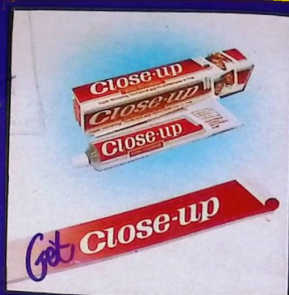


The truth about the Ajalli/Akpu crisis

# TSM

The Sunday Magazine

THE SUNDAY MAGAZINE VOL. 6, NO. 29, APRIL 11, 1993 — Price: N15.00



# Tofa, Abiola:

**AFTER VICTORY**

# Who runs the Show?

**"If we want democracy"**  
By Chinweizu



**TURN TO GOLD**  
**TURN TO BENSON & HEDGES**  
MADE IN ENGLAND

THE FEDERAL MINISTRY OF HEALTH WARNS THAT TOBACCO SMOKING IS



**COVER:** Option A4 has afterall been proved workable by the Jos and Port Harcourt historic events, even to the admiration and chagrin of the sceptics.

The Jos weather was salubrious and conducive enough for the political BIG FIGHT.

Although the political clime seemed cloudy, unsettled and unsteady as uncertainly and fear gripped not only the political big-wig-belligerents but also the supporters and even the umpires.

Though tension-soaked, Bashorun Abiola, saddled with bravery, will, determination and peoples' support sailed through the stormy, tempestuous water of politics to the 'CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.' Thus emerging as SDP flagbearer to go to the next war and conquer.

The effective, personal-contact-tactics as a political strategy adopted by Tofa gave him a seemingly easy ride to his political dream-land in Port Harcourt.

Although it was not all that an easy ride, Tofa had well prepared for the journey long before the whistle for race to Port Harcourt was blown.

Youthful, exuberant, blunt Tofa emerged the NRC presidential flagbearer. However, though, still radiating youthful, high-voltage-energy Tofa still has one more fierce battle to fight with the rival party's generalissimo.

*Bill*

**Lagos State Low Cost Housing Estates residents live in deplorable conditions as basic amenities are glaringly lacking ..... 36**



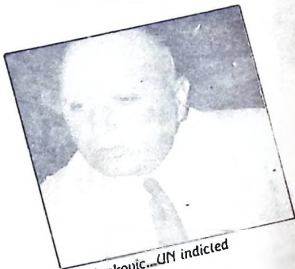
Low-Cost House

**Kunle Fatunwa expresses his thoughts on social maladies in painting works. .... 42**



Kunle Fatunle...Painting genius

**Ilija Jankovic, Yugoslav Ambassador to Nigeria accuses United Nations of fueling crisis in Yugoslavia. .... 47**



Ilija Jankovic...UN indicted

**Glory Nwosu, a promising, multi-talented sports girl held sway in the National U'15 Athletic Championship. Needs encouragement. .... 53**



Glory Nwosu...promising athlete

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In spite of the many reservations expressed about Operation A4, the new IBB political contraption has scaled three major hurdles with few hitches. This would be the first time in Nigeria's political history that party candidates would be agreed upon without acrimony and violence.

**This would be the first time in Nigeria's political history that party candidates would be agreed upon without acrimony and violence.**

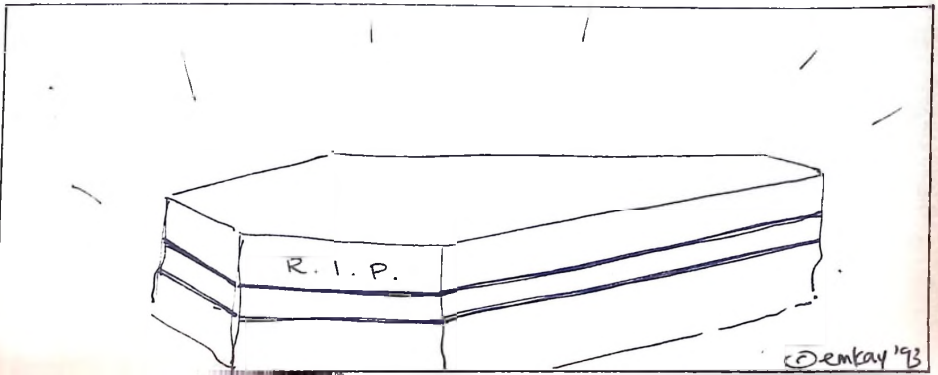
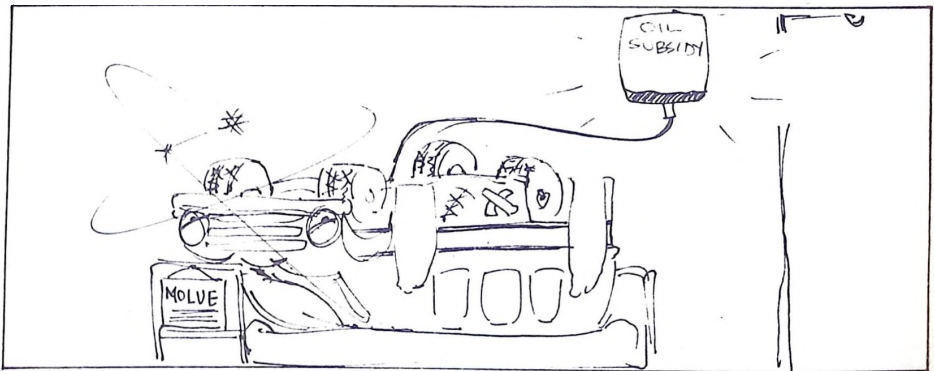
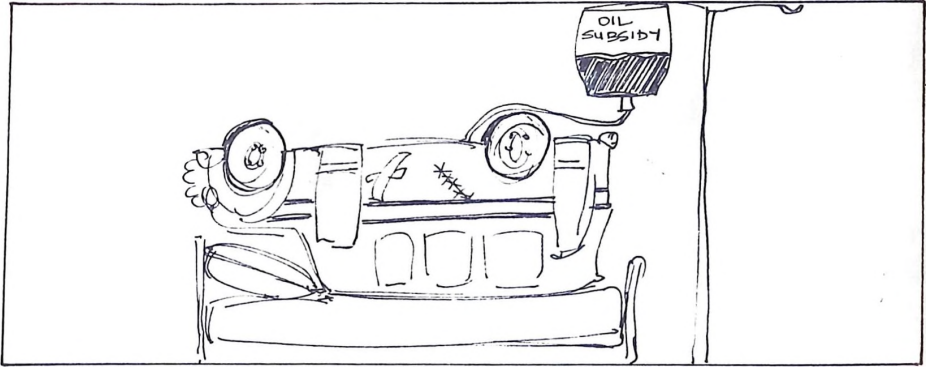
Last week the system produced two candidates acceptable to Nigerians under an atmosphere more akin to a carnival than election. In victory and defeat, the Presidential candidates showed grace and good spirits. In Jos, newspaper publisher Moshood Abiola charged to victory like a bull and was crowned on a white stallion. And in Port Harcourt, youthful Bashir Tofa became the symbol of hope for the new generation Republican.

From the floor action to the back alley intrigues **TSM** team of reporters comprising **Comfort Obi, Nnanna Ochereome, Yusuf Olaniyonu, Steve Ohakwe** tracked it all. The package they put together is unput-down-able and in the tradition of **TSM** a very unique perspective to the events.

*Chris*

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by emkay



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SDP:

# Can Abiola co



Abiola...Tough challenges ahead

Politics & Policy



*Moshood Abiola scores the greatest political goal of his life as he braves all odds to emerge as the SDP presidential flag bearer in Jos.*

By Ochereome Nnanna & Yusuph Olaniyonu in Jos

**M**OSHOOD Abiola chose yellow as his victory colour. It was not clear why. For all one knew, Abiola had no clear reason to opt for a yellow *shibida* in his moment of glory, and white in his period of travails and anxiety.

As he finished his acceptance speech to the standing ovation of his supporters and dead silence from Baba Gana Kingibe's fans, Abiola triumphantly descended from the platform and reached for a special gift waiting for him: It was a sparkling white horse, a sword and silver helmet presented to him by Fidelis Taggun, the Plateau State governor. A white stallion was both symbolic and traditional. It represented the party's symbol and was an instrument of war, victory and grandeur in most African societies and around the world.

Abiola was helped up the graceful animal by his sons, and personal aides led by a giant bouncer in gray

suit who clutched a walkie-talkie in his huge, left paw. The party's flag was handed to him with which he made a victory lap on horseback, round the Jos Township Stadium, venue of the Social Democratic Party convention. He was flushed with happiness, and he greeted the delegates with shouts of "SDP," and got "Progress" in return. Outside the stadium, green and white balloons bearing his smiling posters were released into the air to be distributed by the light harmattan breeze around Jos and environs.

## THORNY ROAD:

FOR the Bashorun, it was pure bliss and relief to have concluded the greatest and most successful political marathon of his life. Between Thursday, March 25 and Monday, March 29, Abiola had to wade through political minefields full of manoeuvres, intrigues and uncertainties. If God was Sarah Jubril's campaign manager (as she claimed), He must have performed that function for Abiola in a greater capacity. Then, there is this retired army of-

# De with the stallion?



Ishaya Shekari, a retired major-general and government-appointed civil servant as the national chairman of the Caretaker Committee of the party.

But, as soon as Abiola escaped through the ward; local government and Ogun State congresses of the party, it became increasingly clear to him that the party was not all that fresh. Goodwill was only a small part of the story. Old hands, such as Shehu Yar'Adua, Kingibe and Arthur Nzeribe, among others, still had SDP's affairs firmly in their hands.

In order to win, he needed the blessing of the Katsina-born general to break into the party. But, Yar'Adua played hard-to-get, at first because of lukewarm business and social relationship between him and Abiola. So, he went to the general's men. In building a formidable political machine, Yar'Adua had combed the nation to identify, woo and cultivate what a member of the group called "strong men." These included Lamidi Adedibu in the West, Chuba Okadigbo in the East, Solomon Lar in the Middle Belt and the Abubakar Rimi-Sule Lamido camp in the Kano-Jigawa axis among others. These regional titans gradually brought Abiola closer to Yar'Adua.

which culminated in his being placed on the list of the first three names to emerge at the national convention. It was these soldiers that roped in the various governors, federal legislators and other delegates that helped Abiola unto the white stallion.

But, the job was by no means an easy one. Until the very last minute Olu Falae, a disqualified aspirant, was yet to come out and identify with Abiola. So was also the Ondo State governor, Bamidele Olumitua who was still working for Kingibe, and the Ondo delegates camp which was split. But, some good samaritans were at work for Abiola. The Osun State governor, Isiaka Adeleke, for instance, Abiola had worried aloud to him that Yar'Adua was reluctant to identify with him.

### Shehu's long shadow:

ON Friday, 26 March, Adeleke took the 233 SDP delegates from Osun to Kaduna instead of Jos, Kaduna was the venue of a meeting of delegates loyal

to the Yar'Adua group. That Friday night, Yar'Adua, was touring the hotels of his men in a jeep in the company of Abubakar Atiku, also an aspirant. Yar'Adua told them he had no alternative than to support Abiola since he had a strong support from the West when he was a candidate. He later also met with delegates from Katsina, Adamawa, Sokoto, Taraba and other states his group controls. The message was the same: Their votes should go to Abiola, Atiku and any other candidate except Kingibe. The former chairman of the party had since fallen out of favour with the group "for failing to touch base", as an insider put it. He was being suspected of having a personal agenda that was independent of the group's. In fact, by now, Kingibe had a campaign team that had cross-propuses with that of Yar'Adua.

In the East, Abiola got Anambra through Okadigbo; Akwa Ibom through U.J. Esuene, a retired brigadier; Rivers through Lulu Briggs, and also Cross River. Niger State was split 50-50. Initially anyway.

While these forces massed up in the Bashorun's favour, an equally formidable opposition was against him. Prominent among them was Baba Kingibe himself. On Kingibe's side were mercurial Arthur Nzeribe, Olusola Saraki, the Ikemba of Nnewi, Emeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, as well as some

### Falae Roughed Up

OLU Falae, a chief and one of the 23 disqualified presidential aspirants, walked into a great embarrassment on Sunday evening. That was just before the commencement of the final balloting.

Leaders of the Kingibe and Abiola camps were frantically running around, instructing their delegates how to vote, as Atiku Abubakar had just stepped down. Falae, who had just agreed to work for Abiola's victory after an initial dithering, headed for the Ondo Pavilion. But, to get there, he needed to pass the Kabb section. Kabbi, a Kingibe bloc, was holding a meeting. On sighting Falae, some of them abandoned the meeting to block Falae's way.

"You cannot pass here," they told him. "you are not supposed to be in this venue". Som of them descended on his *ogboda*, threatening to really rough up the chief. His security man and other companion advised him. He turned and made a long detour to his people.

ficer-turned politician called Shehu Musa Yar'Adua.

When, in January this year, Abiola declared his intention to run for the Presidency through the hastily-authored Option A4, he was firmly convinced that the goodwill he had built over the past 20 years in Nigeria and beyond through his philanthropic activities, would immediately sell him to the membership of the SDP. After all, the party was weeded of its pre-1993 leadership, controlled by Yar'Adua and led by Baba Kingibe. All was fresh, with

apologists of the IBB regime. Godwin Daboh and Yomi Tokoya.

### Nzeribe's long arm

Nzeribe, who had accused Kingibe of using the party machinery to rig him out of the botched presidential primaries of 1992, chose to stand on Kingibe's side, though. Yar'Adua, whom he accused of "outrigging" him in his own CARIA East, appeared to be the greater devil. Sources close to Nzeribe told TSM that since the Yar'Adua group and Abiola didn't consider it necessary to court him, he opted to work for the one that did. Secondly, the zoning formula authored by the Yar'Adua group, which took the chairmanship of the party off the hands of the Eastern States into the Southern minorities was angrily rejected by Nzeribe who shared governor Chukwuemeka Ezeife's aspirations for walking out on the meeting where the decision was taken.

Before the convention, Nzeribe had called two meetings of CARIA delegates at Oguta and Awka with promises of N5,000 for each of them. Up to three-quarters of them were reported to have attended. By Friday, the eve of the convention, Nzeribe summoned the Eastern delegates to his Zaranda Hotel base in Bauchi with a promise of another N15,000 each. The idea was for them to ensure that Ralph Obioha from Imo State emerged among the first three. If the Southern Minorities supported Obioha, their candidate for the chairmanship was to receive



Yar'Adua...the den gave his blessing

CARIA votes.

But at Bauchi, Nzeribe read a new riot act for the delegates. A document signed by him read in part: "How to use your three votes. First vote for Alhaji Baba Gana Kingibe. Second: vote for Dr. Chief Sam Eke. Third: vote for any of the following: Dr. Chief Mike Areh (Enugu); Dr. Chief Chris Nwankwo (Anambra); Dr. Chief Ralph Uwechue (Delta); Mallam Yusuf Akuye (Niger); Chief Matthew Ojong (Cross River). NO VOTE for Abiola, Atiku and

Obioha". Obioha was allegedly dropped over some undisclosed disagreement.

### Kingibe's psychological warfare

THIS instruction pushed Obioha and his supporters in Abia and Imo States into the Abiola camp which had not been exactly ungenerous to them. The Middle Belt governors and federal

## SDP: First Ballot Result

S/No	State	Name	No Of Votes	No	Name	No Of Votes	
1	Abia	Dr. Sam Eke	400	15	Kano	Alhaji Saif Adamu Danjuma	117
2	Adamawa	Alhaji Atiku Abubakar	21066	16	Kebbi	Alhaji Abubakar Koko	347
3	Akwa Ibom	Brig. J. Esuene (Rtd)	307	17	Kogi	Chief Sibus B. Danjuma	187
4	Anambra	Dr. Okechukwu M. Areh	96	18	Kwara	Mr. Sidiq N. Jibid	
5	Bauchi	Dr. Ibrahim Waziri	361	19	Lagos	Godwin Ogunyemi (camp sign manager)	950
6	Benue	Tilley Gyado	77	20	Niger	Hakeem Oladipo Gicca	84
7	Borno	Alhaji Baba Gana Kingibe	3,225	21	Ogun	Yusuf S. Akuye	170
8	Cross River	Mallam Matthew Ojong	89	22	Ondo	Chief MKO Abiola	3,617
9	Delta	Chief Ralph Uwechue	182	23	Osun	R. Boye Oluoha Famuyibo	482
10	Edo	Mark Olorunsomi Okun	131	24	Plateau	Simeon Oladosu Oludapo	355
11	Enugu	Chris O. Nwanaku	146	25	Rivers	Damishi Tomson Sango	194
12	Imo	Chief R.K. Obioha	585	26	Taraba	Olu Benson Lulu Briggs	119
13	Jigawa	Alh. Babasara Gamel	206	27	Yobe	Emmanuel Gultomi Njiwah	188
14	Kaduna	Prof. Aygo Abutlahi	112	28	FCI-Abuja	Alhaji Saleh Gwadam Tijani	491
						Alhaji Ibrahim Usman D. Guagwa	85

legislators of Benue, Kwara, Taraba and Plateau states met in the Government House, Jos to pick their three candidates. A joint decision could not be taken as the area was torn between Abiola and Kingibe. Also that Friday night Plateau governor, Fidelis Taggun on behalf of Kingibe, hosted a meeting of Kingibe's men which included governors of Ondo, Edo, Delta, Benue, Anambra, Kwara, and others like Jerry Gana, Abubakar Barde, Lateef Jakande, Iorchia Ayu, Albert Legogie, Agunwa Anaekwe and Dele Cole. This meeting was Kingibe's reply to Yar'Adua's Kaduna meeting with his loyal delegates in Kaduna. Kingibe also had initial support of Olusola Saraki and an NRC chieftain, Gabriel Igbinedion, the *Esama* of Benin, who gave him one of his planes and his guest house in Jos, where Kingibe stayed during the convention.

