tayo Odunlami

BUSINESS BRIEFS

Appointment at ICON

Two new senior managers have been appointed by the management of ICON Limited Merchant Bankers.

They are Dr. Sylvester Orsaah, senior manager, corporate development/ new products and Mr. D.D.Y. Garba, senior manager, public relations. Orsaah, an alumnus of the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, obtained his Msc (marketing management) and Ph. D (business management) degrees from the Strathclyde Business School, Glasgow.

Garba who now heads the bank's public relations department as a senior manager is a graduate of mass communication, University of Lagos and a masters of arts degree holder.

Gentle Care products for export

Ace laboratories, makers of Gentle Care beauty products will soon begin the exportation of its products to West African countries. According to the corporate affairs manager of the company, Mr. Larry Aniobi the decision to export the products is based on their "acceptability and reliability.

He said that the five-year old company has been recording impressive sales since its inception.

According to Mr. Aniobi, the company has so far locally sourced its raw materials to the tune of 40 per cent with the aim of bringing it to 100 per cent in future, without a reduction in the quality of its products.

NLNG and ENEL in agreement

Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) limited, last week signed sales and purchase agreement with ENEL of Italy, thus making it the third company to sign such agreement with NLNG. Others were ENAGAS S.A and Gaz de France which signed similar agreements with NLNG in April.

The agreement with ENEL enables the company to purchase from NLNG, 3.5 billion cubic metres of liquefied natural gas per annum starting from 1997.

This represents 61.4 per cent of the total NLG to be produced by NLNG, during the entire (22) year life of the project.

Joda: *NLNG chairman*

Quantilex and Drager in industrial safety equipment

An indigenous firm, Quantilex Nigeria Limited, in conjunction with its German technical partner, Drager is now making a wave in the manufacture and marketing of industrial safety equipment in the country".

Aimed at industrial establishments, it includes rescue equipment for the fire brigades, medical equipment and gas monitoring equipment for monitoring poison and dust levels in companies, mining, steel, chemical and petrol chemical industries.

Tax hike at NAA

The Nigerian Airport Authority (NAA) last week increased airport tax on international routes by 300 per cent

A statement by NAA said passengers on international routes will now pay 20 dollars about (360 Naira) as against 100 Naira being paid. It said that the increase, already approved by the federal government, was in line with the prevailing economic realities.

The statement also said each international passenger would now pay all service charges including the airport tax in US dollars.

It however, added that Nigerians and foreigners with work permits could pay the service charge in Naira. The new rate takes effect from June 1.

By Tola Sunday *with additional reports from* **Tony Oke**

Mr. I.N. Aboki *(chairman) and* **Malam M. Sodangi** *(M.D) of Bank of the North at the annual general meeting of the Bank recently*

Malawi

All cried out

Banda's days seem to be numbered as the opposition army grows bigger daily

For the past three months life president Hastings Kamuzu Banda has had to prove his staying power against the new wave of protests in his erstwhile quiet country. For an octogenarian, Banda has done fine. Only that the most trying times are ahead. The government will in the days ahead be called upon to prove, as claimed by its spokesman Tony Mweta, that it does not feel itself under threat.

For a country that protests against the government is a strange occurrence, the past months must be a milestone in the country's history. And last week the protests continued. Unfortunately for the government, this time around, the international community has started to take sides with the opposition. What the government had earlier referred to as seditious has now been given prominence by Western donor nations. Kamuzu Banda will certainly not wish to have them as enemies.

To be sure, the demands of the opposition, which was first tabled by a group of pastors were that a multi-party democracy should be introduced to ensure that individual rights and freedom are granted and also to check corruption in high places. The government, expectedly rejected this call and many protesters were arrested. But now the government is in a dilemma. International donor nations are calling on the government to listen to these demands.

Banda: *is this the end?*

In what sounds like an ultimatum, the donor nations have warned that unless the Malawian government improves its human rights record, financial aids will be stopped.

In what sounds like an ultimatum, the donor nations have warned that unless the Malawian government improves its human rights record, financial aid will be stopped. Officials of the group told reporters last wednesday that aid will now be released only when human rights are observed and a political reform programme is put in place.

More pressure was visited on the government, when widespread rioting continued in three major cities, Blantyre, Timba and the capital Lilongwe. The protests are coming at a time Malawi is facing serious economic problems, for which it needs over 70 million dollars for its economic development programme. It is the money that is being tied to what the dictatorial government of Banda hates to even contemplate — multi - party democracy.

Just like in the case of Kenya, Malawi is being given six months to improve its records within which the aid will start to flow again. The donor nations were however, kind enough to distinguish between loans to the government and emergency aid. It is estimated that Malawi requires over 170 million dollars of emergency aid to provide food, medicine and shelter to refugees who are said to number about a million. In fact refugees from Mozambique continue to flood into the Malawian camps.

Meanwhile, some international trade unionists have applauded the donor countries' decisive move, stressing that it could be the one move that will force the government to its knees. The trade unionists were allowed into Malawi to see Mr. Chakufwa Chihana, secretary of the Southern African Trade Unions Coordinating Council, who has been under arrest since last month. The unionists were allowed to see Mr. Chihana, the first visit since he was arrested for calling for a multi-party democracy.

Now President Banda has to prove his staying power fighting several invading adversaries.

By **Rabiu Barde**
with agency reports

South Africa

Setting sun on apartheid

Apartheid gets knocks as CODESA adopts a new power sharing formular

A clear picture of post-apartheid, South Africa is gradually emerging. Last week the Convention of Democratic South Africa (CODESA) sitting in Johannesburg adopted a power sharing formular for the country. Though details of the new formular was not yet known, it is speculated that the key provisions of the new accord is the recommendation of a new multi racial executive council for South Africa.

