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COVER: Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu has been a controversial man since his childhood. The Biafran war lord and indeed his people, the Igbo, seem to still suffer for ever attempting to cede from Nigeria. Twenty-six years after the civil war crime was committed the much orchestrated — 3Rs — reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction still remain a farce, a cajole as Ojukwu and indeed his men are yet to be fully reconciliated, rehabilitated and reconstructed politically and economically and even socially. This apparently explains why Ojukwu is repeatedly denied leadership of Nigeria.

Ojukwu bares his mind why he is being systematically and nakedly schemed out of anything Nigeria. *TSM*, in its characteristic manner provides you the zesty food of the interview with Ojukwu.



In his hey days as Nigeria's Head of State, Gowon was synonymous with one Nigeria, a symbol of Unity. Go-On-With-One-Nigeria. But since his fall in 1975 Nigerians have since obliterated all that in their minds as they later discovered that they have been singing a wrong song.

Gowon misread Nigerians' political awareness and staged a come-back into Nigeria's political scene, having failed to give the then nascent Nigeria a purposeful leadership.

The result of this unpardonable 'sin' is his outright rejection by his own people in his local government. *TSM* noted for its insatiable appetite for first-hand information and inquisitiveness gives you details of Gowon's 1993 second Waterloo.

Kano State Governor is accused of financial impropriety by his former aide. 17



Abba Dabo removed

The romance with Molue buses by Lagosians has a couple of weeks ago become a death kiss, yet they cannot do away with these 'wheeled coffins' without hardships. 19



People boarding Molues

Crisis, occasioned by Inter-foreign Exchange Market (IFEM) looms again in the money market making Nigeria's currency a weakling among foreign currencies. 28



Ahmed CBN's Governor

The "whirlwind of change" which blew into African continent in form of democracy in 1990 was not powerful enough to completely blow off from Africa's political scene the sit-tight rulers. *TSM* gives you the details of tragedy of transition. 36



Mobutu Sese Seko...

ONCE UPON A BUS...



VERY SOON...



Politics & Policy



... speak about those of a
... of this country,
... to do it."

By Oluwole Osofisan

"I

... very strongly that those who, because of
of our national resources are the pri-
mary owners of such resources, and
they should negotiate their place
within their conglomerate nation along
what they have as leverage.

Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, the
the Ikemba of Nnewi, the Biafran war-
lord will be 60 years old soon, which
qualifies him to be classified as a senior
citizen of Nigeria. He in a news maker
any day and his bearded hair has
adorned the cover pages of Nigerian
magazines more than any single cele-
brity. When the news of his disqualifi-
cation for presidency race of the Third
Republic was broken recently, the
media went to town with varied specu-
lations on the reasons for his disquali-
fication.

The Ikemba himself, granted a bor-
row of interviews, also speculating the
possible reasons. But *PM's* interview
with Ojukwu is different. We had all the
week. We had gone to Nnewi to seek
an interview appointment with him on
February 20, 1983. While we were flying

Ojukwu sp

the interview, he said near the
the end of the 1982 election had
some convincing arguments with the Op-
position, disqualification came from NEC.
Blessed with a long and low to
leave for the last time since the dis-
qualification, he said reasons for it
were straightforward, he said he agreed
to speak in 30 days but he agreed
The "reasons" from the interview is
what we are serving you this week. It
is very long, it is the text.

What I believe given to NEC for your
disqualification was did you believe?
"I believe the disqualification but dis-
qualification has been disqualification to NEC,
because the disqualification something
was saying about my candidature. The
disqualification was that I came to soon. I
thought they would have wanted to do
their usual thing of waiting it out for
some number of days but they went
with disqualification. Got disqualification
disqualification was not that disquali-
fied. Because disqualification was disquali-
fied, still respect it was disquali-
fied in 1982 in Nigeria it was not dis-
qualification disqualification just to accept
Nigeria as my country, but to
conquer it was the spirit of Nigeria,
the progress of Nigeria, I
wanted perhaps more than the people
the disqualification in Nigeria my own
right. But disqualification still very much be-
lieve that I have very much that I can
give to Nigeria. But it was way my am-
bition, it is to transform Nigeria from a
reactionary society of imperialism to a
dynamic, progressive, modern African
State.

But what was the reason given for your
disqualification?
"I am God you asked the this question.
disqualification was today yesterday evening
20th of February 1983 that the letter came
finally after the 1982 election congress.
They asked me, reasons. I That I had
not paid the tax and when due and
I That I was disqualification from the Nige-
rian army with all due respect. I con-
sider both reasons "thank you." That I
did not pay my tax. I stand on this and
I want anybody to come and controvert
this I have in my hands receipts for
1980 1981 1982. I am not sure if I have
1983 but I think I do. I am an author
and that is my only means of livelihood.
The military with their duplicity re-
fused me my parliamentary. We discussed
this in *Awujale* in the presence of pres-

ident Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu before I came
back that all Ojukwu property will be
released and assets confiscated part of
the return package. Since my return in
1982, nothing has been done, even my
house that I am living in Lagos, and to
fight for it, go to court for it. Finally I got
and in 1982 every Nigerian has
been intimidated by the Kinnor and the
books that they wear. Nobody has been
free enough to admit openly that to as-
sociate with me. I am the national hero
because of the military. I am Nigeria's job.

Because of my status, I am a job
through the disqualification in power, getting
brief cases, seeking restrictions for
asking. Everybody knows and understands
like you have been asking the how do
you live. And I say the above take good
care of their own. They take good care
of me. The only work that I do is
writing. And thank God when I did write



QUIKWI: Displaying *PM's* letter of disquali-

ts fire

It became the best seller. In the first year, in fact in the first nine months of sale the tax taken from my royalty and paid to the government of Anambra State then, totalled something in the region of N40,000. I don't know how many of those now considered qualified have paid as much tax, as I have and the sales have continued of course, in diminishing returns. But the facts are the receipts are in my hands. I am going to publish them. In fact, before you leave I will give them to you so that you publish them for everybody to see the receipt from the tax authority in Enugu to the effect that I have been paying my tax regularly. The sec-

ond reason that I was dismissed from the army. Was Gowon not dismissed from the army? Gowon was not only dismissed by word of mouth, there was



ation to him

a gazette notice to that effect. There were proceedings even for extradition based on the fact that he was dismissed. He was cleared. It was the same day that there was announcement made in Nigeria that we were both granted free pardon. Thank God that I still have the instrument of free pardon, and it states clearly that it cleared me from anything, any allegations against the Nigeria law and specifically any allegation contrary to the army act, navy act, airforce act. Anywhere in the world, a free pardon, is a free pardon, unless the Babangida regime is going to find a new definition. On the basis of this, it is very clear, that what is happening is discriminatory. If you as journalists would demand to see the tax returns of all the candidates that have been cleared you will see that certainly I have been paying more than most of them. Why all this? Let's take the war. I have said somewhere that very reluctantly I am being led to accept that there is invisible ceiling to which certain powers that be in Nigeria have dictated that *Ndi Igbo* should not rise beyond. I believe that my crime is seeking to bridge that invisible ceiling to which certain powers that be in Nigeria have dictated that *Ndi Igbo* should not rise beyond. I believe that my crime is seeking to bridge that invisible ceiling. I believe that we are tolerated in Nigeria, only tolerated not accepted. Two years ago we punctured another invisible ceiling when we suddenly discovered that no *Igbo* man can be made a General. It was this kind of thing, talking and press conferences and lot of protests that have given us a little lee way. *Ndi Igbo* yes, are now promoted to general rank but only to be retired with immediate effect.

So we talk about this political ceiling. Of course, when Dr. Azikiwe wanted to become President of Nigeria, the atmosphere then indicated that he was about to become. Again, a lot of these people don't have creativity, imagination. They slapped on him this tax payment hoax as well. But in those days, of course, he still had recourse to law. We still believed in the rule of law, but the military since then have eaten up any vestige of legality that we have nurtured in Nigeria. We have been now ruled by the whims and caprices of some uniformed personnel of Nigeria armed forces. There is no longer the rule of law, democracy and democratic processes are rhetorics and nothing more. Now you ask me the reasons and why? I want to go forth by saying to you that one of real reasons is that, (and I can say it because I am a Nigerian citizen, a full fledged Nigerian citizen) the military, the armed forces of Nigeria is afraid of Emeka Odumegwu Ojukwu. Once I decided to run, they saw me as winning, and by winning I would have

bridged that ceiling and they had to act, even though they acted too soon. It is a panic action. One final thing is, I agree that there is a leadership in this country. How it got there, well, we all know. Once he is already here, I agree he can dictate, but don't expect me to assist that authority to oppress me. I will not do it. This is the reason, I keep complaining. Come out openly and say I have decided that Ojukwu shall not run. There's nothing I can do about it until we change the government. I will say okay, or until elections bring in a different type of government. But don't come and tell me I haven't paid tax; don't say to me I have been dismissed. They are not tenable reasons.

Was Gowon not dismissed from the army? Gowon was not only dismissed by word of mouth, there was a gazette notice to that effect. There were proceedings even for extradition based on the fact that he was dismissed. He was cleared. It was the same day that there was announcement made in Nigeria that we were both granted free pardon. Thank God that I still have the the instrument of free pardon, and it states clearly that it cleared me from anything, any allegations against the Nigeria law and specifically, any allegation contrary to the army act, navy act, airforce, act.



NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Abuja, Federal Capital Territory, FCT, Abuja, Nigeria
 Postal Address: P.M.B. 1000, Abuja, Nigeria

What would be your next line of action?
 I continue protesting in every way I
 can within the law. I am going to seek
 the whole lot, legal, anything that is
 legal.

What is your assessment of the transition
 programme and future of democracy in this
 country?

You don't get a democracy by calling
 it anything. You do not build a democ-
 racy by killing the democratic process.
 You see I began to doubt our govern-
 ment attachment to democratic princi-
 ples, when they started to design the
 new Nigerian type democracy. Let us
 not play with words. We know what
 democracy is. We know what demo-
 cratic practice is. It's taken hundreds of
 years to build up. We know what is
 democratic, and know what is not. It's
 like trying suddenly to get the whole
 lot of scientists in Nigeria together and
 say, yes, we want a wheel and
 everybody say we know this is a wheel.
 And we say, ah! we need a Nigerian
 wheel. No, we can't start inventing a
 wheel, it's been invented. What you can
 do is to know how you can use it. The
 same thing, you cannot invent a new
 Nigerian democracy. Don't tell me that
 by banning people from taking part in
 politics, it is the new Nigerian democ-
 racy. No. It's Nigerian autocracy. It's
 Nigerian oppression. It is certainly not
 democratic.

So you see, the transitional programme
 is fraught with so many contradic-
 tions, as this one I have cited. You and
 I, have watched, thank God, the entirety
 of Eastern Europe change. And that is
 what is meant by transition. In most
 countries, the longest period was six
 months. The Nigerian transition has
 spanned for about five years, which I
 believe is another way of postponing,
 the possibility of handing over. I don't
 see anything that prevents Nigeria from
 having a transition that takes three
 months. The transition programme it-
 self is full of tricks. In fact it's like a
 magician trying to do things. We have a
 population that can vote, decide their
 future. Why do you think then only in
 Nigeria that you need to guide the
 people into democracy. And who are
 you in any case to guide the Nigerian?
 What gives you the unique qualifica-
 tion to guide Nigeria? In fact, if you look
 at things on the surface, by mere fact
 of wearing a uniform you are least qual-
 ified to guide Nigeria into democracy.
 In Nigeria, what we require more than
 anything is for Nigerians to sit round the
 table, discuss, looking at each other
 face to face to discuss the type of so-
 ciety they would wish to live in. When
 they have evolved certain notions on
 the type of society they would like to
 live in, these notions become
 the parameters of their togetherness
 in a state. These parameters could
 then be taken on by experts and trans-

Ref No: 1000/1992
 21st February, 1992

PROTESTANT CHURCH
 PRESIDENT NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION
 NATIONAL ELECTORAL COMMISSION
 ANAMBRA STATE
 ABUJA

RE: APPLICATION FOR AN AVANCE TO
 PARTICIPATE IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS OF FEBRUARY, 1992

The Commission has considered your application for clearance
 to participate in the Presidential, Primaries, together with your
 nomination papers and all the relevant documents submitted on
 your behalf by your party and has reluctantly disqualified you
 from participating in the said process for the following reasons:

- 1. 1990, 1991 & 1992 tax were not made as and when due.
- 2. All the payments were made on the same day
- 3. On 15.1.92.
- 4. Disqualified from the Nigerian Act of 1992.

[Signature]
 Director General

Disqualification letter from NEC

lated into constitutional principles.
 And these principles are then thrown
 open for discussions. After such dis-
 cussion, they are then thrown out on
 a plebiscite for acceptance or rejection.
 It's only then that you get the type of
 constitution that will bring into being
 the type of society we all agree to live in.

You advocated for a national conference
 recently at Ibadan, can you define the
 agenda for such a conference?

I think actually everything I have said
 by its very nature is part of agenda. It
 is the agenda that I am elaborating. I
 think that a national conference cer-
 tainly will do the basic work of defini-
 tion.

- We need to know what our state is.
- We need to know who our citizens are.
- We need to know what the lowest denomination of Nigerianism is. That is, that unit that cannot be further reduced, no matter where it finds itself in Nigeria.
- I think it is very important that we define ownership, particularly of national resources. I believe very strongly that those who live on top of our national resources are the primary owners of such resources and that they should negotiate their place within their conglomerate nation using what they have as leverage.

I believe if you have very good man-
 power, you should use that as leverage.
 I believe if you are great at cocoa produc-
 ing or rubber producing, use that as
 your leverage. But always know that
 the primary ownership is yours. Yes, if
 you are living on top of oil, it belongs
 to you. You might negotiate a position
 in Nigeria, using oil as your leverage.
 But never forget that the primary owner
 is the person living on top of it. We have
 to decide what type of Nigeria it is going
 to be. Is it a melting pot Nigeria. It could
 be. In which case we just strive to de-
 fuse all ethnicism. It's easy. Every-
 body is a Nigerian, and where you are,
 you have equal rights there. In that
 situation you will be able to choose
 your own culture because it will be
 such a nebulous thing, not so impor-
 tant. It does not affect your governance,
 everybody is a Nigerian as a Nigerian.
 You might say no, these things are so
 important that you must go along any-
 where in Nigeria with your ethnic label.
 Then you have to define all the other
 things pertaining ethnic self. Our prob-
 lem is actually that nobody sat down
 to plan Nigeria. A lot of people that went
 to the constitutional conferences in
 England heard of federation for the first
 time at the constitutional conference.
 When they had an impasse, someone

said in a situation like this the answer obviously is to create a federation and they said yes, yes, we will create a federation. There was nobody mandated from Nigeria to go to London and negotiate a federation. And ever since, we have continued in Nigeria, wearing the strait jacket of federation which was in fact imposed upon us at the conference in London. Each time we have met to discuss our future, somebody has decided to halt the conference because perhaps they did not like what

Come out openly and say I have decided that Ojukwu shall not run. There's nothing I can do about it until we change the government. I will say okay, or until elections bring in a different type of government. But don't come and tell me I haven't paid tax; don't say to me I haven't paid tax; don't say to me I have been dismissed. They are not tenable reasons.

was the free will of the Nigeria people. The *ad hoc* constitutional conference was such. And it is significant that every change in the structure of Nigeria, apart from the creation of Mid-West has been as a result of military fiat. No Nigerian has really been properly asked what he feels about the change of structure. We are today in Anambra. Yes. It is because Babangida has decided that there should be an Anambra State and that its borders should be what we find. He never went into discussion with anybody. I mean a formal discussion, with the people of Anambra State about this. So when we talk about national conference, I look to the conference which first will set the pattern acceptable to all of us.

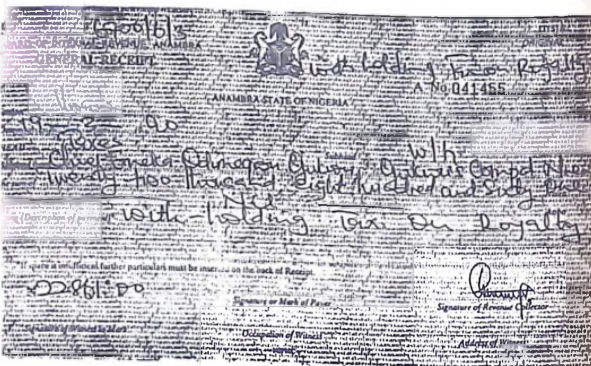
When somebody says that this should be an Islamic State, we should grant him right to think that way. That is how he sees it. The only thing is that being a Roman Catholic, I don't

agree with him. Simple. You want it to be an Islamic State, I don't. If you insist, then I will insist on a Roman Catholic State. But if I am not going to have my Roman Catholic State, you must not have your Islamic State.

Therefore let us agree that religion should be out of it. We will now have a secular state. This is what the national conference should be doing. Because actually those who propagate them are quite legitimate. The only thing is that when you are living together, you throw in some of your freedom so that you get the protection of the large overall group. This is what we haven't done. When somebody says my ambition is to dip the koran into the waters of the

fighting. I went to Aburi in a desperate effort to find accommodation in Nigeria.

I am very proud that at that time my colleagues, all comrades in arms agreed with me that was the only way to keep together. Unfortunately, on return, they found it necessary to change the agreement of Aburi. As I sit here, I can assure you that if we had followed Aburi, one: there would have been no war. Two, by 1993 as we are sitting here, Nigeria would be stronger, and our unity would have been stronger because of it. The problem of Nigeria is that some people think that they only control reason; that they are the ones to consider what is reasonable or not. And, when these the other masses say no, you don't even understand.



One of the Anambra State Tax Receipts Issued to Ojukwu 1990

Atlantic, you clap. For his own people that may be very legitimate. The unfortunate thing is that to do that you have to pass through my area. And I ain't gonna let you. Simple.

Could you reconcile this call for national conference and the Aburi Conference where you were said to have called for confederation?

First of all, I never used those terms. I didn't use the terms confederation at Aburi. The point is whenever you are in a situation of crisis, it is always better to be loose enough, so as to be able to accommodate the whole. If you go too close, the friction, particularly in a time of crisis, will exacerbate whatever is on the ground and you will find yourself

I spent and designed a firm basket with which to hold, contain Nigeria at that time.

Do you think the ghost of Biafra is haunting you, that is why you were disqualified?

I don't know if the real reason for this question is to cast the Ghost of Biafra as a headline or not. I believe I am being removed because there is a ceiling, an invisible one which some people have placed on the resurgence of Ndi Igbo like they stopped Zik, Mbakwe, the same way they are stopping me. And that is the way I see it. That no real *Onye Igbo* should in the life time of some people or forever, I don't know, should rule or be the president of Nigeria. Simple. And they will do anything to prevent, whenever they find that it is possible

Continued on Page 16

The second fall of Gowon

Zango-Kataf re-echoes as one of the reasons for the disgraceful ouster of Yakubu Gowon in his local government

By Comfort Obi

JUST when he was becoming a real elder statesman commanding national acceptance and respect, he fell. That was the second fall.

The first time he fell was in 1976 when his constituency, the military, swept him out of power via a Coup D'Etat. At the time, Yakubu Gowon, a retired army General, Nigeria's Head of State for nine years, went to an OAU meeting in Entebbe, Uganda. He was at the meeting when a phone call informed him that his townsman, Joe Garba, a colonel then, had announced a coup which removed him from office.

Gowon had to quickly leave Entebbe for London where he made himself very useful by taking a first, second and doctorate degrees in political science.

The first fall wasn't disgraceful. We are used to our number one citizens being removed via military coups. In any case, Gowon recovered quickly and soon became an elder statesman.

The second time Gowon fell was this other Saturday, February 20, 1993. And it was an unfortunate, if not embarrassing, fall. This time around, it wasn't a military coup which threw him out of power. It was his adopted brothers and sisters in his adopted Zaria Local Government Area, Kaduna State, telling him in no unmistakable terms that, "No, we don't want you to be our leader any more."

Gowon failed in Zaria, in his bid to get his local governments' endorsement to go ahead and vie for the headship of Nigeria — the second time. His people preferred an unrated politician Dalhau Talida who was former President Shehu Shagari's personal physician to him. He beat Gowon with a whopping 165 to 29 votes.

Gowon's bid for Nigeria's top job began on a shaky note. When the press

reported that Gowon had picked up the presidential nomination forms under the banner of NRC, not many people believed it. They were quick to say that Gowon wouldn't. But journalists based in Abuja were insistent that they saw Gowon at the NRC secretariat picking up the forms.

While the journalists were insistent, a few people put it the other way. "Gowon was out of the country at the time. It was a group of friends who picked the forms for him". This group of friends must have had a lot of confidence in Gowon to have picked up the forms for him in his absence.

