

PRELUDE TO THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE

JAN. 3 — 9, 1994. VOL. 5 NO. 1

RST

# Citizen

PEOPLE AND SOCIETY

N30

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# YEARBOOK '93

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Jan. 3, — Jan 9, 1994

Vol. 5 No. 1



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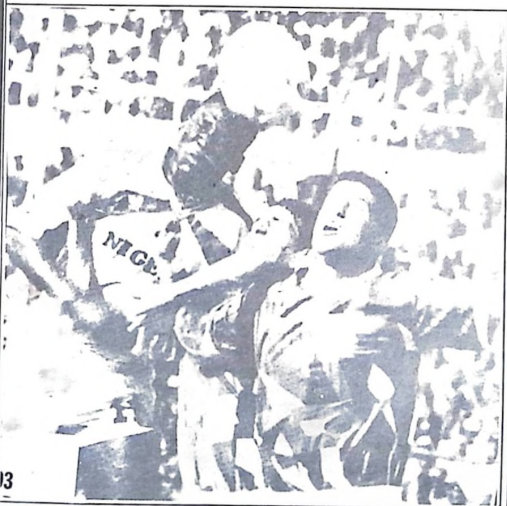
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## FROM THE EDITOR

**T**he end of the year 1993 and the dawn of a new one is a period of stocktaking. Last year was indeed an eventful one. It will go down in history as the year in which we had three heads of state and crippling strikes. The unhealthy combination of political instability and industrial unrest held the economy firmly in its suffocating grip. Dwindling oil revenue made nonsense of the 63.3 billion Naira expected during the first half of the year. Revenue projection was made on 17.5 dollar per barrel of crude oil. By the last month of the year, the price of oil had fallen to the lowest in five years.

On the political scene, it was a year of dashed hopes and the landscape was littered with cancellation of the presidential election, the dissolution of democratic structures and the return of the military. There were several political casualties as many heavy weights fell by the roadside of

the windy Option A4 method of electing contestants.

Through all these, the judiciary put itself on trial as several political cases it handled dented its image. From the politics chapter came the Association for Better Nigeria, ABN, and the Justice Bassey Ikpeme verdict that the elections should not hold on June 11. Ofcourse, another Judge stopped the National Electoral Commission from announcing the results.

The year could be described as a jinxed year for this country but it did not end without a silver lining, the Golden Eagles won FIFA/Under 17 World Cup. We capture all these in our Images of 1993, compiled by our team of reporters. May 1994 be a better one for us all. Happy and prosperous New Year to our readers.

*Bilkisu Yusuf*

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## LETTERS

### Open letter to Abacha

Sir,

The disastrous eight year administration of military leadership of General Ibrahim Babangida is admittedly a clear example of defending, maintaining and upholding a system based on social and political injustice.

But given the circumstances that led you to take the mantle of leadership, one can not rule out the possibility of you transforming yourself into another Murtala or Buhari and hence transforming the military institution to side with the collective interest and aspiration of Nigerian people. To be able to do this, it will be necessary to focus attention on measures that will make it possible for every Nigerian to buy food and other essential commodities at affordable prices. Your regime must not shy away from dealing with economic saboteurs no matter how highly placed.

Both Murtala and Buhari registered tremendous success in tackling the menace of prohibitive prices of food items and other essential commodities and economic saboteurs. They succeeded in establishing a disciplined society despite all the noise against their regimented posturings.

**Tukur U. Muhammad**  
Scholarship Board, Sokoto

### Before the rotational presidency

Sir,

Majority of Nigerians share the same idea and have similar view on the central leadership of this our great nation.

Many people, including my humble self, think that we can only achieve a lasting political solution in this country if we come to the unanimous agreement to rotate the presidency. The country should be divided into four zones. (1) North North, (2) South East (3) Middle Belt

(4) South West. I am strongly of the opinion that the next civilian president should come from one of the Southern zones for a start.

For a start, there should be at the centre the president, supported by two vice presidents coming from two of the remaining three zones then the secretary to the federal government should come from the fourth zone. Or three vice presidents one each from the remaining three zones then the president should be allowed to pick anybody he likes as the secretary to the federal government. We should stop using the ruling party chairman as the fourth strong man. The party should also evolve the method of equal representations.

That method, if adopted will give every part of the country a sense of belonging and feeling of equal representation in the scheme of things.

An aspirant is elected either because he is acceptable by his people who happened to be in the majority or due to his popularity without where he comes from. June 12, 1993 election is the typical example; Bashorun MKO Abiola was voted for nationwide due to his popularity.

This shows that the north has no monopoly over anything in Nigeria. It has only been ruling Nigeria due to the popularity of the candidates it has been producing and nothing more.

Nigerians depend on each other for survival. The north provides foodstuff, beef, electricity, protein etc, while the south provides fruits, pal oil and petroleum products.

**Mohammed A. Bida Esq.**  
Minna, Niger State

### Re: More bad news for MKO

Sir,

One is at a loss whether Chief Abiola contested the June 12 election as an independent candidate or on the platform of Social Democratic Party, SDP. For if he contested as an independent candidate then all the

noise he has been making regarding June 12 is on the right track. But if he contested on the platform of SDP, then he lost the battle long before the 57 senators met in Enugu to back the Interim National Government.

His failure became eminent the moment the SDP executive members participated in the arrangement that gave birth to the Interim National Government.

**Baba M. Baba**  
Jebba, Kwara State

### To probe or not to probe

Sir,

It seems that some of our "dignitaries" have not only legalised corruption but also endorse it. Any patriotic Nigerian will be disheartened to see how an ex-governor of former Kaduna State and others are trying by all means to prevent the probing of the members of the defunct Katsina state house of assembly.

It is now time for those parasitic "dignitaries" who believe in sucking the blood of the masses to realise and accept the fact that our treasury has been looted by unpatriotic and selfish elements of the society. Any further looting will bring the country on its knees.

Probing the politicians is the only way to check and balance our politics. Our politicians are corrupt and people are no longer coming into politics to help build the country but only to "build" themselves. They consider public funds lawful and worth stealing. They also commit all sorts of atrocities with our wealth for they are one hundred per cent sure that nobody will probe them. The Katsina state police commissioner, Alhaji Hamisu Ali Jos deserves commendation of well-meaning Nigerians for this patriotic act. Let him probe them all and punish anybody found guilty of looting the public treasury.

**Yusuf Ibrahim Gwanda**  
Katsina

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 Unguwar Kanawa, PMB 2334, Kaduna. The Editor reserves the right to edit, publish or reject all letters.

# SEASON'S GREETINGS



May joy, love and peace  
of the Almighty God  
be yours not only during  
this Christmas but  
throughout the New Year.

MERRY CHRISTMAS  
AND  
HAPPY NEW YEAR

FROM:-

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## POLITICS

# Three heads in one year

**G**eneral Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida promised to quit the presidency on August 27, but two months to the day, he annulled the presidential election, an act that plunged the country into political crisis. Two weeks to D-day, the general was still sending confusing signals with his offer to "step aside" as his "own personal sacrifice." On August 26, he left for Minna.



Babangida: "stepped aside"

**C**hief Ernest Adegunde Shonekan became the first Nigerian leader who neither won an election nor carried out a coup. But his 82-day tenure was a troubled one, with the economy in



Shonekan: troubled reign



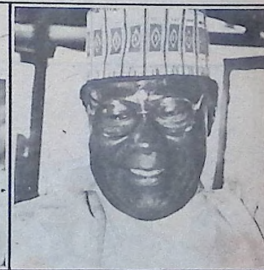
Abacha: the survivor

**G**eneral Sani Abacha carried out his third palace coup in ten years on November 17. Long suspected to be nursing an ambition to become head of state, this cat-with-nine-lives survived the revolving-door personnel policy of General Babangida and remained behind as defence secretary of the Interim National Government, which he finally overthrew. Now he presides over a go-slow administration, appropriately, in Lagos.

steep decline, a part of the country in open revolt and the loyalty of the military brass in doubt. On November 17, at the request of the brass, Shonekan resigned and left for Lagos.

## First, the transitional...

**T**he 32-member Transitional Council, inaugurated by President Babangida on January 2 to justify the eight-month extension of military rule, ended up being dwarfed by the all-powerful president, who had promised to withdraw to the background. The council failed to revive the economy, complete projects, end the Liberian military adventure or successfully conclude the transition programme, as it was asked to do. On August 26, it went with the president.



Mbu and Okene: members

# hen, the interim...



ING: hasty departure

# Now, the provisional...

**T**he... of... with... on... the... of the... Council... to... period... to...?



Provisional Ruling Council

# D-day itself

**J**une 12. No Nigerian will forget that a long time. No day probably ever appeared in print as

many times. not October 1, 1960, not January 15, 1966, not February 13, 1976, not December 31, 1993, perhaps not even "the year 2,000."



Each one... that couldn't produce the president

# Flash in a pan

**C**... the year... in a... pen... clinched... on to... widely... believed... June 12... but his... President... his "sacred... in September... Government... cept the Provisional Government.



# Showman with the long NEC

**P**rofessor... regarded Nigeria to be a big political laboratory. Over



Nwosu... four years... open ballot... primary... and Option A... government... and funded... and said he was... by politi...

# Peering into the abyss

**G**overnment itself called it the "political impasse." It was the country's worst political crisis since the civil war. People fled to their hometowns in droves. There were strikes, sit-at-home protests and riots in some cities. There was open talk of a break-up and dire threats that "no region has a monopoly of blackmail." It took another military coup to contain it.



Riot scene in Lagos: our lot in 1993

## The Trojan horse cometh

**C**hief Francis Arthur Nzeribe pushed and pushed to get "four more years" for President Babangida through the activities of the Association for Better Nigeria, ABN. The Oguta chief said 25 million Nigerians signed a petition for IBB to stay on, but no one has seen the signatures yet.



Nzeribe: slippery

## He fell, he rose

**D**r. Iorchia Ayu's dogged support for the "June 12 mandate" cost him his exalted position as Senate president. On November 2, after reconvening from long recess, the Senate voted to declare Ayu's seat vacant even though he was sitting on it at that moment. Later that month, he resurfaced as minister of education.



Ayu: triumphant come back

## How tough was tough?

**A**lhaji Bashir Tofa, proclaiming himself "tougher" than the tough times, managed to shrug off allegations of shady oil



Tofa: how tough

deals and clinched the NRC presidential ticket in March. But, did he campaign hard, or was he, as some now allege, a stalking horse for the military? How tough was Tofa, if he couldn't win in Kano?

# Governors are gone

**T**hey served only half of their mandated tenure. Some were colourful and erudite. Others were dour and ponderous. At least one kicked up the dust of

controversy. Still others were accused of misappropriating state funds. In one fell swoop on November 18, they were sacked.



Onu: colourful and erudite



Lere: dour



Michika: controversial



Osoba: dynamic

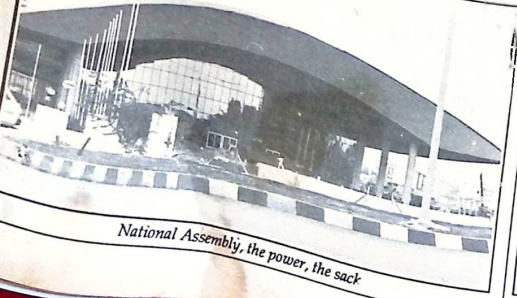
## Now you see it, now you don't

**A**fter President Babangida delivered his valedictory address in August, National Assembly members launched into a celebration because the 29 no-go

areas were gone. The Senate and the House never got round to exercise the power. On November 18, all 684 of them were sacked.

## One year overdue

**L**ocal government councils elected in 1990 were due to go in 1992, but the former president gave them one more year. In October, the ING dissolved them to prepare grounds for new elections. Most of the councils were accused of having failed to perform while in office, though there were a few shining examples.



National Assembly, the power, the sack



Tanko:

## Theatres of the absurd

**U**ntil November 18, there were 31 legislatures in the country. Rather than enact laws, though, many of them dissolved in chaos, broke maces, traded punches and impeached speakers.



*Legislators in action*



*Ahmed: any third chance?*

## Life after eclipse

**M**ost members of the new federal executive council are having at least a second shot at political power. Many were governors in the Second Republic. Many others were former ministers or other prominent officials. At least four had once been jailed by military tribunals.



## The jackboots are back

**T**hirty military administrators were appointed in December to take charge of the states. Unlike the ministers, the administrators are unknown figures. But already the jackboot style is back, including locking up offices at 7.30 am to determine late comers.



*Jakande, Rimi, Ciroma and Okilo: old guards*

## PEOPLE &amp; SOCIETY

# Junk sensation, junk liars...

**T**he year 1993 saw a booming trade of intrusive journalism with lies hatched by **Tempo**

many soft sell publications, popularly known as junk magazines distorting out lies as truth. The result are fat

**Tribune**

libel cases floating in many court Former information minister Comrade Uche Chukwumerije incurred the wrath of junk publications *Prime People* magazine said cook vanished with 2.7 million Naira Chukwumerije has sued the publication for libel demanding 20 million Naira as damages.

**Fame**

**Babangida  
plans to  
take a second wife**

**Babangida  
attacked**

**Osoba's  
numerous  
cars**

*Carried false tales about Babangida's plan to take a second wife*

*Like junk, Tribune sold the lie that Babangida was attacked at the Minna Friday Mosque. IBB said its all lies. The man who held his hand in a prolonged handshake was, 22 year old Courage Anyenopua Samson Nadah from the Bachama ethnic group of Adamawa state. Nobody attacked me and the last time I hit anyone was in 1964 when I was a junior officer.*

*Carried the lie about the numerous cars of Chief Segun Osoba former governor of Ogun State. Osoba went to court and sued Fame for 20 million but finally agreed to an out-of-court settlement.*



**Babangida: maligned**



**Osoba: they lied**

## ...and fake prophecies

At the beginning of every year, the seers, parapsychologists, prophets and crystal ball gazers make predictions about what the future holds in stock for the new year. The year 1993 was no exception. The noise makers among the "prophets" of predictions

—Iyorchia Ayu may lose his seat.

