

RSD

Jedda Crash: the story continues

April 6 - 12, 1992 Vol. 3, No. 14

Citizen

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at KTL

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GENERAL GOWON'S Second Coming



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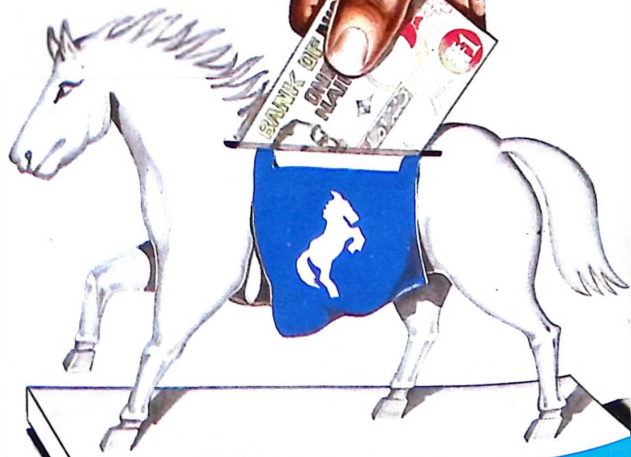
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COVER STORY

The return of Gowon



Seven years after his nine-year regime was ousted from power and six years after he was declared a wanted person, General Gowon looks set to stage a come back

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Jedda crash (11)

On this knotty issue government is angry; so are the lawyers; so are the families of the deceased

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FROM THE EDITOR

Last week's cover, readers will remember, was the story of last year's air crash in Jeddah in which 260 men on board, including 247 Nigerians, lost their lives. We told you the story of how government was lackadaisical in its pursuit of the victims' compensation, until this year's Hajj season started. We told you of how Hold Trade, the charter company, cut corners and consequently made the Jeddah crash an accident waiting to happen. We told you many other things. We did warn, however, that Mahmud Jega, whom we had dispatched to Sokoto, Kano and Daura to pursue the story in those places, was lost in transit and therefore our story was short by what we expected from him.

Well Jega resurfaced last week Monday and his story makes the lot of the relations of the deceased even more pathetic than we said last week. The relations, it would appear, are being squeezed between Hold Trade, the pilgrims authorities and private lawyers. So far only the Sokoto State government appears to be their friend. By the time you finish reading Jega, you'll probably consider our statement last week that the story would tear your heart, an understatement.

The cover this week is about speculations that General Gowon may soon join the presidential race. *Citizen* can confirm to you that there are indeed serious moves to drag the general into politics, but even as he seems to be kicking and screaming against the moves, he looks set to join the race. By the time you read this story he should be heading home to test the water further before the final plunge. The story was reported and written by Mohammed Haruna with additional reports from Mohammed Bomo, Aluko Akinyele and Samson Ojo.



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LETTERS

Middle Belt in ferment

Sir,
It is now clear that there is only confusion and lack of consensus on which area and people make up the so-called Middle-Belt, between those agitating for the so-called Middle Belt interest and those propping them up, forcing one to agree totally with the late *Sardauna* of Sokoto, who said, in 1958, that the agitation "arises not from the desires of the people themselves, but from thoughts implanted on them by skilled and crafty agitation inspired solely from political motives by parties whose main interests, and virtually whose total interest, lie outside this region" (the North); I would rather change "political motives", to "religious motives".

These people and their sponsors should be honest enough to tell Nigerians the time spent by the "Northerners" (Murtala, Shagari, Buhari) on the leadership of this country and that spent by the "Middle-Belters" (Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Gowon, Babangida), and then tell us who is dominating who.

From Kafanchan to Numan, from Tafawa Balewa to Zangon Kataf; to the lunacy of Godwin Orkar, the degree of hate and resentment, acquired through self-inflicted inferiority complex and irrational sentiment, is unimaginable. Well, violence, being an ill-wind, and which has been imbibed as a culture in this area, has now backfired.

The late *Sardauna* had aptly predicted this scenario 35 years ago when he said: "if as a result of the agitation for the fragmentation of this great region, ... the unity of the North is impaired or damaged, then I fear greatly that we shall step... into the past, into tribalism, religious intolerance and violence". How accurate!

Lawal M. Yusuf
Bauchi

CBN, more coins

Sir,

The Central Bank of Nigeria should please release more one Naira and fifty kobo coins to the public, as the use of the notes are coming to an end by April 30, 1992. This is due to high demand of these coins by the generality of Nigerians when buying petty things or boarding township transport.

Many low and high income earners are forced to misuse their sapped currencies when demanding the services of petty traders, taxis, and bus drivers as they are always asked to board with their change to "save time". If this rumour of diverting the coins to other use by Nigerians and non-Nigerians is true and the reason for the scarcity, the Central Bank should urgently change the quality of the coins.

Ali Kolo
Maiduguri

UNN Students and Maryam Babangida

Sir,

The reported displeasure of the UNN students with regard to the conferment of an honorary degree on Mrs Maryam Babangida must not, as a matter of fact, be dismissed as another display of youthful exuberance.

Nigerian universities are fast turning into sychopants and bootlickers. Whenever they confer an honorary degree, it is more often than not on someone who is either a money-bag or an influential figure in the government: someone to whom they crawl back later to so shamelessly beg for favours.

This development, no doubt, has done more harm than good. While on the one hand it confirms government's emphatic refusal to fund our educational institutions, on the other

it shows the degeneracy of honorary degrees as merchandise for the highest bidder. Indeed, it is even more tragic considering the systematic marginalisation of other qualified people from lesser walks of life.

Shehu El-Hafiz
Zaria.

Citizen is it!

Sir,

It is a pathetic prospect to consider that there are probably more than a few folks out there, otherwise prospectors for the whole-truth who (like me uptill now) have not yet discovered *Citizen*.

On my part, having found your enduring mark on the journalistic landscape through your scintillating 28 editions and confirmed it with subsequent ones, a certain sense of loss becomes inescapable.

Citizen is it! Its analysis of issues is racy without being exuberant, its expositions glaring and daring without being foolhardy, and its language affective with all prejudice to the tedious and opaque.

Your pieces are thus exceptionally crisp, clear and convincing. I urge you to keep it up.

I.C. Okafor (Dr.)
UDUTH Sokoto

APOLOGY

In our cover story on northern presidential candidates (Vol. 3 No. 7), we said Alhaji Yakubu Abdulazeez, the editor of *New Nigerian*, was a friend and media consultant to Chief M.K.O. Abiola. The story did not intend to embarrass either Alhaji Yakubu or Chief Abiola. Certainly we did not mean to say the *New Nigerian* editor was keeping two paid jobs. We regret any embarrassment caused the two gentlemen by our assertion.

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.

Again, the hidden agenda

Two actions of government in recent weeks do not seek to promote popular confidence in the transition to civil rule programme. In fact, they rather serve to aid the nagging fear of some Nigerians that government is not serious about the transition programme. Or worse, that it has a hidden agenda.

The extra powers recently said to have been granted to NEC to disqualify any presidential aspirant without explanation is clearly ill-advised and holds the potential for promoting unrest and disorder. The blanket ban imposed on some persons has wisely been lifted. Other laws remain in the statute books than can disqualify an aspirant to be sure. But if anyone is disqualified under any of these laws, it should be made public. The individual concerned should also retain his right to contest the decision in

court. No reason should be used to disqualify an aspirant that is not in the statute books.

Equally unwelcome is the new arrangement whereby the National Assembly will be elected in June and inaugurated in July, after which it will co-exist with a military president and probably the AFRC as well, for six months.

This diarchical arrangement is unreasonable. Whereas the legislative arm of the government has a popular mandate, the executive arm is a military one and has no such mandate. This is a recipe for chaos. The National Assembly should wait to be inaugurated with the elected president so that both can exercise their full powers and their mandate. It cannot learn anything about democracy by a *cohabitation* with the military.

Inflation runs wild

The market did not even wait for the new measure to take effect. Immediately after the announcement of the decision by the Central Bank of Nigeria to allow the Naira to float, the price of the national currency crashed to its lowest level since the start of the structural adjustment programme six years ago. It is exactly a month since the new policy came into effect, and within this period, the price of practically everything has shot up wildly.

The tone of CBN governor as he read his address on Thursday, March 6, sounded as if the apex bank should be pitied. Not by any means. We like to regard the cessation of foreign exchange allocation to banks not as another arsenal of the CBN in its unequal battle against a monstrous black market, but as a solemn declaration of the failure of SAP. And the trouble is that every change (or change of heart) is portrayed as some subtle fine-tuning of the original idea. It is not. But unfortunately, neither the CBN nor the economic advisory collective is

bold enough to admit this and advise a different strategy.

If the government had been keeping tabs on the markets where people buy their daily needs and not the theoretical markets conjured up by experts and white washed by advisers, it would immediately have got a true picture of the great suffering people were undergoing. They would have found a market ravaged by an inflationary wave never experienced before.

Part of the explanation for this is the highly unrealistic value given to the Naira. As a result, we tumbled within a short time from a prosperous developing country to one of the poorest today. The rest of the explanation is the nation's perennial problem, that of a strange inability or even stranger unwillingness to implement agreed upon policies.

This indeed has made giving sound advice as valueless as the problem itself harmful. Yet whether it will be considered or glossed over, it is the duty of the constructive critic to offer it.

As we have consistently argued, the first step towards restoring sanity in the economy is to fix the realistic value of the Naira in which the dollar must never be more than five Naira to one dollar, perhaps less.

There are indications that even the creditor institutions never expected that it would be possible to get such massive devaluations in any national currency. They are now clearly pressing their luck too far; but there ought to be a price in suffering beyond which we must be unwilling — adamantly unwilling — to pay.

Aikhomu made mention of "the activities of unscrupulous middlemen, import-

ers and manufacturers who have made no positive contributions to the growth of our economy" who, he hoped, would not "line their pockets and amass enormous wealth without any sympathy for the economy or their fellow countrymen". We are surprised that the vice president is surprised. If all that these people get is mere mention, and not some punishment, we expect that they will only become more determined. It is always nice to get rich, and nicer to get richer.

The government must be serious and demonstrate that it means business before people — businessmen or public servants — learn to play by the rules.

Britain elects

After thirteen years in power, it was probably about time the Tories started packing. The glue that held them together and carried them to their victories — Margaret Thatcher — had been jettisoned along with her extreme right wing policies and heartless monetarism. Her handpicked replacement — the uncharismatic John Major — is suddenly proving no match for Labour's Neil Kinnock especially considering Kinnock's spell-binding oratory and what it can do to the electorate between now and April 9, the polling day. Major might as well remember Kinnock's exploits in 1987, and know that if it was easy for Thatcher to beat him, it would not be as easy or even possible to repeat her exploits this time.

These are indications that the election is going to be very close, though except on the issue of taxes, the differences between the two parties have become somewhat blurred. Major plans to make much capital out of the decision by Labour to raise taxes — of the higher income earners — to pay for social services. The Tories have promised low personal taxes, a good indication that they have learnt all the lessons there are in Thatcher's poll tax fiasco. But if, looked at this way, it might be said to be a sensible move, it was less than a sound decision for an economy struggling to come out of a very long recession. That, of course, is something to worry about after victory, not before.

The decision to call for the election was perhaps inevitable. When he decided not to call one last September, Major was banking on the possibility of a turn around in the recession-wrecked economy. This was not forthcoming, and his term would, in any case, expire in July. Instead of risking a sudden start and a short period of politicking, he safely decided to call it with a good enough margin — enough to counter whatever danger Labour posed. Any Kinnock appeal may evaporate over this longer period.

For us in Africa, a Labour leader in No. 10 Downing Street is a more welcome occupant any day, a clear lesser of two evils. Especially now with the momentous changes happening swiftly all over our continent, Labour is the party with which to do the business of burying apartheid.

Thanks to the sanctions which Thatcher once said would harm the blacks more, the whites were finally forced to accept the principle of majority rule, and begin to systematically dismantle the structures supporting apartheid.

The choice of course belongs to the British people. It remains to be seen whether they will give Kinnock a well deserved shot at the prime minister's job. And if the Tories are a superstitious lot, their 13th year in power is eminently the most insuspicious moment to attempt to get another mandate. And they may not get it.

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Schedules for 1992

Matriculation Examinations

1.0 Following the decision of the Federal Ministry of Education on the commencement of the second term holidays of Secondary Schools and the recent announcement of changes in the election schedules by the National Electoral Commission, the Board has adjusted its schedules of the 1992 Matriculation Examinations as follows:

1.1 Universities Matriculation Examination: Saturday 2nd May, 1992.

1.2 Polytechnics and Colleges of Education Matriculation Examination: Saturday 11th July, 1992.

2.0 Consequently, the dates for sale of forms for Polytechnics and Colleges of Education (PCE) and Direct Entry (DE) are as follows:

2.1 PCE: Wednesday 15th April — Friday 22nd May, 1992

2.2 DE: Monday 18th May — Friday 19th June, 1992

3.0 The cost of the forms in respect of both PCE and DE is 80.00 Naira (Eighty Naira only) in each case.

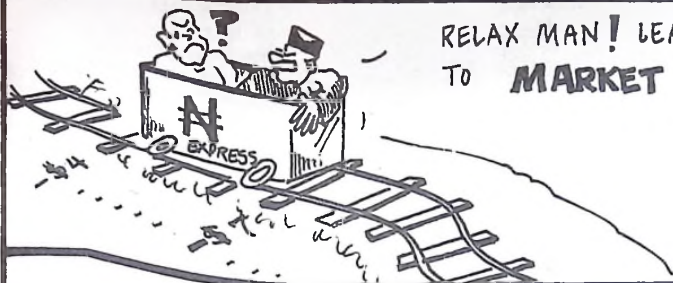
4.0 PCE syllabuses are already available for sale at 25.00 Naira each at the Board's National Secretariat in Lagos and its Zonal Offices located at Aba, Abuja, Bauchi, Benin, Ibadan and Kaduna.

5.0 Members of the Public are advised to take note of these changes.

The Board regrets all inconveniences.

Dr. M.S. Abdulrahman
Registrar/Chief Executive

THE GREAT SLIDE.



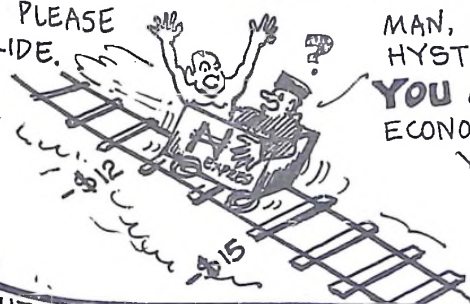
RELAX MAN! LEAVE EVERYTHING
TO **MARKET FORCES**.

B. BUT



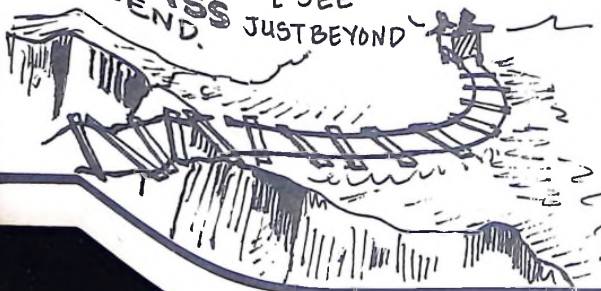
DON'T YOU WORRY IT WILL
FIND ITS LEVEL.
WE SHALL NOT
INTERVENE.

WAYO! PLEASE
CHECK THIS SLIDE.



MAN, WHY THE
HYSTERIA?
YOU ARE NOT AN
ECONOMIST OR ARE
YOU?

NO
AN
THE
**SIR. BUT I SEE
ABYSS JUST BEYOND
THE BEND.**



SHARRAP!
THAT IS NOT FOR
YOU TO SEE. LET
THE MARKET FORCES
DECIDE.



Gowon and wife, Victoria at the beginning

COVER STORY

Presidency

The return of Gowon

Seven years after his nine-year regime was ousted from power and six years after he was declared a wanted person, General Yakubu Gowon looks set to stage a triumphant come back

The neat and shady foreground of Mr. Daniel Gowon's residence was empty, save for two parked vehicles, when *Citizen* arrived there early last month to confirm rumours that there were moves to draft General Yakubu Gowon, the longest serving head-of-state to date, into the already crowded presidential race. There could not have been a better source than Mr. Gowon to confirm the rumours. At 56, he was the general's next of kin, and the two were reportedly quite close. Not only that, the younger Gowon was the Sarkin Wusasa, a small — population 2,500 — but famous missionary settlement to the south-west of Zaria.