The public decided to take a wait-and-see attitude. If Gowon picked up the forms, then, the presidential race would be more interesting, especially, as Emeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, the man who led the other side of Nigeria against Gowon's side in a 30-month civil war, was also reported at the time to have picked the form under the SDP.

However, the feeling was that if someone body picked up the form in Gowon's absence, Gowon would call the person, say thanks but, "I don't want the form. I've had enough of being Nigeria's



Gowon...Bakataf... We don't want Kataf

number one citizen. I like the national role I'm playing now. I don't want to identify myself with any political party." Those who thought Gowon would do this were disappointed. He filled the forms and returned them. A breather for a possible withdrawal from the race by Gowon came when the press reported that he had returned an "incomplete" form and that NEC had marked it incomplete. Many interpreted this to mean that Gowon deliberately returned an incomplete form so NEC would disqualify him. They felt it showed signs of unseriousness.

But the alleged "incomplete" nature of the form didn't stop NEC from clearing Gowon to go ahead with his presidential aspirations, sparking off speculations that it is either NEC deliberately cleared Gowon in spite of the incomplete nature of his form and its late submission, to lead him on to defeat, or that NEC was too anxious to please Gowon's sponsors.

Gowon was to say exactly his position in an interview with the BBC a few days to the Ward Congress where he got the nod from his Wusasa Ward to go ahead to the LGA stage. He told the BBC that he was a reluctant aspirant, emphasising that he was in New York when the form was brought for him. Not many believed him. They argued that Gowon was now a 56-year-old man who has a doctorate degree in the bag and had become exposed internationally, and not a 32-year-old young military officer who, with only a school certificate, became a Head of State and presided over bloody civil war. He now has the will to say no they argued. What they mean is that if one could forgive Gowon for being a reluctant Head of State between 1969 and 1974, one wouldn't forgive him for trying to "dabble" into the same position in 1993 pleading reluctance again.

Those who believed him point out that it was not out of character for Gowon to say he is reluctant, emphasising that he was a reluctant Head of State who had a lot of responsibilities thrust on him when he was ill-prepared. He was propped onto that position by some strong men around him.

When John Aguiyi-Ironsi, then Head of State was killed in Ibadan in a military coup, the highest ranking Nigerian army officer then was Brigadier Ogundipe. By right, he was supposed to replace Ironsi as Head of State but that never happened. Actually, nobody has been able to explain what happened, whether Ogundipe ran away from Nigeria on his own or whether he was pressurized to do so to make way for Gowon's "installation." But he ran away to London, where he later became Nigeria's High Commissioner, Gowon was then made Head

of State by some powerful powers, notably, Usman Katsina. He voiced his reluctance, but it was weak, and in any case, he seemed to have had no choice.

The story is that Gowon was chosen to be a compromise Head of State. He was a Christian, and wasn't from the core North. He was from Middle-Belt. Two factors which they thought could assuage the East which had lost a son in Ironsi. But to also be acceptable to the North, Gowon was "knocked" in to shape. First, he dropped his English name *Jack*, and *Yakubu* became his official name. In the Koran there is a prophet called Yakubu. Second, he was handed a manifesto. In fact, it was alleged that the first manifesto handed down to him by some radical Northerners was in form of his first broadcast to Nigerians as a Head of State. The speech allegedly contained a portion which said that the North was seceding from the rest of Nigeria. That portion was cancelled when Britain allegedly intervened, counselling that Nigeria would be better off as one country.

But our investigations revealed that contrary to Gowon's "reluctant song" this time around, he began to prepare

Some people are of the opinion that Gowon may have been given the treatment allegedly given to Ojukwu in 1983 in his Senatorial zone by the then ruling NPN. Ojukwu had come back from exile, courtesy of Shehu Shagari and quickly pitched his political tent in the NPN.

for the presidency early in 1992, consulting with traditional rulers and Northern elders. The launching of the Yakubu Gowon Centre, we gathered, was part of the efforts to sell him to Nigerians. We also gathered that he not only tried to talk Tafida into stepping down for him but that on the congress day, his supporters allegedly tried bribing delegates with N10,000.00 each.

Three factors gave Gowon the courage to go ahead with his presidential aspirations. First, was the massive support given to him by his ward as soon as he picked the forms. At the time, over 250 people had, in an eight page

advertisement carried in the *New Nigerian* newspapers, asked Gowon to go ahead and take a shot at the presidential seat. Gowon must have taken the signatories as representative of the wish of a cross section of Nigerians.

The second was the alleged meeting of an NRC caucus and Northern elders over Gowon's aspirations. According to the reports, as was carried in newspapers and some news magazines, the NRC caucus, as well as Northern elders had considered the aspirations of both Gowon and Bashir Tofa. And the outcome?

While the caucus was split into two in their support for Gowon and Tofa, the Northern elders were reported to have backed Gowon. In fact, at least two magazines, one using photographs on the cover, had given the impression that the final "fight" would be between Gowon in the NRC, and Moshood Abiola, in the SDP. Gowon felt secured in the alleged backing of the powerful Northern elders.

The third was the much trumpeted support given to Gowon by *Aso Rock*. According to this allegation, Gowon was among the, at least, four IBB close friends "whom he gave unflinching support to go ahead."

Opinion, however, is that those who encouraged Gowon to go ahead and bid for the presidency a second time were the ones who put him in this embarrassing situation. They were unfair to him. They didn't take pains to find out if Gowon was psychologically ready to become Nigeria's head of state a second time. They took little pains to notice that perhaps, the little fire in the young Gowon which made him to be a fairly successful Commander-in-chief has been doused by Gowon's status as a civilian all these years. The fire no longer sparks, the voice no longer carry the command of a soldier. The gusto seems gone. The voice has become soft, refined, courtesy of grooming from *Wanwick* University, London.

We have had the privilege of listening to Gowon talk at occasions since he was rehabilitated by the Federal Government, and at such occasions, Gowon sounded more like a tired man than a President in-making.

After listening to his speech in 1992 when he was given an honorary doctorate degree by the Rivers State University of Technology, a lecturer had remarked casually, "This isn't the voice of a soldier, a former head of state. The voice sounds tired, too ordinary, no spark." And even though it may not be appropriate to judge him on this occasion, one recalls that in 1982 when he came back from self-exile in London and went to thank Shehu Shagari—Gowon's voice shook visibly. He was

very emotional while he was introducing his daughter to Shagari. One felt that his voice should be carried more force than it did. So how would Gowon have performed on the soap box?

But perhaps the most important thing his sponsors didn't consider was how Gowon would've felt trying to become a president after he was accused of complicity in the coup that resulted in the death of Murtala Mohammed in 1976. He was consequently stripped of his rank by the Oluasegun Obasanjo regime. It was Shagari who cleared him of complicity in the coup and restored his rank. The alleged complicity has been given as the reason why he is usually on the opposite side of any issue with Obasanjo.

But Gowon himself mis-read the handwriting on the wall. He took his war years popularity for real popularity. Several newspaper commentators and some politicians, even those of his party, criticized him for shedding his national image to identify himself with a political party. Some described him as a man greedy for power. His Middle Belt people denied him almost immediately.

At least one of the criticisms was made in the presence of Gowon. At a book launch, Abiola took a swipe at Gowon where two of them were special guests.

While making his speech, Abiola had said satirically about Gowon: "He ruled Nigeria for nine years and so enjoyed it that he wants to come back a second time." Gowon didn't behave as if he heard, but the point was made all the same.

In their own reaction to his presidential aspirations, his Middle Belt clan told a soft sell magazine, "He is more an Hausa man." According to one of their spokesmen, Harry Hagher, a professor and a senator of the Second Republic, "he neglected us while he was in power. We are not surprised he identifies himself more with the Hausa people than with us. Let them vote him in."

His "Hausa People" didn't quite do so, either. They surprised him by humiliating him at the LGA congress, throwing him back to his own people. "Ba katar", they chanted. He is a Katarf man, that is a non-Hausa. The denial of Gowon by both the Hausa Fulani and his Middle Belt people presented Gowon as one without a political base. The fact is that Gowon has not really been acceptable to either the Hausa Fulani or the Middle Belt. The recent denial doesn't come entirely as a surprise.

In 1990, when there was a religious riot in Kaduna, Gowon's family house where his aged mother was living, was burnt by the rampaging Hausa Fulani



Ta, da... What role did "local man" play?

muslems.

And in Plateau State, Gowon has no house. To give him a sense of belonging when he came back from exile, Plateau State people decided to build a "benefiting mansion" for him. The project is stunk. Till now, it is uncompleted and people appear to have lost interest in the house. Gowon has been asked to complete the house, if he is interested, at a remaining sum of N400 million. He hasn't shown any interest so far.

Perhaps, Gowon's relationship with his people from both sides (Kaduna and Middle Belt) explains why his return from exile was no big event. It was not celebrated. It almost looked like he sneaked in, unobserved.

Could these have led to Gowon's defeat at the LGA congress?

At worst, the expectation was that Gowon was going to be beaten at the National level. That he would be among the three finalists of his party at the National Convention scheduled for Port Harcourt between March 27 and March 29.

Ever since his presidential aspiration was scuttled, an incident which has been described in political circles as the greatest upset of Option A4 so far, speculations have been rife as to why Gowon was rejected at the preliminary stage. Let's start with the mundane.

Some people are of the opinion that Gowon may have been given the treatment allegedly given to Ojukwu in 1983 in his Senatorial zone by the then ruling NPN. Ojukwu had come back from exile, courtesy of Shehu Shagari and quickly pitched his political tent in the NPN. He felt his popularity was at the peak, particularly after the unprecedented reception he was given when

he came back. So he picked the senatorial election form and was set for a landslide victory in his Oshana Senatorial Zone. The NPN which allegedly didn't want him in the senate conspired with the NPP and gave him the rigging treatment. Edwin Omuudwe who was un-rated was rigged in to become the Senator, at Ojukwu's expense.

Ojukwu never seemed to have forgotten that treatment which is why, some argue, he refused to pitch his tent with the NRC which a good number of people still associate with NPN.

The comparison here is that the NRC allegedly arranged for the defeat of Gowon. Top members allegedly knew in their heart that Gowon may be a liability to sell to Nigerians if he accidentally emerges as the candidate. For reasons: One, Nigerians, bored with military rule for now, may still be associating him with the military. As far as such Nigerians are concerned, he would be just an extension of the military. Two, he had ruled for nine years before, which some Nigerians think is more than enough. And three, having been a major participant in the civil war, some people may not take it kindly with NRC if Gowon becomes the candidate. In essence Gowon may remind them of the civil war and thus hinder the chances of NRC in the core East. Perhaps, the most serious here is Gowon's alleged pro-IBB stand, which many people dislike.

Another speculation is that Gowon was seen out of the race by both NEC and the Federal Government which felt that his defeat would douse the furor raised by the disqualification of Ojukwu. Said these speculators: "A lot of money was given to powerful traditional rulers and NRC members to make sure of Gowon's exit."

And yet another. He isn't a politician even though he read political science. He doesn't know the ABC of campaigning — no lobbying, no money to throw around, soft voice.

The last of the mundane speculations was that his local government was disgusted with his admission in the BBC interview that he was a reluctant aspirant. A source told us: "It reminded people very much of Shagari who said in 1979 that he was a reluctant candidate. They didn't want another reluctant president."

BUT the most serious speculation really is that Gowon's failure had to do with tribal and religious politics. Those who think that tribal politics was responsible point out that it was politically naive of Gowon, a Plateau State Indigene, to have contested an election in a local government area in another state. Said a Chief Nursing Officer in Zaria, Kaduna State, "There was no way Gowon, of Plateau State ori-

gin, could have expected Zaria to vote for him. The dominant tribe, Hausa-Fulani, would prefer their own blood to any other person at all times.

If the Nursing Officer is right, perhaps, Gowon should've drawn an inspiration from the "wisdom" of Abiola and the failure of Tokunbo Dosunmu and Obafemi Awolowo's daughter, Abiola, in spite of the fact that he's been living in Lagos most of his life, contributed to the development of Lagos State, and even buried his first and most beloved wife, Simbiat in Lagos, ran back home, Abeokuta, in Ogun State to contest the local congresses.

And in Tokunbo's case, the fact that she is married to a Lagos State man didn't save her. Nor did the fact that her late father, Awolowo, wielded so much power in Lagos State. When election time came, she was asked to go contest in her state, Ogun. She failed two times in Lagos State. But even the case of Nnamdi Azikiwe in 1954 could have warned Gowon. Zik was set for a landslide in the Western Region until the eve of the election when his most loyal supporters were reminded of his tribe and were made to switch immediately to Awolowo. Zik was forced to go back home.

Tribal politics wasn't the only factor seriously at play Gowon's religion, christianity, allegedly helped undo him. The Chief Nursing Officer who spoke about tribalism said "Gowon is a christian and coming from a predominantly christian area in Zaria worked against him. His opponent is a moslem, from Kaura Ward, a predominantly muslim community in the heart of old Zaria."

The officer said that for long, Gowon's adopted ward had been oppressed because of their religion, pointing out, "The only time they were given a sense of belonging was when Pamela Sadauki a christian, from that ward was appointed Deputy Governor under a military administration, but even then, three days after the appointment, electricity and water were cut off from the place."

The NRC chairman of Gowon's ward Abubakar Yusuf, a moslem, agreed that the supporters of Tafida may have used religious sentiments to push Gowon out of the race but he quickly pointed out that Gowon was no politician. Said the chairman, "He failed because he never campaigned for one day. He never showed up. Even during the ward congress, he was not there. He sent a representative. All we saw were his colourful posters."

Tafida agreed with this when he told the press that he, Tafida, never campaigned, but added a tribal sentiment when he said, "I knew I was going to defeat him. He was no threat. This was a local government election and I am a local man. Gowon is not a local man."

But Gowon, who sounded indifferent in his first reaction to his defeat, via a telephone interview with a NAN correspondent has done an about-turn and fired off a strongly worded letter to NRC National Headquarters, Abuja, alleging discrimination.

In a four-page letter signed on his behalf by his Campaign Director and agent, Abdul Maikilishi, Gowon alleged that, "religion was recklessly used by people in high positions who ought to have protected the constitution." He alleged that voters were told openly at the polls not to cast their votes for Gowon because he is a christian. He also alleged that a day before the election, his moslem supporters were intimidated in the mosque by "Mallams who warned them on the danger of voting for Gowon." He revealed that at different meetings held just before the elections, delegates were openly threatened with death by "slaughtering" if they voted for him.

However, Gowon's younger brother Daniel who is the traditional head of Gowon's Wusasa Ward sings a different

song. He told the press that Gowon's failure had nothing to do with tribal or religious politics or his not campaigning. He said, "The people love him. He failed because of money. I believe the delegates were bribed. There is nothing money cannot do. Ordinarily the people love him. They pressurized him to run for presidency."

Gowon's brother's belief agrees with the story making the rounds in Kaduna that a lot of money exchanged hands in Zaria to make sure that Gowon was defeated.

A source told us that the state government allegedly bribed virtually all the delegates to make sure that Gowon didn't succeed. Said the source, each delegate got over N20,000 for this assignment. This doesn't, however, agree with the earlier story that the state governor was behind Gowon.

Lurking behind this "bribery" to vote Gowon out is the Zango-Kataf disturbances. TSM gathered that after the disturbances and the protests which greeted the judgement and consequent condemnation of Zamani Lekwot and co to death, the Muslim Hausa/Fulani in Kaduna State swore that no christian was going to get elected as the president of Nigeria. Said the source, "Moslems were taken aback by the reaction from Christians who conveniently forgot that hundreds of moslems were slaughtered by christians during the Zango-Kataf disturbances." This may have contributed to the alleged about-turn by the Governor not to back Gowon anymore. Said a source in Kaduna, "Dabo Lere was called by powerful people in Kaduna and was given an ultimatum to not only withdraw his support for Gowon but to see to it that Gowon was defeated."

If this is true then the Zango-Kataf disturbances will have far more effect on the political future of the nation than we thought. It is likely to affect the voting pattern during the presidential election.

There have been several reactions since Gowon's ouster from the presidential race at the local government level. The most indifferent reaction came first from Gowon himself. He said in a telephone interview with NAN in London, "I am not worried one bit. I am sorry for those who invited me (to run). I am a democrat at heart and in practice and have learnt to accept defeat or victory whenever they come." Gowon, after a couple of days in London, may have changed his mind, which accounts for his strong second reaction.

The funniest reaction was from a retired Army General who claimed to have phoned Gowon to ask him to keep off when he read in the papers that he picked the presidential nomination form. He told TSM, "Gowon's failure

The NRC chairman of Gowon's ward, Abubakar Yusuf, a moslem, agreed that the supporters of Tafida may have used religious sentiments to push Gowon out of the race but he quickly pointed out that Gowon was no politician. Said the chairman, "He failed because he never campaigned for one day. He never showed up. Even during the ward congress, he was not there. He sent a representative. All we saw were his colourful posters."

There seems to be a political tangle between the North and West as to who gets the presidency of the Third Republic.

Whatever the West is doing, the source: they start thinking in the long term, the better for them. They have got the biggest SDP votes, good, because I am SDP. But whether they like it or not, their SDP votes of the West would not transport them to Aguda House or the presidential villa. Whatever their discussion with the North gets for them will only be little left over. The left overs plus the western votes will not get the West to the presidential villa. They can continue wasting time, discussing with the North, but the beginning of wisdom will be the day they decide to discuss with the East. That is what they should be doing. It is only by getting the massive support of the East, that the victory of the West can be translated into a greater victory. Without it they are wasting time.

President Babangida has repeatedly said he has no hidden agenda, while people insist that there is no vacancy in the presidency. Do you think Babangida would really hand over August 27?

I wouldn't know what Babangida thinks. I don't even bother to find out particularly in this hand over of power. My view is this. Power is a very seductive commodity, absolute power, really, totally seductive. I don't agree to negotiate power either. I think what you do is you take power. In some countries the institutions have been created in such a way as to sound warning alarms sufficiently to frighten the incumbent whenever he chooses to act outside the institutions and then he knows intuitively what would happen should he do so. So he hands over. In areas like ours where our institutions are not firm the requirements remain the same. We have to create a situation which makes it very clear to a military incumbent that he can no longer hold. It is that that makes the military incumbent to hand over power. It's not your rhetoric. That won't help. So take the first effort if the politicians of Nigeria have understood that this was a struggle between the military class and the political class, and they locked themselves into a room and came out with a national government and presented it as the alternative, Babangida could no longer postpone anything. At any stage when he is confronted with the national will he can't do anything about it. He has the military but they will not shoot 80 million people. And he is human enough to realise that. Once they start shooting, he might go early. So you see that the point about presidency not being vacant sounds beautiful. It's good. It's like writing a poem or writing literature. But the fact remains that we have to cease

When somebody says that this should be an Islamic State, we should grant him right to think that way. That is how he sees it. The only thing is that being a Roman Catholic, I don't agree with him. Simple. You want it to be an Islamic State, I don't. If you insist, then I will insist on a Roman Catholic State. But if I am not going to have my Roman Catholic State, you must not have your Islamic State.

being supine about this. Babangida is a human being not a god. He has his own notions, what he wants. But if the

whole lot of us want it differently? We let him know that we want it differently.

Whenever I hear the presidency is not vacant it sounds like, we go and seek his permission to do politics, and if he says "I am not ready," "Yes, sir, we are sorry" and we pull back. I mean if we are still that way, he should continue. Mind you, God forbid that I should be ever accused of asking the military to continue in any government.

How should Iqbal fight the unseen forces that have put a ceiling on their political aspirations?

To start with, we have to decide whether we are Nigerians or not. You cannot be a second class Nigerian. You are either not a Nigerian or a Nigerian. I maintain that we are the most expensive Nigerians on God's earth; because the amount they spent in bringing me back into being a citizen of Nigeria is astronomical. Oh yes, a lot of money was spent in war, to bring us all back into the citizenship of Nigeria. So we should walk 6 foot tall with our heads up. What I will not accommodate is a Nigerian that creeps into Nigeria. And this is what most of us are doing. That is why we are beginning to wonder, whether the presidency is vacant or not. As far as I am not sitting on that seat of the presidency, it is vacant.

The military is a formidable factor in the Nation's political arrangement. How do you feel about the obvious marginalisation of the Easterners in the membership of the National Defence Council (NDC)?

Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe... Was blackmailed with non-payment of tax



I am happy that finally you have recognised it, because it's been going on for a very long time. It is even helped very much by one factor which I don't think you have addressed your mind to. What, in fact, is definition of an Easterner? Is it anybody that speaks a certain or number of languages? Or just anybody born, extracted from any geographical area? We have to be very careful. The Babangida administration has done wonders with window dressing. Thus I am always very wary about collating names because somehow they have been able to put certain names that appear to be Eastern and in fact are not Easterners, and never be Easterners, and would never be Easterners. At this point I always draw attention that it is not the person, it's not every person who says "Nno" (welcome) who is Igbo. From that you can go to other areas. The same way it is not every one that says "Sanu" (welcome) that is Northernner.

