

November 18 — 24 1991 Vol. 11 No. 47

# Citizen

Idehen



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stooge

Akpangbo  
— NBA President

VTC

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## CIVILIAN GOVERNORS, MILITARY OVERLORDS



9/10/92

Iden

## Will Babangida's 'Diarchy' work?

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## COVER STORY

### Will diarchy work?

As the governorship elections on December 14 draw near, political controversy shifts to whether elected governors can work harmoniously with their military overlords come January 2.

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### Interview with Clement Akpangbo



New President of the Nigerian Bar Association reveals his agenda to *Citizen*

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President Babangida

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## PREFACE

In apparent exasperation at the seeming inability of the two parties, NRC and SDP, to get the pact together, Professor Humphrey Nwosu, chairman of the National Electoral Commission Tuesday, gave them a November 26 deadline to submit their list of governorship candidates. The elections of governors are now scheduled for December 14. About three weeks later, on January 2, the governors-elect will be sworn into office. And then will come the most critical test of the transition programme. This is the test of whether the elected governors can exist in harmony with the military leaders who remain in charge at the centre and have veto power.

Even as the brickerings over governorship candidature continues, the issue of diarchy is already agitating the minds not only of political observers but several of the actors themselves. Will diarchy work? The answer, from what our team of reporters have found out, is complicated. On one point, however skeptics and non-skeptics alike are agreed: both the army and civilians have little choice but to make it work if we genuinely wish to enthrone democracy.

The story, which is the week's cover, was reported by Ike Okonta, Bolaji Adebisi, Aluko Akinyele, Yinka Tella, Isaac Umunna, Tawcy Zakka and Abu Mommoh.



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Citizen, November 18, 1998

## LETTERS

## The masses and private schools

Sir,

I am appealing to the federal government to review the country's educational system especially at primary and secondary levels.

This is in view of the deteriorating state of education at these levels, a situation which leads to the proliferation of private schools throughout the country.

The consequences of this trend is that only the well-to-do, mainly government officials, patronise these private schools. No wonder, government officials are always lackadaisical towards the funding of primary schools.

This non-challant attitude of the government plus the dilapidating physical structure of our primary schools manned by mostly unqualified teachers will definitely raise doubts among Nigerians on whether the government really wants education for all by the year 2000.

Mohammed A. Suleiman  
Kaduna

## Carnage in Kano

Sir,

Almost all the well known magazines in Nigeria made the recent Kano riots a lead story. Yours of October 21 — 28 was to say the least, the most balanced.

I am extremely disappointed with some magazines in Nigeria for making their stories purely a war between Christians and Muslims in the north particularly in Kano.

Nigerians always wondered what really caused a spontaneous reaction, to put it mildly, an uprising whenever there is a religious meeting or gatherings in any part of the north.

I blame our security net work in Nigeria.

When Bauchi riot happened, the government said it was not religious and as usual, the one in Kano was also attributed to something else.

If all these mayhems are not religious in nature, then the government needs to re-examine their social securities for the unemployed as well as to intensify its security net



work. This country cannot afford another Maitatsine.

U.T. Shua  
Bauchi

Sir,

All that needed to be said and heard I think have been exhausted on Christian/Islamic relationship in Nigeria. The reason usually advanced in this differences are so flimsy to explain the carnages that precede these incidences. Besides it is not possible to say we have seen the last of it. The Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), should enforce strict control of the various crusades that fall under its jurisdiction to avert danger. Crusade in predominant Muslim northern Nigeria should be done within the premises

of churches and notice served to the congregation via CAN officials/organiser at churches. Public paid announcement and advertisements on religious matters in the electronic and print media should be guided by the interest of the public.

It is also very insincere on the part of those that post handbill of Christian activities on the doorstep of their Muslim neighbours. Why do some Christians think that Muslims need conversion, anyway? This attitude has always been the clog in the wheel of progress of Christian/Muslim relation world wide. The fact remains that no good Muslim would ever need conversion, and vice-versa.

This culture of destroying lives and property should be discouraged whatever the ulterior motives might be. If this country is ripe enough for democratic attitude, then tolerance must reign. I encourage a swifter move by government in the control of this riots.

Christopher A. Duru  
Maiduguri

Sir,

I cant understand it really when the law that is supposed to protect the weak from the strong is the same one that instigate the weak against the weak through the prodding of the strong.

The carnage in Kano is clearly the handiwork of the rich and powerful in concert with the law enforcement agents to unleash terror on the weak to protect their selfish interests?

As far as I am concerned the almajirais and the so-called hooligans that reduced houses and shops in Kano to rubble were not the criminals to be brought to book but the religious leaders, the SSS and the police.

Jamil Hayatu  
Zaria

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.

## CONGRATULATIONS



Alhaji Abubakar Alhaji Sardaunan Sokoto

On behalf of myself, my family and the tens of thousands of the friends and well-wishers of Alhaji Abubakar Alhaji, the Honourable Minister of Finance, I wish to congratulate him on his installation as the **SARDAUNAN SOKOTO**.

May Allah grant you the wisdom to carry out your new responsibility which has not been shouldered since your highly esteemed predecessor, Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Premier of Northern Nigeria was killed over 26 years ago.

Alhaji Isa Mohammed  
101 Road  
Plot 233 Victoria Island,  
Maroko Extension

# Will diarchy work?

Come January 2 next year, this country will experience diarchy, in the true sense of the word, for the first time. Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, our foremost statesman, was perhaps its leading advocate when back in 1974 he gave a lecture on why it was the most desirable form of government for Nigeria. At that time Zik merely gave a theoretical framework for what seemed the practice already since the military shot itself into power in January, 1966. In reality we have never experienced diarchy, in so far as all civilian members of our military regimes have always been military appointees. For the first time, next year, elected civilian leaders will exist side by side with the military. Or to put it more accurately civilian rulers in the states will have military overlords at the centre. The question is will it work?

When Zik advocated the idea, he was predictably and promptly laughed out of court. It is easy to see that elected rulers and military dictators are strange bedfellows. And when the military chaps have the veto, the mixture is an explosive one. It takes little imagination for instance to see what could have happened back in 1979/80, when there was intense friction between the federal and state governments over revenue allocation, presidential visits and land use, among others, if President Shagari were a soldier.

Fortunately or unfortunately, such disagreements, if not their intensity as we witnessed in the Second Republic, is inevitable in a true federation. Since they are inevitable, we must prepare ourselves for them. We must, in other words, start thinking seriously about how to resolve them.

Prevention, they say, is better than cure. Ideally, we should be able to prevent the friction if the military government in the centre sees itself as being in partnership with elected state governments, rather than their overlords. As partners they would engage in dialogue and compromise. But then the world is not ideal. Even then dialogue and compromise should minimise frictions.

When differences remain serious despite dialogue and compromise, the only arbiter should be the courts of law rather than military veto. This may sound somewhat difficult; if not impossible, for the military if recent experience in the case of local governments is something to go by; the centre has often dissolved them at will. When differences arise, the soldiers must realise that genuine power flows from the will of the people and not from the barrel of the gun. Therefore if they genuinely wish to return to the barracks, as they claim, they must begin to learn to submit to the will of those who gain power by the ballot box.

## The Kano exodus

Hundreds of non-indigenes, particularly Ibos, are fleeing Kano daily for fear of a resurgence of the riots which rocked this ancient city on October 14th and 15th. Our leaders are worried for good reason.

The departure of the Igbos and the closure of their small but critical businesses has to somewhat slowed down economic activity. But, perhaps, the more compelling reason

is that the exodus indicates a loss of confidence in government as protector of life and property. Its image has been badly tainted by its failure to act in time to prevent the bloodbath.

This is why Governor Idris Garba's pleas to non-indigenes who plan to leave Kano to stay back has gone unheeded. The "larger interest" of the nation, which the governor evoked, sounded hollow com-

pared with the more immediate and personal need to survive. The flight from Kano unfortunately has spread.

Col. Datti S. Abubakar (rtd), chairman of the administrative panel investigating the Kano riot, said on the first day of its sitting that "this country belongs to us all, regardless of our religious beliefs or ethnic affiliation... We are all what we are by accident of birth, history and geography." A flawless observation, indeed. Regrettably, however, those same "accidents" have claimed many victims.

In Yola, Wukari, Bauchi, Kano and elsewhere in the north where religious riots have occurred the Igbos have always been prime targets.

In Kano, they fought back, for the first time. Many of the deaths on the second day of the riot, October 15th, occurred in revenge attacks by Igbos.

Vengeance. The word alone is frightening. Its reality is even moreso. This alone should compel government to go beyond appeals and do something positive to persuade non-indigenes who have not left Kano to stay and those who have to return.

As a first step, for the remaining period of the transition programme, no foreign evangelist or preacher should be allowed into the country. This may not remove religion as a

cover for hooligans to go on rampage — Kafanchan and Bauchi were not foreign-inspired — but foreigners can only compound an already bad situation.

Second, government must do everything it can to compensate victims of the riots, muslims and christian alike. We find it expedient that all those affected be fully compensated once genuine claims are clearly established. Arguing against compensation for one group on the ground that it will send out the signal that provocation pays may be true, but in the circumstance, unfair. As we said before the Reverend Bonnke crusade, in the face of a refusal to Sheikh Ahmed Deedat to come to Nigeria, was a clear case of provocation, not to mention that it was silly to imagine that he could do in one week what colonial priests could not do in one hundred years. However, provocation could not justify the terrible rampage non-muslims were subjected to.

Lastly but even more importantly, the biggest lesson to learn from not only the Kano riots but previous ones as well, is that the devil will always find work for the idle. Economic depression may be worldwide but ours has been taken to the limit by economic mismanagement and corruption. If we wish to reduce our army of malcontents we must squarely face these problems.

## Double standards

Last week, the Soviet Union continued on its path towards total disintegration with moves towards independence by the autonomous republic of Chechen-Ingushetia. The Chechens, led by the energetic General Djohar Dudayev, want to assume self-determination and ultimately aim to attain independence for their tiny Caucasian homeland.

Surprisingly, President of the Russian Republic Boris Yeltsin has tried to throw a spanner in the works for the Chechens. His government declared last month's election of Dudayev to the Chechen presidency to be "illegal," and Yeltsin also tried to impose a state of emergency in the autonomous republic.

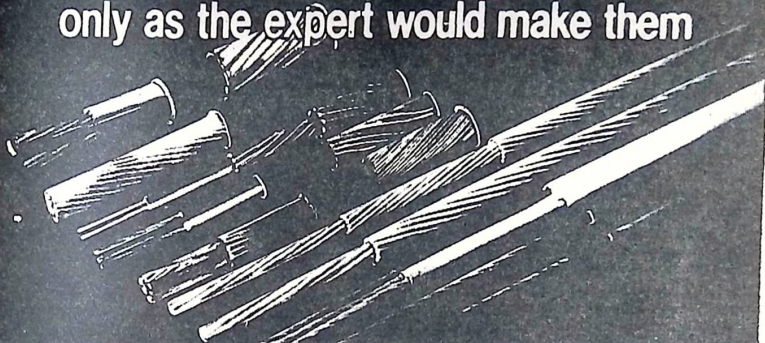
Yeltsin's moves in Chechen amount to

double standards. These moves have also exposed him for what he is, an unprincipled demagogue who does not appreciate that what is good for the goose is also good for the gander. Yeltsin it was who destroyed the central Soviet government and asserted the Russian government in its place. Yeltsin it was who recognised the break-away Baltic republics and recognised the right of others to follow suit. So, why not the Chechens? Because their territory lies within Russia?

The Russian republic parliament is more principled than the Russian president. It rejected Yeltsin's state of emergency in Chechen-Ingushetia as high-handed. His double standards have been repudiated. Every Russian republic for itself, and God for them all.

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The NRC will provide that leadership.



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---

## MOHAMMED HARUNA

dates as well as the elections before have more than justified one's skepticism. Instead of engaging in a new and more elevated form of politics, the newbreed, as local government chairmen, councillors, and legislators, have demonstrated such greed as to make the oldbreed look like saints. As governorship aspirants they have displayed such depend-

possible for democracy and poverty to co-exist, but the same India also shows such co-existence can only be limited for a period. Truth is our economy is in such a sorry state now that it is hard to see how it can sustain democracy for long.

Third, I am skeptical because it is obvious even before the October primaries that politicians, old and newbreed alike, are no better than soldiers when it comes to grabbing power, the only difference being that while soldiers shoot their way into power, politicians grab it by trying to manipulate the ballot box, which, in a way, is worse because it tries to hide behind democracy as cover.

Is all this to say that the transition programme is a waste of time? Far from it. In spite of the military's pastime of politician-bashing, in spite of the booby traps in the transi-

ence complex — dependent either on the oldbreed or those in authority — that it is all too obvious that they are incapable of taking charge on their own. The result of all this is an apparent vacuum of civilian leader-

### In spite of the booby traps in the transition programme and in spite of the propensity of our politicians to rig elections, there is nothing inevitable about a short-lived Third Republic.

ship.

The second reason for my skepticism about an enduring Third Republic is the fact that it seems to have been booby-trapped by the military from the word go, perhaps inadvertently. To date I find it difficult to understand the wisdom of including a head count in the transition programme. Then, of course, came the rather gratuitous creation of nine states and God-knows-how-many local governments at a time when resources seem already overstretched. The most important factor, however, is the state of the economy itself. India may have shown that it is

tion programme and in spite of the propensity of our politicians to rig elections, there is nothing inevitable about a short-lived Third Republic. If we all

try hard enough we can overcome all three problems before the soldiers return to the barracks by the end of next year.

However, even without any guarantee that they will stay in the barracks for good, we must stick to 1992. As has happened in Latin America, their own experience in politics will come to persuade them in time, that they are cut out to defend the nation and leave politics to politicians. As such, every experience we have of democratic rule, no matter how brief and even if somewhat flawed, is an experience worth our while.

## Why we must stick to 1992 regardless

**A**part from some moments of doubt, I have generally believed that the military will handover power in 1992. The wind of democracy sweeping Africa and the rest of the world has become so strong that a leader resists it at his own peril.

However, while I believe in the inevitability of our 1992 date with democracy, like so many other Nigerians, I have often wondered if it will endure on the short run. In other words, I have my doubts that the Babangida regime will be the last military rule we shall endure.