De Klerk: *a step forward*

By this mo·‑e, the all party forum had apparently broken the imminent deadlock on the constitutional negotiation which threatened to stall the effective take off of the first phase of the interim government.

The talks suffered severe jolt late in March following major disagreement between President Frederick de Klerk's government and the African National Congress, (ANC), over the constitutional role of the interim government, though both had agreed in principle on the formation of such government within the framework of a multi racial constitution. The ANC had objected to the government's insistence on a white veto on decisions taken and the government's indecision on political killings. Dr. Nelson Mandela had said no agreement was possible unless the government took a decisive step in halting the black-on-black violence which had claimed over 13,000 lives. De Klerk's government on its part, had insisted that the ANC must disband its military wing, a request, the congress rejected outright, on the ground that South African government had been fuelling township violence and at the same time maintaining its awesome apartheid military machines. It was obvious that both were set for a deadlock except a compromise is quickly reached.

Black-on-black violence in South Africa

Apparently, the break through on constitutional talks is a welcome relief to embattled president De Klerk's government currently under strong pressure to resign over widespread allegations of official corruption and incompetance. The ANC last Monday joined the white Conservative Party (CP) to call for president De Klerk's resignation following publication of the inquiry reports implicating the government security agencies in the murder of four anti-apartheid black activists in 1985. Last Wednesday, Mr. De Klerk stoutly defended his government in the parliament, promising to set up investigation into the allegations raised.

The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) has also joined issues with the African National Congress, (ANC), asking it to pledge a regional autonomy before the interim government is put on course. This is in a bid to give the Inkatha's Chief, Buthelezi, a say in the new South Africa. It is expected that CODESA which met last weekend will find a way of reaching a compromise.

By **Abu Mommoh**
with agency reports

Germany

Time for showdown?

Still adjusting from the reality of one united Germany citizens are crying "blue murder"

Suddenly re-unification didn't sound like the greatest thing that happened to Germany. It may have given Germany a renewed and bigger clout, bigger population, more extensive land area and a real feel that the second world war had finally ended. But it is still seen by many in Germany as being the root of all the country's recent problems.

Jorge Berginsky, spokesman for Germany's biggest industrial union said workers are furious about politicians who collect huge sums of West German money and give it to the east. The problem, according to Berginsky, is that this money is collected from the poor. "From the workers' pockets, 73 billion Deustche Marks were collected", he said, "while only 17 billion was collected from the wealthy employers".

According to Berginsky, the employers did not only pay for re-unification they in fact made profits. Employers, he said, had a super boom because East Germans now wanted to buy West Germans products.

Dr. Dieger Krieshner, secretary-general of the German Engineering Workers Federation, said all the spare cash in West Germany is going into investment in East Germany. It is therefore not available to finance the pay rise that the German unions have been battling to get for the past few weeks. Many of the striking unionists, even after resuming work following the longest post-war strike, blamed the procedure if not the fact of unification with the rising interest rate, high inflation and massive deficits in the economy.

The seeds for the difficulties were sown on October 4, 1990, when east met west. Chancellor Helmut Kohl, with eyes on history, went literally blind to the rising costs of unity. And it went up-sharply. Public borrowing is expected to top DM 180 billion this year, and interest payments alone on total public debt will amount to more than DM100 billion. It may hit DM 170 billion when total debt itself rises to DM 1.8 trillion in 1995.

Kohl: *torn both sides*

Regional governments will gobble up DM 45 billion in public debts. In addition, a lot more money is expected to be raised for the massive privatisation of East German business. This is estimated to require DM 200 billion by 1995. Funding for the German Unity Fund which is supposed to provide for the former marxist state's deficits, will require at least DM 90 billion by 1995, while its debts will need an identical amount.

Of this, only about a quarter is going into productive investment; the rest goes into paying dole to East Germans, pensions and family allowances.

Making the difficulties even harder for the former West Germans, a stream of about half a million refugees find their way into Germany. In March this year alone a record 35,000 people came calling.

And expectedly the ruling Christian Democratic Union was walloped in local elections in Wurttenberg and Schleswig-Holstein in what is its worst election defeat. And with general elections not due until 1994, dissatisfied workers have no way of registering their protest except by way of a strike. This, sure enough became inevitable. With inflation biting hard, with a squeezed public sector and cash-guzzling East Germany, the government is in no position to promise or deliver anything.

When workers demanded a 9.5% wage increase, the government and employers did the only thing they could—they refused. Citing the cost of unification, Kohl said everyone must be ready to offer his own sacrifice if Germany were to foot the bill. The government insisted on an increase no more than the increase in inflation which stood at 4.5%. When the matter was submitted to an arbitration panel, it recommended a rise of 5.4%. Initially the government offered to pay 4.8% a little more than the increase in inflation. Employers chose to pay 3.3%, a figure well below the inflationary rate. Insulting, the union said; and stuck to its guns to continue with the strike. The employers thereafter gave hints of possible increases but wanted these to be gradual and be reached by negotiation. The conciliatory tone of both the government and employers helped to ease the situation and the strike was tentatively called off Saturday May 5, while negotiations resume.

On Tuesday May 12, trade union

leaders, claiming to represent 4,000,000 workers broke off after four hours of negotiations, threatening to embark on new strike action unless employers give them 9% increase.

Later, the union leaders met in Stuttgart to consider what they have so far got in the deal, and sought the blessing of members of their unions for the agreement so far reached. They failed. When the members voted, only 44.1% endorsed the achievement of the negotiators. This was 5.9% less than the 50% required by the union's constitution.

Admist fears that the strike might resume and be joined by the engineering workers, Monika Wulf-Mathias, chief union negotiator, ruled out a resumption of the strike that caused havoc all over Germany — in the cities, on the streets and in the airports. She said any action would have to await the outcome of the planned May 25 executive committee meeting of the union.