In a move to swing Ondo delegates to his camp, Kingibe openly considered O.J. Adewumi as his running mate. It was the intervention of Michael Ajasin and Olu Falae that swung most of them back into the Abiola camp.

Quite apart from these high-stake manoeuvres, Kingibe showed what a political craftsman he was when he launched multi-frontal offensives directly on Abiola and his people. First, on Friday afternoon, he sent representatives of the 14 SDP-controlled local government chairmen of Borno State to address the press. Leading them was the Marte Local Government Boss, and one of SDP's pioneer members,



Artful Arthur... What next?

Gana Ali Adam.

Adam, in a harsh, self-assured and slightly stubborn manner, hooted at the contention that Kingibe was responsible for the loss of some states to the NRC during the 1991 gubernatorial polls. He recounted that Kingibe led the party to many victories. He then group. Said he: "certain individuals who attempted to constitute themselves into positions through undemocratic means were told off and con-

sequently told to behave or check out... (they) wanted to hijack and run the party as a private estate. They wanted to conscript party men into slavery..." That, he said, was why Kingibe gained the Yar'Adua people's wrath.

The Kingibe camp claimed that the SDP belonged to them, that Abiola was a stranger who wanted to buy the party. "Ten years ago", said one of their campaign banners, "Nigeria was not on sale. Are we ready to sell her now? Search your conscience". Said Adam to TSM: "When IBB formed SDP and NRC they belonged to IBB. IBB said the parties were not yet owned. We took SDP from IBB in 1990. It's now ours and no amount of money or intimidation will make us give it to just any stranger."

On Saturday, the day of the first ballot, the Kingibe camp sent some "spies to all the state delegates pavilions to monitor the ground through which a possible petition could be written for Abiola's disqualification. Abiola had arrived at the venue at 12.30, while Kingibe, in a nerve-wracking delay tactic, exploited the delay in accreditation to arrive at 3.30 pm when Ishaya Shekari, the SDP Caretaker Committee boss was reading his opening address. During this three-hour boring wait, Abiola, a natural busy-body, broke the boredom by chatting up the governors and legislators. Someone came and called him to the Ogun State delegates pavilion. As he approached, the delegates erupted in shouts of "MKO!". Abiola raised his hands, greeted them and got talking to them. One of Kingibe's

## A big party on the Plateau

**I**t was a period the Plateau Highland lost its serenity. The hours spanning penultimate Friday to Monday was one Jos spent on the real fast lane. Contrary to the usual scene of slow but pleasant atmosphere, the capital of Plateau State resumed these hours with a frenzied burstle of activities that were alien to it.

The politicians (Office seekers, electors and supporters) came to the Hill top city. Business activities became energized. Social life throttled to the highest gear. The four days were period of the greatest endowment the transition programme gave to Jos and its en-

vivrons.

By Friday, it looked like the whole of Jos had been wrapped up with posters conveying messages of aspirants for the presidential and party offices in the Social Democratic Party (SDP). Posters mainly of Ralph Obiohna, MKO Abiola, Baba Kingibe and Abubakar Atiku were constantly in struggle for space.

With the tumultuous crowd around the city, the market forces reacted. Petrol scarcity which made the filling stations crowded propelled taxi cab fares. The smallest fare for the shortest distance came to N5.00 from N2.00. Hotel accommodation that were very scanty reacted to the law of demand and supply and took a leap of about 500 per-

cent increase in fee. The price for a room at Summit Hotel opposite Polo Club for example jumped from about N100 to N350.

Even then, political festivities were visible in all the streets of Jos. The aspirants who had moved supporters from their home states to Jos made the whole city a carnival town. Drumming, singing and dancing were freely shared. Kingibe's supporters who actually launched a psychological warfare throughout the convention days were the loudest followed by the MKO group. At Kingibe's Yakubu Gowon way headquarters, Friday night to Saturday morning, the morning hosted a carnival. Supporters were dancing, suyas and drink centres were located

"operatives" complained to Shekari that Abiola was "campaigning." A warning came on the public address system that any aspirant caught campaigning stood the risk of being disqualified. Abiola hastily left the delegates and came back to his seat. Sources at the Kingibe camp told TSM that the Ambassador decided not to press the "campaign" allegations on Abiola because his disqualification on such technical grounds could destroy the party. In any case he was sure to get the ticket - clean and sharp.

A great believer in media power which serve him well during his days as the SDP boss, Kingibe in half-hourly broadcasts to the people on Plateau Radio and Television, recalled his successful leadership of the party. Abiola opted to sponsor a documentary on slavery and the need for reparation, interspersed with his *Hoyx* '93 messages. The psychological assault was heightened just before the first ballot. Abiola, who was the last of the three front-runners to speak in the three-minute slot, came down from the podium to shake hands with his co-aspirants after his speech. When he got to Kingibe, the latter took his outstretched hand and seized it. With a vicious smile he said one word to Abiola in a menacing whisper which couldn't be caught by our reporter. Abiola's smiling face turned into a shocked one as he automatically snatched his hand from Kingibe's grip. Shakily, he went and sat down, looking unhappy.



Adeleke...resourceful legman



Maina...Stood by his brother

More obstacles were thrown the Bashorun's way, this time by officials. During the 15-minute speeches, the order of speaking was unceremoniously re-arranged, from alphabetical order of states to that of surnames. That made Abiola the first speaker, Atiku second and Kingibe third. The other arrangement made Atiku first, Kingibe second and Abiola third. Analysts saw this as a calculated attempt to pile the advantage on Kingibe's side. First Ebere Osieke, a professor and chairmanship aspirant in

the Yar'Adua camp had, while previewing the final result, hinted to our reporter that, "politics is unpredictable. It is not impossible for someone to step down tonight". So, if someone was to step down, and Abiola was to speak first, he would not be in a position to exploit it during the speech. Second Kingibe, an orator, was a more fanciful speaker and debater who could utilize all the points raised by his opponents to score for himself. Third, he was operating in Jos, "nearer home."

And while Atiku was stepping down

amidst the milling crowd. At least, about hundred cars were parked on both sides of the road.

The Abiola group who camped at Change Nite Club, Concord Office and other hotels around the Jos Township Stadium were busy drinking and dancing. Atiku's supporters were scarcely around. They were stationed in Kaduna to avoid being poached by any of the other two leading aspirants. Also, Sonny Okosuns and his band were in Jos moving around in an open Mercedes Benz trailer lorry singing Abiola's praises.

But then as at Friday night, traces of minor hitches in the arrangement were becoming glaring. Some of the delegates were stranded. Others who were provided accommodation got it in the worst of places. Kogi State delegates held a meeting around 9 pm at the open ground in Hill Station to discuss their pitiable accommodation plight. With their presidential aspirant, Silas Daniyan, in attendance one of the delegates reported to others on the ac-

commodation arranged for them. 132 delegates were given four class rooms at the state polytechnic, Jos with 85 single mattresses and 95 pillows.

These however would not daunt the delegates who resolved that some of them who have friends in Jos should move out and create space for those without any option.

All these dove-tailed into the first day of the convention. That morning, accreditation started as early as 8 am at six centres: Polo club, SDP secretariat, Jos North local government council secretariat, Plateau State Polytechnic and Teacher's College. At the accreditation centres, some intriguing events turned up. In the zone where Delta delegates were accredited, four fake delegates were accredited leaving the authentic delegates stranded.

A delegate from Lagos and an aspirant for the post of legal adviser, Sikiru Shitta Bey suddenly discovered that his name had been replaced with that of one Kayode Ilori who lost the delegates election at the local government

Congress. The showdown that almost occurred from this incident was averted by the police who took away the major protagonists for interrogation.

The Plateau - Radio and Television station camera was nearly destroyed by the quarelling parties who did not want their shameful acts recorded. By 11.00 am, the crowd around the Jos stadium, venue of the convention was unprecedented. A resident told TSM that the crowd at major football matches was not half the crowd at the convention.

The usual singing and dancing raged on. The security was tight. Police presence in all parts of the town was heavy. The police came with all their intimidating machinery of quelling riots. Though there was no riot but confusion. The fire brigade van was there. Armoured tanks, heavily armed personnel, horses and other security devices were available. At the gate, the use of metal detector to search people before entering was complemented by physical frisking. The over 3,000 policemen drafted from Benue, Taraba



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Sarah Jubril... "I want to be V-P"

Rimi... Leading the Kano crowd

due to his "love for party unity," he attacked Abiola's pledge to reduce Nigerian's debt stock and inflation within six months. Said he, "let no one deceive you that the economy will be turned around in six months. Nigerians should be ready for painful sacrifices over years for the economy to recover." An eager Kingibe pounced on Atiku's withdrawal during his own speech, thanking him for being a sport and clearing the way for his (Kingibe's) victory. He also picked nits with Abiola's one liner "government is bus-

iness." Kingibe charged with emphasis: "government is not business. The aims and objectives of government and business are not the same." Kingibe's speech which closed the manifesto presentation, caused a ripple. Since Atiku did not indicate whom he was quitting for, most delegates from the North assumed that he did it for Kingibe.

Dahiru Awaisu, the only SDP federal legislator from Niger State representing Chanchaga in the House of Representatives, foresaw that the looming

balloting would be "excessively regional" in character. In other words, the North-South dichotomy was afoot. Muhammadu Koko, an observer who was sitting on the sandy ground with Kebbi delegates listening to his instructions on how to vote, said Kebbi delegates would look at the "cleaner" of the two, who can be electable and a good moslem.

### Happy ending:

ONCE again Isiaka Adeleke and Chuba Okadigbo went to work on Abiola's behalf. They went round the pavilions spreading the message that Atiku stepped aside for Abiola to win "according to Yar'Adua's directive." When Shekari, a retired Air Vice-Marshal finally announced the result, out of a total of 15,331 ballots accredited, Abiola won with 2,683 votes to Kingibe's 2,456. Fifty five delegates abstained. Eleven votes were invalidated.

One of the visibly very happy people after the votes were declared, was the Imo flag bearer, Ralph Obioha. When asked if it was true that he was aiming to be the Secretary to Federal Government under an Abiola regime he snapped, "if the party reposes that type of confidence on me, I will be a fool to reject it." He was not the only one jostling for post so early in the day. Sarah Jubril, who got 950 votes, most of which were described as diversionary

and Enugu states to join their Plateau State counterparts operated under the supervision of Bello Ahmed, the assistant Inspector-General of Police in charge of Zone IV.

Inside the stadium, it became apparent that what the organisers of the convention lost in organising the outside the venue events, they gained in the neat arrangement at the venue. The stadium stands were demarcated and labelled for delegates from different zones. Ushers neatly dressed in green and white brocades were on hand to tie other loose ends of the protocol scheme.

A police band was at the background churning out high life music to disperse the building tension. Balloons made in white and green colours with SDP logos were hung. The balloons burst periodically to further heighten the noise in the environment.

At the main entrance gate meant for journalists and party officials, the scene was riotous. The policemen batted to ensure only those accredited to enter the stadium got in. But the large

battery of reporters and photographers were resilient in their bid to gain entrance.

Afterall, around 1.00 pm, the members of the VIP Pavilion started arriving. With their different attires and caps to fit, they added a fashionable angle to the convention. While other aspirants were mainly in Agbada, Ralph Obioha for example came in a jumper with an over flowing top. The senate president: Iyorchia Ayu's multi coloured cap was also distinguished. Just as governor Isiaka Adeleke's elongated cap Kingibe came by 1.50 pm and shouts of "Sai Baba" erupted. He was the last aspirant to come in. Equally, Abiola's entry by 12.30 in a white Agbada with black shoes to match agitated the crowd into shouting MKO.

The presence of Abiola's children: Kola, Deji, Agboola and Wuraola, armed with walkie-talkies also caused a stir as they responded to cheers from their father's supporters.

The real business of the convention started around 4.00 pm. And in be-

tween, a lot of drama occurred. Like the order by the SDP caretaker chairman. Ishaya Shekari, that all disqualified participants - Biyi Durojaye, Lateef Jakande, Abubakar Rimi who came in should vacate. Shekari's announcement was to save them embarrassment from security agents who were getting incensed about their presence.

When the aspirants addressed delegates for five minutes, their speeches categorised them into two. Those who campaigned for votes and those who wished that whoever emerged should be supported by all party members. Abiola, Kingibe Atiku, Obioha and Sarah Jubril constituted the first group. The other had Ango Abdullahi, Akeem Giwa, Mike Arch and Jacob Tilley-Gyado. Around 5.30 pm, voting started and ended at 10.10 pm in the night. Sorting took place between 11.30 pm and 11.44 am on Sunday. By 11.50 counting started.

On realising that the party had actually allowed a Saturday event to take the substantial part of Sunday which

ballots aimed at bringing Kingibe to heel, was answering reporters questions in another corner.

In a euphoric mood, radiant Sarah said: "my coming a strong fourth is victory for women for mothers and for our children. I will make a very good vice-president." Lamidi Adedibu, tirelessly for Abiola's victory simply said in a bored tone: "Sarah can't be vice-president. Forget it." When asked who would be, he smiled his reply. "You will know."

Contrary to expectations Kingibe, whom many people feared might not be charitable in defeat, turned up 30 minutes after the result was announced. He was wearing a white *babanranga* and a brave smile. He was given the chance to accept the result and to pledge to work for the party's flag bearer Abiola. Meanwhile, some of his closest supporters broke down and wept openly. Others staunchly held their grief, but only just.

One of them, Kola Oseni a rather queer political activist from Lagos cushioned his emotion by chatting Kingibe up. Oseni openly berated an elderly man in Yoruba, accusing him of being a saboteur and a "Yar'Adua slave" who would choke on Yar'Adua's money." He was the Kingibe agent who had suddenly raised an alarm over what he saw as an "irregularity" in the voting and counting. When Abiola's ballots were out-numbering Kingibe's he suddenly demanded that all ballots marked MKO should not be counted for Abiola. His



Adedibu...Lead the Western flank

reason. MKO does not necessarily mean Moshood Kolawole Olawale. It may well mean "Money, Kudi, Owo." But, he was patiently reminded that *Baba*, which many Kingibe voters preferred, might well mean *Babanranga*. Reluctantly, he dropped the protest.

The international observers generally agreed that the polling was peaceful, free and fair. Robin Gorham, the Minister-Counsellor in the British High Commission in Nigeria, agreed that it allowed people to participate. But, when asked if he would recommend it for his country, he said: "No.

We have our own system. But if you like, you can sell it for profit to the international community." Nodding with a smile was Patrick Del of the US Embassy in Lagos who declined comments.

**An Abiola Presidency: An Insight**

THAT is the big question. How will an Abiola presidency be? Where will he pick his vice-president? Who will decide it? The Party? Yar'Adua? Abiola himself? More importantly, how about his programmes? Whose will it be?

was meant entirely for the second ballot, a member of the SDP caretaker committee Obi Nwosu, announced that state caretaker chairman would count votes of their state flagbearers concurrently. But the crowd moved against it. The counting for the first ballot ended around 8.05 on Sunday night.

After wards, the second ballot commenced. Voting for the second ballot terminated around 8.05 am on Monday morning. The sorting ended by 12.20 in the afternoon and by 1.30 pm, it was clear that Moshood Abiola had become the SDP presidential aspirant.

In his speech, Shekari congratulated Atiku first for his sportsman's spirit which made him withdraw from the final ballot to save the party from having a rancorous convention. He also commended Kingibe who was referred to as a statesman and committed party member for being magnanimous in defeat.

Abiola, who came in around 3.42 pm

clad in a yellow, heavily embroidered agbada was led into the stadium by the governors of Osun, Oyo and Ogun states. His speech centred around how he wants to give hope to what now look like a hopeless situation in the country. He rounded up by singing "Me I love Nigeria..."

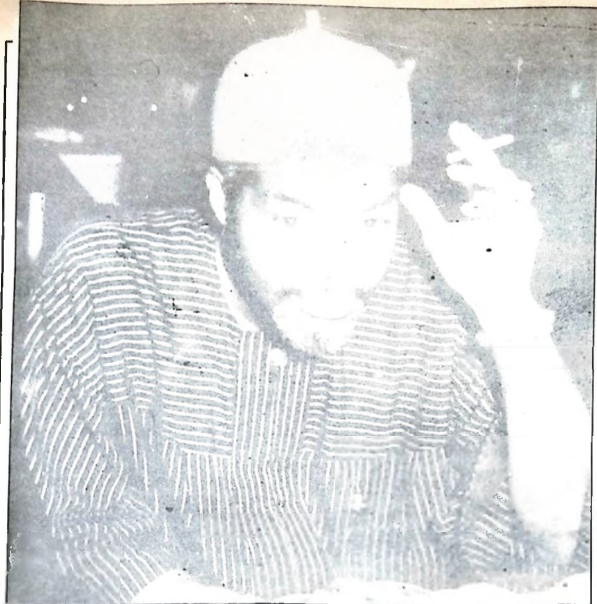
With Abiola's candidature confirmed, his supporters occupied the whole of Jos with chants of MKO. MKO. MKO. The police had a tough time containing them as they continued surging forward as if set to bring down the stadium walls. That was an exhibition of fulfilled dreams. Shina Peters later entertained Abiola supporters and Jos indigenes.

The election for party officers by the SDP which was to follow immediately was abandoned for several reasons. One, some delegates got impatient and wanted to leave for their respective states. Again, some delegates were not even ready to participate. Also, the gov-

ernors and other elders of the party saw the need to have rethink on the zoning of party offices.

