

# PRESIDENTIAL 419

JUNE 15 — 21, 1992. Vol. 3, No. 24

RSD

# Citizen

The fall  
of Aminu  
and Alhaji

N10

HARD ON NEWS, STRONG ON VIEWS



NATIONAL LIBRARY OF NIGERIA  
CERTIFIED TRUE COPY  
23 JUL 1992  
LEGAL DEPARTMENT  
*[Signature]*

RECORDED 24/7/92  
NATIONAL LIBRARY OF NIGERIA  
NIGERIANA DIVISION  
SERIALS SECTION  
*[Signature]*

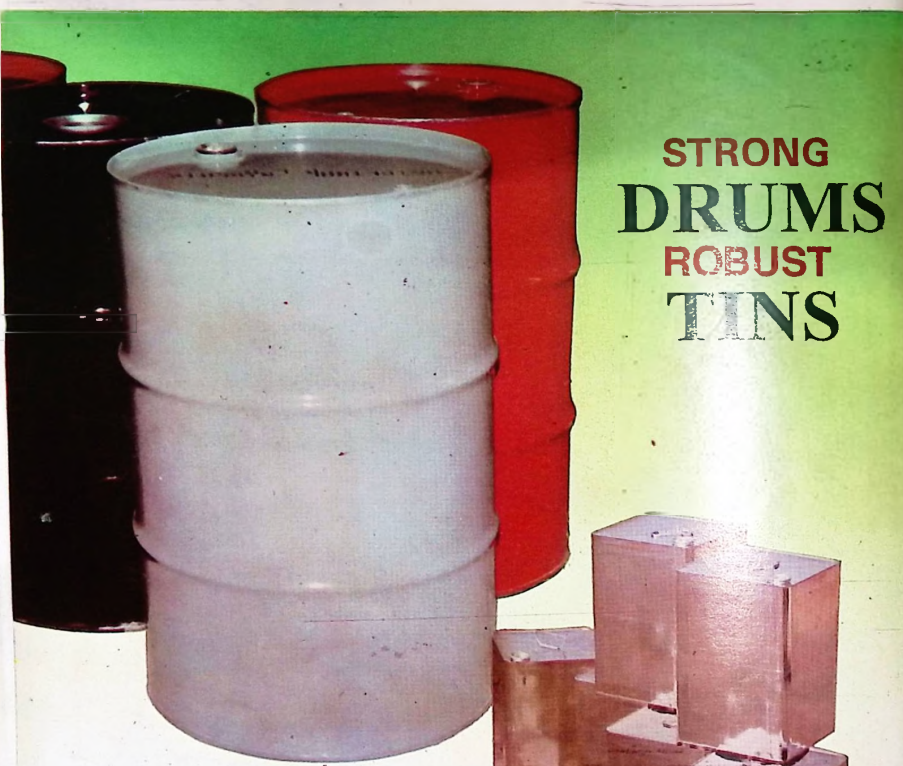
## Zangon Kataf riots

# THE CAUSES, THE REMEDIES

— Cudjoe pane

Justice Rahila Hade Cudjoe

UK	1 00	The Gambia	D4	Kenya	Sh30 00	West Germany	Dm6 00
Canada	C\$3 00	Qhina	C500	Saudi Arabia	Ris10 00	Zimbabwe	232 50
CFA Zone	00C	Liberia	US\$3 00	Sierra Leone	Le200		
France	15F	Italy	L2000 00	USA	\$3 50		



**STRONG  
DRUMS  
ROBUST  
TINS**

**KRPC High - tech  
guarantees quality**

With factory operating 100% capacity utilisation, rolling out quality drums and tins, your edible oil, petroleum products and chemicals have never had it so good.

Contact:  
The Commercial Department,  
Kaduna Refining and Petrochemical Company,  
(A Subsidiary of NNPC)  
Km 16, Kachia Road  
Kaduna.



**KRPC Drums and Tins... *Strong to Store and Deliver***

PRECISION

# CONTENTS

# Citizen

June 15 - 21, 1992

LEGAL DEPOSIT  
Vol. 3 No. 24

SIGNATURE: *[Signature]*

## COVER STORY

### Zangon Kataf riots (111)



The complete story of the February 6 riots in Zangon Kataf and the verdict of the Cudjoe tribunal

Page 11

## Scandal

A presidential aspirant under the SDP dupes the racist South African government of 35 million Naira

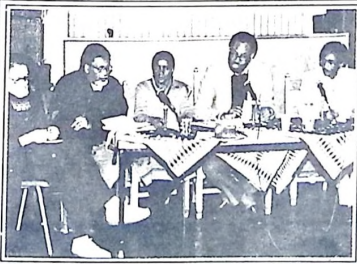
Page 26



## Departments

FROM THE EDITOR	4
LETTERS	5
VIEWPOINT	7
MOHAMMED HARUNA	9
NIGERIA	18
FORUM	22
BUSINESS & ECONOMY	27
AFRICA	29
WORLD	31
BILKISU YUSUF	33

## BACK-OF-THE-BOOK



African writers in exile: 36

PRIVATE EYE	31
POETS' NEST	35
ARTS	36
MEDIAWATCH	37
BOOK REVIEW	38
SPORTS	39
DEFINITIONS-IN-HUMOUR	42

# Citizen

**Publisher**  
Mohammed Haruna  
**Editor**: Bilikisu Yusuf  
**Executive Editor (South)**: Kabiru Yusuf  
**Executive Editor (North)**: Adamu Adamu

**General Editor: Mohammed Demot**

**Assistant Editors**

Tawey Zalka, Mahmud Ige, Ike Okenta  
**Senior Staff Correspondents**: Abu Momoh; Delajj

**Adebiyi**

**Staff Correspondents**: Isaac Umunna; Akinyele Aduke;  
Tola Sunday (Business), Oji Onoko, Yinka  
Tella, Tayo Odunlami, Joe Olajuwon, (Sports)

**Moyosore Akosile**

**Reporter/Researchers**: Samson Ojo; Tony Oko.  
Titiloye Amzat (Photo)

**Sub-Editors**: Tijanji Isale (Ar); Zainab S. Okino

**Proof Reader**: Dorothy Ihtanj

**Ag. Production Manager**: Oluwole Olukun

**Senior Graphic Artist**: K. Bolatulo Ojelade

**Computer Operator**: Nurudeen A.D. Olayinka

**Computer Trainee**: Onagie I. Ebuochi, Danladi U.

**Cashier**

**Librarians**: Adetola Pitan, Abdulmalik Mohammed  
Shaba

**CITIZEN COMMUNICATIONS LTD.**

**Board of Directors**

Turi Muhammadu (Chairman);  
M D Yusuf; Umaru Abdul Mutallab;  
Ade Olawuyi; Lawal Idris,  
Lawal Batagarawa; Bilikisu Yusuf, Kabiru Yusuf;  
Adamu Adamu, Mohammed Haruna.

**Mohammed Haruna (Managing)**: Bilikisu Yusuf  
(executive-director - editorial); Kabiru Yusuf  
(executive-director - business);

Adamu Adamu (executive-director - finance and  
administration).

**Deputy Finance Manager**: Alhassan Kutigi

**Senior Accountant**: Patrick Usaka

**Accounts Officers**

Ali T. Muhammad, Usman Musa

**Asst. Credit Control Officer**: Kunle Alabi

**Internal Auditor**: Onoja Patrick

**Accounts Clerk**: Adewole Idowale

**Marketing Officers**: Usman Kalliri, Isaka Ajibola,

**Marketing Executive**: Abulftah Alcinna

**Marketing Asst.**: Justina Akpan, Adamu Jibrin,

Ilonifara Okoro, Niluka Ezeogu, Fatat Akintola,

Adeyemi Babatunde

**Sales Representatives**: Ringley Benson, Fawad

Halqun

**Senior Advert Executive**: Oluhanna Adeyeye

**Advert Executives**: Euns-muel Emeye,

Yekini Abulshah, Timothy Ekweluein,

Mercy Attah

**Sales/Advert Asst.**: Hassan A. Adefunso, Omoyosola

Kolawole

**Administrative Officers:**

Muhammed Nidalman, Nkechi Attah

**Secretaries**: Mary Egharevba, Salihu Abunada

**Typist**: Humble S. Lawal

**Receptionist**: Dinau S. Ryan

**Clerks**: Amina I. Abulshah; Olamide S. Ruffa,

**Office Assistants**: Abbas Garba, Musa Okere, Femi John

**Drivers**: Bugudu Makun, Jellil Odejo, Ezekiel Jayevan,

Hashim Ibrahim, Adegoke Eleyele, Abulshah

Jibrin, Gumbi Mararu

**Dispatch Rider**: Isatu Olayiwola

**Security Officers**: Is. Isha Yankama (Ist. I.),

Gala Abulshah

## FROM THE PUBLISHER

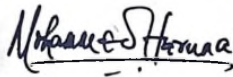
**F**or the third time since May 15 when the second Zangon Kafaf riots broke out, we are featuring it on the cover. This frequency is well-deserved, for not only has the country never seen its like in its scale of destruction, barring of course the civil war and possibly the complex and long-drawn Jukun/Tiv/Kuteb war in Taraba State, the riots go to the heart of relationships between minority and majority ethnic groups, particularly in the Middle-Belt.

Along with this week's cover, our stories on the riots can be regarded as a trilogy on ethnic conflict. The first story focussed on the spill-over effect of the Zango killings in Kaduna and Zaria. The second focussed on the Zango killings themselves. This week's, which is the third, is on the findings of the Cudjoe judicial commission of inquiry into the related riots of February 6. Indeed there is widespread belief that those of May 15 were aimed at preempting the findings of the panel.

The panel finally submitted its report to Governor Dabo Mohammed Lere on June 2, after two extensions of its initial deadline of one month from the date of its first sitting on March 2. We monitored and reported the public sittings throughout and our information is that the panel thought, give or take some minor lapses, our reports were probably the most accurate. Going over these reports plus tapping some well-informed sources in government circles, it was not particularly difficult for us to find out the findings and recommendations of the panel. This is what we present to you this morning as our cover story. It was reported by Mohammed Haruna and crafted by Mahmud Jega in his highly readable prose.

Besides the cover story, there is, among other stories, the juicy one on a presidential aspirant who "Four-One-Nined," of all people, the South Africans who believe blacks are idiots. If you are wont to say serves the racists right, you should remember that a "Four-One-Niner" in the Presidential Villa is risky business, to say the least.

Happy reading.



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

# LETTERS

## Zangon Kataf riots

Sir,  
 After the Zango Kataf and Kaduna pogroms, I expected a sincere and objective story by *Citizen* being based in Kaduna, but to my dismay and disappointment, Mohammed Haruna and Bilkius Yusuf have succeeded in justifying our fears of the magazine as pro-Hausa/Fulani (and of course, Islam). The pictures splashed by Hajjiya Bilkius portrayed Hausas and Islam as the only victims — so much for journalistic excellence.

We the minorities of the north have come to realise that to trust a muslim is fatal. Hitherto we have been gullible enough to show muslims that they are our brothers. Even our girls marry into their clans. But alas! my aunt and her daughter were murdered by their Hausa neighbours of 34 years in Anguwar Sanusi. There are a lot of similar cases. And for God's sake why do muslims



always attack our places of worship? In Bauchi and Kaduna, both cases were ethnic, but muslims always use that as an excuse to visit arson on our churches.

**Vincent Bodam  
 Kaduna**

Sir,  
 Your recent interview with Colonel Yohanna Madaki (rtd) in your cover of May 25, may at best be described as the ramblings of some-

one who considers himself competent to comment on issues.

The failure of the authority to enquire from him or any other fellow who thought his views should be sought is enough proof that he is not as important as he imagines. With the unguarded and reckless utterances Madaki has been making, one is at a loss whether it is honest patriotism or fanatical tribalism that made the retired colonel so vocal and to arrogate to himself the status of a spokesman for Bajju, Kataf and the entire Southern Zaria.

**Alhassan S. Usman  
 Kaduna**

Sir,  
 We Nigerians, it seems, are suffering from new generation of environment pollutants such as religious intolerance, political instability, nepotism, tribalism, corruption god-fatherism etc. These social pollutants are really fouling the atmosphere in which we live, and are threatening the existence of Nigeria as a corporate body.

So, I quite agree with Kabiru Yusuf that we should sit down and discuss how to manage the affairs of this great nation. Perhaps, this would enable us come out with tangible solutions without destroying our economic and political systems.

**L.G. Hassan  
 UDU, Sokoto**

Sir,  
 A friend of mine who is a Kataf said many people especially the government are beating about the bush by trying to find the culprits of the Zangon Kataf riot instead of addressing the real issue which is allowing the natives in Zangon Kataf to have their own chieftom.

I am not from this parts, but I am a Nigerian and foremost, a human being, and I dont think a chieftom or the relocation of a market is worth one drop of human blood let alone a

life. I should know. I fought the civil war.

**Zackkeus Ike  
 Umuhia**

Sir,  
 Now that it has happened, we the innocent must be compensated and those who perpetrated this inhumanity against man must be found and subjected to the full rigours of the law.

**Isiah Pam  
 T/Wada, Kaduna**

Sir,  
 Can someone advise Archbishop P.Y. Jatau and co. to wake up from their slumber and remember that the Kataf attacked Hausa in their Juma' mosque on that fateful Friday?

So just as the bishop said his adherents should be "alert and prayerful because their safety is in their hands" so also will muslims be on the alert and prayerful because their safety lies in their hands too.

**B. Yusuf  
 Kadpoly, Kaduna**

Sir,  
 In most of the communal riots in the country involving the Hausas, the other tribes are the aggressors. They kill and maim the Hausas before the arrival of the security agents supposedly sent to enforce law and order. But instead, in most cases, they too take sides. They descend on the offended, shooting and arresting them.

A commission of inquiry would then be set up to try the rioters, and while the aggressors would go scotfree, the offended are brought to book.

This was seen vividly in the Kafanchan riot which the Hausas did not start but were killed and jailed. During the Sayawa-Hausa Fulani clash in Tafawa Balewa of

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

Bauchi State, the security agents did the mopping up. In Zangon Katak, it was the same story.

People are waiting for another commission of inquiry and the outcome is anybody's guess. As long as the aggressors, their sponsors and instigators feel that they are sacred cows and the government does not prosecute them, then communal violence will continue.

**Abdullahi M. Pindiga**  
Box 1088, Zaria

Sir,

In 1987, muslims were massacred in Kanfanchan, and when their brothers reacted in parts of Kaduna State they were arrested and jailed. No single christian was arrested there.

In 1991, muslims were murdered in Tafawa Balewa; and their brothers who reacted in Bauchi were massacred by security agents, many in their own bedrooms. No single Basayi was arrested in Tafawa Balewa. Instead, they were rewarded with a chieftom.

Any wonder then that the Kafafs attempted to annihilate the muslims in their midst so that they too can get their own chieftom? At least Colonel Yohanna Madaki's remorseless and arrogant interview testifies to this desire.

President Babangida's broadcast on the issue didn't help matters. The president spoke as if it was another Gideon Orkar that struck; sweeping the fundamental issue under the carpet.

However, the bitter truth is that so long as people spend the whole of their time at "Burkutu joints", rather than engaging in productive ventures, so long will they continue to be backward. They should therefore change their profligate and indolent lifestyle; and stop accusing others of dominating their economy.

**Lawal Yusufu Mohammed**  
B122, Bakin Kasuwa,  
Bauchi

Sir,

Your cover story of June 1-9, 1992 edition was to say least unfair

to christians who also suffered a lot of setbacks just like the muslims.

Much as we would want to believe that the riot had no religious undercurrent, the destruction to both muslims and christians alike left no one in doubt as to what the riot deteriorated to.

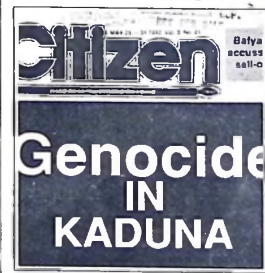
Pictures of a mosque destroyed in Kabala West and the remains of Islamiya School also in Kabala West were displayed while no single picture of destroyed churches was featured. ECWA Church in Aminu Street Tudun Wada is one of such churches.

You have always enjoyed my patronage because of your objectivity and well balanced stories. I strongly urge you to pursue this with unwavering determination.

**Umoru Dako**  
Nassarawa-Kaduna

Sir,

In your issue on Genocide in Kaduna, you reported Sheik Abubakar Gumi as saying that un-



less everybody becomes a muslim there will be no peace in this country.

Some years ago the same Gumi was quoted in *Quality* magazine as saying that if a muslim does not win the presidency of this country we shall have to divide it into two.

Is it not time the authorities arrest this man and try him for high treason or at least for incitement to preserve the corporate existence of this country?