My skepticism stems from a number of factors. First, as I wrote in my old column in *Today* newspaper (February 25, 1990), it is unhelpful that the military have made it their pastime to bash "old politicians" at every opportunity. The "old politicians" have been painted unfairly as the devils-incarnate both to justify their ouster and to legitimize the claim of so-called newbreed politicians to replace the old. I was skeptical that the military could bring off the human engineering feat of raising a race of newbreed patriots in the couple of years before the handover next year. The October "primaries" for the governorship candi-

# Civilian governors military overlords

Will Babangida's experiment in diarchy work?



**Babangida:** will his experiment work?



**Zorro:** stay longer and discredit yourself

**B**aring yet another hiccup in the transition programme, democratically-elected governors will be sworn in on January 2 next year. While the new civilian governors will exercise full executive powers in their various states, they would still be answerable to Dodan Barracks until General Ibrahim Babangida eventually

hands over power to a democratically elected president on a yet unspecified date in 1992. The October 19 primaries have been lost and won and governorship candidates for both political parties have emerged. As the December date for the governorship elections creeps nearer, the various candidates have hit the campaign trail, perfecting the gameplan that would launch them into

government houses. However, at the back of the mind of political actors and watchers alike is the nagging question: how will a government composed of democratically-elected governors who are used to robust debate and dialogue, and military overlords schooled in the authoritarian tradition turn out? Will Babangida's experiment in diarchy prove a success or will it

founder on the rock of civilian-military acrimony?

Professor Humphrey Nwosu, chairman of the National Electoral Commission, NEC, gave a hint of what this 'diarchy' will be like recently. He had told reporters that the clearance given to governorship aspirants was provisional and that the federal government has the power to remove democratically-elected governors from office. The NEC chairman said "the only supreme authority on earth is God. You can have elected governors who may start working against the interest of the people." Nwosu argued that while there are guidelines in the transition programme as to dos and don'ts, the federal government could, in the interest of the nation remove a governor who, for instance, hijacks money meant for local governments because the party that controls them is not the party controlling the state government.

**I**t has been taken to mean that Babangida's transitional diarchy will be one of unequal partners, with the civilian governors playing a subordinate role. They also see in Nwosu's statement a declared intention of the present

military regime to hold firmly onto all the reins of power until such a time it decides to quit. Many governorship candidates whom *Citizen* spoke with however declared that they have no intention of playing second fiddle to their military overlords while the transitional diarchy lasts. Chief Segun Osoba, the SDP governorship candidate in Ogun State is strongly of this opinion. Osoba points to the impeccable credentials of some of the new breed politicians aspiring to be governors and argued that it would be difficult for the military to manipulate such people, given their level of exposure and wealth of administrative experience. "It would not be easy to dictate to us," Osoba told *Citizen* in his Abeokuta residence last week. "Rather, there would be cooperation through the use of persuasive means. If they (the military) have better arguments on an issue, we would yield ground but if our arguments are more convincing, they should do the same." Michael Otedola, the NRC's flagbearer in Lagos State also believes that the new civilian governors will work amicably with the military. Said Otedola, "there should be no conflict at all unless you have a governor who is silly and wants to overstep his

bounds. If you follow the rules of the game and the constitution to the letter then there can be no conflict."

Most governorship candidates' optimism in the workability of the transitional diarchy is informed by their belief that the military will play by the rules and abide strictly by the provisions of the 1989 constitution. But what happens if President Babangida sets aside the constitution one morning and removes a civilian governor from office "in the national interest?" John Oyegun, SDP's governorship candidate for Edo State thinks such a scenario would be an invitation for chaos. In his view, it would simply be impossible for unelected military leaders to remove a governor where the people had made a clear and democratic choice. "I hope nothing like that ever happens because I do not see the people of this country accepting it," the governorship candidate said. Reacting to Professor Nwosu's statement that the federal government can remove an elected civilian governor, Segun Osoba said that such a thing would never happen in Nigeria. "The military themselves don't enjoy upheaval and civil disorder," Osoba pointed out. "If you remove a popular governor that is the beginning of your own



Osoba, Iyayi and Adisa: diarchy unwelcomed phenomenon

end too."

Of particular worry to political watchers is government's reluctance to give the governorship candidates permanent clearance and thus put the screening exercise be-

hind it.

Their contention is that there is far more than meets the eye in Professor Nwosu's declaration that the candidates have only been given provisional clearance. Critics of the transition programme point out that by refusing to give the governorship candidates a final clean bill of health, the Babangida regime is keeping its options open and may use it as a last-minute joker to install hand-picked

puppets in strategic states in the country. Keen watchers of the Babangida regime even suggest that the transitional diarchy is the president's way of paving the way to a "permanent" diarchy which will see him firmly installed as a "civilianised" military president presiding

over a national council of state composed in the main by democratically elected governors.

Dr. Festus Iyayi, a novelist and former president of the Academic Staff Union of Universities ASUU,

and is thus incapable of producing genuine democracy. Iyayi foresees a situation where the federal military government will hand over power to trusted allies in the two political parties. Explained the radical su-

## Diarchy: "an unwanted relationship"

— Festus Iyayi

**Dr. Festus Iyayi, a social critic and former president of ASUU spoke with our senior correspondent, Bolaji Adebisi on President Babangida's proposed experiment in diarchy**

**O**n his expectations, whether diarchy will work.

The way I look at it is this: We have said it from the very beginning that this military regime is the least qualified to bring about a democratic arrangement or rearrangement of society. There are different kinds of military regimes. You may talk about benevolent, autocratic, and fascist, military regimes. You can also talk about those with a mission imbued with an ideal for the transformation of the society such as what you had in Ethiopia under Mengistu Haile Mariam.

The worst of all kinds of military regimes is the autocratic and fascist one and that is what we have in Nigeria today. It is impossible for such a regime to bring into being any arrangement that can be called democratic or that vaguely resembles democracy.

It has not allowed free expression of opinion. It has put into effect a series of rules and regulations which itself it has violated. A government that has done this is incapable of producing a democracy.

The people must themselves, choose their parties, their leaders and establish a government for themselves. It is only then you can say that power has been handed over. So, I think if he quits, it will not be of his own making. It will be due to the sentiments in the country, international pressures, and changes going on in the rest of the world.

**On whether he expects an amicable relationship between the civilian governors and President Babangida**

The relationship that will exist between them is the same as that of an armed robber and the owner of a house. You are asking me, if an armed robber invades your house with guns and takes

over your family, and the house, will there be an amicable relationship between the armed robber and you? That is the answer. Except of course that in this situation, the surrounding is complicated by the fact that some of the people who are going to be sworn in as governors are people they themselves (the military) would have put there.

**On whether the politicians can resist Babangida**

They cannot because they do not have any political base. The party is not their own and they cannot lay claim to any genuine root in the people. They are relying on the patronage of government so they do not possess the will power to resist Babangida. If anybody will resist the subversion of democracy, it will be the genuine democratic groups such as NANS, ASUU, NLC etc.

paints another scenario. His thesis is that the military is the least qualified to bring into being a democratic arrangement or rearrangement in society, pointing out that in the particular case of the Babangida regime, it has not allowed the free play of democratic expression of opinion

thor, "people may say yes, Babangida will hand over power in the sense that he may no longer be in the office. But if you hand over power to people who are chosen by you, you have not handed over power in the real sense of the word. The people must themselves choose

their parties, their leaders and establish a government for themselves. It is only then you can say that power has been handed over."

Diarchy as a concept is not exactly new to Nigerians. Way back in 1974, Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe, former president of the country suggested a form of power-sharing between politicians and the military as the perfect antidote to perennial political instability in such third world countries as Nigeria. General Yakubu Gowon, while he was head of state also practised a diarchy of sorts. Chief Obafemi Awolowo, leader of the defunct Action Group served as Gowon's chief economic adviser in the early 70's. Several other leading politicians in the ill-fated first republic also served in

partners, the military playing a more prominent role. However, the university lecturer does not think the equal power sharing scheme as is being contemplated in Nigeria next January will work. Explained Adisa, "such a system is intrinsic

expenses during the elections. If the president refuses to tolerate corruption and removes one or two governors, crisis may ensue. Another potential trouble-spot is the issue of conflicting party programmes. The SDP is populist and has a welfarist

## Many governorship candidates whom *Citizen* spoke with however declared that they have no intention of playing second fiddle to their military overlords while the transitional diarchy lasts.



Iyare: the people will resist

Gowon's cabinet and wielded considerable powers. Civilians also played a key role in Babangida's regime and come January 1992 diarchy will enter the nation's historiography when elected governors are made to serve side by side with a military president. Dr. Jimi Adisa, a lecturer in political science at the University of Ibadan told *Citizen* last week that diarchy is a universal experience, pointing out that there are countries where power sharing in this way is institutional. In Adisa's view, such an arrangement can only last when there are unequal



Bafyau: stay on

cally unstable because you have a civilian governor that has asked for public mandate and an unelected president being the regulator of political ethics."

Political observers point to the profligacy and corruption that characterised the first and second republics and argue that this is one area where the newly elected governors will run into conflict with the federal government. Their contention is that the civilian governors, on assuming office, will immediately move to recoup their

orientation. The NRC embraces Thatcherism and free market principles. While NRC governors may find it relatively easy to work with the federal military government given the latter's religious commitment to the IMF sponsored Structural Adjustment Programme, SDP governors with their welfarist programmes may be headed for a rough ride. The first casualty of this scenario was Bassey Ekpo Bassey, the populist former chairman of the Calabar Municipal Council who disagreed with Commander Ibim Princewill, then governor of Cross Rivers State over the latter's education policy. Bassey upon his assumption of office March 1988 had declared free education in his council. Governor Princewill immediately warned him that such a position was contrary to the federal military government's policy on education. In the shouting match that ensued, the federal government dropped veiled hints that Bassey was treading on dangerous ground and that he should retrace his steps. A few weeks later the embattled council chairman quietly dropped his free education programme.

Political analysts like university of Ibadan's Adisa argue that the character of the issues that become

volatile during the period of transitional diarchy will ultimately determine the failure or success of the transition programme itself. They point out that some of these issues may not be amenable to tug and pull and may considerably task the political savvy of the federal military government. "Religion is one of the issues that this administration cannot control if it becomes conten-

tion," said Adisa. Religion, the lecturer argued, is not an issue of give and take and in a situation where an elected governor or group of governors adopts a stand contrary to the official federal government's position in a religious crisis, the transitional diarchy may fall apart.

**I**f matters get out of hand and President Babangida decides to remove an 'erring' governor,

what would happen? Will the democratically-elected governors have enough clout to resist such a move? Dr. Festus Iyayi does not think so. Iyayi believes that if it comes to a tussle between President Babangida and the elected governors, there may be little or no resistance from the politicians because many of them lack popular support and solid power-base. In Iyayi's opinion, the civilian governors are getting into government house through the special grace of the military and secondly, because of the resources which they had accumulated in the past largely from looting the public treasury. Iyayi told *Citizen*, "when it comes to a conflict of interest between the military and the civilian governors, the governors will find out that they

**"Such a system is intrinsically unstable because you have a civilian governor that has asked for public mandate and an unelected president being the regulator of political ethics."**

## **"The areas of potential conflict are many**

**— Z. A. Bonat Research fellow ABU Zaria**

**Citizen: What kind of relationship do you envisage existing between elected civilian governors and a military president?**

**Bonat:** The governors have come to power on the basis of a political party platform, with its own programme. If the programme is contrary to what the central government wants, this is where the problem starts. How can you operate your own programme, when you have a president and an armed forces ruling council, a legislative body, both military? If you decide that your party's programme should be your guiding principle, and not the directives of the military federal government, I can see a situation where a conflict will arise. When it does, the president will

then say that the civilians are not ready to rule and therefore he declares a state of emergency and continues to rule.

**Citizen: What specifically are the likely areas of conflict?**

**Bonat:** The likely areas of conflict are many. Well, the states will have houses of assembly to legislate on the affairs of the state. There will be an executive council headed by the governor, which will execute the programme of the ruling party. So, at the level of even legislation, they are likely to clash because their law-making process will involve debates on what has to be done, open debates that will call to question what the party in government wants to do. There will be two different parties in

the house. One party will advocate one thing and the other a different thing altogether. They may reach a consensus but before that is reached, which may clash with the military's point of view, even the process of debate will likely question the president's programme. That is one thing. Also, very fundamental to this issue is the fact that the civilians can only stay in power if they satisfy the yearnings of their own people. The military does not stay in power because it satisfies the yearnings of people. No, they do because they have the gun.

If those yearnings and the politicians' strategies for meeting them run contrary to the president's own programme there will be a clash. Even at the

level of who is answerable to who there will be a problem. A politician will say he is answerable to his people who elected him and his party. The military will say 'no', you are answerable to the president and invoke some provisions of the constitution. The politician too will invoke the constitution. So, it will be a real test of the constitution, because they will be operating it under very phoney circumstances, which were not anticipated.

The other area of conflict is if the state governors attempt to control the local governments. The federal government is attempting to make them as autonomous and viable as possible by a bigger chunk of revenue allocation and responsibility. If

have no bases. The politicians ought to have denounced the transition programme of the Babangida regime in the first place and refused to participate in it."

Oyegun, is however confident that the electorate will not allow President Babangida to remove an elected governor arbitrarily. "We are tired in this country, of extra-democratic methods of removing governments," he said. "We are all witnesses to the fact that all over the world and even in this country, there is growing sentiment against military take-over of government." Air Iyare, a noted educationist and social critic agrees with Oyegun. "I do not foresee a situation where the military will remove an elected

governor because I am certain the people will not tolerate it," said Iyare.

Governorship candidates and political watchers alike seem to pin their hope on the judiciary and the rule of law to intercede in moments of crisis during the period of transitional diarchy. Dr. Eghosa Osaghae, a political scientist believes that the judiciary will have a crucial role to play during the intervening period. "The judiciary will be called upon to adjudicate on jurisdictional rights of the two tiers of govern-



Zik: advocated diarchy in 1974

they attempt to discipline the local governments, the federal government may query them. The federal government is seeing the local governments as its own child. The potential areas of conflict are very plenty.

**Citizen:** *You talked about politicians meeting the yearnings of their people. Unfortunately, they have never had a good record of this.*

**Bonat:** It is true what you have said. I do remember that in 1986, when the political debate was going on and indeed the political bureau did recommend (I'm not sure) that the electorate should have the power to recall somebody who is not performing well. What did the military say? Did they not remove that? They didn't allow it. You don't have the right to recall somebody that is performing

very badly. It is a situation where not even the military is corrective, though it says it is.