While the meetings of the governors and other party elders was on, some delegates who were instructed to come for voting by 9.00 pm on Monday refused the suggestion. With their ballot papers already in their pockets, they filled them and stuffed them in the boxes. That was against the advice of the caretaker members and against earlier procedures. These facts led to the cancellation of the voting and deferral of the election.

In all, Jos '93 was a big turn in the events that are expected to lead the nation into Third Republic democracy. For a long time, the rock city may be expected to see nothing reminiscent of last week's national convention. If August 27 becomes a real, Jos, for a hosting such a big political occasion without crumbling, will be regarded as a foundation city in the building of a democratic nation.



Okadigbo...Happy to have helped a winner

It is clear that, unlike Kingibe, Abiola is neither a full-fledged politician (as yet) nor a dyed-in-the-wool party-man. He is still fresh from nature. The ideas he has of serving Nigeria are mainly his own. He will try to work it around the party's manifesto. Kingibe had declined, during the speeches to unveil any manifesto, saying: "as a staunch party man my programmes will evolve from the programme of Nigerian Social Democrats. My party will sit down and decide. I will lead by example."

Indications are there that Abiola will do well to widely consult the various power blocs in the party as he steps out into anything important. It may just be a passing shot but Abiola, on his own, appointed all party delegates as the coordinators of *Hope 93* campaign in their respective localities. He reportedly spent some 32 million naira in the congresses up to the national convention. And he sounds like one who will pay for the *Hope 93* campaigns from his own pocket if he has to. If he is paying the piper it follows that he will need to call the tune logically.

Secondly, the Abiola persona has evolved and solidified. He has a lot of personal aides hanging around him. They were blamed for Abiola's three hours of delay to come and deliver his

acceptance speech. And, he hired Sonny Okosuns and Shina Peters to give a night-time bash in two locations in Jos to celebrate his victory. All his wives and children were at the convention, including many top staff who played significant roles in the journey so far. Is Abiola, ready to unhand them of their functions and give it to others? A Yar'Adua aide, sounding realistic said: "I can't fit into the coming events. Abiola already has his people."

Another question. Just because he won the ticket. Just because he is ready to finance the campaigns. Are these enough reasons for Abiola's to hope that the various muscles in the party will let him run the show? Will the Yar'Adua political machine not insist that he "touches base" frequently? If what Chuba Okadigbo (a strong Yar'Adua groupie) told TSM is anything to go by, then Abiola had better realign his affairs to reflect, as much as possible, the character of the SDP. Said Okadigbo: "We will let him run the show but when he begins to forget certain things, we will remind him."

It's not just the Yar'Adua people. Kingibe, also. He is unlikely to let go the loyalists he has built. And Kingibe will kick hard if Abiola runs the show as "Abiola" and not as an SDP flag bearer.

And Abubakar Rimi's Kano leftists of the *Talokawa* ideological colour will try to retain themselves, hoping that Abiola will understand, respect their leaders and relate to them accordingly. The SDP flag bearer has already given a hint that he would be both "president Abiola" and an "SDP president" if Nigerians give him the mandate to serve. In his acceptance speech, he said "I have obtained the view of the Nigerian Labour Congress, Nigeria and over 690 association of students, women, voluntary and sporting organizations on what they perceive as a way out of the present dilemma and I intend to study and incorporate these views in our policy programmes. This will supplement the policy options for survival already adopted by our great party....our great party will present a programme of action that will convince the mass of our people that the party is ready to move our nation forward...."

How he is able to cope with the unique complexity of the Social Democratic Party will be a good test of stating an unusually complex Nigeria entails. That is, if he gets the people's mandate.

## QUOTELINES

"IT is Option A Rubbish. We worked it to succeed, it did not work us. Imagine them telling people to go back to their villages to contest. Next they will ask you to jump into the bush!"  
— Chuba Okadigbo, a senator airing his views on Option A4 at the SDP convention in Jos.

"MY opinion on Option A4 is irrelevant because it has been decreed."  
— Sule Lamido, an SDP secretaryship aspirant.

"IT has worked for you. If you like you can package it and sell it for profit."  
— Robin Gorham, an international observer on the success of Option A4.

"I WILL make a very good vice-president."  
— Sarah Jubril, expressing delight for coming 1st.

"SARAH Jubril won't be vice-president."  
— Lamidi Adedibu, to reporters on if Abiola would pick the lady politician.

# Beautifully hosted, colourless speeches

*Uninspiring speeches almost made the congress boring but it was fun, stewed with money, blackmail and "slates."*

By Comfort Obi

**B**ASHIR

Othman Tofa came to Port Harcourt packing only soft-coloured clothings. Nobody knew why he did that. For the three days the National Congress of the National Republican Convention lasted, Tofa wore soft colours. Light blue, light olive green, light Brown. And on the day he chose to celebrate his victory, Tofa celebrated in white.

Tofa's soft colours matched his soft looks and large soft eyes. A lady on seeing Tofa's eyes remarked: "These are not political eyes. They are bedroom eyes". But many dismissed these soft looks as deceptive. For, as they pointed out, no soft man could fight as hard as Tofa did to pick the presidential flag of the NRC.

Perhaps, more important is that his soft clothings had a sort of soothing complementary effect amidst the loud colours worn by thousands of people who thronged the convention, which all put together gave verve to the beautiful setting of the Port Harcourt civic centre, venue of the congress.

NRC couldn't have chosen a better venue to hold the congress. Built 17 years ago by former Rivers State Military Governor, Alfred Diette Spiff to accommodate about 10,000 people, about 5,000 plastic chairs were bought by the Rufus Ada-George government for the convention. In one sentence, the convention was beautifully

hosted.

If Port Harcourt could cave in, it could've have done so under the pressure of the thousands of feet which pounded the soil. They were not just the feet of delegates, aspirants, journalists, and officials. Thousands of hangers-on were there. Add these to the number of old and disqualified politicians who thronged the town. There were the Shehu Shagaris, the Emmanuel Iwuanyanwus, the Adamu Ciromas, the Umaru Shinkafis, the Bamanga Tukurs. These great influential men came to represent interests.

By Friday morning, Port Harcourt had been wrapped by thousands of posters competing for space. There were political bill boards all over the place. Most prominent were posters and bill-boards of Tofa and Ahmed Kusanotu.

Hundreds of petty traders thronged the Civil Centre and made a kill with their little wares for which they often inflated the prices by as much as 500%.

But that was in the spirit of the convention for in the excitement and jubilation of many, very few cared paying more!

Tofa deserved to celebrate. Even though it was rather obvious on the first day of the convention that he was in for a landslide, victory didn't quite come easy. A week to the convention, Tofa had transversed all the 30 states of Nigeria and Abuja selling himself to the delegates. As Tofa was doing this, his most celebrated, assumed rival, Dalhatu Tafida sat back in Kaduna, depending on the old defunct NPN machinery, headed by the Shagaris



Tofa...Victory for a generation

and the Adamu Ciromas.

Many factors helped Tofa to have an easy ride. One was his first visit to the NRC National Assembly members in Abuja. Chris Asoluka, a member of the House of Representatives told TSM "The very first day he came to address us, we took to him. He was of our age. And we saw in him a representation of our generation. He reminds me of Bill Clinton. He looks quiet, yet you could see some stubbornness about him. He spoke well and I was impressed." What Asoluka didn't tell was that a sum of N5,000 each, given through a member of the House from Abia, accompanied the beautiful speech.

At the Port Harcourt convention, Tofa fought for his generation. It was a fight between the youth and the old, between the 16 governors and the party elders. And it was tough, yet easy.

While the party elders, particularly Shagari and Ciroma were rooting for Tafida, and did all they could to see him through, the 16 governors backed Tofa. At an all-night meeting held separately at the presidential Hotel (by the elders) and at the Government House by the Governors Friday, the governors decided on Tofa and the elders on Tafida. The result was that two lists emerged (They call in slates) at the convention. While the governors' list read Tofa, Nwodo and Ajuwa, the elders' list read Tafida Wayas and Mammun.

The elders decision to back Tafida fired off the rebellious tendencies of young Northern elements. In fact, three things helped Tofa to emerge victorious. Aside from the rebellious tendencies of the young northerners directed at the feudal set-up, Tofa's wealth and his alleged closeness to the president, Ibrahim Babangida, Senior Military Officers and security agents helped him.

One of the major grounds on which Tofa's candidature proved attractive to delegates was his financial muscle. This, most delegates felt would match any candidate brought by the SDP. He was to confirm this better to some of his close aides. "If SDP's candidate gives one naira Naira, I'll give two Naira.

But more is that young progressive elements, particularly those from the Shinkafi and Tukur groups backed Tofa. A source told TSM, "These young progressives now resent any dictation from the old Northern politicians."

Tofa's campaign was unrivalled in structure and it cut through barriers. Tofa was on the road to personally canvass for votes. In Port Harcourt, his intimidating financing muscle made sure he took over the air-waves. His

## NRC presidential primaries result

1. Alhaji Bashir Tofa	Kano	4,472
2. Dr. Joe Nwodo	Enugu	1,813
3. Mr. Pere Ajuwa	Rivers	1,404
4. Dr. Dalhau Tafida	Kaduna	1,060
5. Alhaji Samaila Mammun	Katsina	890
6. Alhaji Ahmed Joda	Adamawa	521
7. Alhaji Sanni Bello	Niger	518
8. Dr. Raymond Dokpesi	Edo	382
9. Alhaji Idris Koko	Keabi	371
10. Alhaji Abba Sana Terab	Borno	366
11. Alhaji Bashi Mustapha	Bauchi	301
12. Dr. Ime Ekop Ebong	Akwa Ibom	190
13. Alhaji Adanu Hadeja	Jigawa	181
14. Mr. Greg Mbadiwe	Imo	175
15. Dr. Edwin Onwudike	Anambra	168
16. Mr. Dalhau Avat	Plateau	168
17. Alhaji Aliyu Fari	Taraba	168
18. Dr. Joe Wayas	Cross River	155
19. Dr. Ogbonnaya Dike	Abia	154
20. Alhaji Abdul Rasheed S.	Kuara	148
21. Mr. Godwin Omaiuli	Delta	145
22. Chief Funso Ologunde	Lagos	136
23. Prof. Ignatio Ayua	Benue	111
24. Rev. Ola Akande	Oyo	109
25. Pade Aderibigbe	Osun	31

\*Final score Alhaji Bashir Tofa — 4,281  
Chief Pere Ajuwa — 575

artistic portraits in bill boards, each costing as much as N200,000, were displayed at the main gate of the civic centre and other strategic places. The delay in paying delegates their Federal Government N10,000 by the authorities created for the Tofa team an avenue for further penetration. Members of his Action Committee reportedly, quickly took over and "helped" the delegates.

On Friday and Saturday nights, his aides and praise-singers took over all the hotels in Port Harcourt, particularly the Presidential Hotel where all the presidential aspirants were lodged. They danced all through the night, shouting Tofa's name. This had an unerving effect on the other aspirants. It was like a psychological war mounted on his rivals.

The police could not control them, nor could they control the hundreds of Tofa campaign cars which thronged the venue of the convention carrying praise singers. Each group of praise-singers consisted of over 1,000 people. Each person was on a salary of N500 a day, we gathered in Port Harcourt.

But that's not all the money that was spent. The delegates took money from virtually all the aspirants. The aspirants handbills and posters were passed on to the delegates through the

chairmen of their local government caretaker committees. But it was at a price. Each batch was accompanied by what the delegates called "minimum." Minimum here means money. And the least for each LGA was N50,000.

The belief in Port Harcourt on Sunday was that if Babangida would hand over power on August 27, he would prefer Tofa to any other aspirant in the NRC. But incidentally, the next day another Babangida very close friend, MKO Abiola, emerged in the SDP, a turn of events, which a delegate summarised thus: "Two IBB boys have emerged."

Contrary to all calculations and expectations, the NRC convention was smooth as well as full of surprises. For example, against all calculations, Joe Nwodo and Pere Ajuwa, both aspirants from Enugu and-Rivers States respectively made the first three behind Tofa.

While Ajuwa's emergence in the first ballot was easily attributable to a working relationship he had with Tofa, Nwodo's second place in the first ballot was simply because he impressed the delegates in the mandatory NEC three minutes speech. The three minutes speech proved quite difficult to most aspirants. They performed badly and

## QUOTELINES

**"IF Abiola gives N1.00, Tofa will give N2.00."**

— A Tofa supporter on hearing of Abiola's victory in Jos.

**"THE SDP is a party that will waste valuable time fighting itself than fighting to solve the problem of our country."**

— Bashir Tofa, NRC's presidential candidate in his acceptance speech

**"NOT that we are sad but we never knew he would not be among the first three."**

— A Tofa aide on Tofa's defeat.

**"THE SDP has given us the presidency."**

— Rufus Ada-Gorge, Rivers State Governor reacting to Abiola's candidature.

**"WE were made refugees in our own country."**

— Abdullahi Waziri, a House of Representatives member, reflecting on Orkhai's coup while reacting to Ajawa's call that the North to vote for the South this time around.

**"LOOK at the police. Look at them fighting over money when they were instructed not to allow anybody come in with a large sum of money. I am disgusted, we are finished."**

— A showman looking at PPP as he squirts a 15 policeman fighting over money (he's) at them by a politician.

refused to step down, and instead made a fiery, emotional speech on the day of the second ballot. He urged the North to, for once, vote for a Rivers man and compensate those who have been voting for them for years and contributing about 60 per cent of Nigeria's wealth.

Ajawa's speech drew a lot of criticisms from a lot of delegate particularly from the North. A Rivers State delegate who pleaded anonymity told TSM "Ajawa has embarrassed us. His speech smacked of tribalism." But Abdullahi Waziri, a member of the House of Representatives from Sokoto was more fiery. He told TSM "Ajawa is playing with fire. Before the April 2 Orkhai coup, the progressives in the North had decided that okay, we'll give the south a chance to produce a president. But surprisingly, just as we took this decision, a group of irresponsible officers from the south and Middle belt connived, carried out a coup and made us refugees

in our own own country. The military can carry out a coup when they want to but they carried it too far by making us refugees in our country. They removed us from our country. So now, we are planning to give the south a chance in 1997, not 1993. And this is definite. We are one. Nobody should discriminate, but some southerners are always discriminating against us."

For standing up to Tofa and breaching an agreement, Ajawa, most delegates told TSM may have lost the chance of becoming Tofa's running mate. The name which was on everybody's lips was Nwodo. But there is a little confusion. On Tuesday night NTA news announced Nwodo as Tofa's running mate. Almost immediately Nwodo and Tofa denied the statement. On Wednesday in Enugu, Nwodo told his people at a reception organised in his honour that he'd never run for any post in Nigeria again. "I've reached the top," he said.

If Ajawa misses the Yeepee slot he will not be the only person who lost at the convention. Tom Ikimi, former National Chairman of the NRC lost out too. Ikimi was at the convention as an observer. He sat with his Edo State people. Ikimi who had been criticising and denying Tofa's popularity two weeks before the congress did same again in Port Harcourt on Friday. However on Saturday, Ikimi saw that Tofa was more popular than he thought. When it was clear that Tofa would emerge, Ikimi, through Lucky Igbinodion, tried to reach out to Tofa's people. The move was rebuffed.

So, who becomes Tofa's running mate? A few names have come up: Joe Irinkwu, Senator Echeruo, Emmanuel Adiele and yes even Ogbonnaya Onu, governor of Abia State. The decision was stated to be taken in Abuja last weekend.

### ...And the National Executive election

**T**HE pattern was much the same as that of the presidential election except that there were a lot of blackmail and money involved.

A couple of hours before the election which took place on Monday, March 27, a list which was termed the authentic list had been passed round to most delegates. Again the governors were accused of interfering with the elections by drawing the list.

On the "authentic" list, Agunbiade Lawrence, an ex-senator from Oyo State was billed to be the chairman. The reasoning of the governors was

almost put a stain on an otherwise well organised convention. Now, you'd expect one aspirant to the presidency capable of making a three minute speech without looking at any written speech. This was not the case. A good number of them mounted the stage with written speeches. Many of them were nervous. One, almost at every second, pushed down the podium on which he placed his written speech. The speeches were colourless and very elementary. Most of them simply picked on the Nura without saying how they would make it appreciate.

Tofa's speech was one of the most unimpressive. Which in fact, contributed to his being pushed to the third place. He couldn't utilize the three minutes given to him to speak. He used only two minutes, and ran out of what to say.

Tofa's turn was something else. The ovation which greeted his appearance, as he was called to make his speech made it impossible for him to speak. The delegates wouldn't let him as they all kept screaming "Tofa Tofa". At a point, the National Chairman of the Caretaker Committee, Lateef Okunnu, had to appeal to them to let Tofa speak. But it wasn't possible. And Tofa stood down. And so for standing up, he got a three-minute standing ovation.

However, both Nwodo and Onwudike were exceptional. Nwodo in particular. He spoke confidently. He was lively and had no written speech. At the end, he capped it with a song. And the delegates sang along with him. After this, they gave him a standing ovation. Nwodo's speech swayed the votes in his favour and he came second.

However, the story in Port Harcourt among the delegates was that Tofa, Nwodo and Ajawa were working together. For instance, Tofa's coordinator in Rivers State, Maxwell Akiri, also coordinated for Ajawa and made sure Ajawa became the flag bearer for Rivers State. From the way Nwodo and Tofa were carrying on at the convention, it was obvious they were working together. They hugged themselves several times and laughed. They brought out lists and ticked together — usually papers brought out from Tofa's pocket.

Before the first ballot, TSM gathered that the three had been told they'd come up tops in this order — Tofa, Nwodo and Ajawa. But the arrangement was that both Nwodo and Ajawa would step down for Tofa after the first ballot.