In another twist, however, unions representing rail workers, police and telecommunications industry employees, announced their acceptance of the 5.4% increase. Others, however, prefer to hang tough but even then appear to want to go over this final phase without a hitch. Observers say both the unions and the employers are positioning themselves in vantage positions to take advantage of the next cycle of negotiations.

The concessions so far received are clearly a victory for the unions; and they already seem ready to command the next moves.

Meanwhile, embattled Kohl has been calling for moderation on all sides. He has most to lose — he may lose his job. He promised a cut in public spending to bring inflation down and appealed for patience over the cost of unification. However, not everyone is ready to do as he asks for. Social Democratic Party leader, Bjorn Engholm publicly predicted the collapse of Mr. Kohl's tottering Christian Democratic-led centre right coalition. His party, Engholm said, is ready to take over. It remains to be seen how long he may have to wait.

By **Adamu Adamu**
with agency reports

Philippines
Who succeeds Aquino?

An anti-corruption crusader is expected to win Philippines first free presidential elections

In election violence, Philippines rivals India. No fewer than 55 people had been killed in a run up to the country's first presidential election last week. At least 11 people died on the election day while 40 people were reported dead during the electioneering campaign.

The Philippines police on Tuesday put the figure of the dead at 52 and 156 injured in 69 polls related violent incidence. It also said that it had arrested over 2,000 persons for violating the firearms ban and had confiscated some 2,204 firearms, 896 explosive devices and 1,604 deadly weapons. The police said they had arrested both civilians and members of the police and army. 1,000 thousand police personnel were on duty on the election day throughout the country to forestall election violence.

Despite the spate of violence, voters reportedly turned out in large numbers. Over 80 per cent of an estimated 33 million registered voters voted at the polls in which seven candidates contested for the presidency.

However, some voters complained about late arrival of ballot materials and opening of some polling stations. One angry voter told reporters that he was dissatisfied with the procedure adopted by the electoral officers at a polling station in Manila.

Although by last Thursday no clear winner has emerged from the elections, initial returns suggested that the 46 year old former land reform secretary, Miriam Santiago who campaigned on anti corruption platform may step into president Aquino's shoes. She was leading so far with over 25 per cent of the votes counted, closely followed by the former defence minister, Fidel Ramos; most favoured to win. The former first Lady, Mrs. Imelda Marcos was fifth.

Ramos has been a clear favourite of President Aquino and is rumoured to have put the government machinery at his disposal. Ironically, the support might have been his undoing as the communist insurgents have threatened to unleash reign of terror if the elections were rigged in his favour. Ramos last week, blamed communists and supporters of the late President Marcos of intimidation. He said several of his supporters were forced to stay away from the polls for the safety of their lives.

Mrs. Aquino was swept to power in 1986 following popular protest against the country's former dictator, Ferdinand Marcos, whom most Filipinos suspected to have looted the country's treasury. For six years, Mrs. Aquino had to contend with two forces: Marcos' loyalists in the army whose past time was coup making, and the communist insurgents from the north. Her popularity dipped further as her government failed to improve on the country's worsening economic situation.

It became apparent that she has lost her popular support last year when the senate failed to ratify the treaty allowing the US the use of Subick naval base and Clark airforce base despite her vigorous campaign. Whoever succeeds her will have a lot on his hands, not the least how to improve the country's economy.

By Abu Mommoh
with agency reports

BILKISU YUSUF

Betrayal of Awolowo

It is not unusual to hear us lamenting the drought of national heroes on our historical landscape after several decades of nationhood. Local heroes abound in their hundreds but the inability to promote regional heroes into national ones is a sad reflection of our porous sense of nationhood. But more unsettling is the unfolding evidence that even those undisputed regional heroes are neither accorded the pride of place they deserve in their life time and are all too forgotten after death.

Last month, a 100 million Naira foundation was launched at Liberty stadium Ibadan to immortalise the name of late Chief Obafemi Awolowo. The launching was well attended but the total sum realised was 60 million Naira. The largest donation came from the federal government and was announced by President Ibrahim Babangida, the guest of honour. The biggest individual donor was Bashorun M.K.O. Abiola, a non-Awoist. Other donations trickled in but surprisingly the hard core Awoists did not gate crash to donate while Awoism's fence sitters vacillated between announcing small donations or being contented with applauding the generous donors. Many opted for the latter. The touts of Awoism, those opportunists who were eveready to flaunt Awo's name to feather economic nests or reap political harvests were visibly nervous. The game was up. During his life time, Awo must have contributed directly or indirectly to pave the way to success for many captains of industry. Today, many of his tribes men are controllers of multi-million Naira empires. Thanks to his consistent effort over several decades to better their lot. But their donations did nothing to reflect their prevalence in the country's economic sector. Their miserly attitude turned the event into a half victory for Awoists and at worst a half disguised defeat. Genuine disciples of the late sage were disappointed. They knew that with sincerity of purpose things could be better.

Mr. Lere Akerele of Igbajo was one of them and he used the pages of *Sunday Tribune* of April 26 to vent his spleen on these "ingrates". In a letter titled shame to Awoists, Mr. Akerele recalled that during a similar launching of the Arewa house appeal fund in honour of the late Alhaji Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto held on May 18, 1991 at Kaduna's Murtala Square, the northerners did their hero proud. They not only made history by exceeding the budget of 120 million Naira needed for the project by five million but the turn out which included the masses and all those that matter made the event a huge success.