**Citizen:** *Where are we headed for?*

**Bonat:** Some people have been saying that the military government has been accumulating debts and rescheduling servicing of the debts until 1992 when they step out. They think this will destabilise the third republic. It is likely to happen. The second thing is the federal government is likely to insist that SAP should be continued even after they leave. Even the international financial institutions (World Bank, IMF) would want to see SAP continued. But the politicians, I dare tell you, if they say they are going to continue with that Structural Adjustment Programme, they will then have to have a civilian

dictatorship. And then, of course, another crisis will begin, which will likely bring back the military. Their excuse will be that the politicians have been unable to manage it. It's a scenario they are preparing, willingly.

The other one is this, you merged seven political associations into two parties, there is a very serious factionalisation in the parties. Look at what is happening in the SDP. Apparently, anybody that is not in the People's Front faction, which is in charge of the SDP's national secretariat, should not win the primary election for governorship. In essence, what the government has done is a marriage of inconvenience as it is now.

The two parties will split asunder as soon as the civilians take over. They will cease to exist except in name only. The military

will then say, these people have broken the parties; they are not ready for democracy, we are going to come back.

**Citizen:** *Do you think the president will leave office next year (1992)?*

**Bonat:** He says he is prepared to give up. We want to take him on his words. We have no option but just to take his word for it. Let's see what is going to happen in 1992. If he does not give up power then, of course, he has the Nigerian people to contend with. After all the national conference which he aborted will be recalled.

He knows what a national conference will do. It will strip him of his powers. He will start fighting back and the people will fight against him. It is not that people love him. He has created states, so what? Who eats states? The Naira is a pity.

ment," Osaghae told *Citizen*. Oladosu Ladipo, the SDP governorship candidate in Osun State also believes that the constitution and the rule of law will be the final arbiter while the romance between President Babangida and the elected governors lasts. "There is no problem for anybody who knows the provisions of the constitution," argued Ladipo. "We are operating a federal system of government which provides for three tiers of government and each one is saddled with certain responsibilities as explicitly stated in the constitution."

Optimists point out that the



Ozekehoma: hopeful for democracy

responsibilities of the local, state and federal governments are clearly delineated. They argue that since all the items in the exclusive list is the preserve of the federal military government, the ones in the concurrent legislative list, the prerogative of the states as well as the federal government and the residual list the preserve of the states, there would be no clash of duties or interest. They believe that the federal military government and the elected functionaries at the state and local government levels would be able to co-exist with undue friction since each tier has its won jurisdictional and territorial limits.

**W**ould the marriage between the military and the elected governors which will be solemnised in January 1992 then be a blissful one, such that the couple will "live happily ever after?" Many Nigerians do not think so. "The relationship that will exist between them is the same between an armed robber and the owner of a house," Iyayi contended, adding, "if an

armed robber invades your home with guns and take over your family and home will there be an amicable relationship between the armed robber and you?"

Legal experts are agreed on one point: there is no law in the constitution which President Babangida can rely on to remove an elected governor. Observers however point to the removal of elected local government officials in 1988 and the dissolution of councils in the wake of the last state creation exercise as evidence that the president does not need to rely on any law to remove elected governors. Oladosu Ladipo argues however that contrary to widely held belief, the president did rely on the 1990 Basic Constitutional Decree when he dissolved some local councils in the first week of September. "This latest dissolution is justified," Ladipo told *Citizen*. "Once there is a change in structure, the council automatically stands dissolved. There is a constitutional provision about aspirants having a certain number of votes in two thirds of the wards. Since there is a change in structure that system has become a new one."

Going by the 1989 constitution, it is only the state house of assembly that is empowered to impeach an elected governor. Mike Ozekehoma, a lawyer and human rights activist argues that a distinction must be made between mere local government chairmen and the elected chief executive of a state who is the very embodiment and symbol of his people. An elected governor cannot be removed by President Babangida via a decree, argued Ozekehoma because, in his opinion, to do that would amount to the President dissolving the people themselves and then electing another people. Indeed, Ozekehoma argues that the elected governors can come together and use constitutional provision to



Kontagora: cautioned against handing over



Nwosu: only God is supreme

enough pressure from within and outside the country would be mounted on the military regime to ensure that it does not renege on its 1992 deadline.

**B**ut just suppose Babangida refuses to quit all the same? "Such an action will lay the basis for an unprecedented civilian-military confrontation," a confident Zorro told *Citizen*. "And this confrontation will once and for all seal the fate of the military and alter its history such that they will never in the history of this country have any respectability again."

Z. A. Bonat, a research fellow at Ahmadu Bello University, ABU, Zaria told *Citizen* that President Babangida has no choice but hand over power. Said he "if he does not

back. Already he could see many areas of "potential conflict" between elected civilian governors and a military president. "If you decide that your party's programme should be your guiding principle and not the directives of the military president, I can see a conflict arising," he said.

For instance, he said the military would most likely insist that its structural adjustment programme be continued by the succeeding civilian regime. But to do that would be to invite trouble and the military knew this. It's all part of the plan to discredit politicians even before they settle down, Bonat said.

He also foresees President Babangida clashing with civilian governors over local governments. If they attempt to "discipline" the local governments," Mr. Bonat said, the president would query them.

Diarchy may present difficulties but Nigerians have to learn to live with it, so Mr. Jigah thinks. The yearning of Nigerians "to be politically ruled" is a dream that may not even come true.

He thinks there is no way out of military rule. "it appears to be a politically helpless situation," said Jigah.

On the legal implications of diarchy, the lawyer said though the 1989 constitution did not provide for it, the military would always find a way of legitimatising it. That done, the president will treat elected civilian governors in the same manner as he treated his military governors.

He said the president will not have to influence the governors by remote control. He can do that in the most cross way. "He is not elected, so is not bound by actions of the national assembly," said Jigah.

By Ike Okonta with Bolaji Adebisi in Benin, Aluko Akinyele, Samson Ojo in Lagos, Yinka Tella in Abeokuta, Ibadan and Oshogbo, Isaac Umunna in Enugu, Tawey Zakka and Abu Mommoh in Kaduna

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**"The relationship that will exist between them is the same between an armed robber and the owner of a house," Iyayi contended, adding, "if an armed robber invades your house with guns and takes over your family and home will there be an amicable relationship"**

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impeach President Babangida in accordance with provisions of the 1989 constitution which will come in force in January 1992. Said the human rights activist, "a military president can actually be impeached by the governors if they follow the constitutional provisions."

But what if Babangida's turns out to be a resounding success? Would he not be tempted to continue in office until such a time he deems it wise to quit? Sanni Zorro, president of the Nigeria Union of Journalists, NUJ, considers this a distinct possibility, moreso when people like Chidi Amuta, Pascal Bafyau and *Hotline* publisher Hassan Sani Kontagora have been urging Babangida of late to extend his stay. Zorro is however confident that

give up power then, of course, the will have the Nigerian people to contend with. The national conference which he aborted will be recalled." Bonat foresaw such a conference straying the president of his powers and he fighting back.

Joshua Jigah, a Kaduna-based lawyer thinks that the president will not need to search long and far for a reason to stay on. Nigerians themselves will provide the excuse. He said that if the recent governorship primaries of the two parties were anything to go by, anarchy and chaos loomed large on the political horizon. "If that happens," said Jigah, "the president does not need to insist on remaining in power."

Bonat said the transition programme has been designed in such a way as to ensure the military's come

## NIGERIA

## SDP

## Trading places

Erstwhile winners in the SDP October 19 primaries  
lose out in the November 9 run off

**O**n the morning of Monday November 4, Ambassador Babagana Kingibe, national chairman of the crisis-ridden Social Democratic Party, gathered five gentlemen in his Ademola Street, Ikoyi office to give them their brief. They were the party's chief returning officers proceeding to Anambra, Delta, Enugu, Kano, Lagos and Osun states to conduct run-off and fresh primaries. Their mandate was unambiguous: to ensure that there was no deadlock. Kingibe told them that it was important they returned to Lagos with clear winners because time was no longer on the party's side.

When the returning officers returned to Lagos last Monday, it was with a fulfilled mandate except for Kano where the primaries had to be postponed in controversy. But the November 9 elections which they presided over retained all the vices of the Nigerian political culture with three erstwhile winners having their victories reversed.

Perhaps the party's biggest headache is Lagos State where Professor Agbalajobi lost his initial victory to Dapo Sarumi, following the cancellation of results of four wards, Shomolu Wards 1 and 2, Etiosa Ward H1 and Alimoso Ward M1, by the national executive councils. Agbalajobi found himself trailing behind Chief Dapo Sarumi by 2,226 votes. With this lead, the hurriedly put together alliance between Dapo Sarumi, Yomi Edu and Tokunbo Awolowo-Dosunmu, reckoned that their ace is to ensure either a low turnout or an inconclusive election since all the wards were Agbalajobi's



Agbalajobi's supporters in a protest march

stronghold. The alliance adopted delay tactic to frustrate their common foe. In this they had the cooperation of electoral officers, seconded from the national headquarters of the party, who insisted on strict accreditation based on authenticated membership list. As a result, election had to be cancelled in two wards. In Shomolu Ward 2, members disagreed on the mode of accreditation and when by 1.30 pm they could not sort out themselves, the election was cancelled. That was well after thousands who had been at the centre since 6.00 am had left in anger. The same thing happened in Eti-Osa Ward H1, where Yomi Edu was carried shoulder-high by supporters of Dapo Sarumi.

In the wards that held elections, one was nullified while the

other was rendered ineffective as those accredited were so few that the balance could not have been altered in favour of Agbalajobi. This was the situation at Alimoso Ward M1. *Citizen* estimated the crowd there at about 40,000 yet Alhaji Abiodun Ayilara an elected councillor in the ward told *Citizen* that there are 6,000 names on the ward's list. Admitting that mercenaries may have mingled with the crowd, he insisted that he could identify at least 3,000 members, but since strict accreditation was adopted, only 54 members had the opportunity to vote as the accreditation of a member took more than 30 minutes. In the end, Agbalajobi scored 29 votes while Sarumi raked in 25 votes. These were the votes the chief returning officer Malam Yakubu Muhammed



Kingibe: who wants him out?

added to candidates' figures as at November 5 to give Sarumi victory with 112,216 votes over Agbalajobi's 109,964 votes.

At Maryland Comprehensive High School, centre for Shomulu Ward F1, an Agbalajobi stronghold, the election was nullified because of "over-voting". The embattled professor had picked up 218 votes against his rival's 137 votes bringing the total votes cast to 418. But 372 members were accredited. The general belief is that the national officer, who sidelined the ward executives may have deliberately padded the result sheets in order to effect a nullification. *Citizen* correspondents reported that given the tight security, involving over 200 policemen, at the centre, there was no way an unaccredited member could have joined the line of the voters. Yet according to Dr Kalejaiye Onitiri, the ward chairman, there are 13,000 registered members in the ward. In the October 19 primaries, 6,000 of them voted, 4,877 for Agbalajobi and 1,127 for Sarumi. Those that turned out November 9, were over 20,000.

Of course, Sarumi's supporters are now dancing but they are up against a brickwall erected by the state executive council which is sympathetic to Agbalajobi's cause. Its chairman, Alhaji Muniru Baruwa said last week that he recognised

only Agbalajobi as the party's flag bearer for the state. Babagana Kingibe, said Baruwa could not be serious since the verdict of the people is public knowledge.

While the face-off between the state and national executive, which may provide the NRC with a foothold in the state still rages, Femi Agbalajobi took his case to the law court last week asking it to declare him the winner of the October 19 primaries.

In Delta State where Chief Felix Ibru bettered his closest rival Chief Isaac Igbovojah with 177,730 votes against the latter's 98,724 votes, politics contrary to President Ibrahim Babangida's preaching, was a war. Although there was calm

daggers were freely used. "We are fighting them because they took the results of two wards in Orogun to Chief Igbovojah's house instead of bringing them to the secretariat," said Imafidon Igboro, a middle-aged man who said he queued behind Ibru's photograph during the election. The police had to use tear gas to disperse the warring factions. By the time the dust settled, a metallic ash-coloured Peugeot 504 station-wagon BD 7754 HA bearing Igbovojah's poster had been smashed. About five people were stabbed.

One of them, Festus Eguono, an Igbovojah sympathiser, regretted that "we young people are busy maiming ourselves because of big men."

At Our Ladies High School, Efurum, centre for Ward 7 of Okpe Local Government area, eight people would remain grateful to God that they are still alive to tell their story

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**The police had to use tear gas to disperse the warring factions. By the time the dust settled, a metallic ash-coloured Peugeot 504 station-wagon BD 7754 HA bearing Igbovojah's poster had been smashed. About five people were stabbed.**

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in Asaba, the sleepy capital of the state whose military administrator, Group Captain Luke Ochulor, personally supervised the election in some wards, residents of Ughelli in Ughelli Local Government area did not know peace until voting was over at about 7pm

**Y**outhful supporters of the two main contenders clashed in no less than five wards of the local government. In fact when *Citizen* visited the Patani Road secretariat of the party, a battle was brewing as loyalists of Felix Ibru and Isaac Igbovojah engaged in a man-to-man duel. Cutlasses and

as they escaped with injuries after a violent clash involving supporters of Felix Ibru and Michael Shalom, another aspirant. Earlier in the day, a young man spotting a white *agbada* with a medium size blue bag strapped to his shoulder had been mobbed by a crowd of about a hundred youths who alleged that he was attempting to hold on to the sum of 2,000 Naira earmarked for distribution to voters loyal to a particular candidate. Even party officials had a taste of the street boys anger.

Peter Wanogbo, the party's legal adviser for Ughelli told *Citizen* that he was thoroughly beaten-up by



Adele (right) and Aderibigbe: dousing their fire

supporters of Ibru in Agbarha-Otor, the latter's hometown because he rejected the handsome offer of 10,000 Naira to falsify the result in the ward. "I told them I could not do that because there are only 2,500 registered members in that ward. They gave me the beating of my life." Padding of results would appear to be the in-thing in the state. Solomon Edojah, one of the aspirants who later stepped down for Michael Shalom told *Citizen* that he was

aware that the results announced in all the wards in Ughelli Local Government is more than the number of registered voters. He is probably right. For instance in Ethiope East Ward 6, eshalomi scored 26,000 votes when the total number of registered voters was 2,500. Igbovojah also scored over 66,000 votes in Orogun Wards one and two, his strong hold. All these did not prevent Tokunmbo Afikuyomi, the chief returning officer from declaring a winner in Chief

Felix Ibru who he said scored the highest number of votes cast in 13 local governments. Four of the losers, Chiefs Igbovojah, Austin Egbo, Ejiolor Onyia and Dr Patrick Nwamu have protested against the results. Their protests, said Afikumoyi, will be dealt with despatch.