### Inaccurate guesses

— United Nation will include Nigeria in Security Council as a permanent member.

— Legislators will perform well.  
For Professor Godspower

Gabriel Okunzua went on a philosophical plane and the result was the philosophical -mumbo jumbo of inaccuracies.

— More money will flow in 1993.

— Economy will begin to recover.

— Economy will be better than 1992.

None of these "super human" seers told us about the arrival of



Olabayo: what manner of seer?

make their public so how accurate were they. Primate Theophilus Olabayo, the founder of the Evangelical Church of Yahweh served us with the following predictions in May 1993. *Accurate guess work* "Efforts will be made to form an interim or national government — confusion will lead to its demise. Moshood Abiola will win but will be denied victory.

### Accurate guesses

— Babangida will go in 1993.



Okunzua: evasive

Oyewole, the predictions highlighted the following:

— A civilian president will emerge in 1993.

— He will be from the northern zone.

— Two presidential finalists will be from the northern zone.

— Exchange rate will hover between 20 to 25 Naira per dollar and between 40 to 45 Naira per each pound sterling.

High level parapsychologist Dr.



Oyewole: show of shame

Sani Abacha. Nobody mentioned dissolution of the legislative houses, the sacking of governors or the capture and confinement for 40 days of Private Umaru Shantali, 20, by Somali militia. How far a field do they really see into the future of junk prophecies and charlatans.



Shantali: Unforeseen capture

## BOOKS

Several books came unto the newsstands. They ranged from hagiographies to memoirs, essays and historical researches. Some are Ngozi Anyaegbunam's *Waziri Ibrahim: Politics Without Bitterness*, Philip Asodu's *Essays on Nigerian Political Economy*, Kofo Olugbesan's *Smuggling Crime and the Law* and Alkasum Abba's

*The Politics of Aminu Kano*. Rev Hassan Kuka's *Religion, Politics and Power in Northern Nigeria*, Zafar Khan's *A new companion to the study of language and literature*, Dr. F. Obatomi's *The General at Works and Housing*, Professor Chukwedu Nwokolo's *Science for Survival and Freddie Iwenjora's Ragged Humour*. The Nobel prize for literature was won by African-American, Toni Morrison.

## NNPC stinks...

**B**lows of Naimi disapproval and the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) has long been a hot topic. The 100-page report by the late Sen. Ernest Shikoff, NNPC group chairman, and its other top management staff were largely ignored or overlooked for 10 months.

When Sen. Shikoff resigned the position, senior group members, including Shikoff, were told to "close their mouths" and not discuss the report. Shikoff's resignation was "not a political statement," he said. "The group's management has been good, but the matter has not been resolved and the corporation remains..."



Disasters where are the millions?



Estiebet fighting corruption?

## ...Justice minister stays put

**T**he new Attorney General and the new Justice Minister, Chief Justice Obaseki, have been named in the 1999. The new Justice Minister is the former minister and is still pending if the Supreme Court will hear his appeal against his conviction for receiving \$20,000 when he sold her land.

Obaseki T.O.S Benson, a minister of information in the Third Republic, is a Senior Advocate of Nigeria (SAN). said Onagorawa should not be accepted to serve as attorney-general. Chief Benson said someone with a pending criminal case is unfit for ethical reasons to serve as justice minister. Onagorawa says he has no case to answer and intends to sit tight into the new year. And the struggle continues.

## Basket mouth of the year

**F**ormer information minister and director National Sports Commission, N.S.C. Chief Alex Akinwale summed the hottest pot when he alleged that he bribed Lagos sports writers to assist him sports administrator but became their whipping boy when he stopped giving them brown envelopes. The journalists are still calling for his head although he has lost his job.

By Bakken Yusuf



Benson's it's wrong

Onagorawa's it's okay



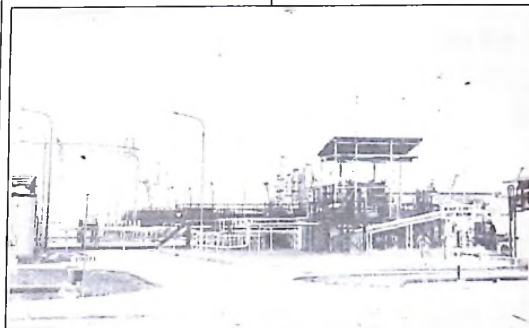
Akinwale's mouth is the year

## DISASTERS

## Recurring fires, silent probes

**A**pril 15 is a day the occupants of the Independence building in Lagos are not likely to forget. They were busy carrying on with their lives when smoke started billowing out from what seemed to be nowhere. That was Thursday. By Friday afternoon, the fire that consumed Nigeria's first multi-storey edifice, a 25-storey building built at independence, had fizzled out, but thick whiffs of smoke were still spiralling from the windows of the top most floors. It's no ordinary building; it housed the ministry of defence. The cause of the fire may never be known. Then vice president Augustus Aikhomu, after inspecting the scene ruled out any act of sabotage and given the history of public probes in this country, that probably is the end of the matter.

It was not the only major fire that drew public attention in 1993. In July, two fires occurred at the embattled Kaduna Refinery at a time when states in the north were facing acute shortage of petroleum prod-



*Kaduna Refinery: two fires a coincidence?*

ucts. On July 9, the Fluid Catalytic Cracking Unit, FCC, of the refinery was burnt down. It is suspected that the main fractionator bottom line to the evacuating pump got blocked with oil/catalyst sludge; the attempt to free it led to the fire, but the raised political atmosphere at the time made it difficult to separate fact from fiction. Moreover, barely 48 hours

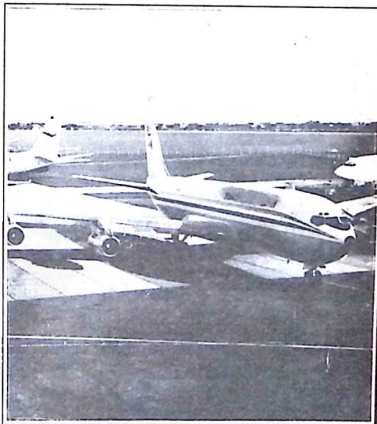
later, another section of the refinery caught fire. If the first fire was due to negligence, this second fire occurred as a result of criminal neglect if not

criminal intent. The fire destroyed most data relating to operations of the refinery. Soon, it became clear that something was definitely wrong. It appeared that senior officials had been very nepotistic in awarding contracts for the maintenance of the refinery. It was the attempt to destroy the evidence that resulted in the unfortunate fire.

## Hijacking: a new crime...

**N**igerians woke up to the shock of the first hijacking right at home Monday, October 25. "Good Morning Abuja", the unofficial code name of the 7 AM flights from Lagos to Abuja, had been hijacked to Niamey, the Nigerian capital with 137 passengers. The Nigeria Airways airbus A31055N—AUNH was hijacked a fringe group known appropriately as MAD — movement for the advancement of democracy whose intended destination was Frankfurt, Germany. They demanded for investigation into corruption, the death of Dele Giwa, destruction of economic and democratic political culture, abrogation of decrees N043 and 48 which proscribed some newspapers, the handing over of power the national assembly, and the installation of

Chief M.K.O. Abiola as president. After four days of negotiation, the four young men aged between 17 and 31, were forcibly apprehended by Nigerian security forces and the hostages, some of whom had been allowed to leave by the hijackers, were freed. The action of the hijackers was not seriously condemned at home partly because it was seen at the time as beneficial to certain political interests. The four are expected to be tried in Niger.



*The hijacked plane*

## ...Violence

The year witnessed a dramatic increase in crime, especially, violent and organised crime. It became brazen, desperate, sophisticated and unmerciful. Assassination and forcible theft

## as a means

of property and goods became the order of the day. Robbers set up road blocks to rob and extort money from wayfarers. In Rivers State alone, a joint army-police operation resulted in the deaths of 40 armed

## ...When words fail

Despite the usual exchange of pleasantries and gifts in the season of goodwill, 1993 exposed the inability of man to match words with good deeds and actions. Thus, in many instances, in Taraba, Rivers, Lagos and Kaduna states, man resorted to his animal instinct to make a point, in a painful way. On Tuesday, January 19, members of the infamous Maitatsine, which has caused death and destruction in

and its inhabitants either killed or displaced. Several and different efforts to bring to an end this senseless war, which had escalated by the day, seemed to work only for a while. It became even more dangerous when security forces sent in to restore peace began to take sides. The Itsekiri and the Urhobo communities who have been living together for centuries decided that one was cheating the other and the only way to settle this

robbers and the arrest of 60 others. Even more frightening, the remotest parts of Nigeria for the first time began to experience. Efforts by the police and the army proved too little and too late. This is partly because some of them have been found to be allies of the robbers.

under the guise of democracy, invoked fear, intimidation and blackmail. On a number of occasions residents of the areas were forced to stay at home to support the campaign. At one time, the area, particularly Lagos, became so ungovernable that the then governor, Chief Michael Otedola, had to call in the army. The resultant clash left a number of dead. Property worth millions of Naira were looted and destroyed, millions of man hours were lost, not to mention revenue. The Lagos State government could not pay its workers for months as a result.

## ...Students cash in

Student clashes, mainly as a result of cult activities also claimed lives as rival cult members clashed to sort themselves out. The year witnessed an unprecedented emergence of secret cults and brazen confrontations with the authorities and among themselves. One notable incident was the clash between students of the University of Ibadan and Ibadan Polytechnic in which a student was killed. The university students claimed that they wanted the polytechnic students to join them in protesting the return of the military. The underlying reason, as the police later found out, was cult rivalry.

On March 29, students of the University of Jos abandoned their lectures to join a rally in sympathy over the death of a fellow student, Franklin Ike, the previous day. Ike, a medical student, was murdered in cold blood in mysterious circumstances. His blood soaked body was found in the students' hostel. He had been to a party in town and returned to the hostel with a lady. Shortly afterward, screams were heard. Colleagues suspected that he



Demonstrators on the rampage

Kano, Borno, former Gongola, Bauchi and Kaduna states, struck in Funtua, Katsina State and for four days, unleashed terror on the people. The violence resulted in yet another round of death and destruction of property. It officially left 35 persons dead.

Then on Monday, May 17, the next bloody chapter in the Tiv/Jukun/Kuteb "war" in Wukari and surroundings reached its boiling point when whole villages were ransacked

was to fight it out. The consequence was death, destruction and hardships.

June witnessed a new dimension in the spiralling rate of social tension as the political south-west of Nigeria was consumed by sporadic violence and upheavals in the wake of the annulment of the June 12 presidential elections in which Chief M.K.O. Abiola, a prominent son of the area, claimed to have won. The violence which was perpetrated



*A house razed down in Dena in Andoni*

had been trailed to there by people he met at the party. Secondary school children were not left out in the season of violent protests. On March 16, the Abia State government announced an increase in the fees for library, laboratory, sports, science education and continuous assessment from 64 to 150 Naira. The students did not like it one bit. They took to the streets and ransacked shops and burnt kiosks.

However if there is a star prize for violence, it would have to be shared between the Ogoni and Andoni communities in Rivers State. The "ethnic" skirmishes which have been raging for years, blew into a full war with the loss of over 1,000 lives.

Zamani Lekwot, a retired Major General, and six of his kinsmen who were convicted for their involvement in the massacre of Hausas in Zangon Kataf had their sentences commuted to a year's prison term by former president Ibrahim Babangida in the last days of his departure from office. The decision was not pleasing to all parties. The Katafs said he did not commit any offence to warrant the death sentence passed on him; the Hausa community said government should have carried out the sentence. If the commutal of the sentences attracted varying degrees of responses, that of the remaining ten "kid" robbers by the Lagos State government in January attracted praise. Two of the original 12 "kids" did not live to see freedom again; they died in detention. The "kid"

robbers were sentenced to death for armed robbery although the ground for conviction was discredited.

## ...The silent killer

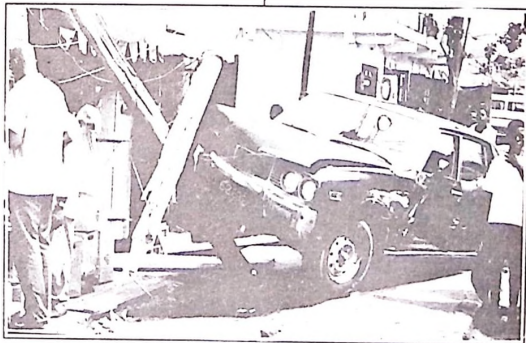
Road accident is a major cause of death in Nigeria. Between 1960 and 1988, it claimed well over 154,000 lives. In 1993, it maintained this enviable record of depopulating Nigeria. The situation was made even worse increasing appearance of potholes on most

injured.

A more grievous disaster visited Plateau State in March when an Aba-bound luxury bus collided with a Jos-bound Toyota pick-up van 40 kilometres from Lafia and exploded into a ball of fire. No fewer than 60 passengers, including a staff of *Today* newspaper, lost their lives.