Infact media coverage which tagged it "mother of all appeal funds" recorded attendance by all the then 11 northern states governors who arrived at the venue in one bus as a show of solidarity. These governors also appointed one spokesman who announced donations from all northern states and local governments. Of course, Mr. Akerele wondered why Awo foundation did not elicit the same response from his own constituency. "That the target was not met let alone exceeding the budgeted 100 million Naira during the launching of Saturday April 11, 1992, is a shame to the Awoists and those that tagged themselves "progressives" in the last republic. For if the late chief were to be on seat that day sycophants could have had occasion to display their wares".

While I share this disciple's disappointment with Awoists, I was not surprised at their lack of respect for precedents set at the Arewa House appeal fund. Look at the pot holes of disagreement they dug in Awo's political empire by preventing the emergence of a successor and allowing pro-right elements to win elections in Ikenne? Can you imagine why Awo's daughter, Dr. Tokunbo Dosunmu can contest governorship elections in Lagos which was an undisputed UPN enclave in the Second Republic and come a disappointing fourth? There were even disturbing reports of frontline Awoists in Lagos conspiring to engineer her defeat. They were quoted as saying that they were not obliged to serve the daughter after having served the father!

As an admirer of Awo one must thank God for small mercies. At least two non-Awoists saved the day for all. The first, President Babangida with the donation of 30 million Naira, an observation and a timely warning that "In a sense we should all be Awoists, and we should be wary of later day Awoists or political opportunists now masquerading as Awoists." The second, Bashorun Abiola a former NPN stalwart and one of Awo's prominent antagonists in the Second Republic. His donation and the apology he tendered to Awo's supporters proved that friends in need are friends indeed even in death.

Commercial religion

I honestly did not imagine how deep materialism has eaten into our life until last week. I stared in utter disbelief at the front page of a Lagos based newspaper which carried the story of how a clergyman, a man of God is fooling the very flock he is supposed to lead to the kingdom of Christ. The clergy man is well known to anybody who reads newspapers for his (in) famous annual predictions. He was the only one who was bold enough to compile his predictions into a controversial book of records. This clergyman of prediction, a founder of an Evangelical Church of Yawo (yes we are told he does a lot of *yawo* in and around places where clergymen are not supposed to be seen) was exposed by one of his disciples as a con man, a 419 expert.

According to the disciple who is an elder of Yawo Church, Mr. Clergy used to organise revival and faith healing sessions just to collect donations from gullible followers. Of course, man does not live by prayers alone , one needs some bread too especially in this era of SAP.

To hold his audience captive, Mr. Elder used to hire people for the clergyman who were paid to come forward at faith healing sessions and announce that they were healed. In the "Revival of the century" 1989 according to Mr. Elder, he hired a boy and one middle aged Alhaji for 500 Naira each who feigned deafness.

Haba! I have always had my suspicions about all these "miracle" healings. If indeed those commercial clergymen want to perform miracles they should go to the hospitals where the results of their work will speak for them. Now that an insider, an elder and disciple has spoken out about the activities of these conmen who masquerade in cassocks shouldn't the government do something about them? Listen to what the elder had to say; "Look Mr. Clergy has 419ed presidents, he has 419ed government ministers, he has 419ed governors and commissioners. He has 419ed top, top, musicians and many other shakers of society. In fact he has 419ed the whole world but he cannot 419 God."

So Mr. Clergy should go and join all other 419ners rounded up by the government.

Some "miracle" duping can then be extended to the prisons which is where criminals with or without cassocks should reside.

Political sacrilege

All is far from well in the historic village of Ikenne, the home town of the late sage of Nigerian politics, Chief Obafemi Awolowo. If only the dead could pay even brief visits to their old homes, Papa will not recognise the political landscape of his erstwhile domain.

First is the big crack in the wall of his followers, a fission that has not been mended. Second and even more laughable is the news that papa's first grandson Mr. Segun Awolowo was set to declare for the National Republican Convention (NRC).

Authentic sources confirm that the young merry-go-getter moves in NRC circles and is being wooed by a presidential aspirant from the middle belt.

What! *Oti O!* Mama (Awo's widow) would not hear of it. And according to authentic grapevine sources, grandma called the starry eyed youth to order. How could he sell out the family name to ultra rightists of the NRC? How could he undo the decades of struggle papa put into building a group of leftists by reneging on the family tradition?

No, mama didn't take it lying low. Suddenly the young Awo has taken a mighty u-turn and with tongue in cheek told reporters in Ikenne that Chief Awo did not found the Social Democratic Party (SDP) nor is the NRC a reincarnation of the defunct National Party of Nigeria (NPN). Perhaps this makes it "alright" for the young Awo to break tradition. Afterall what is tradition if it can't be broken?

Senseless riots

Dear Private Eye,

Why can't someone like you tell the fuel rioters in Lagos that they are an overpampered and rowdy lot? Where were they when we in the northern part of the country experienced acute scarcity of fuel? I suppose then it didn't matter because Nigeria begins and ends in Lagos, at least that's what the Lagos based media would have us believe.

I am not finding excuses for smugglers of petroleum products and local dealers who hoard to create artificial scarcity but what did the rioters gain from burning buildings and vehicles? The rotten brats.

Musa Iyaka,
22 Narguta Lane,
Jos.

I hope the mob is listening. A word is enough for the wise — Private Eye

Classic verses

There is so much wisdom in the verses of those immortal poets that their words ring with the clarity of reality. Their thoughts put a firm pulse on contemporary times and their observations remain timeless. They ring true of what life is and what it will most certainly remain.