As Sarkin Wusasa, nothing of significance could escape Mr. Gowon's attention and the move to draft General Gowon into the presidential race, if it was true, was by no means insignificant. Such a move was bound to have a Wusasa dimension to it since the village was Gowon's home.

The younger Gowon was holding court in his Zaria GRA residence, where he has lived since 1987, following the religious riots of that year in which the family house was burnt when *Citizen* sought to speak to him.

"Yes", he told *Citizen*, "I have also heard rumours that my brother is being pressured to re-enter politics. They think Nigeria is at another cross-road and only the general with his patience and accommodation, can guide it aright. But I say it is all rubbish. *Yaya mutum zaiyi amai ya dawo ya lashe?* (Hausa: for how can someone lap up his vomit?) The general was head of state for nine years and we thank God. What else do they want? Look, as soon as you leave here I will call him, in London and I will tell him a piece of my mind."

One week after this initial encounter, *Citizen* returned for a formal interview with the Sarkin Wusasa. He confirmed he did indeed talk to his elder brother. This time,

however, he qualified his objection by saying if it was God's wish that the general would become God's instrument for saving the country from an impending catastrophe, he could only say "amen".

Mr. Gowon was not the only one to confirm that General Gowon was indeed seriously considering joining the presidential race. The general, himself, did so. Speaking to the *Citizen* on the phone from his London home, he declined our request for an interview, saying it was too early in the day to make any pronouncement on the matter. However, he confirmed that there were indeed moves to persuade him to run. Said he, "I wont deny that such a move is on, only that nothing has crystallised yet". He said that he had no personal ambitions. "However," he added, "if there is a call to duty and it is God's wish that I serve, I will have no choice in the matter".

Indications so far are that the middle of this month will decide whether or not the general does decide to run. He was to have arrived in Lagos on April 1, but both the *Sarkin Wusasa* and the general himself confirmed to *Citizen* that he will now be coming in the second week of the month. With his arrival, consultations will continue apace before a formal announcement is made. The general is also expected to clear his intention with President Ibrahim Babangida in Abuja before the formal announcement. Sources close to the State House Abuja told *Citizen* that informally the president is already aware of the move and indeed may have discussed it with the general.

Should General Gowon confirm his entry into the race, he would have set a record — the second in his political career, the first one being his record nine years as leader — as the first former head-of-state to attempt a come-back to the number one position, this time however, through the ballot box. Many military top brass have since engaged in open partisan politics, but to date, the highest ranking have been ma-



On return with the Emir of Zazzau: happy reunion

ajor-generals, with Major-General Shehu Musa Yar'adua, who rose to the No. 2 position in the military regime that succeeded Gowon's, being the most notable.

The on-going moves to return Gowon to power may have germinated only recently, but the seed seems to have been sowed as long as December 1983, or even earlier. December 1983 was the first time the general would set foot on Nigerian soil after he was ousted from power in July 1975 while he was away in Kampala, Uganda, for the year's annual OAU summit. About six months later, the new head of state, General Murtala Mohammed was murdered in a failed coup attempt led by Colonel Bukar Suka Dimka. The colonel implicated General Gowon in the coup attempt in the course of his interrogation. As a result the general was declared a wanted person. This was after he had declined an invitation to come home and clear his name, apparently fearing that the national mood at the time was hardly conducive to a fair trial. A federal military government statement issued on Febru-

ary 18, five days after the aborted coup, had said categorically that it had "ample evidence" to show that Gowon "knew and by implication approved the coup plot".

Not only that, the federal government had not disclosed to the public that it had entered into a correspondence with the general in the course of which he had stated his own case and had expressed a willingness to face trial provided it was in a neutral territory. The government had turned down Gowon's suggestion on the ground that the coup attempt was Nigeria's internal affair. However, it had guaranteed Gowon's safety pointing out that his younger brother Moses, who was an airforce pilot, had been set free when no evidence of his involvement could be established. Gowon remained skeptical and when he later found out that the younger Gowon indeed remained in detention three months after the government had assured him that he (Moses) was free, the general made up his mind to ~~be~~ clear of Nigeria.

But time, as the saying goes, heals. Three years after he was de-

clared wanted, Gowon's "pardon", along with rebel leader Odumegu Ojukwu's, became an issue in the presidential campaigns leading to the Second Republic. Both the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) and the Nigerian Peoples Party (NPP) promised to "pardon" the two fugitives if they were voted into power. The National Party of Nigeria (NPN) was at best non-committal and seemed unconcerned even after it had lost several key members in Plateau State, where the Gowons were originally from, because of a statement by the state's chairman of the party, Alhaji Adamu Abdullahi, that Gowon remained a wanted person. This was a day before Shagari was to begin his campaigns in the state.

The NPN eventually won the election with more than one-third of the votes in Plateau State. Even then the party realised it could not continue with its indifference, if not hostility, towards Gowon's "pardon" and eventual return to the country. Events were to show that President Shagari had indeed decided half-way through his first term to steal the thunder from the UPN and the NPP on this issue, but in his characteristic caution he had also decided to bide his time.

According to Mr. Okion Ojigbo in a book on President Shagari's first term with its Forward written by the president himself, Shagari chose October 1981 to spring his surprise on Gowon's "pardon". Before then he (Shagari) had studied all the papers on Dimka's coup and had concluded that there has never really been sufficient evidence to convict Gowon of knowing, let alone approving, the coup. Even then he knew he had to proceed with caution because memories of Murtala Mohammed's murder remained bitter. As a result, he sounded out the military top brass as well as party members who could possibly object to a "pardon". Reportedly, he found little objection.

And so it was that on October 1, 1981, President Shagari announced

to Nigerians that in exercise of his prerogative of mercy, he has decided to waive the balance by prison terms for those jailed for complicity or participation in the Dimka coup. However, he put General Gowon, all in a class by himself. He said he had examined the evidences—Dimka's allegation that he discussed the coup with Gowon and that he wanted the British High Commission in Lagos to put him in touch with Gowon at the beginning of the coup—against the general on the coup attempt, and he was persuaded that they could not stand any close examination. The president then avoided the use of the word pardon. Instead he stated that the declaration that Gowon was wanted has been "rescinded forthwith and that Yakubu Gowon be free to visit or return to Nigeria should he so wish."

Although General Gowon was now free to return to Nigeria, he chose not to exercise his new-found freedom until over two years later, i.e. in December 1983.

In the first interview he gave to the press, specifically the *New*



Gumi: glowing tributes to Gowon

The general may indeed have started changing his mind about five months after his home-coming. For in another interview, in May 1983, this time with the *Sunday Nigerian*, he said, in answer to the question on whether he was truly through with politics, that no one could tell the future. "I think," he said, "no one can ever tell what will happen to him during his life time."

Gowon's decisive shift in favour of politics may have occurred last December following President Babangida's lifting of the ban on old politicians, ban which included the general as former head of state.

Nigerian (December 6, 1983), on arrival in Nigeria, the general said categorically that he was through with politics. He said there were many other ways in which he could serve Nigeria. Reminded that people may change their minds after sometimes, he told the *New Nigerian* that people were indeed entitled to change their minds, but added that "this (meaning himself) is not a person that changes his mind."

can assure you that I never thought honestly that I will become head of state. I can simply say when I come back home, probably the country may require me, but for me, I have no particular interest in politics.

Gowon's decisive shift in favour of politics may have occurred last December following President Babangida's lifting of the ban on politicians, a ban which included the general as a former head of state.

Citizen, April 6,

state. *Citizen* learnt that as early as January, several important Nigerians including some leading traditional rulers in the north as well as some leading businessmen started sending out feelers discreetly in order to establish the degree of Gowon's acceptability.

By February, a source close to the general said, he had given the go-ahead for the soundings to continue. If things go according to plan, he will then return home by mid April to register as a member of the NRC in his Tukur Tukur ward which includes Wusasa. *Citizen* could not reach the ward



Gowon and Victoria after the pardon, with him are former deputy governor and governor of Kaduna State Nuhu Babajo and Lawal Kaita

"Gowon is still popular"

— Daniel Gowon

Mr. Daniel Gowon, the Sarkin Wusasa, spoke to *Citizen* recently on why his elder brother may join the presidential race

Citizen: *How true is the speculation that General Gowon wants to join the presidential race?*

Daniel: I am hearing the same thing, he hasn't discussed this issue with me, but from reliable sources and from some good connection, some people are trying to move him into politics which I believe is not in his own interest.

Citizen: *I can see sir, that you strongly object to it.*

Daniel: Yes! I do, I think Gowon has played his own part, he has served this

country faithfully for some good nine years.

Citizen: *But there is a difference sir. In the '60s, he was more or less a creature of circumstance. This time it's going to be an elective thing. So don't you think this difference matters?*

Daniel: It does in a sense. Well, actually as I told you, I telephoned him in London the last time you were here, just to confirm if he is aware of what is going on about him. I asked him whether he was aware of

the fact that his name has been dragged into politics, and there are strong indications that he has accepted to stand on the platform of NRC. He said well, actually there are quite a number of people who visited him in London in connection with that, but up

till now he has not given them any answer. As a result of this people are still in suspense, but left to him, if it is the wish of the country that they want him to come back and serve them, he will be quite prepared to, but on the other hand, if it is not going to be

He said well, since he is a Christian let him switch over to where they think the party belongs to Muslims.



Well wishers at old Kaduna airport to welcome the former head of state

chairman of the party, Alhaji Audu Maikilishi, but we learnt reliably that the preparation to receive Gowon has already been completed.

The choice of the NRC may

surprise some people, but as Mr. Daniel Gowon said, the general may have deliberately done so in order to break the stereo-typing of the parties on religious lines. However,

there may have been other considerations, notably the fact that both Major-General Shehu Yar'adua and Lt-General T.Y. Danjuma, who ousted him from power, are leading members of the SDP.

Sources close to his campaign-team-in-the-making, said the idea of drafting Gowon arose from a feeling that Nigeria was heading towards a political crisis as a result, on the one hand, of the stand by southern politicians that they must produce the president of this country this time, and on the other hand, the position by northern politicians that the principle that in democracy the majority should have its way, must be allowed to stand.

"The way things stand," said one Gowon campaigner who insisted on anonymity, "only Gowon can break this deadly stalemate which is so serious that southern politicians are said to be seriously

in his favour, he will pray to God that let every be abandoned.

Citizen: *Idon't know about the masses, but I know very respectable people in the society, I can't mention names now, but I heard of leading traditional rulers, leading businessmen who are putting a lot of pressure on him to come. Assuming, sir that he eventually submits to their pressure, what do you think are his chances?*

Daniel: If he submits to pressure, I am sure he is going to win an overwhelming majority, there is no doubt about it, because if you see the number of people that have been trouping into this house every morning, you will agree with me that he is still popular. At times I used to go and hide myself and give instructions that I travelled, just to

avoid these troupes waiting to confirm the truth of the assertion. So I believe he stands a very good chance.

Citizen: *Why NRC sir, Why not SDP?*

Daniel: Actually, you see, people believe that the SDP is for the christians while the NRC is for the muslims, but in order to be neutral, he said well since he is a christian, let him switch over to where they think that the party belong to muslims. He just wants to prove to the world that the parties do not belongs to any religious body.

Citizen: *Talking about his popularity, there is no doubt about it that up to 1974 he was very popular, but the moment he said 1976 was unrealistic, then he started having problems. Now don't you think the issue of his saying 76 was unrealistic will*

work against him?

Daniel: I don't think so, I doubt whether it will.

Citizen: *Sir there is the impression that he is godly, he is very nice, but that he is too nice and that may be at this time what we need is somebody who will have a very firm hand.*

Daniel: I can assure you

that Gowon can be very firm. Then he has already gone and read political science, besides that, he has been mingling up with international leaders, both at home and abroad. I think that will give him enough leverage to rule this country with maturity.



considering pushing the Orkar agenda to its logical conclusion" Major Orka's April 1990 coup aimed, among other things, at expelling the so-called far north from Nigeria.

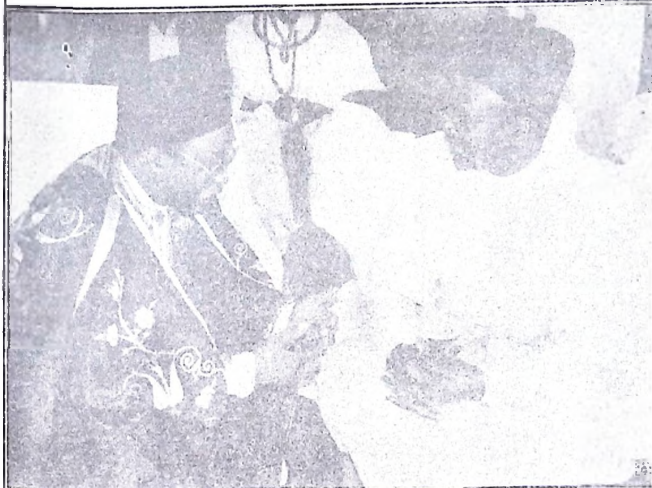
General Gowon's probabi-

entry into politics raises at least two basic questions. First, how true are his much-touted leadership qualities and how relevant are they to Nigeria's problems today? Second, how widespread is his appeal?

Speaking to *Citizen*, Alhaji Ibrahim Damcida, who was a permanent secretary during Gowon's era, said Gowon was the best leader we have ever had. Gowon, he said, was level headed and an

honest God-fearing man. His greatest achievement, said Damcida, was the way he ended the civil war on a note of 'no victor and no vanquished.' No other world statesman, he said, "has ever done this. Compare it to George Bush and John Major who fought Saddam and are still harassing the man."

Damcida was not the only respondent to speak of Gowon in such glowing terms. Sheikh Abubakar Gumi also spoke in the same vein. Gowon, he said, was a good administrator and a courageous leader. "He did his best at a time of great national distress",



Gowon with Maltama Sule at a recent outing at Kogoro, Kaduna State

"I am all for Gowon"

—Damcida

Alhaji Ibrahim Maina Damcida was Gowon's permanent secretary in the ministries of trade (1966-71) and defence (1971-75). He first met the general in 1949 as school mates at Barewa Collage Zaria

Citizen: Assomebody who worked with General Yakubu Gowon, how do you assess him as a statesman?

Damcida: Statesmen are not born, as such, they become statesmen over a period of time with accumulation of experience and knowledge of the job. Gen. Yakubu Gowon was very fortunate to have

ruled uninterruptedly for about nine years as head of state, during which period he was exposed to all sorts of experiences particularly the rare experience of having to lead the country in a civil war. I think in the Nigerian context Gowon will stand out as the best statesman we have ever had. Apart from being very compassionate

and honest, he perhaps was more sincere in whatever he did. If one were to present to the international platform and present him as a statesman against other world leaders, one will extremely rate him high.

What perhaps singled him out as unique was the way he ended the civil war. No other Nigerian that I

knew us at that time, even today, would have acted the way he did. People were blood thirsty, but he came out very uniquely. I don't think the world has had anybody like that before the way he warmly welcomed the rebel leadership. Virtually nothing happened to them. At that time, some Nigerians openly voiced out their

he said. For Sheikh Abubakar, Gowon had only one failing — he is not a muslim. "If Gowon would become a muslim today", he said "I will give him all the support he needs".

In a way both Damcida and Sheikh Abubakar may be described as interested parties in Gowon; Damcida was a leading player in Gowon's regime while Sheikh Abubakar, by his own admission, was treated by Gowon "with respect and dignity. He made me the chairman of national pilgrim board and gave me a free hand to run it." It is only natural, that both men would extol Gowon's virtues.

However, even his worst enemies would acknowledge that he was a good war leader and that he was a good reconciliator. Such enemies would however, be quick to point out that he was indecisive as a leader and that he did not actually lack political ambition. The chances are that even his best friends will agree with such an assessment.