We have a problem, and I am talking to you as an Igbo, we cannot guarantee our greatness if we cannot hold on to our children. If we keep giving birth to runaway children we can never be great. We cannot expect others to do our work for us. Any buffoon picked up by accident and placed in a position from the north, somehow the North can rally round that person and use him for the Northern benefit. The same goes to the West. The only rogue, runaway child comes from the East. I think we better look into our culture and our society to establish our control over our own children so that no matter who is out in a position we rally behind him, make him do things because he is representing us even though we did not vote him there but once there, he is representing us. This is the biggest area where actually we lose in the East. In your profession, and I am deliberately provoking you now, the general national tendency is that newspapers lean to the West.

But you and I know that virtually over 70% of the operatives are Igbos from the East, and if you then go to 80% it is the total East. If we cannot hold our children, don't expect the Yoruba who want to exploit them for their newspapers to do that for us. There is something wrong with our society.

How do we explain the absence of Southern military men at the NDSC?

The leadership of the country at this critical stage has decided that the profile should be what it is now. It's theirs to do what they are doing, it's ours to complain. We are complaining. What is the reason? It could be part of this ceiling I am talking about. It could be something else. But the fact remains, I am

not satisfied. No genuine Igbo can be satisfied. And I come back to my final admonition which I always give on this issue. You can do so many things because you have power, but one thing is clear, you cannot hold down 25% of your population for ever. If you don't do it today, it will be forced on you tomorrow.

The case of Zamani Lekwot?

I don't need go into details. I don't think he should be hanged. But on this one, because I am not going into details yet for Zamani Lekwot, I use the word. I beg Babangida, as the president of Nigeria to use his powers and show mercy on Zamani Lekwot. I believe that his execution would harm Nigeria more than it would heal Nigeria. I repeat, I, Emeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, for once in my life, beg Babangida, please be merciful.

What is your assessment of the implication of the current nationwide workers strike?

Nigeria has never ceased to surprise me. And the real surprise is not that we have a strike going on, the real sur-

prise is that it hasn't been going on for the past five years. Because there is no way you can explain the Nigeria situation to a worker who lives and ear salary that has so long been losing in the real cost of living whichever way you look at it. I do not believe that those who rule this country actually get a feel of the situation. They don't know what is going on. There is not a single Nigerian worker whose remuneration for lowest work can carry through the period for which that remuneration is given. No monthly salary carries anybody of his standard for a month.

You say this is one country, when it soothes you, you say to the state governments go and negotiate. How can you be given in this state this level, and in the next state something lower. That distortion the country cannot carry. Whatever happens in this country, the federal government has to go to the aid of the state governments to be able to get out of this impasse we are in. And please

Ojukwu....I will talk about IBB the day he leaves power



should tell the military that its time is up. To think that a man who ruled the country via the barrel for nine years could be voted out by his local government is intriguing. That's democracy in action. Now Gowon has lost some of his respect. He has lost his national outlook. Now he has been identified with the NRC and there is nothing he can do about it."

A highly placed man from Zaria put his own twist to NTA "Ojukwu's case is better now. At least Ojukwu can say that he didn't put his popularity to NRC. Not so for Gowon. It is sure Gowon must be asking himself why NRC didn't disqualify him. He'd have been better off if NRC had disqualified him. I'm sure he is wishing that now."

Abacha's reaction wasn't surprising. Considering that he had taken a swipe at Gowon before. He said, "Gowon has learnt. For somebody to want to come back after ruling for nine years smacks of greediness."

There is an irony here. It is that both Gowon and Ojukwu, the two men who played the 30 month old Nigerian civil war, the two men who ably led their sides

through the war have been rejected by the people to lead them again under normal circumstances.

The first time Ojukwu was rejected was in 1983 by his Onitsha people when he wanted to be a Senator. The second time around was on February 1, 1991 by NEC which disqualified him from contesting in the presidential election on the grounds of not paying his tax as at and when due and being dismissed from the Nigerian Army. Ojukwu denies both allegations. Leading their people to war and failing in elections, staged-managed or not, are not all both men have in common. "Bet royal" too.

Those from Plateau State who talk of Gowon betraying them by contesting in the Zaria LGA of Kaduna State could take solace in the fact that some people from Ojukwu's area feel the same about Ojukwu. Apart from feeling betrayed that Ojukwu camped his political net with the defunct NPN in 1983, a party they regarded that time as a Northern party, in preference to the defunct NPP, a party they regarded as an Igbo party then they now also point out that during the aborted presidential

primaries, Ojukwu chose to support Olu Sariki in preference to somebody of his own."

Silly as one may dismiss such talks, Nigerians have been denied the fun of watching Gowon and Ojukwu test their popularity in the same contest. It'd have been interesting if both men had ended up as their parties' presidential candidates. We'd have heard more of what exactly happened during the war — at Aburi for instance.

Gowon is not the only former head of state who failed while trying to come back to power. In Nigeria, Nnamdi Azikiwe, first president of Nigeria, and Owalu of Onitsha, failed two times — 1979, 1983.

In Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda was thrown out of power by the people in 1991 after a democratic election.

In Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto, the pretty daughter of Ali Bhutto failed in a come back bid.

Yitzhak Shamir of Israel failed in 1992. And in the Philippines, Imelda Marcos, the former first lady failed in her bid to

replace her late husband in power. She couldn't do what Corazon Aquino did.

Continued from Page 2

there is nothing more insulting than a whole nation going on strike and you think that cutting your own salary by 20% is the thing that is going to change. It's insulting. It's terrible. How can you? The only thing actually that act has done is the public recognition that your salary is, anyway, too high. Because nobody asked you to do it and cause nobody asked you to do it and you are doing it, it is clear that you have your own salary. So while we talk about strike, it is actually the general degradation of our society. There is, nothing working.

Do you have any regrets in going into politics since you came back from exile?

No. I will always be in politics anyway. I never left it. In exile I was in it. I wrote my constitution, of my party, funny enough. I called it Social Democratic Party Party when I was in exile.

Oh yes when I was in exile I wrote it all out. I have never been out of it. For as long as Nigerian is not at peace I cannot be out of politics. There are so many things wrong with the state and it will be a terrible self-indulgence for me to go and sit down and for young people to say, 'I have seen him, he was people to say, 'I have seen him, he was this and this,' no. What you want is somebody who is always in the arena. When I came back and said to me, 'Ikemba, you know we are so happy you are back. We would want you to quietly sit at home and people will come and consult you.' When they finished, I replied that you are right, you know.

You have asked and I will do what you ask for, provided you do what I ask for. They said what? I said very simple. As soon as you all move down from the north and way in Iboland, I will hands off politics. Because I am in it to protect

When somebody says my ambition is to dip the koran into the waters of the Atlantic, you clap. For his own people that may be very legitimate. The unfortunate thing is that to do that you have to pass through my area. And I ain't gonna let you. Simple.

you where you have decided to stay in this nation, but if you decide you are not going there but going to be here. I am out.

How do you assess IBB's regime? I love my head. I don't want it ever to be cut off. Whilst he is sitting at the

presidential palace, I will not access his regime because when you have written, you would have done your duty but I would be counting the rats in KiriKiri. But I will talk about him, the day after he leaves power. Call it cowardice. Okay. It doesn't matter, but I am being very careful. I think the people who have faith in my leadership need me more than the sudden bravado and showmanship.

Can you then assess the state of the nation?

Yes, the nation, is sick. Absolutely sick. There is no direction. When we talk, it's double talk. We spend a lot of time making postures rather than making actions. I don't feel convinced that anybody is controlling the drift of our economy. I do not believe that the transition programme will bring a democratic Nigeria into being. I am very very worried about the state of this nation. I don't subscribe to the idea of the messiah or the saviour on white wings arriving from the sunset to liberate this country. I believe the future, the destiny of Nigeria is in the hands of Nigerians. And the first thing we must all avoid is any concept that solution can be found by excluding any group no matter how small. In short, what Nigeria needs is a national conference where we sit round the table and redesign the New Nigeria so that when Nigeria is called, and her national anthem is played with flag in the air, you get your heart beat quickened.

Fall of a nice guy

A former secretary to Kano State Government is embroiled in a fight to finish with his former boss, Kabiru Gaya of Kano State.

By Adagbo Onoja



Abba Dabo is an otherwise tactful and sagacious fellow. He has a pedigree that logically ensures this, having been the president of ABU Zaria Student Union in his undergraduate days, a journalist and an editor of the *New Nigerian* on Sunday and, Chief Press Secretary to ex-president, Shehu Shagari. He later became the Managing Director of the Kano State newspaper, *The Triumph*, chairman of the defunct Liberal Convention, a publisher himself (*The Insider*), a businessman and lately secretary to the Kano State government from which job he was kicked out mid-January this year by the governor, Kabiru Gaya.

Penultimate Tuesday in Kano, however, this pedigree, perhaps for the very first time, failed Abba. The police carted him away into detention. He was alleged to be the brain behind leaflets containing damaging information on the state governor and his administration and which were being circulated massively all over Kano metropolis.

TSM found that the police were working on the theory that only Abba had access to that kind of information on Gaya as contained in the one-page leaflet especially the aspect which said that the governor has a three million naira bus-like car which he bought from Germany and which, according to the leaflet, had among other things, a telephone, satellite dish, video, television, refrigerator and a bed.

Other allegations were that the governor had purchased 13 houses scattered in Abuja, Kaduna and Bauchi and had 500 wrist watches costing over 5,000 dollars about N130,000. He was also said to have made car gifts to the wife of all commissioners in the state executive council.

The governor was of course aghast. He reportedly ordered the arrest of Abba and then left Kano town same day. The ex-secretary to the state government was left to cool his feet in a police

cell till Thursday afternoon-February 25th, 1993 when he was granted bail. He had been arrested along with four others, most prominent of whom was Wada Waziri, a comrade of the labour congress.

The prelude to the leaflet said that the governor had declared on the state radio that striking workers in the state had not displayed restraint. The authors of the leaflet therefore wanted to prove that the governor had no restraint either. Hence the bitterness of the leaflet writers who clearly portrayed his excellency as a man of obscene flamboyance and profligacy. And hence the high degree of interest in all of Kano as expressed in such interrogatory remarks as "was Abba really involved".

The arrest and detention of Abba is the climax so far, of a relationship gone sour. Act one scene one of the drama began to unfold in 1990 when Gaya emerged the gubernatorial candidate of the NRC in Kano.

Ordinarily, Kano (is) not the place where the NRC could tumble and splash much water politically. Not when Rimi Sule Lamido and others are swimming on the legitimacy of NEUP-PRP heritage. This meant that a Gaya from NRC was heading for a crash if he

was looking for governorship of Kano State.

Someone like Abba Dabo who could cause some disarray in SDP circles was being expected from the NRC camp for that job. But Abba had his eyes on the national level and was not thinking much of Kano which was why, when cornered by a journalist at that time, and told to confirm or deny that he was being drafted to contest the governorship of Kano, he said that instead of being drafted, he was rather drafting someone else.

When Gaya emerged, it was thus taken as the fellow Abba Dabo must have drafted for the governorship job. And in more ways than one, he (Abba) has come up as a drafter.

Over the years and in the many jobs he has done, he has acquired a knowledge of who is where, how it is done, where it is done and what is to be done. He has also established himself to the status of one of the most materially advanced of the rising bourgeoisie in the north.

In other words, he knew the people (the top people that is, not the grassroots as such) his ways and the nuances of political survival in a neo-colonial society.

The story is told, for example, how until Abba, in one day, raised nearly 10 million naira on the telephone for NRC campaigns. Gaya never really believed he was in the race.

Eventually Gaya won the governorship and needed to consolidate power.

Kabiru Gaya, Governor of Kano State



He reached for Abba as secretary to the government. Abba said no. The caucus said yes. Pressures from friends were that he should take the job. That being in government was a different experience from operating outside it.

On the evening of January 3rd, 1991, he went to Gaya to take the job and it was instantly his. All plans fell into place and everyone was happy. At least then.

But the inbuilt contradiction in terms of two people of different approaches and socialisation going it together was bound to manifest later.

Gaya is acknowledged to be an extremely good natured person devoid of any viciousness or wickedness. But politically he is also acknowledged to have no experience of relating to people outside Kano. Even in Kano, he distrusted the elites contrary to his SSG whose political socialisation made the company of people of all areas necessary and somehow natural.

Managerially, Gaya watches said the governor had the knack for saying that everything is all right thus compelling his chief bureaucrat (Abba) to moderate or tamper with most of his directives. Gaya has said that Abba tampered with his directives as SSG. He told *The Trustee* recently after sacking the ex-SSG that there were lots of contradictions going on in the government with Abba as SSG, that he would give directives and contrary ones would be carried out or they would not be fully implemented and that those who couldn't get along had to go.

Very important too in the drama were the duo received President Babangida's overtures to Kano State. The president is reported to consider Kano strategic for whatever reasons and has, according to insiders, given the governor the impression that he is the special friend of Mr. President. Gaya is said to be wholly enthusiastic and unselective about every such move from IBB as opposed to his more cautious and sometimes indifferent SSG. That, of course, was interpreted to mean jealousy of a short of inability to get along. There was also the issue of one of the two living under the image of the other, this time the governor under Abba. Positive things about the regime were ascribed to the ex-SSG while negative ones were more likely to be ascribed to the governor who had been nicknamed as the fair complexion version of a Sabo Bakin Zuwo implying that between the last and present civilian governors of the state, the difference is only in their complexion. Much of these were matters of perception but they had percolated in popular psychology in Kano. At the same time, Abba could be seen doing all the formulation and implementation of strategies of handling



Abba Dabo sacked by his friend

contradictions, economic management, link ups especially in the court case which challenged the governor's election and NRC's consolidation of power in a hostile political terrain.

Informed sources at the Kano Government House hold that the current drama between the governor and his former SSG had its roots in the role the SSG played or did not play in the period the governor was said to have wanted to contest the on-going presidential primaries.

Abba was not only suspected to be unenthusiastic but in fact held to be nursing the same ambition to be president or supporting a long time friend of his, Bashir Tofa, also a Kano man. The governor may have taken this if Abba had not, on top of it all, behaved like wanting to sanction his excellency for spending public money in unbecoming ways hosting senators and Gaya's fellow governors of the club of 30 fame.

Unconfirmed report has it that Onu of Abia State and Kabiru Gaya of Kano had emerged in a balloting series at the meeting of the 30 governors. One out of this two was to be chosen as a presidential candidate nominee of the club (of 30).

Back home then, Gaya was said to be in need of the advice and leg works of a Mr. Fix-it in his SSG only to discover, as it was put to TSM, that he "no longer had any as such, again."

It was then time for him to move against his former point man. His morality did not like a shabby treatment for an ex-aide but the governor had a powerful lobby to contend with. He was being told that Abba should be treated as a disloyal element who had, on account of that, become dangerous.

In the end, he was presented with three options of how to cut Abba off the

regime without much ado.

One was to, in obedience to the tacit agreement between Abba and Gaya in January 1991 that whoever wanted to leave should discuss with the other, call the SSG and discuss with him that he had to go. This option was discarded. Reason: you don't give an Abba Dabo any notice. He's a world man and can mess up things if not taken by surprise.

Second option failed to carry weight too. It was that which would feature a Government House press release saying that Abba Dabo had resigned as the secretary to the state government and the governor has accepted his resignation.

The third which carried the day was then to cause an announcement naming a new SSG, but without any mention of Abba.

And so on the night of January 17, 1993, a news flash kind of story on Radio Kano was announcing Haruna Ungogo, a mathematician, as the acting secretary to the state government. There was no mention of Abba Dabo. Abba had lost his job.

Contrary to expectations, Abba refused to talk to the press on the issue. All that he managed to say to *The Trustee* and FRCN Kaduna were that the governor probably misjudged him as having failed to give necessary support when he, (the Governor) briefly aspired to the presidency.

Reactions to his arrest and detention the week before therefore bordered on surprise. People like Abdulkarim Daiyabu, an activist of the Kano Chamber of Commerce said on BBC that the Governor was confirming the allegations against him by ordering his ex-SSG's arrest.

A position which the governor's press secretary, Nasir Zahraden did not accept. Zahraden said it was frustrated and disgruntled politicians who were distributing the leaflets which according to him had no truth in them beyond inciting the people against the government.

Which of Gaya and Abba Dabo is wrong or right, is not what seems to be the concern of some NRC elements in Kano State. This group is more concerned that at the rate things are going (especially between Gaya and Abba) Gaya may not be handing over to himself or another NRC governor but to an SDP candidate, which will signal the transition to irrelevance of the NRC in Kano State.

Already, the Rimi-Sule Lamido axis of the SDP controls 27 out of the 34 local governments of Kano State in terms of SDP chairmanship of this state.

Reversal of this fortune of the SDP is not a battle the NRC should do as a divided house, cautions a party theoretician last Thursday in Kano.



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Paralysis on Lagos roads

Government's move to sanitize the carnage on our roads inches Lagosians to the abyss.

was the frightening crowd of workers and students, struggled, fought and shoved each other to board; the few available mini-buses that piled the roads.

It was tale of agony and frustration for most Lagosians. Already pushed to the wall by the worsening economic situation, the workers paid through their nose to their destinations as drivers introduced outrageous fares on all routes. Those who could not afford the exorbitant charges or simply did not find any means of transportation, did the most natural: Applied their legs for the great trek and reached their offices as late as noon. Some, out of frustration, returned home nurse their agony. Matthew Ogborna, a company worker, was one of them. After waiting in vain for *Molue* buses that never came, he went back home to rest and aborted his journey to CMS. The exploitative instinct of drivers knew no bound as they charged between 200 percent and 400 percent higher than previously. Typically, a trip from Oshodi, said to be the

noisiest place in day time Lagos, to Ikeja jumped from N2 to between N3 and N5. From Oshodi to Ojota, it went up to N5 instead of the former N2. At Lawanson, commuters were forced to cough out N15 to reach CMS, a major bus stop in Lagos Island. The fare increase was observed at practically all bus stops in Lagos. A new phrase was even introduced into the transport lexicon — special drop — as taxi and *Molue* drivers and motorcycle operators popular called *beccs* charged between N100 and N300 and between N20 and N50 per drop respectively. Some drivers cut their routes by half in order to make greater kill of the commuters.

Smart commuters, bent on reaching their destinations used all available means of transportation. Heavy duty trailers, tractors and tippers were not spared as all available spaces were filled by human cargo. Even private car owners were forced to carry angry commuters. Those who would not oblige received the wrath of the "mob". At least three mercedes benz cars, two peugeot saloon cars and a Nissan patrol whose drivers would not act the good samaritan were alleged to have had their windscreens put to smintherens by angry commuters.

Train, hitherto forgotten for its snail-

Life & Style



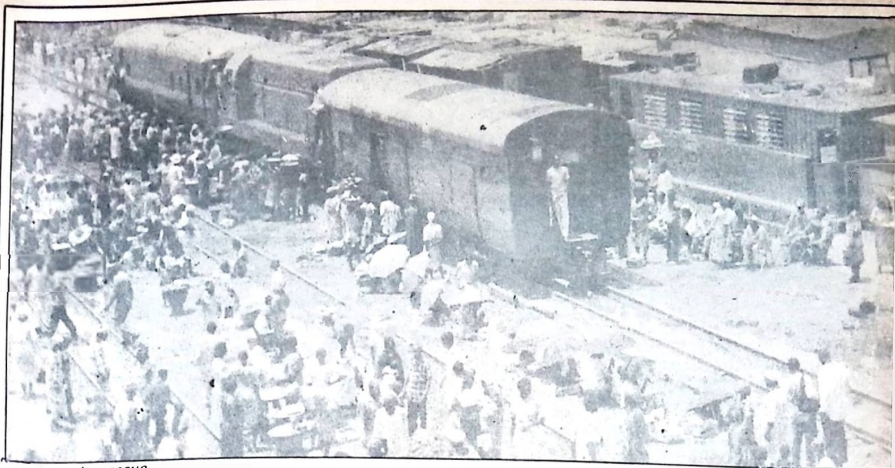
By Akaninyene Eslere, Felicia Oamen, Grace Onyegbula & Aremu Kehinde

DATE was Monday, March 1, the day most of the nation's workers, smarting from the longest and most comprehensive industrial action ever known to independent Nigeria, were to return to their duty posts. They thought it would be a very wonderful Monday for them, especially after "arm-twisting" the various tiers of governments to part with a whopping 45 percent salary increase. Wonderful it was, but in a bizarre way. They had prepared early enough for day's job and as early as 6:30 a.m. the workers had started milling around all the known bus stops in metropolitan Lagos to be conveyed to their different destinations.