Virtues

Whoever cultivates virtues in his house his virtue is overflowing
Whoever cultivates it in his town his virtue is lasting
Whoever cultivates it in his 'country' his virtue is abundant
Whoever cultivates it in the world his virtue is universal
Thus by one own personal trials one knows other people
By one's town one knows other towns
By one's 'country' one knows other countries
By one's world one knows other worlds

Lao Tsu

A holy man

The crooked shall be made straight
The ill shall recuperate
The empty shall be filled
But the holyman embraces world unity
And becomes a model for the world
Not self-advertising he is enlightened
Not self-asserting he gains virtue
Not self-seeking he gains life
He does not fight and none fights for him

Lao Tsu

How the search for wisdom is frustrated

It is frustrated by pretence
There is that which man knows within himself
He does not recognise it for what it is
He pretends he can or cannot understand it
There is what man thinks he knows but does not
He only knows a part of what he thinks he knows
This half knowledge is often worse than no knowledge at all
There is what man does not know and cannot know at that time
This however he believes he must know
He seeks it or something else he believes to be this knowledge
But since he has no true measuring yardstick
He starts to pretend

Azamias

Wisdom

It is wise
To count your blessings
Lest you become ungrateful.

And what is more
Not to forget
That after you have done your best
God must do the rest
Lest you become proud.

Mohammed Kamil

On seeking knowledge

He knows not
And knows that he knows not
Could be taught
Teach him

He who knows
And knows that he knows
Is a leader
Follow him

He who knows not
And knows that he knows
Is a leader
Follow him

He who knows not
And knows not that he knows not
Is a fool
Shun him

— A Chinese poem

The master of life

The man of God is drunken without wine
The man of God is without meat
The man of God has neither food nor sleep
The man of God is a treasure in a ruin
The man of God is not of fire and water.
The man of God is a sea without a shore
The man of God rains pearls without a cloud
The man of God has hundred sunshines
The man of God is wise though truth
The man of God is not only a scholar from a book
The man of God rode away from none being
The man of God is uncelebrated to shamsdeen
Such is the man of God.

Rumi

The soul

O soul; from earthly taint when purified
As spirit free, thou shalt toward heaven ride,
Thy home the empyrean: shame on thee who dost in this clay tenement reside:
In love eternal He created me
And first He taught the lore of charity
Then from my heart he filed a key that might
Unlock the treasure of reality

— Khayyam

Ogunde Foundation

A leap in the dark

The first Hubert Ogunde Foundation Award raises more questions than answers on excellence in the performing arts

It was a slip, no doubt. Bode Alalade, veteran broadcaster and general manager NTA channel 7, had a simple enough task: to announce the actor, adjudged the best for the year 1992 based, of course, on his roles on stage and screen for the past year. But it proved too tough for him. Glancing at the paper which unmistakably bore the winner, he began: "The actor of the year is..." The packed main hall of the National Theatre that Saturday May 9, waited with bated breath. This was the award everybody had been waiting for. The climax of an event that started on a high note.

Though conspicuously absent was President Ibrahim Babangida, advertised in the invitation card and the colour brochure, as special guest of honour. Presidential hopefuls, Senator Mahmud Waziri, (SDP), Mr. Demas Nwoko, (SDP), an artist of no mean repute, himself and Chief Segun Ogundimu, (NRC) appropriately lent political clout to the event. The chairman, at donation time, Mr. Rasheed Gbadamosi, chairman of NIDB, gave 100,000 Naira, spread over five years, to the foundation. Foundation patron, and chairman Nigerian Merchant Bank, Alhaji Mahmud Atta, equally parted with 100,000 Naira. Former governor of Ogun State, Group Captain Oladehinde Joseph was present. Just as Colonel Funsho Akogun (rtd), former sole administrator, culture, under who the late Hubert Ogunde was made consultant to the National Troupe of Nigeria, Oba Funsho Adeolu, *(Eleyinmi of Village Headmaster)* in all his royal splendour; and Alhaji Abubakar Gimba, a novelist and executive director, Union Bank, who donated 10,000 Naira. In all, almost 300,000 Naira was realised.

There was excitement, therefore, in the air as the back drop rose and fell amidst a rumble of thunder and other dazzling effects as the *Sango* dance by the National Troupe of Nigeria opened the show. Two other dances, an Hausa royal dance and an Igbo war dance followed.

But the first presentation of awards for the category of best child artiste of the year for both male and female, sent shivers down the spine of many. Even presenter, Art Alade had to say "You are no child" while handing over the plaque to John Njamah, a 20 year old, for his role as *Alagbe* Yomi Adeyemi Lawson, *Uzie* in *Third Eye,* who won the female child actor is herself 12! Best actress of the year which went to Toun Oni, *(Mama T),* best television drama series bagged by ***Checkmate,*** best Nigerian film that went to A Production's ***Ose Sango*** and best stage play, taken by Felix Okolo's ***Irara Alagbe,*** raised no eye brows. When, however no award was announced for best dance troupe, and Agijo Dance Troupe got only a "special recognition, tongues wagged. For the late theatre sage, Ogunde, was himself a noted dancer and in Lagos alone, more than 20 troupes of repute exist. Just how they could not find one for an award, therefore, beats the imagination. The choice of Felix Okolo, a debutante in the directing circuit, was greeted equally with mixed feelings, as director of the year. That was before the crunch came: "actor of the year".

An uneven fight between Sunday Omobolanle *(Aluwe)* and Tunde Euba (with ***Checkmate),*** the audience rooted for the former. As *Aluwe* he had distinguished himself as an engaging comedian for years. Tunde Euba, many felt, even though quite good as an actor, was still a beginner.

Intoned Alalade; "Sunday Omobolanle is actor of the year". The audience erupted in spontaneous applause. Carried shoulder high to the stage by admirers, he beamed in excitement. But then... He is shoved aside. And before anybody knew it, Tunde Euba is announced as the "real" actor of the year. Grumbling loudly, many left at that point, in protest.