The narrow Ilorin-Ogbomosho highway recorded a major disaster on June 6 when a Toyota commuter bus from a Kano rammed into another bus on a narrow bridge leaving 20 persons dead. Another incident at Dan-Daura, a village near Pambegua on the Kaduna-Jos road claimed 18 lives. This time a Jos-bound bus of the Kwara Express collided with a Kaduna-bound Peugeot J5 bus.

Many other roads and the parlous state of the economy which has pushed the cost of spare parts far beyond the reach of commercial transport operators did not spare passengers. No fewer than 48 persons were feared dead on the Oyo-Iseyin road in October when a com-



*An accident scene: careless driving or poor roads*

major roads. Not surprisingly, many more Nigerians perished. On February 8, a fully-loaded molue, the notorious Lagos commuter bus, caught fire on the IBB Bridge. By the time the fire subsided on the bus no fewer than 25 commuters had been burnt beyond recognition. If this was not enough, 95 others were seriously

injured. Yet another tragedy struck in Ilorin on November 7, when 30 passengers, mostly students of the Kwara State Polytechnic lost their lives in an accident on the Oyon bridge on the Ilorin-Jebba road.

*By Mohammed Bomo and Manir Dan-Ali*

LABOUR

# Strikes and unrest

**W**ith the benefit of hindsight, those who declared 1992, the year of strike should have held their peace as the succeeding year, 1993, is now remembered for its many strikes and work stoppage in both the public and private sector.

The incessant strikes were not limited to the Academic Staff Union of Universities and their non-academic counterparts who between

campaign for Democracy, an umbrella organisation of urban based pro-democracy groups, gained notoriety for its stay at home campaign in support of the June 12 election. The campaign was to some extent effective in cities of the south-west and it provided an excuse for many banks to close their doors thereby affecting their customers, business and well being.

Fearful of being left out of the fad, the lethargic Nigerian Labour Congress called out its members to strike on, first the need for parity in pay between federal workers and others at other levels of government. Success in that endeavour goaded the labour movement to call for another strike on June 12 and other related matters in September. Even when the umbrella organisation, the NLC called off the limited strike action, an affiliated gas workers carried on with their paralysing action for almost a week before it was suspended.

The year also witnessed strikes by doctors, nurses, lawyers, etc. It was a relief that even with the reported

non payment of their salary for three months in October, the Nigerian Police Force did not consider the strike option.

1993 also witnessed unprecedented shortage of petroleum products throughout the country but more so in some parts of it. In the north the absence of products at normal outlets was a fact in life throughout the year. And in a typical fashion, neither the "faceless" smuggler, black marketers, distributors or tongue in the cheek NNPC



Jega, ASUU president

officials would carry the can. The government was more interested in appropriately pricing petroleum products.

After a costly media and other forms of campaigns, the nation eventually woke up to a 600 per cent hike in the pump price of petroleum products on November 6. The Nige-



Bafyau: one strike too many

them and a wilful education minister ensured that students stayed at home for most of the year. At the end of it all few people even toasted to the cessation of hostilities in September when most campuses resumed with others left under lock and key.

For those whom matters affecting the education of our future leaders is of little consequence, strikes by bank workers had them worried as, for weeks on end, they were greeted by locked gates. The Cam-



Ogbemudia: another year of strike?

ria Labour Congress and other sections of the society condemned the move and the labour union went further by calling its members out on a strike. Like other mass actions, the strike call had fewer followership in areas outside the south-west. Earlier in the year, airlines had announced a 500 per cent hike in fares after a hike in the price of aviation fuel.

# The collapse of the economy

It has been much talk and less action on how to revive the economy

**N**othing shows the contrast between grammar and reality more starkly than the economy. While for some the area of concern is that of grammatical intangibles such as GDP, capacity utilisation, recurrent expenditure and Naira value, for the majority the issue is more basic — it is how to get



Ogwuma: CBN governor

lunch or dinner. In 1993 many in Nigeria didn't get either. And they are not about to do so any time soon.

Not long ago Nigeria was in the big league — big earnings, big spending. While many a nation lay prostrate at the gates of the International Monetary Fund begging for loans and credit, Nigeria was having trouble spending its full till fast enough. The problem that confronted General Yakubu Gowon and his super permanent secretaries was how to spend money.

They didn't have so far to look. Those who succeeded then suc-

ceeded where they failed; they found a way. Soon the till was empty; and it turned into a bowl, and the government picked it up. It had been panhandling ever since. From the dizzying heights of affluence it sank to the dazed depths of penury. Today it is among the 10 poorest countries on earth, by almost all the indices of the quality of life.

Once, in a situation of premeditated triviality, former President Ibrahim Babangida made an eloquent observation that must remain unbeatable in saying the ultimate about Nigeria's economy. "I don't know why the Nigerian economy has still not collapsed", he said, leaving you feeling as if he had been waiting for it to do just that.

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**Professor Sam Aluko knows why it hasn't collapsed. It can't, he says, because it is primitive. A primitive economy cannot collapse because there is nothing "to collapse"**

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But that is just the point. You wonder why the economy is there at all. Professor Sam Aluko knows why it hasn't collapsed. It can't, he says,



Ahmed: former CBN governor

because it is primitive. A primitive economy cannot collapse because there is nothing "to collapse".

Obviously the true economy in our context has little time for formality and is full of native resilience cushioned on all sides by nature against shocks that can devastate stock exchanges, commodities and currency markets. Still there is no armour against the vagaries of neglect. And in 1993 the Nigerian economy seemed to have been all but abandoned as all attention focused on the problem created by the annulment of the June 12 election.

The Organised Private Sector, OPS, lamented on this sad situation in a statement during the year's last quarter. "While we can see strenuous effort being made to solve the political problem, the economy appears to have been abandoned", the OPS said, and it went ahead to list problems that desperately needed but didn't get attention.

The economy in 1993 was in real danger of collapse, according to the OPS. It blamed the political crisis that engulfed the nation following the annulment of the June 12 election. In the domestic sector this created an atmosphere of insecurity in the whole country leading to liquidity squeeze as depositors withdrew money from banks. Demand for goods and services dropped as customers destocked leading to inventory build-ups and lower capacity



million Naira into government — or private — coffers.

In 1992 the current account slipped into deficit despite government's declared intention of posting a surplus. This year it has slipped by an even greater percentage, a good indication of the operator's penchant for macro-economic mismanagement.

This streak may ultimately make it impossible for the country to ever extricate itself from the debt noose. According to the *Financial Times*, the situation of the country's debt management is a source of concern and deep puzzle for its international creditors.

"Nigeria has no chance of sustaining non-inflationary growth unless it is granted debt relief on concessional terms," the *Times* said, "but the government's recent track record is so poor that granting debt relief may well mean throwing good money after bad." The domestic front was not better.

All through 1993 the Central Bank of Nigeria gave the picture of an institution battling to bring down the liquidity in the system. It was a false picture. Throughout that period it was also busy printing paper money to finance government's extrabudgetary expenditure. And what it took away through the Stabilisation Securities went back into the system through finance houses and other non-bank financial institutions.

There is also the fact that a bigger part of transactions don't go through the banking system at all. Rural people and many rural-minded city dwellers trust their pillows more than any bank manager, and, even if they could go to the bank, they wouldn't when they contemplate the "trouble" of spending hours in order to be able to spend their money. In addition, hundreds of millions of Naira exchanged hands during politics and drug barons probably transferred nothing less to launder through the banks, or else buy up properties.

The proliferation of banks continued. Within six years the number of banks had more than doubled to 120 while the number of branches almost trebled from 1394 in 1986 to 3116 in 1993. In addition, at the beginning of the year at least 300 community banks, more than 120 primary mortgage finance institutions, 48 finance houses and at least 30 bureaux de change had come into existence.

All and more to come have been attracted to this profitable and unproductive financial intermediating



Osayameh: bankers' boss

sector. While CBN's prudential guidelines that stopped the declaration of paper profits had reduced the mind-boggling figures, it didn't dislodge the sector from its leading position. But the stress has shown in the more than 20 banks that have been classified as in great distress. And if Nigeria wants to tidy up its financial system this is the time to allow them to kiss the earth.

And if the financial regulatory authorities have any intention of waking up from this irresponsible sleep of neglect they should allow what they themselves have coined in then name of market force. The so-called Open Market Operations which took off during the year should be allowed to influence the system. It is said to be scientific and can mop up more efficiently than the stabilisation option; and this way it can help determine the reserves held by banks. This in turn influences banks' power to create credit and what to charge for it.

Meanwhile some federal establishments have been reported unable to pay salaries. While this is bad news for government and the affected workers, it can be good news for the banking system. With the open market operation and the prudential guidelines on, many of what are actually only "foreign exchange shops" must fold up. The market will indeed come to the



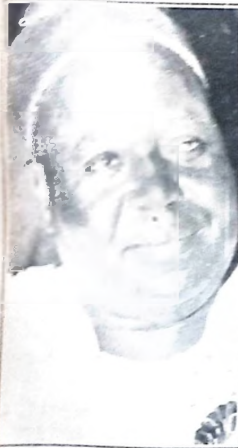
Aluko: Our economy is primitive

banks in the New Year hopefully.

Throughout 1993 the Nigerian factor was at work.

By mid-year more than 5,000 cases of ATB had been reported in the Presidential Task Force set up to investigate them. Most of them of course are not women. But the Nigerian businessman and the Nigerian traveller had to put up with very humiliating indignities at airports around the world in this account. Today the Nigerian is either seen as a drug peddler or a petty trader, or many years ahead of western crime fighters.

The news released by the World Bank certainly confirms the allegations of William Kelling, a Financial Times correspondent, that the two



Alhaji: once in control

billion dollars; would fall reaped as a result of the Persian Gulf conflict had been misappropriated didn't help matters.

At home the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation itself was torched on July 7. Its fluid catalytic cracking unit went up in flames exacerbating the fuel crisis that had become endemic in the north. Later, on different charges, six top officials were arrested and charged with

stealing 40 million dollars in what looked like resolve by the Ernest Shonekan-led interim government to fight corruption.

But just in case the nation was getting any funny ideas, Shonekan never said anything about the very obvious corruption in high places.

However, if Shonekan said nothing, the new government of General Abacha said only little, but it was enough. The government will not praise its predecessors, it said, because previous probes have only wasted time. It is, however, not impossible that the time will come when the people themselves will do the probe. Especially as the hardship 'bust' harder with fuel costing more at home and getting less revenue from outside.

In the third quarter of this year the Babangida administration in its dying minutes introduced a new grade of refined petroleum fuel costing 7.5 Naira per litre — a rise of more than 100 per cent on the super grade that sold 70 kobo per litre. This spurred the Nigerian Labour Congress whose members had been suffering rising transport costs and endless waits on queues at filling stations, to call on workers to strike. They did and the Interim National Government that succeeded Babangida had to withdraw the new product. But it was itself forced to raise the price this time to five Naira per litre still a rise of more than 700 per cent. Workers again threatened their ire and the strike was about to begin when General Sani Abacha took over and announced a reduction that finally proved acceptable to workers who, along with the rest of the country, had adopted a wait-and-see attitude to the not-so-new rulers.

On the international scene petroleum was very much in the news. And the news was not good. Prices kept tumbling down after OPEC failed to agree on production quotas. A barrel now sells for 13.45 dollars. The 1994 budget that will be announced in the new year was based on a barrel price of 17 dollars. The budget is already in crisis before it is announced. Other aspects of the



Falae: father of S&P

economy are already at death's door.

Nigeria's manufacturing sector is in a state of coma. And things are unlikely to change unless the government demonstrates seriousness in bringing sanity and stability in exchange rate and propping up the value of the Naira.

This must go up now or we all go down. So far the foreign exchange market management has been tailored such that demand is almost always more than 20 times supply. The result is inflation, higher interest rates and lower capacity utilisation. This, in many ways, makes manufacturing less attractive than trade, finance and supplies; and the economy itself uninviting to entrepreneurs. It rewards the wrong guys.

Today, the Nigerian economy is worse than the proverbial cynic. It knows not the price of many things and the value of everything. In 1993, not even banks could compare with the electoral process in the quantum and speed of rate of return. It has very few — or no — risks and it has very many bonuses. The only other more profitable engagement is drugs. What a sad commentary for a resilient and potentially great economy.

By Adamu Adamu

Citizen, January 3, 1994

## MILESTONES

It is of course impossible to document the many deaths that occurred in 1993. The year witnessed numerous conflicts around the world. Many of those who died in these tragedies hardly knew why; they just got sucked up, others did to defend their rights, freedom, religion, and as a matter of fact, their lives. Fortunately, at home, though there were threats to peace, there was remarkable decrease in open hostilities. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of the international scene. Many died in Bosnia Herzegovina, Somalia, the former Soviet Union, Liberia, Sudan, South Africa, America, Angola, Algeria and India. We concentrate on a few individuals whose lives, in one way or another, affected ours.

\* Alhaji Dauda Daura, the *Durbin Daura*, died in Kaduna on October 2. He was an educationist, Islamic scholar and administrator. Aged 81, the late *Durbi* served Kaduna and Katsina states in many capacities for 27 years. He is survived by three wives, his brother, Major General



*Durbin Daura*

Muhammudu Buhari, a former head of state and many children and grandchildren.

\* The founding editor of *Today's Choice*, a soft-sell magazine, Mr. Hakeem Ikandu, died at age 35 after a brief illness April 6.

\* Alhaji Muhammdo Carpenter, a former secretary to the North Western and Sokoto state govern-



**Carpenter**

ments and a one-time ambassador to Italy died. He was born at Argungu, in now Kebbi State in 1932 and was a personal assistant to the late premier, Alhaji Ahmadu Bello. He died in Tsafe in Sokoto State on December 26, 1992, but it was not widely reported until January 1993.