Similar scenes were acted out in Osun State where Ladosu who led the October 91, primaries lost to Isiaka Adeleke by a margin of 30,083 votes. The latter's edge came from his local government, Ede, in which he scored 39,724 votes to dwarf Ladosu's 65,641 votes. Ladipo's



Agbalajobi: his supporters not happy

undoing was the nullification of the results of his home local government, Ifelodun where within two weeks, the registered members jumped from 21,727 to 60,000. At the run-off, he polled a staggering 53,761 votes out of 54,000 votes. Expectedly, the Adeleke camp protested and after a six hour closed door meeting with his officers, November 10, Alhaji Mali Damaturu, the party's chief returning officer announced the nullification of the Ifelodun local government result because of over-voting.

Ladosu Ladipo's response was swift. He rejected the verdict condemning the returning

officers action as a travesty of justice. He said he was protesting to the national executive council of the party which he believed would give him a favourable hearing.

The run-off in Anambra and Enugu were less acrimonious. In Enugu State, Chief Gbazueagu Nweke garnered 707,346 votes to beat Chief Chris Nwankwo with 473,680 votes. The party's flag-bearer in Anambra State is Dr Okochukwu Odunze who got 643,688 people to line behind him. His opponent, Dr Chukwuemeka Ezeife could only convince 297,061 party members to queue on his line.

Although the dust raised by the disputations over Abubakar Atiku's nomination in Adamawa and Dapo Sarumi in Lagos is yet to settle, SDP sources told *Citizen* last week that the party is not in any mood to entertain further bickerings over the primaries. "There is a need to catch up with the NRC which has already engaged us in a media blitz campaign," the sources said.

By Bolaji Adebisi in Warri, Ughelli and Asaba, with Yinka Tella, Aluko Akinyele, Samson Ojo and Tola Sunday in Lagos.

BLP

# Celebration galore

**Kaduna played host to Better Life Programme's fourth anniversary**

The sprawling, dusty grounds of Murtala Muhammed Square, Kaduna came alive again last Thursday as several women from all over the state converged to celebrate the fourth anniversary of the Better Life Programme.

The occasion organised by the Kaduna State chapter of the Better Life programme was witnessed by dignitaries from within and outside the state. These include the deputy governors of Kaduna and Lagos states respectively; Mrs. Pamela Sadauki and Hajia Lateefat Okunnu, executive director of Kaduna state commission for women Mrs. T. F. Nyam, Hajija Laila Dogonyaro. Others include members of state executive council, directors general and local government chairmen.

For Hajia Raliat Ronke Ayuba, who is also the state chairperson of the Better Life Programme, it was an occasion for chest beating. She said the four-year old programme has succeeded in mobilising and sensitising women to realise their development potentials. According to her, the committee having realised that the major problems facing the rural women centre on lack of capital, inadequacy of inputs such as fertilizer, seeds and poor markets outlets, thought the best way to tackle them is by mobilising and encouraging the women to form cooperative societies. Thus the number of registered women cooperative societies has since inception shot up from 10 to well over 600.

Other achievements of the committee she said include the purchase and installation of cereal hauling machines for grain processing in the former 13 local governments, reactivation of cottage industries: in Chikun, Kaura and Birnin Gwari. In

addition, the committee also assisted in the securing and distribution of 500 tones of fertilizers to rural farmers in 1989 at subsidised price. Others include organising workshop in local governments areas on EPI/ORT programme to acquaint rural women in protecting their children against the killer diseases and the training of 48 birth attendants in Birnin Gwari local government area.

Hajia Raliat Ayuba disclosed that the committee has initiated the construction of the Better Life multi purpose centre in Kaduna for which a 20 million naira appeal fund was launched last August. According to her, the centre is to "serve as a spring board for women's development"

It was not only women who got the praises, the chairperson has a nice word for the menfolk whom she said showed "great understanding and support" during the last



**Mrs Ayuba (top), Lagos State deputy governor, Alhaja Lateefat Okunnu and a better lifer engaged in her occupation.**

four years.

The highlight of the occasion was a march past by the women and children from the four zones of the Better Life Programme in the state. Exhibitions mounted include food crops, handicrafts. The occasion

which also featured several traditional and cultural dances was rounded up with the presentation of prizes by the Deputy governor of Lagos state, Hajia Lateefat Okunnu.

By Abu Momoh

# Religion

## Traditions on computer

The Centre for Islamic Legal Studies ABU Zaria  
launches the Hadith Data Base

**W**hat use is a computer to a muslim particularly in his religious practice? A lot, and according to Usman Bugaje, secretary of Islam in Africa Organisation, "computer literacy is not a luxury but an absolute necessity... in discharging the enormous responsibilities that rest on their shoulders." He late Professor Abdullahi Smith writing in a computer age when data collection and processing that could normally take a whole year can be done in one day, computer has become an indispensable tool for muslims." The ABU Zaria Islamic Legal Studies centre had this fact at the back of their mind, as they launched their Hadith data base project penultimate year and it is expected

that in two years the translation into Hausa of the three most authoritative Hadith books, Sahih Bukhari, Sahih Muslim and Muwatta would have been completed. The Hadith data base is the first attempt at computerising the hadith (the sayings and actions of Prophet Muhammad S.A.W) and it is expected that the corpus of the hadith available in the six Hadith collection would have been computerised at the end of the project.

The Hadith data base project is as ambitious as it is essential in a world that is under the whim of technology. Not only that it will facilitate research in hadith literature, it will also, as Ibrahim Sulaiman, the acting director of the centre stressed, develop the study of hadith and spread its knowledge in the society.

As part of the launch, Malam Usman Bugaje presented a paper entitled, *Muslims in a computer age* in which the main point is the call to

muslims to play the role expected of them. And that is because of the fact that "the only religion that can tame science, give it purpose and direction and ensure that it serves mankind is Islam." He stated that the Qur'an is replete with scientific information that is only being scientifically used now.

Moreover, according to Malam Usman, in Islam science is studied for the greater sake of Allah, the creator, as a process of discovering his greatness and also the Lord's technological and scientific generosity to mankind. However, he maintains that despite having the mandate muslims can not claim to be "taking good care of the rest of mankind." Malam Usman sees the recent Gulf war and its consequences "as the price we are paying for not paying heed to the Lord's command; *Against them make ready your strength to the utmost of your power, including steeds of war, to strike terror into the hearts of the enemies...* (Qur'an 8:60).

Alhaji Lema Jubrilla who has from the beginning been a supporter of the project called on muslims to come to the aid of the centre to ensure that it realised its objective, which will benefit the whole society. His own aid was in form of 50,000 Naira donation. In all, about 60,000 Naira was collected at the launching which was attended by scholars such as Shiekh Abubakar Mahmud Gumi and Malam Ibrahim Arab.

The project has already kicked off with two computer machines which were used at the launching to show how and why there is the need to document the hadith on computer.

By Rabi Barde

Citizen, November 18, 1991



Usman Bugaje: a plus for Islam

## Kano riots

## The law is insensitive — JNI

The Jama'atul Nasril Islam states position before panel, says religious crisis has roots in colonial structures

As investigations into the October 14 disturbances in Kano continued last week, it was the Jama'atul Nasril Islam, JNI's turn to make its views known on the violence that sent hundreds of Nigerians to their death and dislocated thousands more. In an all-encompassing testimony, it listed nine points that it roughly identified as the remote causes of religious disturbances, not only in the recent case of Kano, but all over the country.

JNI's Acting Secretary-General,



JNI's Bashir Sambo

Mr. Justice Bashir Sambo, who put the council's views to the Colonel Datti panel said that the colonial set-up which Nigeria inherited is one of the major causes of religious disturbance. This is because, the constitution as put together by aliens, failed to take into consideration the culture and sensibilities of the people. The association added that "provisions of freedom of religion and worship, together with fundamental rights have been stipulated without consideration for the Muslims".

JNI further stated that this must have ensured that anything Islamic has always been met with hostile and strong response which he de-

scribed as strange because Muslims, who are disproportionately marginalised and discriminated against in the country's laws and the inclination towards Christianity of government and its agencies, never objected to anything of a fundamental right to the Christians.

Mr. Justice Bashir Sambo cited the case of the Shari'ah to buttress this point. He said the Shari'ah which is inviolate because it is Allah's divine command and thus a fundamental human right of Muslims, has always been vehemently objected to by



CAN president Okogie

Christians, even though it is applicable to Muslims only.

As a way out of this mistrust, Mr. Justice Bashir Sambo was of the view that once the issue of ignorance and stereo-typing, like the one that casts Muslims as irrational and unreasonable and therefore seen as "fundamentalists", "fanatics" and "militants", is wiped out, mutual understanding would prevail.

Meanwhile, the police which are an essential part of security agency that had been at the receiving end of knocks for allowing the disturbances to degenerate into violence, began their defence before the panel. The out-going police commissioner for

Kano State, Alhaji Ibrahim Muhammed told the panel that the police was deceived by the Christian Association of Nigeria, CAN, particularly in connection with the number of delegates expected at the crusade.

Alhaji Ibrahim disclosed that until October 14, the day the crusade was expected to begin, he never knew that a foreigner, Reinhard Bonke, would be involved. He only knew of the involvement of foreigners when CAN wrote to inform the police that it was requesting, indeed, expecting the police to provide security for 36 foreign guests and preachers and 3,464 Nigerians from other states.

However, the most startling aspect of Alhaji Ibrahim's submission was the apparent power tussle between his command and the State Security Service, SSS, in Kano. He disclosed that while he was directed from headquarters to make adequate security arrangements, the SSS were insisting on having an aspect of the arrangement reviewed.

The SSS were insisting, Alhaji Ibrahim said, that CAN must be allowed to use the Race Course, even though the issue of a venue had long been settled when the Kano State Sports Council was asked to cancel the permit earlier given to CAN, on the understanding that a new venue had been arranged.

Alhaji Ibrahim Muhammed also narrated how he acted on a hint that some group of youths were gathered around Fagge Quarters on Sunday, October 13, to protest the proposed Reinhard Bonke Crusade. He said that the youths accepted the explanations of his men and dispersed. On why the police took so long to intervene, Alhaji Ibrahim explained that they realised that police intervention always ended up aggravating the disturbances.

By our reporters

## NIGERIA IN BRIEF

**Benin** - In the wake of spate of protests over the creation of new local governments, the federal government may create more before the military hand over power to civilians, President Ibrahim Babangida said here.

He said that government would look into demands for more local governments at the appropriate time. He said that some areas were not adequately addressed the last time new ones were created.

The president also said that he disagreed with those advocating for the continued stay in office of military administrators in new states to guarantee a stronger setting before power is handed over to civilian governors. He said the administrators are there to provide essential infrastructure, and to this extent, the federal government would show interest and come to the aid of the new states whenever the need

duty would however be allowed free movement.

\*\*\* Director-General of the National Intelligence Agency, Brigadier Halilu Akilu, has sued Panache Communications Limited, publishers of a Lagos-based magazine, *Classique* and the Daily Times of Nigeria Plc for libel, claiming a total of 75 million Naira.

In a suit N0 ID/2178/91, he is claiming that the amount is for pictures and words falsely and maliciously published by *Classique* and *Timesweek* imputing that he was involved in the murder of Dele Giwa, a journalist killed by a letter bomb five years ago.

\*\*\* Two bodies of two of the passengers aboard a Nigeria Air Force, NAF, helicopter that crashed after leaving Obubra for Calabar have been found. The identified bodies would be buried shortly. No one has said what has caused the crash

cation, Dr. Ahmadu Bello Zaria, has described the proposed strike by the Kaduna State wing of the Nigerian Union of Teachers, NUT, as a breach of an agreement. The teachers had declared a trade dispute and called for a general strike against last Thursday over their welfare, slow promotion and non-implementation of the national minimum wage.

Sokoto - Alhaji Abubakar Alhaji, minister of economic planning, was expected to be turbaned the new Sardaunan Sokoto to succeed Alhaji Ahmadu Bello, the late Premier of Northern Nigeria. Also expected to be turbaned, Friday, is Alhaji Ladan Abdullahi Shuni, as the *Dan-masanin* Sokoto. A board member of Elder Dempspter and a commissioner in late Shehu Kangiwa's cabinet, his title was borrowed from Kano.

Kaduna/Kano - The SDP in Kano and Kaduna states have picked Alhaji Ahmed Rufai and Professor Ango Abdullahi respectively in a run-off election to carry the party's flag in the governorship election scheduled for December 14. Ahmed Rufai polled 168,263 to beat Alhaji Aminu Inuwa with 55,775 votes and Alhaji Magaji Abdullahi with 55,023 votes. Professor Abdullahi picked 159,926 to beat Mr. Adamu Maikori who secured 110,915 votes.



**Babangida**



**Dr Ahmadu**

arises.

**Lagos** - New dates for the national census have been given by the federal government. It would now hold November 27 to 29. It also imposed total restriction on the movement of people on the 27th and the 28th from 7 am to 7 pm. The restriction of movement would continue in areas not fully covered. Also borders and international airports would only open at night during the head count. Nigerians on essential

or when it exactly occurred.

\*\*\* The Kaduna Polytechnic whose take-over by the federal government has been strongly rejected is to revert to its name. The polytechnic was re-named Federal Polytechnic, Kaduna after the take over, but a statement by the federal ministry of education Wednesday said that the institution should retain its former name. No explanation was given by the ministry.

**Kaduna** - Commissioner for Edu-



**Alhaji Abubakar Alhaji**

# Hand of fate

**R.B.K. Okafor the first republic politician who erroneously announced Zik's 'death' in 1989 dies at 64**

**T**he First Republic minister of information could have been playing his part as a purveyor of news when he announced along Chief Kingsley Ozumba Mbadiwe, that Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe was dead. They had added for effect the formation of a committee of friends for the burial of the sage. When it turned out that Zik was still very much alive, they had had to retract their statements. That was in 1989.

In 1990, barely a year after, the Ozumba Mbadiwe, fell to the cold hands of death, and in the early hours of Friday, November 8, it was the turn of R.B.K....

The Oguta born politician who became a member of parliament at the age of twenty-nine and one time president of the Nigeria Civil Service Union was educated at both the University of California and Los Angeles. His interest in politics which began quite early in life led to his detention by the colonial authorities in 1948. He was administrative secretary of NCNC (1956) and political adviser to the United Middle Belt Council (1962). During the second republic, he was amongst the founders of Nigerian People's Party and was national deputy chairman as well as the Imo State chairman.