Omobolanle (Aluwe) ***deeply embarrased***

Several minutes later, an apology was offered on the mix up not by the announcer but by the Ogunde family. Then, of course, only few remained behind.

A hurried affair, the Ogunde Foundation Award for dramatists would have to be better packaged next time around if it is to remain relevant.

By Oji Onoko

BOOK REVIEW

Writer in wonderland

Title: *One Hundred Steps to Malexia*
Author: *A.J. Osagie-Erese*
Publishers: *Gaskiya Corporation, Zaria*
Pages: 77
Prize: *Not stated*
Reviewer: *Tawey Zakka*

The plot is deceptively simple. Ali Koko, a prince has been wondering how to begin writing a book on the "complex problems" of his country, *Aghaland*. It is very hot in his sitting room, the temperature hitting 100 F. Thinking becomes quite tiresome in such "baking heatwave".

It is at that point *Aghaland* Electric Power Authority chooses to "manifest its obscene with the presence of darkness". The lights go out without warning. Oppressed by the heatwave, Koko falls into a faint, feeling himself "falling from the top of a hill to the bottom of a valley".

Koko is transported to a different world, which he imagines is either "heaven" or "purgatory", a place where a catechist taught him, was where the souls stayed till they were purified and fit to go to heaven..."

The "immigrant" Koko is discovered on the foot of a plateau by Mariam and her *brother* Sam. On the plateau, Koko sees "a beautiful horizon, peaceful, calm, bright sky and greenfield pasture and flowers". Heaven? No, answered Mariam. "This is *Malexia*, the country of the rising sun".

Koko's sojourn in "the country of the rising sun" lasts about a week, during which time he is taken on an extensive tour of the country and "lectured" on the history and transformation of *Malexia* from a decadent society to a veritable utopia.

Mariam tells him of a system of government based on the family as a political unit, an ideology which regards *Malexians* as members of the same family, "where no one is oppressed, where freedom, liberty, love and peace reign". *Malexians* are committed people and the leadership is honest and caring. It is a society that is self-reliant in everything.

She also reminds him that at one time *Malexia* was just as corrupt, decadent, materialistic and economically weak as *Aghaland*.

Mariam tells this ugly past of *Malexia* in 10 antedotes, which are in themselves really developed, each having a plot, worked to a climax and denouncement. The stories within a story explore all forms of evil that afflicted *Malexia* before its transformation — ills that showed up glaringly in the family, the police force the armed forces, the school system and the judiciary.

How did the *Malexians* manage to pull of such a magnificient change? Mariam tells Koko that they have a leader in Commander Joromi who understood the lessons of the past and used them to turn *Malexia* into a society "flowing with milk and honey".

The narrative ends with a visit by Koko to *Malaxia's* hall of fame. The oak doors open to reveal, to Koko's amazement, such familiar names as Dr. Herbert Macaulay, Othman Dan Fodio, King Jaja of Opopo and Queen Amina of Zaria. His exclamation, "my God!" catapults him out of the dream world of *Malexia* to the reality of *Aghaland*. That reality is reflected in the figure of his wife," already dressed for dinner", calling him to the table. The author says his work is a satire. It is not just any satire, but specifically, an allegorical satire. As an allegory, the stories of *Aghaland* and *Malexia* mirror exactly today's sad story of Nigeria's near economic ruin, its social and political decadence and the author's picture of the Nigeria of his dream.

The book combines both Horatian and Juvenalian satire. The main speakers, Ali Koko and Mariam are both "serious moralists", who choose a relaxed and informal, rather witty style of utterance. Koko is the adversaries, who "elicits and guides" Mariam's satiric comments.

The entire allegory is told simply and strikingly in the story of the "lad" who sat in a street corner on the "carcass" of a disused car, musing over his sad situation, as he watched the big mansion across the street. Why is he poor and the owner of the big house rich? Why is *Aghaland* a wrecked country and *Malexia* a veritable paradise?

The difference is that whereas the boy in a reverie can be as rich as the owner of the "big mansion" by following his corrupt ways, *Aghaland will never* be like *Malexia* if it remains stewed in its own corruption. By extension, the author is saying that Nigerian can be transformed, but only if Nigerians decide to act *now*.

This book was first published two years ago. But the problems of Nigerian which had the author worrying then are still very much topical today. Fuel scarcity, in "an oil country", has worsened since when he wrote that "The queues at petrol stations lengthened each day, competing with the evening shadows of the setting sun". These days motorist sleep at "filling stations"!

Some readers, no doubt, will be uncomfortable with the author's conclusion, particularly the one that suggests that Nigerians who stole their country's money and ran away be pardoned if they would accept to return 75 per cent of their ill-gotten wealth. The suggestion contradicts the author's plan for "us to leap into the new dawn of greatness, discipline, sincerity, history, probity, accountability."

Another "irritant" is that many of the miscreants in the anecdotes bear Hausa names *(Karfi, Audu)*. Hausa readers may resent the innuendo, though probably inadvertent. Other flaws, which are mainly grammatical, can easily be eliminated through more serious editing.

Citizen, May 18, 1992

Under-21 World Cup

No over aged here

James Peters, under-21 national team trainer absolves himself in the age controversy rocking his team

The national under-21 football team coach, James Peters has described as baseless the allegation that some of the players he is grooming for the 1993 junior world cup are outside the age limit for the FIFA-Coca Cola global soccer championship. Coach Peters, in an interview with *Citizen* in Kaduna where he is training his newly invited 29 players for the junior world cup qualifying match against Congo in August, also disclosed that he is too experienced and too confident of himself as a coach of international rating to go for over-aged players in order to win international competitions.