The most glaring evidence of his indecision was his inability to remove his military governors when most of them created popular resentment against his regime by the way they behaved as if they were accountable to no one. Worse, when in 1974, a couple of damaging corruption charges were levied against



Sanayah: Gowon's mother

annoyance over Gowon's action, but he calmly took it all. He declared the event as a "no victor no vanquished." No other world statesman has ever done this. Compare it to George Bush and John Major who fought Saddam, and are still harassing the man. This is just one example. It is a unique policy, almost divine.

Citizen: Generally, how would you rate his economic performance? Some people are saying that he did not lay a very good foundation for the economic development of the country despite the oil boom?

Damcida: Well, economists are like lawyers, if they are two and you ask them for opinion, you get three of it, so it is no surprise at all that while some acknowledge the fact that it was Gowon who initiated true development programme, even while the war was still going on and it was him who succeeded in putting up to day more than 60 per cent

of what we have as infrastructures in the country today, there are some who would disagree. But it was during his period that the decision was taken to develop six ports and link the six with hinterland. They are Calabar, Koko, Warri, Lagos, Badagry and Port Harcourt. Unfortunately, Badagry would not

be dredged. It was also during his time that the major highways in the country were built. Similarly we have roads from Idriloko to Porto Novo and the East to the Camerouns. So in terms of infrastructure, to say he could have done better is no criticism, in as much as there is always something some-

one can improve on, but to say he did not do well is not correct.

Citizen: With the present trend of events, especially the premature collapse of the Second Republic, would you say that Gowon was correct in refusing to hand over to civilians in 1976?

Damcida: No. I think it was a big mistake to renege on the promise to hand over to civilians in 1976. There is no where in the world where politics is played very calmly as if you are attending a company's board meeting. Politics is always volatile, even where you have one party state. It is not something you can say you will wait until civilians learn how to play it. Who taught soldiers politics? Do they know politics more than civilians? What credentials has any soldier to say civilians have not learnt any lesson? What lesson? I am surprised that Nigerians are so naive, and allow themselves to be carried away so easily by propa-

What perhaps singled him out as unique was the way he ended the civil war. No other Nigerian that I knew as at that time, even today, would have acted the way he did. People were blood thirsty, but he came out very uniquely.

his lieutenants, he dithered in having the charges thoroughly investigated. He was eventually to pronounce them as blameless.

As for his lack of political ambition, he himself had often made that point. The fact remained, however, that several of his permanent secretaries, notably Mr. Allison Ayida, who was to become the secretary to his government, consistently canvassed the idea of a national movement, with the military as the vanguard and General Gowon

as the head. As he himself admitted in his biography written by Professor Jonas Elaigwu, there were indeed "suggestions that I should do a Nasser-type thing from mainly civilians — some civil servants and erstwhile politicians. But I can assure you it had no attraction for me." Even then there was no record that his regime frowned on the civil servants. On the contrary one got the impression that their suggestions and such others like that of diarchy by leading politicians like Dr.

Nnamdi Azikiwe got a wink from senior government officials.

Clearly the most damning evidence in this respect, was his announcement on October 1, 1974 that 1976 was no longer realistic for handing over power to an elected government. His excuses were that he needed to put the country on a sound economic footing and also that the politicians appeared not to have learnt any lessons. However, as Alhaji Ibrahim

ganda from the military. What experience, what knowledge, even theoretical knowledge of democracy has any soldier, learnt that civilians have not learnt? How can soldiers teach civilians how to operate democracy, when soldiers from their training are totalitarians?

In 1974, when Gowon changed his mind it was a big mistake, and I am sure, if you confront him today he will agree that it was a big mistake for him not to have handed over and let the civilians kill themselves if they like. Are 'nt they doing so in Korea, America and Britain? In America, someone pulls out a gun when things get tough and in Korea 18 people died recently. If these people go through all these stages and emerge democratic, why not us? If we decide to kill a few of our people to achieve democracy, what concerns anybody? Don't the military kill themselves? They kill themselves and civilians as well yet they are considered as more democratic than civilians.

Citizen: Many are calling for the Gowon era again, will you join the chorus, if the man decides to make a

second coming?

Damcda: From what I know of him and I told you, I have know him, since 1949, if Gowon were to declare today, and I think it is too late since the political parties have closed their doors, but assuming we don't even have the political parties and Gowon declared that he would like to be elected president, I think he would stand the best chance of any Nigerian to be elected despite what the media would say. He is a down to earth person, saleable material, but above all, across the country, probably the most respected former head of state today. And he deserves it. His era, 1966 to 1975 cannot be repeated today. The reason, is the civil service he inherited, was a true civil service. People were far more dedicated, far more experienced, and people who felt very secured by rules that protected them from exposure, and manipulation by politicians and therefore a civil service that has high integrity and higher degree of honesty was in place then. Mind you, Gowon sometimes finds the civil service very irri-

tating, but that is what the civil service is supposed to do. Today, there is virtually no civil service. The commissioners (ministers) of Gowon's period, were not chief executives of ministries. So the setting was different. The succeeding military regime, to the regret of Nigerians, has destroyed the civil service such that today if you go to the civil service, waiting to exercise your right as a citizen, the civil servant has no compulsion in asking you to pay for whatever he is going to do for you.

I am one of those who will clamour for the Gowon era again.

Citizen: *What are those things that puts him head and shoulders above the present line-up of aspirants for the nations presidency?*

Damcda: Some of the people campaigning today are no politicians they have no records. Some of them were very good public servants, only one or two are politicians, who have records to show. We have someone, like Adamu Ciroma, Jakande, who were actors in the previous government and they can show you what they did, good or bad. But someone like Iwuanyawu, though a very successful businessman, he was never in the public service nor in politics. Someone like Umaru Shinkafi was a very successful police officer and NSO boss, so he has good public service records, but he has never been a politician so he has nothing to show in politics. Gowon stands in a separate class of his own.

By Aluko Azinyele

What experience, what knowledge, even theoretical knowledge of democracy has any soldier, learnt that civilians have not learnt? How can soldiers teach civilians how to operate democracy, when soldiers from their training are totalitarians?



Familoni: Gowon's economics was not sound but...

Damcida, his schoolmate in Barewa College, Zaria and one of his super-permanent secretaries told *Citizen*, the decision "was a big mistake. There is now here in the world where politics is played calmly as if you are attending a company's board meeting."

Of all General Gowon's weakness, perhaps the most glaring was his lack of skill at economic management. Alhaji Ibrahim Damcida told *Citizen* that Gowon's economic record remains unbeatable because he laid 60 per cent of the infrastructure in use today. This may be true, but then even Gowon himself had admitted that he had a problem managing the oil boom of the early seventies. As his now famous quotation went, "Money is not our object but how to spend it."

Few people will agree with Damcida that Gowon's regime spent it wisely, especially in the face of the widespread corruption that the easy oil money engendered. Dr. Kayode Familoni, an economics lecturer at the University of Lagos, for instance, told *Citizen* that the criticism of Gowon's economics "may not be unfounded." He did, however, add that "various governments after Gowon have had the opportunity to

reverse the situation and they failed to. It was only when Babangida came into power that he made the attempt to put in place what I will call an infrastructural policy."

At the beginning of Gowon's rule federal revenue was about 340 million Naira. By 1974 this revenue had leap-frogged to more than 55

that General Gowon has proved himself eminently qualified by his handling of Nigeria's civil war.

"Not only that," said a leading Kano businessman who is also muslim but who declined attribution, "Gowon did for muslims what no muslim leader before him had done. He took Nigeria into the Or-

Should General Gowon confirm his entry into the race, he would have set a record — the second in his political career, the first one being his record nine years as leader — as the first former head-of-state to attempt a come-back to the number one position, this time however, through the ballot box.

billion Naira. Yet no one could say that this rise reflected in the quality of life of most Nigerians. On the contrary, there was, to use *New Nigerian's* words "souless opulence of the few in evil contrast to crushing poverty of the many. There is unimaginable corruption and disastrously wrong allocation of resources" (NN June 29, 1974).

The paper wondered how "an economic historian 50 years hence (could) explain the relative expenditure on agriculture and on the various forms of so-called "culture": All-Africa Games, Black Arts Festival and all the rest of it? He must conclude that we had taken leave of our collective senses."

Given General Gowon's strengths and weaknesses as a leader, could his presidency offer a solution to the nation's problems? The answer depends on which side of the general one pitches his camp. Those who support him say the most serious problem confronting the country today is the deep division that has been engendered by religious differences and by Orkar's political agenda. Accordingly they believe what the country needs most is a reconciliatory leader. They contend

organisation of Islamic Countries, even if it was on an observer status. For me Gowon should be acceptable to muslims even though he is a christian, since he has shown himself to be broadminded."

While those who support him say Gowon is what the country needs for a stable Third Republic, his opponents believe he is the last thing Nigeria needs. "What Nigeria needs," a very senior government functionary told *Citizen* on condition of anonymity, "is a decisive leader. Gowon is simply too indecisive and too nice a person to make a firm leader. Besides, this is the nineteens not the sixtees and anyone who talks to Gowon can see that he is always thinking in terms of the sixtees."

Whether or not Gowon is indeed the leader of the moment only time and the primaries can tell. That is assuming his status as a four star general on the reserve list does not constitutionally bar him from contesting any election.

By Mohammed Haruna with reports from Mohammed Bomo Samson Ojo and Aluko Akinyele

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Donors are hereby reminded to kindly indicate addresses to which copies of the books may be forwarded as the case may be, on receipt of their donations or orders. This shall be addressed to:-

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The History Committee wishes to inform the general public that its work is continuous. We are now searching for suitable authors — Nigerian and non-Nigerian alike — to undertake, in collaboration with the Huda-Huda Publishing Company, authoritative biographies of great Nigerians such as General Murtala Muhammad, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Chief Ladoke Akintola and Dr. M. Okpara.

In addition, an endowment Trust is being organised for the family of the late Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the details of which are being worked out.

(signed)
M. Liman
Chairman
History of N. Nigeria Committee

(signed)
Alhaji Inuwa Wada
Chairman
Organising Committee

NIGERIA

Jedda crash (II)

The compensation question

On this knotty issue government is angry; so are the lawyers; so are the families



Abdulkarim and Musa: government and no one else

Last year's plane crash at Jedda has left a sour taste in every mouth in Sokoto, destination of the ill-fated plane. Heads still shake with grief when the Nationair DC-8 is recalled in conversation. The affair also gave the air charter firm, Hold Trade, a bad name in Sokoto; worn out vehicles and motorcycles in the city are now known as "holdtrade". And in the last two weeks, the public argument in the city over compensation to the families of the state's 241 pilgrims who perished in the crash has revived all memories of the ugly affair.

In the days following the plane crash in July last year, state governments and philanthropic organisations and individuals contributed some four million Naira to a relief fund for the victims' families. The money had poured in spontaneously, and after the dust settled, then military governor Colonel Bashir Magashi set up a committee headed

by a retired secretary to the state government, Alhaji Muhammadu Jega, to identify the plane crash victims' families and distribute the relief aid to them. Despite the close cooperation of traditional rulers and

Maiyama and Yabo, the committee had to retrieve money already disbursed when evidence surfaced that some of the victims' children were adopted, not "biological" ones. The state government ruled however that relief aid be shared equally amongst identified heirs, not according to the proportions specified under the *shariah*.

Controversy surfaced early in the day when some victims' families appeared to confuse relief for compensation. The minister of state for external affairs, Alhaji Zakari Ibrahim, had announced in Sokoto at the time that compensation will be paid, and some families thought this was it. Sources in Sokoto said this confusion led to a nasty quarrel when some members of the relief committee went to see Alhaji Tsoho Amale, the Sokoto businessman who lost four of his eldest sons and 10 other relatives in the crash. Alhaji Tsoho thought the "compensation" was meagre and rejected it; it took the intervention of the then deputy governor, Alhaji Isa Wasagu, to straighten issues.

Thus alerted, the relief committee, in its final report to Colonel Magashi, urged that the compensation issue be pursued vigorously. Rumours were then circulating in

The affair also gave the air charter firm Hold Trade a bad name in Sokoto; worn out vehicles and motorcycles in the city are now known as "holdtrade".

local government officials, the task proved to be a difficult one. Dominated by muslim clergymen, including the grand khadis of Sokoto and Kebbi states, the relief committee decided to invoke the inheritance clauses of the *shariah* to determine who received the relief aid; at

Sokoto that some officials were trying to secure compensation for the victims at international insurance rates, estimated at 100,000 US dollars per victim, but intend to pay the families only a *diyyah* of 30,000 dollars, as specified by some ulama. In the relief committee's report, its

"Lawyers are not supposed to solicit for cases," Alhaji Usman Dangogo warily observed.



Ibrahim: government has little to say

clergymen-members ruled that the higher sum should be paid to the families and that this did not contradict the *shariah's* intentions.

While the committee was compiling its report last year, some private legal practitioners from Kano approached its secretary, Ilyasu Abubakar, and asked for permission to represent families of all victims in claiming compensation from the plane's insurers. The secretary reportedly told the lawyers that this was beyond the committee's brief. The incident, however, prompted the relief committee to add to its report a warning to the state government not to allow private lawyers to partake in the action. In Sokoto last week, Alhaji Muhammadu Jega told *Citizen* that while committee members "do not doubt the integrity of private lawyers", they recalled an ugly incident from the recent past. Alhaji Muhammadu himself lost his brother, Sule Jega, in the hajj plane crash in Kano in 1973. The compen-

sation paid then was chicken-feed; "my brother, who was a senior official of the federal ministry of works, was considered to be a special case and I was paid about 2,900 Naira. Others got less than that." Still, he said, some private lawyers got into the action and made away with some families' claims.

This story was corroborated by the *Danmadamin Sokoto*, Alhaji Usman Dangogo, attorney-general of the defunct Northwestern State. Alhaji Usman told *Citizen* that 35 persons from the Northwest were in the crashed plane that year, most of them from Mafara, Bungudu, Bakura and Gusau. Nearly a year later, the federal government sent compensation money to the Northwest government and this was distributed through the area courts. Some victims' families came and complained that they had been left out of the exercise. When the Northwest government enquired in Lagos, it found out that a lawyer based in Ilorin had tendered letters of attorney on behalf of some families from Bakura. The money was released to him, and he thereafter disappeared until the Northwest government obtained a warrant for his arrest.

It was this experience that made officials in Sokoto

wary of private solicitors' intervention in the recent case. Thus shunned, the lawyers went directly to the victims' families. In Gummi, which lost a large number of pilgrims in the crash, the district head had to contact the commissioner of police when lawyers swamped the area. "Lawyers are not supposed to solicit for cases", Alhaji Usman Dangogo warily observed. Not only were they soliciting, but they made outrageous demands on the victims' families. Dr. Mahmoud Ahmadu-Suka, chief medical director of the Sokoto Clinic, who lost his wife, also a medic, in the crash, told *Citizen* last week that five different lawyers came to him. One group came from Kano, two were from Ibadan, and one came all the way from Canada. Dr. Suka said the lawyers demanded between 30 to 40 per cent of the total compensation sum as their fees, plus expenses. "One lawyer offered to reduce his fees from 40 per cent if many of us will give him powers of attorney", Dr. Suka said. He himself refused to grant such powers to anyone "because of the uncertainty", but some 150 other families appear to have granted such powers to the law firm S.Kumo & Co. of Kano alone.