While Nwodo disappointed many people by stepping — down but got a long commendation from Tofa, Ajawa allegedly breached the agreements. He

## National Executive of NRC

Post	Name	State	Votes
National Chairman	Dr. Ahmed Kusamotu	Osun	1596
Deputy National Chairman	Murtala Abba Mohammed	Adamawa	2519
National Secretary	Dr. Salka Bawa	Niger	2216
(1) Asst. National Sec.	Oju Daniel-Kallo	Rivers	2306
(2) Asst. National Sec.	Abubakar Muktar	Katsina	2298
National Treasurer	Prof. Eyo-Ita Laurence	Cross River	2601
Asst. National Treasurer	Abari, Musa Tanko	FCT	2415
National Financial Sec.	Anka, Yushau Mohammed	Sokoto	2281
Asst. National Finan. Sec.	Adebo, Eijabi E.A. (Dr.)	Ogun	2087
National Publicity Sec.	Uroho, Okoye Barrister	Imo	1183
Asst National Pub. Sec.	Kogi	1922	
National Legal Adviser	Nkire, Theo (Barris. Chief)	Abia	2507
(1) Asst National Legal Ad.	Saidu, Abdullahi	Kaduna	2179
(2) Asst. Na. Legal Ad.	Edem, Solong Edem	Akwu Ibom	1769
National Auditor	Natori Abdullahi Usman	Anambra	2253
Asst. National Auditor	Iyiroba, Chuzie (Bar.Mrs.)	Anambra	2253
Ex-Officio	Exc. Justina (Mrs.)	Enugu	2024
Ex-Officio	Olaye Ramoni	Oyo	1720
	Igbara S.A. Oga	Benue	1610
	Leigh, Richmond S. (Dr.)	Delta	1212
	Ajufo, Lizzy (Chf. Mrs.)	Delta	1149
	Muktan Mohammed Ahmed	Kaduna	976



Tafida...Poor outing

that since Tofa, a muslim has emerged, Agunbiade, a christian from the West should emerge as chairman.

The decision was reached at a meeting the previous night where the candidacy of all those aspiring were considered. On the score card, Hammed Kusamotu from Osun State came up tops. But Uba Ahmed, a senator from Bauchi State advised against allowing any of those who supported the former presidential aspirants to emerge. He said it wouldn't be good for the party as they still had their factions. This, of course, meant that both Doyin Olupe and Kusamotu have been knocked off. Both men were staunch supporters of Tukur and Shinkafi respectively. A decision was therefore reached to make Agunbiade the official candidate.

But Olupe reacted and alleged blackmail, and equally alleged that Agunbiade, he charged, "Even if it is N500,000, I'll give you back. Let us all a "slate" Nobody listened to him and name as chairman.

Ogbemudia who before the election was touted as the man to beat, considering that he was allegedly Igbinedion's candidate, angrily wrote a letter to Okunnu withdrawing from the race. list had been drawn in which his name was removed and concluded that the "Having regard to the new development which has produced a list of candidates to be voted for, I have come to the inescapable conclusion that the election of the chairman will not be free or fair. This arrangement has struck a very bad blood on the foundation of the party which it may never recover from."

Ogbemudia, however, surprisingly withdrew the letter later-on and contested. He couldn't convince many people again of his seriousness, having withdrawn from the race before.

However the drawn list didn't work as planned as far as the chairmanship race was concerned.

The Shinkafi group pulled the rug from under everybody's feet and installed Kusamotu. It was not easy. Delegates got N500 each from this group. Most of the governors were not happy. Said an aide to one of the governors, "How could they do this. Tofa is muslim. We had agreed that a christian occupies the chairmanship position. But Kusamotu is a moslem too. How do we fight our rivals now?"

For once, the governors lost out.

# The game plan of Tofa's victory

By Steve Raymond Okakuwe

**I**BRAHIM Nasiru Mantu is a name that did not get a mention during the just concluded national convention of the National Republican Convention (NRC) in Port Harcourt, Rivers State. For all that mattered his name only appeared on the list of candidates running for the post of the national secretaryship of the party, and he withdrew at the last hour. However, the republicans know him as a smooth operator and shrewd politician with a great vision for the political future. His boldness in party politics has put him in conflict with elder politicians. In fact his close associates were quick to refer to the second republic, when he started as member of the Nigerian Peoples Party (NPP) in Plateau State and decamped on principles to the National Party of Nigeria (NPN). At the first experiment of transition, Ibrahim Mantu was a founding member of the Liberal Convention. When the Federal Government decreed two political parties, he joined the republicans to form NRC. His radical views did not go down well with the party leadership until they were sacked by the military.

When the Federal Military Government brought out the latest political formula called "Option A4," and called



Tofa... delegates could not allow him speak

out fresh newbreed politicians to vie for political leadership of the nation. Bashir Tofa, now presidential candidate of NRC, who has been Mantu's political buddy sent for him in Jos. Ibrahim Mantu, an indigene of Mangu Local Government of Plateau State, moved to Kano to draw out a scheme on how to deal deadly political blows on the elders who have remained the bane of dirty politics in the country.

TSM spotted Ibrahim Mantu at the right wing of the Civic Centre in Port Harcourt, where he sat innocently and giving directives to his close aides who dashed to the stand of each state convention delegation. He also had his eyes fixed on the Kano State stand where Bashir Tofa was seated, acknowledging greetings and exchanging pleasantries with his home delegates. While Mantu was coordinating "affairs" from the balcony, another smart and smooth operator, who shares the same political vision, Sami Charles, was on the floor making sure the delegates were "fixed." Following intelligence report TSM received from the "4th Floor" of the Presidential Hotel, Port Harcourt, the previous night, the reporter kept a trail on these unseen hands that were in charge of "affairs" at the convention.

Tracking down Ibrahim Mantu and

Sami Charles was the most difficult thing as they operated like undercover security operatives. They checked in and out of several rooms per hour. It was while combing the hotel rooms by 3.00 a.m. Sunday March 28, that TSM caught the duo at a post-election meeting in "Room 439." Mantu said he still had more business to do for the group that saw them to victory, who were gunning for party posts that afternoon. He mandated Sami Charles, his close associate to attend to the issues raised for clarification from this reporter.

The negotiations and schemings that led to Tofa's victory started shortly after the Federal Government approved the "Option A4" electoral process. Bashir Tofa contacted Ibrahim Mantu, who encouraged him to vie for Presidency and they talked to the elders in Kano State. But soon after the consultations began, factions arose between the conservatives and the liberals in Kano NRC.

Among the elders Tofa was reportedly seen as a green horn who was inclined to appeal more to the younger generation and therefore likely to marginalise them in his campaign. Tofa was said to have great appeal to southerners who saw in him a hope for, a new Nigeria. But the elders who had earlier

given him their blessing saw him as a threat to their power-base and so decided to field a candidate they believed had clout to undercut Tofa's growing popularity among the newbreeds in Kano State.

It was at this juncture that the elders fielded Aminu Wali to contest with Bashir Tofa in the state. From then on, the battle became a straight-fight between the conservatives and the liberal, younger generation man in the federal, younger generation man in the republic party.

Tofa's defeat of Aminu Wali at the polls, was therefore a humbling bruise for the elders among whom was Adamu Ciroma.

Ibrahim Mantu was salo to have then mobilised a powerful machinery to fight the elders, who then re-grouped to adopt Dalhatu Tafida as their candidate. It was this committee of elders who were said to have been behind the defeat of Yakubu Gowon in Zaria Local Government of Kaduna State.

Bashir Tofa is said to believe in grass-roots politics. In fact his attempt at real partisan politics was at grassroots level when he became a councillor of Dawakin Tofa Local Government of Kano State in 1976. In 1977, he was elected to represent the council in the Constituent Assembly which fashioned out the constitution of the second republic.

The entry of Bashir Tofa into northern politics created a new challenge to the elders. According to his close aides, Tofa discovered that the old political system, whereby the elders sat at home and issued directives was no longer ideal in the new dispensation. He therefore declared a straight-fight from the grassroots where he commanded great appeal.

While the northern elders were having their consultative meetings in Lagos, Abuja and Kaduna, Ibrahim Mantu assembled a powerful campaign team, packaged Bashir Tofa for wholesale delivery in the states. From March 9, 1993 to March 21, 1993, Bashir Tofa touched down in every state capital in Nigeria and personally reached all the national delegates in this country.

Sami Charles, a special assistant to Rivers State Governor, and member of national campaign coordination of Tofa, told TSM, "Bashir carried his message along with his able team led by Mantu to the door step of every national delegate in this country. He was unlike others who did not visit other states or even their state delegates. In the course of his tour," he revealed, "Tofa had the opportunity of meeting like-minds across the nation and his charisma captured the minds of

many of the delegates. So, what you heard on day of victory was the reflection of the hard work of the presidential candidate and his men", he pointed out.

In the course of his campaign tour, Tofa won the sympathy and support of NRC governors in the country. One of them, Rufus Ada Geoge of Rivers State, a born-again christian, who for a long time believed in the philosophy that younger people should be entrusted with responsibility. In fact, he is said to have personally campaigned for Tofa, a moslem among his colleagues in the eastern states. The governors were however, more concerned about how to have a successful convention that would produce the best among the candidates who would weld the party together and ride on the crest of victory come June 12. Several consultations were held in Port Harcourt, Lagos, Umuahia, Enugu, Calabar and on regional levels for a choice candidate.

TSM gathered that the governors considered most who among the candidates that was least controversial and could lead the party to victory. They also sought for a candidate that is humble and prepared to consult on national issues. "That, they found in Bashir Tofa, knowing him as a broad-minded fellow. He made the difference in comparison to others whom they eventually dropped."

Political pundits have since ascribed

Tofa's victory to the huge state machinery behind him at the convention which were provided by the NRC state governors to the disadvantage of other candidates. The same argument made in regard to the failure of Dalhatu Tafida who had the backing of the elders. In fact the scenario was clear by midnight of Friday March 27, 1993 that the battle for the nation's number one plum job was between the elders and the younger generation. The republican kingpins however, doffed their caps for Tofa for his early vision to align himself to the governors.

Inside sources disclosed that the NRC governors held a meeting Friday night before the convention to unanimously adopt Tofa in Port Harcourt. According to party sources, the governors are the leaders of the party since there was no party hierarchy in place as the Caretaker Committee members were not politicians but bureaucrats. The meeting was therefore scheduled to review crucial agenda and other preparations for the convention.

However, the elders made logistic and tactical mistakes by shifting their meeting to Owerri, where Adamu Ciroma and Umaru Shinkafi were in charge of affairs, and before they could move their machinery to Port Harcourt, much damage had been done by Tofa's aggressive team. There were

Kusamotu...My strength is in the delegates



speculations that a rift over choice of candidate between the Governors and the elders of the party at the wee-hours of Saturday threatened to disrupt the convention.

A national assembly member, who in confirming the rift, defended the governors said "The elders wanted to impose Tafida based on their judgement and wisdom. If the governors reacted, they only carried out the wishes of the delegates and people of this nation, because they know the pulse, mind and reaction of the party."

Tofa's campaign strategist, Sami Charles, in analysing the failure of the elders said the elder's mistake was that while they were having consultation in neighbouring state with their recommended candidate, Tofa's team was busy campaigning with delegates. And before the elders came with their candidate to Port Harcourt, the delegates had made up their minds. In fact, Sami said, "We went round last minute to see the delegates."

This fact was attested to at the venue of the convention when the presidential aspirants were presented to address delegates each for three minutes before the election commenced Saturday afternoon. Joe Nwodo, one of the aspirants, had held the delegates spell bound with his oratory, leaving no one in doubt that he was the only candidate that came to the convention with a definite agenda and programme for the Third Republic.

When it was the turn of Bashir Othman Tofa, the crowd could not allow him speak. For merely standing from his seat, he got three minutes standing ovation. Tofa had to send out prepared copies of his speech to the press in which he pledged to tackle the problems of unemployment, inflation, low productivity, dwindling educational facilities, health care delivery and external debt. The delegates it seemed already knew their man, and so had no problem in casting 4,472 votes out of 5,009 accredited delegates for Tofa while Joe Nwodo's highly articulate political and economic agenda translated into the second position with 1,812 votes-Rivers man, Pere Ajuwa, who appealed to the sentiment of the northerner to support their traditional minority allies in the East came third with 1,404 votes. The crash of Dalhatu Tafida with 1,062 votes to come fourth was a knock on the elders who quickly withdrew to guest house for a caucus meeting to lick their wounds.

After the first round of voting, the political pendulum had swung to the side of Tofa and intensive lobbying kept everybody sleepless. The Govern-



Nwodo...Withdrew from election in interest of the party

ors went in for an all night meeting where strategies were outlined, debated, and candidates were adopted. The governors had to review the election in view of the party's consultative forum guideline which zoned the presidency to north-east.

The five names before the governors were Tofa, Nwodo, Ajuwa, Tafida and Mamman. And by elimination, only Tofa, Tafida and Mamman came from the zone. And since Tafida and Mamman were out of the race, the Governors wanted Nwodo and Ajuwa to step down. Okwesilieze Nwodo made a case for his brother Joe Nwodo for Vice Presidency and he was asked to withdraw. But elders of core eastern states, however, were bargaining for Ajuwa and Nwodo to ally their votes against Tofa. While the eastern leaders were sitting at Presidential Hotel suites, they also monitoring the Government House.

When the second balloting started on Sunday, the general impression was that Ajuwa had withdrawn, but he turned up two hours late and declared he was much in the race. But Joe Nwodo declared his support for Tofa and asked his supporters to vote for Tofa. This last minute arrangement gave Tofa 4,281, votes at the second ballot to beat Ajuwa hands down with 575 votes while 99 votes were recorded against Nwodo, apparently from the illiterate delegates.

At the end of Sunday's session, the governors went in for another meeting but the outcome did not go well with

the party's past aspirants. The elders were on their guard this time. And so when a list of names flew out of the governors meeting as the "winning list," the elders of the party protested and drew out their own list.

The elders led by Shinkafi, Ciroma and Iwuanyanwu complained through their spokesman Chief Abiola Ogundokun that the governors had marginalised them in important decisions affecting the party. Ogundokun revealed that the governors used security report to cancel Kusamotu's candidacy for chairmanship of the party.

But Kusamotu, thanked his star that the governors' list came out on time to enable him neutralise their campaign. He told TSM, "My strength is in the delegates" and vowed to fight to the end, which he did. Kusamotu said the governors used two criteria against the governors used two criteria against him, — that the presidential candidate is a moslem like him, and that he was Shinkafi's man. He mobilised support for himself Monday morning and when the results were counted Tuesday morning he was all smiles.

However, a thorny issue that was not resolved at the end of the convention was the position of the vice president which had been zoned to the East. Tofa did not want to commit himself on the issue and said the party would take a decision on that. Tofa's man however described Joe Nwodo who withdrew from the race half way as "a true mature party man who believes in the supremacy and unity of the party. Knowing that the withdrawal will bring sanity and mature credence to NRC, he accepted to withdraw with little pressure." It was revealed that no carrot was dangled at him and the withdrawal was in the interest of the party. He did it as a loyal party man and fine sports man, and he remained to be respected, and remembered for it" said an insider.

One other issue that caused concern to observers was the use of money to influence votes in favour of presidential candidates. Tofa's campaign man however, maintained that it was the cheapest presidential campaign run in this country. Says Sami Charles, "To be frank, I have worked in other previous elections. I was national director of the front runners in last election, and so I knew the role of money and how much each candidate spent. This was the cheapest primary election we have ever had. The only time we spent money was on transport and hotels. The secret of our success is brain, tactics and a sellable candidate with vision and programme."

*Shock, disbelief, despair  
joy, broad smiles, victory  
sighs, all rolled in one.*

By Comfort Obi



HEY knew they had a problem in their hands in far away Jos. And so, even though Jos is hundreds of kilometers away from Port Harcourt, delegates to the national congress of the National Republican Convention, NRC, brought Jos down to the Civic Centre, venue of the congress.

Jos could make or mar NRC's future, so, they took time off to discuss what was going on in Jos. They agreed that the three Social Democratic Party, SDP, front-runners, Moshood Abiola, Baba Gana Kingibe and Abubakar Atiku were formidable, particularly with the image of Shehu Yar'adua lurking behind.

They were as anxious and tensed up as SDP members in Jos, to know who comes up tops. At times, a good number of them switched their minds off their own convention to discuss the three SDP candidates and the chances of Bashir Tofa, NRC candidate with any of the three that emerges.

By Friday evening, NRC delegates were sure that Tofa was their candidate. But SDP's case, they agreed, was dicey. A good number of them agreed it could be difficult, particularly if there is a television debate between Kingibe and Tofa. Tofa, they pointed out, was a quiet operator, a man of few words, intelligent, yes, but not as articulate as Kingibe. They agreed Kingibe was an orator who plays with the language. And they were not quite sure how many votes a televised interview between Kingibe and the seemingly quiet Tofa would garner.

Opinions were divided in Abiola's case. And the argument was quite intense. What would an Abiola candidature mean for Tofa, for NRC? While many people, particularly the southerners felt it would be dicey, many northerners prayed for Abiola to emerge.

An Abiola candidature, the southerners said, would be difficult to contain. Reason: Abiola is a moslem. Abiola they pointed out equally has a lot of goodwill. Being a moslem, they said, would likely split the northern vote, particularly if he picks a moslem

# How NRC Took Abiola's Victory

Hausa/Fulani as a running mate. And being a southerner, particularly with the clamour for a shift of the power base by some southerners may rake in most southern votes for Abiola.