Their effort turned out to be a disappointingly long wait as "the king of Lagos roads," and most patronised means of transportation in the nation's former capital popularly known as *Molue* simply disappeared. The no-availability of these special buses on Monday morning brought life in an ever vivacious Lagos to a standstill. It had the setting of a coup day as total confusion reigned for the better part of Monday. Economic near-paralysis came to the fore, thus making the government workers' strike looked like a child's play. All the bus stops were turned to theatres of

And they waited in vain





Train to the rescue

speed movement, came in handy as commuters scrambled for available space and risked their lives in the process by hanging precariously on the doors and windows of the moving giant. There were shouts of "ohs" and "ahs" at Oshodi bus stop as the maddening crowd gazed in dismay at those risking their lives just to reach their various destinations.

It was a well plotted coup and the execution was a photo-finish affair. The coup plotters, the Molue owners and their drivers literally forced government to its knee by withdrawing virtually all Molue buses from the streets and at least proved one point, the indispensability of the "love-hate" bus to Lagos transport system. Government officials first threw the salvo the previous week by issuing an ultimatum to both commercial drivers and private car owners that any vehicle not certified as roadworthy should not be seen on the streets of Lagos as from Monday, March 1. Given that emphasis for road worthiness was on Molue buses that had for the past one month been turned to coffins on wheel, their owners and drivers retreated to their shells came back with a bomb back with a womb that called the bluff of government.

Timothy Olatunbosun, a Molue driver and National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) member told TSM at Ikeja bus stop. "What we learnt about the checking last week and what the Inspector General of Police said, we preferred to keep our vehicles at home instead of going to Kirikiri" (the nation's most feared prison). That action sent dangerous

signals to all strata of government and its officials were involved in frantic effort to save the situation.

The first step was to mobilize available Lagos State government commercial buses to ply all routes in Lagos. Throughout that Monday, only government owned buses, except the Kombi type were seen on the streets of Lagos. However, in spite of the upsurge by commuters, operators of the buses still charged old rate. But its impact was not felt as the suffering heightened. Sensing that government activities might grind to a halt, especially coming on the heel of the 23-day old industrial action, government succumbed to the transport owners subterfuge.

Same Monday, the police, the Federal Road Safety Officials and Lagos State government functionaries met to review the situation. The verdict of their parley was the extension of the deadline by two weeks as it had become apparent that government effort had been vitiated. A police source told TSM that the police and other security agents back peddled on enforcing the directive after receiving security report that if the suffering persisted for too long, a spontaneous street riot might ensue.

Isaac Akinmoyede, spokesman for Lagos State Police Command, would not hear this. He told a TSM reporter that there was no security report that a riot was in the offing. He re-echoed his boss' statement that the two weeks grace period was given in sympathy to the "hues and cries" of the masses. James Danbaba, the Lagos State Police boss had earlier said that the extension was on humanitarian grounds as

"there is nowhere in the law where it is stated that notice has to be given before vehicles are checked for any defect whatsoever".

If the decision to suspend the enforcement of traffic laws was a humanitarian gesture, police action in the matter did not save the situations. In fact, it aggravated issues. On Thursday, February 25 when Aliyu Atta, an Ahaji and Inspector General of Police told the nation government intention to sanitize our roads by enforcing strict traffic laws with effect from March 1, his men did not allow the message to sink as they swooped on commercial drivers that very Thursday. About 50 Molue buses were impounded that Thursday by both the police and Federal Road Safety Corps. This irked the transporters who later said that their decision to withdraw all Molue buses on Monday was in part triggered by the seizure of their vehicles. But Akinmoyede told Secretary of Police. But Akinmoyede told TSM that the police did not impound any vehicle. However, the National Secretary of the NURTW, Vincent Jack said enforcement of government order was premature. He asserted that failure by the state government to provide adequate alternative to private transporters' service worsened the situation.

He might be correct. The only difference between Lagos State government transport system and private concern is that the former's buses are all road-worthy. Once one is seen to be faulty, it is withdrawn from the road. But hardly any impact is made by the Lagos State government. Its emphasis on making

quick money rather than serving the public has compounded the situation. Sampson Ede, a middle-aged *Molue* driver told *TSM* that the Lagos State government charges N1,600 a day to lease out its Jubilee Line buses to commercial drivers, while private *Molue* owners lease theirs out at N1,300 a day. *TSM* could not corroborate the statement, but Ede said that these exorbitant charges force drivers to overuse the vehicles through excess loading; and over-speeding in order to make returns. To worsen the situation, the lease are paid by the drivers before the buses are released in the morning, so drivers embark on the mad rush that sometimes result in ghastly accidents in a bid to break even.

Again, the short notice, (it was initially three days) given commercial drivers to put their rickety buses in good shape was an overkill. It was an impossible task given the comprehensive overhaul expected from the owners and drivers and the cost of spare parts in the market. Even by extending the deadline by two weeks, government is merely postponing the evil day as indications are that the Monday experience will come back to haunt the nation at the expiry of the deadline. *TSM* gathered that the two weeks extension was still unrealistic. The deputy national secretary of the NURTW, Abdulazeez Bogunmba told *TSM* that though his union gladly welcomed government move to clean the mess off our roads, the March 15 deadline was unrealistic given the nature of problems these vehicles face. He said NURTW investigation showed that at least three months was needed to bring the vehicles to required standard. He told our reporter that spare parts were not only expensive but scarce. He estimated that it would cost a staggering N150,000 to put some of the *Molue* buses back in good shape and that such money was not available. Bogunmba however issued a warning signal that "if the government refuses to extend the ultimatum by three months, the issue would snowball to a national one." He said sympathy would be drawn from other states, adding that "road transport workers are not like nurses or doctors. If they go on strike for two days, the economy will be paralysed."

Olatunbosun even extended the union argument by saying that auto owners would borrow money to repair their vehicles, but that commuters should be ready to bear the cost via increased fare. Olatunbosun who spoke to our reporter with anger expressed on his face said the cost of repairing vehicles is unbearable. To him a 3 tonne tyre used in *Molue* vehicles cost N2,500 and a single *Molue* ex-cost N2,500 and a single *Molue* is ex-

of such tyres while other spare parts are not in the market. He indicted the police and the government by saying that once government invites the police to check bus drivers, "they are opening road for police to dupe us", and that government has not done enough for the citizens.

Everyone agrees that government should do something with the precarious transport situation in Lagos, especially in relation to the incessant ghastly accidents involving *Molue* buses. Within the past few weeks alone many lives have been sent to their untimely death through these buses. On February 8, no fewer than 25 people were burnt to ashes when a *Molue* bus caught fire at the Lagos Third Mainland Bridge. Six days after, a similar incident occurred along Iju road in Agege area of Lagos where three of such buses rammed into one another and unspecified number of commuters lost their lives. Again, on February 23, another *Molue* bus somersaulted on the Eko Bridge in Lagos and collided head-long into an abandoned vehicle and buried 10 people in the process. This particular incident moved the various government agencies to say - "enough is enough".

The police, the Vehicle Inspectorate Officers (VIOs) the FRSC and Lagos State government took the gauntlet to curb the carnage on the roads. Ajiyu Atta who announced government plans said all vehicles should be certified road worthy with particular reference to tyres, brake, fire extinguishers, headlights, certificate of insurance, driving licence and general comfortability of the vehicles for commuters.

A typical *Molue* bus is a death trap, roving for where to hang its (human) cargo. Most of them are not only old but virtually unserviceable. Mainly faulty in Lagos, they are propelled by faulty engines that emit smoke and suf-

fer from overheating and occasionally catch fire. They also suffer from incessant brake failure, lacking any comfortable facility and susceptible to ghastly accident especially when driven by reckless and inexperienced drivers. *TSM* discovered that some of the drivers are not licensed but grew on the job from conductors to "driver". Another sour taste is the flooding of fake spare parts in the market. A driver who simply gave his name as Alimi lamented the spectre of fake spare parts and the havoc they cause. "These days we don't even know which is which. You go to the market to buy brake fluid and they tell you this is Taiwan, this is Russia. At the end of the day you discover that none of them is original. Recently, my company repaired our motor engine at N17,000 and the thing parked up again within a week", he lamented to *TSM*.

The question now is how will government effect the desired change without worsening the hardship Nigerians have already been subjected to. The harsh economic situation and spiralling cost of everything have made the issue of sanitizing the roads very touchy and potentially dangerous. Already the 45 per cent salary increase just approved for government workers has been reduced to nothingness by the high cost of virtually all other services. The situation smacks of a replay of what Nigerians went through exactly a year ago. It could be remembered that on March 5, last year, government through the Central Bank further deregulated the foreign market which led to the devaluation of naira by over 80 per cent. That action reverberated by sending the prices of everything under the Nigerian sun beyond the reach of many. Till date, many are yet to recover from that trauma and with the further depreciation of the naira to an all time low and high transportation cost, no one can say if Julius Caesar's Ides of March is not here with us.

This journey could be the last.





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By Felicia Oamen
& Grace Onyegbula

A little touch

TSM witnessed this spectacle recently. A young corporate-looking man jumped out of his car somewhere in Lagos. Not minding his clean clothes and all, he practically bent down on all fours and began to peer desperately underneath his car. Probably not seeing what was wrong he moved around the car hitting the tyres. "This car again," he kept muttering to himself.

Obviously the car had broken down. And judging from his attitude it wasn't for the first time. In these days of Tokunbo cars, situations like this have happened and are bound to keep happening. Buying a car goes beyond acquiring another asset. It is like a baby that needs to be cared for and nurtured. Whereby the owner fails to carry out these duties diligently he might end up realising he has only acquired a liability. TSM visited D.V.C. Limited, Isolo and WALED Motor Mechanical Company Limited and here are some facts we gathered on car care.

RUST

RUST is like cancer. If 1% of it is sighted on your car about 90% could be hidden unseen underneath your car paint. The part seen is like a tip of an ice berg. Car repair companies have special devices such as indoscope, for determining the extent of rust in a car.

Treatment: First of all, the car is stripped naked. Everything in the car is removed, including the seat. The area where the rust has been spotted is cut off and a new metal is welded to it. It must be certain that no rust remains after this treatment otherwise it will spread again.

Usually after welding a new metal to a car, rust most often starts from the edges of the welded spot. After welding therefore, cover the spot with prima. Prima is a non-pigmented paint used to exclude air and moisture from a newly-welded metal.

Apart from prima, it is recommended to apply sealant to the welded parts of the car. Sealant exclude air, moisture and salt permanently.

Rust conversion is done by brushing the body of the car with a special brush.

Rust removal: This is rubbed on the body of the car. It converts rust, not easily detected into a metallic substance.

Rust prima: It serves two purposes. It is used as a base for the top coat paint. It also makes the top coat paint there or last long. It supports the pre-



goes a long way

vention of rust also.

Painting: Painting serves two purposes. For beautification and protection of the car.

Prima is the top coat painting. There is one or two systems. The one coat system is cheaper but lasts for only one year. Two coat system is more expensive but can last for up to six years.

Cavity Conversion: The doors and cavity are places where rust can easily start. Cavity wax is applied to prevent rust. The cavity wax prevents water from getting into the metal. The wax is unreactive to salt water. Cavity wax should be applied after every six months.

Under body coating is needed every three months. This is very important because rust usually spreads from here.

It is often advised that car owners keep an extra tin of paint in their cars. After a scratch it is necessary that the painting is repainted immediately to prevent the metal from water.

CAR-WASH

Detergents: Detergents can have a negative influence on car paints. It is therefore not recommended for car washing. There are special detergents however suitable for this purpose. Look for them in your local stores. A product recommended for car-wash is called paint guard. Wash your car with water only and polish with paint guard. It has a glittering effect on car paints.

Wash the underneath of your car regularly. Wash with hot water. To leave this part of your car unwashed, is a sure way of spreading rust.

Cockpit spray: This product is used thus: spray it in your car cockpit and wipe with a clean cloth. The cockpit will begin to glitter in no time at all. It has a lemon aroma.

CAR-SERVICING

A NEW car should be serviced once in two months. As the vehicle grows older more lubrication of the engine is necessary. There must be enough engine oil for proper functioning.

Make sure worn out parts are quickly replaced to forestall greater damage being done to your car.

The most important thing however is that you watch out for any strange development in your car like strange noise in the vehicle. Once you discover this, quickly take your car to a maintenance garage to locate where the noise is coming from. This helps to minimize the problems often associated with vehicles.



Tyna Onwudiwe sets a precedent

John Momoh and presently Managing Director of Channels Incorporated, who thought he should seize the opportunity the night afforded, to sell his pet telly project. Momoh was stunned and obviously discomfited as Tyna stamped the symbol of her award violently on the rostrum and walked away like somebody possessed.

The African Oyinbo had definitely set a precedent which might not augur well for shows of this kind. In the annals of music awards in Nigeria, Tyna's action has no equivalent. The only case close to this, but then still very far away is that of the Afro Beat King who has never honoured the NMA by attending their shows despite the fact that he still wins awards yearly. Fela's reason for disrespecting the NMA is that he deems its parent body PMAN too small to give him an award. But then, his son Femi Anikulapo Kuti normally represents him there and missed only on one occasion. Thus, until the end of the show the audience was still dumbfounded as they could not find any reasons to justify Tyna's weird attitude.

Zcal Onyia, ace trumpeter, music columnist, song writer and a broadcaster.

ing to an empty hall. Not even his rib cracking jokes nor the live performances sandwiched between awards were enough to hold back the restive audience who were itching to go as darkness enveloped everything it came across. And by the time the ultimate award — the artiste of the year, came around, virtually no one was there to applaud later the artiste of the moment.

This unpalatable scenario was not helped by Tyna Onwudiwe's unpredictability. Who would have known that the *African Oyinbo* whose debut album had already clinched the favourite sleeve design award and who had already enchanted the audience with her rendition of her song *Black on Black*, will reject the favourite cross-over music award, her album, *Black on Black* Oyinbo fetched her. This action of hers as she later stated stemmed from the fact that she quarrelled with the appellation 'cross-over' placed in juxtaposition with her album.

The first victim of Tyna's unprecedented action was former NTA's

Arty Stuff



Will Nigerians ever break the African time jinx? That seems unlikely as the *crea me de la creme* of the society are getting more and more enmeshed in this quagmire.

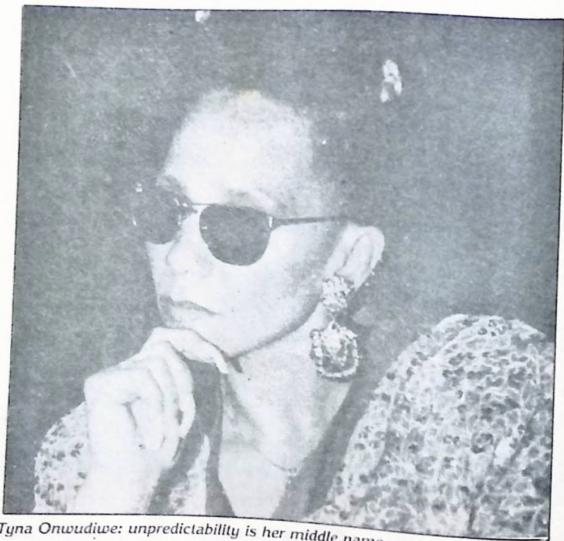
By Emma Anyamele Jnr.
With Akaninyene Esiere

AFRICAN time!

How else can one account for the behind-schedule commencement of the FMA, if not for this syndrome which has eaten deep into the fabric of the Nigerian society.

By 4 p.m. February 28 when the show was scheduled to have kicked off, there were no visible signs of any major event in the offing. Only the FMA banner fluttering at the entrance D of the Cinema Hall of the National Theatre still gave one the impression that something might still happen and that it could only be a question of time.

Indeed, time budgeting was their greatest undoing. The mammoth of fun seeking crowd that thronged the large hall would have been thrilled to no end if it were an all night affair. The curtain was eventually unveiled at 6 p.m. and this had a toll on the show proper. For, by the time the music awards were midway on course, Femi Anikulapo Kuti, who performed creditably as the anchor man of the night was virtually talk-



Tyna Onwudiwe: unpredictability is her middle name

as he received his scroll of honour echoed the feelings of a good number of people in the hall, when he decried what he termed "copy-catism" in the Nigerian music scene in his acceptance speech "I feel honoured," says he, "but I'm not a happy man, given what is happening in the music scene in Nigeria. We have deteriorated to copy-catism. For long, the world has dictated to us, we should dictate to them for a change." He advised that the FMA and other bodies should begin to lay emphasis on the cultural content of our music.

With citations read by Ohi Alegbe, Deputy Editor of the *African Concord* and Associate Director of Quadrant, a Public Relations outfit, other recipients of these scrolls of honour, given to certain distinguished Nigerians for their contributions to the growth and development of the Nigerian music industry were: Gerald Emeke Pine, (Gerald Pino) Nigeria's James Brown, Jos based Bala Miller, Osy Denobis Obidigbo the youngest recipient (13) and a studio engineer, Taslim Alami Salam (Ala Tessa Sal) who worked with Tera Kota to produce the monster hit *Lamentation for Sokoto* and Chukwuemeka Akalonu an accomplished singer.

But the cynosure of all eyes in this category of the awards was 83 year old Ahaji Abdulrafii Babatunde King who was aided unto the podium. Those amongst the audience who hitherto were ignorant of the genesis of Juju music went home better informed, courtesy of Babatunde King whom the audience welcomed by rising full length. According to the ace guitarist and juju music trail blazer, his first album in 1936 titled *Dr. Tunde Sapara* who was the head of the *Juju men* (medicines men and traditional healers) in Lagos, gave juju music its name, as people started referring to him as a Juju musician. In recognition of his excellence and fatherly mien Shina Peters prostrated full length before him while Ebenezer Obey bowed and stood reverently by him.

To add pep to the night, Dele Taiwo and the Womandator Peggy Curtis Imanah, reminded a song which was a miscegenation of Reggae and Juju. Other live performances were by Junior and Pretty, Daniel Wilson, Mike Okri and the Waka Queen Salawa Abeni, Victor Essiet the Mandator and the master impressionist Centi Jack. These artistes were delight to behold.

The music awards winner's roll call for the night is as follows:

Favourite Fuji song — *Je Yequn* by Ayinde Marshall; Favourite Juju song — *Experience* by Shina Peters; Favourite Reggae song — *Bang belly* by Blackky; Favourite cross-over song — *Motherless child*

by Sony Okosuns; Trado-contemporary music — Peter Eribi (East) Salawa Abeni (West), Balla Miller (North); Favourite Gospel music — Funmi Aragbaji; Favourite cross-over music — *African Oyinbo* Tyna Onwudiwe; Favourite highlife music — *Ihni Kambiri* (live and let live) by Oliver de Coque; Favourite Fuji music — *Fuji Collection* by Wasiu Ayinde Marshall; Favourite Pop music — *African Oyinbo* by Tyna Onwudiwe; Favourite Juju music — *Experience* by Shina Peters; Favourite Reggae music — *Run For Cover* by Ras Kimono; Song of the year — *Motherless children* — by Sony Okosun; Album of the year — *Experience* by Shina Peters; Favourite female vocalist — Salawa Abeni; Favourite male vocalist — Blackky;

— Artist of the year — Shina Peters. As it was feared in many quarters.

Tony Okoroji the president of PMAN, was not present at the show. Neither were the PMAN officials. This was also the case at the first ever FMA. This seems to confirm the belief in so many places that PMAN's executives feel irked by this usurpation of its functions in a domain which it has all the while regarded as its exclusive preserve. Could this also account for their disregard for 1992's FMA celebrity Daniel Wilson whom after being showered with awards at the FMA got nothing at the NMA.

This has no doubt placed both awards committees at different altitudes and also beyond the ambience of complementarity. And as we look forward to the NMA, if this scenario is recapitulated in the long run, then we can't help reaching very definite conclusions.

The Guv'nor's night of expostulations

The one is an ex-international footballer and the other is an ace musician. Join us as we take peeps into their unique lives.

By Emma Anyamele Jnr



ASSUMING it is your first time at Niteshift, the usher has just led you to your seat and your eyes have finished devouring the cosiness and aesthetics of the place and as you nod your head and tap your feet appreciatingly to the vibes circulating in the atmosphere, one of the first things that is bound to hit you and really hit your hard like a missile, is the powerful, rich and sonorous voice of the duty announcer at Niteshift. Immediately, you will think you are listening to the radio and such names as Willy Egbe, Boniface Asuquo, Tony Ibegbulam, Mani Onomonu etc cross your mind in a flash. "No no!! no!!" you say to yourself emphatically, for, there appears to be something about this voice which you can't really fathom. Instinctively, you scan the

length and breath of the nightclub in search of the body encapsulating that voice of gold.