Early in March, the government



Zakari: minister of state for foreign affairs

Federal Republic of Nigeria
1991 Population Census
(provisional result)

State name : KANO

L.G.A. name	Males	Females	Total
1 ALBASU	55,428	56,080	111,508
2 BAGWAI	48,902	51,922	100,824
3 BEBEJE (1)	132,637	132,131	264,768
4 BICHI	84,484	87,566	172,050
5 BUNKURE	57,695	61,156	118,851
6 DALA	271,863	224,534	496,397
7 DAMBATTA	98,564	106,167	204,731
8 DAWAKIN-KUDU (2)	116,022	121,514	237,536
9 DAWAKIN-TOFA	71,958	75,850	147,808
10 GABASAWA	72,056	75,321	147,377
11 GAYA	112,044	115,388	227,432
12 GEZAWA	72,785	76,407	149,192
13 GWARZO	60,374	61,039	121,413
14 KABO	41,449	44,750	86,199
15 KANO	218,363	185,315	403,678
16 KARAYE	115,707	115,535	231,242
17 KUMBOTSO	85,174	78,105	163,279
18 KURA (3)	112,284	115,264	227,548
19 MINJIBIR	62,950	66,956	129,906
20 NASSARAWA	259,741	204,484	464,225
21 RANO	75,868	78,464	154,332
22 RIMIN-GADO (4)	58,450	62,889	121,339
23 SHANONO	40,843	42,429	83,272
24 SUMAILA	79,886	79,762	159,648
25 TAKAI	68,723	68,236	136,959
26 TSANYAWA	73,868	80,794	154,662
27 TUDUN-WADA (5)	114,163	109,457	223,620
28 UNGOGO	81,956	80,631	162,587
29 WUDIL	114,487	115,170	229,657
Totals	2,858,724	2,773,316	5,632,040

- (1) Including KIRU
- (2) Including WARAWA
- (3) Including MADOBI
- (4) Including TOFA
- (5) Including DOGUWA

State name : KOGI

L.G.A. name	Males	Females	Total
1 ANKPA	125,392	122,889	248,281
2 BASSA	42,067	43,553	85,620
3 DEKINA	99,198	102,484	201,682
4 IDAH	105,916	108,849	214,765
5 OKEHI	71,124	66,165	137,289
6 OKENE	156,557	152,750	309,307
7 OYI	32,913	33,340	66,253
8 OFU	55,059	57,638	112,697
9 ^a YAGBA EAST	36,481	39,041	75,522
10 OLAMABORO	53,434	60,797	114,231
11 KOGI	40,430	37,086	77,516
12 ADAVI	101,195	93,905	195,100
13 AJAOKUTA	45,814	34,522	80,336
14 IJUMU	29,902	31,993	61,895
15 YAGBA WEST	32,790	31,786	64,576
16 KONTOKARFE	27,602	27,602	55,204

State name ? KATSINA

L.G.A. name	Males	Females	Total
1 BAKORI (1)	125,735	126,779	252,514
2 BATSARI	69,886	74,830	144,716
3 BINDAWA	57,308	58,153	115,461
4 DAURA (2)	182,618	157,157	339,775
5 DUTSIN-MA (3)	96,777	98,633	195,410
6 FASKARI	95,331	97,327	192,658
7 FUNTUA	135,232	125,455	260,687
8 INGAWA	54,580	55,164	109,744
9 JIBIA	62,493	65,385	127,878
10 KAITA	47,522	52,015	99,537
11 KANKARA	82,618	83,086	165,704
12 KANKIA	85,314	89,008	174,322
13 KATSINA (4)	161,479	144,971	306,450
14 MALUNFASHI (5)	157,497	155,443	312,940
17 MANI	58,097	61,803	119,900
18 MASHI	91,928	96,543	188,471
19 MUSAWA (6)	79,967	80,597	160,564
20 RIMI	93,480	99,348	192,828
21 SAFANA	99,558	104,941	204,499
22 ZANGO	106,798	107,488	214,286
Totals	1,944,218	1,934,126	3,878,344

- (1) Including DANJA
(2) Including MARIADUWA
(3) Including KURFI
(4) Including BATAGARAWA
(5) Including KAFUR
(6) Including MATAZU

State name : KEBBI

L.G.A. name	Males	Females	Total
1 AREWA (1)	65,203	66,993	132,196
2 ARGUNGU	102,692	105,746	208,438
3 BAGUDO	78,490	75,997	154,487
4 BIRNI-KEBBI	76,296	75,163	151,459
5 BUNZA	58,886	62,551	121,437
6 JEGA	76,578	77,428	154,006
7 MAIYAMA	53,947	55,771	109,718
8 SAKABA (2)	98,805	103,429	202,234
9 SURU	56,423	57,605	114,028
10 YAURI	78,321	77,156	155,477
11 ZURU	86,485	85,478	171,963
12 DANDI	49,474	49,744	99,218
13 NGASKI	36,087	37,274	73,361
14 GWANDU	54,239	53,186	107,425
15 KOKO/BESSE	52,408	54,371	106,779
Totals	1,024,334	1,037,892	2,062,226

- (1) Including DANDI
(2) Including WASAGU

State name : KWARA

L.G.A. name	Males	Females	Total
1 ASA	40,312	41,461	81,773
2 EDU	72,227	67,425	139,652
3 IFELODUN	78,761	77,261	156,022
4 ILORIN (1)	287,050	285,128	572,178
5 IREPODUN (2)	115,650	115,384	231,034
6 KAIAMA	23,645	21,406	45,051
7 MORO	43,377	42,209	85,586
8 OYUN	32,392	30,209	62,601
9 BIRUTEN	59,779	55,797	115,576
10 OFFA	37,728	39,268	76,996
Totals	790,921	775,548	1,566,469

(1) Comprising ILORIN EAST and WEST

(2) Including EKITI

State name : LAGOS

L.G.A. name	Males	Females	Total
1 AGEGE	343,456	306,818	650,274
2 BADAGRY	60,586	58,118	118,704
3 EPE	48,530	51,037	99,567
4 ETI-OSA	97,264	73,684	170,948
5 IBEJI-LEKKI	12,139	12,686	24,825
6 IKEJA (1)	340,968	298,794	639,762
7 IKORODU	93,214	88,700	181,914
8 LAGOS-ISLAND	82,121	82,231	164,352
9 LAGOS-MAINLAND (2)	458,131	411,470	869,601
10 MUSHIN (3)	520,758	466,089	986,847
11 OJO	538,214	473,594	1,011,808
12 SHOMOLU	404,147	363,032	767,179
Totals	2,999,528	2,686,253	5,685,781

(1) Including ALIMOSHO

(2) Including SURULERE

(3) Including OSHODI/ISOLO

State name : NIGER

L.G.A. name	Males	Females	Total
1 AGAIE	43,128	42,152	85,280
2 CHANCHAGA	82,568	74,591	157,159
3 GBAKO	54,066	50,381	104,447
4 LAPAI	44,044	44,128	88,172
5 LAVUN	123,647	114,665	238,312
6 MAGAMA	67,737	66,653	134,390
7 MARIGA	126,220	111,790	238,010
8 RAFI	55,127	51,033	106,160
9 SHIRORO	108,542	104,297	212,839
10 SULEJA	70,635	54,624	125,259
11 WUSHISHI	102,871	92,549	195,420
12 RIJAU	63,922	60,939	124,861
13 BORGU	56,596	53,308	109,904
14 AGWARA	20,736	20,916	41,652
15 RIDA	87,908	82,817	170,725

16 PAIKORO	55,025	52,666	107,691
17 BOSSO	48,925	43,338	92,263
18 GURARA	22,746	23,192	45,938
19 MOKWA	56,277	47,608	103,885
Totals	1,290,720	1,191,647	2,482,367

State name : OGUN

L.G.A. name	Males	Females	Total
1 ABEOKUTA (1)	183,281	191,562	374,843
2 ADO-ODO/OTA	116,388	123,277	239,665
3 EGBADO NORTH	113,138	121,609	234,747
4 EGBADO SOUTH	132,850	138,850	271,700
5 IFO	109,152	104,287	213,439
6 IJEBU-EAST	30,739	31,301	62,040
7 IJEBU-NORTH	68,105	74,324	142,429
8 IJEBU-ODE (2)	118,024	126,759	244,783
9 OBAFEMI/OWODE	64,093	70,678	134,771
10 ODEDA	43,863	44,137	88,000
11 OGUN WATERSIDE	32,912	33,484	66,396
12 REMO (3)	132,362	133,395	265,757
Totals	1,144,907	1,193,663	2,338,570

(1) Comprising ABEOKUTA NORTH and ABEOKUTA SOUTH

(2) Comprising ODOGBOLU

(3) Comprising IKENNE and SHAGAMU

State name : ONDO

L.G.A. name	Males	Females	Total
1 ADO-EKITI	78,130	71,342	149,472
2 AKOKO NORTH	50,676	52,825	103,501
3 AKOKO SOUTH	93,612	91,983	185,595
4 AKURE	161,467	155,458	316,925
5 EKITI EAST	70,795	65,724	136,519
6 EKITI SOUTH-WEST	69,604	64,667	134,271
7 EKITI WEST	122,498	124,875	247,373
8 IDANRE	42,506	39,148	81,654
9 IDO/OSI	53,573	54,417	107,990
10 ODIGBO	77,319	73,649	150,968
11 IJERO	44,812	48,474	93,286
12 IKALE (1)	84,207	84,839	169,046
13 IKERE	29,054	30,203	59,257
14 IKOLE	75,703	66,954	142,657
15 ILAJE/ESE-ODO	137,464	137,873	275,337
16 IREPODUN/IFELODUN	61,469	62,619	124,088
17 ISOKAN (2)	64,258	67,381	131,639
18 MOBA	82,122	83,683	165,805
19 ONDO	123,434	123,780	247,214
20 OSE	47,267	44,381	91,648
21 OWO	78,010	76,996	155,006
22 OYE	72,206	64,199	136,405
23 ILE-OLUJI-OKEIGBO	61,761	61,636	123,397
24 IFEDORE	51,004	51,134	102,138
25 IRELE	53,548	51,729	105,277
26 AKOKO NORTH WEST	72,429	75,588	148,017
Totals	1,958,928	1,925,557	3,884,485

Renamed OKITIPUPA

Renamed ENURE/ESE/ORUN

State name : OYO

L.G.A. name	Males	Females	Total
1 AFIJIO	33,998	36,317	70,315
2 AKINYELE	69,576	70,011	139,587
3 EGBEDA	64,110	64,888	128,998
4 IBADAN NORTH WEST	72,489	74,270	146,759
5 IBARAPA	28,849	28,165	57,014
6 IDO	27,918	27,975	55,893
7 IFEDAPO	117,153	113,560	230,713
8 IFELOJU	53,204	51,962	105,166
9 IREPO	73,046	59,446	132,492
10 ISEYIN	84,225	86,364	170,589
11 KAJOLA	86,887	85,401	172,288
12 LAGELU	32,895	35,837	68,732
13 OGBOMOSHO (1)	80,356	85,678	166,034
14 OGO-OLUWA	17,782	18,473	36,255
15 OLUYOLE	45,418	45,602	91,020
16 ONA-ARA	59,789	62,598	122,387
17 ORELOPE	44,385	38,170	82,555
18 ORIRE	47,918	45,520	93,438
19 OYO	137,740	137,294	275,034
20 SURULERE	33,307	34,402	67,709
21 IBADAN NORTH EAST	133,609	139,370	272,979
22 IBADAN SOUTH EAST	112,144	115,721	227,865
23 IBADAN SOUTH WEST	137,084	136,944	274,028
24 IBADAN NORTH	151,838	149,101	300,939
Totals	1,745,720	1,743,069	3,488,789

(1) Comprising OGBOMOSHO NORTH and SOUTH

State name : YOBE

L.G.A. name	Males	Females	Total
1 BADE (1)	95,465	89,261	184,726
2 DAMATURU/DAPCHI (2)	82,996	79,068	162,064
3 FIKA	63,265	67,088	130,353
4 FUNE	68,871	66,696	135,567
5 GEIDAM	44,012	41,146	85,158
6 GUJBA	74,195	70,275	144,470
7 YUSUFARI/MACHINA (3)	54,543	52,428	106,971
8 NANGERE	128,134	122,867	251,001
9 NGURU	71,181	66,221	137,402
10 YUNUSARI	37,101	36,668	73,769
Totals	719,763	691,718	1,411,481

(1) Including JARUSKO

(2) Including BORSARI

(3) Including MACHINA

State name : OSUN

L.G.A. name	Males	Females	Total
1 AYEDADE	42,771	48,225	90,996
2 AYEDIRE	18,798	21,629	40,427
3 ATAKUNMOSA	50,178	49,085	99,263
4 BORIPE.	54,689	61,533	116,222
5 EDE	74,134	73,030	147,164
6 EGBEDORE	22,389	22,163	44,552
7 EJIGBO	34,587	36,948	71,535
8 IFELODUN	41,349	43,155	84,504
9 IFE CENTRAL	92,033	93,223	185,256
10 IFE NORTH	62,786	67,210	129,996
11 IFE SOUTH	42,107	45,923	88,030
12 ILA (1)	43,441	45,089	88,530
13 ILESHA	65,281	73,040	138,321
14 IREWOLE	62,742	70,277	133,019
15 IREPODUN	94,660	82,445	177,105
16 IWO	50,320	55,631	105,951
17 OBOKUN	29,579	31,520	61,099
18 ODO-OTIN	43,977	45,836	89,813
19 OLA-OLUWA	20,947	22,340	43,287
20 OLORUNDA	39,688	39,324	79,012
21 ORIADE	39,203	41,039	80,242
22 OSOGBO	53,765	54,927	108,692
Totals	1,079,424	1,123,592	2,203,016

(1) Including IFEDAYO

State name : TARABA

L.G.A. name	Males	Females	Total
1 BALI	160,356	152,461	312,817
2 GASHAKA	23,767	20,871	44,638
3 JALINGO	71,859	65,938	137,797
4 KARIM/LAMIDO	70,288	72,739	143,027
5 SARDAUNA	107,799	107,537	215,336
6 TAKUM	76,151	72,143	148,294
7 WUKARI	49,537	40,838	90,375
8 YORRO	26,362	28,125	54,487
9 ZING	36,247	39,496	75,743
10 DONGA	46,272	42,953	89,225
11 IBI	55,992	52,157	108,149
12 LAU	30,124	30,578	60,702
Totals	754,754	725,836	1,480,590

State name : PLATEAU

L.G.A. name	Males	Females	Total
1 AKWANGA (1)	91,299	92,200	183,499
2 AWE	68,691	64,819	133,510
3 BARIKIN-LADI	75,577	77,231	152,808
4 BASSA	57,362	55,431	112,793
5 LANTANG-SOUTH	23,464	24,550	48,014
6 JOS (2)	329,317	293,556	622,873
7 KANAM	55,434	61,585	117,019
8 KEFFI (3)	125,366	117,402	242,768
9 LAFIA (4)	172,532	168,333	340,865
10 LANGTANG NORTH	48,368	52,968	101,336
11 MANGU (5)	131,145	141,976	273,121
12 NASSARAWA (6)	109,730	114,941	224,671
13 PANKSHIN	81,369	87,349	168,718
14 QUAN-PAN	69,560	72,179	141,739
15 SHENDAM	106,701	110,469	217,170
16 WASE	49,629	54,368	103,997
17 DOMA	50,186	48,617	98,803
Totals	1,645,730	1,637,974	3,283,704

- (1) Including NASARAWO-EGON
 (2) Comprising JOS SOUTH and NORTH
 (3) Including KARU
 (4) Including OBI
 (5) Including BOKKOS
 (6) Including TOTO

State name : RIVERS

L.G.A. name	Males	Females	Total
1 AHOADA	95,123	83,056	178,179
2 ASARI-TORU	74,912	67,864	142,776
3 BONNY	33,074	29,407	62,481
4 BRASS (1)	201,059	181,972	383,031
5 DEGEMA	45,302	38,988	84,290
6 ETCHE	107,956	103,329	211,285
7 TAI/ELEME	60,875	58,374	119,249
8 IKWERE	59,586	55,296	114,882
9 KHANA (2)	125,796	128,363	254,159
10 OBIO/AKPOR	124,916	114,229	239,145
11 OKRIKA	122,315	126,041	248,356
12 PORT-HARCOURT	218,198	188,540	406,738
13 SAGBAMA	59,628	54,334	113,962
14 YENAGOA (3)	89,149	72,485	161,634
15 OGBA/EGBEMA/NDONI	89,799	85,445	175,244
16 ABUAL/ODUAL	69,732	61,127	130,859
17 SOUTHERN IJAW	136,290	110,418	246,708
18 AKUKUTORU	47,067	42,527	89,594
19 EKEREMOR	64,077	59,479	123,556
20 EMUOHA	76,165	77,066	153,231
21 ANDONO/OPOBO	106,412	96,401	202,813

22 GOKANA	72,152	69,533	141,685
Totals	2,079,583	1,904,274	3,983,857

(1) Including OGBIA

(2) Including OYIBO

(3) Comprising NORTHERN and SOUTHERN IJAW

State name : SOKOTO

L.G.A. name	Males	Females	Total
1 ANKA	135,989	136,363	272,352
2 BODINGA	55,387	58,080	113,467
3 BUNGUDU	94,919	99,190	194,109
4 DANGE SHUNI	74,664	73,532	148,196
5 GADA	73,526	79,449	152,975
6 GORONYO	48,970	55,767	104,737
7 GUMMI (1)	163,143	169,644	332,787
8 GUSAU	134,644	125,802	260,446
9 GWADABAWA	67,510	72,449	139,959
10 ILLELA	64,314	67,673	131,987
11 ISA	85,883	96,800	182,683
12 KAURA NAMODA	128,615	133,185	261,800
13 KWARE	55,599	56,807	112,406
14 MARADUN	63,727	66,809	130,536
15 RABAH	42,231	45,741	87,972
16 SABON BIRNI	63,647	75,706	139,353
17 SILAME	29,317	30,967	60,284
18 SOKOTO	141,819	127,706	269,525
19 TALATA MAFARA	66,934	72,592	139,526
20 TAMB UWAL	71,938	71,900	143,838
21 TANGAZA	61,348	64,649	125,997
22 TSAFE	81,681	82,729	164,410
23 WAMAKKO	63,630	64,024	127,654
24 WURNO	45,988	49,945	95,933
25 YABO	77,457	78,265	155,722
26 ZURMI	83,152	90,156	173,308
27 BINJI	24,345	26,569	50,914
28 BAKURA	57,734	61,781	119,515
Totals	2,158,111	2,234,280	4,392,391

(1) Including BUKKUYUM



Magashi: the military man's burden

of justice, and of Sokoto and Kebbi pilgrims' agencies. The officials received a briefing on progress so far made, and Alhaji Haruna said "we are satisfied".