**George C. Nwadike**  
Kano

Sir,

Your covers **Genocide in Kaduna**; and **Zangon kataf**: As the dust settles refers.

The sensitive and contentious nature of the incident made me go for three leading news magazines — *Newswatch*, *Citizen* and *Tell*; and having read and compared the contents of the three, I was convinced that *Citizen* was leading the pack in terms of objectivity, accuracy and in-depth reporting.

While most Nigerians waited to read the accurate account of the incident from the press, some of the reports turned out to be unduly coloured by sentiments.

If journalists as "champions of the oppressed, and makers of history," could degenerate to such a level, what kind of history are they making for posterity?

One only hopes that the government will have the political will this time around to deal decisively with anybody found guilty by the tribunal.

**Yakubu Audu Anivbassa**  
UNN, Nsukka

Sir,

You stated that "Tension rose in Zaria on Tuesday when the corpse of Galadima Harande, *Madawakin Daji*, was brought for burial. As soon as the funeral was over in Zaria, mobs went on a rampage in Zaria City, alleging that a soldier fired at and killed an innocent young man." This is quite untrue. Firstly, the rampage that took place was on Wednesday and not Tuesday. Secondly, the referred innocent young man was killed at Kofar Doka roundabout along new Jos road (outside Zaria City) by a soldier. And the soldiers on duty that Wednesday morning were at various points brutalising innocent people most of whom were in commercial buses. I believe the unassigned acts of the soldiers on duty led to the rampage and not the arrival of late Harande Galadima's corpse.

**Mahmud Aliyu Kwarbai**  
132 Kwarbai  
Zaira City

## Ministerial changes and the relief package

**M**ay 25 is not the first time President Ibrahim Babangida would read the riot act to Nigerians. Without doubt, however, his broadcast that day was his sternest warning so far to those he said are intent on destabilising his regime and its iransition programme. However as a response to the mid-May fuel riots in Lagos and the mainly ethnic violence in Kaduna State the week after, it was somewhat of an anti-climax. Many people expected that ministerial heads will roll and also that the speech will address the underlying causes of the riots. Such people came away from their television and radio sets rather disappointed. Others were indeed full of apprehension, as the president used the occasion to announce the establishment of the controversial National Guard which many fear may be an instrument for suppressing even legitimate dissent.

Presumably it was these disappointments and apprehensions that the government sought to respond to when the Armed Forces Ruling Council and the National Council of Ministers met in Abuja on June 4 and 5 respectively to discuss a relief package for workers and make some administrative changes. In a press statement over last weekend, Vice-President August Aikhomu told Nigerians of the outcome of the two meetings. What, it may be asked, is to be made of the relief package and the administrative changes?

First, the administrative changes. The dropping of Professor Jibril Aminu as minister of petroleum and the "demotion" of the all-powerful Alhaji Abubakar Alhaji from the finance portfolio to London as High Commissioner could have surprised only few people. For Aminu, not only was he seen to be ultimately responsible for the fuel shortage that led to the Lagos riots, his involvement in a marital scandal which his wife of 25 years exposed in the media, must have dented his image as someone who is completely in charge of his emotions. Equally the authorities must have felt scandalised and embarrassed by the revelations. Even before the scandal came into the open, the minister, unlike Alhaji Ril-

wanu Lukman before him, reportedly did not get on well with fellow oil ministers in OPEC. In the light of all this, it was little surprise that he left. Indeed if anything was surprising it was the fact that it took him so long to resign after the scandal.

As for "Triple A" he too carried vicarious responsibility as minister of finance for the deregulation of the Naira exchange rate and the run-away inflation that has accompanied it. Of course as minister his was only one of so many inputs that must have gone into the decision to derégulate the exchange regime, but few, if any, have advised successive governments on economic policies for as long as Alhaji. Which is why it is surprising that he was sent to London, a den of the Western intelligence community.

All said there are probably many who wanted all, rather than only two, ministerial heads to roll. And not without justification. For years now the Babangida regime has been under siege for the mixed results of his economic, social and administrative policies. As advisers to the regime and the implementors of its policies, one would have thought that the ministers would either shield the President from the attacks or resign if they felt their advice were being ignored. No minister ever did either. On the contrary, there are some who would genuflect before him only to badmouth him as soon as he turned his back.

If there was therefore no whole-sale sack, it is perhaps because to do so may have confronted the President with the dilemma of choosing between retaining ministers of doubtful loyalties or sacking them with only six months to go and thereby heightening already existing doubts that he will keep his word and handover power to civilians in January. Obviously he must have felt more concerned, quite rightly, about the doubts than about ministerial disloyalties.

To turn to the relief package announced by Vice-President Aikhomu, it seems the reactions to it so far have been rather unenthusiastic, if not outrightly hostile. Hefty as the

increases in fringe benefits are, already the Academic Staff Union of Universities, ASUU, is saying it is not enough and is accusing the Federal Government of breach of faith by its announcement of the relief package while their dispute is still under arbitration. On the other hand, employers in both private and public sectors, particularly state governors, are saying the relief package is well beyond their means and that at any rate it can only fuel inflation and unemployment. To make matters worse for government, manufacturers and the service industries alike seem disappointed that the central issue of the drastic fall of the value of the Naira since its deregulation early this year, was never addressed.

Government, it seems, is in an unenviable position, much of it due to its own making. When it regulated the exchange rate, few people could buy their hard currencies at the official rate. Instead bankers used their positions to enrich themselves by buying cheap from the Central Bank and selling it at a premium to buyers. However, when government moved to check the bankers' abuse by deregulating the exchange rate, all hell broke loose and of course govern-

ment got the blame. In the midst of all the popular anger at the policy, everyone seemed to have forgotten first, that there can be no quick fix to our economic problems and second, that in this matter of the exchange value of the Naira, stability of the rate is far more important than its size. So far only Chief Olu Falae, of all the presidential aspirants and critics of deregulation, seems to have appreciated this point. Yet it is a point that must be appreciated if the exchange value of the Naira is to eventually rise. So far, it must be conceded, the exchange value has stabilised since its deregulation.

Given the local items that Naira can buy compared to what, say, the dollar can buy in America, there is no doubt that the Naira is grossly undervalued. However, the solution cannot lie in fixing its exchange value by fiat. We have, after all, tried that approach before and it has woefully failed. The solution lies in production in the long run and budgetary discipline in medium and short run. These should be the focus of criticising government's economic policies instead of encouraging the populist but mistaken belief that economic problems are amenable to quick fixes.

## Of "idle" deputy governors

**T**here has been much talk in recent times of deputy governors who have been idling away in their offices because their bosses would not give them anything to do.

Idle deputy governors must give cause for concern. Our constitution makes it clear that they should not be. Section 184 of the constitution provides for the establishment of the office so that should a governor, God forbid, drop dead, there should be quick and orderly succession. Electing chief executives in a presidential system is such a complicated and costly affair, it is only wise to provide for the unexpected. Quick and orderly succession means a deputy familiar with and experienced in running the affairs of state. That is why Section 191(1) of the constitution says categorically that "the governor shall assign to the deputy governor specific responsibility for any business of the government of the state." It leaves the governor the choice of

which business, but forbids him to keep his deputy idle.

Beyond this, we must disagree with those who say the deputy governors' jobs must be defined in the constitution. That would be wrong. In a presidential system the chief executive is precisely the chief executive. Of necessity he must delegate, but at the end of the day he carries the can. Therefore his hands must not be tied beyond the need for proper and lawful conduct in office.

Invariably where deputy governors are idle, it is because they were imposed on the governors. Where a chief executive had a decisive say in choosing his partner, they got on well. To wit President Shagari and Alex Ekwueme and President Babangida and Augustus Aikhomu. Where a deputy executive thinks he is in office in spite of his boss there is bound to be friction.

The NRC and SDP should note this for future governorship elections and the forthcoming presidential election.



## MOHAMMED HARUNA

The *Makama*, I am afraid, was wrong to say that no one talked of Chief Falae's incumbency benefits. I know of at least two who did — myself, and *African Concord* before me. In its November 12, 1990 edition, the magazine did join issues with the chief on this matter to the extent that he seemed to have lost his temper. "He (Babangida)" he re-

tions and therefore if anyone was to blame it was them not him. Again, true he could have honourably declined the census job, but then it might have amounted to forfeiting a life time's opportunity to prove that he could do what every one thought was impossible.

Clearly there is a difference be-

## The presidential race and the incumbency factor

Last week Alhaji Shehu Ahmadu Musa, the *Makaman Nupe* and erstwhile chairman of the National Population Commission, NPC, was on our cover as a presidential aspirant. Part of our story on his aspiration was a four-page interview in which he confronted several issues surrounding his candidature. Easily the most controversial was his decision to quit the NPC and join the race so soon after submitting his report on the headcount. "I had the opportunity during the period of this national assignment" he told *Citizen*, "to go to every corner of this country and to be known for what I was in terms of the job. And it will not be difficult to go round again (this time for campaign) to remind them of my previous visit on duty".

In the light of this reply it was natural that we wondered if the census job did not give the *Makama* an undue advantage over his rivals, having used the census opportunity to meet all and sundry and, let's face it, to distribute patronages as chairman.

Alhaji Shehu thought this was not a "fair and equitable" charge to make against him. "No one", he said, "raised such question when Olu Falae got out as secretary to the government and minister of finance and went straight into politics. He was in a better position in deriving direct incumbency benefit than somebody like me who was handling a very difficult national assignment". (Emphasis mine).

torted to *African Concord's* persistent questioning, "didn't say nobody in his governments should participate in politics. He said he will not succeed himself. I am not BABANGIDA! I am not the MILITARY! These people who are shouting are shouting because they are scared stiff. That is the truth of the matter".

As for me, I did raise two objections in the *Citizen* of December 17, 1990, one of which was the chief's membership of Babangida's cabinet.

Clearly Alhaji Shehu Musa has not been singled out for criticism on this issue. Indeed not only were issues joined with Chief Falae before the *Makama*, after him Professor Jerry Gana has been criticised even more savagely for quitting MAMSER in similar circumstances. In any case by his own reply to *Citizen* on the issue, the *Makama* is not denying that he has enjoyed incumbency benefits, only that Chief Falae was better placed to do so.

It must be admitted that the difference between the two is an important one. By his own admission — see *Newswatch* of April 27 — Chief Falae was already thinking of joining the presidential race while still serving in Babangida's cabinet. During that time a circular gave ministers wishing to run for elective office a few weeks' deadline to resign. A couple or so of them did. Chief Falae did not, even though he knew he was eventually going to run for the presidency.

True, the *Makama* also took up the census job knowing he had intended to run for the presidency before the ban on "old politicians". But then those who gave him the job knew fully well that he had presidential ambi-

tween Chief Falae and the *Makama* on this matter. But then that difference is really not the issue at stake. The issue is that by his decision to join the race during the transition period, the *Makama* has inadvertently undermined the enormous and thorough work he did at the census commission, albeit with controversial results.

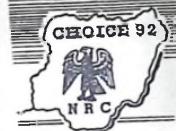
Chief Falae, Alhaji Shehu Musa and Professor Gana, all have every right to seek for any elective office and while Gana's record at MAMSER is patchy, no one can deny that the public records of the first two speak well for them. However, by choosing to exercise those rights so soon after serving the incumbent regime, all three, whether they admit it or not, have in various degrees, served to strengthen public cynicism towards the notion of selfless public service. For it would be fair to ask, if they — Gana in particular — truly believed their missions, was it too much to expect them to put their personal ambitions on hold until the controversy surrounding their roles subsided?

### Last line

Someone, presumably a Bajju, phoned me a fortnight ago to protest my "claim" that the Bajju joined the Katafs in attacking Zangon Kataf. If I gave any such impression I am sorry, as I had no such intention. The column passed with some vital punctuation errors because I couldn't proof read it myself and my manuscript can be impossible to read by others at times.



**Choice '92**



*Alhaji Umaru Shinkafi*

# *Barka Da Sallah*

**SHINKAFI FOR PRESIDENT  
CAMPAIGN ORGANISATION**

*sends Eid-El-Kabir greetings to all  
and wishes all blissful and peaceful  
celebrations*

**Vote Shinkafi for stability**

## Zangon Kataf riots



Cudjoe (chairperson) and members Oredola (left) and Makarfi (right)

# The road to Hell

The complete story of the February 6 riots in Zangon Kataf can now be told, including the issues, passions, events and persons that aided and abetted it

**I**n the beginning, the Devil provided the market issue.

The chairman of the now defunct Zangon Kataf local government council, Juri Babang Ayok, proclaimed on January 30, 1992 that Zango's weekly market should move to a new site along Magamiya Road on February 6. On the day Babang Ayok issued his relocation order, the new site was being levelled with bulldozers. There wasn't a single stall or toilet facility at the new market, and pieces of land for traders to erect stalls were first given out on the day of the commissioning itself, February 6.

There were other problems too. Juri Babang Ayok had not obtained an approval from the full local council before he issued the proclamation. Besides, the new site at Magamiya Road is within five kilometres radius from the town centre and was designated as urban land under the Kaduna State (Designation of Land in Urban Areas) Order of 1990. As such, only the state government had jurisdiction over it.

The old Zango market, said to have existed since "time immemorial", was situated deep inside the town, hemmed in by houses and lacking toilet facilities. More impor-

tant, as events were to show, most of its stalls were owned by Hausa traders and there was little space for emergent Kataf traders to partake in it. This might explain the irregular haste with which Babang Ayok, a fervent Kataf nationalist once in charge of security at the local council secretariat, moved to relocate the market.

Hausa traders in Zango resented the council's action and saw in it a political vendetta, especially since the official reason for the relocation was shortage of stalls in the old market; they were quick to point out that the new one had not a single stall. The Hausa protest was led by Alhaji Danbala ATK, who was heard on FRCN Kaduna's programme *Jakar Magori* on February 3 urging traders not to move to the new site. On February 5, Alhaji Danbala obtained an injunction from the Upper Area Court in Kafanchan restraining the local council from relocating the market the next day. The injunction was served on both the council chairman and the police by ATK himself on February 6. The police DPO at Zonkwa, Superintendent Adamian Audu ignored the order on the grounds that it was irregular, and he instead ordered his men in Zango to ensure that the new market site was protected. Mr. Audu had previously sent a signal to police headquarters in Kaduna warning that the market relocation could lead to violence. The policemen at the new market were confused, the Cudjoe panel heard, by the conflict between their orders and the injunction ATK was brandishing. The situation soon got out of hand and the conflagration ensued.

Although the market issue was a passionate one in Zango, *Citizen* learnt that the Cudjoe panel's report has dismissed it as "nothing but a smoke-screen". Even before the Devil graciously provided it, there were several contentious issues in the town competing to start a riot. Zangon Kataf was a model of uneasy communal relationships in

Nigeria. The town itself is, according to the district head, 99 per cent Hausa, but is surrounded by Kataf villages. While the Kataf see the whole district, created in 1914, as their land, they concede that the Hausa arrived there in 1650 under the leadership of one Mele, whom they allowed to settle. In three hundred years, it appears that Mele's ancestors multiplied and prospered to the chagrin of the hosts. Along the

Ja'afaru, later the emir of Zazzau, that appropriated all farmland within a four kilometre radius around Zango and declared it as *hurumi*, that is, land directly controlled by the emir of Zazzau. The Kataf now claim that the *hurumi* took over their farmland, but no evidence of such appropriation was tendered before the Cudjoe panel. The Kataf demand that this land, now largely owned by Hausa farmers, be re-

to take it away, "the [Kataf] not having challenged the validity or otherwise of the said lands as *hurumi* under the Land Native Rights Protection Ordinance 1902 and the emergence of subsequent legislations validating the possession of an occupier".

Even without market or land disputes, Hausa-Kataf coexistence in Zango was complicated by different tradition and religion. The largely christian Kataf told the Cudjoe panel that the Hausa refer to them as "*arna*", which means non-muslims, but is deeply resented by the Kataf. For their part, the Hausa told the panel they deeply resented sale and consumption of both pork and *burukutu*, a native beer. In spite of these differences in tradition, the Kataf told the panel that Hausa men marry their women but do not allow their daughters to marry Kataf men. Lots of examples of the unequal exchange were provided the panel by the Kataf, and the Hausa said their religion, Islam, allows men, but not women, to marry from other faiths. *Citizen* learnt that the Cudjoe panel's report merely urged tolerance and greater education to contain these problems.

**O**n February 6, the day the new market commenced, trouble broke out in Zango and continued into the next day.



The charred remains of vehicles at the end of May 15 riot

way, Zaria emirate took Kataf land into its fold and for many decades sent Hausa chiefs from Zaria to rule the district. In 1967, Bala Dauke Gora, a Kataf and a christian, was appointed as *Kuyambanan Zazzau* and district head of Zango. This concession has only slightly appeased the Kataf, who now want a chiefdom of their own independent of Zazzau. Kataf spokesmen Tonak Daboh and Zamani Kazah told the Cudjoe panel that Kataf rule should be based upon the area's traditional religion which is centred around a hoe presently kept at Unguwan Tabo. It was with some difficulty that the Cudjoe panel saw the hoe, since ladies are not allowed to see it and Justice Rahila Cudjoe is one.