The Onunekuloha (speaker for the masses) of Nkwesi, also left his mark in business. In 1966 he was made chairman, Estate and Finance Corporation, and in 1980 was at the head of the Nkalagu Cement. Until his death, he remained the Managing Director of Continental Airlines (Africa) Limited, Apapa, Lagos.

A life member of Common Wealth Parliamentary Association,

African World Air Cargo organisation and Deputy Governor of the institute of World Biological society, R.B.K. remained visible in the national scene till the very end.

His Ire-Akari Estate residence was a beehive of activity through the week as close political associates, called to register their condolence. Prominent amongst them

were Chief Olu Falae, Alhaji Tanko Yakasai, Alhaji Mohammed Waziri, (Rtd) Commodore Ebitu Ukiwe, Chief G.I. Ikoku and former civilian governor of Lagos state Alhaji Lateef Jakande who paid a glowing tribute: "R.B.K was a great organiser of men. His place will be difficult to fill in Nigerian politics....."

**By Oji Onoko**



*Okafor: life well spent*

Clement Akpamgbo

## Babangida performed creditably but...

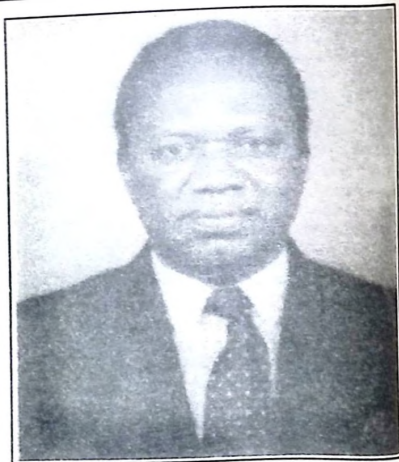
— NBA president

Newly elected Nigeria Bar Association president, Mr. Clement Akpamgbo, may not cut the image of a firebrand, but he is not a man to call a spade a farming implement

Perhaps he bears the wrong name. When translated, his surname, Akpamgbo simply means "bag of bullets." But you are not likely to catch Mr. Clement Obiora Akpamgbo, president of the boisterous Nigerian Bar Association since last August 31, shooting out any bullets, whether verbal ones or the real thing. "I am a simple and humble man. I have no quarrels with anybody. That is my policy," he told *Citizen* recently in his office at Uwani, Enugu. It is an asset which he needs in a very large measure, as he has inherited an association which many believe is in a state of decay. Stories about fraud, crime and political blackmail have brought the Bar Association in the country into disrepute. Akpamgbo is sad, but hopeful to make the NBA a thing of pride before completing his term of office in the next two years. This confidence stems from the fact that "I belong to everybody. Everybody is my friend at the NBA. I prefer dialogue to confrontation."

Popularly known as Sir Clem by his colleagues, the new NBA helmsman was educated in London, where he graduated LL.B (Hons) and LL.M. He was called to the Inner Temple in 1963, but enrolled in Nigeria the following year. A senior lecturer in law at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, from 1970-89, and currently an associate professor of law at the same institution, as well as at the Anambra State University of Technology, Akpamgbo has been a Senior Advocate of Nigeria since 1985. A long time member of the NBA national executive council, he chaired the association's committee on welfare of junior lawyers (1989-90) and the committee on award of honour to NBA members (1990). His other honours include membership, since 1970, of the International Bar Association, and of the Body of Benchers (since 1989). To become the 12th president of the NBA, Akpamgbo rode to victory claiming 1,034 votes to rout his three challengers, who managed a combined 282 votes.

Happily married with a son and three daughters, the new NBA president the first SAN to occupy the



Akpamgbo: Current president of NBA

position comes from an affluent family, but considers himself a self-made man because even though his father "is reasonably well off, I have never depended on his wealth." An amiable man, he wore a smile throughout the interview and underlined the humorous side of him towards the end of the interview when *Citizen* wanted to know his age. "We don't disclose our ages," Akpamgbo said.

*Citizen:* But you are not a woman.

Akpamgbo: "I am a woman. Look at me very well." Although a realist of highly tempered views, Sir Clem is not a man to call a spade by another name. For instance, while scoring the Babangida administration high marks, he, nevertheless detests the backdating of some



**Idehen: Immediate past president of NBA**

decrees by the regime and the upgrading of some decrees above the civil courts. And he wants the 12 condemned kid robbers (at least two of them are suspected to have died due to horrible conditions at Kirikiri Maximum Security Prison, Lagos, where they are awaiting the executioners bullets) released immediately by the government.

**Citizen:** Was the Owerri conference your first time of seeking an elective office in the NBA at the National level?

**Akpamgbo:** Yes.

**Citizen:** You were an official of the Enugu branch of the NBA for many years. Why did it take you so long to decide to go for the national office?

**Akpamgbo:** I was secretary of the Enugu branch of the NBA for almost four years. I was also its chairman for almost four years, until 1989. I was trying to get at the grassroots of NBA politics at national level and to give service to the national executive council first before vying for the national office.

**Citizen:** So you were waiting to be fully equipped for the national top post before going for it?

**Akpamgbo:** I was not fully equipped before going for the post. It is a question of service. I thought I had done some work at the NEC and state levels to offer myself at the national level.

**Citizen:** What did you think were your chances from the very beginning, considering your well known close ties with the much-attacked Charles Idehen administration?

**Akpamgbo:** It is like a football match. Nobody says he will win till the last whistle. I knew I commanded the support of many lawyers both old and young, but my only fear was that I was a SAN (Senior Advocate of Nigeria) which I thought would militate against me

because a great many think SANs are aloof from the generality of the NBA. This is untrue because many SANs identify themselves with the NBA.

**Citizen:** Of late there have been widely publicised cases of fraud, as well as rising incidents of crime and political blackmail involving lawyers. Don't you think the bar is in a state of decay?

**Akpamgbo:** That is my problem. But I won't use the word "decay." I would say discipline in the bar is going down the drain. It is a shame that I am inheriting the bar when discipline is at its lowest ebb and I pray God, with the co-operation of everyone to see discipline restored, with the help of every lawyer, both junior and senior. The judges, too, must help me because it is not a one-man affair.

**Citizen:** How would you assess the immediate past administration of Charles Idehen?

**Akpamgbo:** Idehen was not shouting, that is why people are saying he was a government candidate. But let me tell you, Idehen achieved much during his reign. For example, hosting the African Bar Association conference and Nigeria capturing the association's chairmanship is an international achievement.

**Citizen:** Those who accuse him of selling out to the government cite the 10 million Naira gift from the

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**Everybody is my friend at the NBA. I have no single enemy. There is nobody I disagree with. I prefer dialogue to confrontation. I prefer to sort things out. I am not Jesus. I am not perfect. I make mistakes.**

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*federal government to the NBA as an example.*

**Akpamgbo:** The gift had no ulterior motive. The federal government gives money to the musicians union. It gives to other organisations. It is not a sin that they gave us; it shows how the federal government regards the legal profession.

**Citizen:** Are you afraid of the radicals in the NBA?

**Akpamgbo:** My reign is one that will unite the radicals, conservatives and activists into one virile, respected, friendly association that will be a pride not only to Nigeria and Africa, but to the whole world.

**Citizen:** You sound so confident...

**Akpamgbo:** (Cuts in) I am confident because I belong to everybody. Everybody is my friend at the NBA. I have no single enemy. There is nobody I disagree with. I prefer dialogue to confrontation. I prefer to sort things out. I am not Jesus. I am not perfect. I make mistakes.

**Citizen:** Some are still not satisfied with the account of

how the NBA spent the over 13 million Naira it realised before Idehen left office. Do you intend to probe further into this?

Akpamgbo: No. No. There has been a committee...

Citizen: *The Onyiake committee that absolved the accused persons during the Owerri conference?*

Akpamgbo: Yes. The committee finished its work and has now thrown it back to us to discuss the auditors' report. The first NEC meeting to hold on October 25 is going to discuss it once and for all to give me time to move forward.

Citizen: *What steps will you take to check the now-frequent reports of suspicions and allegations of fraud levelled against some NBA officials by some members of the association?*

Akpamgbo: I made it as a campaign promise and repeated it after my election. I will ensure strict accountability of all NBA property, both tangible and intangible, in my possession. Before I became president, my record at Enugu showed I left a lot of money. I do not see now how I can disappoint NBA at the national level.

Citizen: *What is your honest impression of Bola Ajibola, the attorney-general and minister of justice.*

Akpamgbo: His name has been forwarded to the UN to be considered as judge at the Hague to replace the late Justice Elias. He is a SAN. He has served this country in the most difficult times and creditably for six years. He needs to be compensated.

Citizen: *Do you think he is the best candidate this country has for the Hague?*

Akpamgbo: In this world no person is an ideal. He is qualified and suitable to represent Nigeria and occupy the post.

Citizen: *Ajibola in August disclosed that the government is considering introducing a licensing system whereby lawyers are to renew their licenses annually. What is your opinion on this?*

Akpamgbo: It is very good. I support it because you have fake people (lawyers) duping people today.

Citizen: *Some fear the government will use it to settle scores with radical lawyers by refusing to renew their licenses.*

Akpamgbo: No, it won't. The government won't do the licensing, it will be done by the NBA.

Citizen: *What is your comment on the 12 kid robbers sentenced to death in Lagos, and who have been in detention for a long time now?*

Akpamgbo: I think that they should be released. They have had the experience, the trauma, the ordeal of trial and long incarceration in the cold recesses of the prison. They have learnt their lesson and I plead with the authorities to see them released.

Citizen: *What is your assessment of the Babangida regime, especially considering its human rights record?*

Akpamgbo: Let me say this: times are not normal in a military regime and luckily we are operating a military

democracy. I say this because if you compare the situation in Cameroun, Kenya and some latin American countries you will see that this military regime on the whole has performed well. You don't have press censorship in Nigeria. I am being objective and pragmatic in my assessment. Tomorrow they will say Akpamgbo is a government man, but when you compare the achievements of this administration with its few negative sides you see that this administration has performed creditably.

Citizen: *What do you consider the greatest mistakes of*



Babangida: creditable performance but...

*the Babangida administration?*

Akpamgbo: No person is perfect, not even me. You aspire to be ideal, but your ideal may not be the best. What I don't like is the ouster clauses (in the decrees) that ouster the jurisdiction of the courts. Secondly, making laws to take retrogressive effect. Against this you have to consider the good things they have done. For instance, Decree 2 has been amended.

Citizen: *Do you believe Babangida will hand over power to civilians next year?*

Akpamgbo: The president has told the nation that they (the military) will disengage in 1992. It has been repeated on oath by the attorney-general and minister of justice. I don't see why the people should be afraid that he will not go. He will go; he has said it many times.

Citizen: *What if he decides no to go? What will be the reaction of the NBA?*

Akpamgbo: That is a hypothetical question. Knowing him, I don't think he will stay. The act of governing is not easy.

By Isaac Umunna

## AFRICA

Zaire

## Cut both ways

As the situation in Zaire slides into anarchy, Mobutu's foreign friends are sending ominous signals to him

Zaire is either a heartbeat away from anarchy or close to a tolerant settlement of the deadlock in the showdown between President Mobutu Sese Seko and the opposition. After several weeks of Mobutu's rejection and physical resistance of the opposition's call for him to either resign or allow a sovereign national conference take place, there seems to be sign of a compromise being reached.

As the situation in Zaire degenerated, last week some foreign governments waded in to try to convince Mobutu to accept the opposition's call for a national conference that will discuss the adoption of a multiparty constitution for a post-Mobutu Zaire. Reports have it that Nigeria, Belgium, France and Mobutu's chief backer, the United States are exerting pressures that have the power of making Mobutu have a change of heart. It was reported that he has agreed to reconvene the national conference and to share power with the opposition.

Mobutu must have seen the hand-writing on the wall. Without the foreign support, especially from the United States of America, it will be difficult for Mobutu to have been able to hold on. Now, the news from the US is bad enough to shake Mobutu. In a policy statement to the senate, Herman Cohen, assistant secretary of state for African affairs said, "Zaire now has three governments and none of them is ruling".

One other senior diplomat in Kinshasha was quoted as saying, "This country (Zaire) is in a state of organized chaos". Those are the types of terrible pictures that informed US new attitude to Mobutu. He was advised to go the way of Zambia's former president Kenneth Kaunda, by opening up to the opposition. And with the economic problems of the country mounting, accepting the proposition seems the only sensible thing to do.

The deadlock was not completely

minister Mungul Diaka, a member of the opposition. The opposition refers to Mungul and his cabinet as sycophants and unrepresentative.

Mobutu is virtually on his own. Foreign governments that were his backers have started looking away. With the withdrawal of French and Belgian troops, the streets are left for the unhappy Zairean soldiers who have been on a looting and rioting adventure since September. Foreigners are leaving daily and the 35 million Zaireans are despondent over the future of the country.

The future does not look hopeful. Commerce and industry have crippled, and they cannot be revamped unless the deadlock is over and peace returns. And Mobutu, leader of 28 years, is playing his cards close to his chest. He is still staying in his heavily guarded river-



Mobutu and Bush: something must give in Zaire

over last week. With the national conference expected to resume last Friday, the new subject of controversy was the issue of who was to prepare the work for the conference. The opposition led by just-sacked prime minister Estiene Tshiekedi are still insisting on Mobutu's resignation as a condition for a successful national conference. Mobutu is not expected to give in to this demand, considering that he has as his prime

side resort and still claiming to be in control of the country.

Zairean observers believe that the reconvening of the national conference was belated, thus not expected to mark an end of the country's economic and social decline in a hurry. But, the national conference and the power-sharing policy suggested look the only hope for Zaireans.

By Rabiou Barde with agency reports

# Burkina Faso Stalemate

Opposition dumps elections and calls for a national conference. But Blaise Compaore disagrees



Compaore and Sankara (third and second right) in the beginning

**T**hick cloud of uncertainty surrounds the Burkinabe return to multi party democracy as President Blaise Compaore and the opposition are locked in a bitter disagreement over the order of the elections scheduled for end of this year.

Under the June referendum which approved the new constitution, parliamentary and presidential elections on multi party basis are to hold November 3 and December 8 respectively. It was on this basis that nomination papers were issued out last September. At the close of nomination in October however,

political parties. Latest reports said Blaise Compaore

has not only rejected the call for national conference but warned last week that the elections would go on with or without the opposition. He said the government has made enough concessions and elections would hold December 1, and January 12. Blaise Compaore is not likely to submit himself to the national conference that could strip

opposition is an attempt to prevent Blaise Compaore from coming to power again.