Peters: *no cause for alarm*

James Peters' under-21 team became the subject of controversy when some Lagos-based national dailies and a sports weekly, claimed that some of the players invited to the Junior Eagles camp were over-aged. Specifically mentioned was Julius Berger's defender Taribo West whose passport and licences with the Nigerian Football Association (NFA) since 1990 put him at 18 years of age. But West, according to a Lagos-based sports bi-weekly, was said to have admitted that he was older than the official age in his passport and NFA licences. The player has since been ejected from the under-21 camp and banned by the soccer ruling body from featuring for the country in international competitions because of his contradictory statements.

Under-21 team coach James Peters told *Citizen* in Kaduna that none of the players currently in camp is outside the required age. According to him, severe screening was carried out and the players' age authenticated with available records in the NFA file before any of the players was invited to the national camp. He explained that he authenticated the players' ages through their registration forms and licences issued by NFA, just as the Federation of International Football Association (FIFA) ascertained players ages by the information supplied in their international passports.

Coach Peters who has had successful coaching career with many top clubs within and outside the country, said that those who were raising false alarm over the ages of the players currently in the under-21 camp had not taken into consideration the fact that many of the players began their football career when they were still young. He further explained that the fact that a player has been featuring for some years in the local league competitions "does not mean that you cannot invite him to camp if he is still within the age limit."

Peters, who said that he will never be a party to anything that will soil the image of the country, cited such names like Patrick Mancha, Jide Oguntuwase, John Zaki, Bobo Edom and Andrew Aikhomugbe who are some of the players invited to the under-21 camp to back up his claim. These players, he explained, featured for the country in the FIFA/JVC under-17 world cup in 1989 in Scotland, when they were within the range of 16 years. By 1992, said Coach Peters, they are within the age range of 19 years, quite qualified to fit into the under-21 team preparing for the junior world cup qualifier. "All the boys I have picked so far are within the age limit. Let anybody who doubts the age of any of the players go to the NFA and check it out. I examined all available information and documents before these players were invited, and I can assure you that none of them is outside the age limit," explained Coach Peters. He wondered how Taribo West who declared both in his licence and passport that he was born in 1974, could go around saying something to the contrary.

The under-21 trainer said his decision to invite players who had played in under-17 and under-23 teams was informed by the immense benefit inherent in the principle of continuity. The coach believes that one of the best ways of producing winning teams for the country is to have a programme of orderly graduation of players from one age group to another. The absence of such orderly programme of succession, he observed, has been the bane of the country's national teams for many years. Such gradual succession, he further explained would have rendered unnecessary, long period of camping and preparation for an international competitions, "because we would have known which set of players can fit into which team. The legendary Pele, Maradona, Zico and Platini came up through such programme."

Pillars/Berger match

Pro-league endangered!

Recent actions of some members of Nigeria Football Association may spell disaster for the pro-league

Keen observers of the nation's football league between 1984 and 1989 can still recall vividly the despicable damage Nigeria Football Association (NFA) did to the growth of the country's most sought after game. The unceremonious winding up of many a promising club and the epileptic state of all our national teams at that time, (and even now) were put at the doorstep of NFA. The football governing body was administering football based on the selfish disposition of its members, and in most cases such disposition was always at variance with the national interest.

Reports coming out of Lagos in the past two weeks, clearly indicated that the current members of the board of NFA, who are more adept in the tactics of personality mud-slinging than the business of football administration are set to derail the less than three year old professional league. Nothing demonstrated this than the decision to postpone the week 11 pro-league match between Kano Pillars and Julius Berger of Lagos.

Apart from this fact, NFA, going by the article 9(1) of Decree 11, acted illegally to unilaterally postpone the match without consultation with the pro-board and the reasons advanced by some members of the association for acting the way they did are far from tenable. The association granted Berger's request to enable the club prepare for its champion cup second round first leg match against visiting Wydad Athletic Casablanca Football Club (WAC) of Morocco. Such excuse did not hold water because Julius Berger were hosting their opponents in Lagos and would have still had almost a week to prepare for the match after honouring the match against Kano Pillars in Lagos.

When NFA searched unsuccessfully for something to defend the damaging precedent and illegal action borne out of sentiment and lack of principle, Fan Ndubuoke, the association spokesman and a sports writer who should know better, came out to plead national interest for the postponement. Hear him. "The FA considered Berger request based on Kano Pillars far distant location and the national interest in effecting a postponement." The grave implication of this is that all the three clubs — Kano Pillars, Berger and 3SC — who are taking part in international competitions will from now on have their league matches put off a week to the time of matches they are hosting and two weeks if they are billed to travel out of the country. The association cannot turn down such a request because a precedent has been set. The association's misjudgement was further highlighted by the fact that Berger's opponents, WAC honoured their pro-league match against Raja, penultimate Sunday before travelling down to Lagos. How different and business-like professional football is administered in other countries!

Achebe: *refused to own up*

The secretary-general of NFA, P.O.C Achebe was too overwhelmed with the simple fact that NFA board supersedes the pro-league to own up to the damage some members of the association are doing to the country's football. But there was nowhere it was stated in decree 10 that NFA can engage in illegal action simply because it has the final say on matters affecting football in the country.

But while everybody seemed to be losing his head in NFA as far as issue of football administration in the country is concerned, one man Alhaji Sani Toro, professional league board secretary was different. The pro board scribe did not mince words in telling those NFA members who postponed Pillars/Berger match without consultation with the league board as stipulated by decree 11, that they had committed a grave act of illegality. Toro put it bluntly when he said, "It is the duty of the pro-board to fix date of matches and postponements, and I would not succumb to pressures orchestrated by people who think they can easily buy over the NFA and get anything they want."