Specifically, the Kataf resent a 1920 edict by the then district head,

Although the market issue was a passionate one in Zango, *Citizen* learnt that the Cudjoe panel's report has dismissed it as "nothing but a smoke-screen". Even before the Devil graciously provided it, there were several contentious issues in the town competing to start a riot.

turned to them was disavowed before the commission even by Mr. J.B. Daudu, counsel for the local council, who said it will be "unconstitutional"

Evidence before the Cudjoe panel confirmed the death of 95 people, most of them Hausa. The number of injured persons was put at 252, n

# What is to be done

The Cudjoe commission made many suggestions on how to avoid a repeat of the riots. Below are some of them

(1) (a) The President, Commander-In-Chief of the Armed Forces of Nigeria, should take whatever appropriate action he may deem necessary under Section 34 of the Local Government (Basic Constitutional and Transitional Provisions) Act 1990, in respect of Juri Babang Ayok — chairman, Zangon Kataf Local Government.

(b) The Inspector General of Police should take appropriate action in respect of Supritendent. Damian Audi's conduct and handling of the riots.

(c) Alhaji Danbala ATK should be strongly warned and placed under observation for at least 12 months.

(2) The activities of all Katafex-servicemen and retired military officers, whether resident within or outside Zangon Kataf Local Government Area should be looked into and appropriate actions taken.

(3) The Zangon Kataf weekly market should be moved to another completely new, neutral and centrally located site, other than inside Zango town, Kwata (Abbatoir) or Magamiya Road. Some basic infrastructures befitting a modern market should be put up before the new market is opened and a new weekly market day

other than Thursday should be declared for the weekly market.

(4) In view of the derogatory meaning attached to the words "Arne" or "Arna", "Kafiri" or "Kafirai" (unbeliever or non-Muslim) even if not intended, all those concerned should try and desist from the use of these words.

(5) The issue of Eid praying ground for the Hausa community of Zango town for which no provision has been made, and which has been completely swallowed up or taken over in the Zangon Kataf Medium Density Residential Layout (Exhibit 7) should be seriously reconsidered and the anomaly rectified.

(6) The House of Assembly, Kaduna State should look into the issue of es-

strictly enforce all provisions governing the possession of firearms and other dangerous weapons. There might still be the need for a thorough search of Zangon Kataf Local



Cudjoe: chairperson, judicial panel

**In view of the derogatory meaning attached to the words "Arne" or "Arna", "Kafiri" or "Kafirai" (unbeliever or non-Muslim) even if not intended, all those concerned should try and desist from the use of these words.**

tablishment of Customary Court of Appeal for Kaduna State.

(7) The police should

Government with the view of confiscating all firearms and other dangerous weapons not being held in

strict compliance with our laws. Indeed, in view of recent happenings, there is the need for further legislation to curtail and control the possession and use of firearms and other dangerous weapons.

(8) The following individuals deserve being singled out for commendations:

(a) The Ninzam Pastor who rescued four of Musa Lauya's children, kept them safe and returned them after two days.

(b) Mallam Lawal Suleiman of Zango who gave refuge to the midwife in Mr. Chundusu's clinic and was prepared to die with his family if any

harm should afflict her. (c) Daboh Akut who took and hid Alhaji Usman Idiya's seven children safely, cared for them and returned them to their father after three days.

(9) Adamu Usman Kachia, Zangon Kataf Area Court judge deserves commendation for his courageous behaviour and leadership qualities displayed on 6th February, 1992. However, he should be transferred out of Zangon Kataf for his personal safety and that of

counting those who did not go to any hospital. As for property damaged, government experts commissioned by the panel confirmed that 28 motor vehicles and plants worth 4.2 million Naira were completely burnt, all of them in the Hausa area. In addition, 10 motor vehicles worth 412,000 Naira were damaged; nine motorcycles worth 121,000 Naira were burnt, and other things such as spare-parts, generating sets, bicycles and sewing machines worth 4.2 million Naira were destroyed. Also destroyed were 133 houses worth 7.3 million Naira and 26 farmlands worth 821,000 Naira. The panel's evaluators could not assess damage to foodstuff and household items, a lot of which were also destroyed.

Who carried out the killings? Many of the Kataf assailants were identified before the Cudjoe panel by the Hausa victims. For example,



Lere: already implementing the recommendations

Alhaji Mohammed Tasiu said when he visited John Toro, a Kataf, on February 5, his host told him there will be bloodshed the following day. On that day, one Dauda Aliyu said Toro shot him in the right eye and then shot dead his two brothers, Danbala and Saminu. Toro, a retired army sergeant who fought in the civil war, appeared before Cudjoe's

**Lots of examples of the unequal exchange were provided the panel by the Kataf, and the Hausa said their religion, Islam, allows men, but not women, to marry from other faiths. Citizen learnt that the Cudjoe panel's report merely urged tolerance and greater education to contain these problems.**

panel and denied the allegation, but sources last week said the panel reported "a lot of discrepancies in his testimony" and said "there is more about him with regards to the riots than meets the eye".

Also indicted was Inspector Timothy Adams, transferred out of

Zango, where he was station chief, two weeks before the riots. The day before the riots and again on February 6, Inspector Adams came to Zango in mufti, armed with a service pistol and six rounds of ammunition; his reason for being there, he said, was to give money to his family

## Before the commission

**T**he Cudjoe judicial commission of inquiry into the Zangon Kataf (market) riot was appointed by the governor of Kaduna State, Alhaji Dabo Mohammed Lere on February 11, five days after the riot.

It was made of seven members namely, Justice Rahila Hadea Cudjoe, a judge of the Kaduna High Court as chairperson, and Masoud A. Oredola Esq., Mr. William Fagei Shera, Alhaji Ja'afaru Makarfi, Alhaji Garba Galadima, Alhaji Abbas Usman and Malam Musa Gaiya as members. The secretary was Bashir U. Sukola Esq. of the ministry of justice, Kaduna.

Its terms of reference were:-

1. to inquire into, in-

vestigate and identify the immediate and remote causes of the riot;

2. Assess the extent of damage;

3. Ascertain and identify the roles played by individuals and groups in causing tension and outbreak of violence;

4. determine the extent of loss of lives and property;

5. examine any other matter incidental to the items above and

6. recommend appropriate actions to be taken against those found responsible and recommend measures to forestall future occurrence.

The commission started its hearing in public on March 2nd. It finally submitted its report to Governor Dabo Lere on June 2.

Altogether 14 counsels and two observers sat before the commission. The counsels included G. I. Kurada to the commission, four, led by Yahaya Mahmoud to the Hausa community, three, led by J. B. Dauda to the Zangon Kataf Local Government, five, led by Emmanuel Toro to the Kataf community and one, DSP Pius Uba Usang to the police.

Forty-seven witnesses testified before it while 48 memoranda were submitted to it. Nearly 200 exhibits were admitted while the commission, which sat in Kaduna, visited Zangon Kataf twice, first on February 24 and then on April 14.

By Mohammed Haruna

## BUSINESS &amp; ECONOMY

# Eko Expo

## A disappointing outing

**Eko Expo trade fair holds without the presence of industrial giants to celebrate Lagos State's silver jubilee anniversary**

**B**y penultimate Sunday when it ended, the stream of visitors to the show had reduced to a trickle. Some of the exhibitors were already dismantling their stands while those waiting it out received more window shoppers than buyers. There were yawning unoccupied space within Hall 4 to which the Eko Expo trade fair was largely confined.

Outside the hall of Seven-up Bottling Company Plc, thrilled visitors with ear-splitting music. The Nigerian Bottling Company Plc, was also there to promote its 20 million Moneybag Blast and the GM Motors (Nigeria) Limited, relatively new and struggling to attain the enviable status of its fellow multinational firms, provided the fair its little corporate image. Take these three away, with Lever Brothers Plc, Patterson Zochonis (Nigeria) Limited and Metalloplastica, which exhibited inside and what you had was an Eko Expo '92 that was devoid of the usual commercial hustle and bustle that attend big fairs.

Cash crunch and economic adversity were there quite alright. What was conspicuously absent were the big multinational firms, the large banks and the industrial giants whose presence alone in Lagos State gives it an unassailable edge as a leading commercial centre. For a state celebrating its 25th anniversary and hoping to use this Expo to flaunt its economic advancement since creation on May 27, 1967, attendance looked a poor solidarity.

Any official disappointment? No, according to both Mr. Remi Alo, chairman of the protocol and publicity committee of the organisers (the Lagos State Investment Promotions Councils LSPIC), and Mrs

Elizabeth Isaac, the state's chief press officer. Alo told *Citizen*: the absence of big names was quite understandable. His explanation was that the annual plan projections of some of the companies may not have allowed them to participate in the Expo, considering the general economic situation in the country. "And since many of them are experiencing low capacity utilisation, there may not be many products to exhibit in the first place", he added.

Besides, the proliferation of



Osoba: "check proliferation"

trade fairs in the country was also said to have had its toll on the week-long exhibition. The reasoning is that firms would rather prefer to take stands at the international trade fairs (Lagos, Kaduna and Enugu) than exhibit in the Lagos Expo which its organisers themselves tagged the "biggest domestic trade fair in Africa". Some exhibitors at and visitors to the fair however maintained that its domestic nature should not detract from effective participation by leading firms since one of its objectives is to provide a forum for commerce and industry to whow their contributions to the growth and

development of Lagos State and the Nigerian economy" generally.

Going by attendance at the Expo, this objective is being shortcircuited. Apart from the three international trade fairs, specialised fairs that are now the vogue, are also held liable for the poor participation observed at Eko Expo. Some manufacturers, it was learnt, are now turning to these fairs to exhibit to their market targets directly. A worried Segun Osoba, the Ogun State governor, suggested that the proliferation of fairs should be checked and their operations rationalised to allow for orderliness. This, he believed, would lend state fairs like the Eko Expo a stronger corporate participation.

But it was not only the big firms that were guilty of staying away. Lagos State itself was not fully represented. Of the 15 local government areas in the state, only six — Ojo, Lagos Mainland, Lagos Island, Ikorodu, Ikeja and Badagry were at the International Trade Fair venue of the Expo to honour LSPIC's invitation. The possible reason tendered by an official of the organisers was that most of the absentee councils are relatively new and are just "settling down".

To Awa Momoh of ABG Communications Limited and Esther Osunde of Elegance Industries, patronage was low compared with what their companies gained last year at the Lagos International Trade Fair. Alo said there should be no basis for comparison since both operate at widely different levels. "The Lagos International Trade Fair takes 11 months to plan and the whole gamut of the Nigerian business circle and diplomatic corps are involved. That fair is internationally respected", he maintained. Osunde believed weather consideration may also be responsible for the low level of patronage. Eko Expo holds in June during the raining season while the Lagos International trade fair enjoys the comfort of the November sunny climate.

By Tayo Odunlami

## Housing fund may be stalled

**M**anaging director of FSB International Bank Limited, Malam M. Hayatudeen last week in Lagos expressed fear over the success of the national housing policy under its present structure.

Presenting a paper titled: "Monetization, National Savings Mortgage Finance" at a four-day national workshop on "monetization of fringe benefits", he decried the "unrealistically low level" of the interest rates which national housing fund was pegged.

The bank executive further cautioned that "the

government by so doing may unknowingly have created incentive for the abuse and manipulation of the fund. Malam Hayatudeen explained that the fund is being vigorously resisted by banks and insurance companies because of the adverse impact its operation will have on their liquidity.

He observed that "the decree is seen as discriminating against banks and insurance companies in favour of mortgage institution and run counter to the policies of deregulation and commercialisation.

## NSE records 31.99 million Naira transactions

**T**he total value of transactions on the Nigerian Stock Exchange (NSE) stood at 31.99 million Naira during the month of February this year. This represents an increase of 22.45 million Naira or 235.32 per cent over the figure for the preceding month.

According to the latest edition of SEC *monthly* a total of 4.88 million Naira worth of ordinary shares changed hands in 3,284 deals showing slight decrease of 14.82 per cent over the month of January.

On sectorial basis, 22.72 million Naira worth

of government stocks were traded while like the previous month; the industrial loans and preference stocks sectors remained dormant.

The equities sector with 9.29 million worth of securities changed hands recording a drop of 1.28 million as against the 9.39 million in January. Share price movement continued its upward trend during the months as the overall simple average price of equities on the main list increased from 175k to 178k while the average price of equities on the second tier securities market (SSM) maintained its January level of 70k.

## NAOC to invest 18 million Naira in exploration

**N**igerian Agip Oil Company Limited's (NAOC's) joint venture with NNPC and Phillips is to invest about 18 million Naira in exploration and facilities development in the next five years.

Vice chairman and managing director of NAOC, Mr. A. Belotti said during the commissioning ceremony of Agip House in Lagos last week, that NAOC also owned five per cent interest in the Shell/NNPC/Agip/Elf joint venture which constitutes about 50 per cent of the country's daily oil production. He noted that Agip Energy and Natural Resources which was the only company among those that signed the service contract with NNPC in

1979, had made success of the contract with the discovery and production of Agbara, the Nigerian deepest offshore producing field in OPL 472 with a daily production capacity of 25,000 barrels per day.

Belotti remarked that NAOC's exploration activities since its inception have resulted in 20,000 kilometres of seismic line shot and processed, from which about 305 wells had been drilled, adding that, 43 oil and gas fields had also been discovered.

With a daily production of 140,000 barrels per day, NAOC has invested about 72 billion Naira in investment and in its exploration since it commenced business in Nigeria.

## People's Bank raises credit ceiling

**T**he People's Bank of Nigeria (PBN) has raised its credit ceiling from 5,000 Naira to 10,000 Naira for individuals and 100,000 Naira for group lending. The managing director and chief executive of the bank, Mrs. Maria Sokenu, said in a statement issued in Lagos last week that "Owing to increased growth in business activities of the beneficiaries, it is quite evident that additional working capital will go a long way in increasing their profit margins."

She further explained that the bank took the initiative having looked at the

general nature of the economy, market forces and the extremely high rate of inflation in the country which had rendered the amount of loans disbursed insufficient as working tools for small scale entrepreneurs

By Tola Sunday



## AFRICA

## Egypt

## Death of a secularist

Militant muslims give their verdict: If you preach secularism, you are an atheist and should die

**T**he Egyptian authorities, more than the Algerians have been tolerant of militant muslim groups, though officially unrecognised. But a fortnight ago, exactly June 7, they announced the arrest of 50 "fundamentalists" of the Muslim Brotherhood, proscribed about 40 years ago.

According to interior ministry officials in Cairo, those arrested were planning to subvert the government. They said they also seized illegal leaflets used in creating disaffection between muslims and christians. The arrests were meant to be a warning to the extremists that they were exceeding their bounds, said one government official.

But apparently the warning failed to serve its purpose. Last week, another fundamentalist group, the *Jihad*, shot and killed one of Egypt's foremost writers and politicians, Faraq Fode, also described as a strong critic of Islamic fundamentalism in Egypt. His 15-year old son, who was in the same car, survived the attack but with grave injury.

According to a news wire report, Faraq "had been the object of several death threats for his outspoken secularist and anti-fundamentalist views. He was said to have been well loved by Egypt's very influential (Coptic) christian minority. He had fought elections on a platform of national unity between christians and muslims.

Faraq all through his life was regarded as a "scourge" of Islamic extremists, whom he accused of "abandoning Islam by turning away from dialogue to the *kalashnikov*". He could be quite indiscreet too, as when he suggested recently in a

magazine article that the fundamentalists had sexual problems.

To him, the extremists posed a serious threat to the security of Egypt and he fervently believed that he had "a commitment to keeping an open Egyptian society". Unfortunately, not many understood his message, and equated secularism to atheism.



Mubarak: iron fisted with fundamentalists

Some critics of the government have attributed this polarisation of Egyptian society to two things. First, the information media, especially radio and television, the later both government-owned, have failed to explain to "ordinary Egyptians" the differences between secularism and atheism, and second, the education system is seen as "brainwashing" children into believing that Islam is Egypt's only religion, whereas the country's social history shows that

Christianity is as much Egyptian as Islam.

Third, the government's failure to allow an open debate about Islamic extremism has not allowed the Egyptian public to gauge the degree of support the fundamentalist groups enjoy among the population. But the government may have its reason for not allowing a public debate.

According to one commentator, it could be that the government "wants to put forward itself as an Islamic government", so that it could "take the ground from under the militants and prove itself an upholder of muslim integrity". But that has not happened.