However, the northerners saw it differently. They prayed for an Abiola because they felt it would be a sure win for the NRC. And their reason: The southerners cannot have both economic power and political power.

In spite of the argument which reduced tension, anxiety was high. Many came to the convention with Transistor Radios. The delay in Jos worsened matters and increased speculations. And false results.

As early as 7.00 a.m on Sunday March 29 when the counting of votes (first ballot) in Jos had just started, quite a good number of people swore that the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) had announced SDP's result. And the version they gave depended on where their interest was.

Nwodo, Tofa...NRC will be in Abuja

While a group gleefully announced that Kingibe had emerged first, followed by Abiola and Atiku, others announced Abiola had come first, followed by Abiola and Kingibe in that order. And yet said BBC had announced that Abiola came tops, followed by Atiku and Kingibe.

The truth, however, was that BBC announced nothing. By 7.00 a.m, Sunday, when they were swearing by BBC counting was still going on.

A good number of them even went a step further — "BBC said the SDP convention had been suspended Saturday night because a riot had broken out and 20 people (some said 22) had died."

It was the 4.00 p.m. — Radio Nigeria news that brought the true story to the NRC convention. When the news declared that Abiola had beaten both Kingibe and Atiku, most NRC delegates broke into joyful songs. But their song was short-lived when they heard the margin wasn't much. One of them told others, "Kai, Kingibe may still win." They declared they'd pray over it. They wanted Abiola to win.

Tuesday was the "D-day" and everybody was anxious to hear the final result. Again the reliable sources was 4.00 O'clock news. When the news about Abiola's victory in the second



ballot was read, the first reaction was a short silence. And then, shock, disbelief, despair, joy, broad smiles and victory signs — all rolled in one.

Most of them took to dancing — declaring, "We have been given the presidency on a platter of gold." Those wearing caps, on hearing the news, removed their caps, threw it up and jubilated. They slapped one another on the back and pumped hands. But some others didn't see it that way. They received the news of Abiola's victory with shock and despair.

Rufus Ada-George, Rivers State Governor received it with joy. Said he, "Now that we know who our opponent is, we'll go into battle. But if you ask me, SDP has given NRC the presidency. We've taken it."

Tofa declared it a "no-contest." He said "In SDP, we had no opponent really from what I hear from Jos. We are in Abuja already."

A close aide of his disclosed to TSM that "The president (Tofa) has promised that money was not problem. He has told us that if Abiola gives one Naira, he will give two Naira."

For Bisi Ajayi from Ondo State, "It is a one-way contest. If Abiola spreads his money, we'll eat it, and we'll vote for Tofa. We are all in the campaign together, it is all of us that will speak to the people."

For Chris Asoluka, member, House of Representatives, "We are in Abuja already." And for his counterpart from Sokoto State, Abudullahi Waziri, "It is a well laid out plan, we are there, come August 27, 1993."

But both Pere Ajuwa, defeated NRC presidential aspirant and Emmanuel Iwuanyanwu, top NRC stalwart were more cautious. Ajuwa told TSM "Of course, we shall win but we shouldn't take anything for granted. Abiola is formidable and he has a lot of goodwill. It'll be stupid of us to relax and take things for granted. And Iwuanyanwu warned, "We have to work extra hard to defeat Abiola. He should not be underrated."

For Ekong Umoh from Akwa Ibom State, the fear was that "NRC may lose if we take things for granted. Abiola's emergence would split the Eastern votes. I would have preferred Kingibe to Abiola. Now, Abiola would match us Naira for Naira, car for car, aircraft for aircraft."

And for Chris Ukpabi from Abia, "We'll eventually win. I think his emergence is a good omen — one candidate from the South and one from the North. Both are moslems. I think the battle line is drawn. Abiola is

strong but we're stronger.

However, the man Journalists missed was Saleh Michika, Adamawa State governor. Journalists were rooting to ask him questions? Why he was seen Abiola's emergence? Why he was voting at the congress even when he had declared that he'd vote for Abiola as well as mobilise Adamawa people to vote for Abiola. But nobody could get near him. His orderlies and ADC, who perhaps anticipated what questions the Journalists could ask were under instructions not to let any Journalists

## Pere Ajuwa declared missing!

*How can a presidential aspirant who made the first three suddenly disappear on the D-day? Here is the story.*

By Comfort Obi

**N**OBODY reckoned with him. In fact, not many people remembered that Pere Ajuwa, Rivers State NRC presidential flag bearer was in the race. As far as the press was concerned, Ajuwa was not hot. All everybody knew were Bashir Tofa, Ismaila Mamman and Dalhatu Ajuwa, no agreement



come near. TSM tried it. We were just asking Michika the question when his ADC, in a most crude manner threatened to deal with us.

But the question remains: who'll Michika vote for? How much vote can he garner for Abiola in Adamawa? A governor told us in confidence, "Certainly, nobody would've bothered if Abiola wins Adamawa in June. But with Michika's public statement, if Abiola does, we'll sponsor Michika's expulsion and impeachment."

Tafida.

In fact, a reputable News magazine had written only last week that Ajuwa was a Shehu Yar'Adua man. Which makes him an SDP man.

But perhaps, the Newspapers shouldn't be blamed. Not many people knew Ajuwa. And this, in spite of the fact that he was a governorship aspirant. He was defeated by Rufus Ada George in the primaries. Ajuwa was a member of the constituent Assembly. But he was "chucked" out of the Assembly over an issue that nobody wants to discuss.

But now, Ajuwa has become a celebrity of sorts. Against all calculations, Ajuwa made the first three, out of whopping 29, in the first ballot of the presidential primaries. Scoring 1,404, he beat Tafida, the man who beat — Yakubu Gowon during the Local Government Congress in Kaduna State. So, you see now, Ajuwa has added this to his credentials — the man who beat the man who beat Gowon. But there is even a more superior bit — first runner up in the NRC presidential primaries. Courtesy of Nwodo's withdrawal (for Tofa) after the first ballot, Ajuwa came second — scoring 584 votes to Tofa's 4,184 votes.

Since Ajuwa's feat, speculations have been rife as to how he made it. Ajuwa is a man who pulls surprises. He has a deceptive look. Quiet, but there is something about him which spells stubbornness.

Actually, Ajuwa pulled the first feat to clinch the NRC Rivers State presidential ticket

when he defeated Ferdy Alabaraba, until now, was very popular in Rivers State, courtesy of 1 1/2 percent (now 3 percent) oil derivation fund. He was the chairman.

While Ajuwa told everybody who cares to hear that he performed well because he was quite popular, others disagree.

A number of people attribute Ajuwa's performance to his relationship with the Yorubas. Even though Ajuwa is an Ijaw man from Rivers.

many people allege that he is an Ijaw man from Ondo State. His own side in Rivers is quite close to Ondo. Secondly, his wife is from Oyo State. These, they speculated, gave Ajuwa a lot of support from the Western States. But more than that is the allegation that Ajuwa came third courtesy of a working agreement he had with Tofa. This agreement almost marred the NRC primaries in the second ballot, even though Ajuwa denies this. For seven hours, Ajuwa was missing. And for 2 hours 17 minutes, Ajuwa held up the second ballot.

It was on Sunday. After Ajuwa's performance in the first ballot, many people, especially from Rivers and Western states were rooting for him. Rivers people were happy that their son performed such a feat. In fact as soon as the result became public Sunday morning, some Rivers State broke into a dance.

But a couple of hours later, their joy turned into anxiety and suspicion. Seven hours into the convention, five hours after Ajuwa's colleagues, Tofa and Joe Nwodo had taken their seats, and two hours, seventeen minutes into the process for the voting, Ajuwa was nowhere to be seen.

Everybody got worried. Speculations became rife. What happened to Ajuwa? While some people suggested that Ajuwa may have been kidnapped, others said he may have been arrested by the police. Buy why?

Those who spoke of the kidnap bit said Ajuwa may have so much surprised many people by his performance that he may have become a victim of kidnapping just to spite Rivers State. Others agreed and said it must be the handwork of his political enemies.

But there were others who speculated that Ajuwa may have withdrawn from the race seeing that the gap given to them by Tofa was obscene. But again others said that Ajuwa was so proud of coming third the previous day that he couldn't have chickened out.

There was equally a speculation that he may have fallen ill after the all night vigil while counting lasted. But somebody quickly dismissed this, saying, "So, is that how he is going to rule us. After a night's vigil, he falls ill."

Visibly worried, with Ajuwa's empty chair staring at her, Lateefat Okunnu, National Chairman, NRC Caretaker Committee announced that nobody had seen Ajuwa. He called on the Rivers State NRC Caretaker Chairman to come and explain Ajuwa's whereabouts. The man couldn't, and quickly ran to the Rivers State "Stand" to ex-



Tofa, Ajuwa...What agreement

plain to the Governor and to ask if anybody had seen Ajuwa. Nobody did.

Ajuwa was billed to speak first but after waiting for him till 2.05 p.m., Okunnu called on Joe Nwodo to go up and deliver his mandatory 15 minutes speech, declaring, "I hope Ajuwa comes because it is too late to withdraw." It was mid-way into Nwodo's speech that Ajuwa appeared, looking a little embarrassed but calm.

Directly after Nwodo's speech, he was called up to make his. And it was here that Ajuwa released his bombshell. Without apologising for his absence, he told the congress how the minorities, particularly Rivers State, were being marginalised by the rest of the country. He called on the northerners to relinquish the leadership of the country and for once vote for a Rivers man. Said he, "Rivers people have been voting for you a long time, this is now the time for you to reciprocate and vote for a Rivers man. This country belongs to all of us. Rivers produces 60 percent of this country's wealth and yet, she cannot produce the president. Now is the time to reciprocate." He then apologised for coming late but gave no reasons. However, while many people dismissed Ajuwa's speech as tribalistic, not deserving of one aspiring to lead the

country and made the subject of discussion most of the time that Monday. Inquisitive journalists swooped on Ajuwa wanting to know what happened considering the delay and embarrassment he caused everybody. Ajuwa wouldn't speak on the spot but told them, "You are free to come to my house." In Ajuwa's house, he explained, but there was something that didn't quite click. No two Journalists did he tell the same thing. For instance, he told *Sunray Newspaper* that he came late because he was under too much pressure to step down for Tofa. To avoid the pressure which was mounting by the minute, he decided to come late.

He told another Newspaper, *The Statesman* that some powerful people were after him and didn't want him to contest, to protect their interest, and so, to avoid them, he kept away.

He told yet another that he was ill and had to go to see his doctor.

To TSM, he said that the truth was that he had an appointment outside Port Harcourt and had to go to keep it with the calculation that accreditation may still be going on by the time he'd come in. He refused to tell us what the appointment was all about.

But the Rivers State coordinator for Tofa for President campaign team, Maxwell Akiri, who also claimed he worked for Ajuwa told TSM that Ajuwa's seven-hour disappearance was a "betrayal of trust and a breach of agreement." Akiri told us,

"Ajuwa and our group were working together. We reached an agreement with him that we'd work for him and make him come up in the first three.

But that thereafter, he should withdraw for Tofa, and then, we'd negotiate what to give him in an NRC government. Ajuwa agreed. Uptill Saturday night, that was the agreement. We were surprised that as soon as the results were announced and Ajuwa came third as arranged, he disappeared. All efforts to see him either in his house or office were fruitless. He deliberately came late. It was a ploy to avoid us, hoping that if he contests and not step down as agreed, like Nwodo did, he'll be picked as the running mate. Nobody was putting him under pressure as he claimed. He simply disappeared."

Ajuwa however denied these allegations emphasising "I reached no agreement with them. Akiri never worked for me. I stood for the second ballot because I deserved it. I'm not a coward."



the fact that, despite their perception of themselves as landlords, they are not allowed to tap the resources of the sanctuary. Again, the recent extension of the boundaries of the reserve has provoked new fears that they might one day be asked to quit even what is left of their ancestral land for the sake of an "animal Kingdom." Although Iguowan is at the centre of the on-going brouhaha, it is Nikrowa, wedged between the sanctuary and the Osse River, that best illustrates the reverberating tensions in the area. As Sylvester Orhiere, the Project Manager of the Okomu Wildlife Sanctuary, told TSM, Nikrowa best sums the headaches inherent in the sanctuary — aboriginal villages relationship. While the other villages have a high degree of homogeneity, Nikrowa is a microcosmic Nigeria with four dominant tribes — the Edos, the Urhobos, the Igbos and the Ijaw, who claim a founding status and, therefore, overall head-ship.

In a sort of village forum with TSM and Nick Ashton-Jones, the Africa Representative of Pro-Natura, at Chief Oneror Mabiri's modest palace, the villagers reeled off a head-spinning catalogue of privations and afflictions. Johnson Okorodudu, who described himself as a professional hunter, said the sanctuary status of the wide expanse of forest has rendered him jobless. In Mabiri's we-the-village speech, he stated that since their land had been taken away from them, it was only logical that they should be compensated or helped to uplift their standard of living — by the tarring of the access road, the introduction of transport facilities to mitigate the daily rigour of the villagers walking as much as 16 kilometres to fro their farms daily, the absorption of more of the villagers into the service of the sanctuary and such like. While, in the main, the villagers express ed the sentiment that "we like the NCF (the Sanctuary) because NCF is for protection, not for destruction," Mabiri did make it clear that the sacred status of the forest depends on the appropriate redress of their grievances. Towards the African Timber and Plywood Company (AT&P), which has a century-old presence in the area, the feeling s expressed were not that charitable — the principal reason: while the company provides electricity to the village only between seven p.m. and seven a.m. its staff quarters within the same village enjoy the same facility round the clock. The company's site manager, however, told TSM that since the company doles out quite a chunk as tax,

Nick Ashton Jones, Prc -Natura's Africa Representative.

shouldn't that be seen as ample charity?

Paulinus Ifejirika, the head of the Igbo community, extended the frontiers of the discourse in a private chat in his "supermarket." The instances of poaching that the Sanctuary complains about, he said, are occasioned by unemployment. "If there were industries in the village, even a cottage industry, and the people had something lucrative doing, no one would have the time to go stalking animals." He also cited the negative effect of expectation structures that are ultimately undercut by non-implementation, such as the several fact finding visits by all hues of conservationists who leave behind hope-infusing promises that are never realised. His instance was the Ford Foundation's nursery project through which better agricultural techniques were inculcated in the people with a promise of assistance at the end. Yet, after the end, the promise has remained a promise.

These expressions of having had a raw deal are not mere hollers in the evening breeze. The wells of explosion that they underSCORE have resulted in killings within our natural parks and reserves. In the Kainji Lake National Park where some settlements had to give way to the project, it resulted in the shooting to death of a ranger by a poacher in 1985. Even where outright deaths do not occur, the constant tango with insistent poachers who cannot understand why not is "the ranger's constant nightmare," in the words of Musa Wari, the park's Principal Attendant who has been a ranger all over for more than two decades. In July 1992, Park News, the bi-annual

newsletter of the park, reported that its anti-poaching patrols arrested 111 offenders in the period under review from whom N71,200 worth of court fines was realised. At Okomu, one such killing was recorded last year. According to Orhiere, the poacher was not from the hunting guilds in the neighbouring villages, with whom he holds regular meetings, and when arrested made the strange claim that the ranger had threatened him with a gun. But, apart from the Kainji Lake and the Yankari National Parks, where the incidents of poaching are extremely high, rangers are disallowed from carrying fire arms.

Poaching in Nigeria is, of course, more extensive than that. There are instances of foreign vessels doing just that in Nigeria's territorial waters. TSM learnt that some of these ships have in-built fish factories where the hauls are immediately converted to sardine packs and other such. The import is that, from start to finish, these fishermen/manufacturers tap the nation's resources without giving anything back in return. "It's an old practice," TSM was told, "and illegal. But it saves cost of transportation, storage and off-loading. And the country really gets nothing in return — no fishing fees, no local factory, no Customs duty, nothing." The Federal Fisheries Department admitted it brought in three foreign poaching vessels last year but would give no further information.

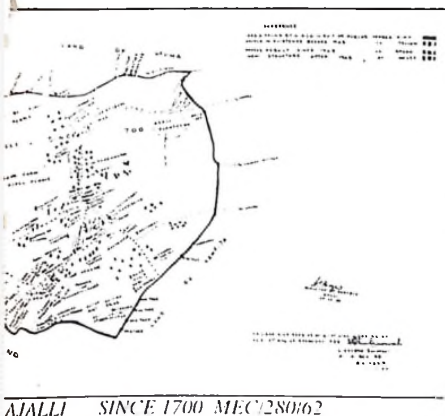
What this portends is that conservationists need to evolve new forms of dialogue, especially with the aboriginal villages. No longer is it tenable to simply carve out a reserve and tell the villagers to go look somewhere else for sustenance. Principle 1 of the Rio Declaration, a code of conduct on environment and development for world governments and peoples, proclaims that "human beings are at the centre of concerns for sustainable development. They are entitled to a healthy and productive life in harmony with nature." This encapsulates the position of Pro-Natura, a conservation rural development concern with its roots in Brazil.

At Nikrowa, the villagers had told stories about Hausa traders who come in seasonally, armed with N40 permits from the Forestry Department, and proceed to cart away such forest resources as *Pepper guineensis*, alligator pepper, bitter Kola, rattan, raffia — resources from which Ashton-Jones projected the villagers could make whales of money by exploiting the basic principle of direct marketing.