\* Sir Adetokunbo Ademola, 87, Nigeria's first home made chief justice who served for 14 years died Friday February 5. Called to the bar in 1934, Chief Ademola was a man devoted to the love of his life — the legal profession. He was the first



**Ademola**

Nigerian to be appointed to the colonial bench as a magistrate in 1939. Chief Ademola, GCON, was a judge who stood by the rule of law. The controversial 1973 census did not dent his image as a grand old man of the legal profession.

\* Ondo State finance commissioner in the aborted third republic, Chief Emmanuel Adeleje slumped and



**Ikandu**

died at Calabar Airport September 13. He was on his way home after attending a meeting of the federation allocation committee.

\* A distinguished scholar, Professor Halliru Binji died in Sokoto on October 22. The late Sheikh Halliru Binji, 72, was the Deputy Grand Khadi of Northern Region and the first Grand Khadi of the former North Western State between 1971—87. He was a visiting professor at the Faculty of Islamic Law at the Usman Dan Fodio University, UDU.

\* Another distinguished scholar, Dr. Muhtari Abdurrahman died October 18. Dr. Abdurrahman who for many years was in Egypt was a lecturer in Islamic studies at the Ahmadu Bello University, ABU, Zaria. He died while attending a religious conference in Cairo.

\* One of Nigeria's foremost female writers, Mrs. Flora Nwapa Nwaku, OON, died at the University of Nigeria Teaching Hospital, Enugu October 16 at the age of 62. An associate professor in creative writing at the University of Maiduguri, she was a commissioner in the former East Central State between 1970—75. She also served as a visiting lecturer in creative writing at Alvan Ikoku College of Education, Owerri in 1976. In 1986 she was made a member of the governing council of the University of Ilorin. However, she was better known for her writings. She authored 19 books among which are *Efuru* published in 1966, *Idu* 1971, *Emeka*, the

driver's guard 1972, Never Again 1975, Mammy Water 1979, and One is Enough in 1982. She is survived by her husband and three children.

\* Godwin Ironkwe, a veteran journalist, lost his life in a car accident in February. He was at the time of his death a senior editorial staff of the New Nigerian Newspapers Limited, a media organisation at home and abroad.

\* Chief Eyoma Ita Eyoma, a minister of state in the Shagari government died on June 21 in Calabar. A foreign affairs in the ministry of regime, Chief Eyoma died at the age



Nwapa

of 62. Educated in Scotland and Sweden where he obtained a master of arts degree in political economy and philosophy, he had served as a commissioner for economic development and reconstruction in the former South Eastern State between 1972—75. He was a member of the Social Democratic Party, SDP.

\* Zakari Muhammed, the eldest son of the late head of state, General Murtala Ramat Muhammed, died at age 27 as a result of gunshot wounds he received on his chest in an attack by armed robbers on Minna—Abuja road on August 13. A successful businessman, he had attended Kings College, Lagos and Canterbury University in England.

\* Alhaji Abubakar Tafari Ali, CFR, a former elected governor of Bauchi State died on May 22 at the age of 64 years after a protracted illness. A

seasoned civil servant, he rose to the post of federal permanent secretary in the ministries of establishments, works and information. He was in the constituent assembly 1977—78.

\* The Emir of Suleja, Alhaji Ibrahim Dodo Musa died at 72 after a brief illness on July 5, a day before the commemoration of his 14 years on the throne. He received his formal education at Abuja in 1926, Bida Middle School, School of Agriculture, Zaria and like many of his generation, worked for the Northern Nigeria civil service.

\* Mr. Justice Shehu Uthman Mohammed, one of the 12 justices of the Supreme Court, lost his life in a



Dodo Musa

car accident on the Lagos—Ilorin road February 9. He died at age 52, on the same Tuesday he was appointed a judge of the court a year ago. He was a one time chief judge of Kaduna State.

\* Alhaji Dahiru Modibbo, 60 a renown broadcaster and public officer died on Sunday, February 21 after a protracted illness. A former head of sound in the old Broadcasting Company of Northern Nigeria, BCNN and later its managing director when the federal government took it over, Alhaji Dahiru was known as a very dedicated and visionary broadcaster. Educated at the famous Barewa College, Zaria, the Yola Middle School, and the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology and the University of Ibadan, Alhaji Dahiru worked briefly at the foreign ministry before join-

ing the then Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation, NBC, and later became its director general when it became the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria, FRCN.

\* Television viewers in the 70s lost a first rate entertainer and broadcaster from Kogi State, Arthur Modupe Afolabi Alade, he died June 29 known as Art Alade, he died June 29 at age 56 in Lagos. In August 1992, the late Alade suffered his first stroke and was confined to a wheelchair.

He hosted the Bar Beach Show. \* Mutauwallin Katsina, Alhaji Musa Yar'adua died in Katsina on June 22 after a protracted illness at the age of 91. He left behind 24 children among



Modibbo

whom is Major General Shehu Musa Yar'adua. A first republic politician, he had held several ministerial appointments among which was that of the minister for Lagos Affairs.

\* Professor Yunus John Lavers, a leading historian and academician at the Bayero University Kano, died at age 57. A Briton who came to Nigeria in 1965 as a research scholar in the history of Fika and Borno. He died May 16 of diabetes. He contributed immensely to journals, conferences, seminars and the international intellectual community. A leading member of the history department, he was appointed a reader in 1982 and in 1987 became the first permanent member of the department to become a professor.

\* Dr. Obi Wali, a second republic minority leader of the senate was brutally murdered on April 26 in his



**Madakin Kano**

livingroom in Port Harcourt. Born on February 27, 1932, Dr. Wali had taught at the University of Nigeria Nsukka and was a commissioner in the former South Eastern State.

\* The *Madakin Kano*, Alhaji Umaru Mahmood Yola died December in Kano after protracted illness at age 79. He had attended the Kano Middle School, was a member of the Northern House of Assembly until the coup of 1966, was a member Kano Health Services Management Board and the *Sarkin Shamin* Kano and District Head of Dawakin Tofa before he was made the *Madaki* in 1988.

\* David Koresh, a religious cult leader in Waco Texas, United States of America, perished along with some 80 or so followers in a confrontation with agents of ATF, seen by millions on television. Koresh was waiting for a message from God when he met his death.

\* Seven Nigerian soldiers on a UN mission to end the tragedy in Somalia



**Dr. Wali**

were killed in an ambush that was internationally blamed on Italian soldiers who should have given proper cover to the Nigerian contingent. Several other Nigerian soldiers were wounded and one missing in action in that attack.

\* Pablo Escobar, a Colombian drug baron based in Medellin was gunned to death by security forces ending a 30 month violent reign. A declared public enemy number one, Escobar was 44. A sort of Robin Hood who gave plenty of his drug money to poor people, he was born in Rio Negro December 11.

\* Oliver Tambo, a staunch opponent of apartheid in South Africa died at age 75. He led the African National Congress for over 30 years during the period it was banned in



**Alade**

South Africa at the height of the armed struggle against white supremacists. He died of severe stroke at Milpark Hospital in Johannesburg. He had a stroke in 1990 and was recuperating in Sweden when Nelson Mandela was released after 27 years of confinement. Tambo, with Mandela and Walter Sisulu had been responsible for the radicalisation of the liberation struggle in the 40s. When Mandela and Sisulu were jailed, he almost single-handedly continued the armed struggle from exile. In 1977 he was made ANC president and became its chairman after Mandela's release. He was at one time the ANC secretary general.

\* Black nationalist leader, Chris Hani, was murdered by white ex-



**Boigny**

trremists of the Conservative Party of South Africa on April 10. Hani, 51, was a secretary general of the communist party and one time commander of *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, the armed wing of the African National Congress, ANC.

\* Felix Houphouet Boigny, one of Africa's longest ruling leaders and an ally of the US, died at age 88 after 33 years in power on December 7. He among other things built an enormous cathedral, the largest in the world for 250 million dollars in the midst of grinding poverty and misery. The Basilica was consecrated by Pope John Paul II in 1990.

\* The Olubadan of Ibadan, Oba Yesufu Oloyede Asanike II, died on Christmas aged 101 years. He took the throne 10 years ago, making his reign the second longest. The Olubadan who died after a brief illness was buried at his Idi-Aro residence.



**Binji**

# Prelude to the constitutional conference

By  
Dr. Sabo Bako & Malam  
Suleiman Muhammed

**T**he intention of the present military government to organise a constitutional conference to resolve some of the country's social and political problems is indeed a welcome venture. The only plea could be that the government is to consider incorporating other burning public issues into the orbit of that conference. There is a lot to be gained by extending the scope of the conference rather than the seeming restriction to 'constitutional' matters only. The arguments here are in fact premised on an expanded version of the conference called variously as 'national conference', 'sovereign' national conference, etc. et cetera.

**On the unity of Nigeria**  
The statement by the government that the unity of Nigeria is non-negotiable should be concretely enforced especially against the foreign-backed attempt to dismember the country.

The kind of threat which self-seeking groups are engaged in amounts to using the corporate existence of the country as a bargaining instrument which is both unhealthy and short-sighted.

The fundamental premise for unity must be based on common consensus in line with historical and contemporary realities which tend to emphasise that larger political and economic entities have better prospects of maintaining their sovereignty and engineering their political, economic and social development. This is precisely because they have at their disposal larger resources in terms of population, natural endowments and political capabilities. However, recent trends in this country show that certain individuals and organisations, oblivious of these facts, are interested only in their immediate and selfish interests.

Unfortunately, the government has tended to pander and succumb to such outright blackmail and threats by foreign backed-position-seeking individuals. What we need

rather is a proper identification and propagation of our genuine national interests as well as realistic solution to all legitimate and peculiar social grievances as opposed to the present trend of appeasing individuals and groups who are distinguished more by their self-centredness than national interest. Unity is not achieved by sermonising or simple coercion but through the articulation of general public interest and defence of these against all forms of foreign machinations and internal opportunism.

As a prelude to the conference, this submission focuses on representation at the conference, the agenda of the conference and in conclusion we draw attention to some of the fallacious propositions that might be smuggled into the conference by position seekers which will ultimately only lead to negativism.

### Criteria for participation

There is unanimity that delegates to the conference should be elected. We also note the call for representation of certain organisations. This will however open the conference to certain people who are not popularly elected but have appointed themselves leaders of 'popular organisations'. Those wishing to participate should feel free to contest elections at whatever level determined by the government, be they professionals, activist or whatever like all other Nigerians. Secondly, special interest groups could be allowed to submit position papers highlighting issues of particular interest to them. Apart from ensuring a democratic base for the conference, this procedure will ensure that organisations and individuals solely sponsored by foreign bodies or other dubious local outfits and interest groups do not hijack what is basically a national affair. The delegates to the conference should be elected

from the level of the local government areas of the country. It is only by so doing that virtually all ethnic communities are assured of representation. The government should resist the temptation of succumbing to the pressures of so-called human rights and 'pro-democracy' organisations who claim to represent 'people'. The only way to call off their bluff is to ask them to go back to their local governments and contest elections to be delegates at the conference.

Still on representation at the forthcoming conference, the Head of State recently stated that minorities are to be fully represented. The government may have to issue a proclamation as to who a minority really is in Nigeria before we can concede to it. Such a proclamation should show the geographical, ethnic, statistical and other population aggregates which mark out the 'minority' as opposed to the 'majority'. The issues of 'minority', 'majority' is not a question of self-definition; it is something to be arrived at on a scientific and politically just term. Unless the government sets in motion the mechanism for so doing, we want to consider the issue of 'minority representation' as presented by the Head of State as inconclusive.

We believe that the issue of minority as arrived at in the federation of Nigeria at national level on the basis of population figures is not necessarily applicable to states and local governments. In a number of cases, the minority elements might in fact belong to a group which in the overall context could be considered majority, but in practice in their abode constitute a minority e.g. the Tiv, Hausas, Ibibio, Igbos, Kanuris, Yorubas etc living in states other than those in which they predominate. In a similar vein, we must note that in relation to all predominant groups at all levels there are ethnic groups which could be considered minorities even among the formally accepted minorities such as the

Rukuba in relation to the Birom and Angas in

Plateau state; the Shuwa Arabs in relation to the Kanuri or Babur in Borno state or the Afemai in relation to the Binin and the Ishan in Edo state.

#### The Agenda

In addition to what the government has explicitly stated as part of the agenda for the constitutional conference, we want to make the following additions. This again is based on the assumption that the conference is to be expanded to include other issues pertaining to the national or ethnic questions in Nigeria.

As a necessary prelude to the conference, the government should cause to be published information which is to educate delegates for the conference. Making available the information is the only guarantee that the quality of discussions would be very high and freed of acrimony. This is in order to base the discussions on concrete factual evidence rather than wishful fancy and fiction. The stability of any nation is dependent on fairness and justice predicated on balanced participation of its component parts and not the hegemony and preponderance of anyone section of it.