So without a public debate (Faraq was never allowed to put across his secular ideas on television), the militants may well think they enjoy tremendous support of the Egyptian people. A mistaken self-assessment, perhaps, but for the moment it serves its purpose of emboldening the militants to defy the government and other Egyptians who hold

Some critics of the government have attributed this polarisation of Egyptian society to two things. First, the information media, especially radio and television, the later both government-owned

different ideas of society.

By Tawey Zakka  
with agency reports

# Mali

## Behold a new dawn

President Konare takes the driver's seat in Mali and ends military rule of two decades

**A** dream fulfilled. That describes the end of Mali's one year transition programme launched last year. Last week, Mr. Alpha Oumar Konare was sworn in as the country's first democratically elected president in more than two decades. Well over 3,000 guests and party supporters watched the ceremony which took place at the palace of culture, the scene of the trial of the country's ousted military leader, General Moussa Traore a fortnight ago.

It is understood that the transitional government austere exit was not unconnected with the tension generated by the trial of the former president accused of ordering the killing of over 200 protesters last year during the pro-democracy uprising. The government announced just before the handing over last week that it was postponing the trial because of violence on the opening day. Youths attempting to attack the former president battled the police for hours and caused extensive damage to the concert building prompting defence lawyers to boycott the trial.

In his maiden broadcast over the national radio, President Konare named Youssef Toure, a former director-general of Mali's Central Bank as the new prime minister. He said Toure would head a government open to all shades of opinion. On Thursday the new government named its cabinet with members drawn from different political movements in the country.

He however, cautioned his eight million compatriots against undue expectation and reminded them that Mali was the world's poorest country. "Do not ask the state for what you know it does not possess; I am not selling dream", he said.

President Konare, who bagged a doctorate in history at Warsaw University, served as Traore's sports and culture minister between 1978 and 1980. He easily won the second round of the presidential elections



Traore: end of an era

try's ravaged economy. Nothing short of a massive international capital inflow is needed to turn the economy around. And only a quick agreement with the World Bank and IMF can bring this about. Both institutions are not known to be charitable organisations — without extracting their pound of flesh. Perhaps, more important is for the new government to decide whether or not to continue the trial of General Traore which has generated a lot of world's attention, and lawyers accused Mali's former government of Ahmadu Toure of not doing enough to calm the highly charged atmosphere surrounding the trial. It only suspended the trial on the ground of violence days before it handed over power to the elected civilians, but, it is feared that the new government may pander to renewed demands by Malians to continue the trial soon. Already, a group of airforce officers have been in detention on the suspicion of a coup d'etat against the former government.

Lastly, the new government may have to be more decisive in the repatriation of the Tuareg refugees who fled the country at the height of rebellion with the government forces. Although an agreement worked out early this year, provides the return of the refugees, over 50,000 of them

## Alpha Oumar Konare was sworn in as the country's first democratically elected president in more than two decades. Well over 3,000 guests and party supporters watched the ceremony

although only 20 per cent of Malian voters bothered to turn out. His party, the Alliance for Democracy in Mali, scored a landslide victory during last March's parliamentary election which gives him a solid majority support.

President Konare's concerns are however manifold. First is the coun-

try are still in camps in Mauritania.

How soon the new government resolves these issues will determine whether or not Mali has bade goodbye to military intervention.

By Abu Mommoh  
with agency reports

Citizen, June 15, 1991



Ekpenyong



Ituma



Ogunleye



Nathan

sioners were better than deputy-governors... they (governors) could assign any roles they liked to them. They might not even assign them any roles at all. The only thing they have is that they are more or less spare tyres. If the tyre does not puncture you don't make use of spare-tyres". Indeed going by the rather tentative provisions of the 1979 Constitution as spelt out in section 174-(1) that the governor of a state may in his discretion, assign to the deputy governor or any commissioner of the government of the state responsibility for any business of that state, including the administration of any department of government," Afolabi's case seems to be unassailable. Often times, political pundits have attributed the tumultuous working relationship that existed between the Second Republic governors and their deputies in some of the then 19 states of the federation to this rather vague constitutional provision, which they argue, tends to put commissioners on the same pedestal with deputy governors. In the peculiar Nigerian political situation where the office of

the deputy-governor is often seen as an avenue for balancing citizens of different religious persuasion, regional-cum-ethnic affiliations and political factions, some analysts also tended to decry a situation where thenumber two citizen was completely subordinated to the chief executive.

The "impotent" position of the deputy-governors office soon set some of them on collision course with their bosses. In Kano State, the governor Alhaji Abubakar Rimi who felt discomfited by his deputy, Ibrahim Bibi Farouk's preference for the Aminu Kano faction of the People's Redemption Party set out to undermine the office. Things came to a head when Farouk was eased out of office, November 1981,

through the machinery of impeachment which was allegedly instigated by the governor. In Oyo State, Chief Sunday Afolabi who had settled for the deputy-governorship seat in 1978 after he was worsted (120 to 35 votes) by Bola Ige during the Osun indirect primaries, resigned in 1982 to have a go at the governorship. He later stormed out of the UPN when he lost the party's governorship primary decamping to the NPN where his alliance with another latter-day UPN decamp, Alhaji Busari Adelakin plotted Ige's Waterloo.

Bendel and Rivers states were two other hot-beds of intrigue between the civilian governors and their erstwhile running mates. Demos Akpore had to throw in the towel when he could no longer cope with what he saw as the "dictatorial" administrative style of Professor Ambrose Alli, the governor. He later ran against Alli in the 1983 battle for the Bendel State Government House just as Frank Adele Eke, Rivers State deputy governor during Chief Melford Okilo's first term as governor, also attempted to capture the plum seat in 1983.

It was however in Ondo State that the most macabre face of the governor-deputy power struggle was manifest. Chief Akin Omoboriowo, the middle-aged lawyer who became deputy to septuagenarian Pa Michael Ajasin, found the office too limiting for his stature. Omoboriowo, said Ajasin, was "something of a sadist who ran a closed administration". After just three months in office, the ex-deputy governor recalls, Chief Ajasin "called *Sketch* editors in my pres-



Ojikutu



Hassan



Agada



Nwafor

ence and gave them a dressing down for giving me undue publicity" With such a yawning crack developing after barely three months in office, it was no surprise that by July 1, 1983 when General Adeyinka Adebayo addressed a peace meeting brokered by the *Deji of Akure* for the two warring UPN executives, he warned of a "drum of chaos beating louder now than it was in 1965 especially in Ondo State". Omoboriowo's declaration, August 16 1983, as governor-elect under the NPN's banner was later to set off unprecedented political carnage in the state. The raging embers of hate could only be doused by the judicial pronouncement of the Justice Olakunle Orojo led state election petition panel that Ajasin scored 1,563,327 votes to Omoboriowo's 703,592 and not 1,015,385 to 1,288,981 votes as earlier announced by FEDECO.

For those who believe that the over-arching drive of some of the former deputy-governors to take over the plum number one seat is attributable to the defects in the 1979 Constitution, the 1988 Constituent Assembly was the appropriate forum to give expression to their feelings. According to Mr. Adetola O. Odulaja, Ogun State attorney general and commissioner for justice: "In the Second Republic, deputy-governors were made redundant. This resulted in a lot of ill-feeling and that was why the provisions of the 1989 Constitution which has been duplicated in Decree 50 of 1991 that the governor should mandatorily assign specific functions to their deputies", Dr. O. Ibikunle, Ilaro-based dental surgeon and former member of the 1988 Constituent Assembly concurred. He told *Citizen* that the assembly members were especially concerned with dignifying roles for deputy-governors which would nonetheless "not derogate from the executive prerogative of the governor".

If the assembly wise men thought they had found a lasting solution to the sporadic bickering between the first two citizens of the states, they must have been made

the wiser by an event which played itself out, May 9, at the glittering conference hall of the NICON NOGA Hotel, Abuja. Seven states' deputy governors from Kogi, Imo, Oyo, Osun, Katsina, Anambra and Akwa-Ibom states who had honoured an invitation extended by Alhaji Sinatu Ojikutu, the deputy-governor of Lagos State for a conference, emerged from closed-door deliberations with a communique which gave unmistakable signs of uneasiness in the states. Complaining that they are often derisively referred to as

"stand-by generators", the deputy governors lamented: "inspite of circular letter viz: our ref. No. VP920/vol. I of 11th September 1990 from the vice president wherein the role of deputy-governors were clearly stated, some state governors have ignored the directive and turned their deputy into "gin and lime" assistants representing them at social functions". The deputy-governors, argued that since deputy-governors have "a stake with the electorate", they should be actively involved in the scheme of things to ensure greater accountability from the government" Concluded the august assembly which also took time off to take a swipe at the Osun State police commissioner: "A blanket authority given to governor make a mockery of accountability and desirable checks and balances".

**T**he position of the deputy governors as expressed in the Abuja communique immediately sparked off a lively debate in the press. *National Concord* in its editorial of May 18 saw reason with the league of deputies. "A situ-



Ebonka



Wali



Akande



Odili

ation where high calibre of men and women chosen by their communities to ensure equity and balanced representations are sidelined, falls short of the culture of sharing and national accommodation to which the nation aspires and is one of the factors which led to the collapse of the Second Republic" the paper commented. But the *Champion* of the same day was persuaded otherwise. As far as the newspaper is concerned, the deputy-governors demand is "a bit off the mark as such a step can give a deputy-governor the legal authority to set up parallel structures and spite the governors who are constitutionally the chief executives of their states. The *Champion* further argued that the vice president's letter cited by the deputy-governors is "extra-constitutional" and "transient" and that by its ordinary meaning the deputy-governor deputises for the governor and must be self-effacing as their position requires".

Dr. Olu Onagoruwa, a Lagos-based constitutional lawyer also cast his lot with the *Champion* perspective. "Once you begin to delineate

roles in the constitution, then you are going back to the 1963 Constitution when you had a president who had no executive powers and prime minister who had executive power... Once you divide up the powers a deputy-governor would begin to complain about the erosion of his powers."

**O**nagoruwa further told *Citizen* that the problem in Ondo state in 1983 was caused by the awesome powers Chief Ajasin conceded to his deputy, Chief Omoboriowo. Omoboriowo, according to Onagoruwa, was



Madaki and Zayyad: hitches along the way



Ayuba and Sadauki: healthy relationship

in charge of appointments into all government parastatals in the state. "He filled up the whole place with his cronies and built up a personality cult around himself. He became used to exercising powers and started plotting to overthrow Ajasin", Onagoruwa added.

Granted that the arguments of the likes of Onagoruwa is not without its merits, some political analysts have tended to point at Decree 28 of 1990 which regulated the relationship between civilian deputy-governors appointed by the federal

government and their military bosses prior to the coming of the new civilian governors. In the decree, deputy governors were given statutory responsibility to chair the finance and general purpose committee of the states in addition to being vice-chairmen of the security council of their respective states.

They also handled matters relating to boards of states parastatals, commissions and agencies, coordinated the affairs of local councils and supervised the local government service commission of the states as well as state-owned investment companies and parastatals. Apart from Katsina State, where a cold war of sorts raged between Colonel John Yahaya Madaki and his deputy Alhaji Aminu Zayyad, who was said to have attempted to "assert himself" within this schedule of duties there were no celebrated cases of in-fighting during that period. Not surprisingly, present civilian governors want a return of this "golden era".

Many watchers of the nation's political climate however argued that the personal rapport between the governor and his deputy is the battleline of crisis-free state-administration, Alhaji Raufu Jafojo, a former Lagos deputy-governor had a rancour-free relationship with Alhaji Lateef Jakande, who was then the chief executive. Jafojo let *Citizen* into the secret of their chemistry: "We were not there to loot the treasury, we were not elected into office to award every possible contract to our friends and relatives so there couldn't be any disagreement between us" Jafojo added: "I was never an errand boy. If Alhaji Jakande is invited to anywhere, he goes there and delivers his own speech. If I am invited to anywhere, I would deliver my own speech. Throughout my period in

government, I never read my governor's speech".

Apostle Adesuyi Haastrup, Osun's embattled governor also thinks that much depends on the "political maturity" between a governor and his deputy. Said Adesuyi in an interview with *Citizen* in Osoybo; "If the two are politically matured, there will be no friction, if they are not they will be at loggerheads and there will be no progress. They will start to operate at crossroads and that is when the clash will come".

Haastrup should know given his experience in office in the last six months. So should Chidozie Acholomu, the Imo State deputy-governor whom Governor Evans Enwerem advised to cut down on his press visibility. Before that put-down, Acholomu and Enwerem spent the whole of four months quarrelling over the list of state commissioners. There have also been disagreements over budgetary allocations to the office of the governor and his deputy. In such other states as Ogun, Lagos, Sokoto and Kaduna, however no such swords are being unsheathed.

Mr. Olatayo Afolabi Sokoya, the speaker of the Ogun State House of Assembly believes that the absence of rumblings in some of the states does not preclude the necessity of reform.

As he told *Citizen* in Abeokuta last week: "Rightly put, there must be certain duties statutorily assigned to deputy-governors. In addition to that any governor can delegate any of his assignments to his deputy. When I was a teacher there were certain duties allotted to the vice principal to which the principal can include additional responsibilities". Such duties which Sokoya says are already covered by the country's conventions include local government coordination and chieftaincy affairs. Would an adoption of the Sokoya initiative calm the idle hands at government house? Only time can tell.

By Yinka Tella in Ibadan and  
Abeokuta, with additional reports from  
Samson Ojo in Osoybo

# War by other means

**A**mbassadors, it is said, are honest people sent to tell lies about their countries. Lannon Walker, out-going American Ambassador to Nigeria, at least gives you that impression. In his paper at the recent Abuja international Conference on "Nigeria beyond 1992" and his recent interview with the Citizen magazine (24/5/92), Walker argued passionately, if fruitlessly, that the IMF and the World Bank are virtuous institutions which are out to help countries in trouble with their finances. Walker further suggested that our problem in Nigeria is that we have not been faithful enough to the IMF World Bank guidelines and that the earlier we did so the better for us. In fact he concluded his Abuja paper by insisting that it was the only option we have; there is, in Walker's unsolicited advice, no other one.

Lannon Walker, being the good ambassador he was, exonerated his country from its vicious crimes and insolently ignored the hideous and horrid conditions that we here in Nigeria and other fellow victims of US controlled World Bank are going through. He insisted with a striking impunity that the World Bank has nothing to do with it, much less his country. He will not listen to Nigerians, many of whom believe that they found themselves in this grim circumstances precisely because their leaders have been more faithful to the IMF and the World Bank than to their subjects. He will certainly deny that the World Bank has been the greatest beneficiary of the August 1985 coup. He will also dismiss as baseless insinuations the speculation that the coup itself was at the behest of World Bank with his country playing the role it knew best how.

While Walker was busy doing his job here, John Pilger, a prominent journalist with British independent Television (ITV) as if in answer to him, was doing his. Pilger

carried out a remarkably thorough investigation on the devastating consequence of the debt problem and the vicious role of the World Bank, IMF, the western governments and the unrepentant CIA. Pilger aptly titled this documentary "war by other means". It is a war, he said which you do not see on the TV screens because it is waged by more sophisticated means and its principal weapon is death. The casualties of this war include half-million children that die every year, more than twice the number that dies in the recently concluded Gulf war. It is a war which makes mockery of the



Lannon Walker

western humanitarian gestures such as western aid, and the spectacular life aid show in 1985. As Pilger found out, the very poor for whom the life aid was staged paid the western countries that same year twice as much in terms of debt servicing. The £12m raised through comic relief in Britain last year for the poor, had returned the same day to the same Britain. In fact this £12m is what the poor countries of world pay to British financial institutions daily. Pilger had no difficulty conceding the fact that it is the poor that finance the rich and not vice versa. The details Pilger came up with are revealing, frightening, astonishing and wicked.

This vicious war could be said to have started in earnest by 1944

- a review article by  
U. M. Bugaje

when Roosevelt, the president of the U.S.A. and a well known Freemason established the World Bank. America came to acquire the largest share and to therefore provide the president and the statute establishing the bank secured immunity from legal prosecution for its officials. Thus from its inception, the bank was prepared to operate extralegally. It seems its objective was not simply to make money by hook or crook but also to keep poor developing nations permanently poor. In the last decade for example, Pilger found out that the bank made an average of 12 billion dollars monthly. But during the same period debtor countries have become 60% more in debt than they had been in 1982. Dr. Susan George, interviewed by Pilger, was right, very right, when she said that in the 80's the bank "made a killing".