About 30 opposition parties emerged in July soon after President Blaise Compaore announced the result of the referendum last June. The first face off between the opposition and the government came when the opposition staged a mass protest in July which forced the president to appoint a transition government. Barely a month later a major disagreement surfaced again as the opposition kicked against the decree setting up the commission to prepare for the elections. The opposition withdrew its members from the transition government on the ground that it was not consulted. It also complained that the decree did not include general amnesty for political detainees and made no provision for internationally monitored elections.

If the impasse in this landlocked country persists and Blaise Compaore insists on holding the elections as scheduled, he may be unwittingly writing his country into the history books as the only president alive who organised a multi party elections with himself as the sole candidate.

By Abu Mommoh with agency reports

**If the impasse in this landlocked country persist and Blaise Compaore insist on holding the elections as scheduled, he may be unwittingly writing his country into the history books.**

only Blaise Compaore has returned his papers. The opposition held on to theirs and instead requested that the order of the elections must be changed with the presidential polls coming first. As the electoral commission was digesting this latest demand, the opposition dropped a bombshell. It said that it would not take part in the elections and called for national conference to be convened to discuss the country's future especially on the funding of the

him of his executive powers as it had happened to the leaders of neighbouring countries like Benin, Togo and Cote d'Ivoire where the once powerful rulers became mere titular heads of state after acceding to the opposition demand for national conference.

Moreover, he has already resigned from the army to contest his country's first multi party elections which he is most likely to win. It is suspected that the latest play by the

## USSR

## Yeltsin backs down

Boris Yeltsin came under intense criticism last week for allowing his "vast" imagination to travel too far

**T**he next best thing after committing a mistake is to own up. And that's just what Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation did after his own parliament overturned his decision to impose "state of emergency" in the rebellious muslim Caucasus region of Chechen-Ingushetia. He backed down.

Earlier, he had vowed not to recognise the victory of General Djokhar Dudayev in local regional elections last month. Dudayev's inauguration on Saturday, November 9 precipitated the current impasse.

Sensing the necessity to adopt a tough stance, the trait he condemned and opposed in Gorbachev, Yeltsin issued an emergency decree Thursday, November 7, appointing himself sole administrator of the Russian Federation taking responsibility for the defence and interior ministries and the KGB. He justified the decree saying it would be needed to push market reforms and avert unrest. The Russian parliament had given him the go-ahead to do this a week earlier. On Friday, November 8, Yeltsin imposed a state of emergency.

General Dudayev, the military strongman of Chechen-Ingushetia, began to issue a series of threats to the leadership of the Russian Federation.

"I boldly state that any provocative acts of state terrorism against our people will not go unavenged", General Dudayev said. This was a pointed reference to the hundreds of Russian soldiers stationed at a military airport on the outskirts of Grozny, the region's the capital.

"Russia has rejected all our at-

tempts to obtain sovereignty gradually through negotiation on mutually beneficial terms," Dudayev said. "Against such a policy we can not show weakness. People have volutarily risen up and are asking for weapons. If soldiers are sent, weapons will be given out."

On Saturday, November 9, thousands demonstrated in Grozny chanting Islamic slogans, waving green banners and flags and showing weapons. Through the weekend the region looked like it would explode. It sent shivers down the spine of Moscow which had not forgotten the hundreds killed when muslims erupted in central Asia, especially the Azerbaijani capital of Baku in 1990. That assault served only to radicalise the feared Muslim subregion on the southern fringes of the Soviet Union. Yeltsin seemed set to do the same for the Caucasus, which is heavily armed than the central Asia republics. More ominously, Chechen-Ingushetia lies close to Azerbaijan where christians and muslims clashed through most of 1989 and Georgia, another scene

of bloody riots.

When the rethinking began, Yeltsin came under fire from all quarters. Security officials condemned the planned use of force against Chechen-Ingushetia as "extremely undesirable" pointing out "danger of explosive consequences in northern Caucasus." Soviet interior ministry officials said it was "out of the question", saying "use of troops would have consequences far beyond that of Baku."

And suddenly, Yeltsin himself, according to his spokesman, "has never advocated solving the present conflict at any price." The president, the spokesman said, only favoured "negotiations, however hard they may be."

While the Soviet Union itself was apprehensive of any further unrest, fears concerning the latest threat were voiced far beyond Russia's borders. At their meeting in Rome, NATO leaders warned that the USSR was on the edge of a precipice and might as well go down under if care was not taken.

But there was deep division as the delegates debated whether they should encourage republics to break away if that was what they wished. "There is no place for threats, intimidation, coercion or violence", said an American-proposed statement issued by NATO.

Meanwhile President Gorbachev has got the leaders of the Soviet republics — with the notable exception of Ukraine — to agree to replace the Soviet constitution with the new Union Treaty. But if Ukraine won't countenance anything reminiscent of the USSR and if autonomous regions like Chechen-Ingushetia will still be thinking of independence, the world certainly has not heard the last of unrest in the Soviet Union. Gorbachev's Union of Sovereign States is already beginning to look like premature delivery.

By Adamu Adamu  
with agency reports



Yeltsin: baring his teeth?

## Cambodia

## The curtain is down

Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodia's "god-king" returns from exile to a wrecked country

The Chinese aircraft that brought him from Peking hovered over Phnom Penh, the capital, for some time before landing. Tens of thousands of people, waving the Cambodian flag and flowers, welcomed their former king who has lived in self-exile these past 13 years.

Prince Sihanouk, king between 1941 and 1955 and head of state between 1960 and 1970, when he was overthrown in a coup encouraged by the Americans returned to his country November 13 under the terms of a United Nations-sponsored peace agreement. He will head an interim supreme national council of all Cambodia's factions.

The role of the council is to prepare Cambodia for elections in 1993. The peace agreement brokered in Paris last month also provides for a UN peace keeping force to disarm the fighters of the factions. The troops began arriving on the ground the same day that Prince Sihanouk returned.

His come-back, according to an agency report, closes "a violent and painful chapter in Cambodia's history" and opens "a period of acute uncertainty". A 20-year civil war has left the country ravaged. In 1975, the Khmer Rouge led by Pol Pot, which had been fighting the government captured Phnom Penh, evacuated cities and towns, sending people to the immense jungle which covered half of the country.

The new regime created what have become known as "killing fields". One source said "one million people

were killed in executions and enforced hardships". The brutal Khmer Rouge regime was ended by the Vietnamese who invaded Cambodia in 1979. They installed the present government of the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation.

Many Cambodians in the cities and towns nurse intense resentment against the Khmer Rouge. The return of its leaders to Phnom Penh will stir memories of the killing field. Many, it is expected, will break down and weep openly in the streets when they remember relations and friends killed by the Pol Pot regime. Kun Lakeana, 22, who leaves for New Delhi, India next month as a junior diplomat, told of how she lost both parents and ten brothers and sisters. It was a moving story.

The crowd that welcomed Prince Sihanouk was said to be raptuous but "strangely subdued", because it was aware of the herculean task that awaited him. Apart from trying to reconcile Cambodia's fractious population, he has to find food for its children, who walk the streets with "swollen bellies and yellowing eyes", clear signs of malnutrition.

Does he have shoulders strong enough to bear the burden? Some people have expressed doubts. They remarked about his age. At 69, they said, the prince is already too old and in any case, he is said to be in poor health.

But there are others who think he



Prince Sihanouk

can hold the "creaking political machine" together by sheer willpower. If he succeeds in "institutionalising the political system", they said, he would have lived up to his sobriquet as a "political messiah".

The Khmer Rouge, of course, too, wants to stage a comeback. Its leader, Pol Pot, has not given up his intention of conquering the country. In 1985, it was roundly routed by the Vietnamese. A comeback will be difficult for it but not impossible. The movement is believed to have "a measure of support" in Cambodia's countryside, a support mastered through crude intimidation rather than civic action.

It is feared that its return will restart the guerrilla war in the countryside and if it regains power will reopen the killing fields. To its leaders, the fields "are means to an end". If they want to return to power badly enough, which they do, nobody who stands in their way will be spared.

Today, Cambodians can afford to keep all thoughts about the Khmer Rouge away as curds to be chewed later. Their king is back among his people. The international isolation of their country is over. That should be good news.

By Tawey Zakka

Today, Cambodians can afford to keep all thoughts about the Kymer Rouge away as curds to be chewed late

# AHL records impressive results

**Board chairman, Malam Isa Tahir, adduces this to good market sense and dedication to duty**

**A**rewa Hotels (Developments) Limited, AHL — a hospitality and tourism unit of the New Nigeria Development Company Limited (NNDC), has recorded one of the most impressive results in terms of turnover and profit since its inception. This was disclosed last Monday at the Hamdala Motel Restaurant, Kaduna, during the 14th annual general meeting of the company where the directors' report and annual accounts with the auditors' report for the year ended 31st March, 1991 were presented.

In his statement, the chairman of AHL, Mallam Isa Tahir noted that although the 1990/91 fiscal year witnessed another full year of Structural Adjustment Programme, SAP, in Nigeria, the economy fared reasonably well generally. Also, irrespective of the persistence of the underlying macro-economic problems such as inflation, the depreciating naira exchange rate, excessive monetary expansion and the debt burden, appropriate machinery and determined efforts were put in place by the management of AHL, to check and combat them.

It was also his belief that although, the depreciating value of the national currency has seriously increased the capital and operational costs of major tourism facilities, particularly, the hotel sector, the company has achieved a favourable tariff for international tourists and at the same time discouraged many Nigerians from travelling abroad for their holidays, thus creating potential for domestic tourism.

He also noted that although the volatility of the business environment affected the company's business or operations in varying degrees of difficulties, the AHL man-

agement had throughout the period, "promptly, decisively and successfully responded to every emerging opportunity".

In view of the impressive performance recorded for the year, the chairman, on behalf of the company, declared a bonus issues of 167% amounting to 500,013.33 Naira out of the undistributed profit of 717,541 Naira being carried forward.

During the year, the chairman noted, there had been a sustained rise in the size of the company's actual income. The turnover for the year ended 31st March, 1991 was four million Naira compared with the 2.4 million Naira recorded in the previous year, that is an increase of 65%.

Also, during the period under review, the profit before taxation was 573,582 Naira as against 400,556 Naira recorded in the previous year. Taxation provision for the period was 295,334 Naira, leaving profit after taxation of 278,248 Naira com-

pared with the previous year's figure of 316,241 Naira. The shortfall, according to Malam Isa Tahir, was as a result of higher provision for the year under review than in the previous years.

The chairman also noted that some of the units the company manages are slated for privatisation. Among them are Durbar Hotel, Kaduna and Kwara Hotels, Ilorin. The process of privatisation in the case of Durbar Hotels Limited now to be known as Durbar Hotels PLC has been completed. The offer for subscription began on 28th October, 1991.

Privatisation of Durbar Hotel, Lagos which will now be known as Festac '77 Hotel, Lagos and Kwara Hotels, Ilorin will follow soon.

The chairman stated that as a result of the company's experience in the management of hotel business and recognition of tourism industry as preferred sector of the economy, it is planning a major expansion that will involve direct investments in

hotel and catering services. To this end, NNDC Limited has transferred their investments in Kaduna Hotels Limited (Hamdala Hotel), Northern Hotels Limited (Sokoto Hotels) and Lake Chad Hotel, Maiduguri to Arewa Hotels (Developments) Limited which is actively involved in buying shares in the privatised hotels under its management.

Also at the meeting, the auditors of the company were reappointed for another year. The share capital of the company was also raised from 2.5 million Naira to 10 million Naira.

By Gabriel T. Gwajime



Tahir: Chairman, AHL

## Aviation

## Vacancy in the cockpits

Shortage of pilots and flight engineers may clip the wings of a growing aviation industry

**A**part from the general aviation terminal at the Murtala Muhammed Airport, visually, this is the story of a booming aviation industry. Since the floodgates were opened for private operators, the story has not been the same again.

Worst hit is the Nigeria Airways. According to captain Dan Omale of Kabo Air, Nigeria Airways has lost more than fifty pilots and flight engineers to the private airlines this year alone.

The economic situation in the country is responsible for this mass movement. According to Captain Henry Cooper Omeogu of the Airways, who is also the president, National Association of Aircraft Pilots and Engineers, "Nigeria Airways is zero, salary-wise; patriotism and the love for the aircraft are what keep many there."

Responding to this apparent blow on the operations of the Nigeria Airways, director of flight operations, Captain Victor Onarume, told *Citizen*, "the Nigeria Airways has very highly trained manpower and it is therefore a natural ground for securing manpower, though this is not a healthy development." Earlier, Captain Omeogu had told *Citizen* that the remuneration of airways pilots will soon be increased, stating with all confidence, "all my colleagues who ran to the private airlines will soon come back."

The Nigeria Airways may not be the only victim of the survival game. *Citizen's* investigations revealed that in the Okada fleet owned by multi-millionaire Gabriel Igbinedion, pilots go home monthly with a jumbo pay packet of about 20 thousand Naira. At the time of investigations, Barnax Airlines one of the latest addition to the private airlines was offering about 400 thousand Naira per annum for any

pilot who agrees to captain any of its two aircraft acquired through wet lease agreement. The two planes are still lying idle at the local wing of the airport.

In his October press briefing, the minister of aviation, Alabo Graham Douglas identified the cause of the problem. Said he: "I would like to refer to the seeming inverse relationship between the rate of avi-



Douglas: aviation minister

ation manpower production at the Nigerian College of Aviation Technology vis-a-vis the rapidly expanding demands of the industry."

Pilots agree with the minister's diagnosis. According to Captain Henry Omeogu, "people are not training at all, our only hope is the air force men who when they retire are retrained to join the civil fleet." Captain Dan Omale of Kabo Air also told *Citizen*, "the Nigeria Civil Aviation Training Centre is partially dead and a course that should have taken about two and half years now take about five to six years and just about 15 students are trained."

Even if Zaria, as the aviation college is referred to, is functioning

well, another glaring problem is the cost of training. Omeogu told *Citizen*, "to train a pilot to Captain level, the money required is enough to train about 100 medical doctors." Omale also told *Citizen* that an intending pilot will require about 320 thousand Naira to train in Zaria while to train in Britain and the United States, about 50 thousand dollars and 36 thousand pounds respectively will be required.