The full list of all individuals occupying political positions at the federal level (in government and parastatals) specifically showing names, ethnic background, state of origin, local government and other relevant data. iii. The full list of all individuals occupying all positions in the federal service (government and parastatals) and in all security forces of the country, specifically showing names, ethnic background, state of origin, local government and other relevant data. iv. The full list of industries in the economic sector, specifically showing their locations, ownership structure and the list of members of their boards showing state of origin, ethnic background and other relevant data. v. The full list of all beneficiaries of indigenisation policies and those of the recent

privatisation of public corporations so far sold out. vi. The full list of all federal educational institutions and centres in the country, specifically showing their locations, as well as the structure of staffing and students enrolment by indicating state of origin, ethnic background, and other relevant data. vii. The full data showing the structure of federal government subventions (of all categories) to the political constituents of the country (regions, states and local governments) since 1960. viii. The full data on amount of federal funds spent on all public works and utilities (such as roads, airports, seaports, maintenance, etc) in different parts of the country since 1960. ix. The population of Nigeria with a tabulated breakdown by the state, local government and ethnic groups as obtained in the last census. x. The full list of beneficiaries of federal government, domestic and overseas scholarships from independence to date. xi. The list of beneficiaries of federal government students' loans from independence to date. xii. The list of beneficiaries of federal government contracts worth 10 million Naira and above (names of companies, owners of the companies, their state of origin and local government origin). xiii. The list of bunkerers and private marketeers of crude oil in Nigeria showing names, state and local government of origin. xiv. The list of number of banks and other financial houses, their owners and their local governments. xv. The list of newspapers, radio and television owned by federal government in each part of the country and private individuals.

#### Political posts

The issue of political posts has become a vexing issue in Nigerian polity. While most of these posts are subject to the federal character, the position of the chief executive of the federation is not and this has been a major argument of those sections which feel marginalised. In this regard, we want to make it clear that given the democratic

option, no ethnic group on its own can produce the chief executive of the country. See tables on page 29.

Even in the First Republic, the election of Tafawa Balewa, who also happened to come from an ethnic minority group, was based on a regional political party, which was not totally under the control of anyone ethnic group. In the case of the aborted transition programme, the results of the annulled primaries and presidential elections amply testify to the fact that no one ethnic group can produce the chief executive of the country. The question before us is one of credible candidates in sound political parties that can command the respect of Nigerians across ethnic barriers and consequently win their votes.

In conclusion therefore, whatever arrangements may emerge will need to accommodate various geo-political interests. However, they must also not jettison the fundamental democratic principles of the right of every eligible candidate to stand for elections, regardless of ethnic or religious affiliations as well as the right of the majority to determine their ruler.

#### Democracy and the press

At the risk of being repetitive, we would like to emphasise that a free and independent press is indispensable to a genuine democracy and social development. Having said this, it is also important to emphasise that a true democracy has a duty to protect innocent citizens and national interests from irresponsible campaign of calumny, promotion of hatred, character assassination and other unprincipled, unethical and unprofessional conduct as manifested by a good part of what today passes in Nigeria as 'national press'.

Democracy is inconceivable without freedom of speech or the capacity to voice particular opinions even where these may run counter to official or dominant views. In this regard therefore, Nigerians, from all parts, need to be encouraged and empowered to have a voice in the democratic process of the country. The present concentration of media

## Environment

The conservation and protection of the environment in our domestic and foreign affairs is becoming quite clear to the good number of Nigerians. Unfortunately, there is an existing tendency to trivialise this important issue by sectionalising it. The land and water resources in the country belong to all Nigerians and the destruction of any one part of it has repercussions well beyond the immediate service areas and the present. Pollution of rivers, streams and lakes, areas through which villages and towns derive water, repercussions will pervade the entire country with all its ramifications and will be felt by all Nigerians, rich and poor. A sector which was developed with a different aim and which was designed to serve other things, to serve the needs of commercial capital. This will bring to an end the present setting of the structure of the part of various Nigerians, turning their selfish business in their environment.

To ensure that those who have legitimate claims were satisfied or that their own natural construction in the war effort was recognised. We believe the attention of a conference should be drawn to the legitimate grievances of the people from eastern parts of Nigeria.

## Federal capital

The establishment of a federal capital is advocated by various legislations to ensure that every Nigerian feels at home and has a claim to the central government. A federal capital is the central government; to our national conference should be held to discuss the federal territory in Nigeria. The Nigerians will have a federal capital which was developed with a different aim and which was designed to serve other things, to serve the needs of commercial capital. This will bring to an end the present setting of the structure of the part of various Nigerians, turning their selfish business in their environment.

## Political parties

As has been said about the structure of political parties ideal for Nigeria's democratic setting. Most of the proposals however, which tend to favour political parties in special numbers tend to put the cart before the horse. Political parties as free groups, instruments of democratic expression, should be freely formed by independent associations or groups and their acceptance for registration should only depend on their ability to meet the standard requirements for a truly national party as enshrined in the constitution.

The merging of various opinions or political associations into one political party cannot be the business of government especially governments which claim to be loving democratic foundations. The merger of various political associations and groups is best left to the democratic process and in these various bodies to work out with whom and on what basis they will associate. In addition to these, the constitution could even make provisions for independent candidates.

## The civil war and its aftermath

Although the civil war is over, the country is still in the grip of reconstruction and adjustment. The people of the various states suffered the consequences, such as the loss of positions they previously occupied in the federal services, loss of property in different parts of the country. Measures were suggested to have been initiated to rehabilitate and integrate them. However, far from implementing such noble objectives, they were further marginalised in the indigenisation programme which was executed immediately after the war and since then no serious programme has been mounted

The failure of most institutional, structural and social programme in

Nigeria results from indiscipline, corruption and our seemingly endless penchant to imitate rather than study our own unique circumstances and innovate. In order to check these, the laws must simply be enforced in all cases and the present patronage system based on primordial affiliations and monetary rewards be discouraged. The example of leaders, effective measures against white collar and common acts of brigandage as well as sabotage must be contained. Furthermore, the constitution must guarantee the payment of all dues due to workers at all levels without delays. Security of tenure in service and realistic wages in relation to hyper inflation have to be established if measures against corruption are to have any meaning.

Finally, the success or failure of the constitutional national conference will ultimately depend on the sincerity and resolve of the government as well as the maturity, objectivity and patriotism of those empowered to conduct it. In this regard the present tendency of simply attempting to appease potential trouble — shooters must be abandoned in favour of mature experience, independent and popularly elected candidates. In this connection, the association of the present minister of justice, Dr. Olu Onagoruwa with the movement of national reformation and its programme of tribalisation and balkanisation does not spell a good omen for the conference. In the light of his extreme partisanship we join others in calling for his resignation so that he will be able to canvass for the position he holds among the electorate. The possibility of sneaking some unpopular, even though loudly proclaimed views through the back-door will not serve the purposes of peace, unity and democracy in Nigeria.

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### 1979 Presidential election result — State by State

State	Votes cast	Shagari NPN	Awolowo UPN	Azikiwe NPP	Waziri GNP	Aminu PRP
Anambra	1,209,028	163,164	9,053	1,002,803	20,228	14,500
		1350	075	87,818	187	120
Bauchi	998,683	623,889	29,960	42,334	154,218	143,202
		6248	300	474	1644	1434
Bendel	669,511	242,320	356,381	57,629	8,242	4,939
		3620	5320	860	120	070
Benue	538,879	411,648	13,864	63,097	42,993	7,277
		7638	257	1177	797	135
Borno	710,968	246,778	23,885	9,642	384,278	46,385
		3471	335	135	5404	652
C/River	661,103	425,815	77,775	50,671	100,105	6,737
		6440	1176	766	1514	102
Congola	639,138	227,057	138,561	27,856	217,914	27,750
		3552	2167	435	3409	434
Imo	1,153,355	101,516	7,353	999,636	34,616	10,252
		880	064	8469	300	059
Kaduna	1,282,712	596,302	92,382	65,321	190,936	447,771
		4300	700	500	1400	3100
Kano	1,220,763	243,423	14,973	11,081	18,482	932,803
		1994	123	091	154	7641
Kwara	354,605	190,142	140,006	1,830	20,521	2,276
		5363	3748	052	571	067
Lagos	828,364	59,515	681,762	79,320	3,943	3,824
		718	8730	957	068	047
Niger	383,347	287,072	14,155	4,292	63,773	14,555
		7488	368	111	1650	377
Ogun	744,668	46,538	689,655	2,343	3,974	2,338
		623	9161	032	053	031
Ondo	1,384,788	57,261	1,284,666	11,856	3,561	2,500
		419	9450	086	026	018
Oyo	1,296,547	177,999	1,192,983	7,732	8,029	4,084
		1275	8578	055	057	032
Plateau	548,405	190,458	29,029	269,666	37,400	21,852
		3473	529	4970	082	398
Rivers	687,751	499,846	71,114	98,754	15,025	3,312
		7265	1033	1435	218	046
Sokoto	1,349,593	898,994	34,102	12,503	359,021	44,977
		6661	252	092	2661	333
Total	16,862,208	5,689,757	4,916,641	2,832,522	1,666,489	1,742,154

### 1983 Presidential result — State by State

Figures obtained from Victor Ayeni and Kayode Soremekun — 1983

State	Votes cast	Shagari NPN	Awolowo UPN	Azikiwe NPP	Waziri GNP	Yusuf PRP	Ikpehai NRP
Anambra	1,154,283	385,297	23,859	669,434	36,163	14,103	27,511
		3336	206	5779	312	139	234
Bauchi	1,082,122	1,507,344	98,974	53,253	37,203	54,554	18,999
		8457	555	366	209	305	107
Bendel	1,099,851	457,276	566,025	53,205	11,723	7,359	8,653
		4117	5145	435	105	067	079
Benue	652,795	384,045	79,660	152,209	179,265	4,381	10,573
		583	1221	2331	2496	098	182
Borno	718,043	486	120,138	28,792	15,592	26,996	15,698
		486	1673	376	129	376	219
C/River	1,295,710	496,592	505,922	46,418	25,582	8,229	10,967
		5400	3943	361	129	054	085
Congola	735,618	227,220	160,720	148,055	25,530	81,205	37,318
		3844	7185	2013	347	1104	307
Imo	1,548,975	398,452	22,649	1,054,436	5786	19,970	32,690
		2507	143	6699	329	116	206
Kaduna	2,137,398	1,206,894	225,878	225,919	80,862	300,476	32,269
		5928	1057	1058	308	1402	175
Kano	1,192,050	313,998	44,994	274,102	35,252	436,997	14,207
		3219	406	2298	295	3643	025
Kwara	608,422	296,654	275,134	16,215	7,970	3,800	6,056
		4925	4522	266	126	061	100
Lagos	1,640,361	135,165	1,367,807	119,453	11,748	6,570	8,636
		758	8339	728	077	024	026
Niger	430,231	224,085	15,722	112,971	12,874	8,204	8182
		6317	366	2523	301	203	190
Ogun	1,241,061	43,921	1,198,033	5,022	6,874	4,849	2,682
		347	9500	004	055	035	023
Ondo	1,879,343	355,217	1,472,509	20,240	11,629	10,564	6,025
		3755	7735	111	043	039	058
Oyo	2,281,000	885,125	1,396,225	34,852	15,732	9,174	9,891
		3755	5939	148	057	039	042
Plateau	652,202	292,606	36,210	280,031	18,612	11,581	10,180
		4486	546	4305	285	177	141
Rivers	1,357,715	921,654	251,825	157,558	12,981	4,626	15,007
		6788	1855	1115	065	034	131
Sokoto	2,237,786	2,695,935	75,428	63,238	46,752	24,240	22,152
		8183	246	223	165	085	078
Abuja	135,351	127,377	1,177	4,186	1,641	641	308
Total	25,454,146	12,047,548	7,885,424	3,518,433	640,139	1,079,881	308,996

A summary of the above shows that on the election of Shagari we only paid on the basis of wide spread personal and not only bias support.

# Women winners

**W**hen General Sani Abacha became the head of state and commander-in-chief of armed forces on November 17, 1998, there was also a power shift from Mrs. Maryam Ibrahim Babangida, the former first lady to Mrs. Maryam Abacha, the new

first lady. Mrs. Margaret Ernest Shonekan, the ex-wife of Chief Ernest Shonekan who headed the Interim National Government, never appeared in public during the short life span the INC.

## From Maryam to Maryam

Major women look forward to the inauguration of the New Life Programme will associate with Maryam, the II in the 1990s. Among two women rose head and shoulders above the rest. Akerele Odunmbaku, the only female senator in the suspended senate and Mrs. Susan Iliya, who during the Presidential Transition came fourth at the convention of Jos. As a supervisor of the parades



Maryam Babangida: Graduate of Queen Amina College, Kaduna, Federal Training Centre Kaduna, Mother of four



Maryam Abacha: Graduate of Government Girls College, Dala, Kano, Mother of nine, expecting the tenth soon.



Bucknor: lonely seat



Okunnu: accountability is a virtue



Jibril: dogged fighter

Mrs. Latefat Okunnu, an experienced civil servant and former deputy governor of Lagos State rounded up her career in the civil service with an appointment as the chairman of the National Republican Con-

vention. She performed creditably and returned 347 million Naira unspent grant to the federal government.

Hajija Laila Dogonyaro, president of the *Jam'iyyar Matan Arewa* clinched

the plum job of the president of the National Council of Women's Societies, NCWS. She scored 468 votes against her opponent, Hajija Amina Sambo's 242 at the Minna convention of the council.

The ministerial scene saw the emergence of two female secretaries in the transition council, Hajija Laraba Daggash as secretary of state in the ministry of health and Mrs. Emily Aig-Imokhuede, the secretary of state in the ministry of local government. The ING had only one female secretary, Chief Bola Kuforiji Olubi the secretary for commerce and tourism. The Abacha administration has again appointed two women secretaries, Mrs. Ada Adoguo, minister of state, agriculture and Mrs. Mobolaji Osomo.