The anti-slavery society, a human right group, were both apt and just when they declared debt a contemporary form of slavery. This is clearly demonstrated in the Philippines where 44% of the national budget goes to foreign banks to service loans while only 3% of the budget goes to health services. The larger portion of this debt was what dictator Ferdinand Marcos borrowed and kept away in his foreign accounts. It could not come as a surprise that one Filipino child dies every hour due to the lack of adequate medical attention. All these in spite of the fact that the average Filipino, along with his wife and children labour for nearly 20 hour a day. Indeed for many people these hours are spent by human beings hopping from one load of rubbish to the other like vultures scavenging for anything edible. The scenes of abject poverty and utter hopelessness, which Pilger caught, were highly disturbing to any person with conscience.

The very manner and the

circumstances under which these loans are secured are suspicious, to say the least. The case of the 22.6 billion dollar Nuclear power station in Philippines, which has not and perhaps will not produce a single watt of electricity, says it all. The loan was secured and the project started in early 70's without a proper study regarding Philippines power requirement, position of the site, safety, etc. In 1977 the Carter administration stopped the project after well over a billion dollar had already been spent. Then William Casey, then head of Export-Import bank and later director of the CIA gave money to Westing House the contractors, to proceed with the project. In 1986 the project had not produced single watt and on investigation the Aquino government discovered several irregularities and consequently took Westing House to court where it was found guilty and arranged to settle out of court, agreeing to pay Philippines some 100 million dollars. By some dramatic turn of events Aquino government later paid 400 million to make the project work. The project, Pilger told us, has not yet worked and may never work and yet the poor Filipinos still have to pay for the power that never was. Aquino herself echoed this frustration when she said, in an address to the US Congress in 1986, that with 26 billion dollar foreign debt, 2 billion out of its total 4 billion dollar export earnings "must pay interest on a debt whose benefit the Filipino people have never seen".

Yet the World Bank and the IMF keep telling the poor nations to cut government spending, increase export, privatise — or you don't get another loan. Without another loan the IMF and the World Bank will connive to suffocate the fragile economy until the nation is on its knees. The New World Order is clearly that poor nations must not just remain poor, but must be made poorer so that the rich nations could grow richer.

Insolently the World Bank and IMF held a conference in Bangkok last year, ostensibly "to find ways of eradicating poverty all over the third world". Thailand was said to have been purposely chosen to host the conference because it was an economic model for the third world. Pilger showed us how 500 poor families living in squalor in the vicinity of the five star hotel had been hurriedly evacuated to another slum and walls erected to shield them because they constituted an eyesore to the delegates. The delegates themselves flew in first class and had their chefs flown directly from Paris. The IMF alone, Pilger told us, spends 45 million dollars annually for such trips around the globe. Indeed, "war and debt are the same", one of Pilger's guest in the documentary said, the difference is in the occupation of territory, but no one needs to occupy a territory today.

At the end, Pilger raised some solemn questions: "why should children die slowly through the burden

**Why did they need to seek our mandate when they wanted to go to the IMF? When the public unanimously rejected the idea of IMF loan why did they insist and went ahead? Are they playing with the intelligence of their subjects? Or is it a show of power and arrogance?**

of debt? Why do British high street banks receive 1.6 billion pounds as tax relief on loans given to poor countries when this amount could immunise 400 million children against preventable diseases? Why should the lives of ordinary people be controlled by a few who are themselves unaccountable, and whose decisions and judgements are dictated by the belief that economics is

meant not to serve people but some kind of holy writ which requires some regular offer, even blood sacrifice to a god called the *bottom line*? The debt of all these nations represent only 5% of the loans of the commercial banks. If the debt is cancelled unconditionally, the banks would hardly know the difference. But if it is not cancelled the scenes of death and squalor will endure and people may take it no more and perhaps the death war will no longer be silent. Is that the kind of world we are to give to those children who reach the 21st century?"

Lannon Waiker or better still his masters should answer these questions. We over here in Nigeria should have more questions to raise and answer. We know that ours is a military regime, which has come to power and remains in power by force of arms. Why did they need to seek our mandate when they wanted to go to the IMF? When the public unanimously rejected the idea of IMF loan why did they insist and went ahead? Are they playing with the intelligence of their subjects? Or is it a show of power and arrogance? What has happened to all the money they have been taking as loans, ostensibly on our behalf and for our benefits? Who gave them the mandate and where are the benefits? Throughout the history of this country this is the time we have had the highest debt and yet the most essential services of health, education, transport, etc have been at their lowest ebb, some would say, have collapsed. Are we not entitled to ask?

The president was reported to have been wondering why the Nigerian economy has not collapsed. But it has. Someone should tell him to stop wondering. We, against whom this war by other means in waged, know that the economy has collapsed, since we woke up one morning and found that our money is only half of what it was yesterday. And we have since then been waking up unsure of what the value of the currency would be. We certainly know and feel that our economy has collapsed.

## Labour Taking charge

**Harangued by weeks of sporadic protests and communal strife, the federal government employs both stick and carrot to calm frayed nerves but not many are impressed**

**T**hursday, June 4, the Aso chamber of the Presidential Villa, Abuja, reverberated with what Air-Commodore Nsikak Eduok, the air officer commanding the NAF Training Command, Kaduna saw as "exceeding good news" for everyone. Vice President Augustus Aikhomu later related the major decisions of the emergency AFRC meeting presided over by General Babangida to a crowded news conference. According to Aikhomu, the proportion of revenue disbursed from the federation account on the basis of the derivation principle has been increased from 1.5 per cent to 3 per cent in deference to "pleas by the states and plight of the communities in the areas". Similarly, the ecological fund was raised from one per cent to two per cent of federally collected revenue while a statutory commission made up of members from oil-producing states was established in Port Harcourt to administer the derivation fund. Consequently, a new revenue allocation formula had come into effect with federal government now having 48.5 per cent, states 24 per cent, local government 20 per cent and others 7.5 per cent.

Government also extended something of an olive branch to workers. The transport and housing allowances of federal workers, Aikhomu said, were being reviewed upwards. "subject to a minimum of 100 Naira per month", the rent subsidy was also to increase while leave allowance is now pegged at 10 per cent of annual salary subject to a minimum of 500 Naira per annum. Loans for the refurbishing of motor cars and motorcycles were also upped to 20,000 Naira and 3,500 Naira respec-

tively in addition to several adjustments in kilometre allowance.

For the Academic Staff Union of Nigerian Universities which is still locked in legal dispute with the federal government at the Industrial Arbitration Panel (IAP) over an enhanced salary package for its workers, government reiterated its offer of a 45 per cent salary increment. It also announced a 30 per cent across the board increase in the salary of non-academic university staff while warning ASUU to jettison its "exaggerated and unrealistic" demands.

It was however, in the "administrative changes" which the president had earlier said would correct



**Bafayo and Musa: not enough**

"observed lapses" and remove all those who are working at cross-purposes with the government" that the AFRC decided to live up to its reputation of always springing surprises. Alhaji Abubakar Alhaji, the ebullient finance minister was deprived of the prestigious portfolio,

instead, he was told to proceed to the United Kingdom to take up the job of Nigeria's high commissioner. Alhaji, who was recently turbaned *Sardaunan Sokoto* is being succeeded by his former director-general, Alhaji Ahmed Abubakar.

Also out of the cabinet in Babangida's ninth cabinet reshuffle since he assumed power in a palace coup, August 1985, is Professor Jibril Aminu, the petroleum resources minister, whose removal the government's traditional army of critics have actually become tired of demanding for. Even as Dr. Chu Okongwu, erstwhile national planning commission chairman was stepping into Aminu's shoes at the petroleum and mineral resources ministry, not many were willing to believe government explanations that he had voluntarily thrown in the towel.

Senas Ukpana, is vacating the ministerial seat of ministry of establishment for Chief G.P.O. Chikelu, a former director-general of the petroleum ministry. Ukpana is the new chairman of the national planning

commission while Alhaji Hamman Tukur and Dr. T.B. Edozien have been deployed to the petroleum and mines ministries respectively as director-general. Dr. Thomas John gave way to Dr. Imo J. Itsuele as the new chairman of the NNPC group.

**By Yinka Tella with Samson Ojo**

**A**t normal times, the Lagos High Court wears a serene look. No noise. Even cars that ride on the roads that box in the court are not allowed to horn. As a temple of justice, absolute quiet is required for judges who hold court there to dispense justice. No longer so in the past three weeks. Since May 26, when the Lagos and Ikeja High Courts were bombarded with suits requesting for the release of detained human right activists, the courts have lost their serenity as they play host to bands of placard-carrying youths and students protesting the detention of Baba Omojola, Femi Falana, Beko Ransome-Kuti, Gani Fawehinmi, Osagie Obayuwana and Femi Odebiyi, all of whom are members of Campaign for Democracy, CD, an umbrella body for non-governmental pro-democracy groups aimed at "campaigning against military rule, corruption and all forms abuse of power and violations of human rights and rule of law."

Last week Tuesday after Justice Francis Odebiyi's ruling allowing



**Akpamgba: obeying the law?**

government lawyers more time to produce Dr. Beko Ransome-Kuti in court, some placard carrying youths and students held a brief demon-

## Lawyers

# Defending the rule of law

**Lawyers in Lagos begin an indefinite boycott of courts in protest against government's disobedience to court orders**

stration in the premises of the Lagos High Court in protest against what they called "executive lawlessness." One of the placards read, "IBB must obey court. No one is above the law." That demonstration was the second in two weeks. The week before, June 4, there was a demonstration involving Maroko evacuees and students protesting the continued detention of Gani Fawehinmi and other human right activists. On that occasion, the Chief Justice Ligali Ayorinde ordered two of the demonstrators, Chief Richard Kalasuwe and Moses Uba, a retired army captain, detained for seven days for disrupting the proceedings of his court. Moments later, a protester, Sunday Aremu, quened the judge's action. He complained to *Citizen* that he found it difficult to understand why the judge found it expedient to deal speedily with commoners while government which established the courts has been holding them in contempt for the past two weeks. "Three, times, the courts asked government to produce these people, three times the government refused. Why? Is the government above the law?" queried Aremu.

Aremu's query was not novel. Actually last Monday, an emergency joint meeting of the Ikeja and Lagos branches of the Nigerian Bar Association, NBA which was attended by its national president and secretary Mrs. Priscilla Kuye, and Prince Olateru-Olagbegi respectively and the chairman of Ibadan branch Olurotimi Akeredolu, deliberated on the issue of government disobedience to court orders and resolved to embark on an indefinite boycott of court proceedings if the government fails to comply with court orders asking it to produce detained hu-

man rights activists in court. Anticipating that the detained may be arraigned in a military tribunal the association directed that should that happen, lawyers should boycott such tribunals. According to Victor Onaiya, the chairman of Ikeja branch of the NBA who spoke to *Citizen* "a government which seven years ago rode into power on the platform of human rights and now has seven months to the end of its term should not be clamping down on innocent citizens or be disobeying orders of competent jurisdiction." He emphasised that the association took the view that "at all times, the rule of law is not negotiable." Although the minister of justice and attorney general of the federation, Chief Clement Akpamgba told journalists last week Monday, at the swearing in of members of the special tribunal on the Zangon Kataf riot, that he had issued a warrant for the production of the detained activists in court, indications were that the boycott would commence last week Tuesday because as at Wednesday, the last working day of the week, none of the court orders had been complied with.

The present storm began to gather May 18, when armed policemen and plain clothes security operatives stormed the homes of Beko Ransome-Kuti and Baba Omojola, and took them into detention. No reason was given for the arrest. The following day, Femi Falana, according to reports was arrested in the premises of an Ikeja High Court.

On May 29 Gani Fawehinmi was picked up at his Ikeja GRA home by securities operatives, as in the case of Ransome Kuti and others, no reason was given for his arrest.

By Bolaji Adebisi

# Scandal Presidential 419?

How Pretoria was stung for 35 million Naira by a presidential aspirant

**R**emember Muldergate? This was the scandal that broke out several years in South Africa when the country's information minister, Mr. Mulder, orchestrated a well funded but secret scheme to buy influence and ownership of newspapers and magazines in the world particularly in the United Kingdom and Africa. One prime target was the London based *West Africa* magazine, the oldest and most influential magazine in the region. The aim of the scheme was to propagate South African interest and end its isolation in the world.

When Nigeria, then under General Olusegun Obasanjo as head-of-state got wind of the South African scheme, the government moved quickly against it by buying the controlling shares of the magazine through the *Daily Times* of Nigeria. General Obasanjo actually did not give the original owners much choice, the government let it be known discreetly that either they sold to Nigeria or the magazine would not be allowed to circulate in the country which was, and remains

**The department, however, would not name the con-artist because "South Africa was in the delicate process of establishing diplomatic relations with (his) country and he was currently a presidential candidate there."**

the magazine's biggest market.

Muldergate broke out when it turned out that a substantial portion of the secret funds ended in private pockets.

More than 10 years after that scandal, a similar one has broken out. At the centre of it is a controversial and flamboyant presidential aspirant in the Social Democratic Party who hails from one of the eastern states.

It is not clear how the South Africans got in touch with him, but two years ago they struck a deal in which the two partners would form a publishing venture with headquarters



De Klerk: stung for 35 million Naira

in Nigeria. The main objective of the publishing company was to champion Pretoria's cause. The South Africans fulfilled their part of the bargain by making 1,687,669 rand or about 35,000,000 Naira available. The Nigerian partner never fulfilled his own side.

The first sign that all was not well with the scheme surfaced nearly two years ago, at a private dinner hosted in Johannesburg by the director-

general of South Africa's ministry of external affairs, Mr. Neil Van Heerden, for a senior Nigerian intelligence officer, the director-general disclosed that his department may have been duped by a Nigerian who was a presidential candidate.

Two years later, it would appear that the South Africans are not taking the matter lying low. Last month one of the country's newspapers, *The Star*, (May 26), carried a story which said the country's Parliament watchdog on government spending. The Joint Committee on public accounts, has formally asked the auditor-general to reinvestigate the 1,687,699 Rand sting.

The joint committee reportedly expressed "grave dissatisfaction" with the department's control measures and feared that other scams may exist in other similar cases.

The department, however, would not publicly name the con-artist because "South Africa was in the delicate process of establishing diplomatic relations with (his) country and he was currently a presidential candidate there."

South Africa paid its share of 35,000,000 Naira through a South African agent into a trust account abroad. This was then withdrawn by the prospective partner who failed to deposit his share in the joint venture in which the South African government would have been a "sleeping partner."

Even though the South Africans remain tight-lipped, they have vowed to continue efforts to recover the money from the defaulter or "from any other party who may possibly be legally liable." According to *The Star*, the country's auditor-general "was satisfied that no foreign affairs official had personally benefited from the project."

With the heat turned on the Nigerian prospective partner it still remained to be seen whether indeed the South Africans can recover their money since its secrecy was bound to make accountability difficult if not impossible.

By Mohammed Haruna

who were still in Zango. The Cudjoe panel, *Citizen* learnt, concluded that his story "contains so many gaps and loopholes" and described his activities as "highly suspicious".

The small town that Zangon Katak is, people are well known to one another, and many of the victims who escaped were therefore able to identify their assailants. For example, Hassana Aruwa, the only survivor in a family of eight, testified that her husband was killed by Marcus Jibiro; her son Bashiru, she also said, was killed by one Sule.

Dauda, Pastor Yunana and Adamu Gwanja, a retired soldier who is the district head's securityman. Hajia Zulai Auta said the looting of her restaurant was led by "Bestman Tailor", her next door neighbour. Sarkin Fulani Hussaini Muturba said his house was attacked by a gang led by Yola Dambo, who came into his room, closed the door and announced, "Sarkin Fulani, today you are dead". Others in the group were Muturba's neighbour, Baye Babang, Waje Boma, Luka Shawai, Duniya Sheman and Sambo, who stabbed

the collective role of each of the two warring communities and laid blame squarely on the Katak. The Hausa of Zango, the panel found, did not go "beyond the boundary of Zango town during the riots. Furthermore, the evidence... clearly shows that the Hausa acted in self defence of their lives and property". As such, they suffered most of the casualties. As for the Katak, the panel concluded that "the overwhelming evidence is that they attacked Zango town, its inhabitants and environs as well as some Katak settlements".

Evidence adduced before the commission showed that the attacks in Zango town began at 9am, three hours before trouble broke out at the market. Actually, armed Katak youth were seen moving out of Akaku and Gora villages towards Zango at 7.30 that morning. Chairman Juri Babang Ayok appears to have had some knowledge of impending trouble; days to the conflagration, he told one of his councillors, Danjuma Dan-yaro, that ex-servicemen in Magamiya had threatened to deal with anyone who opposed the relocation of the market. Bestman Tailor also had some inkling of trouble, for he was seen packing his tailoring garment on February 5. Security sources in Kaduna told *Citizen* that the Cudjoe panel's indictment of the Katak may have leaked, thus precipitating the greater massacre of May 15-16.



Some of the houses destroyed second time around

Similarly, Ibrahim Chakaikai identified all those in the group that burnt their house, including Shehu Mijin Budurwa, Zamani Dangiwa, Bitrus

the Sarkin Fulani's 15 year-old crippled daughter with a knife.