# CRISIS : TRUTH !

sure that Akpu people as their neighbor, embraced education as another alternative to their traditional palm wine tapping profession. It is therefore very unfortunate that Akpu people are showing so much ingratitude to Ajalli people



Ajalli people who now found themselves in Orumba North Local Government Area must continue to answer their ancestral name AJALLI, while Akpu people who now found themselves in Orumba South Local Government Area must also continue to answer their ancestral name AKPU, for an ever-lasting peace and harmony to reign in the area. After all Akpu people had historically

migrated from AKPUGOEZE in Oji River Local Government Area of Enugu State while Ajalli people migrated from AROCHUKWU in Arochuku Local Government Area of Abia State. Both people are migrants from two different states outside Anambra State and therefore should stop making "Much Ado about Nothing" and settle down peacefully in their respective Local Government.

Ajalli as a defined land

and falsely painting them black.

It smacks of insult for Akpu people to tell blatant lies and insinuate that Professor Humphrey Nwosu used his position to put Akpu into Orumba South Local Government area. The truth of the matter is that the old Orumba Local Government has two State constituencies as demarcated by Governor Akonobi. Ajalli was in the former Orumba North State Constituency while Akpu was located in the Orumba South State Constituency (neither of the two communities ever complained belonging to separate constituencies). It is the two State Constituencies that the Federal Military Government kindly created as Orumba North and Orumba South Local Governments.

mass was in fact recognised by the Colonial Administrators when they sited all the several government institutions and named them after the town—AJALLI namely:

Government Rest House Ajalli (1905), the Dispensary and Maternity Ajalli (1905), the Government School Ajalli (1911), Customary Court Ajalli (1917), the Post-Office Ajalli (1958), and so on. There was their no protest and these institutions served the entire Orumba North and South and Aguata Local Government Areas in Anambra State; and Isukwuato L.G.A in Abia State; and Oji River L.G.A in Enugu State. It is therefore fallacious to contend that Ajalli is not a recognisable land mass especially in view of the above neutral British ad-



GOVERNOR C. EZEIFE

ministrative recognition. Ajalli is actually bounded on the north by the land of Ufuma, on the east by the land of Nawfi and on the west is the land now occupied by the Akpus.

The Akpu people have always in all their false write-ups distorted court judgements and in most times quoted the judgement out of context. Thus confirming their non-belief and non-compliance in court judgements as was the case in their violent attack of Ajalli on January 2, 1993, when they forcefully entered into the land in possession of one Vincent Ifeonu, an Ajalli man, and started harvesting bamboo trees. This portion of land where this bamboo trees are situated have been adjudicated before, when four Akpu people ( Sabastine Obasi, Boniventure and others ) trespassed, forcefully entered and stole yams belonging to the said Vincent Ifeonu. They were convicted and their conviction was unanimously confirmed by all the judges on appeal in Appeal Court Suit No.CA/E/178/82.

On their further appeal to the Supreme Court, their sentences were confirmed by all the five judges of the Supreme Court in Supreme Court Suit No. 169/89. Yet on the 2nd of January 1993, the same convicted Akpu people with their collaborators, forcefully entered and started stealing the bamboo belonging to the same Vincent Ifeonu - Ajalli man. And most surprisingly on the same portion of land from which they stole and were convicted.

The separation of Ajallis and Akpus into two separate local government areas of Orumba North and Orumba South respectively, is a sound administrative and political decision which would foster peace, harmony and good government in the long term and I commend the Federal Government for their wisdom and foresight.

Pro-Natura's manifesto foreground the revolution in conservation, for "only by a reconciliation of the polarisation war between conservation as community development and conservation as protection can conservation itself rise above an endangered cult." For, if for conservationists environmental protection is the new religion of man, there are also vociferous anti-religionists. A.P. Graham argues in *The*

*The Gardeners of Eden*: "Those of us who never got to see dragons, dodos, bison or quagga because our grandfathers had eaten them all up cannot seriously kid ourselves that we are bereaved." In any case, "there are hundreds of examples of massacres by (game-) keepers" to curb ecological over-population. Philip Hall, once the chief Ecologist of the Borno State Government, responds to the matter thus: "It's a very delicate compromise situation. In Borno, every year we had to organise the selective control of elephants because of the damage they did to crops. We shoot the barest minimum to protect the entire population (from the farmer's outrage). Again, this is a direct result of man's interference, man is eating into the elephants' range, not vice versa, in his land-hunger and population boom."

In *Death in the Long Grass*, Peter Capstick presents a different argument: "That the sport-hunter is more responsible for wildlife conservation, through donations, whooping fees, licenses, and stiff excise taxes on his equipment, than any preservationist group is not widely understood."

It is no wonder then that the World Wide Fund for Nature has replaced its old advert ("Get to see a whale soon — you may want to describe it to your children") with a new one (This man is praying for rain, but the irony is that he lives in the rain forest!). In the words of Chico Mendes, the Brazilian rubber tappers leader assassinated in 1988, "At first I thought I was fighting to save rubber trees, then I thought I was fighting to save the Amazon forest. Now I realise I am fighting for humanity." This is the new appeal, the new religion of man. And the modern-day conservationists are the new god-fathers of the earth. "What we're conserving is the back-bone of the life-support system — water, air, land," points out Ashton-Jones. "Without these, you destroy man himself. It's man's habitat we're trying to save, not the animal Kingdom. Okomu is a piece of land between two rivers. If you take off the forest, the whole place will be



Nnimmo Bassey, Co-ordinator of COVER

flooded... Now, Nigeria is the world's largest producer of cassava, but that is actually rock bottom. Cassava has a very low nutritional value: it grows where nothing else would. At Obudu, a former brigadier, Godwin Ally, told me that when he was a child he didn't know what cassava was. But it is gradually replacing yam."

Philip Hall further explains: "You can even destroy the existence of man himself. You cannot affect one part of nature without knocking the other parts. In the 1970s, they started damming the waters of Kano. Now, in northern Kano (Jigawa) two-thirds of the water has disappeared." Hall, who has lived in Nigeria for 21 years, recalled that Lake Chad once extended up to the present-day Barga Market in Maiduguri. But now it is like a drop in the desert!

Asked the future of conservation in Nigeria, Romeo Barberopoulos, an NCF Council member noted: "I think I'll direct you to Anambra and Imo States and some parts of the North and you'll get your answer. I think that gully erosion is the biggest advocate of conservation. Also, for the past two years I've been going around the Lagos Lagoon and people keep on complaining of not getting enough fish. You see, Nigeria is about the only country in the world that still allows the use of fishing nets; so, the fishermen haul in everything, including fingerlings."

Reviewing his more than 30 years of residence in Nigeria, he recalled the Ijora fish market of yore when fish truly abounded. The problem of water hyacinths, usually food for fishes, he traced to the depletion of Nigeria's fisheries resource. At the Federal Fisheries Department, TSM was told that, yes, fishing nets are still allowed — different sizes for different fishing objectives such as artisanal and deep-sea. Structural logistics however hamper the department's effective monitoring of compliance levels. Nnimmo Bassey, the co-ordinator of the Benin-anchored Committee on Vital Environmental Resources (COVER) had this to say: "Man's profit motive in virtually all actions has been the major factor encouraging environmental destruction. We aim at encouraging actions for the creation of environmental harmony, which will cover the natural environment as well as people-friendly man-made artefacts"

The momentum conservation has gathered in Nigeria can be measured by the blooming number of conservation groups and Decree 36 of 1991, which constituted five game reserves into national parks (Gashaka-Gumti, Cross River, Chad Basin, Yankari and Old Oyo) in addition to Kainji Lake, which became so via Decree 46 of 1979. "I'm still very young but if I die today I'll be happy," Yomi Nobi, head of NCF's Education Unit, arrested this mood. "10 years ago, conservation was not an issue in Nigeria. This change is partly attributable to the NCF." But there are still several battle fronts.

Especially given the 1990 World Bank Report which estimated that the various environmental problems would have the following "order of magnitude" long-term impacts on Nigeria's sustainable Net National Product (SNPP) if no remedial action is taken: water contamination — one billion dollars per annum (p.a.); water hyacinth — \$50 million p.a.; deforestation — \$750 million p.a.; fishery losses — \$50 million p.a.; wildlife losses — \$10 million; soil degradation — three billion dollars; gully erosion — \$100 million p.a.; and coastal erosion — \$150 million p.a. The total? A mind-boggling \$5.1 billion per year.

Ultimately, as Hall phrased it "the whole future of conservation lies in the people themselves" — in the villagers of Udo, Iguowan, Arrakhuan, Nikrowa and on and on. Which is why the activities of the Edo State Government in the zone, via the Osse River Rubber Company, threaten the very existence of the Sanctuary that it created itself.

# After you read Chinweizu, you will understand IBB's game

By Chris Anyanwu

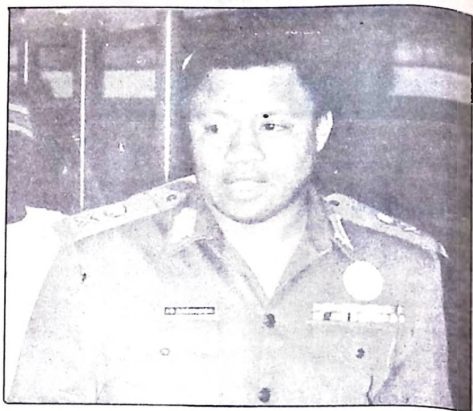
**NIGERIA** is a blessed nation. But one thing that has eluded her in the nearly 33 years of independence is democracy. In fact, Nigerians cannot claim to have had any real taste of democracy. On the chain of time, democracy seems to have merely provided short breaks for the military to catch a nap, re-group and resume business as usual. And because it has been something rare in our national life, we have become consumed with the need to have it. For the past 10 years, the battle has been on. The popular wish has been that the military must go at all cost and hand-over power to the civilians. Several times, the end appeared to have been around the corner, yet it never came. Somehow, the transition was deloured, derailed, decelerated, thus making the journey to democracy seem like a long haul. Few Nigerians have properly appreciated what really happened.

With all the analyses that have become the nation's pre-occupation, all the diagnoses of Nigeria's innumerable problems. Very few have taken the trouble to give scope and perspective to the subject of democracy and transition in order to help Nigerians understand what has been happening to them and possibly, where this journey might lead them.

At last, someone has broken away from the pack, broken the jinx of intellectual laziness so evident in our self-analysis. This is no arm-chair pontification. It is real, clear-headed research that serves as a back drop to the Nigerian experience. Drawing from Chile, Brazil, Turkey, Argentina, Uruguay and other countries, Chinweizu puts the Nigerian Transition in perspective. In his typical manner, he does not bother to persuade. He simply leaves one to read between the lines.

There is a powerful and unmistakable message for Nigerians especially the politicians in Chinweizu's write-up and we have chosen to run the three-part series at this crucial point in the Transition with the hope that it will lead to greater understanding of the task ahead.

According to Chinweizu, Nigerians must shed their illusions and over-expectations and first define whether they want demilitarization or democracy. If it is democracy they want, then they must devise an effective strategy of ensuring the demilitarization process takes its full course. They must learn from the experiences of others and how they forged their own transitions; how they ensured the military pull-out



was not aborted; try to appreciate the conditions that encourage or discourage the military from abdicating power and how to build an enduring, deeply rooted and institutionalized democracy.

According to him, the experiences of other countries have shown that one factor responsible for the prolongation of military transitions is the search for suitable leaders to hand over power. This took 12 years in Peru, 9 years in Turkey and 11 years in Brazil. To understand what has happened in these countries, is to begin to appreciate many of those manoeuvres that have baffled us in Nigeria, those enigmatic moves dubbed "maradonic dribbles." One inescapable conclusion is that what has happened here, how they have happened and the sequence in which they did happen are neither totally new nor isolated. We are a part of a chain of history.

Chinweizu's treatise, has a hidden note of warning: that no power grouping ever gives away power on a platter; that the military everywhere negotiate their withdrawal, often on their own terms. When they are forced by outside factors to retreat without agreement, they inevitably return. In Turkey, Uruguay, Chile, Argentina, the military negotiated power and succeeded in staying out but this did not happen without a long transition that included a period of diarchy. Zik, a great man of history understood this and suggested diarchy earlier. But he was jeered by the emotional rabblement, and how, history has vindicated him.

"If we want democracy," is great food for thought to all as we search for the light at the end of the tunnel. It is a special treat for TSM readers. It is in an attempt to make some meaning out of the jumbled, incoherent sequence of national events. It is also an insurance against future surprise. Don't miss any of the 3 part series in the next two editions of TSM, you won't get it else-where.

# If we want democracy...

By Chinweizu

## Introduction

**I** HERE is a saying that if you don't know where you are going, any road can take you there. Similarly, if you lack signposts such consequences of ignorance, we have a duty to educate ourselves on the transition phenomenon, and particularly on what demilitarization is and is not, on what democratization is and is not, and on how to accomplish or not accomplish them.

The fundamental premises of this essay are as follows:

1. That those who want a successful transition to democracy have an obligation to understand the general characteristics of the transition phenomenon; they have an obligation to ensure that this transition fulfils the known key factors for success; they have an obligation to admonish all participants in the process, both civilian and military, to refrain from those things which ought not to be done, and to do those things which ought to be done, and to do so thoroughly and as speedily as is consistent with success.
2. That a successful transition is one which results in an enduring regime which collapses in the first few administrations, or which provokes the military to return to power.
3. That the parties to the transition are not just the military, and the civilian politicians who want to take over from them, but also all other citizens, in as much as the outcome, whatever it is, success or failure, order or anarchy, peace or war, will affect all of us.

At a lion-taming show, the spectators need to have enough knowledge of the art and its skills and risks to be good judges of what is going on, and to dispel any fantasies and delusions about what is feasible and how. This essay therefore attempts an operational analysis of transitions which have taken place in other lands. Insights from them should enable us to make a more realistic assessment of the IBB transition, and to knowledgeably answer the following questions:

- a) What are the ways in which government is demilitarized?
- b) How is democracy built after demilitarization?
- c) What is the likelihood of success for the IBB transition?
- d) What do the civilian politicians, who are negotiating this transition with the military, need to do to avoid failure?
- e) What should the rest of us citizens do, or refrain from doing, if we want demilitarization and democratization to succeed this time?

We are fortunate to have a variety of transitions to learn from. In the last 20 years or so, transitions from military rule have been attempted in many parts of the world. Some were successful, some were not, some were transitions toward democracy, some stopped at the demilitarization of politics and turned away from democracy; some have endured, some proved ephemeral. Key examples were those which ended military rule in Greece (1974), Turkey (1989), Argentina (1983), Brazil (1985), Chile (1990), and Ghana (1969, 1979). These have been studied by scholars, and their studies supply a veritable anatomy of the transition phenomenon in our time. They show that the transition to democracy is not an instant, one jump affair. It has two processes: demilitarization, i.e. the change from military to civilian rule; and democratization proper, i.e. the creation and consolidation of the institutions and culture of democracy.



Chinweizu...

Of these two processes, the military usually undertake and complete demilitarization. After all, they know their institution intimately enough to know how to manoeuvre it off the political stage, thus leaving the road clear for the civilians to continue the usually long march toward democracy.

Now, what can we distil from these historic cases to instruct us on such aspects of the phenomenon as these: the various paths to demilitarization; conditions of the demilitarization process and the political in politics; the complexities of the demilitarization process and how they affect its duration; the reconditioning of the internal military opposition parties; the problem of restraining the internal military opposition to demilitarization; diarchy as a stage in the demilitarization process; abortive, ephemeral and durable demilitarizations; aspects of the post-demilitarization task of democratization?

## PART I: Paths to Demilitarization

**T**HE military do not usually come to power by permission of the civilians, and they sustain themselves in power by the ever present threat of superior firepower. So, why on earth do they ever give up power?

The military may be driven from power by superior force, through armed civilian revolt, as in Bolivia (1952) where armed civilians defeated the army in three days of street fighting and installed a civilian president; or as in Cuba (1958) when Castro defeated and routed General Batista's regime; or as in Nicaragua (1979), where the Sandinista Movement drove General Somoza's successors from power after a long civil war; or as in Uganda (1986), where Yoweri Museveni's National Resistance Movement defeated and routed the Uganda military which succeeded Obote's second government. In some cases the military are driven from power by an invading foreign army, as when the Idi Amin military regime in Uganda was routed from power by a Tanzanian invasion. (1979).

When not driven out by superior force, the military abdicate when they decide that the job of ruling has become unmanageably difficult, and they lose confidence in their own ability to govern (Ghana in the late 1970s); or that it is destroying their organizational cohesion and they need to get back to the barracks to recuperate (Peru after 1975, when the military split into bitter left and right wing factions); or out of an ideological belief in the doctrine of civilian supremacy (a factor strong in the abdication of the Ghanaian military in 1969).

They may also choose to abdicate when they lose legitimacy by

failure in their primary function of fighting foreign enemies. Such was the case with the Argentine military when they lost the 1982 Falklands war with the British. So too with the Greek colonists who lost face in 1974 over their Cyprus misadventure. By masterminding a coup that overthrew Archbishop Makarios in order to promote the union of Cyprus with Greece, they provoked a Turkish invasion of Cyprus which partitioned the island into Turkish and Greek zones. When they failed to defend their coup by fighting the invading Turks, the shock waves from their misadventure spelled the end of their rule in Greece.

Except they are defeated and disbanded, the military depart from government by negotiation with the civilians who would replace them. After all, unless you have defeated the military, you are in no position to dictate the terms of their withdrawal. Even when they have lost legitimacy through defeat in a foreign war, they are usually still cohesive and powerful enough to overawe the civilian population, and to organize their retreat from power on their own terms. For instance, the Argentine military, though thoroughly discredited by the loss of the Falklands war, still took 1½ years to organize their abdication from power. In circumstances less unfavourable to them, the military usually take longer to get themselves out.