If the agency officials were satisfied, victims' families evidently were not. When the families responded to the agency's call and came, they were asked to produce a receipt of having received aid from the defunct relief committee; this was sufficient evidence that one was a deceased relation. They were then made to sign some forms. Malam Hassan Bello, whose brother Musa Alfa Bello died in the crash, told *Citizen* that when his widowed sister-in-law went to the agency, she was asked to sign forms but was given no information at all. Dr. Mahmoud Suka said only clerical officers were present to

in vain; if 200 families had signed the government's forms, as agency officials said, then most of S. Kumo's 149 clients were likely to be among them. In the absence of lists from both sides, comparisons could not be made. *Citizen's* sources said one person who appeared to have signed up with both sides was Alhaji Tsoho Amale, the unenviable leader of the bereaved community; he was away in Niger Republic last week and could not be reached.

How then will the legal tussle be resolved? As far as the government was concerned, the powers given to the lawyers were void. Alhaji Haruna Abdulkarim said they had evidence that the lawyers did not adhere strictly to the illiterate persons' interpretation of laws before they obtained their powers. "Did a neutral person read to them the agreement, that the lawyer will take 40 per cent of the money, before they signed?" Hassan Bello, himself a lawyer and secretary of the state's investment company, agreed with the director-general. "Our people are not conversant with legal processes and can easily fall victims again," he said, adding, "an illiterate person signing a document must first understand fully what he is signing".

Alhaji Usman Dangogo raised yet another legal point. "The victims died intestate, so a letter of administration of estate is required before you can execute powers of attorney to a lawyer. None of the families obtained this. You cannot transfer a power you do not have". Besides, Alhaji Usman thinks the government should be solely responsible for obtaining compensation. "They went on pilgrimage under government's supervision", he said. "If something happened to them, their first agent is the government". Hassan Bello agreed. "Government should be at the forefront of the effort to get compensation. It is only if it fails, or if the money goes to the wrong persons, then lawyers can get involved."

By Mahmud Jega in Sokoto

"The victims died intestate, so a letter of administration of estate is required before you can execute powers of attorney to a lawyer. None of the families obtained this. You cannot transfer a power you do not have".

moved to oust the private lawyers. The Sokoto State Pilgrims Welfare Agency issued invitations over the airwaves for all families of victims to come forward and sign some forms granting the powers of attorney to the federal government. As of last week, nearly all the families had responded.

Government officials in Sokoto were gloating last week at the success of their move. "This is purely a government matter", Alhaji Haruna Abdulkarim, director-general of the pilgrims' agency, told *Citizen* last week "The federal government is vigorously pursuing it". Or is it? In Abuja last week, a meeting was held at the external affairs ministry on the compensation issue. Presiding over it was the director of pilgrimage matters; in attendance were officials of Hold Trade, of the federal ministry

administer the forms, so no information was forthcoming for the news-hungry families. Dr. Suka said it was this secretive ways of government that drove some families to the private lawyers.

It might well be that government had little to say anyway. The director-general of the pilgrims' agency, Haruna Abdulkarim told *Citizen* he does not as yet know whether the compensation will be paid in US dollars, Saudi riyals or Nigerian Naira, or how much will be paid; all he knows is that something will be paid and he does not know when.

The law firm S. Kumo & Co. tried to challenge the government's latest moves on the issue. In a statement issued by A.T. Modibbo, it urged "our 149 clients" not to execute any powers of attorney to solicitors nominated by the government. It appears that this effort was

Nortex Under hammer?

A former manager alleges shady deals, but the Chinese say he was too greedy

Kakuri is the industrial heartland of Kaduna, which is why, Nortex Nigeria Limited, like most textile firms, is located there.

Nortex an old firm set up 27 years ago to produce a wide range of shirting fabrics and yarn, had been doing just that until 1980 when extreme poor performance forced it to go burst leaving in its wake staggering debts and heartaches. It remained in this state until 1986/1987 when a Chinese, Mr. K.S. Wong, waded in to restart the moribund firm.

He conceived a plan which fundamentally altered the shareholding of Nortex and submitted same to the New Nigeria Development Company, NNDC. Until the reactivation plan, the conglomerate controlled 78.8% of Nortex. Other shares were held by NIDB, 11.2%, A.M. Gashash, 5.3% and a J.K. Eleinie of Britain, 4.7%.

The reactivation plan of the firm which has roughly 1,000 workers, was accepted by the NNDC which gave Mr. Wong a 51% share of the firm leaving NNDC with 34.5%, NIDB, 5.1%, A.M. Gashash, 2.4%, J.K. Eleinie 2% and the company's workers, 5%.

The plan had worked well until last year when a former general manager, Alhaji Iliya Saleh, fell apart with Mr. Wong. He alleged, in a document he sent to the NNDC, that the Chinese is running the place like a personal estate using intrigue, shady deals, unfulfilled business promises, dubious sales methods, bigotry, quota violations and downright abuse of privilege, which if left unattended could open the firm to easy take-over in the manner of

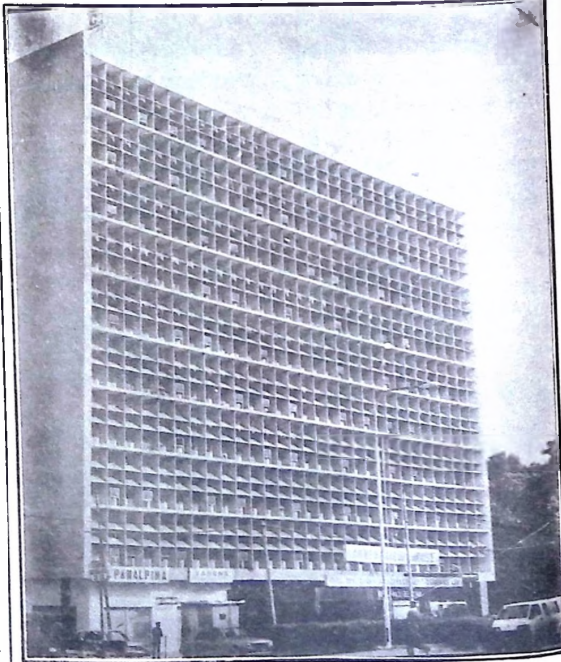
Kaduna Textiles Limited.

The reasons that informed the acceptance of Wong's plan, he alleged, are essentially what is now proving to be Nortex's undoing. Mr. Wong was selected, *Citizen* gathered, because he is an individual, a position which the NNDC envisaged would stop malpractice on his part and that he is a tested hand having worked with UNTL, a huge Kaduna

textile firm.

Other conditions were that Mr. Wong would resign from Kaduna Aluminium to take up full headship of Nortex as managing director, appoint a Nigerian as his deputy in accordance with Nigerian laws, fill all expatriate quota with at least "one if not two Nigerians" as deputies with a "view to taking over from them, that three quotations be obtained for all purchases (local and foreign) of spare parts, chemicals; that the post of spinning, weaving and dyeing/finishing manager and chief engineer be localised within two years, and that no written communication in Chinese would be accepted.

The core of the reactivation plan centred on reviving the spinning, weaving and dyeing/finishing sections and on the overall, it would



NNDC: shares reduced from 78.8% to 34.5%



Ugbabe: GMD NNDC

involve partial modernisation, complete modernisation and expansion into printing.

Phases two and three of the plan were to be financed with internally generated revenue to avoid debts which had been the company's bane in the past. The NNDC, the source said, was expected to participate in all major management decisions including purchases of spare parts and machinery for the duration of the reactivation, assist in persuading Nortex's lenders to reschedule and reduce their loans, give guidance and approve recruitment of management and senior staff positions and that a training programme be developed by Nortex itself.

All these went well. In fact, reactivation started mid-1986 and commercial production started January 1, 1987. Between April 1988 and January 1990, all went according to plan, because by then all loans had been rescheduled and interests pegged at 8%, accrued interest converted to simple 10% preference shares and production efficiency reached an average 80%.

Perhaps because of the promise of success, things started to go wrong. According to Iliya Saleh, who was seconded to the firm from the NNDC to under-study the managing director, Mr. Wong "started managing Nortex like a private estate.

Saleh, who was so irked by

Wong's business practices, wrote to the Group Managing Director of NNDC, Mr Daniel Ugbabe, who is also the chairman of Nortex, stating among other things that all the reactivation plans had been thrown overboard and "the Nigerian staff had been turned into glorified clerks and errand boys with no defined and commensurate responsibilities."

In sharp reaction to Saleh's accusations and observations, Mr. Wong fired a 14-page report to Mr. Ugbabe, in which he said that Nortex had never been run like a private concern; board meetings were held quarterly and the board had always been duly briefed about every progress made by Nortex and that Saleh himself had actively participated in all decisions.

But Saleh had alleged that the board's organisational structure - primarily managing director, general manager, production manager, chief accountant and personnel/administrative manager, with the last three on the same level, had been changed by Mr. Wong to that of board, managing director, executive director, general manager, production manager, chief accountant and personnel/administrative manager. He placed the executive director above the general manager in violation of the reactivation agreement and filled it with another Chinese, T.C. Ko after he had unsuccessfully tried to unload Ko, whose position

allegedly had no quota, as deputy managing director.

The matter, he said, was reported to the NNDC after Wong had repeatedly ignored the general manager's attempt to impose the conditions of the reactivation plan. No action was taken by the NNDC and to make matters worse, the board was misled, at a January meeting that the initial structure had provided for the position of an executive director, thus into endorsing Ko.

Saleh claimed that he checked this with the Immigration Department and confirmed the non-existence of Ko's post. He was subsequently deported, according to Saleh. This did not disturb Wong, he said because he soon appointed another Chinese, the production manager, Hon, as acting executive director to act as managing director in his absence, a situation which he eventually regularised. Indeed, Saleh claimed that while he was away at a textile machine fair abroad, Mr. Wong "lured" the board into again changing the structure of the firm by creating two additional general managers - those of finance and operations.

However, according to Mr. Wong, Ko's appointment as director was approved by the board as his nominee. This enraged Saleh so much that he alerted the Immigration Department to take a look at Ko's papers. While that was taking place, Mr. Wong alleged, Saleh "came up with a request that a highly placed officer of the department had demanded a bribe of 40,000 Naira to allow Ko to stay" unhindered in Nigeria, but that the management rejected this because Ko's stay was legal.

Saleh alleged that Wong was out of the country between July 1991 and September 1991. In his absence, he, Wuthe, the chief accountant and Pong, the dyeing and finishing manager, had also travelled abroad on various assignments and returned about the same time to find the deported T.C. Ko not only back in Nigeria, but firmly ensconced as



Jega: chairman NNDC

.... "Promotions are reserved for those who keep their ears open for juicy gossips that would interest the Chinese."

"technical director." His name was not on Nortex's expatriate quota and on inquiry, management staff were told that Ko was in Nigeria to assume duty at Kano Textile Printers, KTP, in which Nortex had 15% shares and was negotiating to take over its management. But Mr. Wong said that Ko went on his usual annual leave in July 1990, contrary to Saleh's claim that he was "unceremoniously" bundled out of the country. At present, Ko is in Nigeria and is a board member of Nortex.

Citizen investigation at the Immigration Department in Kaduna showed that it has no problems with expatriate quota violations by Nortex. A senior officer at the department told Citizen that though the issue had been raised by a senior staff of Nortex, on investigation, nothing untoward was established. He added that Nortex "is clean" and that the department had all the rec-

ords in regard to all expatriates at the firm.

In the specific case of Mr. T.C. Ko, the officer said that he was out of Nigeria for a short time and was properly readmitted, even though the officer could not explain the circumstances in which Mr. Ko left the country.

One other issue which was never in the reactivation plan was the introduction of "managing agents" which has placed Mr. Wong in a strong position not only to do what he likes, but milk Nortex dry, Sale alleged. The sum total was that Mr. Wong had 51% shares in the firm, a position which necessitates that he

manages the company, but the introduction of managing agents placed him in a position to earn two salaries as managing director and managing agent because he also owns the firm that was appointed the managing agent.

Saleh said that the NNDC, when asked to take a position on the issue of managing agents by the board because of the apparent financial and legal implication and the necessity or rationale of entering into a management agreement with another company, urged the board to approve the managing agents in September 1990 even though the management of Nortex was totally in the dark about it and despite the board's reservations about the matter.

Following NNDC pressure, the board appointed Goldfort, a trading company in Hong Kong, allegedly

solely owned by Mr. Wong, as the managing agent at a fee of 1% on turnover and 2% on profit before tax. This meant that at a turnover of 69 million Naira in December 1990, even if Nortex makes losses, the managing agent would get 690 million Naira from Nortex yearly in addition to Mr. Wong's salary as managing director, a situation that has saddled the fledgling firm with unnecessary financial burden, not to mention the violation of Nigerian laws.

Mr. Wong did not deny the financial benefits that would accrue to him from this arrangement, but strongly asserted that the agreement between Goldfort and Nortex "was entirely done by Saleh." "It was he who recommended and engaged a legal firm to draw up the agreement in line with NNDC's observations in a letter OPS/M&C/M.3 dated 31/7/1990, unless he is contending that the NNDC had not done what it was supposed to do."

Saleh also alleged that in personnel and administrative matters, there are absolutely no systems, at least not in the sense understood by scrupulous businesses. "At Nortex", he said, "people are employed and put into positions indiscriminately and if one is lucky to be introduced by Mr. Wong, he would likely get a fat salary and placement as an officer regardless of qualification and experience. Promotions are reserved for those who keep their ears open for juicy gossips that would interest the Chinese." He particularly claimed that Mr. Wong had converted his secretary into a "special assistant" and uses her effectively as an intelligence gathering operative.

Addressing this issue, Mr. Wong alleged that the general manager was not performing his duties well and was selfish. "He misused the opportunity while deputising for the managing director by running the company as his personal outfit. He awarded contracts to his friends, in-law and tampered with the company's marketing procedures."

He claimed that personnel and administrative matters were

Citizen, April 6, 1992

handled by Saleh, who once not only argued against a proposed promotion of staff on grounds that it would saddle Nortex with too many managers, but later "constituted himself into a one-man promotion committee and promoted a few staff."

It was when Mr. Wong protested against this that Saleh began a campaign that he had not been given a free hand to perform his duties. "In business," he said, "you deal with those whose services you require."

A senior driver at Nortex, confirmed Mr. Wong's position on the salary increase. He told *Citizen* that Saleh favoured only those he liked until the day he left Nortex. "So now", he said, "some workers are unjustly earning higher salary as a result of Saleh's favouritism. Those who have had no increment are still fighting their case up to now."

The driver also gave an instance where Saleh allegedly turned a blind eye to the negligence of a securityman whose action had led to a huge loss at the company's warehouse. He alleged that everyone knew then that the securityman was negligent and that they thought he would be sacked, "but Saleh suspended him for only a week."