According to *Citizen's* sources, the Cudjoe panel's report evaluated

**The Hausa of Zango, the panel found, did not go "beyond the boundary of Zango town during the riots. Furthermore, the evidence... clearly shows that the Hausa acted in self defence of their lives and property". As such, they suffered most of the casualties.**

**T**herole of the police in Zango during the riots also came up for close scrutiny. The police had the first hint of trouble on January 30 when the driver of the grader trying to level the new market site was beaten up, presumably by the Hausa. Supritendent Damian Audi sent a signal to police headquarters in Kaduna warning of impending trouble, but his own actions ended up complicating matters. The police in Zango, joined by a detachment from Zonkwa, were totally unable to contain the carnage.

Even in the midst of the carnage, some police personnel tried to extract bribes from the victims.

Sarkin Fulani Hussaini Muturba told the Cudjoe panel that when he went to the police post in Zango on the afternoon of February 6 to report that Alhaji Aruwa and his family had been killed by the Kataf, the police demanded money to buy the paper to record his statement. Muturba later collected money from another Fulani man and gave the police ten Naira, after which they recorded his statement and went with him to retrieve the corpses. By then it was dark and the corpses could not be found, so the police locked up Muturba for bringing "false information" and demanded another 2,000 Naira to release him.

The police's biggest blunder was the failure to arrest anyone for several weeks after February 6, even after two reminders by counsel to the Hausa community Yahaya Mahmood and finally by commission chairman Justice Rahila Cudjoe. The police explained their inaction in three ways. One, they said Assistant Commissioner Yusuf Haruna was taken hostage by the Kataf on February 7 after an anti-robbery patrol team from Kafanchan arrested nine Kataf rioters, forcing the police to release them. Second, the police said they did not want to pre-empt the panel's task of identifying culprits, and thirdly they said they feared that arrests could lead to further violence. As things turned out, the lack of arrests only led to more and worse violence; sources say the panel's final report regretted that "the second worse outbreak of violence in Zangon Kataf on May 15, 1992 which spilled over into Kaduna and other parts of the state happened partly because of the inaction of the police after the first riots".

Not only the police was indicted. *Citizen* learnt that the panel blamed "lack of decisive and prompt action by various governments in the state" to defuse tension in Zango and other places. The Kaduna State government is yet to implement some aspects of its white paper on the report of the panel that investigated the 1987 Kafanchan riots. In the wake of the second Zango episode of May

15, Dr. Harrison Bungon of Kaduna Polytechnic called for the dismissal of Alhaji Dabo Lere's administration on the grounds that it also failed to prevent the carnage, just like the Zango local council that it sacked.

**M**any of the commission's recommendations, *Citizen* also learnt, have already been implemented by the government following the second Zango episode. The panel recommended that President Ibrahim Babangida "should take whatever appropriate action he may deem necessary under section 34 of the Local Government Act of 1990 in

servicemen and retired military officers". Many of them were arraigned before a Kaduna magistrate court on June 3 and charged with murder. The panel's recommendation that "the system of posting certain categories of police officers to their local government areas of origin should be reviewed with the view of reversing same" has been done. On a visit to Zango on May 21, police inspector-general Aliyu Attah said the policy is being discontinued. The panel's call for compensation of the victims is also done. General Babangida said on May 25 they will be fully compensated.

At least one sensitive issue was

dodged by the Cudjoe panel, *Citizen* sources said. Although it recommended the creation of three districts out of the present Zangon Kataf district, the panel advised the Kataf to "channel their request for a chiefdom through the appropriate channels".

Perhaps the most important panel recommendation waiting to be implemented is a thorough search of Zangon Kataf local government to confiscate dangerous weapons.



Atta: police acted partially

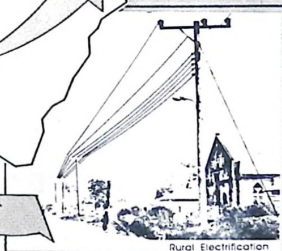
**The police's biggest blunder was the failure to arrest anyone for several weeks after February 6, even after two reminders by counsel to the Hausa community Yahaya Mahmood and finally by commission chairman Justice Rahila Cudjoe. The police explained their inaction in three ways.**

respect of Juri Babang Ayok", a thinly veiled call for his dismissal, which was done on May 21. The panel called for the investigation of "all Kataf ex-

Failure to do this after February 6 led directly to the episode of May 15.

By Mahmud Jega with reports from Mohammed Haruna

# SDP WE ARE ACHIEVERS?



We know times are hard.

The Naira is weak, the economy unstable,  
and we all have made sacrifices.

But we must persevere.

Only **SDP** has the confidence and  
hope to give us a better life.

Look at some of the achievements  
of the **SDP** states and local governments  
within even this short period of time.

**WE ARE ACHIEVERS**

Continue to vote for **SDP** ... the better Party for change and progress.

## NIGERIA

## Deputy Governors

Throne  
without  
power

Some deputy-governors allege they have been reduced to "gin and lime" assistants, press for clear-cut statutory responsibilities and spark off heated controversy

**R**euben Okudaiye, the commissioner of Police in charge of the Oshun State command was the first to inadvertently blow the lid off the intriguing cold war between some of the nation's newly installed civilian governors and their deputies, in a letter, reference SQ3530/OSS Vol.1 dated 30 April and addressed to the state governor, Alhaji Isiaka Adeleke.

"It has come to my notice" began Oshun's chief cop, "that the deputy-governor flies the nation's flag on his car and using (sic) siren and that the secretary to the state government and speaker of the house of assembly both (sic) use siren" Okudaiye then asked the governor to "advise" the three functionaries to discontinue the aforementioned acts adding tersely: "It is only the chief executive who is allowed by law to use sirens and fly the national flag".

Adeleke, as it turned out, was only too ready to oblige. The next morning, he dispatched a two-paragraph letter reference No. 055/EG/79/2 to his deputy, Adesuyi Haastrup, a reverend gentleman, advising strict compliance with the police commissioner's orders. The gover-

nor's counsel, coming as it were, on the heels of a tension-soaked political atmosphere which has seen the deputy-governor being stripped off most of his major functions only succeeded however, in breeding more suspicion. Weeks before, Adesuyi had been removed from the chairmanship of both the state's tenders board and the chieftaincy affairs committee. On the directive of Governor Isiaka Adeleke who was said to have been taken aback by



Haastrup



Rimi



Omoboriowo



Magaji

Adesuyi's allegedly uncomplimentary testimony at the April 26 session of the committee set up by the state's legislators to investigate allegations of a unilateral 175 million Naira contract awarded by the governor, also lost his chairmanship of the finance and revenue committee. The deputy governor was however assigned the ceremonial role of representing the governor at official engagements.

Expectedly, Apostle Haastrup cried blue murder, alleging that the

Oshun police command was being manipulated by Adeleke. He told Commissioner Reuben Okudaiye in a letter: "In order of protocol, I am the No. 2 citizen in the state. I do not see anything wrong (sic) in others using siren except me". More significantly, he ignored the police commissioner's orders.

But if the Oshun deputy governor could cling to the symbolic relics of his office by putting his foot down, he needs the governor to regain much of the responsibilities stripped off him. At least so says the Constitu-

tion and Decree No. 50 of 1991. The 1989 constitution of Nigeria which contains the body of laws which would moderate the exercise of state power from January 2 next year is non-committal about the duties of deputy governors. According to section 191 — (1): "The governor shall assign to the deputy-governor specific responsibility of the state". What this means for the nation's deputy-governors is that it is perfectly under the province of their executive-governors to determine what level of relevance they want to ascribe them within, the state's administrative structure.

As Chief Sunday Afolabi, a former deputy-governor of Oyo State during the Second Republic notes: "They are at the mercy of their governors... That is the constitution. If it goes on like that it means that nobody would want to be deputy-governor in future".

But Afolabi, who is now a top-gun in retired General Shehu Yar'Adua's campaign organisation, believes that things were even worse during the Second Republic. He told *Citizen* in Ibadan: "In 1979, commis-

## Indonesia

## The generalissimo still his own man

Indonesia's disenchanted 180 million people last week gave President Suharto their votes all the same

Parliamentary elections in this archipelago nation never provide a real test of the relative strength of the participating parties. Not only that they invariably go the way of the ruling Golkar Party, but also because the 400 member legislature is a rubber stamp of President Suharto, what one foreign news correspondent called "a toothless" body, that initiates no legislation.

The result of the June 9 election was predicted. President Suharto's Golkar Party, as at Wednesday June 10 when about 80 per cent of the votes were in, had snatched victory with nearly 67 per cent of the expected tally. This is some six percentage points less than its total haul in the 1987 election, but still big enough to guarantee the president the "legitimacy" he needed to take into next year's presidential election, for a sixth conservative term.

There were two opposition parties, the stronger of them, the Indonesian Democratic Party, came a distant second with 18 per cent. According to reports, the opposition's pre-election rallies attracted big crowds but these did not translate into votes when it mattered most.

Foreign diplomats and news correspondents in Djakarta, the Indonesian capital, have tried to explain why the opposition since 1982 has failed to exploit widespread disaffection among the population to eat into the government's vote. According to them, Indonesian politics is "a very tightly controlled" affair. There are no opposing ideologies and opposition parties cannot organise in-between elections, whereas the ruling Golkar Party

can.

As one observer remarked, the election was "not about changing government or debating Indonesia's serious economic problems but about conferring legitimacy on the status quo." The campaigns did provide a forum for mass political participation, normally denied most Indonesians. The Indonesian Democratic Party, for instance, spoke up on corruption and nepotism in government and how the country's political openness did not march the level of its economic progress. That was something unheard of before.

The opposition commands considerable support among the growing middle class and the urban poor who nurse a strong sense of disaffection for the government. But as one commentator said, "these are localised bursts of disaffection." The armed forces backed government (Suharto was a general when he became head of state in 1967) is very strong in the countryside.

To be sure, even within the Golkar Party, there are people who feel President Suharto should not

As one observer revealed, the election was "not about changing government or debating Indonesia's serious economic problems but about conferring legitimacy on the status quo."

run again in next year's presidential election and a strong opposition showing in the June 9 election would have strengthened their hand. But that was not to be.

Not even was the opposition able to capitalise on proven cases of corruption and nepotism against the Suharto government. A week to the election, the World Bank criticised two trade monopolies owned by Suharto's sons for going against "a generally good programme to de-regulate the economy".

One Indonesian economist described the monopolies as "a textbook case of how to make bad policy." But Suharto supporters do not think so. They say that the president's family's involvement in business is needed to break the stranglehold of the ethnic Chinese community in the economy. Indigenous Indonesians are known to resent the economic dominance of the Chinese, who form only three per cent of the archipelago's population. Riots against the Chinese have been common since Indonesia cut his with Peking in 1967. In 1974 indigenous Indonesians also revolted against the Chinese and Japanese. China and Indonesia remained cold towards each other until the thaw of 1985 set in, by way of an agreement to begin bilateral trade talks.

The riots, may have been fanned by the government to take part of the pressure off its back, generated

by the country's poor, who are demanding a say in politics:

By Tawey Zakka  
with gency reports

# Earth summit Long on talks, short on action

## Rio proves a talking shop as the US and western leaderships back on commitment

**I**t was described as the largest gathering in recent times. Well over 100 countries converged at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil for the two weeks summit organised by the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED). At the signing ceremony last week, some world leaders, including German chancellor Helmut Kohl, President George Bush of the United States, Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya and British prime minister, John Major were present marking the end of the summit last week.

For the earth fundamentalists, it was an opportunity to push their views and claims to save the earth. They argued that the earth planet is threatened by the activities of man, which would ultimately eclipse existence of mankind. Perhaps, it is the informal groups or the non-governmental organisations represented by an estimated 12,000 members from 130 countries that were more vehement in their demand for preservation of the earth. The forum said that unless decisive measures are taken, the future of mankind is bleak. They argued that if humanity must be saved, the nuclear non-proliferation treaties would have to be extended and a more efficient use of energy put in place.

China, and the Group 77, made up of developing countries, added their voice in growing demand for the developed countries to increase their financial assistance to the third world countries. During the general debate the group called on the developed countries to meet this commitment not later than the year

2000. Group 77 also suggested that the initial financial commitment made by the developed countries of the UNCED be followed with a pledge for a conference to be called



Ghali: just talk

during the UN general assembly session. The Group noted the debilitating effect of the debt burden on developing countries and called for a dialogue.

However, some leaders of the north have not been supportive of the summit; particularly the United States. President George Bush has been very vehement in his opposition to several aspects of the treaty specifically, the biodiversity treaty. He made it clear that he would not sign the agreement at the earth summit arguing that the treaty fails to protect a nation's rights to develop re-

sources in new ways and that it would place large financial burden on the US.

Washington is worried that the text of the treaty would be interpreted as committing industrialised countries to hand out unlimited funding to help preserve other ecosystem rich plants and animal species. It is also concerned that biotechnological companies, majority of them US owned, which developed new products for raw materials would have to share the benefits with the developing countries.

The US hardline posture has angered some nations at the summit.

Concerned by the US opposition, British Prime Minister, John Major, held talks with President Bush apparently to persuade him to change his mind. The meeting ended with the two leaders not finding a common ground, although Mr. Major said the most of the problems with the treaty were surmountable.

Now the US is alone in its opposition. Already the EC members last week endorsed the treaty.

White House officials reacted to US criticisms last week describing the summit as 'chaotic and a circus'. President Bush facing his worst domestic crisis in the recent times hopes to use his not signing the treaty to shore up his popularity rating, which according to a recent public opinion poll dropped to 37% down from 90% at the outbreak of the Gulf War. Besides, the president eyeing the elections just five months away, will not commit any *faux pas*.

The US dissension may appear unpalatable for the organisers of the conference which is the first major concrete collective attempt to save the world and mankind from extinction.

By Abu Mommoh  
with agency reports



## BILKISU YUSUF

ing of someone with a bruised ego" and the so-called Hausa-Fulani domination as misdirected envy of the Katak at the success of a more industrious people. Hassan identified people like Madaki as one of the contributors to the explosive situ-

## "Katafisation" of mankind

**A**nthropology, defined as "the study of mankind especially as manifested in societies and customs" should hold an attraction for those seeking to get at the root of the recent massacre of Hausa-Fulani in Zangon Katak. Anthropologists should conduct an indepth study of the society and its customs, and tell us whether there exist some intrinsic trait in Katak society that makes genocide an acceptable method of expressing grievances. Secondly, such a study ought to find the germinating point for the isolationist policy the Katak are obviously trying to nurture in an increasingly interdependent world.

In the process of reporting the aftermath of the Zangon Katak incident, I listened to the various views on the causes of that bloodbath. While one cannot lay claim to being an anthropologist or a historian, the reasons advanced by many people shed light on the issues involved.

Retired Colonel Yohanna Madaki, a former governor and prominent Bajju (Katak's neighbours) has emerged as the most vocal defender of Katak interests. He told *Citizen* in an interview, one of several he granted different media organisations, that the Katak are fighting against Hausa-Fulani domination. He complained of his marginalisation in decision making despite his status as a former governor and an achiever of some sort among his people.

Ahlahi Hassan Sani Kontagora, publisher of *Hotline* magazine, dismissed Madaki's views as the "rant-

ation believing as they do in,correcting perceived injustice outside the judicial system.

The issue of who is an indigene and who owns what land also featured prominently in causes advanced by interested parties. According to the Katak, they launched the offensive "to reclaim the land of their ancestors" referring to the Hausa-Fulani as "guests in Katak land who want to lord it over the natives". According to Madaki, the largely christian Katak "never had anything to do in terms of political organisation with either the emirate of Zazzau or the Sokoto Caliphate under whom the Katak are now subjugated".

History disagrees with Madaki's claims. Michael Crowther in his book *The story of Nigeria* listed southern Zaria as part of the extensive empire of Queen Amina of Zazzau who ruled Zaria in the 15th century. Historian, Dr. Bala Usman pointed out in an interview with the *Guardian* that "Islam had gone into that area before the jihad, so it is not true to say there was no Islam there". Describing Madaki's and that of the Katak elite as "part of the psychological background to the Zangon Katak crises", Dr. Usman observed that there are about 50 nationalities and sub-nationalities in the area. He listed the Bajju, Katak, Jaba, Ninzam, Numana, Ayu, Gwari and Gwandara among others, adding that "the Jaba have been there for several thousands of years ... but then there is also strong evidence of migration from Bauchi, Jos, Plateau, Katsina,

Kano, Sokoto-Rima basin and from middle Niger region".

The question to ask here is who then is an indigene?

Accordingly, the anthropological approach emphasises that "mankind is richly diverse and we must regard diversity as what distinguishes our unity, not as complicating or fracturing our commonality".