By Bilkisu Yusuf



Dogonyaro: thumbs up for the winner



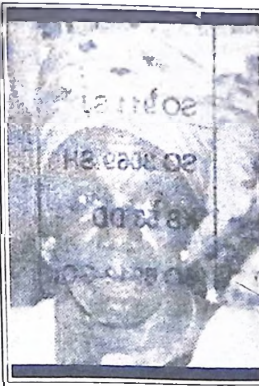
Imokhuede



Kuforiji Olubi



Daggash



Mobolaji Osomo



Ada Adoguo

# African panorama

The African continent is still grappling with chronic issues of underdevelopment

**P**ast year, the most dominant theme in the political economy of Africa are, elections, party pluralism, violence, deepening poverty and misery.

## Egypt

**I**n Egypt, President Hosni Mubarak got elected for another six year term, but his government is in violent confrontation with the muslim brotherhood who are bent on establishing an orthodox islamist society in the country.



King Hassan II

## Libya

**E**mbattled Muammar al-Gaddafi still braces western sanctions as he refuses to hand over the alleged suspects in the Lockerbie plane bombing.



Gaddafi



Mubarak

## Morocco

**K**ing Muhammed Hassan II, celebrated his 40th anniversary on the throne with the inauguration of the largest mosque in the world in Casablanca. However, his relations with the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic remains sour.

## Sudan

**T**his country is still undermined by a bitter civil war that has killed thousands, and driven hundreds of thousands into forced exile and the country is in grip of famine and serious want.

## Rwanda

**T**utsi and Hutu, cousins of Burundians finally signed a peace treaty.

## Algeria

**A**lgeria is also in turmoil, about 2,000 Algerians and 20 foreigners have died, as the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) intensified a power struggle against the



Madani

militarily backed government which scuttled FIS attempt at Islamising Algeria.

## Niger

**N**iger has resolved its national sovereign problems with Mahamane Ousmane emerging as the president.



Ousmane  
Citizen, January 3, 1994

## Ethiopia

**E**thiopia finally broke up as Eritrea gained her independence but long years of civil war has destroyed the economies of both countries. Famine is a serious issue in these places.



Mengistu

## Guinea

**G**uinea's first multi-party elections ended in the hands of incumbent President General Lansana Conte amidst allegations of massive rigging.

## Cote d'Ivoire

**T**he country lost its grand old man President Felix Houphouët-Boigny. Henric Bedie the parliamentary speaker succeeded him after a short contest with the erstwhile prime minister Alasane Quattara.

## Sierra Leone

**C**aptain Valentine Strasser, the Sierra Leonian head of state has invited the revolutionary United Front to a dialogue to end the civil war that is devastating the country and draining its resources.

## Togo

**T**ogo is still firmly controlled and dominated by President General Gnassingbe Eyadema, who just won a self managed elections. Nicephore Soglo holds sway in Benin Republic as Mathew Kerekou the military strong man took a back seat.

## Somalia

**S**omalia is being wracked by political disintegration. The Americans and other Europeans are pulling out of the United Nations peace keeping operations (UNOSOM). Farah Aided and Mohammed Al Mahdi are yet to agree on a peace plan, meanwhile the country continues to bleed.



Aided

## Blacks in Disapora

**A**fricans in diaspora gathered in Gabon to map out strategies of development for the continent. However, according to Salim Ahmed Salim, the most fundamental problem confronting Africa is the issue of conflict, deepening poverty and refugees.

## Liberia

**L**iberia is experiencing some lull after the stormy brutal civil war. The combatants agreed to truce and a transition process, but this peace is still very fragile.



Taylor



Momoh



Eyadema

## Central African Republic

**F**elix Pattase becomes the president of Central African Republic, after a stormy presidential election

## Gabon

**P**resident Omar Bongo, who has long ruled Gabon with the support of his African friends, lost his re-election to opposition.



Bongo

## Zaire

**Z**aire remains the most pathetic of distressed African states. The economy has been grounded to political instability with the country having two prime ministers, two parliaments, and four laws. President Mobutu has been re-elected, but the will of the people was not reflected in the election.

## Mozambique

**M**ozambique finally agrees to the principles of peace after long years of civil war.

## South Africa

**P**resident Frederik De Klerk and African National Congress (ANC) President Nelson Mandela jointly won the Nobel Peace prize for their joint brave resolution of one of the thorniest and emotional issues in African political history. The transition programme they initiated and supervised just ended three and half centuries of white supremacist domination and apartheid in South Africa. All party elections would come later in the year. With this development, equality has finally come to South Africa.

## Equatorial Guinea

**R**epressive Lieutenant-Colonel Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo of Equatorial Guinea is still in the saddle. He organised a sham election which he expectedly won.

## Congo

**P**resident Pascal Lissoube is kept in power by a brutal military machine. Violent confrontations between his troops and the opposition have left many dead.

## Uganda

**P**resident Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, restored some of the monarchies outlawed by ex-president Milton Obote. However, opposition forces are pressing for democratic elections.

## Angola

**A**ngola still bleeds as President Eduardo Dos Santos and rebel leader Jonas Savimbi are yet to agree on the modalities of peace. Thus Africa's longest, fiercest and most murderous fratricidal and wasteful civil war rages on.



Dos Santos



Moi

## Kenya

**P**resident Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya faces serious religious and ethnic violence that has left about 2,000 dead and rendered about half a million refugees.

## Malawi

**N**gwan Kamuzu Banda has finally agreed to allow his absolute life presidency to end. For the first time in 30 years there would be a multi-party election in the country in May.

## Burundi

**B**urundi again re-enacted violent mayhem. The first democratically elected President Melchior Ndadaye from the majority Hutu was brutally murdered. Some military elements of the Tutsi minority who dominated the army in the subsequent violent battle thousands of Burundians lost their lives and about one million went forced exile.

By Shoyebi Abayc  
with agency report

## WORLD

## Japan

# Old guards dethroned

After more than four decades in power, the Liberal Democratic Party of discredited former prime minister Kiichi Miyazawa finally lost the general election. It lost its over all majority in the assembly. On August 6, the Japanese parliament, the *Diet*, elected Japan's new party leader, Morihiro, Hosokawa.

Hosokawa, a former rebel of the Liberal Democratic Party leading a seven party coalition government had promised reforms in the political system riddled with scandals and corruption. He is already in arrears on delivery. Mr. Hosokawa is battling to cope with a sagging economy and a delay in enacting political reforms.



Hosokawa: new hand

## France

# A little to the right

Everyone saw it coming. On March 28, the socialist party of incumbent President Francois Mitterand again lost its majority in parliament, forcing it into cohabitation with the rightist party for

the second time. He named Edourd Balladus, a Gaulist as the Prime Minister. It only picked 54 seats of 577 strong French National Assembly.

The centre right coalition of the Conservative Party of France (CPF) and the Gaulist Rally for the Republican Party, (RPR) of the former president Vallery Giscard d'estaing snatched a land-

slide victory. The latter emerged the biggest party in the parliament with its 247 seats. The socialists had been blamed for some of its economic policies, resulting in unemployment, budget deficit and high interest rate.



Mitterand: forced co-habitation

## Colombia

# End of the road

Colombia's most notorious drug baron, Pablo Escobar finally met his Waterloo in a shoot out with the police at a shopping mall last November. Escobar, 44, given away by his disgruntled so-called Medellin drug cartel associates, the cocaine capital of the world and the police, had been on the list of Federal Bureau of Investigation, FBI and US Drug Enforcement Agency. On the run since his spectacular escape in 1992, Escobar had been

head of Medellin Cartel, home of notorious drug lords, responsible for more than 90 per cent of illicit drug trade in

Colombia and the United States. Ironically, his death is not likely to end the drug trade.



Escobar: end of an era?

Politics

# Bhutto's second coming

**F**ew people would have predicted that Nawaz Sharif would be the winning candidate in the 1993 Pakistani general election. The young leader of the "Muslim League" swept to victory in the 1993 elections, beating the incumbent Benazir Bhutto, who had led the Pakistan People's Party to a landslide victory in the 1988 election.

General Zia-ul-Haq, who ruled Pakistan from 1978 until his death in 1988, had long been a dominant force in Pakistani politics. He had overseen the country's economic growth and political stability, but his authoritarian rule had also led to widespread human rights abuses and a reputation for corruption.



Bhutto has it made

Europe

## Counting losses

**D**ublin is again the center of the world's attention as the British government negotiates a new peace agreement with the Irish Republican Army (IRA).



Irish soldiers in a conflict zone

involved in the 1998 peace agreement, which the IRA had signed last month. The IRA had been fighting for the reunification of Ireland since the 1960s, but its strategy had shifted from armed struggle to a focus on political and social change.

representatives to discuss demands in the Northern Irish parliament. The new agreement would be a landmark step in the peace process, but it would also require the IRA to accept a new set of rules and regulations.

### Britain in Ireland

## When stomachs did not turn

**P**rima Minister John Major announced that Britain was in serious negotiations with the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA) for a peace deal. Ireland is a small island with a population of about 3.5 million, but it has a long and complex history of conflict.

Last December the British parliament finally mandated Mr. Major to find lasting peace in northern Ireland after 27 years of murderous

violence. The IRA had been a major force in the conflict, and its actions had caused the deaths of thousands of people. The British government had been under intense pressure to find a way to end the violence.

The British public had been divided over the issue, with some people supporting the IRA and others supporting the British government. The IRA had been a major force in the conflict, and its actions had caused the deaths of thousands of people. The British government had been under intense pressure to find a way to end the violence.



Major has

## Israel/PLO accord

## Beyond handshake

There was nothing like it before since the history of Middle East peace process began 22 months ago. On September 9, a formal signing of an agreement between the Palestinian Liberation Organisation and the Israeli government granting Palestinian a limited autonomy in Washington was witnessed by President Bill Clinton, Israeli Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin and PLO chairman, Yasser Arafat, but there has been no peace.

The renewed fighting has since thrown the scheduled Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories beginning December 13 into jeopardy. The violence has further eroded the already weak support



Arafat and Rabin: what next?

many Israeli and Palestinians had for the accord and now many of them could not understand the gains their leaders had brought them. Israel has deployed more troops to the occupied territories.

## Cambodia

## A rebirth

Cambodians voted for the first time in 42 years, May 23 to elect 120 legislative assembly to write a constitution for the country. Khmer Rouge guerrillas which vowed to disrupt the election had campaigned for boycott of the UN organised elections.

The main parties are the Hun Sen's Cambodian Peoples Party, CPP, Prince Sihanouk's United Front

for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and cooperative Cambodia, FUNCINPEC Norodom and the Royalist Party of Prince Ranaridh, Sen, the nominal head of state. In the event FUNCINPEC won the elections largely due to the influence of Prince Sihanouk, the father of its president. Sihanouk remained the president, with two vice presidents nominated from two main parties.

Haiti  
Not on my honour

Haiti's military rulers had no qualms in repudiating a solemn pledge to relinquish power to deposed President Jean Bertrand Aristide on October 30. On October 11, a US ship was turned back by armed protesters at Port-au-Prince. Troops and personnel on the ship were an advance party of a UN contingent expected to pave way for the democratic process rudely terminated in a putsch of 1991 and since then a national conference on Haiti to break the politi-

cal deadlock has been unsuccessful. Haiti's strong man Paul Cedras would not guarantee the safety of troops nor supporters of Aristide.

In return, President Bill Clinton and the UN reimposed sanctions.



Aristide: still waiting

## Russia

More than  
he bargained for

Russian president Boris Yeltsin had reasons to celebrate last October when in a bloody confrontation, he sacked the recalcitrant parliament determined to frustrate his giddy economic reforms policies. But a stunning defeat suffered by his political bloc, Russia's Choice in the parliamentary elections on



December 12 confirmed that he had gained only a pyrrhic victory. Russia's Choice was trounced in the fight for the 225 parliamentary seats by the radical nationalist bloc, Liberal Party of Russia. Yeltsin had earlier won majority approval of draft constitution giving him sweeping executive powers. For now, the fate of Yeltsin's economic reforms hangs in the balance.

# PMAN crown and...

**T**he Performing Musicians Association of Nigeria, PMAN, the league of the country's entertainers finally held an election that had earlier been bogged by controversy. Former PMAN President Tony Okoroji was succeeded by Albert Mustapha Amego (Funky Mallam) who emerged winner at the PMAN election held in Benin City, the Edo State capital in October. Amego, narrowly defeated king of Fuji music, Alhaji Wasu Ayinde who scored 20 votes to Amego's 23 to clinch the PMAN's crown.



Amego: sweet taste of victory



Okoroji: controversial tenure

## ... PMAN acid

**S**ad count for PMAN came from a public rejection of its award. Embattled former PMAN president Tony Okoroji had a PMAN award rejected and thrown back at him. Sonny Okosuns, the Ozzidi king rejected the Best Afrobeat Award of the year given to him. The Ozzidi king also had caustic remarks for PMAN, "I won't take it. I don't recognise it. For one I don't

play Afrobeat and I don't recognise PMAN any more. So even if they bring the award to my house I will reject it."



Okosuns: I want no award

## PMAN shines

**A**fro-juju musician Sir Shina Peters is the first to receive the "Juju Artiste of the year award" five times. For this and for his rising fame, he was recently crowned with the new title of "music president of Nigeria and Africa." He was nominated and later crowned by his teaming fans. His music, said the fans cuts across racial and ethnic barriers.



Peters: Afro juju it is

## And one for Olize

**R**emember the guy who appears every Sunday night to thrill NTA's "30 million viewers" to soft sell Tee Vee's programme "Newline"? Well, that humour merchant called Frank Olize, the presenter of the programme also got an award to decorate his humorous cap. The Nigeria Media Merit Award selected him as the best television presenter of the year. He got

a medal and 5,000 Naira.

The medal, said staryeyed Olize will be donated to his employers, NTA while the 5,000 Naira will be donated to his family's economic recovery. Smart guy! A real philanthropist!