## Complexities of abdication

**DEMILITARIZATION** by abdication is hardly ever a simple, straightforward matter of commanders marching regiments off the parade ground into the barracks. In changing from military to civilian rule, persons and groups with different habits and outlooks must exchange positions of power; not only that: even the structures, bases of support, and the sources of legitimacy for their power also differ. This means that the change will involve many complex manoeuvres.

Just how long the process takes will depend on many factors. Who do the military hand over to? How long does it take them to find or create organizations they would like to hand over to? What measures would it take to safeguard the individual, corporate and ideological interests of the departing military? What, and how long, does it take to restrain the inevitable internal faction that opposes abdication?

## Organising acceptable civilians

**WHO** to hand over to is probably the greatest problem which the military must solve when they decide to abdicate. Usually, the old politicians whom they swept from power, and the old political system they operated, are deemed unsuitable to get it back. So, either the military attempts to reform them suitably, or to replace them entirely. In Peru the military had overthrown Belaunde's Accion Popular government in 1968. By the time they were prepared to hand back power in 1980, they had tamed and obliged the two traditional parties, APRA and Belaunde's AP, to adopt a more centrist outlook acceptable to the outgoing military.

In Turkey (1980 - 89), the military were determined to bequeath power to new parties and new politicians. They prodded, purged and bullied the political factions into a party system which, they felt, could maintain a stable civilian government. Of the 17 parties which attempted to form, only three were allowed to contest elections. The barely disguised successors to the old parties were among those prevented from contesting elections. 723 old politicians were banned from taking part; hundreds of new politicians were vetted out. And the three approved parties, under the political parties law, were required to continue with the programme of the military regime. Furthermore, through a battery of restrictive laws on elections, the press, trade unions, collective bargaining, professional organizations, higher education, etc., the 1982 constitution, which the military im-

posed on the incoming politicians, aimed to leave politics to the approved politicians, and to keep journalists, students, lawyers, architects, engineers and their professional and para-political associations out of politics. This was in order to forestall a recurrence of the pre-coup anarchy of the 1970s. And they made it illegal to do or say anything which could help recreate the pre-Sept 1980 conditions which prompted their coup. Under the ensuing diarchy (1983-1989), the evolution of the parties continued until, by the 1987 National Assembly elections, 7 parties contested, and the ban on some 200 politicians were lifted.

In Uruguay, the military, which seized power in 1973, took a different approach to the project of choosing and preparing their civilian successors. They retained the traditional parties, but in 1976 purged a whole generation of pre-coup leaders by proscribing them for 15 years. They then negotiated the terms of the transition with the remaining politicians, but structured the 1984 elections in ways that produced victory for the party which they saw as the least dangerous to military interests.

In Brazil, the reshaping of politics to the military's taste began in 1965, when the military banned all the existing 13 parties and recognized only the two artificial parties they created: ARENA and MDB. This was 9 years before the 1974 decision to carry out a slow and orderly abdication. Throughout the 11 years of the abdication process, the parties and party system evolved under military restrictions, with the junta relying heavily on ad hoc and ever changing rules to control Congress and the Electoral College; to transmute ARENA into the PDS, and MDB into the PMDB; to proliferate opposition parties and ensure that those they favoured won the controlled elections. When matters got largely out of control and even the favoured party splintered in 1984, Tancredo Neves, the presidential candidate of the less favoured PMDB still had to work out an understanding with the military before he could be elected.

Organizing acceptable civilians to relinquish power to is probably the most complex project the abdicating military have to carry out. It is largely responsible for the length of the handover period. In Peru, it took 12 years (1968 - 1980). In Turkey, it took 9 years (1980 - 1989); in Brazil, it took 11 years (1974 - 1985).

## Safeguards for military interests

**AN** abdicating military will attempt to safeguard its interests (indi-

### Shokean...Instrument of Latest Transition





Nwosu.... Author of Transition Programmes

vidual, corporate and even ideological) through the terms it imposes on the incoming civilians. In Peru, before handing power back to President Belaunde in 1980, the generals got him to agree that military budgets and appointments would not be subject to civilian control and that in dealing with the Marxist Shining Path guerrillas, the military would have a free hand, unconstrained by "human rights issues."

To protect itself from its vengeful enemies, the military may ban certain persons or categories of persons from contesting or holding public office (Ghana 1969). And if it has been exceptionally brutal in its rule, it may seek to be absolved of its misdeeds, and may even impose a general amnesty for its political crimes (Brazil, 1979; Argentina's Law of National Pacification, 1983). And it may grant itself constitutional immunity for all its acts while in power (Ghana 1979).

To guarantee that its bans, amnesties, and immunities are enforced after it hands over power, the abdicating military may give itself, as an institution or through its reliable members, special constitutional roles in the civilian era. In Turkey (1963), the military were constitutionally given representation in the post-demilitarization senate. In Uruguay, the military wanted its political role institutionalized through an advisory position: for the National Security Council. In Chile, before departing in 1990, the military entrenched itself and its friends in various organs of the government, including the Senate, the National Security Council and the Central Bank — positions from where it could limit the freedom of action of the incoming civilian administration.

But the ultimate safeguard remains the ability of the military, even when back in the barracks, to overawe the civilians. For this purpose, the discredited Argentine military, as part of its orderly retreat from politics, not only sought recognition of its "right" to intervene in politics if it found it necessary, but also used its 1½ year handover period to convalesce, rearm, reorganise and improve its morale, so as to be a credible deterrent to any civilian assault on its corporate existence. And when such interests were threatened through reduced defence spending, low salaries, and the trial of officers responsible for the Falklands War, as well as those prominent in the "dirty war" against its citizen opponents of the 1970s, there were barracks revolts ('87, '88 and '90). In the end, to buy some relief, the civilian government had to pardon all those it had put on trial, as well as the rebels.

## The Internal Military Opposition

FOR its demilitarization not to abort, an abdicating military has to restrain and contain the inevitable internal faction which is opposed to abdication. As the Argentine case shows, not even a defeated and discredited military machine is unanimously for abdicating political

power. There the Air Force, which felt it had done better in the Falklands War than the other services, wanted its commander to become President and supervise the abdication; but the army refused, fearing that he would try to hang on to power by aborting the abdication. The Army put in a retired general as President to supervise the retreat to the barracks. Knowing he lacked a power base with which to abort the abdication. Whereupon the Air Force was so upset it left the ruling junta for several months.

In Brazil, as in Argentina, fear of civilian revenge for the brutalities of the military provided a powerful motive for resistance to abdication. This resistance was only overcome when an understanding was reached with the incoming civilians that there would be no revenge thereupon — hardline opponents of abdication were assigned positions without troop commands in late 1984.

In the Turkish demilitarization of the early 1960s, those opposed to abdication were tactfully manoeuvred aside by being sent abroad on diplomatic missions. But in Guatemala, in 1983, those who intended to hold elections and hand over power were deposed, and a new military government installed. The Guatemalan case highlights just how important it is for the leadership of an abdicating military not to lose control of the process to the opposition within the military.

It is the accomplishment of these key tasks which helps to determine just how long the military take in transferring power to civilians. Another important factor here is the period they judge necessary for the diarchy, under which they complete their grooming of the successors.

## Diarchy

WHERE the military are not summarily routed from office, but beat a planned retreat, it is inevitable that at some stage in the process of abdication there is a civilian government being watched over by the military powers. Such diarchy starts from the time elected governments begin to function at the local, state or national level under the overall supervision of the departing military.

Turkey and Brazil represent one type of diarchy, where a civilian administration operates under a military president, in uniform or in multi. It may be said that throughout the 11 years of its transition Brazil operated a diarchy, for, under a succession of military presidents, elected civilians governed the states; a civilian Congress continued to operate, though with restricted powers; and highly restricted municipal elections continued to be held. In the Turkish diarchy which lasted from December 83 to 1989, a general in ruff, Kenan Evren, was president, his junta colleagues changed into multi as the National Security Council became the Presidential Council, an elected civilian, Turgut Ozal, was Prime Minister with an all-civilian cabinet, and martial law, proclaimed at the 1980 coup, remained in force till July 1987 when it was replaced with a state of emergency. While Evren and his military held power, Ozal and his civilians evolved the practices of their democracy, through local and national elections, party reorganizations and realignments, till Ozal was eventually elected President, and took office in 1989.

Chile represents the other type of diarchy where there is a civilian president, but residual political power lies with military chiefs returned to the barracks. Diarchy began there in 1990, when the military president, Augusto Pinochet, stepped down for an elected civilian president, Patricio Aylwin. But the latter's authority was circumscribed in various ways. He was obliged to retain three members of the outgoing junta, including ex-President Pinochet, as army, airforce and police commanders. The National Security Council was made up of 3 civilians, and 4 military and police members. In the Council of Public Security which was created after the formal hand-over, he was obliged to include representatives of the Armed Forces. In the multi-party Senate, the 9 senators nominated by the outgoing junta were enough to swing decisions in the 47 member chamber. Legal measures taken by the Pinochet government in 1989 en-

nched its appointees on the boards of state owned corporations for up to ten years, with curbs on the civilian government's power: to remove them. Legal autonomy was also conferred on the Central Bank. If Pinochet stays on as Army Commander till 1997, as he insists, then the demilitarization, begun in 1980, would have lasted 17 years, and the diarchy for 7 years.

As evidence of the power of the military in this type of diarchy, the military courts continued to try journalists, after President Aywin's inauguration, for alleged defamation of the armed forces. And tensions rose high between the civilian government and the military high command when the government created a commission to investigate human rights abuses under the junta. When the commission published its findings, the armed forces rejected them.

The Chile case is noteworthy, for it is a case of demilitarization by a strong military, one most reluctant to abdicate, but doing so, less from domestic pressures, than from strong foreign pressure by the hegemonic powers.

What also should be clear is that, in any orderly military abdication, a phase of diarchy is inevitable, as it is improbable for civilian administrations to spring up at all levels without a period in the shadows of military power. However, the most important tier of diarchy is at the level of the national government.

## Ephemeral and durable demilitarizations

**ASSUME** the military have handed over power; that civilians are now in charge: How long will the demilitarized condition last?

Nearly ten years ago, one of the foremost authorities on demilitarization of politics in the Third World, Prof. S.E. Finer, observed that few civilian successor regimes have lasted more than ten years, adding that Venezuela, Colombia and Mexico provided the exceptions. That remains true. But it may be more insightful to say that a demilitarization by abdication rarely lasts more than ten years. Demilitarizations of the kind which he cited as exceptions were obtained, not by abdication, but mostly in other ways. Chief among

them are these:

(a) By the abolition of the armed forces, as in Costa Rica in 1948, by the provisional government of a successful social revolution. In that case, the military barracks were given to the ministry of Education to use as a museum; and the defence of the country was left to the police. This route is not an option for most countries, and it worked for Costa Rica only because threats of invasion by its neighbours have been checked by US diplomacy under the Rio Pact.

(b) By scrapping the old army and building a new one on the doctrine of civilian supremacy, and in the context of a new social or political order, as in Tanzania in 1963. There, the inherited colonial army mutinied and was disbanded by invited British forces. The Tanzanian government seized the opportunity to create an army which was under the control of the ruling party in the socialist one-party state which Tanzania then became. That Tanzania has been spared the scourge of coups for 30 years is something of a record in Anglophone Africa. It should be noted that no abdication was here involved. The military made a bid for power; it tried, it failed, and it was disbanded.

(c) By the military being forced from government in a civil war involving a military-civilian coalition on the winning side, as in Venezuela (1958).

(d) By a successful revolution rebuilding all the institutions in the land, including the armed forces, and placing them all under the control of a comprehensively dominant political party, as in the Mexico which rose from the ashes of the civil wars of 1910-1920.

Such durable demilitarizations were not by abdication, but were aspects of successful revolutionary movements. But it also must be noted that not all revolutionary demilitarizations proved durable.

Example: With the defeat of the Bolivian army in 1952, the armed citizens installed a civilian government which carried out extensive national reforms, including a restructuring of the army; yet Bolivia resumed its tradition of coups in 1964. I shall return, when appropriate, to durable revolutionary demilitarizations for the insights they can give into some of the factors which could make a military abdication less ephemeral.

## FOR TSM READERS:

# Response to hard times

**I**n the past few years, Nigeria and indeed all Nigerians have been engaged in a tough, economic struggle. Never in our history has the economic pinch been so biting and its effects so far reaching. Today, no individual or business is spared the devastating pains of the plummeting Naira. Prices of consumer goods change by the day, according to the movement of the Naira.

In the publishing sector which is heavily dependent on imported inputs, some publications have had to adjust cover prices as often as twice this year to cope with inflation. At **TSM**, we have tried to cushion the inflation by employing all manner of devices. We have done so for months not because we lack the business sense but out of deep appreciation of the hard times our readers are going through. But inflation has roared on brutally and unabated, driving home the inevitability of a price adjustment.

We are sure you have read what is by now, the litany of woes of the print media: the cost of art paper, newsprint, lithographic, photographic and printing inputs shooting up by as much as 60 — 100% since January. Small Operators like us have to bear the extra burden of increased printing and transportation costs, all of which are non-negotiable.

Simply put, hard times are here and much as we would want to keep our cover price at N15 for the sake of our readers, we must now adjust to ensure that readers continue to get their Zesty Sunday Magazine.

Beginning from April 11, **TSM** will go up to N20 but you know what to expect. You have been with us for these 3½ years. You know that each time the ugly lady called Nigerian economy forces us to raise prices, we have given you your money's worth. As you pay N20, you will get a better **TSM**: more intensive in the news that counts, more aggressive in reach and penetration, and as always you can count on us not to colour or exaggerate the news for sensation-alism.

**If you read it in TSM, it must be true.**

As our partners in progress, we hope you will keep the faith by giving us your support at these trying times. Stay with your Zesty **TSM**: where news is fun.

**Chris Anyanwu**  
Publisher

# Haven of frustration

Life & Style



*Lagos State low cost housing scheme was supposed to offer relief from accommodation problems. More than a decade after its inception however reverse seems the case*

**By Felicia Oamen and Kehinde Aremu**

*Low cost houses surrounded by unkempt environment*

**S**HELTER, undoubtedly comes next to food in the hierarchy of man's physiological needs. It is second priority in the man's scale of preference of necessities. But the concept of shelter goes beyond the erection of physical structures. Necessary social amenities which make life worth living such as electricity, clean water, decent surroundings and even privacy are integral parts of what an ideal home is supposed to be. The absence of some, or all of these infrastructural facilities renders any physical structure unfit for human habitation in this jet-age.

Housing problem in Nigeria, especially in the cities has become a social malady. It stands out glaringly as an insurmountable problem of successive regimes. Past and present administrations have realised this perennial problem and hence made conscious efforts to address the issue. However, their efforts have most often dangled between mere lip service and real solutions.

The building of low cost houses pioneered by Lateef Jakande, former Lagos State governor is one of such moves to help solve the nagging problem of housing in the state. Successive governments of Mike Akhigbe, Gholahan Mudasiru both former Lagos State

governors have since followed suit in their pursuit to provide shelter for the citizenry. The low cost houses started springing up first in Abule Nla, at Ebute Metta, Lagos, Iponri, Ibe Ijaye, Amuwo Odofin, Isolo, Abesan and Ijaye-Ojokoro along Oshodi-Abeokuta Expressway in 1980.

Most people welcomed this move of the government with joy and those who were fortunate enough to have flats allocated to them considered themselves lucky indeed. For one, it was a very easy (not to talk of cheap) way of becoming a landlord. As at 1982 when the purchase fee was fixed at N18,000 — N20,000 a meagre deposit of between N1,600 and N5,000 was enough to own a flat. The rest of the purchase fees was paid instalmentally at average of N266.00 monthly for fifteen years. However with the astronomical increase in cost of building materials, the purchase fees have increased to a whopping N150,000 — 250,000 depending on the size of the flat. Notwithstanding the hiked price of acquiring these low cost houses many peoples are undeterred; as it seem the only way out of escaping the suffocating grip of shylock landlords who increase rent fees at will these days.

But then, the joy of owning these houses is now becoming a cause of regret, disillusionment, frustration and lamentation for most residents of



these Estates as basic amenities and infrastructural facilities which make life worth living are virtually non-existing in these places. Most of the occupants are now living under utmost state of inconvenience, as all efforts made to pressure Lagos State Development Property Corporation (LSDPC) into providing these amenities have till now proved futile.

TSM went round all the LSDPC estates to know how the residents are faring and it was all tales of woes. Our findings were rather shocking if not discouraging. The most pressing and common problem is lack of water. The residents go through hell to get water. Since adaptability is an integral part of human existence, the people in these low cost estates have devised means of making life less miserable. By general consent, they organise themselves into groups and contribute money to dig wells and boreholes. This project usually cost not less than N50,000. Water tankers operators and others have since cash in on the lack of water situation to sell at costly rate.

A 500-gallon-tank cost between N80 - N100. To economise the water, two-three people use a bucket of water for bathing. Dirty and muddy water is used to flush toilets. It is not uncommon to see the residents with their children crossing ever-busy expressways to fetch water. This is not without its associated danger and disaster. In one of such missions Ibrahim Yusuf, a relation of Nurcini Yusuf, former chief of Air Staff and a resident of Block 21 at Ijaye-Ojokoro Estate was knocked down by a speeding vehicle. Not less than thirty people have since been knocked down to death by hit and run drivers.

Most of these estates lack security too. Making lives and property unsafe. According to Mary Olojo, a resident of Isolo Estate, lives and property are daily under threat by armed robbers. "We dare not go out at night because of armed robbers. From 9 O'clock in the evening the junction that leads into the estate is a dangerous spot. Even during the day, thieves come here and steal our clothes and any other thing they find outside. They are succeeding so easily because the estate does not have a fence. Once they steal, they escape easily". At Ijaye Ojokoro estate, residents have lost property worth thousands of Naira to thieves. In one of such raids by the hoodlums, almost all the cars in the estate had their cassette players removed.