Among Saleh's allegations are that Nortex does not have a single graduate on its staff except one who is a textile technologist and a colour chemist. Even then, he is not doing the job he trained for. "To remove him from rising too quickly," Saleh said, "he was deployed to the marketing department." Mr. Wong he, also alleged, has adamantly shut his ears to pleas that a staff training programme be pursued. He cleverly signed the reactivation agreement which provided for a training programme only just to satisfy government requirements, but thereafter ignored that aspect.

Only Chinese staff are allowed to make purchases and award contracts. Nigerian management staff, when allowed, are regarded with utmost suspicion. For instance, Saleh alleged, "contracts for most items

are awarded to one individual in particular. Even the purchases of cotton, the firm's primary raw material, is done in a manner not beneficial to Nortex."

Local cotton is bought at 23 Naira per kilogramme instead of the current price of 18 Naira. Superior, imported cotton from Cameroun and Chad are sold at 23.80 Naira per kilogramme. On October 9, last year, cotton was bought from a particular dealer at 18 Naira on the same day it was bought from a company in Kaduna at 23 Naira per kilogramme. Traditional suppliers offered 18 and



Shinkafi: Wong's partner at KMW

19 Naira per kilogramme for local cotton and 23 Naira for the imported variety, but the offer was flatly rejected. However, at the same time another favoured supplier was allowed to sell the firm local cotton for 22.50 Naira.

On the purchase of cotton, Mr. Wong alleged that because the former manager had not conducted himself well in the purchase of cotton lint, the management of Nortex had to monitor his involvement and on one occasion had to reject and return, at the company's expense, a trailer-load of lint to the supplier.

The purchase of spare parts and chemicals from abroad is even more scandalous according to Saleh. The

procedure agreed in the reactivation plan, he alleged, is that three quotations be obtained for all purchases but this has been thrown to the dogs. Now, Goldfort solely supplies Nortex with all its outside needs. With Mr. Wong owning Goldfort, he is in a position to know the prices, quality and sources of supply, therefore Nortex is forced to buy spare parts and chemicals at any price dictated by the Hong Kong-based company. Not only that, Mr. Wong also owns another company, Kaduna Machine Works. Periodically, he and his Chinese and Nigerian cohorts declare perfectly fit Nortex machines unusable and sell them at give away rates to KMW. The machines are then converted into spare parts and resold to Nortex and since Mr. Wong owns KMW, he fixes the prices which Nortex has to pay.

But Mr. Wong said that Nortex does not limit itself

to the purchase of spare parts from or through Goldfort of Hong Kong only and that most of the chemicals are bought locally with small inputs from Jintex in Japan and Hans Mehr in Germany. He also denied Saleh's claim that Nortex undervalues its machines, sells them to Kaduna Machine Works which in turn resells them to Nortex at outrageous rates.

He admitted that Nortex, like other textile firms in Kaduna patronises KMW, but argued that its prices and terms of sale are far lower and easier than, say, DIC.

The modernisation of plant agreed upon between Wong and the NNDC has also been subverted. Second hand machines are bought



A textile mill

and installed. Twenty weaving machines currently in use are second hand while the 1.7 million Naira from a bank loan secured to buy a generating plant was single-handedly utilised in the purchase of an old one at 1.2 million Naira. The plant has not worked since its purchase and Nortex has lost 25% production time due to lack of regular power supply, not to mention the payment of both the principal and interest on the loan.

One other serious allegation against the management of Nortex by Saleh was the flagrant violation of expatriate quota. The files dealing with expatriates hired by Mr. Wong, the former general manager alleged, "are closely kept by his so-called special assistant. No management staff is allowed near the matter." At present, he alleged, there are officially nine expatriates at Nortex, but in the monthly return to the Immigration Department, only six are accounted for. Indeed, two of them, L.K. Chung and D.N. Screevatsava have left the services of Nortex, but their names and quotas appear regularly in the monthly returns. Hon, at present is the general manager (operation), but his post is still registered with immigration as produc-

tion manager.

One of the cardinal thrust of the reactivation plan is the ultimate Nigerianisation of the key posts, but even this is being systematically subverted by Wong. In violation of the agreement, no Nigerian has been employed to understudy the foreigners. Most of the other staff are under-educated and only too willing to accept whatever crumbs the Chinese allow them.

On this, Mr. Wong claimed that he had done all within his limit to follow the reactivation programme. He said that there are HND holders in the firm who are understudying the expatriates, one of whom was introduced by Saleh. "However," he said, "it should be noted that the company has not recovered fully from the effect of its long closure, therefore, some aspects, such as the Nigerianisation programme, needs general implementation."

The marketing system is in shambles, sources say. The actual depositors are not given sufficient goods while about 70% of what Nortex produces goes to what Wong calls a "special fund", which in the main means allocating finished materials to buyers who have no de-

posits and whose identity is known only to him. Whenever there is market slump, the special buyers dump the materials which are then forced on the regular buyers with a threat of blackmail. Discounts are given only to the special customers.

Again, Mr. Wong insisted that the company's marketing strategy and distribution network is good. Customers, he said, are categorised in accordance with their pockets. While agreeing with Saleh that the marketing department is headed by a "processing man," he contended that it made sense because a "processing man" would be in a better position to "talk about products to customers" and that contrary to his claim that the dyeing and finishing manager has no Nigerian to understudy him, it was Saleh who introduced a Nigerian graduate to take up that task.

Saleh suggests that the idea of diversifying the company is good, but that expansion into printing be treated as part of Nortex rather than floating another company. He said the disadvantage of having a separate company meant double taxation, more chances for the managing agent to over-invoice and get more fees and the possibility of underpricing Nortex products since grey cloth which it produces would become the company's new raw material. Against this advice, Saleh said, a company was floated with Nortex having 51% shares, UTC 25%, A. Dantata 10%, U Shinkafi 4%, workers 5% and Shabel 5%.

Mr. Wong disagrees with this, arguing that current shareholders in Nortex are not in a position to sponsor such a project financially, as such, a new company was floated that would "create an outlet for the distribution of Nortex's products."

The former manager who has returned to the NNDC, has proposed a "rescue" package. These include allowing a Nigerian deputy, employment of qualified Nigerians to understudy the expatriates, the deportation of foreign staff without legal status, the termination of the management agreement with Goldfort,

allowing staff to practice their religious beliefs, set promotion and recruitment in place, jobs to be properly defined and responsibilities to match office.

Mr. Wong, on the other hand, offers that the company, though not yet strong, has been doing well, pointing out that the basic problem of the company has to do with Saleh's "untrustworthiness" and "financial recklessness, which was why "I was forced to remove sensitive responsibilities from his supervision and office."

Citizen investigation showed that the strained relationship between Saleh and Wong is at the root of all the problems. At the beginning, Saleh's colleagues at NNDC told *Citizen*, "everything went well because the former general manager had access to all his needs. The Chinese did everything for him; sponsored him to Hajj, paid for his wedding and regularly gave him a lot of leeway in the administration of the company's products. It is not that the Chinese are clean, but he should be grateful to them. It was a case of biting the finger that fed him"

The driver who was interviewed by *Citizen* said that all he could remember of Saleh's tenure at Nortex was that they were not the best of

Saleh came to the company like he had an agenda to check the excesses of the Chinese, but he went about it in the wrong way and failed to understand that he was just another employee, not a shareholder

friends with the Chinese.

A supervisor at the firm told *Citizen* that the two sides only "tolerated each other. Each was suspicious of the other. Saleh came to the company like he had an agenda to check the excesses of the Chinese, but he went about it in the wrong way and failed to understand that he was just another employee of the company, not a shareholder."

He also claimed that Saleh wanted to advance the case of the Nigerian employees, but even here, he protected the interests of those close to him which united some workers with the Chinese. The senior driver too claimed that Saleh made favouritism his hallmark, "doing things in accordance with his personal relationship with those close to him. Even if he had good intention, it was undermined by this and his belligerent posture to the Chinese."

A very reliable source at the NNDC also told *Citizen* that Saleh was too inexperienced to occupy such a position in the first place. In fact, Mr. Wong's initial request for Saleh to be seconded to Nortex was flatly turned down by the former group managing director of NNDC. The request for his secondment was renewed soon after Mr. Daniel Ugbabe was appointed the new group managing director. Perhaps being unaware of the tussle, the new GMD acceded to Mr. Wong's request.

No one as yet has squarely dealt with the allegations and counter allegations at NNDC. The only in-

dications that something was amiss was when Saleh returned from Nortex; he was decidedly given a cold shoulder.

Citizen has spent fruitless weeks trying to seek answers to some of the issues. No one at NNDC, including the group managing director of NNDC, who is the chairman of Nortex was available for comment.

While everyone maintains sealed lips, certain questions beg to be answered. Why, for instance, was Saleh's alleged financial misadventure never reported by the management of Nortex to his principal employer, the NNDC? Why didn't Saleh initially report the issues he raised in his document during the three and a half years that he was general manager of Nortex? Is it true that Mr. Wong single-handedly introduced the concept of managing agents and appointed his own company — Goldfort — to buy equipment, chemicals and spare parts for Nortex? Why did NNDC, instead of properly examining the issue of a managing agent, only wrote to suggest a slight modification on the fee of the agent? If indeed Mr. Wong is cleverly milking Nortex, why hasn't the NNDC detected this? Why did Mr. Wong avoid answering the specific issues raised by Saleh?

While these questions remain to be answered, one thing is clear. Personal aggrandizement appears to be at the centre of it all.

By Mohammad Bomol
with additional reports by
Rablu Barde



Dantata: 10 per cent shares

Housing

An impossible task?

As the National Housing Fund swings into action, will Nigerians be adequately housed by the year 2000?

The strains of a global economic recession and the pains of a national economy struggling to survive a structural adjustment all contributed to the housing problem facing the urban and rural dwellers in the country. According to the national housing policy, the urban areas require about five million while the rural areas would need about 32 million new housing units. The policy stated that, "rural housing problem is mainly that of qualitative improvement in terms of sanitation and infrastructure for the existing housing stock in these areas."

To achieve the above objective, the federal government put in place a national housing fund scheme to be supervised by the Federal Mortgage Bank of Nigeria. According to the decree No. 3 of 1992, "Nigerians earning an income of 3,000 Naira and above per annum in both the public and the private sectors of the economy shall contribute 2.5 per cent of the basic monthly salary to the fund."

Citizen spoke with workers in the public and private sectors, though many were enthusiastic about being house owners, they were at the same time apprehensive that it may turn into another National Provident Fund (NPF). Said Mr. Olu Adegbesan of the Nigerian Railway Corporation, "My fear is that at the end of the day, the government may end up deducting our salaries only for us not to get anything in return". But backed up by a decree which also spelt sanctions for flouting the scheme, the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) has been won over by the government.

Salisu Muhammed, assistant general secretary and head of infor-

mation and public relation department of the NLC, said "We welcome the policy and hoped that it will be pursued vigorously".

The NLC spokesman, also amplified the fear of the low income workers. He said, "We have seen contributors to these funds end up not being beneficiaries like the low-cost houses and low income houses built by states and federal government."

Explaining the roles and the efforts being put in place by the Federal Mortgage Bank, which is now acting the role of the apex mortgage finance house, Chief Remi Onabule, the managing director and chief executive told *Citizen* that, his bank is ready to meet the challenges posed by the housing for all programme.

According to Chief Onabule, "what the FMBN wants is a very large number of primary mortgage institutions on the ground." He added that 30 of such institutions are now in place though many of them are located within Lagos, a situation which the chief executive wants changed so that the effect of the fund can be felt within the grass-roots.

With the lure of the profits accruing from modern day banking especially in urban areas like Lagos, observers noted that some of the primary mortgage institutions may veer from mortgage banking into other aspects of commercial banking. Chief Onabule, however, said that "there are checks and balances like Decree 53 of 1989 has checks and balances and what the FMBN will do to control these institutions."

Another area of concern for analysts of the national housing fund, is that of the private sector which may be apathetic towards the fund by



Kontagora: housing minister

not deducting the salaries of their employees. Chief Onabule, however, said that every contributor to the fund will have a number which qualifies him or her for the loans. He added that a list of the private sector has already been compiled and this the FMBN will use to monitor the contributions. The important factor, he said is that the workers urged to benefit from the scheme will push workers to force their employers to check off the 2.5 per cent to the national housing fund.

The chief executive did not agree with critics of the 20 per cent deposit of the projected cost of the building. Said Chief Onabule, "the primary mortgage institutions are justified to ask for the 20 per cent deposit. You must at least show interest in what you want to buy."

Apart from the privilege of obtaining mortgage loans at low interest rates which Chief Onabule said will always remain within units, there are provisions for a refund to contributors within three months of attaining the age of 60 years or retirement employment and incapability of continuing the contributions. *Citizen's* investigations revealed that the primary mortgage institutions are struggling to put their feet down. With these mortgage institutions springing up and ready to draw the funds, coupled with the eagerness of Nigerians to own houses, the national housing fund may not go the way of the over four-billion-Naira-rich National Provident Fund.

By Aluko Akinyele
Citizen, April 6, 1999

BUSINESS & ECONOMY

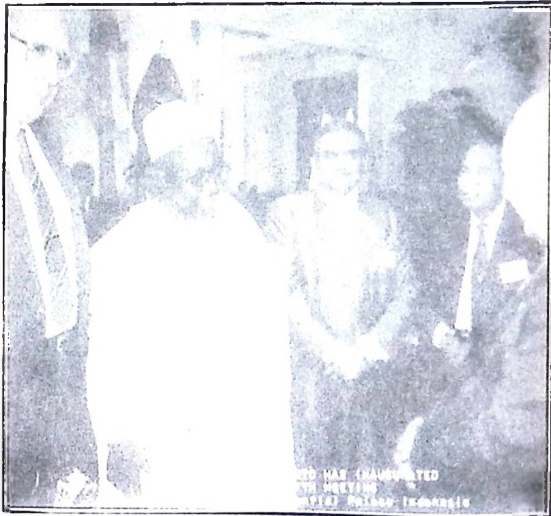
Group 77

Extending hand of friendship

Representatives from Group 77 nations have called for strong will from its members not only to strengthen the bargaining power of the developing countries but to enhance South-South economic co-operation. The group made the call at their five-day meeting which took place in Jakarta, Indonesia recently.

Listing the gains of the meeting last week, a participant, Alhaji Ahmadu Rufai Mohammed, vice president of the group and national president of NACCIMA, observed that it would continue to provide the forum where common problems of countries of the South would be critically x-rayed with a view to finding lasting solutions to them.

He said that the coming together of the Group has gone a long way to pave the way for a meaningful co-operation and development. In his contribution, President Soharfo, urged developing nations to adapt their economic regulations to the lat-



Mohammed chatting with other delegates

est developments of the world econ-

omy so that they could participate more actively in the international trade system. He, however, appealed to developed countries to meet their commitments to an open, fair, just and undiscriminatory international trading system, so that opportunities are open to all nations in the world.

The meeting was attended by more than 200 representatives from Group 77 member nations.

Listing the gains of the meeting last week, a participant, Alhaji Ahmadu Rufai Mohammed, vice president of the group and national president of NACCIMA, observed that it would continue to provide the forum where common problems of countries of the South would be critically x-rayed with a view to finding lasting solutions to them.

APCON

More in the fold

Advertising Practitioners Council of Nigeria (APCON) has approved the registration of 248

persons as pioneer advertising practitioners in the country.

A breakdown of the number shows that six

were registered as fellows, 132 as full members, 95 as associate members and 15 as student members.

A total of 370 applica-

tions were screened by APCON membership committee and another set of 429 applications are still being considered.

APCON was established under Decree 55 of 1988 to regularize and control the practice of advertising in Nigeria.

NNPC Looking up

The Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation has evolved a long term plan stretching over the next 20 years.

This was disclosed by the Group managing director of NNPC, Dr. Thomas John in Lagos at a seminar organised by the British Energy Industries Council trade mission to Nigeria.

According to him, the corporate plan has two

basic aims. These are intensification of exploration activities to discover more oil; and the development of Nigeria's gas. To achieve these he said appropriate incentives would be given to exploration companies prospecting for oil. He said other major objectives of the plan, which range between 1992 and 1995, include providing an enabling environment through competitive incentive packages and



Aminu, petroleum minister

stimulating domestic natural gas utilization through effective marketing.