Olize: elated

## Michael Jackson's headache

**M**ichael Jackson, international music megastar is under heat. A sex scandal is unfolding. He is accused of sexual abuse of children. Many see the legendary conspiracy of American people in the allegations. They want to frame him because he's the only blackman who is a star, and a long reigning one for that matter. Ras Kimono, Reggae star had this to say. "When the whole scandal broke, I was in America and I did not believe it.

"In America, they have brought Mike Tyson down, frus-



Jackson: face of innocence

trated Michael Jordan out of basketball and now they want to bring



Jackson: pains of stardom in America

Michael Jackson down. To me, this is just part of a plot," he said.

## Akinloye returns

**S**econd Republic chairman of the defunct National Party of Nigeria (NPN), Chief Adisa Akinloye ended his 10 years of self exile. He returned to his Ibadan home

in October to the warm embrace of his friends and family.

By Bilkisu  
Yusuf



Akinloye: In exile 10 years ago

## MEDIAWATCH

# A raw deal

The news media, especially the press, created a Frankenstein called "Maradona" who turned against them

**T**he past year was one in which the news media, particularly the print, and former military president Ibrahim Babangida, clashed and eventually ferociously fought each other. To be sure, the press was not all on one side and the president on the other. Ethnic cleavages, especially the old north/south dichotomy, underlined the sour relationship between the press and Babangida towards the end of his regime. But first things first.

## Birth of The News

Bayo Onanuga, one of the seven founding editors of *The News* said it was "a product of courage." How correct! It was courage that pushed him, while editor of *African Concord*, in April 1992 to carry a story about a weary Babangida having "given up," a story his publisher, MKO Abiola considered "too hot." He apologised to Babangida and wanted his editor to do the same. Onanuga refused and resigned in-



Abiola and Onanuga separated and joined them together

stead. He left along with six senior editors and a couple of good reporters to set up *The News* in February last year. Onanuga stated the philosophy of the new publication in the edition of February 15: "We," he said, "shall be dedicated to the pro-

tection of the principles of civilised nationalism, democracy, political and economic pluralism, liberty and the equality of the various ethnic groups of the Nigerian federation." Some lofty ideal.

However, the paper's pursuit of

that goal, especially its peculiar brand of people-based journalism, inevitably led to a blurring of the fine line between news of public interest and respect for individual privacy, much speculation and sensationalism. The road to trouble with

## New cover prices

**"D**ue to ever increasing production costs, we regret to inform our readers, that they will have to pay more for a copy of..." Readers must have been "informed" of new cover prices for their "popular" newspapers and magazines a countless times within a year.

Newspaper cover price rose from two Naira to three Naira to five Naira and hitting 10 Naira later in the year.

News magazines charged 10 Naira earlier in the year, then 20 Naira and 30 Naira a copy since October. As a result, readership dropped considerably and vendors complained of erosion of profits.

In Jos, vendors and distributors clashed over the "disappearance" of the discount rate forced by new cover prices. To make up for it, they sold the papers above the quoted price.



The changing face of newspaper cover prices

News clampdown

# Cat-and-mouse game

**T**he government had warned before hand to deal with "erring, unfriendly and terrorist journalist." It began to act in March. But the real onslaught did not begin until May, with the seizure of 70,000 copies (obviously exaggerated) of *Tell* newsmagazine and brief detention of some of its editors.

*The Reporter*, a newspaper published in Kaduna by retired General Shehu Musa Yar'adua, a one-time presidential contender, was "shut down" by security agents and its editor, Aliyu Hayatu detained for three weeks. The paper has remained under lock ever since, though more for its publisher's resolve "not to beg anybody." On May 22, *The News* lost "60,000 copies of the May 31 edition" to invading security men on "order from above."

*Tell* and *The News* headed for the courts to demand compensation, (*Tell*

asked for 21.4 million Naira) and an end to the government clampdown on the news media. All the reliefs were granted but government



Igiebor: running battle

largely ignored the court injunctions. *Abuja Newsday*, a weekly newspaper published in Abuja was sealed off and publisher Bukar Zarma and his senior editors were detained for suggesting an amorous affair involving Babangida's daughter and Abiola's son.



Yar'adua: I am not for begging

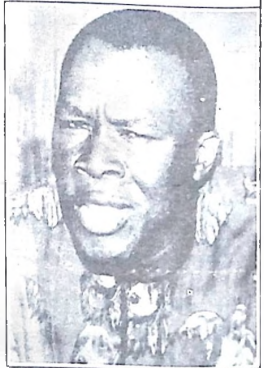
June 12

# Not to be

**B**y and large, the news media adhered to the law requiring them not to announce any results until they had been duly certified by the National Electoral Commission (NEC). But after the 16th state had made its returns and NEC, apparently following directives from "above" stopped further announcement of results, newspapers and magazines of various political sympathies, started giving their own verdicts. The so-called Lagos-Ibadan section of the press declared Moshood Abiola, presidential candidate of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) winner. *New Nigerian*, a federal government paper but sympathetic to the National Republican Convention (NRC) pronounced the outcome, which was going Abiola's way, unacceptable because of the low voter turnout (32 per cent). *Daily Times*, in which the federal government holds 60 per cent equity described the elec-

tion as the "fairest, most peaceful and acceptable" and commended NEC for a job well-done.

*Citizen*, a newsmagazine published in Kaduna, going by the results so far announced, gave the poll to Abiola provided the trend persisted. *The Democrat*, *Hotline*, the latter published by the maverick *Magajin Rufin Kontagora*, Hassan Sani, sided with Babangida.



Nwosu: stopped half way

The Chukwumerije phenomenon

# He read the riot act

**I**t tells a lot of a man who would cling to the prefix of a "comrade" at a time that socialism and communism are crumbling. Appointed in January 1993 as secretary of information and culture in the transitional council which Babangida created to oversee the return to civil rule that was never to be and retained in the makeshift interim national government, Chukwumerije was for Babangida what Joseph Goebbels was to Hitler. Both were unquestioning propaganda chiefs.

Chukwumerije, it was who gave the press many bad names in order to hang it. Phrases like "terrorist journalists" were commonplace. His burning desire was to rid this country of "journalism of parochial advocacy, intimidation, blackmail" and "brown envelope syndrome." This he set out to do by shutting

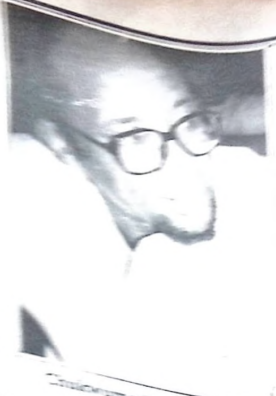
*Response of Journalists*  
**The watch dog is angry**

The response of Nigeria Union of Journalists (NUJ) as it organizes a no-work protest across the country in August in addition to holding for the courts to challenge the closure of six media houses and to seek an interim in-

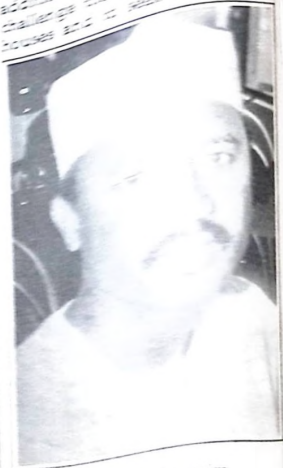
Some news magazines, newspapers and a radio house are "unprofessional behaviour" and "regressive" will stage demonstrations for publishing newspapers and magazines.

Another goal would be to see how successful it was in "redistributing media power" according to him. It could be that the two sectors held the power and brought it to the people. The anger was in putting money in the hands of government newspapers.

Under Chief Ernest Shikanda (NFC), "The newspaper is being rolled out of its pocket supporter with the writing of the NUC in November 1997 by General Abacha's decree."



Chukwumerije in Oshodi court



Zecor Sam Nwagwu

Anti-press legislation

**The noose tightens**

The issue of anti-press legislation which the Babangida military regime examined towards the tail-end of the regime was a measure of the pressure on it to go and desperation to hang on.

In the eight years he was in power General Babangida enacted as many decrees to muzzle the press. Five of them in the last two months of his regime. They were: The Reporter (proscription and prohibition) Decree 45 of 1997; The News (proscription and prohibition) Decree 46 of 1997; Offences (publication, prohibition and Decree 47 of 1997; Newspapers (Decree 48 and Newspapers (proscription and prohibition) Decree 49.

Decree 45 was very stringent conditions for registering newspapers and magazines, such as a pre-registration deposit of 250,000 Naira and annual refundable fee of 100,000 Naira. It also created an eight-man registration board.

Decree 48 proscribed National Concord and African Concord, both published by Concord Press owned by Abiola; The Punch, Vanguard, The



Gantai not very first

Sketch and Observer. Justifying Decrees 45 and 46, Chukwumerije said at the time that while the former sought to "protect the mainstream of journalism from the pollution of weeds emanating from the fringes," the latter which closed down some publications, was meant to stop the press from "becoming a source of incitement to civil war and physical disintegration."

function suspending implementation of Decree 45.

However, the situation was called off in September following an assurance by interim president Abacha that the decrees would be repealed through the National Assembly. He did send two bills to that effect in October. However, the military led by General Sani Abacha struck again before the National Assembly would debate them. General Abacha abrogated the offensive decrees in November.

By Tawey Zakka



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## SPORTS

Sports '93

## World cup fever

It was the year when World Cup qualifiers were decided. It was therefore understandable why the world's most popular single sport event and Nigeria's king of competitive sports, soccer, took the centre stage in 1993 with spectacular drama, controversy, conflicts, suspense and scandals. It was a year of intense rivalry among national soccer teams of most of the countries of the world as they competed against one another with raging fire of ambition to be among the 24 countries that would feature at the World Cup finals in June this year in USA.

For Nigeria, the World Cup campaign fever was overpowering. With strong financial and material backing by the federal government, the main concern of the National Sports Commission and Nigerian Football Association was to see that Nigeria qualified for the first time for the World Cup.

Tension and suspense tinged with skepticism and optimism, ruled the land when in the second round

grouping of African qualifying matches, the national team, the Super Eagles, were grouped with old rivals — Algeria and Cote d'Ivoire. But after a faltering start which saw the Eagles fumbling to a 1-2 loss to Cote d'Ivoire in Abidjan, the national team rallied to a resounding 4-1 victory over Algeria and Cote d'Ivoire in Lagos, and a hard earned 1-1 draw against Algeria in Algiers, secured them their first world qualification.

It was indeed a year of spectacular achievement of the Super Eagles as the national team with a burst of inspiration from Nigerian Europe-

based professional players, among whom was super striker, Rashidi Yekini, who was also named Africa footballer for 1993, the year also saw the country making easy run of



Amunike and Keshi in ecstatic mood moment Eagles qualified for World Cup

Ethiopia, Sudan and Uganda to qualify for the Africa Cup of Nation coming up in March this year in Tunisia.

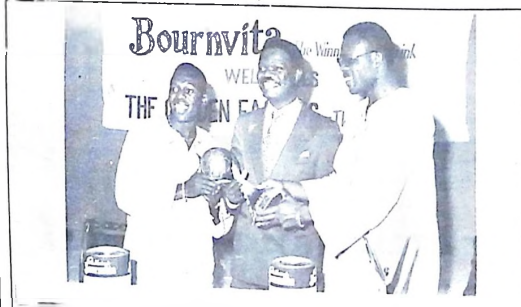
## Gold for Eaglets

Also in the month of September, Nigeria's under-17 team the Golden Eaglets returned to the FIFA/JVC World Cup after a two-year absence, following FIFA ban, and became the sensation of the championship. Eaglets overran Canada, Argentina, Australia and Japan on their way to the final and dismissed Ghana 2-1 in the final to make history for Nigeria as the first country to win the cup twice. Nigeria won the maiden edition of the competition in China in 1985.

It was not however all toast to victories for Nigeria at the international soccer competitions in 1993. Nigerian clubsides which competed in the African Continental Soccer Championships — Sekou Toure Cup

(Champions Cup) Mandela Cup (Winners Cup) and CAF Cup, came

home high and dry. Confederation of Africa Football Cup maiden winners Shooting Stars of Ibadan were



Eaglets' captain, Oruma (left) and Coach Amu holding the cup with Cadbury MD, Mr. Oni

ousted early in the competition by Sigui de Kenya of Mali.

Stationery Stores of Lagos, representing the country in the Sekou Toure Cup and El-Karamei Warriors of Maiduguri, campaigning in the Mandela Cup, showed much promise in the two championships, but

lost their sense of mission and concentration at the peak of the competitions. El-Karamei got bundled out of the semi-finals when they conceded 0-3 defeat to Al Ahly National of Egypt in the first leg in Cairo and settled for a goalless in the return leg. Stores also lost in the semi-final

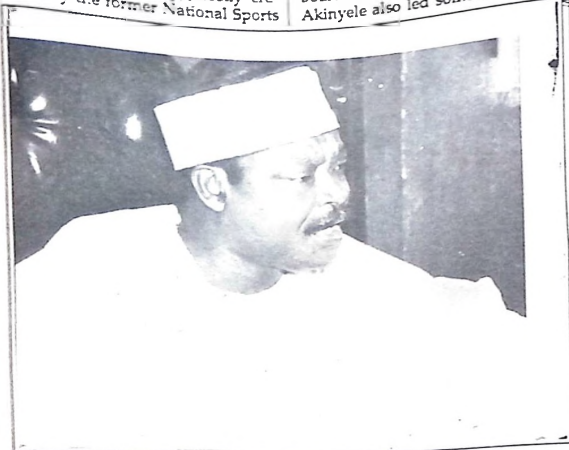
to Zamalek of Egypt. The Nigerians lost 1-3 in the first leg and a lone goal victory in Lagos in the return leg was not enough to see them through to the final. The two championships were won by the two Egyptian clubs. But Bendel Insurance of Benin won the WAFU Cup.