We implore you to search no further. His name is Peter Hills Mukoro, a graduate of the Nigerian Institute of Journalism (NIJ), who speaks English with the confidence and competence of a native speaker. He is the Guv'nor's pearl, no doubt, and has been with him for about two years now. He likes what he is doing especially the musical aspect of it, since he has a penchant for music.

When next you go there, check him out at the DJ's cubicle, directly on your way to the male and female vanities. This is where he joins forces with the DJ to assail the audience with sublimated music interspersed with a voice with which he holds them spell bound.

He aptly described the night of February 24 at the Niteshift as one of extraordinary character and it stuck. A pulsating night of intrigue, suspense, conflict, climax and resolution with protagonists in the persons of ace footballer and ex-international, Segun Odegbami and ace musician, Sony Okosuns, goaded by the audience, who assailed them with fusillade of questions ranging from the trivial to the immense. Indeed as *Sege* as he is fondly called by Ken Celebs Olumese, squirmed amidst the heat generated by the pun

ent questions of the audience, especially those bordering on his relationship with Barbara Thilda a one time amerounian beauty queen, the governor had to come to his aid. "I'm not trying you should not ask questions," he remonstrated. "But you shouldn't try too much. I know the trouble I had to undergo to bring you these distinguished gentlemen and I wouldn't want to lose my clients." And on this note, he implored the audience to thread gently.

But the audience was not to be deterred as it fired on and on, and in the process made the hot seat hotter for its occupant. In response, Segun claimed he never knew he was involved with Thilda until he read it in the magazines. FAME to be precise. He said he found it difficult making comments about something which never existed in the first place. He stated that he had never claimed to be a moralist and so wondered why anybody should feel so strongly about his alleged affair with Barbara. Then he gave a poser: "if anybody in the house feels he has the moral justification to condemn me for the wrong he feels, I've committed, then let him cast the first stone at me." This poser was greeted by applause and cheers and on this note he rested his case.

But then 80 percent of the questions Mathematical Odegbami answered on this night were football oriented. "Why should Nigeria always fall prey to Ghana and Cameroon?" he was asked. "Is it because they are superior?" "The reason is more of psychology than superiority," he answered; why should excellence be sacrificed on the altar of mediocrity in the name of quota system which has never augured well for Nigeria ever since it was injected into the realm of soccer? Segun said this practice has its genesis in the desire to represent every section of the country in the national team so that nobody will feel left out. He gave the examples of Baba Otu Mohammed and Yakubu Mamba who were not even Nigerians but were used to assuage the yearnings of the Northerners.

And their names did the trick: why didn't he go professional in his hey days at the peak of Nigerian soccer? This he attributed to ignorance. For, this was when Nigerian footballers were given peanuts as allowances and what mattered was the joy and glory of donning the national colours which was the ultimate. The picture, therefore, he had in his mind of a person whose active lifetime was spent on the turf of soccer was one of penury and utter wretchedness. He did not want to be a poor man and he did not want to end his life in misery and these in-



Ken Caleb Olumese

formed his decision to set up a number of businesses while still playing soccer. This also showed that he was ignorant of the prospects of soccer outside the shores of Nigeria.

And today, will he say his, has been a success story? "The answer is there for all to see he says. At least the fact that I am here (Niteshift) answers that questions." And in the affirmative too.

Now, how about this for a teaser? Do you know that PMAN owes Sony Okosuns eighty naira? Well, you never can imagine the surprises this night of surprises will surprise you with. The first executive president of PMAN who claims that the pluralisation of his surname (Okosun to Okosuns) is in recognition of the multiplication of his family, revealed that at the time he occupied the then unpopular seat of the president of PMAN, the association was financially impotent. In fact, he didn't even see a treasury, not to talk of meeting any money in the coffers.

Fielding questions from the audience as he reclined in Niteshift's gurnor's hot seat, the Ozzidi exponent stated that the fifty thousand naira which was given to him personally by Bashorun Abiola when he gave him a copy of his album and which he even used in attending to some of the teething prob-

lems of the association, was erroneously conceived by many, to be PMAN's money. This he said, resulted in bickering, conspiracies and factionalism which in turn resulted in what he called coup attempts from which he emerged unscathed. And for this, he is eternally grateful to God. So, on leaving office, N80 was left out of the initial N50,000, and only Sony knows when he will claim it.

Asked whether he has changed his religion since he is known to have sung an Islamic piece, the man who has read both the Bible and the Koran claimed he is still a devoted Christian, but simply did what he did in order to boost the acceptability and sales of his album.

With twenty albums to his credit, the founder of Ozzidism blames the DJs who often prefer foreign music to the indigenous ones for the lack of an authentic Nigerian music.

But from now onwards, it is no longer music and just music for the Ozzidi king. The focus will now shift towards money and Sony felt justified for this. The better part of his musical career he said was spent championing the anti-apartheid crusade musically, for which he expected to get nothing and ultimately got a handshake from Nelson Mandela. Okosun has therefore stepped into Bashorun MKO Abiola's presidential campaign train and he did this with the firm conviction that there is no way he can be associated with the chief without basking in his shadows of wealth.

So, the campaign has started and even the reparation cause which has been put into song, has not been spared Okosuns thoroughness.

Mike Okri who was bent on drinking from Okosun's pool of artistic experience asked why songs or sounds should be cut off indiscriminately at the studios towards the end, thus making for poor finishing. Okosun replied to this by saying that musicians should learn to work hard in hand with sound engineers so that the later don't cut their songs arbitrarily.

And what did he have to say to the allegation that he has not been doing anything to encourage artistic upstarts who throng to him for assistance? Okosuns pointed to Yvonne Maha and Onyeka Onwenu whom he produced as testimonies to the positivity of his attitude to the budding artistes. This is further complemented by other instances of assistance which would have taken him all the night to recite.

This night which saw the Guvnor bouncing from one end of the club to the other gleefully was flavoured by which saw erstwhile beauty queen Bibiana Ohio leading the pack.

Michael Jackson is not of this world

— Says Brooke Shields

By Joseph Umunegbu
with agency report

MICHAEL Jackson is more than just a megaster and a half. He is the world's most renowned popstar. Still only 34, the man or "boy," they fondly call "Whako Jacko," has traversed the heart of the music scene for close on 23 years — enough to make him a veteran! He shot to stardom at the tender age of 11 — a child prodigy — banging away three number one hits with the Jackson 5. Michael was the centerpiece of that group.

As if this was no mean feat, Michael Jackson went a step further on his own. For most of the eighties, he did not cease to amaze. His dance steps, brilliant pop tunes and a flair for the extra-ordinary — he was king of pop. A genius and an odd ball rolled into one. But his greatest claim to fame is his *thriller* and *bad* LPs, which has become the best selling albums in history. *Thriller* tops all, with 48 million copies sold worldwide. And the cash has not stopped rolling in either. Sony Entertainment, has awarded him a contract worth billions of dollars.

Though, Jackson's latest, *Dangerous*, is trudging along at a mere 4 million copies. Not quite the Jackson standard. Last year, *Forbes* magazine noted his financial standing for 1992 to be in the region of \$51 million to \$88 million. Yes! this is big money. But Jackson is said to be losing touch. "Ole Twinkle Toes" still has his magic footwork, but the audience are leaving in droves. Perhaps, he aims to regain the confidence of the fans by opening up in public and coming out of his reclusive shell. "Let people have his own side of his story," he appears to be saying. And why not. "Ole Twinkle Toes," "Whako Jacko," "Peter Pan" or whatever one likes to call him, has taken a lot of jibes in recent years. He aimed to redress the balance by giving a blockbuster interview to the Oprah Winfrey Show. re-

cently, where Jackson bared his mind on some touchy personal issues. It was electric. His first television interview in 14 years. And it was a sell out.

The person Winfrey, who is equally a super celebrity in her own right, fired the questions and Jackson went on the offensive. No, he does not sleep in a hyperbaric chamber — what it was, is an equipment at a burns centre he founded after he charred the side of his head, shooting a 1984 Pepsi advert.

No, his creamy white bleached skin is not an attempt to deny his black roots. "I am proud to be a black American," he says. No, his bleaching is not the reason for his skin problems. He suffers from a disorder which destroys the pigmentation of the skin, "...it is in my family," he remarks. His doctor, Madha Pathak, a professor of dermatology at Harvard, tries to confirm this: "Michael Jackson, may die from other diseases but not from this one. He will have a normal life." No, he did not have a full scale plastic surgery, it was a minimal one to "remodel" his nose and lip in a chin cleft.

Whatever one makes of these answers to Winfrey, it has not hidden the fact that Jackson has never had a normal life. His topsy-turvy lifestyle has shot from one extreme to the other. And its roots began at childhood. In fact, his early years were sad and wounded. And this is reflected in adult-

hood.

He told Winfrey that during rehearsals, "I would look out and see all the children palying...and it would make me cry." Before a tour of South America, he hid away crying because he did not want to go.

His teenage years were just as bitter. "Very, very sad years," he lamented to the ace soap interviewer. His strict father would call him "ugly," and he would cry everyday, he revealed. He reluctantly and defensively admitted receiving his father's beatings. But he exhibits no remorse to a childhood gone away. "Dangerous is dedicated to my dearest parents, Katherine and Joseph Jackson," he enthused.

It is not then surprising that the Peter Pan of the pop world is still a child at heart — just as the fabled Peter Pan who never grew up. Jackson identifies more with pet animals and children than with adults as himself. And this is understandable given his deprived childhood.

But one question he left unanswered was the state of his love life. He has dated Brooke Shields, though the actress says, no wedding bells are in the offing yet. Shields, 27, also grew up in similar circumstances as Jackson did. Right from childhood she was exposed to the naked glare of clicking cameras. Perhaps, this is why Jackson relates more with her than most other adults. In the best possible way, Shields says, "Michael is not of this world." This sums up the state of Michael Jackson's inside world, which he permits very few people a look in.

Michael Jackson, pop's greatest gift.



The collapse of discourse

IN a federation as diverse and multivalent as ours, the possibility of a monolithic view on any issue can quickly be ruled out. Nor is it even healthy, for the cultivation of a democratic culture, to have the nation speak in one voice. What is definitely worth worrying about is the way we disagree. In recent times, we are witnessing a virtual decay of discourse manifested in various forms: in place of dissent, we have enthroned demagoguery; in place of counsel, the elderly and the experienced in our national community have opted for arrogant hectoring, in place of explanation, those in authority have chosen the path of self-righteous justification; in defiance of recourse to the due processes of the law, those who feel wronged have resorted to threats of Armageddon; in place of dialogue, we insist on brutal confrontation; in place of appeal, we have opted for incitement.

Underlying all this is a thick miasma of seemingly incurable cynicism about the future of our country, about the structure and nature of our federation, about our leadership, including our individual existence has come under cynical apprehension.

In more recent times, what one may poetically refer to as our "habit of unhappiness" with ourselves has assumed a new and more dangerous dimension. Some of our citizens who are privileged to travel abroad once in a while have begun to massively "export" and publicise their cynicism and reservations about the realities of our country to other lands, far away places country to which some of our predicaments can be traced. By choosing to exercise our legitimate right to freely express our views about our country outside our borders, especially in Western capitals and through Western media, we, as elite, may in fact be contributing to the much talked about negative perception of our country in other lands. Pointed and scathing criticism of any Nigerian administration outside our shores may sound attractive on the surface. But each time we raise our voices to alien audiences to spotlight our failings, we are demeaning our heritage and undermining our individual linkage to the neo-colonial trap. Such unkind utterances may earn us acclaim in lands whose history is littered with unprintable atrocities; we may even be honoured by founda-

tions of dubious endowment; we may even get a few more paid trips with the hospitality usually accorded ex-slave with some extra dollars or pounds.

But each time any of us goes out there to deride our country, something in us dies.

I refuse to be convinced that we cannot responsibly air our reservations about ourselves within the borders of our land nor is it easy to accept the assumption that we can better bring about the changes that we desire by playing to the gallery of international attention.

The world that we are trying so very hard to impress has a new sense of humour and more urgent worries and would rather that we in Africa stay home and find solutions to our problems.

Saying NO is a healthy part of the democracy we so badly crave. Those who say NO are no less patriotic than either those who say YES or the ones whom history and destiny have placed in the cockpit of today's experience. If I understand them correctly, those in the cockpit of power are not necessarily averse to the voice of dissent. The source of concern is the manner of expression. I share in the worry that perhaps there are too many of us members of the elite shouting at each other from the roof tops; those underneath cannot understand us even though we pretend to be shouting on their behalf.

Nor is the tradition of dissent and political opposition new in our land. Our pioneer nationalists bequeathed us that legacy if no other. They said NO to the British; that is probably one reason why we are all gathered here this afternoon talking freely about the things that touch us all. Easily the most strident and immortal voice in the tradition of constructive opposition and dissent in our land is the late political sage, Chief Obafemi Awolowo

(God bless his noble heritage). In the hands of Awo, the dissenting voice was a necessary tool for the process of nation-building. He never preached that our common household be pulled down but instead insisted that it could be made stronger and remarkably, he did proffer suggestions based on facts and figures. And when he had the opportunity to put into practice his ideas as the Premier of the Western region, he did so in a manner that ensured that practice did not negate theory.

I am sure that the illustrious Awo would be turning uneasily in his grave at what today is passing the language and content of political dis-

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sent in our land.

The virtual collapse to discourse in today's Nigerian cannot of course be divorced from the most crucial task on hand, namely, the quest for a new democratic order.

Precisely, it is the imperative of democracy that has loosened our diverse tongues in different dialects. This perhaps is as it should be. But in the quest for democracy, I believe that dialogue, the interplay of diverse views and the aspiration to a consensus ought to be the norm. The trouble is that we are not speaking to ourselves; we are talking past each other, words with the armour of real bullets.

There lies the danger.

In my view, the entire democracy project in our country gravitates, for now, around two polarities engaged in a Nigerian variant of a Cold War. Here, let me borrow from the recent thoughts of my friend and brother, Chinwezu. There are those who have mistaken democracy for civilian rule. Yes, indeed all democracies are headed and governed by the rules of civil society, but not all civil dispensations are democratic. Said Barre, Ayatollah Khomeini, Ferdinand Marcos, Jean Bedel Bokassa, Marcus Nguema, Kamuzu Banda, Houphouët Boigny, Pietha Bouha may have largely belonged in the broad category of "civilians." I doubt that those who insist on civilian rule as the end of the transition programme would be too eager to accept to live in the kinds of societies that history has come to associate with some of these "leaders."

Civility, which is the essence of democracy refers more, to my mind, to a certain attitudinal and behavioural trait which has nothing to do with custom. There are in our society civilians, some of them in the newly founded vanguard of the PRO-CIVILIAN government movement who display some of the worst traits of the most despicable dictators and fascists in history; intolerant of the views of others; unrelenting

quest for personal vendetta disguised as pursuit of the good of masses that they have neither known or understand, insistence that their perception of reality is the ONE sure path to salvation; the use of intemperate ideologies that have been discarded by societies whose ancestors spurred those very ideas.

There are also in our society, soldiers and other members of civil society who manifest some of the finest attributes of democratic humanism: dialogue, respect for the views of others, disputation of ideas, healthy competition, respect for due process and compromise. These men and women, who luckily constitute the majority of our countrymen constitute, in my view, the PRO-DEMOCRACY movement. In a genuine democracy, soldiers have a role for as long as they imbibe the essential values of democratic culture. This is why I recommend that all categories of officers and men in our uniformed forces should take a daily lesson in our constitution and be made to pass written and oral examinations on elements of the Nigerian constitution and basic civics as a pre-requisites for promotions.

For the PRO-CIVILIAN RULE movement, the instruments and processes of the on-going transition programme cannot bring about civilian rule "with immediate effect." They have proffered alternatives ranging from the now fashionable national conference to the abdication and dismantling of government in favour of anarchy. None of these possibilities can be dismissed easily. But I doubt that we have made any effort to unearth the etymology of the phrase "National Conference."

Have we stopped to ask how come that the elite in nearly every African country faced with the institution of democratic reform after the Cold War uses the same phrase? Have we stopped to ask what these hurriedly assembled and incoherent debating societies have produced in those African countries that have embraced the new phraseology. Someone must quickly do a study of the origins of the language of the New World Order!

But from available evidence from Moscow to Maputo, from Luanda to Lome, from Kiev to Kinshasa, from Azerbaijan to Abidjan, the series of sponsored national conferences that came in the wake of the wave of dictatorship movement on dictatorship is not automatically a pro-democracy movement since it can be led by retired or aspiring fascists and feudalists) especially in Africa, have largely negated their original purposes. In Zaire, an embattled Mobutu is moored on his luxury yacht on the River Congo while prime Minister Tsishekedi and his national confer-

ence people are in the city centre of Kinshasa engaged in fruitless debates. Once in a while, Mobutu, to whom the military is largely loyal, sends his paratroopers into town to surround the parliament building and remind the Prime Minister that he is still in charge. In between, the people suffer, for there is neither state nor society and the economy is left to its own designs as the West which installed Mobutu in the first place has withdrawn all assistance and frozen all credits. In nearby Togo, the same situation replays itself by the day as Eyadema routinely sends his soldiers to harass the assembly of Prime Minister Koffigho to do his biddings. In Cote d'Ivoire, I do not know of what has become of the pro-democracy movement. In Angola, a US broker arrangement has succeeded in bringing Jonas Savimbi and his guerillas into Luanda. Elections have been held. Savimbi has been defeated but he has refused to accept the verdict of the people; instead, we hear sporadic gunfire in the city centre now and again; at the last count, there were over 1000 innocent people dead. In nearby Cameroon, the anti-dictatorship movement has produced an opposition that is poised to plunge that country into civil war... In far away Russia, Boris Yeltsin is presiding over a song with neither rhyme nor rhy. In all these places, the economies has worsened and the welfare of the people, in whose name the National Conferences were convened, has taken a back seat while the elite battles for which faction will hold the key to the national vault. So much for national conferences and "arrange" democracies.

If I may turn to the endangered zone of our national discourse, I am prepared to risk the contention that beyond the prevalent cynicism, beyond the rising tide of unbelief, beyond the growing erosion of confidence in ourselves and in the face of changes that have driven great nations into shreds and reduced others into slaughter slabs or simply boards for skeletons, our country has achieved a few feats which, in the circumstances, we may be overlooking.

"Outside the United States of America, we are easily the single most ethnically and culturally diverse federation that has managed to survive the balkanisation and armed disintegration and factionalisation that has resulted from the end of the Cold War. We are still here under one constitution (suspended, routinely amended or in suspended animation).

"Before the wave of pro-democracy movements began to sweep through Eastern Europe and parts of Africa, we were the first African country under military dictatorship to opt, voluntar-

ily, for a systematic transition to civil democracy. The errors on the way should embolden rather than humiliate us.

"As morality gradually takes centre stage in diplomacy and international relations, I can see US Marines taking up positions all over Somalia. Very few Nigerians realise that the noble work upon which the United States, through the United Nations is doing today in Somalia is only a more equipped, better financed and more professional packaged imitation of what we are doing in Liberia and through the agency of ECOMOG. I commend the sense of responsibility of the United States but I prefer what we are doing in Liberia, for it is nobler to shed African blood to restore the dignity of Africans than have others do it for us! My heart of course goes out to those of our compatriots who have come to harm's way in the Liberian operation.

If I have spoken at some length and with some degree of passion and concern about my country, there is a personal explanation for it. In late adolescence, I came to know my country in the long dark days of the Civil War. In place of school, my nation taught me endless lessons in tragedy; in place of toys, my nation gave me mock wooden rifles as a member of the Boy's Company only graduate to more lethal weapons a few months after; in place of the Sunday worship, we chanted daily dirges as we buried the ever present dead in shallow graves; in familiar places, I watched the pastoral innocence of my village life which I had grown to cherish devastated by the guns of war.

I am not only the witness of these tragedies through which our country has passed. There may be people in this assembly who share my sense of loss; there may even be others in this gathering who have lived with shrapnels lodged in their limbs or bowels for the past 22 years.

From the ashes of that ruin, we rose and began the tortuous process of learning to walk again. The wounds are beginning to heal but the scars in our collective soul remains. I stand before you as a witness of both the ruin and the reunion. This is why I shudder at invoking a second Armageddon to befall our country.

Our collective response ought to be a re-echo of the reflex response of the Jews whenever the holocaust is mentioned: NEVER AGAIN. For Nigeria, for me is home.

Chidi Amua, former chairman of Daily Times editorial board, delivered this address at the launching of his book, PRINCIPLES OF THE NIGER.

CRISIS IN THE MONEY MARKET:

Where do we go from here?

.....as foreign exchange rates soar, debt stock increases, subvention to agriculture makes downward trend, and prices of goods and services fly above affordable heights.