But most Nigerians are deeply ambivalent about our commonality. We say for example that every citizen has the right to live in any part of the country yet we allow native tyrants to inflict xenophobic damage on "settlers" who have lived in a place for over 300 years. We crack down on armed robbers but allow murderers, looters and arsonists to go scot free because they are privileged citizens. Until government gives its tough-on-crime rhetoric a new lease of life by bringing the culprits to book, we would only be scratching the surface of these crises.

Lastly, poverty was also identified as the ticking time bomb with the army of unemployed Katak and Hausa youth roaming around in frustration. The poverty debate reduces ethnicity and sectarianism to insignificance. Poverty respects neither. The elite manipulators who supply weapons to their kin also become irrelevant bystanders. They have no answers to this problem. Neither will the brutal killing of Hausa-Fulani in Zangon Katak solve the endemic poverty of the perpetrators of the crime. If they succeed in killing the last Hausa Fulani in Zango, how could the resultant isolation of the Katak benefit them in an interdependent world? Anthropology hits the nail on the head, "although we may not be able to exist in isolation, we still think of ourselves in terms of our exclusive groups. The problem is not having special identities, but in how we understand and operate them". *Katafisation* is surely one wrong way of operating or understanding diversity.

# Driver for president

**T**he common man, the so-called masses have a big problem on their hands. Nobody knows where the solution will come from but every one of the 78 presidential aspirants say they have the magic wand. They all swear that life will be better if and when they become the president. The plight of the masses certainly deserves urgent attention. SAPPED beyond recognition, they get palliatives in the form of salary and fringe benefits that can only have ripple effect on cost of goods and services. Only the masses know how it feels because they live with it everyday. Only the masses miss their meals because they can't afford to buy essential foodstuff. Only the masses trek to their farms and workplaces because the one or two Naira bus fare is beyond reach. Living this life is believing it and finding solutions to the problem.

It therefore makes eminent sense that the man who becomes the president of this country must be a com-

mon man, supported by the masses. For life more abundant in the Third Republic we need a government of the masses by the masses for the masses. Because the masses far outnumber the elites and the monied people, masses rule is a veritable variant of democracy — an overdue one for that matter.

If you buy my line of reasoning, you can not but hail the emergence of a true common man as a presidential aspirant. He is Alhaji Mohammed Ladan, a former driver in the defunct Gongola State Government House. Yes, being in government house has given Mohammed Ladan all the experience he needs to be a president.

Being a driver for so many years he knows what it feels like to be in the driver's seat — mark you not the passenger's seat. He has watched governors preside over the affairs of state and what other exposure can one ask for? Above all he has lived with SAP; and knows what it feels like to be a deprived person. Mo-



ammed Ladan therefore told the nation at a press conference in Yola that "I am standing for election to protect the interest of the masses". Can any elite presidential aspirant protect the interest of the masses better than this former driver? As a first step Mohammed Ladan has promised to provide social security grant of 300 Naira to every unemployed Nigerian. Which other aspirant has promised awoof money to the masses to remain idle? So you see, with a driver on the nation's steering we cannot but reach our land of milk and honey safely. Long live the champion of the masses.

## Waste at AIRWASTE

**O**ne of the federal government agencies set up to convert "waste to wealth" by probing the 646 million Naira, scandal, in collaboration with

Nigeria *Airwaste* presents: A Three-Day National Seminar on Fraud Management as SAP palliative

**Special Guest of honour:** Rear Admiral No Dice  
**Chief Host:** Captain Judge  
**Guest Speakers:** 1) Captain Cloud.O. Cargo: The 649 million Naira scandal  
 1) The Kay-El-Em-ang.  
 2) Travel.M. Bureau  
 3) Alhaji Moni purist: Sabaina's 25 million Naira debt  
 4) Ogbuefi Okonkwo Manifest: London's 3.9 million pounds catering deals.

ory of spare parts auction, how to mortgage *Airwaste* spare parts for 25 or 30 million dollars and cleaning of aircraft at whopping 114,000 dollars.  
 4) Ambitious caterers who will be enlightened on how to spend 39,000 pounds sterling on dry cleaning headrest, 58 million Naira on drinks and 20,000 pounds sterling on food.

**Venue:** Mid air, on board the air bus

**Date:** June 20-22, 1992

**Seminar fee:** 1,000 dollars payable in bank draft or kick back vouchers.

For further information contact  
 Captain Judge who removed the lid on this latest *Airwaste* scandal on or before tomorrow.

**Target audience:** Yuppie auditors who want to know why *Airwaste* has no audited accounts.

2) **Managers** of travel agencies who would benefit from the theory and practice of ticket racket.

3) Aircraft maintenance engineers who study the the-

## POETS' NEST

## Eid-El-kabir

**I**t is a period of reflections, a time for stock taking for Muslims. Pilgrims purify themselves with the spiritual retreat of Hajj, the largest gathering of mankind. Those at home pray in unison and sacrifice rams to perfect their worship. Peace to all in this period of glory. Peace that the world needs now more than ever before.

## A pilgrim's prayer

We pray to God, Lord of creation  
Humble pilgrims make worship our recreation  
Praying on Arafat for atonement of sins  
We pray and obey as has been seen  
by angels who stand with us on Arafat  
here we come, oh lord here we come!  
To thee we owe blessing that come and come.

Moving from the mount of mercy in peace  
From Jabalul Rahama to muzdalifa's solace  
To Minna, the mellow city of tents  
To stone the devil at arms length  
Accept our Hajj we pray in retreat  
Here we come, oh lord here we come  
To thee is praise and mercy that comes.

Bilkisu Yusuf

Lailatul — Qadri  
(The night of majesty)

In this night Allah gave man his daylight  
In this night Allah permitted Jibril to bring down the holy spirit  
In this night Allah endowed His Apostle, Muhammad, the elect of His creation with his first knowledge  
In this night Khadijat also believed and became the mother of the believers  
In this night Allah sent His mercy to mankind  
Al-Qur'an, a miracle without works,

A victory without processions,  
even a book without writers  
no one knows for sure when this night is  
In Ramadan, yes  
Ramadan is a month of fasting,  
revelation and mystery  
But Ramadan has thirty nights  
Beginning and ending with  
the thread of the new moon  
And the night of nights  
the night of majesty  
is hidden among the thirty  
One of the odd nights they say  
Some say it is the seventeenth  
nineteenth or twenty-first;  
Others the twenty-third  
or the twenty fifth;  
While others insist on the  
twenty-seventh  
In the Qur'an it is revealed  
that this night is better  
than a thousand month  
Yet only Allah, the all-knowing,  
knows when this night falls

A.B. Lawal

## Peace

Beaming doves above  
The marmoreal tide,  
Gliding through the  
Soothing blue, rising  
To the nivicous images of  
Heaven that gleam in the  
Truth of noon

Prevail oh peace with  
Hope and care,  
Kind and fair,  
Her lord to fear  
And honour to bear

With quiet face,  
His gracious hand  
Beyond all ruinous pride  
From his sanctuary to  
Distant lands by  
God doth she abide

In their deep recesses  
Of secrecy, in the remote  
Crevices of her mind;

poets'  
nest

In the fields, the plains  
Laid open and free,  
Patiently enduring time...

From her soul love  
Mellows his voice  
Rejoicing in calm waters  
Of spirited flight to  
Realms that gently  
Withdraw, faithfully  
Honouring his trust  
Of life.

Muhammad Kamil

## Happiness

It is a reluctant visitor  
Merrily fanning the embers of joy,  
As of the starving starling  
Wing-fluttering and wagging  
At the sight of mum with food;  
There he sings, the soiled farmer  
For a harvest in the wake of drought,  
His wrinkled face now a silk-pupil:  
Happiness is a compliment from  
hard work  
O Happiness, a priceless merchandise,  
You are an elusive twin of paradise  
Shehu El Hafiz

## Our ways

There is a tree and there was not a tree  
We all have our ways  
I am a boy wanton of beaux, sound but coy  
Strange, and that is why I write  
To relate to you, in some certain ways  
And delightfully whisper free  
The right, the wrong and the trite.  
Maikudi Sambo

## ARTS

## Conference report

# The wilderness of exile

African writers in exile gather in London to discuss the joys and pains of creating in relocation

In a speech at Makerere University in July 1972, Ali Mazrui, the renowned professor of comparative politics, encapsulated the dilemma of the African intellectual thus: "He is confronted daily by two distinct choices: the wilderness at home or the wilderness of exile". For two consecutive days last month,

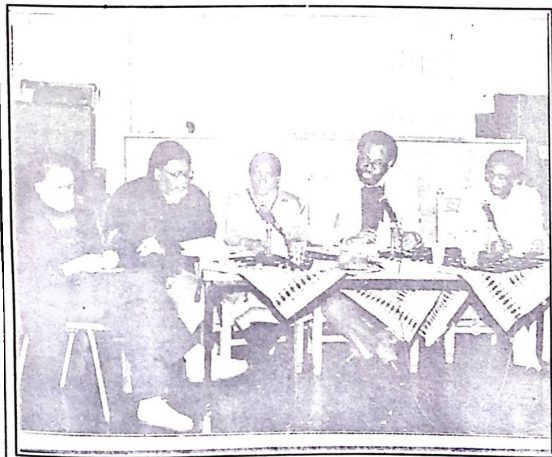
South African poet, Nurridin Farah, Lewis Nkosi, Buchi Emecheta, Odia Ofeimun and Lauretta Ngcobo.

Mongo Beti, the Camerounian author whose novel, *The Poor Christ of Bomba*, a searing indictment of the military regime forced him into exile in 1975 was slated to deliver the keynote address. He was how-

Dennis Brutus later took up the main points in Mungo Beti's address and argued that while exile was bound to mean different things to many people, the underlying force that bound all exiles was "a commitment to the transformation of a condition in which you have been exiled".

There were several panel discussion groups centred around such key issues as publishing in Africa, gender oppression, language and the African writer and exile and the performing arts. The debates were lively as they were controversial, and sometimes degenerated into shouting matches. The atmosphere was however warm and cordial and completely devoid of the hostility that usually characterises petty quibbles. Nhalanka Maahe, the South African novelist who writes in his native Xhosa, spoke of the tyranny of the exile perpetuated by language imperialism. In Maahe's opinion, the use of English language creates divisive tendencies among the oppressed people of Africa such that non-speakers of the language are derided and looked-down upon. Also contributing to the language question, Buchi Emecheta, the Nigerian novelist who lives in London urged African writers to write in their own indigenous languages because in her own words, "our colour remains our badge". Wangui Wagoro, translator of Ngugi Wa Thingo's latest novel *Matigari* took a different position however. Wagoro contended that writers should be free to use any language of their choice and that dictating to the writer on an issue as sensitive as language amounts to tyranny.

The main achievement of the two-day conference however was the fact that for the first time ever in Europe, Africans convened a conference for African writers in their own space and the event turned out to be a grand success. Olu Oguibe, convener of the "African Writers In Exile" conference attributed the success to the zeal and commitment of members of the African Research and



From left to right, Brutus, Pheto, Magona, Abdalla and al Mubarak at the conference

the African Research and Information Bureau, a London-based cultural organisation gathered African writers in exile together to compare notes and ruminate on their varied experiences in a strange land. The conference, entitled *Dreaming of The Homeland*, attracted many prominent names in African literature among them Dennis Brutus, the

ever unavailable due to the sudden death of his mother. Still, in the address read on his behalf by Musigi Musanga, the Malawian dramatist, Beti managed to paint a graphic and harrowing portrait of the exile in a strange land. Questioned the novelist, "what to say of exile which robs you of a mother, besides the aborted contact with my people?" The poet,

Information Bureau, ARIB who according to him, "spent several sleepless nights putting this thing together". Beside the intellectual brainstorming, the conference also turned out to be a re-union point of sorts for many writers who had not seen their colleagues and friends for several years. Dennis Brutus turned out to be the cynosure of all eyes. With his fine mane of white hair and piercing eyes, he cut the picture of an old testament prophet. When he spoke, which was rarely, the younger poets in the audience hung on his every word. Currently a professor of comparative literature in New York University, Brutus told the audience that he was looking forward to returning to his native South Africa "soon, very soon".

As the conference wore to a close on the evening of the second day, the mood in the hall changed from one of laughter and back-slapping to silent moments of contemplation and nostalgia for "the warm sunshine of home". The performance and reception in honour of participating women writers, co-hosted with *Akina Mama Wa Africa*, an African Women's Cultural Organisation in Britain, brought back the laughter and warmth with full force. Music serenaded the hall and the audience joined in the festive sing-alongs, stamping their feet and clapping their hands. There was also a brief poetry recitation session, and Ahmed Sheikh, the young Senegalese poet almost brought the roof down with his impassioned reading of his poem dedicated to the struggling people of Palestine.

Ngugi Wa Thiong'o brought the conference to a close with a paper in which he linked exile with the pain resulting from the disconnection from "the sounds, the colour, the smell, the language and the peoples of one's home". As the participants rose to brave the cold desolate streets of London again, the silence and funeral atmosphere in the hall spoke volumes. Alone in the wilderness of a strange land, the African writer in exile is a sad and lonely creature.

By Ike Okonta in London

## MEDIA WATCH

### Newspapers

# Beyond reach?

Newspaper publishers jerk up cover prices again forcing readers to count their kobo

**M**onday June 1, was a day of dilemma for Edith Onyeka Chukwu, a confidential secretary with an Ikeja based legal firm. She had gone to the newsstand armed with 10 Naira which used to fetch her five daily newspapers for the company, but with effect from that day, her 10 Naira can only buy three dailies at three Naira each or two weeklies at four Naira each. Expectedly, she settled for three dailies, and jettisoned some of the least important considerations (like ethnic factor) that used to guide her choice of newspapers in the past.

Onyeka Chukwu's is one of many instances of hard choice experienced by newspaper buyers following the hike in cover prices penultimate Monday. But proprietors of the burgeoning print media industry in the country seem to have no regret over the price hike. The publishers, under the Newspaper Proprietors Association of Nigeria (NPAN), rose from a three day meeting last May and declared that they can no longer bear the brunt of the "sheer hooliganism" of the current economic crunch.

The association stated that the cost of production had skyrocketed beyond tolerable limits in the last few months. Cost of newsprint which constitutes about 75 per cent in terms of value input in the industry has shot up from 9,000 Naira to 16,000 Naira per tonne. Different brands of film developers now cost 8,200 Naira up from 5,760 Naira in 1991. Type-setting papers have also risen from 500 Naira to 934 Naira; a sheet of plate from 150 Naira to 270 Naira; and art paper which jumped from 18,000 Naira to 32,000 Naira. These various increases, NPAN argued,

exclude huge bills incurred on electricity, telephone, haulage of newspapers, payment of staff salaries and wages, and the fuelling of vehicles.

Although the association still contends that the new cover prices are too marginal as to take care of entire production cost unsubsidised, the effects are beginning to tell on even the newspaper vendors. Some of the vendors disclosed to *Citizen* that they now go home with large quantities of unsold copies than before.

Reactions of communication experts to the recent price increases are varied. For Titus Ogunwale, a lecturer at the Nigerian Institute of Journalism (NIJ), Ogba - Ikeja, the increases "are justified." According to Ogunwale, newspapers in a well ordered society are published for wealthy elites and policy makers while the masses simply go to the library. This, he said, explains why the newspapers have always been located in the cities and other urban centres since the inception of print journalism in Nigeria. Justifying the new prices, Ogunwale told *Citizen* that the hike was predictable in view of the escalating cost of producing the newspapers.

The inflationary spiral argument does not hold water with Luke Uche, a mass communications teacher at the University of Lagos. "Inflation," he said, "has nothing to do with newspaper business." Uche explained that newspapers should be the cheapest of all commodities because they are a major way of conquering the heart of the people.

Four years ago, *The Punch* newspaper noted that "at the rate things are going, many newspapers and magazines may be forced out of existence with all the dire consequences of unprecedented public communication problem." For now the game is wait and see.

By Moyo Akoshile

## BOOK REVIEW

# A handbook for journalists

Title: *News Reporting*

Author: Dayo Alao

Publisher: Unique Publications Ltd, Ikeja.

Pages: 180

Price: 50 Naira

Reviewer: Oji Onoko

Perhaps no other person could have been better positioned to bring about such a book than Dayo Alao, a man who has spent close to two decades in journalism practice. At various times, assistant editor, *Journal Herald*, political editor, *Black Dispatcher* in the United States, deputy editor, *Spear Magazine*, editor, *Times International* and now an editorial board member of the *Daily Times*, he still teaches journalism on part time basis, both at the University of Lagos and the Nigeria Institute of Journalism. The book, *News Reporting*, is hence a testimony to a man who has been there.