Match officials who came from Bauchi to officiate the match and disappointed fans who converged at Kano township stadium to witness the much advertised encounter, expressed shock that NFA could grant Berger's request when the club was not playing outside the country. It is now becoming apparent that this board of NFA is pushing the country's football back to the dark days of the 80's and unless something is done fast we may be mourning the untimely death of the pro-league before the season ends.

By Joe Olajuwon

ADAMU ADAMU S

DEFINITIONS IN HUMOUR

Laughing at you

Now of course those who should cry will laugh.

ECONOMY economics is common sense made difficult, running the economy is uncommon sense made more difficult.

IMF — If it is evil, why join? If you join, why fuss about it? If you must fuss, why not get out?

World Bank — We live in a hostile world, and yet expect its bank to be amiable. But we must never underestimate the power of human stupidity.

Devaluation — If valuation is to give value to a commodity, then devaluation — its syntatic opposite — should mean taking value away. And so it does. And so will someone kindly tell me why almost everyone pretends surprise that the Naira isn't worth anything?

Debt — Debt is of many kinds. There is what is *owed*, there is what is *oared* away and there is what is *owned* and none by the people who will pay.

Foreign Debt — Foreign debt is usually split between foreigners, because it is theirs, and officials, because it is official.

Rescheduling — Instead of paying back 300 Naira in two months, you now pay back 500 Naira in five months. What great achievement! Applause, applause and congratulations.

Development — Industrialisation and development have many indices. One of them is the level, pattern and quality of consumption, like for instance exotic motor cars. And so, since, on average, there are more *V-boots* on the streets of Nigerian cities than the townships of Germany, Nigeria is, thus, without doubt more developed than Germany. Three cheers. No, 30!

Budget — (*bad jet*) Zeal without discipline is a runaway jet — passenger is not comfortable, destination is not reached and return impossible.

Policy — Old-time prudence is gone. It used to be "Give me enough loan to get me out of debt", but now it is more like "Give me enough to tie me up in debt."

Reparation — Preparation without preparedness.

Interest — That part of the debt which is of greater interest to the creditors. The more you pay, the more you have to pay; and the less you get out of the quagmire.

Wage freeze — You may freeze if the temperature goes too low; so will you if the wage goes as low.

Price control — Have market forces failed? I need to know. Now, of course customs officers have had their fill, it is price inspectors next. History of b and c (bribery and corruption) is repeating itself.

Minimum wage — A maximum wage, unfortunately, doesn't exist and so must remain not only undefined but undefinable.

Exchange rate — The rate at which one currency is executed for another, and at that time hardship becomes realistic. And so, what is new?

Front runner — Someone who runs at the front with the multitude running behind. Just like a thief. No wonder, he needs a mate to run away with the takings.

Primaries — The primaries are the primary source at which democracy is subverted — the *accepted* is replaced by the *expected*, the lured is overtaken by the *assured*, and the *emancipator* is replaced by the *collaborator*.

Money — The root of all politics. It is what the aspirant gives to get the vote; it is what the voter gets to give the vote and it is, finally, what the investigator gets to keep the voters from the throat of the elect.

Liberalisation — A liberal is defined as someone with both feet planted firmly in the air. A liberalised economy is therefore firmly planted in the air.

Tail Piece — He that may be rich before night, may be hanged before noon.

The other day I heard one of the funniest "take-your-own back" jokes by the Irish against the English. It all came out in a conversation between two Irishmen.

"How many Englishmen does it take to change an electric bulb?" the first asked.

"Two," answered the second. "One mixes the drinks while the other runs off to call the electrician."

Even if this joke is true, for me it is no laughing matter. Asking myself the same question with appropriate substitution, I said, "How many Hausa men does it take to change an electric bulb?"

None. An electric bulb can be changed without the assistance of Hausa men.

This trader may be alluding to this deficiency.

A boy was sent to buy some automobile mechanical parts and he stopped at a rather well stocked store. "Please, how much is that carburettor?"

"Three thousand Naira."

"One five."

"No, three thousand is good."

"What's the last price?"

"The last price is two thousand eight hundred Naira."

The boy took the carburettor, examined it and reexamined it carefully. He frowned, thought carefully and then handed it back to the auto-parts merchant.

"That's Ibo-made," he said.

"Okay," said the merchant snatching the carburettor with great vehemence, "Okay, go and buy Hausa-made." And the boy didn't know where to go.

SOKOTO CEMENT

..a commitment to progress

The development of SOKOTO CEMENT from raw materials to finish product is symmetrically ensured to give you topmost quality cement/ performance.

Some qualities of SOKOTO CEMENT that attest to this age-long commitment:

- Low heat of hydration - which makes it suitable for massive construction works i.e. bridges, Dams, heavy structural supports etc.
- Medium setting time - allows transportation of mixed concrete to sites.
- Low alkali content - makes it resistant to chemical and corrosive attacks. Best for heavy and marine construction.
- Highest strength achievable in concrete structure by any Portland Cement
- Dark grey finish texture bestow an appealing lustre.
- Most competitive market price per 50kgs bag.
- Availability nation wide.

The high quality of SOKOTO CEMENT had been affirmed through its numerous applications from the commonest blocks to residential buildings, dams, bridges, skyscrappers etc.

Whenever the job requires real cement, make sure it's SOKOTO CEMENT

NIS

Winner of the seal of NIS quality (NIS No. 11) 1982-1988 and 1989 Silver Award from the Standard Organisation of Nigeria.

.. the shining star of quality

CEMENT COMPANY OF NORTHERN NIGERIA PLC.

HEAD OFFICE/FACTORY: KALAMBAINA ROAD, P.M.B. 2166, SOKOTO, NIGERIA
TEL: [illegible]
TELEX No. [illegible] TELEFAX No. [illegible]

AREA OFFICES: [illegible]

LAGOS LIAISON OFFICE: [illegible]