NSE records

23.12 billion Naira

The total market value of the listed securities of the Nigerian Stock Exchange stood at 23.12 billion Naira at the end of 1991.

The figure was 3.11 billion Naira above the 20.01 billion Naira market

capitalisation recorded at the end of the third quarter of the year.

The Securities and Exchange Commission's quarterly, released in Lagos last week said "equities" contributed 18.45 billion Naira or 79.80 per cent to the increase.

"Gilt edged" (government backed securities) it stated contributed 3.28 billion Naira while "Industrial loan and preference share" sector recorded 1.40 billion Naira. The quarterly, how-

ever, stated that trading on the exchange declined from 47.30 million Naira recorded in the third quarter of the year to 38 million Naira during the last quarter, representing a decrease of 19.7 per cent.

GM Nigeria to increase local content

A leading auto company, GM (Nigeria) Limited, has concluded plans to increase local content of automotive parts for most of its vehicles.

A statement issued in Lagos by the company said that procurement of spare parts such as radia-

plans to rehabilitate its facilities in order to produce more vehicles to boost the implementation of the mass transit programme.

GM (Nigeria) formerly Federated Motor Industries Limited, won an award at the 14th Kaduna International Trade Fair for its impressive perform-

The company also has plans to rehabilitate its facilities in order to produce more vehicles to boost the implementation of the mass transit programme.

tors, exhaust pipes, rims and paints will now be made locally.

The company also has

ance in the automobile industry.

By Tola Sunday



Abiola, president, NSE

AFRICA

Libya Stepping on big toes

The West is certain of UN sanctions against Libya but Tripoli won't be bothered

Colonel Muamar Gaddafi, it seems, is proving far less the will-o'-the-wisp he once was. The West, specifically United States, Britain and France, is going for him fast. They regard him as fair game. Unfortunately, support is not coming for him from where it matters most.

The Arab League last week tried and failed to get the Libyan leader to accept a face-saver out of his uneven stand-off with the West. A seven-man committee of the league went to Tripoli to try to obtain an assurance that the two Libyans wanted for trial in Britain or US in connection with the bombing of an American plane over Lockerbie in Scotland would be handed over.

Colonel Gaddafi refused to turn the men over. A meeting between his foreign minister Ibrahim El-Beshari and Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak in Cairo on Sunday March 29, was fruitless. Amr Moussa, the Egyptian foreign minister who attended the meeting told newsmen later that he did not see any "progress toward a breakthrough."

What is standing between Tripoli and sanctions is the Muslims' holy month of Ramadan. The UN Security Council was to have voted on March 30, on a draft resolution brought by US, Britain and France, urging trade and diplomatic sanctions against Libya if it fails to deliver up the two men by April 15. An appeal by President Mubarak that a vote against a muslim member on an important day in the Ramadan would be unwise.

The Security Council, according to UN sources, accepted to delay the vote for 24 hours to show the Citizen, April 6, 1992



Gaddafi: trouble from every angle

West's sensibility to Arab feeling. For one thing, Morocco, an Arab country, voted for a security council resolution in January which asked Libya to surrender the two Lockerbie bombing accused for trial and four other Libyans suspected of blowing up a French airliner over Niger in 1989 for questioning. The resolution also demanded that "Tripoli take necessary steps to sever all links with international terrorism."

According to the UN sources, what the small concession by the Western powers means is that though the security council would almost certainly vote on March 31 for sanctions, the April 15 deadline might be dropped until after the month of Ramadan. There are people who, however, think that, more than respect for Arab feelings, the postponement of the Security Council vote for a whole day, was meant to give the Arab League another opportunity to find a compromise.

But Tripoli is not making possible one. Foreign Minister El-Beshari after his meeting in Cairo with President Mubarak said categorically that



Mubarak: in the name of Ramadan

his country would not "surrender in its crisis with the West."

It is being speculated that in the face of Tripoli's continuous defiance, chapter 7 of the UN charter may be invoked. It authorises use of force — "at sea, on the ground and in the air" — to maintain peace or resolve crises. Operation Desert Storm, which last year drove out the Iraqis from Kuwait was raised under the terms of that chapter.

However, it will be difficult to muster the consensus that was possible during the Gulf crisis on a military action against Libya. One UN source observed, "it will take a major diplomatic offensive by the West to secure the Security Council support for such a move."

Meanwhile, a fresh row has broken out between Britain and Libya over the treatment of foreigners in that country. Foreign ministry officials in London have accused Tripoli of denying Britons and other Westerners who want to leave exit visas. Britain and Libya do not have diplomatic relations but there are some 5,000 Britons in Libya, most of them employed in the oil industry.

The British government has advised them to leave in view of an impending embargo on air links with Tripoli. However, the Libyan authorities have denied the British charge, saying that as many foreigners are entering Libya as one leaving.

By Tawey Zakka with agency reports.

WORLD

Middle East

Smokeless peace-pipe

The Middle East peace talks reopen in Washington this month, but the prospects are not good

The United States government has proposed that the peace talks involving Israel and the four Arab parties reopen in Washington on April 27. A State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutweiler said already invitations have gone out to the parties.

Besides asking them to go to Washington for the fifth round of the talks since they opened in Madrid, Spain last year, the invitations said that the parties should nominate locations close to the Middle East and acceptable to each side for the sixth round.

As expected, there have been hiccups. First, the last meeting in Washington earlier in March was unable to fix a date or place for the resumption of the peace talks. Second, response to the American invitation to the fifth round has been rather lukewarm. Spokeswoman Tutweiler said that only Israel has produced a list of Middle East sites where it wants further talks held.

The official said that if the Arab delegations, comprising of the Egyptians, Syrians, Lebanese and a joint Jordanian/Palestinian side, did not provide theirs it would be quite sometime before the April round gets under way in Washington. It is expected to be the last before the Israeli elections in June.

Supposing that this initial hiccup is "cured" there have been developments (two major ones, in fact) far afield which cast a big shadow over the talks. First is the decision of Israeli foreign minister David Levy to resign from the Likud government of prime minister Yitzhak Shamir, and second, the threat of

UN sanctions against Libya.

Mr. Levy, whose moderate stance on the Middle East negotiations has not endeared him to his tough-talking boss, has been under pressure to leave both the government and the Likud block, in protest over what he said was his "marginalisation" at the talks and alienation of the Americans by the Israeli government. In the event, he chose to remain in the party, saying "it is



Ghali: UN Secretary General

my home".

His decision to resign prompted an emergency meeting of the Likud block on Monday. In his first official reaction, Prime Minister Shamir said there was "no justification" for Mr. Levy's decision to leave the government, calling it "a joke". He said he did not intend to look for another foreign minister, adding that if Likud won the June general election Mr. Levy could still be in the post and also be deputy prime minister.

The rift between Mr. Levy and the prime minister reveals a more

fundamental fissure in the Likud block. It marks a growing resentment, sources say, which Sephardic Jews, those born in Africa and Asia feel against the European or Ashkenazi establishment. Mr. Levy was born in Morocco. They also say that he "commands a large block of society voters", which Likud needs if it must retain power which it won 15 years ago.

The second development which is likely to adversely affect the upcoming Washington talks is the threat of a UN sanctions against Libya for refusing to deliver up two men accused of bombing an American airliner over Lockerbie in Scotland in 1988 for trial in Britain or United States, and four other Libyans suspected of blowing up a French plane over Niger Republic a year later for questioning by a French judge.

The Security Council was expected to vote on March 31 on the draft of a resolution brought by the US, Britain and France which called for trade and diplomatic sanctions against Libya if it fails to meet an April 15 deadline to do as the West wants. But the Palestinians have linked their continued participation in the Middle East peace talks to the result of the Security Council vote.

A Palestine Liberation Organisation official said that Palestinians in the occupied territories were putting increasing pressure on him and his colleagues to produce results. Sanctions against Libya, he said, would make the pressure "substantially greater" and the situation would be very difficult.

According to him, people would demand why such pressures were not put on Israel and they would take them as "further evidence of the double standard of the West". He said that whether or not they would go to Washington would be decided when the four Arab parties meet in Beirut this week.

By Tawey Zalka
with agency reports

Citizen, April 6, 1992



BILKISU YUSUF

Republican Convention, NRC. The governor also appointed a female secretary to the government. Another female deputy governor holds forth in Cross River State while Hajjiya Fati Muazu was appointed the secretary to government in Bauchi State under an NRC government. A handful of women also won

ordered a by-election. Hajjiya Zainab has demonstrated that determined women have the wherewithal to contest elections and insist on it being a free and fair process. If all female politicians possess a bit of Zainab's determination chances of political break through seem imminent.

However, the odds against female politicians in other states are as varied as they are complex. In Benue State, Mrs. Joy Ifere of the NRC was the minority leader in the Benue House of Assembly before the legislators passed a vote of no confidence in her leadership. They voted 11 to 14 to strip her of the post. In what could be interpreted as a conciliatory move to appease female politicians the NRC in the state dissolved its executive council and elected a female chairman, Mrs. Susan Adagba.

As the high stakes wheeling and dealing continues, five female politicians were among the 22 board members appointed to the Kano State Pilgrims Board. Almost immediately the assembly urged the governor to re-organise the board over what it alleged as presence of "free women" among the members. The legislators' demand apart from its sexist tone raises moral and legal issues. First, is the definition of a "free woman" and by extension we ought to define a "free man" since one cannot exist without the other. Without male patronage "free women" will not be free.

While the legislators' concern about the moral decline in our society is justified, justice will only be seen to have been done when free women and men are treated equally. The legislators should ease the governor's task for him by not only identifying the free women and men but providing evidence to back their allegations. If they fall short of this one would be right to describe these Kano legislators as pontificators with clay feet.

Women's woes (II)

Penultimate Monday, I dwell at length on the talking and agonising going on among women. Despite the political mobilisation embarked upon by the National Commission for Women and the impressive number of women who turned up to vote only a few were appointed into political posts by the new civilian governors.

Two women activists, Professor Bolanle Awe and Mrs. Emily Aig-Imokhue are disturbed by this and are threatening a female boycott of subsequent elections in protest against this. Others like Franca Afegbua and Elizabeth Adiuoku have dismissed the threat as an over-reaction and vowed to continue with the mobilisation of women for effective participation in politics. I pitched my tent with the latter group arguing that the threat to boycott elections contains much that is indefensible. If women desire political power they should plan for it, contest elections and bask in the glory of what they earned rather than rely solely on tokenism and political patronage.

Since women have been given the political challenge to prove their mettle we must assess their receptiveness and the response of the men to the idea of female ascendancy in the power game.

In Lagos State, Mrs. Sinatu Ojikutu emerged the deputy governor having contested with Chief Michael Otedola under the National

elections into state houses of assembly. In Kaduna State, two women won elections into the state house of assembly while Mrs. Florence Aya of the Social Democratic Party, SDP, is the minority leader. Kaduna State is an exception rather than rule in the northern states where the state legislature is usually an all male affair. A most surprising development and a sign of women's increasing political awareness was the case of a Zaria based politician Hajjiya Zainab Suleiman of the SDP who contested election into the house of assembly and lost to Alhaji Aminu Abdulfatah. The latter was unani-

If women desire political power, they should plan for it, contest elections and bask in the glory of what they earned rather than rely on tokenism and patronage

mously elected as the Speaker of the Kaduna State House of Assembly when it convened. Hajjiya Zainab was convinced that she lost the elections due to falsification of the results by officials of the National Electoral Commission, NEC. She therefore filed a petition at the State Governorship and Legislative Houses of Assembly Election Tribunal which nullified the election of Alhaji Aminu. The tribunal also



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PRIVATE EYE

Requiem for condoms

In the light of the new information that Nigeria is populated by 88.5 million persons and not 100 or 120 million, certain assumptions, misconceptions, deceit, demagoguery, shamelessness and many other neccess will have to give way.

For example, the Planned Parenthood of Nigeria will have to close shop. The National Electoral Commission, NEC, will have to explain how it came about 65 to 77 million voters on its register. The ministry of health, and oh human services, will have to start a new campaign to get Nigerians to reach the IMF and World Bank figures of 100-120 million Nigerians, and more importantly to cause population explosion!

The plan to send surplus Nigerians to under populated countries of the world will have to be shelved for now. If you remember, there was this government policy that says each family will have to peg the number of its children at four.

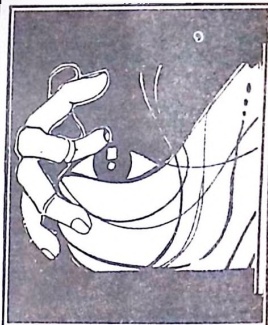
The IMF and the World Bank and Uncle Sam, the master, will have to cook up a new birth rate as a condition for granting loans. What worries me though, is what are we to do with the vast quantities of condoms that have flooded Nigeria, in shops, in hospitals, clinics and on television where a we are inundated with images of a grinning man sur-

rounded by contented members of his family, consisting of two healthy kids, a dog, a cat and a well-fed madam?

You would think that with all this, Uncle Sam has been beaten at his own game. No. Faceless health and human services officials are now telling us that despite 88.5 million figure, the population explosion threat is still there, but that this will take place not at, in and during the estimated next 22 years but 33 years hence!

Statistically, the health and human services guys argue, a Nigerian woman still bears 6.34% kids per annum, food is scarce and that the birth rate, which has been discredited, will pick up rapidly unless the birth rate is pegged at 2.0%, in which case population growth will be dead in 40-50 years time.

I know why the health and human services people are striving to be relevant. If you remember, the meddlesome United Nations Fund for Population Activities (a pseudonym for intended incarceration, if not subtle castration), gave Nigeria an ample 68 million US dollars and the 78 million US dollars given by the World Bank's international development assistance programme. Nobody wants to return these lollies even if it meant promoting condoms in such unlikely places as Ethiopia



and Somalia and Chad where no government lasts for more than two weeks for the level of violence.

The health and human services people should understand that the IMF and the World Bank and Uncle Sam have just been proved wrong, not just here but almost everywhere through arrogant generalisations and a perverse sense of good. The World Bank has, for instance, just admitted that it hopelessly helped Brazil decapitate its luscious forests and indigenous populations. Come to that, hasn't just been proved wrong on population explosion in Nigeria?

Wise up. This attempt to further condomise every facet of our lives should please be resisted. I know it's difficult, but just return the money or keep it in a secret Swiss account until our population has a chance to explode.

No thugs, please

If all went according to plan, and Abdulkarim Abdul, by now has carried out his intention to "declare for the presidency under SDP 1992 at 4 pm (Nigerian time I imagine since the world press should have been in attendance) on 4/4/1992." The momentous occasion was slated for L.E.A Badarawa Kaduna.

Nothing unusual until I read the last paragraph on the invitation card. It read: "Warning. Do not come along with any weapon. You

have been warned." I'm sure the warning was not directed at me because I usually carry a notepad and a biro to such occasions.

There is this story about the wolf and a group of farmers. You all know it of course. The nasty creature had seriously been undermining their livestock population. One day, they decided to set a trap.

A large hole was dug up and covered with weeds. When the wolf was sighted, the farmers called out to him. As he approached, the farm-

ers kindly advised him to take the path tending towards them, because it was safe; without any trap.

The wolf dropped the calf he had just snatched and gave a nasty laugh. He then asked, if there isn't any trap there why tell me?

It must be the signs of the times, otherwise why hint at the smoke of violence if there won't be the fire?

The idea is noble though. The police should henceforth insist that future invitations should such health warnings.

Solemn verses

They speak volumes, the rhymes and verses of poets who are depressed about the plight of the deprived. They are laden with wisdom, those songs of the wise which caution society. In the jungle of despair they protect the scourge of 419.