Why the sudden dipping of wings and near crash landing of the Nigeria College of Aviation Technology which once was adjudged the best in Africa and indeed trained a substantial number of Nigerian pilots?

According to a pilot with one of the biggest private airlines, Zaria has not turned out a commercial pilot in four years and there is not hope of turning out one within the next five years. The condition is so bad, said the seasoned skipper, that the college has only one plane. As at October the tyres of the only trainer were yet to be repaired. Ironically though, the training planes which Zaria sold out as obsolete to some flying clubs are still being used by the clubs.

However, the commandant of the Aviation College, Captain Shetima Abòà Gana told *Citizen* that the situation is not all that bleak and that the college is not without a direction. Said he; "we phased out the Cessna 150 and 152 being used for training as a result of the International Civil Aviation Organisation directives that only Cessna 172 be used for training pilots." The commandant further revealed that since Zaria is not equipped to train commercial aviation pilots its effect on the industry has considerably waned.

By Aluko Akinyele

## Share holder's association elect officers

The seven zonal shareholders association in the country has elected officers to run their affairs for the next one year. Trustees for the associations have also been elected.

Brigadier E. E. Ikwue (rtd) former chief of the Nigeria Air Force emerged chairman of the Lagos zone which serves shareholders resident in Lagos. Others are Dr. Kola Adegbola, Ibadan zone; Dr. Faruk Umar, Kano zone; Alhaji Kasimu Bichi, Kaduna zone; and Mr. V. K. Dangin, a retired permanent secretary for Jos zone.

With the election of the officers and trustees of



**Bichi: chairman,  
Kaduna zone**

the seven zonal associations and the expected approval of their various constitutions, the final stages for registering the associations and incorporated trustees under companies and allied matters decree No. 1/199 will now commence.

## Kapital Merchant Bank makes profit

Kapital Merchant Bank Ltd recorded a profit before tax of 7.9 million Naira in 1990 against 3.20 million Naira garnered in 1989 representing an increase of 157.04 percent. Profit after tax increased by 166 percent, from 2.29 million Naira in 1989 to 6.10 million Naira during the year under review.

The bank's gross earnings increased by 354.89 percent from 18.29 million Naira in 1989 to 83.20 million Naira while the asset based was upped by about 44 percent from 285.99 million Naira in 1989 to 411.78 million Naira.

The chairman of the bank Dr. Onwochei

Odogwu told the shareholders at the second AGM that the board of directors has proposed to issue and pay stock dividends of value of 5 million Naira to increase the paid up capital of the bank to 30 million Naira from the current 20 million Naira.

He pledged that the bank would continue to discharge its social responsibilities through meaningful programmes and events. Toward this end, the chairman said that the bank's scholarship scheme had become a reality while the Kapital forum introduced last year will continue to be an annual event.

## Oil investors alerted

The Minister of Petroleum Resources professor Jubril Aminu has alerted investors of the investment opportunities existing in the crude oil exploration in Nigeria.

Speaking on the occasion of NNPC day at the just concluded 11th Lagos International Trade Fair,

Prof. Aminu observed that since oil exploration began in Nigeria, not up to half of the sedimentary basins of the country have been explored.

In the address read on his behalf by Mr. S. D. Makama, a director in the ministry, the minister lamented that even in the Niger Delta Basin which has been appreciably explored, activities are still limited to only on-shore areas.

He explained that a lot of people do not know that only about 40 percent of the off-shore area of the Niger Basin is currently under active exploration, adding that beyond 200 metres water basin, no serious exploration has been carried

## Increase supplies to UN system of Agencies — Usman

The controller of Nigerian Export Promotion Council, Lagos zone, Alhaji Yaguda Usman has advised Nigerians to increase the level of supplies to the United Nations (UN) system.

According to the controller, this can be done by assisting the UNDP (IAPSO) International consultant currently in Nigeria to collect as much information as possible on products and services qualifying under the UN list of common user items

procured by the UN system of agencies.

He lamented that despite the fact that 90 percent of UNDP projects are carried out in developing countries and about 32 percent of Africa, procurement for these projects from developing countries remains insignificant.

Alhaji Usman explained that regular UN publications on "General Business Guide and procurement update" are available for investors.

By Tola Sunday



**Petroleum minister, Aminu**

out. Professor Aminu assured investors of the support of his ministry and that of the NNPC stressing

that there is tremendous opportunity for investment in oil exploration and production of oil and gas in the country.



## BILKISU YUSUF

ous terrain of urbanisation and the gradual but certain disappearance of crime-free communities, the people's expectation should not exceed security of lives and property. Such expectations do not ignore the commission of petty crimes to which the law enforcement agencies must address their minds. Our track record, long before the Anini saga when armed

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## Reign of arms

It did not require a long hard look before the government decided that some sanity must be injected into the issuance of permit for firearms. A few weeks back government withdrew all firearms licences and directed those who possessed them to return the licences to the appropriate authorities for review and re-issuance. I want to believe that the authorities know more than we do about the proliferation of arms. Such knowledge must have informed the withdrawal of the licences. The arms theory states that availability encourages usage. While it cannot be faulted, the disturbing truth is that armed robbers who use arms to kill and maim never apply for licences. They obtain their guns through the backdoor. Withdrawal of the licences they never had therefore makes absolutely no difference to the arms they will always possess.

Government is determined to tighten the possession of arms with the expectation that it would translate into a crime-free society. That is the ideal, the utopia that reality tells us will remain elusive because it does not exist anywhere. At best what government can achieve is to keep the crime rate at a manageable level. The snag is the relativity of "manageable level".

Bearing in mind the tempestu-

ous terrain of urbanisation and the gradual but certain disappearance of crime-free communities, the people's expectation should not exceed security of lives and property. Such expectations do not ignore the commission of petty crimes to which the law enforcement agencies must address their minds. Our track record, long before the Anini saga when armed robbers held Benin City to ransom, and the dawn of hired assassins confirms the law enforcement agencies must address their minds. Our track record, long before the Anini saga when armed

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All the news in perspective

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Citizenship  
by Dokun Abiyev

IRAQ



IRAQ

... AND NOW WE'LL HOOK UP WITH MADRID...



IRAQ

WHERE THE JEWS AND THE ARABS ARE THINKING OF HOW TO EMBRACE!



IRAQ



# Wisdom of tears

**S**am Mbakwe, it was, as governor of a much larger Imo State, who, when all avenues to attract federal presence failed, found ready remedy and comfort in that natural way of venting frustration and suppressed anger, a good cry.

Nobody has asked the good old chief if it has been worth the effort, but we can take it that he may have succeeded because he has not cried since then, at least not publicly. There is nothing shameful about it, nor can it be described as demagoguish. A person can cry for a variety of reasons or circumstances. Indeed, many distinguished and noted statesmen have found comfort in letting it all out. Remember Kaunda?

These were in the 80s. In the 90s, the novelty has worn off. The sons and daughters of Igala are therefore going in for something more drastic. A newspaper report said November 23, 1991, has been set aside for all

Igala, home and abroad, as a day for national mourning to press for nine more local governments in their area. Even though they do not show it, the Igala are a peaceful people. Which is why they have not, unlike some of their unsophisticated fellow citizens in Cross River State, taken the law into their own hands. Which is why when the day of national mourning was declared, Chief (Dr.) Abu Alifia, drew their attention to it by enjoining them to that day be "calm and solemn."

From all evidence adduced before an agape nation, it appears that the sons and daughters of Igala have discovered a very powerful formula. This is because the federal government has conceded that there is a need for new local government areas.

Speaking in Benin the other day, President Ibrahim Babangida, announced that "legitimate" grievances



would be entertained before the military relinquishes power!

It would appear that the federal government is acting fast to stem the tide of premature bereavement that would certainly result if it bends to the wishes of the sons and daughters of Igala if it makes the concession after the November 23 deadline!

I implore our sociologists to make a study of the twin phenomenon of tears and threats of national mourning.

## Baker's dozens?

**H**ow would you feel being awarded, say, the Nobel Prize for literature when you have not contemplated writing a book, never mind that you've never actually written one? It is just like the yearly charade put out by the YSFON that it had one international football cup in such unlikely places as Brazil or the other.

Well, a friend of mine is right now walking in a daze, not knowing what to do with the "5th Europe Award 1991" which he has just been informed that he had won.

According to a letter he received from far away Madrid, Spain, he has won the award which, in the words of the organisers, is granted "to entrepreneurs from all over the world to honour the image of the firms from Europe and other continents.... It will doubtless have great international echo and offer significant opportunities to all entrepreneurs in-

terested in developing or maintaining their business prestige..."!

The letter confidently asserted that a committee formed by officers in the market division of its company and members of Trade Leaders' Club, after having reviewed the information received from "chambers of commerce, professional associations and government agencies, has singled out your company to receive the Europe Award 1991"

The awards ceremony has all been planned out. It would be delivered during a "lunch celebration" to be held at the grand "Hotel Melia Castilla, Madrid" presided over by "Spanish government officers, diplomatic corps, local political and economic VIP's, as well as media representatives."

The same morning, a "work meeting is planned in order to offer the possibility of establishing the first commercial contacts among the 80

awarded enterprises from 25 countries." The beauty of it all is that, then, the representatives of all the firms would be asked to introduce their enterprises and their commercial activities.

A. Pardo Rodriguez, president of the Club Lideres Del Comercio, (just trying my smattering of Spanish on you. It means Trade Leaders' Club), which sent the letter, would, sure be speechless on the momentous day when he learns that my friend's company has not produced anything, not even a loaf of bread in its five years of existence! This is because his company is yet to receive its certificate of registration!

What I want to know is, who recommended the virtually non-existent Nigerian company to the Trade Leaders' Club? May be our economic diplomacy is succeeding - fast. Either that or our embassy is up and doing.

# Life's riddles

**M**an's conquest of nature remains a relative term since it has not explained the mysteries of death and dying. It comes when it pleases and leaves a grieving crowd of loved ones in its trail. As one of life's most difficult puzzles, death remains one yet to be unravelled.

## Sorrow, tears and fear

We have no need of laughter any more

Laughter has become to us  
Like gall in the mouth  
Sorrow is now all we know  
For death has left its abode  
It has built a house in our midst  
And now lives among us  
Seven deaths in three months!  
In one congregation!!  
Seven souls snatched from 100 plus  
In a blink of an eye!

First, Peter

Then, Naomi, Edith, Nath, David,  
Rebecca

And now, Don!

Peter and Naomi cut down in mid-  
age

Edith, Nath, David and Rebecca  
uprooted in infancy!

Don plucked away in his prime!!

Quack doctors, fire and evil men

Have conspired against us

Peter felled by tetanus from a con-  
taminated needle

Naomi, Edith, Nath, David and  
Rebecca

Consumed by midnight fire

## The absent mourner

I can see you congregate  
And more, I understand, are still on  
he way

he way you do things

he way you come

he way you act

nd the way you go

Tell a story

The comings and goings are slowly  
done

kites puff gaplessly at their smoke

And you all are drenched in drink

— Obviously to forget your grief—

Some murmur, conversing in very  
low tones

Every now and then some drunk  
rascal

Stands on his feet and shouts some  
nonsense

Then again and again you strike up  
a tune

— The rhythm of the music also tells  
a story —

My ears stand, open and listen big

And, no doubt, at last I have got the  
message:

"Death oh, Death!

You know no ruler

You know no ruled".

And you mourn your dead

I want you to know

That I share your grief

Isaac O. Ummuna

## An afterword: a belated exhortation

You hand-picked your simple one-  
cell animal life

In a world steady on multiple legs,

Could it be out of that error of heed-  
less living?

You now must punish the base in  
you;

Could it be out of the womanipu-  
lated wranglings

of millions bungled past before you?

When a fruit is ripe or rotten the tree  
disowns it

Were you perhaps a ripe but rotten  
fruit?

The very uselessness being in our  
rotten and ripe fall?

You chose to be one simple cell in  
wild attempts to live

But what wreck you made of your-



self!

A top that does not spin falls— dead  
You had overseen your dying in your  
living

A wide, long, wild hiatus yawning  
in-between

How bitter that you learnt hermaph-  
roditic

asceticism paid!

The sea that neither gives nor  
receives is dead,

Soon you were lost to a million  
worms

And another era of another simple-  
ton was over

Because you chose simple one-cell  
animal life

Hyeladzira A.B. Shaffa

## The dark staircase

(for a deceased friend)

He passed me and I passed him

In this long, narrow, dark and  
Unkempt passage.

The staircase was lulled

Into a nightmarish disquiet

As we passed each other,

Wordless, in the dark passage.

How I wished my eyes had seen his!

How I wished that this abstract veil  
— free from

Suntouch — did not

Interfere with mortal sight!

Thus our mute, colourless figures  
brushed

Untalking in the long, dark

Passage, as I gained up

And he walked down

Into the fathomless darkness.

Ibrahim Sheme



In 1990,  
4,380 of the deaths on the highways resulted from

**OVERSPEEDING,  
OVERTAKING AND  
OVERLOADING !**

What a shame ?

What future for our children ?

What future for our country ?

**OBEY SPEED LIMIT REGULATIONS NOW Before it is TOO LATE**



PUBLIC ENLIGHTENMENT DEPARTMENT,  
FEDERAL ROAD SAFETY COMMISSION

Charles Oputa

# What now, Charly Boy?

The "bad boy" of Nigerian showbiz reveals his other side in a no-holds-barred programme

**W**ednesday, 10.30 pm. You tune to NTA channel 5. A billow of smoke rises, filling the screen and fades to a massive scooter speeding away. Amidst a clap of thunder and lightening, a sports car zooms in. And perched atop is Charles Oputa, sandwiched between two over-dressed girls.....

The Charly boy show is exhilarating. It is a magazine programme, packed with fun and fad. Musical D.J, Patrick Doyle in baggy shorts and ill-fitting in-shirt-sleeves on the console, intones: "Radies and gentulu-men, this is yoa supa D.J." And as he goes on in his 'Calabar-English', gyrating hither and thither, he slots in an old highlife number, and just as the dance commences, he removes it apologising; "sorry-every-body. Now let's dance". To what? The cassette is still in his hand!

The beer-guzzling man with his date in a bar complains bitterly of his distaste for beer. "No cognac, or wine in your country?" he asked the bemused lady who is yet to be offered a drink. Meanwhile, he regales her with tales of his wealth-in his country-a neighbouring country which Nigerians know as the poorest around.