Auction session held weeks ago to grab some forex at all cost. Imagine a situation where three of the four biggest banks in Nigeria lost out at the first Dutch Auction session.

Most of the banks treasurers came to the hall with electronic calculators. They would first wait for their counterparts to bid before bidding themselves. As a result of this, it became a battle for survival of the fittest as bank chiefs struggled to bid highest. One commercial bank treasurer went as far as bidding N36.00 to a dollar. It was only the intervention of the CBN that saved the situation. M.R. Rasheed, CBN's Director of Foreign Exchange said the bids submitted by the banks were "outrageous" and that the CBN was "constrained to cancel the results."

Although Steve Akinrotoyé, president of the Money Market Association defended the action of his colleagues by saying that they did not seek for forex for their own consumption, many financial experts condemned the action of the bank chiefs. According to Akinrotoyé, "treasurers bid for their

week, while at the parallel market, the same currency was on offer for N42.24 as against N38.80 two weeks ago. The United States dollar exchange at N31.25 in the parallel market and N33.22 at the bureaux de change and against N27.33 and N27.25 respectively in the preceding week. This unprecedented exchange rate was attributed to desperate moves by some banks that lost out at the first Dutch

Ahmed... CBN Governor



Money



By Obinna Nwachukwu

WHEN Ernest Shonekan, Transitional Council chairman announced the 1993 budget in January, he explained that official foreign exchange receipt of \$7.9 billion was earmarked for 1993 fiscal year. Of this amount \$4.7 billion will be allocated for domestic use, while \$2.4 billion will be for debt servicing and \$0.8 billion for external reserve. Inference to be drawn from this is that the Central Bank of Nigeria should be able to make available about \$90 million for sale at Inter-Foreign Exchange Market (IFEM) on weekly basis (4.7 billion divided by 52 weeks). This means that the CBN should have sold an approximate N720 million to authorized banks for onward disbursement to manufacturers and importers in the first two months of this year.

However, going by transaction at the IFEM penultimate week, it becomes clear that the monetary authorities seem not to be fully in control of monetary transactions in the country. Or if they are, their operational mechanism is defective. This is because, the performance of the Naira against other currencies (which crashed to unprecedented levels at both the parallel market and the bureaux de change) left much to be desired. At the bureaux de change, the naira exchanged for N44.58 to the pound sterling as against N39.19 in the preceding

clients and they are agents for such customers, since no bank bids for its own use."

However, Ebere Nwaka, a chartered accountant with Lion Bank PLC, Lagos, said that one incurable shortcoming of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) is its inability to find an acceptable stable exchange rate for the national currency. He stated that the economy is dangerously hanging on a precipice due to the seeming confusion that has attended the foreign exchange market and the gross distortion it has generated. "Having found the courage to tinker endlessly with our exchange rate system, we must also find the courage for the supportive fiscal measures,"

Nwaka advised. "A reflection of this proportion is that external balance will be very difficult to achieve for as long as our banking system rates have to be high and real interest rates will also have to pick up before we can reserve the flow of flight capital," he submitted.

Already Nwaka's fear of the present scenario affecting the external balance of payments has started manifesting itself. A recent report indicates that total external debts stock have worsened by a whopping 137.8 billion naira, which is an increase of 25 percent in two months. This is an outcome of the recent depreciation of the naira. Although Nigeria's debts in dollars still stand at 27.56 billion dollars which was 551.2 billion naira as at when the 1993 federal budget was announced, the nation now has to pay about 689 billion naira or more due to the official exchange rate. Also, the federal government would require 60 billion naira to service her external

debts for this year, an increase of 12 billion naira over 48 billion naira Transitional Council projected, for the exercise. Economists are therefore quick to say that the current depreciation, which represents a major distortion in the budget will lead to an increase in the overall budget deficit projected at 28.6 billion naira. In that vein, the naira equivalence of the national external budget debt stock will continue to rise in line with further depreciation of the local currency.

In the last two years, the budget deficit averaged N40 billion per annum and the broad definition of money supply (M2) increased by 49.2 percent in 1992 alone. And without any appreciable expansion in foreign exchange earnings, the naira has had to depreciate substantially in order to maintain a semblance of equilibrium. With aberrations, the naira exchange rate responded by moving from N4 to a dollar at the end of 1986 to N20 to a dollar by the end of the 1992.

And by last year, the pendulum economic analysts indicated that the



Inuwa Bakari...Commerce Secretary

naira was grossly devalued. Exchanging for N10 to a dollar in January, 1992, the currency suffered the single largest devaluation in March last year when with further deregulation of FEM it moved upwards to N18 to a dollar. This took place despite the fact that government had put on FEM about \$1 billion from the national reserves in addition to the \$3.2 billion allocated the market last year.

But even at this, FEM had to be suspended several times between December last year, and February this year to allow for an overhauling of the system. When last month it eventually took off, the CBN re-introduced the Dutch Auction system which was rejected in 1992 as a result of its shortcomings in tackling the country's foreign exchange problems.

The adoption of this method which results in gradual devaluation of the naira and the offer of only \$80 million foreign exchange for sale, fuelled the speculations that the apex bank might have listened to advice of the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and creditor nations in adopting the N25 to a dollar as the exchange rate.

As expected, the naira crashed, selling at N24.99 to a dollar with less than 17 banks being successful. It also sparked off a bidding war among finance houses. Apart from not achieving a stable and acceptable exchange rate for the naira devaluation, which the Structural Adjustment Programme set up in 1986, failed to achieve its primary aim of boosting non-oil exports by making them more attractive to foreign importers. It also failed to discourage imports.

It is therefore on the basis of this that experts have come out openly to call for a total overhaul of the system. Economics, University of the Department of Lagos, said that for now it appears pointless to keep on depreciating the naira, "unless a zone which makes our exports non-competitive or which makes import de-

He stated that the economy is dangerously hanging on a precipice due to the seeming confusion that has attended the foreign exchange market and the gross distortion it has generated.



Garba Ja Abdulkadir...Agriculture Secretary

mand pressures unbearable." Explaining that the present development will have a multiplier effect on the economy, Akano said that, "the federal government as a matter of urgency, needs to come into the situation by halting further depreciation of the naira and, set a rate beyond which the value of the naira cannot go."

But if this is not done, he further stated, the current depreciation of the currency will have a terrible effect on the economy with concomitant rise in the cost of living. This implies that the cost of services will increase, while goods will attract much more than the ordinary man can afford. And he is right as our survey of the commodity market shows.

Investigations by TSM show that the prices of basic household needs have shot beyond the affordable levels of most consumers, in the wake of further crash of the naira.

The affected goods are household and edible products, alcoholic drinks, shoes and clothing materials. The prices of these materials are now between 20 - 40 percent increase. For instance, the price of *Derica* tin of pure rice that used to sell for N12 now sells for N16 and N20 depending on the market, while a gallon of vegetable oil formerly bought between N50 - N60, now sells between N80 - N95.

The brewing industry in Nigeria is equally facing a turbulent time as the prices of beer and malt drinks soar out of the reach of Nigeria's low income ear-

ners. As at the time of filing this report, a bottle of Star beer sold at a minimum price of N12 big stout (Guinness) N25, small N14, Legend, N10, Gulder, N12, Malt drinks N7 and Minerals N4.

Consumers have, increasingly, found it difficult to make ends meet. James Iroh, a Headmaster of a primary school in Lagos, expresses the fear of what consumers should expect, in the near future. He said that as a result of the belief that when prices go up, they hardly come down, consumers are now buying in bulk, due to indiscriminate increase in the prices of commodities.

Not only that, investigations show that workers in many establishments are now pressing on their employers through different tactics to drive home their demand for increase in pay package in form of bonus.

Most of them hold that the bonus if paid, should not be less than a hundred percent of their basic salary as opposed to earlier agreement of 50 percent.

Even if these efforts yield their desired results, TSM gathered that this may provide little solution to the problem on hand, because the continued reduction in money supply to banks has made traders reluctant to bring down the prices of their commodities.

Further investigations show that increase in prices of commodities may not necessarily be the handiwork of manufacturers, but that of middlemen and retailers who want to cash in on this to better their conditions. But even

Investigations to TSM show that the prices of basic household needs have shot beyond the affordable levels of most consumers, in the wake of further crash of the naira. The affected goods are household and edible products, alcoholic drinks, shoes and clothing materials.

as the prices remain high, demand by consumers continues to rise.

This view was corroborated by sources at P.Z. Industries PLC and Nestle Foods PLC both located at Ilupeju Industrial Layout, Lagos. The sources said it is possible that traders engaged in different measures to maximise their profits, even to the extent of keeping them off their display stands (hoarding the goods).

But traders at Balogun and Ketu markets in Lagos, said that they should not always be held responsible for scarcity and hike in market prices. They drew an inference from what they called "the realities of market forces of demand and supply," stressing that for now, they have ready buyers for their goods but that the supply is inadequate. On what is responsible for short supply, the manufacturers attribute it to increase in the cost of spare parts, and difficulties in obtaining foreign exchange. "The prices rise so high that we find it difficult to procure most of the spare parts." They however quickly added that the increase in factory prices are not as high as what obtains in the market.

Olaniyi Yusuf, Marketing Director of Nigerian Breweries PLC had earlier explained that his company has no control over the price at which its products are sold. "We have no control over the price of Star at the local restaurant just as we do not have control over the price of Gulder at L Hotel Eko Meridian," he said, blaming the rise in prices of their products on the ever increasing cost of production.

The cost of other major ingredients in brewing is not left out. Packaging cost, too, he explained had increased owing to the devaluation of the naira and high interest rates charged by banks.

TSM research shows that since 1988 the beer market has been on five percent yearly decline leaving more and more unsold stock for most companies in the capital market. This annual decline has equally engendered scepticism among prospective stock buyers making it even more difficult for the privatisation exercise to work.

Brewers also recount endless tales of woe which they blame on the ban on advertising of alcohol on the electronic media, with no clear indication that the sector's capacity utilization will improve from 1990's 54 percent as the situation is becoming worse. The industry is now spending more in advertising by shifting emphasis to such things as sponsorship of events especially sports.

In spite of harvest of profits in the commodity market a staff of Bata Shoes does not believe it is fair to ride on the consumers in the selfish interests of

the sellers to maximize profits. Stressing how this season is strategic to marketing their products, (Bata recently gave a 50 percent discount on their shoes), he explained that what Bata tries to do is to increase consumer's choice in the varieties usually made available to them, and these products are always designed for all categories of society. The option, therefore, is for the consumer to find his own level and taste.

Ironically, while foreign exchange rate soars and prices of goods jump high, sectoral allocation to agriculture records dismal growth.

For example, the overall credit allocation to the agricultural sector in the 1st quarter of 1992 declined by 21 percent. Official statistics from the Central

Bank of Nigeria stated that about N12.414 million was granted to 3,282 farmers in September last year as against N15.659 million in the month of August and which was to 5,246 farmers. The amount granted in September, however shows a slight increase of about 3.1 percent over the corresponding period in 1991. Of this amount, the food crop sub-sector received about 80.7 percent or N10.016 million for 2,951 farmers. The live stock subsector got N1.042 million or 8.4 percent which was benefitted by 214 farmers. The amount to cash crop subsector was N0.304 million or 2.4 percent, involving 66 farmers while the remaining amount of N1.053 million was granted to 51 farmers in other subsectors.

The CBN also said that Katsina State received the largest amount of N2.221 million or 17.9 percent, distributed to 400 farmers. Bauchi State got N1.324 million or 10.7 percent, Yobe State received N1.238 million or 10 percent for 372 farmers. Anambra, Delta, Edo, Jigawa and Ogun did not receive any loan under the scheme.

Some agriculturists have expressed fear that the relatively good performance of these sectors may likely decline further this year. They hinged their argument on the provisions of this year's budget which removed government participation in the procurement and distribution of fertilizer nationwide. While announcing this year's budget, Ernest Shonekan, Transitional Council Chairman said that Federal Government plans to "disengage completely from the procurement and distribution of fertilizers," believing that complete deregulation of the business is not likely to have any grievous effects on the small-scale farm holding units which remain the centre piece of Nigeria's agricultural policy. But present realities have more or less punctured this belief.

On the basis of the foregoing, the question that observers now ask is: What could be the possible solution to this ugly trend? It was the consensus among consumers that the government should always embark on relief measures so as to reduced the exploitative tendencies of greedy traders but for how long will government continue to give relief measures? The solution, according to industry analysis, does not

lie in government embarking on importation of consumer goods. Rather, government should reduce duties on imported spare parts, used in the production of consumer goods, increase allocation to agriculture, as well as encourage local sourcing of available raw materials as this will not only ensure stable market for products, but will also strengthen indigenous manufacturers in the spirit of SAP.

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Dolphin Estate under siege

...It is the plague of commercialisation and the residents are crying out.

By Isodi Dike

THIS scourge has remained with the society for long, but nobody would have believed the speed at which it is now eating up the Dolphin Upper Medium Housing Scheme, in Ikoyi, Lagos State. The estate being the property of the Lagos State Development and Property Corporation (LSDPC) has now been invaded by corporate bodies, most of them finance houses. This naturally has attracted its vice by way of invasion by numerous visitors, who now throng the estate in search of businesses.

It has continued to bother the residents, greatly. Though, whilst some are bearing their grief in silence others have refused to do so, lying low. Four of them, led by Hairat Balogun, a housewife and in fact, a former Attorney-General of Lagos State have dragged, the LSDPC and nineteen others including Babatunde St. Mathew-Daniel, his wife, FCA Ogbe, E.O. Solarin, S.O. Oyiefesobi, P. Alabi, all doctors, N. Edu and J.S. Abu, to a Lagos High Court.

Their grouses are many, but it borders on a single truth as they alleged in their statement of claim — that the Dolphin estate was leased to the residents for residential purposes only. They are, therefore, at a loss how the defendants disregarded the residential user-only covenant and sublet their wings of duplexes to and or allowed it to be used by various corporate bodies for their businesses and other commercial purposes.

TSM gathered that in 1987 the LSDPC, by newspaper advertisements and brochures "advertised the construction and sale of 412 number residential duplexes (later increased to 656 number) in Dolphin estate." Each wing of the duplex consists of four bedrooms, three bath rooms and separate parking area. Amongst other facilities, the duplex which is set in a plot of five hundred and forty five square metres, has a large garden of nine metres by seven metres in front. There is also a provision of nine metres space in the back for boys quarters and kitchen terraces.

What all these point to is that, the Dolphin estate is not an accommodation for just anybody especially where the residents were required to pay a mandatory deposit of N50,000 naira after a non-refundable fee of N250 naira when they were applying for the houses. It was further gathered that each of those wings of duplexes cost the residents an amount in the neighbourhood of 470,000 naira.

Hairat Balogun and the three other plaintiffs amongst other things are saying that "the use of the houses as offices, businesses and commercial centres now constitute a very serious security problem in Dolphin estate as very many people including persons of dubious character and questionable motives now swarm the estate at all

times under the guise of being employees or clients or customers of companies or business houses operating in the estate."

In addition, the plaintiffs alleged that the failure of LSDPC to enforce the residential user-only covenant, have made them to suffer damages due to the noise and disturbance occasioned "thereby the plaintiffs use and enjoyment of their property have been seriously disturbed."

Also they claimed in particular that the number of vehicles that throng the

estate make it no longer possible for their children to "play safely or ride their bikes on most streets or visit friends" and that the large number of offices and business houses have at



tracted and continued to attract a horde of hangers-on, such as "Molue, "Danfo" buses, "Kabu Kabu," and numerous roadside canteen and hawkers, "thus depriving the estate of the peaceful, serene and quiet atmosphere of a residential estate of that nature."

At the end, the plaintiffs then asked the court for an injunction to restrain the defendants, their servants, agents, tenants or privies, from carrying on or permitting to be carried on in their various houses, businesses and commercial activities as is the present case; an order compelling the LSDPC to take all necessary and adequate steps to enforce the allottees' compliance with the conditions of allocation of the said houses; and general damages to the tune of two million naira.

The defendants and some of the tenants spoken to refused to comment on the issue claiming that since the matter has been referred to the court, they will rather wait until the court de-

clides. It was the same story at the offices of LSDPC along Town Planning Way, Ilupeju but an officer revealed that the corporation had warned the allottees on several occasions about the breach of conditions of allotment to no avail.

"The truth of the matter is that the allottees are mostly society figures and it is a pity that most of them take laws into their hands," he said "And that is how they take us to court at anytime depending on which side they are, on any given issue. We will welcome the assistance of the court in this particular one."

The warning, the LSDPC official mentioned may not be unconnected with several newspaper advertisements especially the one in *The Guardian* of June 29, 1992 which the plaintiffs referred to in their claim.

In that advertisement titled: "Illegal conversion of houses at the Dolphin Housing Estate, Ikoyi into office" the LSDPC stated clearly that it is a violation of the stipulation in clause 10 of the letter of allocation given to each allottee which states that "the house should be used for residential purposes only."

A lawyer who asked for anonymity spoke on the general implication of the matter. Hear him: It is really sad that Nigerians no matter their class do not abide by laws unless it favours their hidden motives. When an estate is provided for residential purposes only, the authorities, know why they did so, and

using it otherwise is bound to create sociological, health and other problems."

"But then, this is not the first time this scourge has been with us. Lool at Victoria Island and Allen Avenue Ikeja," he continued "They were originally planned as residential areas only now. " ?

TSM gathered further that the case of Adeniran Ogunsonya and Bode Thomas in Surulere is particularly pathetic and shows how government's good intentions are flouted and their 'taken for granted. Those areas were residential houses built for civil servants in the seventies. When commercial activities started creeping in, the residents cried foul but at the long run they gave up. In fact, it is now the vogue to lease or sell the houses outrightly to business ventures.

Consequently, most of the houses have been destroyed and rebuilt by the new owners to reflect their corporate might.

According to the lawyer unless there is a clause that states that no allottee shall sublet, the contravention of the said clause 10 notwithstanding the practical resolution of the crisis may be too daunting unless of course, the court is very stern on the issue.

The question however on most lips was why the authorities have not taken steps to provide certain basic amenities, such as schools, supermarkets and health clinics in the area for use by the residents.

Some of the commercial invaders

- Amede Finance Investment (Nig.) Ltd
- Creative Finance Ltd
- First Aid Finance & Investment Co Ltd
- International Standard Securities Ltd
- Ventures Finance & Procurements Ltd
- Geo Bureau De Change
- Equatorial Trust Bank Ltd
- Population Activities Fund Agency
- National Drug Law Enforcement Agency
- Techniques Engineering Architectural Marketing
- Credit Bond Investments Ltd
- Quality Servicing Imaging Ltd (Qsi Ltd)
- Intercontinental Merchant Bank (Nig.) Ltd
- Dolphin Specialists Medical Centre
- Women's Medical Foundation
- Redeemed Christian Church of God
- Aces Investment & Finance Ltd
- Magnum Group Ltd
- Philsum Construction Corporation Ltd
- Bestform Finance & Securities Ltd
- Primary School
- TV Broadcasting Company
- 45B Corporation drive
- 176B Corporation drive
- 182A Corporation drive
- 144 A & B ASSO. Road.
- 292A, Badagry St.
- 292A Badagry St.
- 94B, Island Way.
- 83A & B, Badagry St.
- 226A, Eti-Osa St.
- 49A & B, Corp. drive
- 272A, Corp. drive
- 186A, Corp. drive
- 210A & B, Isale Eko Way
- 100A, Corp. drive
- 100A, Corp. drive
- 181B, Isale Eko Way
- House 179B.
- House 132A
- House 55A
- House 190A
- House 119A
- House 180B



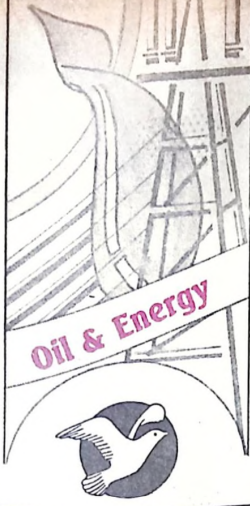


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Oil & Energy



On a cleansing mission

A young organisation, Friends of the Environment (FOTE), is formally launched to rid the society of oily wastes.