Painstakingly, he picks through such topics as what is news? News media and editorial structure, elements of news and news gathering with such a fine tooth comb that leaves the reader little less to search for. News, he explains, has to do with currency. Whether it is information revealed, report of an event or compilation of facts, it has to be of current interest. The reporter as legman in the media, searches for the news which the sub-editor puts final touches to in form of re-writing or otherwise while the editor, facing the reality of space and time, has the final working responsibility into what goes into the paper. Sources of such news could be predictable such as press conferences, government bulletins, exhibitions, public inquiries, reports from newspapers, panel discussions, prepared speeches, planned events like the national day celebrations, or unpredictable in which case the reporter has to determine news value by listening, ques-

tioning other people on what they saw, did or what happened to them, searching and digging even deeper.

Under specialised news coverage, the author offers useful hints on how to handle stories whether they are for business, politics, crime, health, agriculture or religion but advises that reporters be put in areas they are best suited for. On news reporting and language, he discusses in depth, aspects of grammatical structure which is part of the tools the reporters work with daily. Hints on the sentence, and paragraphing are also given, with a glossary of words from A — Z complete with examples on correct and wrong usages.

In chapters seven and eight, the

writer including the inverted pyramid in which the most important detail are presented in the first paragraph followed by supporting details in the next with other less important details in tow; the chronological order, used when a news story reports action or series of related events with a summary lead followed by chronological accounts of events with the story ending with a segment that gives additional information outside the original action, stories with conclusion, in which the formal conclusion ties together the loose ends of the story and the suspended interest story which takes the pyramid form with the best saved for the last.

Types of leads; summary, figurative, oddity, quotation, question, dialogue, descriptive, bullet as well as the writing process, starting from

first stage, pre-writing, editing and the clean sheet with tips on their organisation are further discussed. In the concluding chapters, the author delves into the nitty-gritty of how copies of news stories are handled by editors either in publishable shape or in raw form, with acceptable forms that guide compositors and typesetters (48 of them) given. Then there is the section on style and style book in



organisation of the news story is treated. The lead, he states, must answer the five Ws and H (what where, when, who and how) concerning the story and should be able to tell in brief what the story is about. He goes further to demonstrate various styles that are available to the

which acceptable abbreviations are stated. There are even exercises to test comprehension.

Surely, in an era when journalism is becoming an all-comers game in Nigeria, *News Reporting*, is more than a ready companion to practitioners.

## SPORTS

## NFA

## In search of a new board

The dissolution of the crisis-ridden board of Nigerian Football Association once again highlights the intractable problem of sports administration in Nigeria

The tersely worded three paragraph statement came from the No.3 Force Road, headquarter of the National Sports



Okon: Sacked



Achebe: Also sacked

Commission Lagos. The statement, which was signed by the commission's boss, Chief Alex Akinyele, however, contained a message of great import: the death knell of the 10 month old board of the Nigeria Football Association (NFA). The Effion Okon-led board of NFA, the eighth since 1981, had played its brief role in the turbulent stage of the nation's sports administration and in the process burnt itself out.

Unlike in the past, there was hardly any element of surprise in the dissolution of the NFA board. It was an event waiting to happen and for those who had keenly followed the damaging crisis that had dogged the dissolved board since it was inaugurated August last year, it was a matter of when and not if, it will happen. The NSC boss, Chief Alex Akinyele, had himself publicly declared last month that the football association's board would be sent packing immediately after the Barcelona Olympics in August. Perhaps, the only element of surprise was that Akinyele had no patience to wait till August. That in itself was hardly surprising, considering the fact that two members of the board, Messrs Tony Nnachetta and Segun Odegbami tendered their resignation letters about a week before the dissolution. In his death warrant, NSC chairman simply stated that "the dissolution of the NFA board has become a matter of national interest and constitutional necessity."

It has been the tradition, in line with the endemic political instability of the country, for the board of the football ruling association to be

routinely sack, either as a result of crisis within the association or because the power that-be wants to put its cronies at the helm of the nation's football administration. But more than anything else, Effion Okon's board seemed to have been a victim of the former.

The dissolved board, which was borne out of the crisis of personality rivalry, blackmail, hatred and myopic counselling that deceived the former sports minister, retired Major general Yohanna Kure into sacking the more pragmatic Yusuf Aliled board, was soon engulfed in a cyclone of cantankerous crisis. Shortly, after its reconstitution in August last year, it became clear that the board consists of people with divergent views about how the country's most popular game should be administered. Two opposing camps quickly sprang up among the board members. The younger members like ex-international Segun Odegbami and Tony Nnachetta were in one camp. The chairman, Effion Okon who between 1959 to 1961 was NFA secretary and interim chairman of the association in 1989, and the secretary general P.O.C Achebe, were in the other camp. What started as a lingering disagreement between the old and new breed members of the NFA board soon degenerated into a simmering war of mud slinging, personality rivalry and greed. Board room meetings where crucial issues affecting football in the country were turned to fighting arena where members exchanged insults and invectives. The general good of the nation's football was relegated while some of the members preoccupied themselves with such selfish pursuit as who partakes in a foreign trip or who should recommend which company for what contract.

Things got so bad that the NSC chairman, shortly after assuming office, summoned all the defunct board members to a reconciliatory meeting in his office at Force Road, Onikan, Lagos. There was a strong

hope that all the contending parties would bury the hatchet, but shortly after the meeting, it became clear that nothing had changed. If anything, the crisis worsened. This led to NSC boss to publicly declare that the board would end its tenure in August. There were reports that Chief Akinyele indeed made move to send the board packing immediately after the unsuccessful conciliatory meeting. He was said to have been restrained by the Vice-President Augustus Aikhomu. The "constitutional necessity" alluded to by Chief Akinyele referred to the improper composition of the board that led to omission of representatives of associations or bodies specified in section 3(2) of decree No. 10 of 1990. People who were supposed to be representing the interests of some of those bodies were hand-picked by the former sports minister without consultation.

Reactions to the dissolution of the NFA board varies from sharp condemnation to loud approval from football followers and sports administrators alike. One of the shrill voices of protest over the dissolution came from Patrick Okpomo, the charismatic secretary general of NFA between 1989 and 1990. In an interview with News Agency of Nigeria (NAN) he described the dissolution as "the worst thing that has ever happened to Nigerian soccer". Okpomo, who also resigned in protest from the board of NFA after he had been indicted by the panel that investigated the over-aged scandal that led to a two-year FIFA ban on Nigeria in age-group competitions in 1989, said it sounded ridiculous that NFA board could be dissolved when the country should be more concerned with preparation for the qualifying rounds of the nations cup and the world cup.

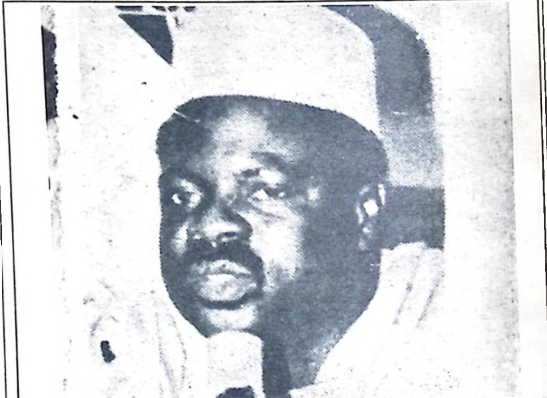
he former football association scribe,

**T** who said that constant dissolution has not in any way solved the problem militating against football administration in the country, also expressed

fear that the recent dissolution might affect the cup, since according to him, FIFA the world football governing association, usually frowns at such dissolutions. Also speaking in an interview with NAN, Nigerian international striker, Richard Owubokiri who is currently playing in Portugal, said such constant dissolution of the football association could only happen in Nigeria.

One of those who described the dissolution as the best and only thing to do to save our football from total collapse is Alhaji Abba Yola, coordinator of NSC zone six in Kaduna. Alhaji Abba Yola, who predicted late

board to remain any longer would have spelt massive disaster for the nation's football. "I maintain that the the board should have gone a long time ago", he said. The dissolved board, according to the zonal coordinator, is grossly inefficient and illegal. He then queried: "Why keep people in office in the name of continuity when they are not performing? You can only talk of continuity when people know what their responsibilities are and they are up and doing". Reacting to the dissolution, the public relations officer of Nigeria Referees Association (NRA), Chief Moses Oyadina also described



Amos Adamu: New sole administrator

last year that the board would not | it as a welcome development.  
last a year going by the way some of | Series of suggestions have also

**Board room meetings where crucial issues affecting sports in the country were turned to fighting arena where members exchanged insults and invectives.**

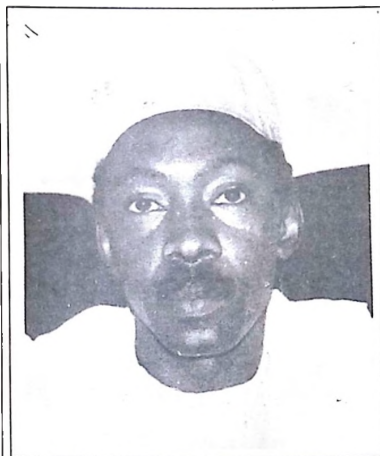
its members were behaving, told | been pouring to the No. 3 Force Road  
Citizen in Kaduna that allowing the | over how to reconstitute a new board

that will ensure a stable football administration in the country. Zone six coordinator Alhaji Abba Yola said the new board should be composed of people who are well versed in the game of football and intricacies of sports administration and who are committed to the promotion of national interest, rather than those who would devote most of their time to topursuit of selfish gains. Hewarned against bringing back to the board old retired civil servants whoare too conservative to keep pace with the modern trend of sports administra-

straight forward man who will instil sanity into the secretariat before a new board is inaugurated, also suggested that Alhaji Sani Toro, the current secretary of the pro-board should be



Toro: Pro-board scribe



Yola: Zone six boss



Akinyele: NSC chairman

tion. He cited the inability of Pa Chuba Ikpeazu, Effion Okon and P.O.C Achebe, past NFA top shots, to satisfy the yearning of the people, as examples.

As a means of permanently resolving the constant conflicts between NFA and professional league board, Yola suggested that a chairman should also be appointed to head the latter. The zone six coordinator, who described the current sole administrator of NFA Dr. Amos Adamu as a hardworking and

moved to NFA as its secretary general. "My suggestion is based on the fact that Sani Toro has been generally acclaimed as an honest and hard-working man who knows what he is doing. We need somebody like him to help bring sanity to NFA", he said.

Speaking in the same vein, Chief Oyadina and Richard Owubokiri urged the National Sports Commission to ensure that the board is reconstituted by men of integrity who understand the game very well and

would be willing to make honest contribution to pits development. Chief Oyadina urged the NSC chairman to use his experience in selecting the right people into the board. The NRA spokesman also cautioned the NSC boss against people who would want to lobby their way to the new NFA board. He said such people have contributed so much to the woes of Nigeria football.

By Joe Olajuwon

ADAMU ADAMU S

DEFINITIONS  
IN HUMOUR

# Miscellany

## Police

If you think the world is against you it doesn't necessarily mean that it isn't. Especially after a brush with cops. Cops are supposed to be courteous, polite, helpful, courageous, selfless, friendly and ubiquitous. That beautiful fiction may be true in UK. In Nigeria the police is just like the rainbow — you see it only when the storm is over. But that is only when there is a storm. When there isn't they will do their best to create one — for your freedom, for your pocket or your health.

When you see them at work, you can't help concluding — of course after pitying them — that they seem particularly interested in proving Cynics' First Law which states: "Anything that begins well ends badly. Anything that begins badly ends worse".

**Police Crackshot** — A marksman is one who shoots first and whatever he hits, he calls the target-cook.

**Arrest** — Temper is what gets most of us into trouble. Pride is what keeps us there. Uncertainty is the key that locks the door.

## Politicians

A politician is someone who is fanatical about politics. And fanaticism is redoubling your effort when you have long forgotten your aim. If you were to ask most politicians what their occupation is they will say it consists in playing politics with the

most visible aspect of it being running for office. Some of them of course only run for cover. Most of them, if tonga were to come back, would certainly run — for the border!

**Party** — People in groups tend to agree on courses of action which, as individuals, they know are stupid.

— Abilence

**Assembly** — It is difficult to win an argument when your opponent is unencumbered with a knowledge of the facts.

— Nordstrom

**Diplomat** — A gentleman sent to tell lies on behalf of his country

— A man who always remembers a woman's birthday, but never remembers her age.

— A man who tells you to go to hell in such a way that you look forward to the trip.

— Roberston

**Politics** — A strife of interests masquerading as a contest of principles.

— Devil's Dictionary

## Marriage

The marriage institution in the West is treated with scorn — it is regarded as a mental institution; the less you do with it the better. (Here of course it is a slave institution — more of it later). Here are a few observations to illustrate what laughing stock it now is westward ho!

— A young woman called a policeman because a man tried to flirt with her. Lucky chap! She might have called a clergyman.

— One marriage in every five couples in divorce, but the other five couples fight it out to the bitter end.

— A man always chases a

woman until she catches him.

— Matrimony — It happens, as with cages: the birds without despair to get in, and those without despair of getting out.

— Montaigne

## Oouuch!

Malam Kabir Sani, a humourist and Lear-type writer of limericks, sent in his contribution last month. It is of the type that you wished you wrote. Envy almost made me hide it! I can resist everything but a budding poet. And a poet, as the saying goes, must use his imagination: he must imagine that people are going to read his poems. As I write this, a grrrrr! sound made me turn — to the left and to the right. Oh I see — it is the editor of Poet's Nest. Let me explain. The humour in a limerick is normally more important than poetry. It therefore belongs here. Ladies and gentlemen, here's Malam Kabir:

*After reading you for so long (along with the rest of Citizen, of course), I have decided to send in a little something you might (or might not) want to use in your hilarious and different column. I am into some humour thing myself.*

## IBB

The General captained the nation  
With the crowd's approving ovation  
Against the economy  
Maradona he tried to be  
And sunk the whole team into relegation

## AIKHOMU

At the helm of the MV Nigeria  
Sat Augustus I — the superior  
Halfway through the trip  
He abandoned the ship  
Now the crew are in hungry hysteria

## Naira

There was a young lady called Naira  
Who had suitors from London to China  
But she lost their attention  
With Miss Dollar's intervention  
Now they treat her like an HIV Carrier

## TAIL PIECE

Make someone happy today — mind your own business.



# KADUNA MACHINE WORKS LTD.

Introducing



Convaiv high tech Evaporative cooler



Portable Chind Diesel Engines of Different Capacities



Water hand pump



Multi-Crop Thresher for Agricultural Sector



Spare Parts for Industrial Machines

KADUNA MACHINE WORKS LTD.  
Kaduna Machine Works Ltd. established in 1987,  
specialises in all  
types of Machine works manufacturing and general  
casting. The organisation, is established with the  
objective of feeding local industries with spare parts,  
and the manufacture of Agro-Allied machines.  
- With our advanced and versatile machinery we  
produce:- Multi-crop threshers, Grinding Mills, Rice/  
Corn haulers, Manual oil expellers, etc.  
- Our modern casting plant casts Iron, Mild steel,  
aluminium, brass, and various types of alloy.

MAIN OFFICE & FACTORY: PLOT 20 INUWA ABDULKADIR ROAD, KADUNA SOUTH, P.O. BOX 1889,  
KADUNA, NIGERIA. TEL: 233037 TLX: 71125 KALNG

# SOKOTO CEMENT

**..a commitment  
to progress**



The development of SOKOTO CEMENT from raw materials to finish product is symmetrically ensured to give you topmost quality cement/performance. Some qualities of SOKOTO CEMENT that attest to this age-long commitment:

- \* Low heat of hydration - which makes it suitable for massive construction jobs i.e. Bridges, Dams, heavy structural supports etc.
- \* Medium setting time - allows transportation of mixed concrete to sites.

- \* Low alkali content - makes it resistant to chemical and corrosive attacks. Best for heavy and marine construction.
- \* Highest strength achievable in concrete structure by any Portland Cement.
- \* Dark grey finish texture bestow an appealing lustre.
- \* Most competitive market price per 50kgs bag.
- \* Availability nation-wide.

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

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



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



**.. the shining star of quality**



**CEMENT COMPANY OF  
NORTHERN NIGERIA PLC.**

HEAD OFFICE/FACTORY: KALABRAINNA ROAD, P.M.B. 2184, SOKOTO, NIGERIA

TEL: (046) 208614, 21187, 231118.

TELEX No. 73101 SOKCEM NG. TELEFAX No. (046) 234806.

AREA OFFICES: 38A, BANK ROAD, F.H.M. BEE, KADUNA. TEL: (042) 218718.

157 FULBOK, LA CYCIC, CENTRE ROAD, F.H.M. 14136, BAUCHI. TEL: (044)

LAGOS LAMBON OFFICE: 1, FARM LANE, APAPA LAGOS. TEL: (01)