## Controversial Akinyele

**N**igeria's sports scene was also agog with series of controversy, mostly created by the former National Sports

the Dutch born soccer trainer but a timely intervention by the NFA board sowed the situation. Chief Akinyele also led some association

Nigeria, he said that he had suddenly become subject of press criticism because he no longer gave money to some sports journalists as he used to. Sports Writers Association of Nigeria, SWAN and Lagos



**Akinyele: in love with controversy**

Commission chairman, Chief Alex Akinyele. The first salvo came when the sports commission chairman engaged Eagles technical adviser, Clemens Westerhof in a war of word over certain incidents during Eagles last World Cup match in Algiers. Chief Akinyele threatened to sack

chairmen to form a splinter Nigeria Olympic Committee, NOC as a rival of Alhaji Raheem Adejumo-led NOC.

But the former NSC chairman's unguarded utterances snowballed into a national controversy when in an interview with News Agency of



**Westerhof: hailed Akinyele's removal**

State chapter of Nigerian Union of Journalists gave Akinyele ultimatum to name the journalists he had given money. It was in the gale of the controversy that the federal government removed Chief Akinyele and replaced him with Chief Sylvanus Akinwumi.

## Tragedy and scandal

**A**t international soccer scene tragedy and scandals held sway. Zambia suffered the

most tragic loss in 1993 when in late April its national team players and officials all perished when the Buf-

falo Ci-15 military air craft conveying them to Dakar, to honour a World Cup qualifying match against Senegalese national team, crashed into the sea off the Coast of Gabon shortly after take-off from Libreville, where it stopped to refuel.

French football was rocked by scandal when some Valenciennes players revealed that they had been bribed by some officials of 1993 French and European champions

Olympique Marseilles to throw a match. Subsequent investigation found Marseilles guilty and they were stripped of their titles by the French football association while

the Union of European Football Association, UEFA disqualified them from defending their cup and Monaco replaced them as French representatives.

## Athletics

### Low marks

One of the athletics competitions that took place in Nigeria in 1993 was the Nigeria/Mobil track and field championship which was to be used to select athletes for the ninth athletics championship in Durban, South Africa and the World Athletics Championship in Stuttgart, Germany. But it was almost a flop as virtually none of the Nigerian outstanding US-based athletes turned up for the competition.

Nigerian athletes also took part in the ninth athletics championships in Durban where Christy Opara won the women long jump, Daniel Phillips clinched the 100 metres while Beatrice Utundu won the women 100 metres.

Daniel Phillips Effiong, stood out as one of the most outstanding athletes in both indoor and outdoor championships in 1993. At the World University Games in Buffalo, US, he won the men's 100 metres with a new game record of 10.07 seconds. The same athletes also pulled a stun-

ning feat in August at a Grand prix in Monaco, France, where he won the 200 metres by beating Carl Lewis of US and Frankie Frederick of

Namibia to the second and third place respectively.

Some outstanding performances were also recorded by some athletes

in some major competitions. Twenty one year old Kenyan Richard Chelimo set a new 10,000 world record at the Grand Prix race in Stockholm, Sweden with a time of 27:7:91 seconds. Olympic Champion, Linford Christie also confirmed his dominance of the 100 metres sprint when he beat Carl Lewis in their celebrated race at Gateshead, England. Christie also went ahead to win the 100 metres at world athletics championship in Stuttgart in August at a time of 9:87 seconds. Also at Stuttgart, Namibian Frankie Frederick pulled a stunning victory by winning the 200 metres in a strong field.



Christie: a successful year

## More scandals

The illegal use of performance enhancing drug like anabolic steroid still remained one of the biggest scourges of the athletics world and sparked off intense controversy between world athletic governing body — International Amateur Athletics Federation, IAAF — and some national athletics associations. Kenya's John Ngugi, a five time world cross country champion came under IAAF



Ajuwa: under four year ban for doping



Phillips: impressive performance

hammer early in the year for refusing to raise out of competition drug test. IAAF arbitration panel upheld the ban and Nigugli is to remain suspended for four years. The revival of former world female 100 metres

champions Karin Kröbe and her German team mates Grit Breuer and Manuela Dierr is to continue for another two years. IAAF announced the extension of their suspension late November till 1995. Inne Akpan, one

of Nigerian athletes who took part and won medals at the world university games in Buffalo, US also tested positive to a banned drug in a test carried out during the competition.

## Boxing unstable roped square

**A**tempts by some Nigerian boxers to even their boxing prowess and win international honour beyond African shores did not meet with appreciable success in 1993. Nigerian boxer Hunter Clay lost a 12 round decision to Louis

the African Cruiser weight title by a first round knock out of Napoleon Abbey of Ghana, while US-based Bash Ali won the Nigeria heavy-weight title with a second round knock out of Charles Udalor in July. The world boxing titles also wit-

council crown in January without a fight following the refusal of the then world heavyweight champion Riddick Bowe to fight him. This marked the splitting of the unified world boxing titles. Lewis easily defended his title when he beat Tony Tucker in May in a 12 round decision and knocked out Frank Bruno in the seventh round in October to keep his title. But the biggest upset of the year came on November 7 when Evander Holyfield regained the WBA and IBF world heavyweight



Holyfield and Bowe during their title fight in Las Vegas



Udalor and Ali in a fistic duel

Genet of Britain for the WBC International Super middle weight title. Babatunde Jonathan of Nigeria won

nessed flurry of controversy and major changes. Lennox Lewis of Britain picked up the world boxing

title from Riddick Bowe who a year earlier defeated him to win the WBC, WBA and IBF unified belts.

## Courts of upsets and tragedy

**K**yrrian Nwokedi, Godwin Omuta and Yakubu Suleiman are the most successful Nigerian male tennis players in 1993. Nwokedi won the CBN and Dala Hand courts tennis tournament in Kaduna and Lagos respectively. Omuta on his part went home with the NICON-NOGA open tennis

naments.

On the international scene, tennis witnessed loss of Arthur Ashe, the first and only black man to win Wimbledon men tennis title. He was also a leading African-American civil rights activist. He died in February of AIDS. Also in April 1993, the icon of women tennis, Monica Seles, took



Jordan: quit when the ovation was loudest



Seles being helped to her feet after the attack

tournament title in Abuja. In the female category, Clara Udofia distinguished herself by winning the Dala and the NICON-NOGA tour-

forced exit from the courts when she was stabbed at the back of the neck with a knife by a man who claimed to be a fan of rival Steffi Graf. The

incident took place in a court during the Hamburg tournament in Germany.

Some spectacular victories were also recorded by tennis stars. Early in the year Jim Courier of US beat Swedish Steffar Edberg 6-2, 6-1, 2-6, 7-5, to win the Australian open. With the absence of his main rival, Steffi Graf easily won the women Wimbledon title beating Jana Novotna, while Pete Sampras overcame Jim Courier to win the Wimbledon men title. Sampras also went ahead to win the US open in September.

## Legend bowed out

**N**igerian born basket ball star Hakeem Olajuwon took up American citizenship in April. The Houston Rocket player was also named into the NBA team in May. Still on basketball, one of the finest and most successful players of the game, Michael Jordan of Chicago Bulls announced his retirement from the game at the age of 30 in October. His father had earlier been shot dead in August.

The intense rivalry and competition among bidding cities over who should host the Olympic games in the year 2000 was ended when the international Olympic committed



Samarach: IOC president

voted to award it to Sydney, Australia at the expense of China.

By Joe Olajuwon



Ashe with wife and daughter

ADAMU ADAMU S

## DEFINITIONS IN HUMOUR



# Hamida's laugh

**I**t is not for nothing that I always refrain from introducing my readers with laughter. There's no point. Doing that indeed is the job of clowns, isn't it? And a writer can't do a job on his own, can he?

But what's the use of laughter? Basically, laughter consists in the contraction and relaxation of several facial muscles, expelling some howling funny sounds — and generally becoming self-conscious. And often foolish.

Its goal is pleasure and increase in one's estimation of his sense of luxury. But to me there is nothing good to say about luxury — except that it is nice while it lasts. And, in any case, it doesn't last very long, while the torment that often remains seems endless.

Now, someone's selection has made me modify my aversion to every aspect of laughter. Hamida sent me a selection on that perennial theme — love and togetherness, seen through the spectacle of human frailties. While they are uproariously funny — rib-tickling, side-splitting, eyes-watering and true, there is still a lesson to learn. The upliftment lies in the capacity for its appreciation. And the choice of theme remains unbeatable.

Of course for me love is that pure, nice, caring and fulfilling feeling that a being has for another without the expectation of reward, profit or

better. It ceases to be divine, and it ceases to have meaning.

There is wholesome pleasure in the ability to understand, the ability to grasp, the ability to enjoy the message of the good joke. But still higher is the pleasure when the boisterous outburst is resisted — and allowed to escape only as a smile. As the great one said — and may the peace and blessings of the Divine Presence be upon him — boisterous laughter darkens the countenance and robs the Self of the ability to discipline itself to what is good for its ultimate end.

In place of Hamida's selection, I am giving you my own — to evoke pity, confusion, wonder, cold sweat and outrage. Laugh, as one would who had contemplated fun and beauty roiled into one.

He — "There are two periods in a man's life when a man doesn't understand woman."

She — "Indeed, and when are these periods?"

He — "Before marriage and after marriage."

Wife (on a boating excursion) — "If the boat foundered, whom would you save first, the children or me?"  
Husband — "Me."

"There's a man outside with a wooden leg named Smith."

"What's the name of his other

leg?"  
pleasure. If it expects or asks for reward it comes — with money or by

"Well, Sam, I'll tell you how I'll do it. You see, I married a widow and that widow had a daughter. Then, my father, being a widower, married our daughter, so you see my father is my own son-in-law."

"Yes, I see."  
"Then again my step-daughter is my step-mother, isn't she?"  
"Well, then, her mother is my grandmother, ain't she? I am married to her, ain't I? So that makes me my own grandfa-ther, doesn't it?"

A man was discovered by his wife one night standing over his baby's crib. Stunned she watched him. As he stood looking down at the sleeping infant, she saw in his face a mixture of emotions — rapture, doubt, admiration, despair, ecstasy, incredulity. Touched and wondering alike at this unusual parental attitude and the conflicting emotions, the wife, with eyes glistening, arose and slipped her arms around him.

"A penny for your thoughts," she said, in a voice tremulous. He blurted them out:

"For the life of me, I can't see how anybody can make a crib like that for three hundred and forty nine dollars."

"Yes, I came face to face with a lion once. To make matters worse, I was alone and weaponless..."

"Goodness. What did you do?"

"What could I do? First I tried looking straight into his eye balls, but he kept crawling up on me. Then I thought of plunging my arm down his throat, grabbing him by the tail and turning him inside out, but I decided it would be too dangerous. Yet he kept creeping up on me. I had to think fast..."

"How did you get away?"

"I just left him and passed on to the other cage."

## Season of titles... in Zuru First the *Sardauna*

Saturday, October 23, 1992 was a day of victory for Major General Sani Sami (rtd), who combined the celebration of his 50th birthday with his turbanning ceremony as *Sardaunan Zuru*. For a premier of the ruling house who spent his active years in the army, General Sami made an unusual foray into the academic field of writing the history of his hometown. His efforts rolled off the press as a book titled the *Socio-economic and political development of Zuru*, on the day the emir of Zuru honoured one of its distinguished citizens. A former governor of Bauchi State and General Officer Commanding, GOC, mecha-

nised division, Kaduna, the double celebration pulled a crowd of notables to Zuru emirate of Kebbi State. They certainly added colour to make it a day the amiable general said he would live to remember.



## BON's PR man

**K**abiru Dangogo is your quintessential PR — personable, knowledgeable and meticulous. Since taking up his current job as the Public Relations Manager of the Bank of the North, he has done a lot to polish the image of the most successful regional bank in the country. Dangogo has not always been PR man. After taking his first degree, he went to work in NTA Kaduna as a programmes man. He soon moved to the New Nigerian Newspaper as Assistant Editor of Sunday New Nigerian. It was in NNN that he showed the uncompromising stuff he is made of. Malam Sidi Ali Sirajo had just taken over as managing director and had demanded personal loyalty from all his editors. Dangogo thought his first loyalty was to his readers and so decided to quit even though there was no job in sight for him. Eventually, he picked up one at the United States Information Service.

He's since moved to BON and as if to acknowledge his service to PR, the Kano State correspondents chapel honoured him with an award last month along with several reporters



## ...then the *Waii*

**G**eneral Sani Sami was only one of several to be turbanned in Zuru as the year drew to a close. Two months after his batch brought the town, literally to a standstill, another turbanning ceremony took place. The new titled included Alhaji Abdullahi Ahman as *Walin Zuru* and the elderly and respected Alhaji Ladan Zuru as the *Darmanasani*. Ahman and even more so Alhaji Ladan have come a long way in their chosen careers. The latter who retired ages ago into farming from NNDC, once taught General Ibrahim Babangida in Government College, Bida. Ahman too was a student in the College from whence he went to Abdullahi Bayero College. His career has spanned commissionerhip in the old Sokoto State and executive directorship in the Bank of the North.

Ahman, who has since moved to the private sector, was anointed as *Wali* on December 11. Needless to say all roads on that day led to Zuru.



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