Machiavellian jungle

When the living consider
Themselves "dead"
And the "dead" dwell
With an inflated ego
And honour is sacrificed
On the altar of greed
And the guilty are honoured
With sainthood
And men brag of their evil
And the female their part in it
And the truth is shackled
With traditions and superstition
And the captain stowaway
His loot to distant vaults
In the ship of state
And the crew members commits
Piracy on high seas of
Bureaucratic ambiguities, lies and fraud
rats eating away public cake
Hoarding the booty
In island ambitious greed
And the voice of dissent
Is muffled by coercion
And minds' defrauded intelligence
In materialist's mazes' and snares
And the peace maker
Suffers libel and slander
When enmities are created and
supported sustained with stirring
ladle of mischief
In the pot of guile
Target to roaring flame
Of political ambition
When disquiet is roused
From its bed
and descended to choke
Innocent lives
As the quarry is hunted down
And the guns scream spitting lead
To snuff out lives

The hunted is blamed
The hunter is praised

Protest

Typhoons have less fury
Than storms of thoughts
Crossing my mind
The society devouring
Liver of its young
My ignorant society of rags
Passivity and squalor
Poverty and plenty
A million stars flash
before my eyes
Receiving the slap of betrayal
Let me love Islam in you
Let me love you in Islam
Let me work Islam with you
Be pious muslims with my hand
clasp tightly in yours
My dormant, docile, sterile society
Passengers in boat of inertia
Receivers of cruel masters whip
Intellectual enterprise — clogging
customs
flogging driving adherence to atroc-
ity
of silence and collaboration
With super-ossified customs
Leading on backward rolling pur-
suits
a thousand sledge hammer squad
Seems at work in my head
Elders and judges
Who with red hot stigma
branded man hopeless
Lazy symbolic, servile aristocrats
Arrogant thieving bureaucrats
Your crimes hurt me,
Like megaton Nagasaki's experience
Your excesses reek to highest galax-
ies
Your moral mess a tremendous
quake

Kabiru A. Muhammed

Despair

Why did I hurt your foot?
Accept my apology



Edited by Bilikisu Yusuf

O I have lost myself
My mind is saturated
My thoughts
Boldly at war with felicity.

Aaah! where is the fund
To strengthen the crude imagina-
tion
Of our strayed youth...
Where is the crest of my fingertips?
Hearken! Is that the echo
Of rumbling stomachs?

Hunger —
It can't be helped either
Fanfare, a farrago of farce,
Enwrapped in glowless parcels of
woe.

Shehu El-Hafiz

419

Scourge of scourges
Fathered by love of money
And mothered by greed
A cancer that eats away trust
Threatening every form
of business life
Traditional rulers and government
agents
Worship at your feet
Scrambling for space at your alter
With lazy bones
Who hate to sow
But love to reap
Even the laws of the land
Are powerless against you
For you are a law unto yourself:
Section 419 of the penal code
(The most laughable law ever made?)
You have chosen a dishonourable
duty
To the honourable one given you
For instead of hounding tricksters
into jail
You have become a nickname
To those obtaining under false pre-
tence
What does not belong to them.

Isaac Umunna

MUSIC

Ben 'T'

Stepping out

After more than ten years in the cocoon, Ben Tomolaju, assistant editor of *The Guardian*, cuts an album that sets the music community abuzz

Confidently, he swept up the podium, wrenched the microphone from the stand, threw his head backward. And... The guitars twanged, the piano waited, the drums resounded. Then the voice came; sonorous, resonant as ever, sending the entirely

of my songs, so also are Yoruba Theatre groups and university theatres. Even churches." Ironically these groups do not even know the source of the songs let alone acknowledge him. "God is the source of all the songs I compose" he rationalises. It is a price he has to pay for his



Tomolaju: doing what he has perfected

filled Oyo hall of Ikeja Airport Hotel, reeling with applause... Sunday, 8th March was a day of glory for Ben Tomolaju, a man who had devoted the better part of two decades to arts criticism and practice. "Some journalists finish their work and go to night clubs," he says. "When others have a day off, they travel. I don't enjoy such luxuries. I devote the totality of all those free time to art."

Such devotion shows in the sheer number of compositions he has till date; over five hundred! "The Palmwine Drinkards are using some

romance with the tube—which started from his youth service day in 1979 at NTV Makurdi when he formed a musical duo with Tom Adah spewing folk, rock 'n roll as well as reggae music in a weekly programme that enchanted the Benue state audience.

In 1980, he formed *Kakaaki* "for practical research into folk music, dance and rituals, credibility of the African personality and aesthetics with a bias for popular presentation." It was with a set of secondary school students that he was teaching then, that formed the nucleus. They performed round schools with him act-

ing as instructor. By 1981, the lure of the tube became too much to bear. They were back on NTA 7 presenting "Kakaaki music, dance and ritual" on a weekly basis up till 1984. In between they were on NTA 10 and on Network when one of the pieces won an award for Ogun state. "We were doing five songs every week," he says. "Brand new songs." As the stations kept repeating the songs, they caught on and copyright violations set in."

But why did it take him so long to cut an album? "I could have rushed out an album and not be morally or financially equipped to promote it or to assert my artistry," he replies. "The early 80s were jinxed. There were a lot of one album artistes: Chris Okotie, Jide Obi, Chudi Nwafor, Bunmi Olajubu all highly talented. I did not want to risk my talent. I wanted to produce a tangible material that the whole country would appreciate."

And "Song for Nigeria" may just be it. With a refrain in Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo urging all to work for peace in the country, it strikes at the moral fabric of the Nigerian society. "I am a nationalist" he says. "I have to signal that in my music."

For Ben Tomolaju who was suspended in his lower six at Christ School, Ado-Ekiti for organising a concert and who partook in local revelries as a youth and began interaction with musicians at the tender age of seven, the world of performances has finally opened up with the launching of his album. "I would be doing a lot of stage performances in Lagos and environs, through the entire country and even beyond. Every Saturday, I'll be jamming at one night club or the other." He also plans to be pushing out an album on a yearly basis.

But his job at *The Guardian*. How is he going to cope? "I'll find a way as I've always done," he says. Case of where there's a will there's always a way?

Oji Onoko

SPORTS

Mandela Cup Learn from Warriors

The failure of El-Kanemi to go beyond the first round of Mandela Cup should be a lesson for other clubs

The failure of El-Kanemi Warriors of Borno last Saturday to beat Elect Sports Football Club of Congo and qualify for the second round of the cup winners cup should serve as a lesson and a warning signal for other clubs who are still in the race for sub-regional and continental championships. El-Kanemi, just like Stationery Stores of Lagos did last year, ended their Mandela's Cup dream last Saturday at the National Stadium Lagos when they could not cancel a 0-2 defeat suffered at the



Shaibu: yet to study his warás

hands of Elect Sports a fortnight earlier in the Congolese town of Pointe Noire.

The Lagos show down was a tragic revelation of many things the Nigeria clubside and probably the Nigeria Football Association too took for granted. Going by the way El-Kanemi fluffed series of scoring chances in their returned match in Lagos, it could swiftly be summa-

rised that they lost to inadequate preparation. In other words, the coaching crew seemed not to have honed the boys properly on the essence of utilizing set-pieces for half-chances to get what you want when it matters most. Some followers of the enthralling game of football are apt to blame ill-luck for El-Kanemi's failure to get the vital three goals they needed for victory from the 27th minute spot-kick, 18 corner kicks and series of scoring chances that came their way, especially during the second half of the game. But what has luck got to do with the way attackers like Barnabas Inienger, Kabiru Baleria, Solisu Yusuf and Lawrence Enyi fluffed golden chances even when they had only the empty net to beat?

One of the biggest mistakes of El-Kanemi was to have underrated the Congolese club in the first leg. True, Elect was not among the popular Congolese clubs that have become familiar to Nigerian clubs. Like El-Kanemi, they are into international soccer campaign for the first time. But unlike El-Kanemi they did prepare very well before they embarked on their continental competition. Available records show that the Congolese club engaged in many international friendly matches against other neighbouring African countries. The club, according to club coach Tambire Zedia also trained immediately the Mandela draw was made.

There is no evidence that El-Kanemi's pre-season preparation went beyond the border of this country. Although the club's management might have put their hope on

the experience of Coach Ahmadu Shuaibu, they seemed to have forgotten that a coach, no matter how good needs time to study the boys and make a team out of them. Coach Shuaibu got to El-Kanemi on the eve of the 1992 football season and it was obvious from the way El-Kanemi boys played in Lagos that the coach had not been able to build a winning team from the boys recruited into the club.

Another factor that one cannot fail to mention is the insistence by NFA that a team should play in Lagos when such a team would have been more composed playing at home or where their morale can be adequately boosted by the charming voices of its supporters. If other countries can drag our team even to a village pitch as was the case in Pointe Noire, why must NFA insist that our teams should adhere to the Confederation of Africa Football rules that are blatantly ignored by other African countries. NFA should have waived the impossible condition it gave and allow El-Kanemi to play in Bauchi, where it indicated its wish to host the visitors.

The big lesson for Julius Bergers, 3SC and Kano Pillars who are still representing the country in international football championships this year, is to avoid conceding many goals when they are playing away. The notion that such goals deficit can be cancelled during the return match at home has turned out in many cases to be impossible tasks. These clubs should also learn more on the tricks of scoring. This is where our coaches should prove their worth. It amounts to exercise in futility when a team plays very well but fails to score vital goals to clinch victory. Goals are what matter in football and any team that dreams of capturing local or international football honours should first learn the trick of playing to score goals.

By Joe Olajuwon

Citizen, April 6, 1992

NIPOGA '92

Time to play

Students of Nigerian Polytechnics head for Nekede for this year's Poly games

Students of Nigerian Polytechnics will from April 10 to 19 lay aside their books and converge at the Polytechnic, Nekede, in search of sports honours. And to get the honours, they will have to humble hundreds of other athletes, at this year's version of one of the largest institutional games in the country.

The games, the eight in the series, are being organised by the Nigeria Polytechnic Games Association, NIPOGA. They are estimated to cost close to 3.5 million Naira, a lion share of which is expected to come from sponsoring firms. A total of eleven events, with football — the king of games — leading the way, are slated to witness vigorous action at the games. Athletics, the only event for which all registered polytechnics are automatic qualifiers, will be staged at the Central Stadium in Owerri, the Imo State capital, which shares a common boundary with Nekede.

Qualifiers for the other 10 sports events in the NIPOGA '92 programme were picked from the zonals held from the middle of last month to early this month. The preliminary eliminations, with Auchi, Bida, Ibadan, Ilaro, Kaduna and Oko as venues, saw 27 polytechnics spread across the country pitching qualification battles. Nekede, as the host institution, was spared the agony of going through the zonals.

To shake off competition rustiness and be in the perfect mood to mine medals at the games, the host school has come up with a systematic programme to com-

pensate for its exclusion from the national qualifiers. A prominent feature of the programme is the declaration of Wednesdays and Saturdays as lecture-free days from last December till the games are over. Other preparatory measures being taken by the institution include the organising of inter-departmental matches in all sports, as well as external and inter-collegiate meets. The idea according to Mr. Amos Agwamba, head coach of Nekede Poly and secretary of NIPOGA '92 organising committee, is to give



Akinyele: Chairman, National Sports Commission

prestigious institutional games after the university games, is aimed at producing new talents for use by the country in international sporting competitions. Its other objectives include promoting unity among the various ethnic groups in the country and providing a forum for the youths to enjoy healthy rivalry while forg-

NIPOGA, Nigeria's most prestigious institutional games after the university games, is aimed at producing new talents for use by the country in international sports competitions.

students of the school interested in participating in the games, enough opportunity to prove their worth. He disclosed that the host institution was doing its best to stage memorable games, adding: "I am confident that the fiesta will be a huge success."

NIPOGA, Nigeria's most

ing close social ties with their counterparts in other parts of the country.

Mr. Herbert Onyewuchi, rector of the host institution and NIPOGA board chairman, believes that this year's games are unique, as they coincide with an Olympic games year.

By Isaac Umunna in Nekede



Contract

Now of course since almost everything is falling to pieces, why not consider this drastic remedy? It may punch your ego, which, of course, is as big as a punching bag. You may not like it, which will be a very bad and nasty thing, considering the fact that you always get your way. But it will cheer you up a bit, which is not a small thing nowadays — there's very little to laugh or smile about, or is there?

I am talking of the latest suggestions I received from Subbha of robotology fame. Remember him?

He said the only panacea for our ills is to give out the management of the country on contract to the British. They can at least manage the civil service and stamp out corruption and inefficiency. For the army, we call the Americans — and you can tell that to the Marines.

On the economy, since the IMF is already here and has made a worse situation worst, we should call the Japanese — and bow before them. Ah so!

And since our agricultural effort has long been fixated on wheat, we might as well call on prairie dwellers from Canada.

And, perhaps with the Germans and Japanese around, our technological take-off can finally be a reality. And with the Bergers around constructing stadia and other monstrous structures will no longer be a problem.

We ought to invite the Commonwealth to manage our educational system. Perhaps the breakdown will stop and the quality pick up.

And our newspapers and

magazines should be put on probation under the watchful eyes of *The Economist* of London (to improve style), the *Wall Street Journal* (to improve readability), the *New York Times* (to take care of the business angle) and perhaps *Pravda* (to teach us objectivity).

We can then give ourselves a long holiday to adjust our structures and watch with interest. As things begin to settle we can persuade Mikhail Gorbachev to take over and manage the result. Helping to solve the executive unemployment, problem.

By the year 2050 we might have imbibed enough discipline to avoid a relapse, and since most of those alive today will have been dead, our children can then take over.

Subbha, I think your suggestion is ingenious, or is it *out-genius*, (able to bring the genius out of people) but I have my doubts. There is nothing — law, rule, training, precept, and example — which the Nigerian cannot beat.

Nigerian — Someone who laments government corruption but secretly regrets his inability to get his hand in the till. He rails at deficit budget but eats on credit. He talks of the Nigerian Factor but thinks he is not a part of it.

Census — The census has at least proved one of three things — that we are a nation of liars, or we have not been having children, or we are a nation composed of incompetents.

PMAN — The Performing Musicians Association of Nigeria. Really? What do they perform? Magic? Yeah, the only magic I saw them perform was collecting 15 million Naira without working for it.

Women — Now that NPC has "proved" that there are more men than women, the next thing to attack is polygamy, which they will now say is selfish.

Election — It is the act of choosing someone already chosen. The name of the new game is not rigging,

it is *rogueing* (rogging).

Presidency — One item coveted by 60 suitors. But if it had the *press dancing*, a mere mortal will be no more than a *dunce*.

Profit — Business on behalf of the public can be engaged in for three main reasons — the profit motive, the loss motive and the indifference motive. In Nigeria, parastatals are not indifferent, and they do not make a profit.

Privatisation — When communism came, it deprived the individual of right to ownership. And an individual deprived it of the right to life 70 years later.

Budget — Something you draw up to justify money you wish to receive. It is not what you intend to do in the first place — or indeed in the last.

Problem — The best way to treat a problem is to run away from it. If it follows you, ignore it. And if it overpowers you, die. And let's see what it does.

University — They constructed a wall around the department of physics — it cost 1.5 million Naira. Chemistry students couldn't graduate due to lack of reagents costing 1,500 Naira. This is definition in serious.

Bureau de change — Yes and it has changed everything so much so that CBN now copies it!

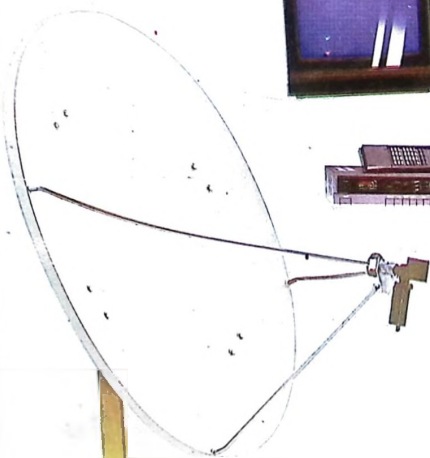
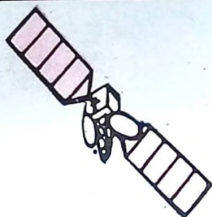
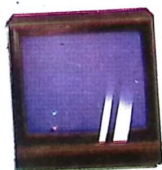
Contract — *Con-track*. The track followed by conmen. It consists of supplies of thing without use, provision of services not needed and construction of structures without purpose. And it is very lucrative.

CBN — Central Bank of Nigeria — the bank that is *central* to all our problems.

Capital Flight — Some people used to be against capital flight — until capital *flew* away with them. And that's what I call *capital flu*.

Lawyer — The world is full of willing people. Some people are willing to work, the rest willing to let them.

- Frost



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