By Ademola Adedoyin

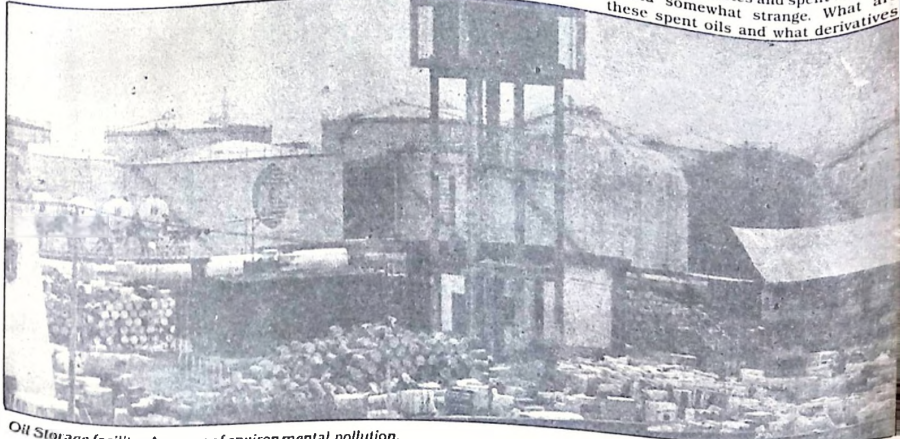
In Nigeria. It was this very ambitious programme code-named Environmental Protection Programme that FOTE called a select audience of pollution-free environment enthusiasts to formally adopt at the Federal Palace Hotel, Lagos last Monday. It was also an occasion to formally launch FOTE.

According to Jerry Nwankwo, a doctor and vice-president of the organisa-

and the benefits of collecting and recycling used oil in order to conserve resources and preserve the environment.

Other plans of action include promoting the establishment and maintenance of collection facilities by oil lubricant retailers, roadside mechanics and other users, encouraging the utilisation or disposal of collected oil lubricants in an environmentally safe and sound manner and recommending and helping governments, particularly local governments, to draft appropriate legislations for proper collection and disposal of oily wastes.

But in a society where attitude to a clean environment has not been greeted with much enthusiasm, the issue of oily wastes and spent oils may sound somewhat strange. What are these spent oils and what derivatives



Oil Storage facility: A source of environmental pollution.

By their names you shall know them. From their name you would tell that theirs is a worthy cause. They are the friends of the environment. And that is their name. FOTE for short. Their mission is to see to the improvement and preservation of the Nigerian human and ecological environment. Specifically, they intend to wage a relentless war against improper disposal of oily wastes and spent oils.

And that is some tall ambition, given the somewhat carefree attitude to the issue of a safe and sound environment

tion who stood in for the president, Olu Maduka, an engineer. FOTE, "concerned about the visible pollution of our land, air and water resources by waste used oil, and the danger posed to public health and welfare," decided to address the issue through a multi-pronged approach.

These include updating information on types and quantities of oily wastes and their sources in Nigeria, carrying out inventory of laws, regulations or administrative directives related to waste oil collection and disposal and conducting a public education programme to inform the public of the needs for

are oily wastes may be the questions in the minds of many. Used lubricants, sludges, bitumen, slops and sediments, according to FOTE, constitute the greater part of these oily wastes.

C.J. Ubani, an engineer with National Oil PLC sheds more light on this. Said he: "Waste oil means any semi liquid or liquid used product consisting totally or partially of mineral oil or synthesised hydrocarbons (synthetic oils), oily residues from tanks, oil-water mixtures and emulsions." And according to Evans Aina a doctor and boss of the Federal Environmental Protection Agency. (FEPA) "most used oils -

tain heavy metals and organic compounds which are toxic and may be carcinogenic." (i.e. cancer causing).

The problem of environmental pollution resulting from oily wastes is serious because efforts have not even begun to tackle it. Roadside mechanics and service stations dump used oil recovered from vehicles on the environment as a routine. There is neither any collection nor disposal system for used oil. In fact, as at now, "collection of waste oil is not yet obligatory in Nigeria," in the words of Ubani. And that is why "annually, about 20 million gallons of crank case oil and other potentially recyclable oils are released, according to Aina. "into the Nigerian environment from mechanic workshops, power stations and commercial houses."

In application of lubricants, some of the products are outrightly consumed in service. The proportion consumed varies with the type of product and service involved. It can vary from 80 percent of the new oil, as in the case of turbine or transmission oils, to zero in the case of lubricants used as two strokes oils or process oils. Between 1988 and 1992, Nigeria's lubricants consumption stood at 1,108,395,000 litres. In 1992, Nigeria consumed 7.6

billion litres of petroleum products.

"One percent of this volume, said Ubani," represents approximately the volume of lubricants which is not completely consumed or converted during use and this represents a potential pollution problem after use.

The total lubricant consumed in Nigeria is put at 5.3 million barrels. And "out of this quantity," Ubani noted again "equivalent of about 4.6 million barrels of uncollected waste will represent a potential pollution threat and loss of both recyclable and energy resources."

To the environmentalists, a situation where well over 4 million barrels of waste oils are released into the environment annually calls for a serious concern. Apart from constituting an eye-sore, oil wastes contaminates surface and underground water, it also prevents the growth of flora and soil fauna. It is all for these reasons that FOTE feels strongly that now is the time for a concrete action to be taken.

But despite the fact that oil marketers and consumers generally have not been compelled by any enactment to collect these wastes, FEPA has started work along that direction. Non-governmental organisations, NGOs, like FOTE are expected to carry out programmes of action that will bring awareness on the parts of the corporate bodies and the citizenry in this war against waste oil. But the authorities

would have to show enough interest and encourage the NGOs.

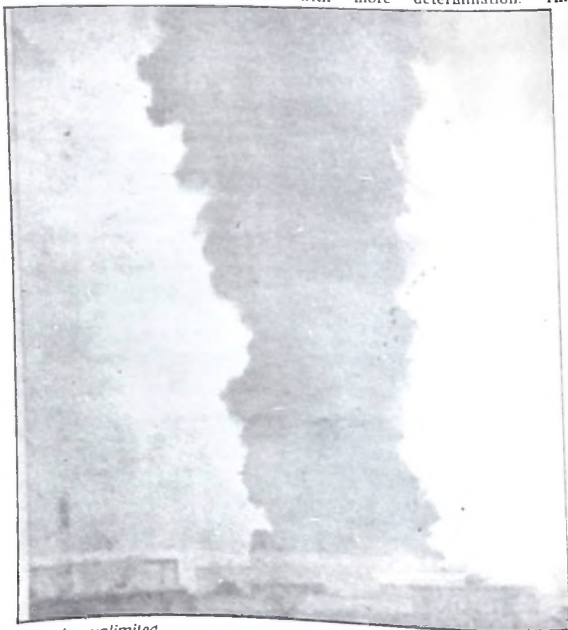
FEPA showed that it has seen the issue of wastes from the petroleum industry as a threat to a safe environment when in February 1992, in conjunction with the Federal Ministry of Petroleum Resources, it organised the 7th Biennial International Conference on the Petroleum Industry and the Nigerian Environment. At the conference, FEPA introduced the draft document titled "National Guidelines and standards for Wastes Management in the Oil and Gas Sector in Nigeria" for public assessment.

The FEPA conference recommended the establishment of National

Waste Management in the oil and Gas industry and it is my hope that FEPA Guidelines and standards for waste management in the Nigeria Oil Industry will be released in 1993."

It is also this 1993 that FOTE plans to go into action. And there are three areas which FOTE intends to focus immediately. One is the public campaigns to create the awareness in the vehicle owner, generator owner, motor mechanic and Nigerians generally that spent oil should not be disposed of indiscriminately.

FOTE will also concentrate effort on convincing government to revive the mechanic village project and pursue it with more determination. This.



Pollution unlimited

Guideline and standards for effective waste Management practices in the petroleum industry which should include provisions for collection, storage, treatment and recycling of waste oils; and the vigorous pursuit of environmental awareness and education by government, industry and non-governmental organisations.

Said Aina: "My agency is now in the process of completing the Draft National Guidelines and Standards for

Nwankwo told TSM, is to ensure centralised collection system. The organisation also plans to build collection centres where waste oils can be disposed of.

But this may be a herculean task. And this because "There are no positive inducements for the holder of the used oil to arrange for proper disposal and the collection of such quantities from widely dispersed and unpredictable locations is uneconomical in nor



Aina...Tireless effort to ensure safe environment

mal market term i.e the cost of collection outweighs their commercial value," said Ubani.

He however opined that: "the environmental threat which they represent can only be eliminated by a co-ordinated comprehensive collection system in which the collectors are obliged to accept all waste oils regardless of quantity, quality or location."

For Nigeria, Ubani advocates state collection system. The system which is practised in Germany will use fund raised by a levy on lubricants sales to support the collection and disposal of used oil. "For example, Ubani said, "if ten kobo levy is imposed per litre on lubricant sold consumed in the country, the sum of approximately N30 million would be realised from the estimated 300 million litres of lubricant sold each year. This amount, in Ubani's view, could be used to purchase maintain collection vehicles and pay staff salaries.

The local authorities, the national oil engineer suggests further, would be made to provide facilities at strategic locations for the collection-deposition of waste engine oil.

In case the government is not willing to impose 10 k litre tax, Ubani said the responsibility of waste oil disposal

could be made to rest squarely on the shoulders of the Petroleum Industry itself. He said further that it may be necessary to ask retail consumers to return used automotive crank case oil by marketing new oil in combination with a container for the return of the used oil.

On the disposal of the waste oils, Ubani suggested burning as fuel in solid waste incinerators, control burning as fuel for industrial boilers and cement manufacturers and blending into fuel oils "depending on the use which has been made of the original product, (as) waste oil (may) contain different types and concentrations of contaminants."

These indeed are daunting tasks. And any organisation that decides to face such tasks would know that these are not problems that could be solved all alone. For an issue like this which goes beyond a local problem, FOTE would need the support of everybody within and outside Nigeria to make a success of its self-imposed assignment. And that exactly was Aina's word of advice to the young organisation. "You are (also) aware that environmental problems transcend national boundaries. It is therefore essential that your organisation should work hand in hand with both government

and non-governmental bodies and also maintain links with other NGOs at sub-regional and international levels.

"This, Aina said further," will enable you to strengthen your capacity and technical competence on environmental and related technological issues; assure access to the global pool of knowledge and information as well as facilitate the sharing of experiences and skills."

This very much FOTE has realised. Since it was formed on 18th December 1991, it has sought both local and international attention. Three members of the organisation attended the Earth Summit in Rio De Janeiro, Brazil last June. At present FOTE is an affiliate and Nigerian local point for EARTH-ACTION INTERNATIONAL — a Global citizen lobbying network.

FOTE, a non-political, non-profit and non-governmental organisation currently has about 30 high flying professionals as members. To carry out its programme of activities for the 1993-94 period, about N4.5m is needed. At the formal launching of the association last Monday, individuals, oil companies and other corporate entities identified with the association's aspirations by donating generously to its purse. But the association can make do with more of such generous donations. It is a worthy cause you should identify with. You will be saving our environment if you did.

Consumer to pay more for electricity extension

HENCEFORTH, any corporate body, industrial lay out or community that intends to extend its electricity supply beyond what NEP Plc put in place should be prepared to pay more. This is because NEP Plc has reviewed regulations guiding distributing networks.

Consumers have henceforth been prohibited from direct purchasing of electrical materials such as polls, cables etc. required for electricity connection and extension projects.

According to the new regulation which is designed to boost the revenue base of the commercialised outfit, those who require electricity extension are to pay directly in to the coffers of NEP Plc amount covering the total cost of the service which "shall be calculated using prevailing contract rates or cost based on approved adjudicated tender price."

Furthermore, the consumer will also pay to the purse of the company 10 percent of the cost of materials to be purchased as "labour cost." Seven and half percent of total cost is also to be paid to NEP Plc as "headquarters charge," to cover the cost of processing relevant contract papers and two and half percent as transport charge and some percentage as "on cost charge."

The tragedy of transition

cracies began as protests against sit tight rulers, dictatorships and corruption. It was also seen as the yearnings for wider participation of the citizens in directing how they would be governed. But while the euphoria was not it was clear that the long awaited change going to witness a long awaited change of direction. The delight over the fall of dictators began to peter out as new economic realities dampened the excitement. To top this, Africa in 1990 was still plagued by bad rulers and civil wars. The unending economic chaos and the lack of political legitimacy of many African leaders helped blow up national tensions. While the transition to democratic government was sweeping across Africa, wars and conflicts were also on the increase. Liberia, Chad, Rwanda and Uganda were on the boil. And in Mozambique and Angola,

it was thought that the end of communism would also bring about the end of western support for bandit guerrilla movements who were ensuring that their countries knew no peace since independence.

Though other more meaningful guerrilla movements continued to flourish, it is doubtful that these could serve as a midwife to a new social order in the continent. The guerrilla movements may at the end of the day become mere tools for replacing sit tight dictators, without actually solving or addressing socio economic problems of its various countries. In any case, it is better to avoid being caught up in a quagmire of war and destruction.

What is presently happening to Africa can be compared to the effects of a world war. The inter-tribal conflicts apart, environmental upheaval acute



The World



Africa's transition to multi-party democracy hit full gear in 1990. After nearly three years, it appears her transition train is derailing.

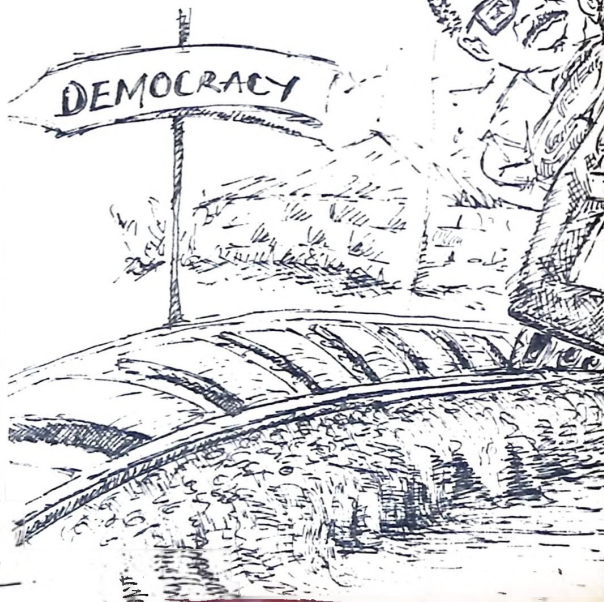
By Joseph Umunegbu



SINCE the clamour by African nationalists for independence from colonial rule took place, 1990 marked the beginning of a second 'wind of change.' It occurred because of the poor showing of Africa's thirty odd years of post independence period, which was largely heralded by single party dictatorships and military rule.

But by 1990 many dictatorships were being toppled or threatened — following the collapse of the Soviet bloc — in favour of the western style multiparty democracies. It was tagged the second wind of change, blowing across the African continent. Benin, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Mozambique, Chad, Cameroun, Congo and Angola were among the countries caught by the new developments. And at the end of 1990, Zambia, Guinea and even Somalia, under Siad Barre introduced laws to allow general elections in early 1991. Virtually all over the continent, 1990 was marked by a greater tendency towards democratic reforms.

The agitation for multiparty democ-



famine and the political and economic crises, already mentioned seem to buttress the tragedy of Africa's transition to multiparty democracy.

But the West has contributed to the tragedy of Africa. In some cases they have preferred bad rulers to the progressive ones who could have assisted in bringing Africa out of the woods.

Radical African leaders were seen as tottering towards communism. With the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the West is yet to end crises in Africa, the West is yet to end crises in Africa, the West is yet to end crises in Africa, which were showcases for cold war rivalry between the superpowers. It gives the impression that more was at stake for the West, rather than simply containing communism.

Zaire's Mobutu, bandit guerrilla movements in Mozambique and Angola and the notorious apartheid regime were all sustained by the west — to contain communism. Zaire was prevented embracing Patrice Lumumba, a highly intelligent leader who held the progress of his people at heart. Lumumba refused to play ball with the West. So

he was ruthlessly killed. Mobutu Sese Seko stepped in and served western interests. He presided over one of the world's most corrupt states. Kwame Nkrumah did a fair share of reawakening Africa's political consciousness throughout the late 1950's and early 1960's. In 1958, Nkrumah wanted to prepare the agenda for the liberation of Africa from neo-colonial rule. This did not serve the interest of the West. And he was kicked out of power by the military boot. Namibia in April 1990 was at last given independence. Sam Nujoma became Namibia's first president after winning a free and fair multiparty elections. Namibia's independence would not have seen the light of day, but for the efforts of the Angolan government and Cuban troops who defeated South Africa in the famous Cuene Cavale battle in 1988, which paved the way for the West to reluctantly barter Namibia's independence for the removal of Cuban troops from Angola. Jean Bedel Bokassa of the Central African Republic, was also the West's man. He seriously dealt with his country's intellectuals — who are a major taproot for developing democratic cultures. And the list goes on.

Africa is however, pushing ahead with her transition to multiparty democracy. Ghana and Angola held presidential polls last year, while Kenya and Senegal recently completed their own elections. The general trend in these four countries were that incumbent leaders have remained in power, to the annoyance of oppositional forces. The elections were thus tainted by pockets of violence and accusations of electoral fraud. In the case of Angola, the presidential elections resulted in the resumption of the civil war. Certainly, these mistrusts will not usher in a stable climate for multiparty rule.

Against these developments, SM sought out Segun Odesola, a University of Lagos, political science lecturer, who has been receiving media attention recently, concerning the on-going transition programme. Odesola was asked to assess Africa's transition to democratic rule and its prospects:

Why is the transition to democratic rule in Africa suffering from multifaceted problems?

Because democracy as it is conceptualised, is strange to Africa. We have different cultural backgrounds and different circumstances to that of the West, so necessarily there must be differences in democracy. That is why we have a major misunderstanding of what democracy entails. We want to play the game without following the rules.

Do you think Africa can evolve a democratic system based on western principles?

It is not our system, neither is demo-



Babangida

cracy in tune with our traditional set up. It is an imposition, and we will not make headway or implement democracy as our aspiration, have guided. That is the problem.

If Africa cannot embrace democracy, which political framework should she adopt?

Africa should make a decision on whether it wants to follow the western political framework. If so, we must be prepared to play the game according to the rules. However, because African states have diverse historical experiences, there is no system we can say is the answer. Every state should be encouraged to evolve a system which would suit its own peculiar case.

Looking at some specific cases, why is the transition to democratic rule in Angola not working, despite UN participation?

The UN is essentially controlled by the US. And any interest not tallying with US interests, may not see the light of day within the UN forum. Resulting from this is the situation whereby when a party knows it has an external support (in this case the Union for the Total Independence of Angola; UNITA, rebel force) they discard constitutional frameworks. Whether inside or outside the UN body, the US is part of the Angolan problem. America seems to consider her interests more paramount than anything else, even when it hurts the people concerned. The US will pretend that they are working in the interest of the people while policies are being geared towards their national interests which could be economic, military or



Jimmie Gog
2/92

otherwise.

In relation to Zaire, the transition to multiparty democracy did not take off at all. What is the problem here?

The West's treatment of individual African states is full of double standards. First they will pretend to have no special interests at stake. While propping up a leader to serve their needs. If such a person is no longer useful to the West, he would be dumped for something else. The US kept Mobutu for sometime as a friend of the West.

How would you perceive Nigeria's final lap in the transition programme to democratic rule?

Power is not something you give willingly. People must struggle to have power. And it is within these struggles

that Nigeria's forthcoming presidential elections, must be looked at. The Northerners do not want to give power

willingly. If power benefits you it is not easy to relinquish. The South must make articulated efforts to wrest power from the North. In this case, if the presidency does not come to the South in the next presidential elections, then there must be a constitutional conference to reconsider the structure of our federation. Otherwise, there should be a rotational presidency.

The military is also part of the problem. The present military administration gave people various reasons to doubt their intentions, and it has been suggested that they have remained as part of the transition programme. So I

would only appeal to the military to ensure that August 27, 1993 is realistic.

What are the prospects for Africa's transition to multiparty democracy?

In the first place, politics cannot be divorced from economics. Africa's economic crisis may likely destabilise the polity. Since most of the economies of African countries are manipulated by external forces, whoever pays the piper, dictates the tune. As long as we rely on receiving foreign aid, we will remain indebted to the West and always look up to them for assistance. The fate of Africa's democracy will remain with the Europeans, unless we can become self-reliant. If Africa can control her economies she will be able to control her politics.

WORLDSCOPE:

UNITED STATES:

Terrorists Bomb hits New York

A BOMB blast last weekend, rocked the World Trade Centre complex in New York, killing at least five people and injuring 600 more at the time of the report.

The bomb was planted at the bottom of the 110 storey building, blowing holes through the six basement floors. In the ensuing mayhem, up to 100,000 people struggled through smoke and darkness, down the twin tower building's flights of stairs to reach safety. While others made their way to the rooftop, awaiting a rescue helicopter. It was believed that a large number of people could be buried at the bottom of the second tallest building in the world.

Meanwhile, nine different groups claimed responsibility for the terrorist attack, including alleged Serbian and Croatian militant groups since negotiations on the UN sponsored peace plan for Bosnia were to begin last Monday a few days before the attack. Police sources in the US claimed that the Serbian Liberation Front, seemed to be the group that has the most independent knowledge of where the bomb was planted.