Controversial "toaster" Okky, whose album, "About me" has one of the tracks,



Charly Boy: exhilarating performance

"sugar stick" banned on air for what officials termed "its vulgarity" talks about the track without any let or hindrance! Even the way, he takes his women! There is Alex Zitto, too, with his leggy damsels twanging the guitar in "Baby walakolombo" in the music clip. And Julie Coker is asked how many times she.....

But by far the most intriguing is the parting question always put to interviewees by the host: "What do you think about Charlyboy?" which leaves his respondents gaping!

For years, he had donned the image of a non-conformer, a macho and a bully. Even his home, dubbed "Punk Palace" would scare any but the most daring. What with such warnings posted at various parts of the wall as: "illegal entry into the Palace can be fatal", forget the dogs, beware of owner", "danger! mines and explosives" beware of pins...." And the wall clock in his sitting room as well as that in his office are anti-clockwise. You have to read backwards!

But the soft-spoken Charles Oputa maintains that he put on the Charlyboy garb about five years ago merely as an act. "It is a part", he says. "I'm just acting. People just mistake the image for my real self. People assume they know me".

Is he then trying to shed this image with the show? "I'm just being creative", he replies. "I've always wanted to do a TV programme since I was in school. A racy magazine kind of thing that will cut across the various segments of the society. For a long time, I couldn't because of my tight schedule.

But four months ago, with Gloria Anozie (she co-scripts with him), I got to work".

Was there no problem in getting the airtime from NTA

judging by the perception people have of him? "Well.... A few hitches here and there, "he replies. "Not much really. I pay for the airtime, You know".

Any sponsorship so far? "People and organisations advertise in the programme. They are the sponsors, so to say", he explains.

Any projections? "I'm going into so many things", he says. "my memoir would soon be ready. I am also working on a film I hope to release in December. There's my music, too. I want to embark on more tours. In fact, I'll be touring America soon..."

He stands, ready to leave. Besides the weird hair-do, and the ear-ring, he is dressed normally. Then you notice the shoes. On his right leg is a black shoe. In the other, a red one. Surely, the Charlyboy image still sticks! By Oji Onoko

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# Who needs a foreign coach?

Recent revelation about Westerhof's salary, has raised critical questions about whether or not Nigeria needs a foreign soccer coach

It became quite clear on Wednesday November 6, why the actual amount being paid to the Dutch born Super Eagles technical adviser, Clemens Westerhof, had been shrouded in secrecy for so long. It is because the senior national team foreign handler is being paid what can simply be described as outrageously exorbitant.

During his first ministerial press briefing about the activities of his

Whoever approved such a huge salary for Westerhof or whether or not the salary is bigger than what the president of this country takes home as his annual salary is hardly the issue here. The issue is whether such huge amount that we are wasting on a foreign coach that has not been able to produce result could not have been better spent in developing our indigenous coaches who stand far better chance of making a perma-

final of the junior World Cup in Saudi Arabia and came home with a silver medal. James Peters raised and groomed an under-23 squad that won the hearts of other African nations at the 5th All-Africa Games in Cairo last September. And Paul Hamilton won Nigeria a place at the soccer event of the 1988 Seoul Olympic, only for a foreign coach in the name of Manfred Hoener from Germany to come and disrupt the good foundation he had laid for the Olympics.

To date, Westerhof's achievement was the silver medal won by the Super Eagles at the African Cup of Nations last year in Algeria. His presence during the last lap of Nigeria's qualifying matches for 1990 world cup was one of the major reasons for Nigeria's failure to gain a ticket to the championship. Nothing could better prove the doubtful credentials of Westerhof than the manner he conducted the Super Eagles through the qualifying matches of next year's African Cup of Nations in Senegal. Nigeria qualified for Senegal '92 by sheer luck and dedication of our home and foreign based players, than any special contribution by the highly paid technical adviser.

What is needed is not just a review of Westerhof's salary or contract. The future of our football lies with our indigenous coaches.

Going by what we have seen of Manfred Hoener and Clemens Westerhof and the like of home baked coaches like Udemezue, Brodricks, Hamilton and Disu, the sports minister should ask himself whether Nigeria really needs a foreign coach.

By Joe Olajuwon



**Westerhof:** who negotiated his salary?



**Disu:** ditched by Westerhof

ministry since he assumed office, sports minister Major General Yohanna Kure (rtd) disclosed that Clemens Westerhof is being paid a huge sum of 80,000.00 US dollars (about 1.4 million Naira) annually. The sports minister went ahead to say that Westerhof's contract, which was sealed under the defunct National Sports Commission (NSC), would be reviewed, because according to Kure, the Super Eagles' technical adviser's pay is not acceptable to him (the sports minister) since the Director General of the sports ministry receives far less! And surprisingly too, the sports minister announced that he had been in the dark about Westerhof's salary since he assumed office at the sports ministry early this year.

nent positive contribution to the growth of our football.

Talking of achievements, Westerhof who has been in the country since 1989 cannot in any way get near the sparkling records of some of our indigenous coaches, who are being paid peanuts compared to the super salary of the Dutch man. In 1985, Sebastine Brodricks won for Nigeria and for Africa, the maiden edition of FIFA/JVC under-17 World Cup. Before then, Christopher Udemezue took junior national team to the FIFA under-23 World Cup in Moscow and won a bronze for Nigeria. Tunde Disu, whom Westerhof and Nigeria Football Association, (NFA) in an unholy alliance threw out as Eagles' chief coach in 1989 took Nigeria under-23 team to the

## Basketball

# The Magic of AIDS

**Magic Johnson, one of basketball greatest players ever loses everything to the dreaded disease, AIDS**

**T**he world might as well be mourning. For the basketball fraternity, the game has no meaning, it seems, anymore. And the bigger fear is that the man who has taken basketball to new and exciting heights is leaving. Leaving, perhaps with the heights the American National Basketball Association, NBA has reached. Domino theory will certainly come into play here: the world looks towards the American brand of basketball for inspiration.

Thursday, October 7, Inglewood, USA. Los Angeles Lakers' point guard Earvin Magic Johnson, one of NBA's nerve centres since 1979 announced his retirement from the game, pointing accusing fingers at a greater magic, the world wide, all conquering Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome, AIDS. Magic said, "because of the HIV virus that I have obtained, I will retire from the Lakers after today". From then hence, if AIDS

were existing in some persons' imagination, the fantasy came to a head there and then.

Magic Johnson was a colossus. He fretted and strutted about NBA's basketball slippery arenas, standing firm, making fans and admirers among fellow players, who were,

unfortunately, saddled with the task of playing against him. Incredibly, no one seems to be thinking it's a positive thing that Magic won't be there again. In the super human displays of the NBA, you always measure your chest against the best. Now how many best(s) are still



**Johnson: struck by AIDS**

there? Even if there are millions, Magic is in a special class. And if you have not measured your chest against him, you might as well be beginning to take lessons on the basics of the game.

Writing in the *Playboy* of June 1991, Jeff Coplon says "for all the NBA's superb performers, there are damn few real stars around". Jeff Coplon's "damn" superstars are Larry Bird, Michael Jordan and — of course — Magic Johnson. Jordan is still flying with the Chicago Bulls, Boston Celtics, Larry Bird, at 34, has reached a twilight. Magic Johnson had pledged to stay for three more

seasons (that is to 1994) with Lakers and then retire, like his equally well-known colleague, Kareem Abdul Jabbar. All that has been scuttled, with the NBA, and Lakers in particular now groping in the dark for a messiah in the NBA's gruelling league, where as Coplon says, "reputations snap like cruciate ligaments".

AIDS has arguably just scored its greatest goal yet. It has always been easily thought of as a disease for the homosexual and bisexual, those deviant species needing no sympathy. Here is a great human being, one of the greatest ambassadors of

his sports and — most of all — a confirmed heterosexual. America is still in a storm. No less a personality than President George Bush issued the first few reactions. Taking time off from the countdown to the NATO summit in Rome, Bush said, "Oh it's sad" adding that he (Johnson) was a good man. And like all basketball faithfuls, Bush in a feat of emotions began a Magic Johnson's tale of the tape, or rather read of the record books. From the collegiate to the NBA's all time records, Johnson robs shoulders with such greats as Bill Russell, Wilt Chamberlain and his contemporaries, Kareem Jabbar and Michael Jordan.

"This is one of those things you think can never happen to you" Johnson was quoted as saying. Of course, we always thought the guys with careless and queer lecherous dispositions will always have it. For those guys we always say, *good riddance*. But we — and that include Johnson, are only human. In basketball, Johnson was pure magic, super human.

What would the world have done without such equally talented players like the nonpareil Michael Jordan, Hakeem Olajuwon, Karl Marlowe, Pat Ewing and the "air-apparent" David Robinson? Magic is 32. He joined the Los Angeles Lakers in 1979 after leading his Michigan State University to that year's collegiate title. He single handedly brought back fans to the terraces with his magical plays that refused to wane before this callousness. He with Kareem Abdul Jabbar led Lakers to 5 titles out of the 12 finals they reached. He has won the most coveted award of Most Valuable Player, MVP three times. And most painful is that he was selected to appear for the US Olympics team in Barcelona next year.

What will happen to the Lakers? An insight: out of the three games of the season so far, Lakers are still looking for a win. *Where is the magic of Johnson?*



*Magic: doing what he knows best*

By Rabi Bard

ADAMU ADAMU S

DEFINITIONS  
IN HUMOUR



# Hello Gram

**H**ello! hello!! Are you still there? I left you in the hologram weeks ago but since everything is interconnected with every other thing I need not remind you of where we left-off — if we really did, since it would appear even the other things we discussed are different aspects of the same super hologram.

Yesterday my intention was to write about those readers of my other column who have really pestered me that I must put another — any other — picture on the column because the one that appears there looks like a "condemned armed robber." Some even go to the extent of saying that I don't look like me. Ha! ha!! I think I do.

Concerning the armed robber bit, I think readers should first wait until the day I go to meet my maker. If that day arrives and I am not robbing people then they can rest assured I am not one. Honesty in Nigeria (yes repeat, Nigeria, NIGERIA) ought never to be assumed.

But come to think of it, who is there better off than a condemned armed robber? I guess he is the only guy in the country with any measure of certainty. He is sure he is tied to a stake. And he is sure he will be shot — that is, if he doesn't accidentally escape. All others don't have the confidence the stakes give. But we are all condemned and we shall sooner or later find out how straight and sure the armed robber shoots. We are all waiting to be robbed or shot, aren't we?

The shot of course will be con-

ected to our hologram, since everything is interconnected with every other thing. If, as we said before, concrete reality is but an illusion, it follows that the brain is not the one creating our consciousness. Rather, Talbot said, it is consciousness that creates the appearance of the brain and

every physical manifestation of the outside world.

According to him, such a turn-about will, for instance, greatly transform our understanding of diseases, medicine and the healing process. If consciousness determines how we see the physical world or indeed how it is constituted, our "state of mind" will play a part in how we feel and manage diseases. Diseases may therefore result from faulty consciousness. Now, I begin to see how prayer can heal, do you?

[Series on hologram based on The Universe as Hologram by Michael Talbot, an article in New York's Village Voice (22/9/87) which I read and almost memorised while a student there].

## Take no logy

If there are jokers in the pack, there will probably be an equal member of jokers, sometimes even more. To find out you must take a census, my dear, census of a different sort. Visit any of our universities, pore over the records of the past 10 or 20 years and note in particular the graduating engineers. You'll be shocked.

Here's what a typical alumni record will look like — if it exists. Of the fortunes of the 50 engineers who graduated from XYZ University 20 years ago:

\* 15 signed up with NEPA and for the past 20 years have been providing electrical darkness to various Nigerian cities.

\* 10 went overseas and came back with MBA's two of which were

genuine, eight of which were purchased. Naturally they didn't pick up the chalk on their return (may their fingers be preserved — if they got the fleece, they must now get the golden). Nor would they pick up the tool box. They all picked up the teller and became bank executives — producing nothing, consuming everything. Financial intermedialion my foot!

\* 3 took appointment with NITEL and made fortune out of the telephone business.

\* 15 trod the ministry ladder from pupil to chief engineer. At last they dropped all pretences — and became directors-general. They never did anything engineering. Well perhaps they did — paper engineering which, like a paper tiger, has nothing to do with the real thing.

\* 5 have been behind bars for the past five years. Every class, willy nilly, has its unlucky oafs who get caught.

Only 2 are real, tested engineers, but it was not their fault.

They didn't get admission to read MBA. They never got posted to juicy posts. They were in no position to purchase certificates or get into banking. So they took up appointment with foreign construction companies — and they were made to work.

You can therefore see that it wasn't their fault. If not because of these bloody foreigners they would have been typical Nigerians.

## Executives

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**CEO** — Cheap Executive Officer or Chief Executing Officer. When cheap, he is a good executive. When chief, he is an executioner, good only at executing the innocent.

**NEPA** — I see little wrong with NEPA; I see everything wrong with Nigerians who steal a transformer and expect to see light all the time.

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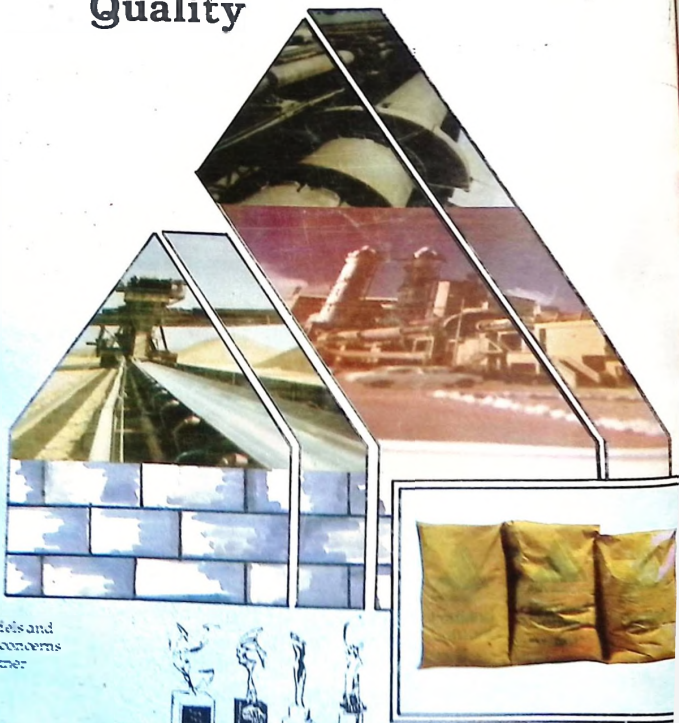
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