The attack on the World Trade Centre was provocative because the US President, Bill Clinton, has a bullet proof car in the building, which he uses when visiting New York. The President is guarded by the US Secret Service who has an office in the complex. Most of their vehicles were destroyed, including the President's bullet proof car.

The terrorists attack on the World Trade Centre was the first of its kind in New York for 17 years, the worst of which, occurred in September 1920 when 40 people were killed after a bomb blast gutted Broad and Wall Streets.

ITALY:

Corruption brings Italy's economy to its knees

A SERIES of corruption in Italy has virtually

damaged the country's once resilient economy and its ability to function in the modern world. Amidst the "quiet revolution" against corrupt politicians, Italy's Prime Minister Giuliano Amato, is trying to grapple the economic crisis and tide the country over until parliament can produce electoral and constitutional reforms to enable a healthy alternation of government.



Clinton...His bullet proof car was destroyed in the bomb blast

It was believed that self-serving parties and politicians who ruled Italy unchallenged since World War II, took the country for granted, since their nearest most formidable rivals were the communists. After the collapse of the communist system, a revolution was launched against the politicians. Italians were mesmerised by the scandals, which revealed that politicians received bribes in return for giving fat contracts, leading to expensive white elephant projects which has crippled the economy of the country.

NIGER:

Ruling party leads Niger's presidential polls

NIGER'S former ruling party's candidate, may likely win the country's first free presidential elections, held last weekend, although final results show that voting would go into a run off between the top candidates.

Mamadou Tandja of the National Movement for a Democratic Society (MNSD) leading the election by 34 percent of the total votes cast so far, as at time of the report. The MNSD is the former party of ex-president Ali-Saibou, who was prevented from taking part in the elections by a national pro-democracy conference in 1991.

The MNSD will now slug it out with Ousmane Mahamane of the Social Democratic Convention (CDS), the largest opposition party. Mahamane polled 28 percent, while six other candidates trailed far behind the top two candidates.

Polling was quiet in the country's first multiparty presidential elections, since independence from France 27 years ago, although reports of irregularities were lodged in some towns, and the Tuaregs in the North were opposing the whole election procedure.

Compiled by Joseph Umuogbu

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WANTED: raw



...It is the sport that took Nigeria to the pinnacle of world sporting excellence. Now boxing is at its lowest ebb. Why?

By Isodi Dike

DICK Ihetu Tiger must be shivering in his grave now. And the way it looks, his ordeal is not likely to end in the near future. Unless of course, something drastic is done to alleviate his suffering, and ensure that his bones are given due respect and allowed to rest in perfect peace.

Tiger was a man who lived, fought and won laurels for Nigeria. This culminated in his world middleweight boxing crown which he gallantly wrested from Gene Fulmer at the Liberty Stadium, Ibadan. And they were many such gallant fellows, who ensured that Nigeria's name was written in gold in the world wherever the punchfest was mentioned.

Before Tiger was the forerunner, Hogan "Kid" Bassey who brought the first world title to the country in 1957 when he won the featherweight belt in England. At the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, Nojem Maiyegun brought the first ever medal at that level — a bronze. He was followed by Isaac Ikhuoria, with another bronze at the 1972 Munich

Olympics: Davidson Andeh, the World Amateur King, Bash Ali former junior World Cruiser Weight champion, Godwin Anyaneme, world super middle-weight champion and only recently Hunter Clay, World middle-weight champion besides three Olympic silver medals.

It is in fact a glorious profile for boxing as a sport in Nigeria. The esteem, and management of the sport used to speak volumes but now all the efforts made by these great men like Dick Tiger seem to have gone down the drain.

This is not an idle chat. At present boxing as a sport in Nigeria is doing a macabre dance. It is now a caricature of its former self and sports followers believe that unless an urgent step is taken, boxing may be shuffling out of the much needed rhythm.

Gone for instance are the days when fans would look up to see a worthy champion. Most of those who parade themselves as boxers are not only half-fits, they are turning out to be societal misfits. The fights are no longer there and the fans are beginning to lose impression of what it used to be.

The boxers are the worse hit. Their appearance, to say the least is a shame. They live from hand to mouth (some are actually beggars who parade the sports city at every occasion). Their conditions have become so pitiable that some unscrupulous elements have cashed in on this to manipulate the misfits of our sporting system.

TSM Sporting got wind of a syndicate in the West African sub-region that specialises in exploiting these boxers, whose only sin now is that they have decided to make the punch trade a profession.

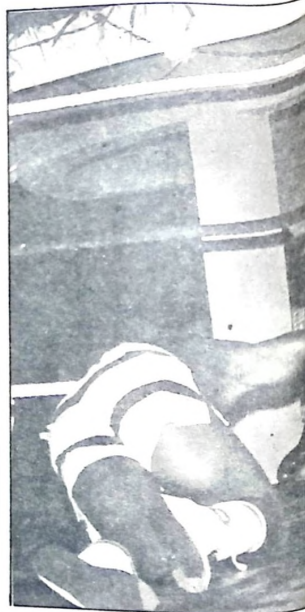
This is their *modus operandi*. The unsuspecting boxers (the few that have any titles left) are lured to any neighbouring country with promises of dollars. The fight is so packaged by the perpetrators to look "attractive" to the Nigerians. Like offering about 500 dollars a piece to both boxers. The Nigerian boxer collects his money. He is happy. And he has a reason to be. Do not forget the exchange rate at home. His Ghanaian counterpart for instance is also promised about 400 dollars and the authorities give him all the assistance he deserves — for a number of reasons too.

The first is that they want to wrest the title, be it the sub-regional or Afri-

can one, from the Nigerian. Because of their great assistance the Ghanaian boxer will eventually go home with about 50 dollars only. He has paid his dues to the authorities who by then may have achieved their policy aim.

Behind all these shady set-ups ironically, are some Nigerians. They have so hooked on to the poor state of boxing in Nigeria that now they do not bother to get the real champions. All they do is go to Ojuelegba or any such place gather a few touts, dub them Nigerian national champions and off they are to Ghana, Togo or Benin Republic as the case may be.

The consequences are sordid. The boys are beaten silly, their alleged titles are snatched from them and at the end they would have been used to beef up the curriculum vitae of the foreign boxer, who may be, is being prepared



Got you!... Boxing where is thy glamour

Deal" for boxing

for an African or world title elimination shot.

According to some officers of the Lagos State Boxing Board of Control the names of the alleged Nigerians in the syndicate are with them. "We know about three of them now. We will crack down on them soon. Then we will make their names known" says Tunde Oshuntolu, the Board's press officer.

That is to the members of the awful syndicate. But pray, what will happen to the nose — dive that boxing has taken recently? What happened to the glamour days of boxers? What actually happened to the noble art of self defence in Nigeria.

Allegations and counter allegations have been making the rounds between all the parties involved. Kevin Enyika, is the bantam weight champion of Africa. He kicked off the debate. "Boxing is down because of lack of promotion. Promoters don't always want to prom-

ote because of economic constraints. He says "Nigeria populace still loves boxing but the homework is not properly done by the promoters so they loose money. And now there is already lack of awareness by the Nigerian public."

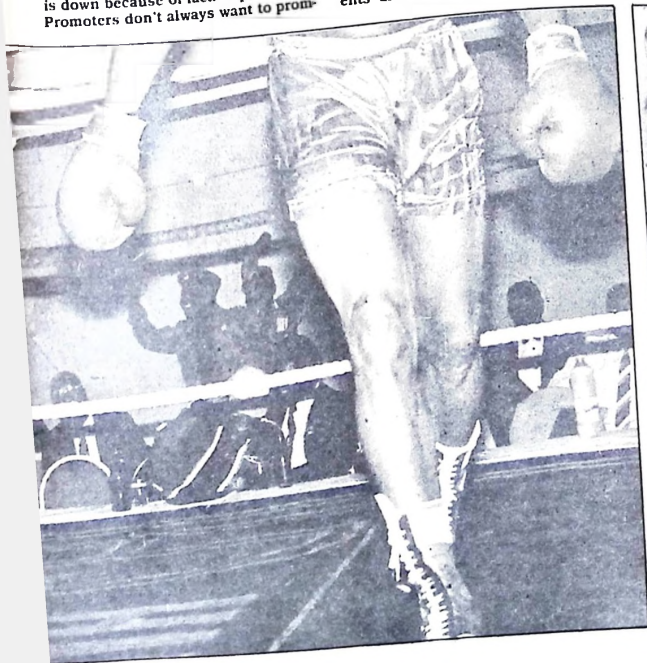
Enyika also believes that the sport needs the blessing of the corporate bodies and especially the government. Analysing the cost of promoting a fight Enyika queried the wisdom of renting out the sportshall for a whopping N9,000 a night. "How will the promoters make their money, look they cannot go it alone. It should be a collective effort by all concerned."

However, Enyika gave kudos to the amateur ranks. "There is no problem in amateur boxing the state and the National Associations are doing well. Organising competitions, picking talents and training those talents" he

added "But what happens after that stage. I turned pro in 1988 after many amateur glories for this country but would you say I have improved? No. If all had been normal I should have become a world champion by now."

Enyika's allegation is a much-banded one in boxing circles. Emmanuel Adeleye, the Secretary-General of the Nigerian Boxing Board of Control (NBB of C recently put the blame at the door steps of the National Sports Commission. (NSC) According to him, the policy of not encouraging amateur boxers to go pro and win world title is the bane of the growth of the pugilistic craft. He accused NSC of appointing notable amateur boxing stars as state coaches. This, he noted dulls their desire to aim to excellence in the pro ranks.

Adeleye may have a point as others continue to wonder at what is happening now to the development of boxing. Why, for instance should Medericck Taylor, the man who Peter Konyegwachie battled to a stand-still at the finals of the 1984 loss Angeles Olympics be a world champion only six years later, when silver boy, Konyegwachie is still tottering to find his feet in the paid ranks.



Akinyele....What role for pro boxing?



Adeleye....NBB of C's boss.



Okorodudu...Which way for boxing revival?



Hogan Bassey...Ask the boxers



Fan Ndubuke...Specialisation is the new SWAN song

Another boxer, Jerry Okorodudu told TSM Sporting that boxing is dead because there is no encouragement from any quarter. "The government should

come in to pro boxing as in Ghana" says Jerry who is also the current African Champion in the Super Middleweight category. "Look at the NBB of C. Do you know the board has no office, not to talk of phone, fax, records or secretaries, so how can they successfully organise pro boxing."

Jerry also gave a punch to the sportswriters. "Let them report the fights whether good or bad instead of blacking out boxing news after the press conference." Adeye appears to support Jerry's claim against the sportswriters but only in another vein. In a recent write-up Adeye paid glowing tribute to sportswriters of yore and how they helped to add the much-needed glamour and awareness to those heady days of boxing. He was of the view that the present crop of writers could use those glorious examples.

Jerry is not through yet. Amongst his suggestions towards upliftment of boxing include the reduction of sportshall hiring charges; corporate sponsorship, effective and reliable officials and the provision of training facilities which he claimed are in very short supply.

Collins Omuzaga is the president of Nigerian Association of Professional Boxers. He summed up the problems of boxing then as the board's lack of interest of boxers welfare; lack of adequate rating, meagre fight purse; delay in payments and most importantly, lack of regular fights.

But we also have other schools of thought. The man who brought the first world title to these shores, Hogan Bas-

sey has continued to make it known that the boxers have the chunk of the blame. "Nigerian Boxers will never win any world title for a long time to come unless they shun all the vices" he said to a national daily "I have seen so many Nigerian boxers who are good enough to win world title but they all run after

women, booze and smoking."

Tunde Oshuntolu supports this claim too but added that even where they are serious, they end up pricing themselves out of fights. "They should know how the economy is right now, so instead of insisting on getting fantastic pay packets, they can settle for

smaller ones over a period of time" he says "That way, they can achieve set-target at the end of the year, the promoters make their money and everyone is happy instead of having to stay idle for lack of fights."

The man who steers the affairs of the Sports Writers Association of Nigeria (SWAN), Fan Ndubuke, also took a pot shot at this issue with particular reference to the area that affects his men. Hear him: "The problem with boxing is that of administration, the boxers themselves and promoters. Boxing has taken a nose dive we know, but what can we do? As sportswriters we can only report, not organise boxing bouts."

"Presently the quality is nothing to write home about. I think we need a radical approach to sports development generally, not just boxing."

"Our concern now as sportswriters is to encourage specialization. We feel that if a reporter is devoted to one particular sport, that he can bring out his best."

Ade Omotosho is the Executive Director of Top Brand Organisations, a boxing promotion outfit. He laid the blame squarely by the ringside of boxers and "those who parade themselves as promoters and managers with dubious intents." He then, advised the NBB of C to scrutinise properly before issuing out licences to would-be promoters begging the NSC in the same vein to come to their aid by reducing the cost of rentage of the sportshall.

The president of the NBB of C, Olayide Adeye, a prince had the last say. He started by stating that about three bouts have been lined-up; descended hard on the sportswriters and the handlers before analysing

some other factors militating against boxing growth.

According to him, it is not too unusual to realise that worthy fights have not been forthcoming in Nigerian boxing circle. He attributed everything to the economic situation in the country. "Before now we used to invite world class boxers to come and fight our boxers here. We cannot do that now because of the exchange rate. We simply cannot pay the boxer, his manager, coaches, and then cater for their flight tickets. Where is the money?" he asked "what we have now decided to do is to discover potential champions, train and take them out to fight."

He further stated that, the issue of who get licences depends on the money factor but there are rules that must be followed. "Look, promotion is all about money. We want to keep our boxers busy so if any man has the money to promote them and can satisfy the laid-down procedure we will gladly give out the licence to such a man."

On the falling standard of the current boxers he said that, that mainly is the fault of the boxers, their trainers and managers. "We only make the rules. It is the duty of the managers and trainers to take the boxers to the top."

After all said and done, it would appear that the NSC is not lying idle. Recently its boss agreement with Cuba, a country renowned for its boxing prowess. As a result two Cuban boxing coaches have already been engaged for the country.

Sports followers who spoke to TSM Sporting stated that all hands must be on deck if boxing is to survive this tumbling fortune. Some point to the United States where they claimed that organisers packaged wrestling and boxing and sold both to the world with resounding success.

The authorities in Nigeria must do something akin to that bold move — go back to the drawing board, put their acts together, repackaging boxing and other sports for that matter before crying for corporate, government or other helps from Nigerians.

FROM THE SIDELINES:

Who roped in Sportswriter in robbery case?

FIDELIS Igbini is one sportswriter that is not going to find his ordeal very funny. But how would he have known recently when the news hit town that the premises of the *Satellite* newspapers was invaded by armed men, that his name would be mentioned. Ever since he has been picked up by the police.

The robbers had raided and made away with large sums of money supposed to be meant for workers salaries. Now, Fidelis a former *Punch* reporter works for *Satellite* but how he became roped in as an alleged accomplice is as mysterious as can be.

There are three versions now making the rounds. One is that somebody wrote a letter implicating him, two is that, his co-worker did and the other is that he was said to have been seen by his friend who is a security man of the company. The man has since denied making that allegation claiming to close associates that in fact he was the person the robbers first encountered and that he did not see Fidelis.

TSM Sporting gathered that the police, following alleged complaints lodged by certain individuals, have earlier discontinued the case to enable all the complainants come forward but that until the time of going to press, none had come forward.

Another version is as ridiculous as they come. That Fidelis who close associates say he is always in jeans and T-shirts was implicated by someone who claimed that the robbers wore masks and wore in jeans and T-shirts. Yet TSM Sporting authoritatively learnt that it was one of Fidelis' close colleagues who hinted the police that the boy practices some undisclosed habits which was evident in the fact when the robbers struck.

As usual the grapevine is a buzz and the sportswriters are still wondering what they have gone wrong. However it is heavily rumored that Fidelis may have entered his present *wahala* because of the much toiled colleague who was alleged to have been making the rounds to newspapers in Lagos with tid-bits concerning the story and an alleged involvement by Fidelis. That in fact they claimed was how *Guardian Express* got the story that led to Fidelis being impugned by police.

Until the case is finally and adequately investigated the sportswriter's fate may continue to hang in the balance.

Isaac Ikuhuria gets a hard punch

ANYTIME amateur boxing is mentioned in this country, you begin to suspect him but just add Olympics to it and you are sure to bet your life it is Isaac Ikuhuria. He started first as an Olympic bronze medalist. Later he metamorphosed as a coach and in 1982 he hit national scene with a crop of young talents from the



Ikuhuria

defunct Bendel State.

In 1984, he had given a beautiful icing to the cake by leading the boys to a spectacular outing at the Los Angeles Olympics. One of his wards, Peter Konuegwachie came home with a silver medal.

But Isaac Ikuhuria continued to amass medals at the various championships leading again to two silver medals from the 1992 Barcelona Olympics. It is a tall credential as a coach but those who say so they should know, are saying otherwise.

Jerry Okorodudu one of Isaac's wards to the 1984 Olympics says instead, that Ikuhuria is one of the forces killing amateur boxing in the country.

Okorodudu only made vocal what has been secretly whispered on several occasions that Isaac Ikuhuria has intentionally or otherwise sat on the path of progress of several boxers now in Edo and Delta states.

Jerry alleged that the case of Roland Omoruyi and ex-world amateur king, Davidson Anideh is pathetic. "Roland was invited from Bauchi then to Bendel State sports council. He has been on grade level 7 since 1981 till date," says Jerry. "His only increase is in the steps. It is Isaac Ikuhuria who has refused to recommend him for no reason yet the same Ikuhuria who joined the sports council in 1978 at level 8, is now in level 14."

According to Jerry, for Ikuhuria to recommend that an ex-world champion of Davidson, Anideh's calibre be posted to a village (Afuzel) is just another way of side-tracking him. "This

is not good for the development of boxing," he lamented. "Anideh should be where the action is, where he would be useful to this country after all he coached most of us."

Well, the gloves as you would say, have been passed on to Ikuhuria. What is he going to make of these allegations?

Tyson's ray of hope?

BOXING'S bad boy, "Iron" Mike Tyson, may be out of jail, sooner than expected. Recently a veteran rape lawyer Allen Dershowitz started a process that may see him out of the dungeon.

In a five point affidavit, Dershowitz is praying the court, to annul the six-year conviction of rape and social misconduct handed out to Tyson last year.

One of the grounds claims that the jury was biased in several ways. Specifically Dershowitz stated that the judge, Patricia Gifford that handled the matter, has a long record of bias in several rape cases and should not have been allowed to handle the matter.

Also, an important witness for Tyson who would have made an impact in his evidence was not allowed to testify.

According to Dershowitz, the alleged rape victim, Desiree Washington, lied to the jury when she denied that the prosecution will benefit from the proceeds of her claim.

In fact, Tyson's appeal aims to correct the miscarriage of the jury, by admitting facts not relevant to the case and to show that Desiree, contrary to earlier posture actually consented to sex with the boxing time-bomb.

It will be recalled that Mike Tyson was jailed in February 1992, for social misconduct during a Black Beauty Pageant in Indianapolis.

Compiled by Isodi Dike



Tyson



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COVER: Politics, Nigerian politics, has a peculiar definition. The way we go about it has a telling on the stuff we are made of. And as the national congress of the two political parties closes in, dirty elements of the much hated Second Republic politics are being exhumed. Issues and ideas on how to salvage a famishing nation are being put in the cooler while key presidential aspirants go for the gutter language to smear their opponents. Moshood Abiola and Baba Gana Kingibe, notable presidential aspirants from the SDP, desperate to lead their party, are on a fight-to-finish war of words that may mar the party's national convention.

The 1988 Koko toxic waste saga is back again. Nigeria is abuzz with signals that our shores are being turned to waste dump sites. TSM brings you a plethora of efforts to deposit the dangerous products while government agencies turn on blind eye.



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● It is no longer news that the Ejeh of Anka has been relieved of his post. Abubakar Audu exclusively bares his mind to TSM on why he Deposed the Ejeh **23**

● The war of nerves between the Israelis and the Palestinians has been shifted to Nigeria. A couple of weeks ago the Israeli Ambassador to Nigeria, Moshe Gilboa, granted an interview to TSM where the Palestinian question come up for mention. In this edition, his Palestinian counterpart, Samir Baker reacts alleging misconceptions and distortions of history facts. **27**

● The stage of adolescent is crucial in the life of anyone. How parents handle their children during this period determines to some extent their future life TSM gives you a recipe on our behaviour towards The adolescent. **32**

● Alex Akinyele knows he is the authentic Executive Chairman of the NSC. But there is another "chairman" quietly taking over his job. He is Obodo, the Chairman of the Stadium Area Boys. **36**



Hassan Yakubu... deposed Ejeh of Anka



Baker.... "We never intended to push Israel to the sea!"



Teen star, Kola Masha & Mum... closeness is !!!



Alex Akinyele.... Executive chairman of NSC

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