The low pace of development in these estates is another matter en-



Low cost houses: No windows, no doors...

tirely. Most of the facilities that were supposed to be provided are yet to materialise despite the fact that this project started more than a decade ago. At Isolo estate TSM discovered that the better part of the estate is yet to be tarred. There are no street lights. Mary Olojo informed us "the few street lights that were installed have been out of use, for two years now. And this is enhancing the activities of armed robbers in the estate."

More disturbing, is the issue of "low cost" as a description for these houses. Going by a layman's understanding, as at 1980 - 1982, N18,000 - N20,000 was expected to fetch a lucky owner of these flats a completed two-three bedroom flat. The situation has since changed. Nothing less than N100,000 is needed now to cross the hurdle of owning one of them. That wouldn't have raised any eye brow considering the high cost of building materials these days. However, the uncompleted state of these houses is the nagging problem. Since 1980, when this project began most of the occupants have had to move into blocks of flats that are hurriedly built. Some flat floors were not cemented while most flats have no windows. Some of the residents in Agbado-Ijaye, Iba Iponrin and Isolo Estates intimated TSM that when they parked in to the Estates their flats had no windows, no doors, no wardrobes. According to Falade Alagbe, a resident of one of the estates, "the flats were not fit at all for human habitation." "I spent not less than N100,000 to make it what it is today." The structural construction of the houses do not seem to be done by experts. Residents told TSM that no body is allowed to pound anything upstairs. After cooking upstairs therefore, the food has to be brought downstairs for pounding. A house wife and resident of Isolo Estates informed us "the only time I tried to pound yam on the sec-

ond floor where I live people downstairs started screaming that the house was about to collapse. So for fear I stopped pounding there. What I do now is to cook upstairs and bring it down." When we asked her why this was so she simply replied "We were told the buildings have no pillars."

TSM took the matter to some LSDPC Landlords Associations. According to Austin Arabome, a reverend and chairman of Ojokoro LSDPC Landlords Association, all efforts made by him to pressurise LSDPC, LBIC, water corporation, Waste Disposal Board to come to their aid in ameliorating their seemingly insurmountable and frustrating problems has proved abortive. Time without number LSDPC landlords chairmen have tabled their lists of immediate needs but they were always met with unactualised and unexcused promises. Austin Arabome has since given up attending these meetings where rhetorics and not concrete action form the bedrock of their gathering. Our efforts to speak with LSDPC officials yielded no fruits on the other hand.

These adverse factors at work in most of these estates have not helped in its overall development as a government project. For one, most of the owners of these flats hardly live in them. No sooner are the flats allocated to them than they are given out on lease or rent to people who in most cases are too desperate for accommodation to care. This is in no way saying however that the project has been a total disaster. It has helped alleviate the accommodation problem of some people in Lagos. It has also made house owners out of a good number of low income owners. A feat that would have been a near impossibility.

Government should therefore step into the issue to smoothen out the difficulties of these people and give critics ample reasons to lavish our praise.

# All things dark &

FROM the realm of the unimportant they strode into the fashion scene as a bold accessory. Not just mere sun shades any more, they now come in all shapes and sizes. Sometimes jazzed up with studs and colour stripes.



# nd beautiful

## What an expert says:

Like all things, sun glasses became a class thing, some would not touch it, unless it bore a designer's name - Paloma Picasso, Christian Dior, Laura Biagotti, Ralph Lauren, Calvin Klein.

For those whose wallets can not match the expensive designer names, which

prizes range for N1,000 to N10,000 there are the cheaper ones hawked on the streets or displayed in the open market.

Which ever group, you belong, there are basic things everyone who wears sunglasses must know.

THE eyes are delicate so care should always be taken about what one puts on over them. We talked to Alfred Isijola, an optician on what people should do or look out for when buying eye wears, as a fashion accessory. Hear him out:

Anything that you wear on your eyes should be able to do either of these 2 things:

1. Correct a defect if you have one.
  2. Not make worse a defect you already have.
- Therefore any eye wear that does not correspond with the error in your eyes would be deemed to be dangerous.

Sun glasses as the name implies protect the eye by absorbing that portion of light (infra red and ultra violet) not useful to the eyes. That, you can do, with the quality of the glasses or through the prescription given to you.

So anytime you want to go shopping for sun glasses, the procedure is:

1. Go to your doctor.
2. Collect a prescription.
3. Take it to any optician to fit into your type of frame.
4. Where it is not possible to make it into a sun glass of your taste, the second best option would be to look for quality lenses.

## Your facial shapes and Sunglasses

WONDER why sunglasses (prescription glasses) look so cute on some that you would think both face and glasses were ordered together, while on others, sun glasses look so awkward that no matter how expensive the sunglasses the wearer looks awkward in them. This is because particular shapes go with particular facial shapes.

Here are some thumb rules about eye glasses frames and facial shapes.

**Virtually any style/shape goes with:**

**Round frames:** Oval faces. Help de-emphasize the angles of a triangular-shaped face.

**Semi-round, almost rim-less frames:** Minimise the heavy set jawlines of a square face.

**Rectangular frames:** Look best on oblong and round faces

**Large, thick, square frames:** Complement a heart-shaped face by giving the illusion of a broadened jawline.

*Ngozi Abanobi*



## SWAN Awards Gala Nite

**T**HE fourth Swan Awards Gala Nite was held recently at the National Institute for Sports Auditorium National Stadium, Surulere, Lagos.

It was indeed joy galore with the presence of Daniel O.N. Akapo presenting the Award to the coach of the year, Abdullahi Bebe of stationery stores, F.C. of Lagos during the ceremony.

## Launching Of Orsu Local Government Area Development Fund

**T**HE launching of Orsu Local Government Area Development Fund was held at the National Theatre Lagos, Iganmu, recently.

Picture shows L—R. Chief Van Mbamala, executive chairman of Orsu Local Government Council, Awo-Idemili, Imo State, and his wife (Mrs.) Mbamala and Chief Jerry Alagbowo, the chairman of the occasion.



## Waterparks Floats Membership Scheme

**D**UE to popular demand and in order to create a total relaxation spot for individuals and families, the management of Watersparks, a complete water-based entertainment and recreational tourist centre in Ikeja, Lagos has announced a membership scheme.

Other facilities are warm water bath, arcade games, volleyball, pitch, table tennis board, and a giant out door stage. Registration fee is N2,000 for individual or company at N8,000 annually, N5,000 bi-annually and N3,000 quarterly.

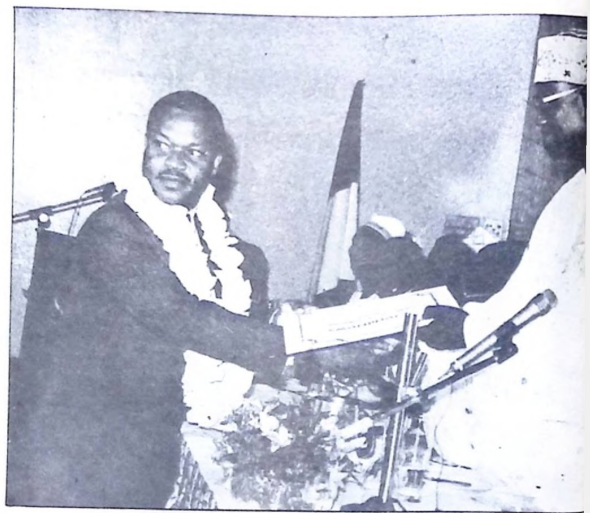
## Credit News Nite Of Award

**W**HEN Chris M.E. Onalo, publisher / CEO Credit News decided to organise the Nite of Award for Corporate Certificate of Appreciation and Buffet Dinner, little did he know that it was to be as remarkable as it turned out to be.

The award nite which was recently held at the Lagos Sheraton Hotel, Ikeja, witnessed the presence of the cream of the society which included Akogun Tola Adeniyi, chairman chief Executive of Daily Times PLC, who was the chairman; Richard Mofe-Damijo; Adedumola Agaga Williams (Mr. & Mrs. Md. Bullion Trust and Securities) one of the recipients and other personalities.

At the Nite, ten corporate certificates of Appreciation were awarded to ten Organisations which included John Holt PLC, Bullion Trust and Securities, Krans Graphics, etc.

It was really great!



Compiled by Grace Onyegbula



### Faloughi For Chieftaincy

**E**PHRAIM Fagha Faloughi, a director of TSM is to be installed to the ancestral seat of Thomas Eblegeri Spiff. The chieftaincy installation ceremony is scheduled from 10-12 April 1993. The programme will take place at TWON BRASS (Brass Local Government Area of Rivers State).

### Coca Cola Storms Nigeria With Ipi Tombi

**T**HE Nigerian Bottling Company PLC, bottlers of Coca-Cola and other leading Nigerian soft drinks are poised to make this Easter a memorable one for Nigerians with the sponsorship of the dance drama troupe - Sikulu - on a 4-city performance tour of the country.

Sikulu, which means "the warrior" is not totally unknown to Nigerians as the troupe was the same that presented Ipi Tombi - an extravaganza of South African song and dance which captured the hearts and imagination of Nigerians during Festac 77. The troupe will perform first at the National Theatre Lagos from April 8 through to 18 before moving to Abuja, Jos and Port Harcourt.

### Sprite Adds Colour to Easter With Nigerian West Indian Carnival

**T**O extend joy, goodwill, selflessness and coexistence that permeates the Easter period; the annual Coca-Cola Nigerian West Indian Association Carnival has now been fixed for Easter Monday.

Scheduled to hold at the Tafawa Balewa Square Lagos, on April 12, the Nigerian West Indian Carnival is a unique cultural spectacle showcasing several aspects of Nigerian and West Indian culture through costume, dance music and visual imagery.

### On The Way - The Lagos Calender & Desk Planner 1994

**A**BUJA has since assumed the status of Nigeria's political capital but then, Lagos undoubtedly remains the business nerve-centre. This has spurred the Heartbeat communications Ltd. to start working towards the production of the first-ever Lagos Calender and Desk (Forward) planner to capture in living colour the who-is-who in Lagos business / Professional circles.

To be structured on a sector-by-sector basis, these promotional channels aim at sophisticated blend of the written word and the seen image to promote both respective business concerns and corporate image of Lagos State.

Here's Udegbunan responding to a reporter's enquiry at the briefing.



# Aman and his thoughts

*A solo exhibition of paintings by Kunle Fatunla puts the society on a probing line.*

the extent of neglecting her children; He'll soon be home — tired woman sitting with her chin cupped to the palm gazing blankly into the sky thinking of when her husband would return, and *That could have been me* - an abandoned child in rags with an empty bowel evidently famished and not knowing when the next meal will burl.

The entire work shows that nothing in particular is inspirational to him. In fact, he paints anything that tickles his fancy ranging from the serious and thought provoking to the subliminal. And through his paintings, Kunle's innermost thoughts and yearnings find expression. The artist said that much when he told TSM that the paintings portray "things that have been crossing my mind", hence the theme, "Me

to Kunle's closeness to nature and the environment that has shaped him. Bolaji Abosede, a chartered town planner and one of those who appreciated Kunle's exhibition told TSM that the artist's works painted a picture of everyday happenings, the hardship in the society today and the hurry with which we live our lives. This assertion could better be attested to by such paintings as *where is mother* - a strayed chicken left behind by a "mother" beaten by the hardship in the land to

*Kunle Fatunla, the artist*



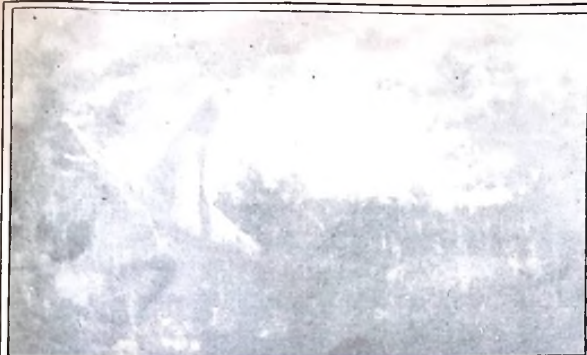
By Akaninyene Esierel  
Emma Anyamele

**W**HEN a nation is on the verge of decadence.. some of its citizens assaulted by such state of things search for a platform to clean the Augean stable. Most often it is the youth who bear the banner of remonstrance. It is therefore not surprising that in the past few months young and ambitious Nigerian artists with verve seem to have found a springboard to register their discontent with the happenings in the Nigerian society. Of recent Nigerians have been inundated with a flurry of exhibitions of works of art by up and coming artists between the ages of early twenties and thirties. A general theme that flows in their effort is an audacious semblance of a cultural renaissance in medieval Europe.

Last week a promising 29 year old artist Kunle Fatunla battled to capture the mood of a nation in dire strait in his maiden solo exhibition of paintings with a theme aptly titled "Me and My Thoughts." Held at the National Museum, Lagos, Fatunla flaunted a 46 piece aesthetic art work dominated by oil on canvas with a splash of mixed media, oil on board and paper. Kunle leaves no one in doubt that he is an emerging master of painting in oil "with glimpses of stylistic consciousness," as Dele Jegede, a doctor, put it in the exhibition brochure.

Most of the paintings bore testimony





Victims of the system

and My Thoughts." Just like William Wordsworth, one of the first names in Romantic Poetry described his poems, Fatunla's paintings are embodiments of powerful feelings and emotions re-collected in tranquility. These works of artistic excellence say it all - *Reminiscence*, an artwork capturing kids flying kites, recapitulates the boyhood days of the artist and indeed a good number of us. Linked with this is *Independence Rhythm*, a portrait of a drummer drumming away as the nation celebrates its attainment of flag independence. The same drummers were also captured making the rounds and entertaining people at social functions in the work *Thrillers*.

Fatunla does not live in any illusion that all hope for Nigeria's survival is lost. In fact, if anything, a striking difference in his works with his contemporaries is that a majority of his paintings bear testimony to his firm belief that our society still exhibits elements of spriteness. He defended his use of brilliance in colour and paintings of hope by saying that he was not a sadist. Such paintings as *Motherhood*, a baby strapped to the back of its mother signifying parental care; *The Guardian*, the hand of God radiating and creating a clear path for a lost generation to move forward; *On a Friday Afternoon* - a crowd of muslim faithfuls worshipping Allah and praying for an end to the ailing economy; and *Messenger of Peace* - a bird flying to bring peace to despondent Nigerians.

His optimism has however not made Fatunla to lose sight of the grim social upheavals Nigeria is going through. In fact he spared some thoughts for the economy and society in such paintings as *Sign of the times* which portrays the survivors (419ners?) and victims of

Nigeria's economic malady; *Lost In Thought* - a lady carried away by deep thought on what to do with her life of uncertainty. Kunle is at his very societal best in the painting *Victims of the System* - the Ejigbo Airforce plane crash which sent over 167 military officers to death last September which Kunle told TSM was due to dearth of maintenance culture and a system riddled with corruption.

Nor did the Lagos transport system

escape his fancy as portrayed in *Lagos City transport*. Through the window of a precariousness and chaotic transport situation in the city of Lagos. In all landscape to communicate. Dele rates that he is "in his elements when he deals with cityscapes and landscapes", while Bernard Aina, general Secretary, Society of Nigerian Artists attests to Kunle's closeness to nature and his environment.

Like other independence generation in contemporary Nigerian art, Jegede feared that Kunle might fall prey to "fierce assertiveness and aggressive mercantilism" of his peers. The prices of his works which ranged from N3,000 to N19,000 may have proved Jegede right, though Kunle explained away the "high" price to cost of materials. Mbanefo, a chief, warned that "works that are realistically priced will sell but unrealistically priced works these days seldom sell with the consequent loss of self confidence and frustration on the part of the artist."

As artists continue to register their displeasure with the societal ills, the nation patiently awaits the real renaissance.

## Morountodun lights the stage

*History, music, dance, songs and drama, realise a convergence as Nigeria joins the rest of the world in celebrating the day of the stage.*

By Emma Anyamele Jnr.

**M**ARCH 27 every year turns the world into one theatrical village. For it is a day set aside by the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) in conjunction with the International Theatre Institute. Paris for

the celebration of the theatre the world over. Tagged the International Theatre Day ITD, it is a day chosen by theatre arts practitioners to call the world to the realities of their existence.

Here in Nigeria, Theatrites under the foliage of the National Association of Nigerian Theatre Arts practitioners (NANTAP) were not left behind in the celebrations. In a statement heralding this year's celebration, which is the fourth edition in Nigeria, the president of NANTAP, Mahmood Ali Balogun, stated that the "International Theatre Day, commemorates and celebrates the theatre, its practitioners and contributions to world civilization. It also recognises the important role of the theatre in propagating new ideas and disseminating government policies."

Chaired by RTD Colonel Tunde Ako-gun, the former Sole Administrator of Arts and Culture. The celebration kicked off at about 6.30 p.m. - at the Banquet hall of the National Theatre with all the trappings of a seminar.



Mahmoud Ali Balogun...NANTAP President

Akogun scored a point for the artistes and also epitomised the feelings of virtually everyone present when he stated in his opening speech that the Nigerian artiste is as good as his counterparts anywhere in the world. He also poked at and lent his weight behind the issue of endowment for the arts, which was upheld by Comrade Uche Chukwumerije, the Minister of information via his representative, Aig Imoukhuede, the Federal Director of Culture.

But the high point of the celebration which saw the humourist and master impressionist, Tunji Sotimirin, making the audience roar with laughter, was the presentation of the play, *Morountodun*, by Professor Femi Osofisan and chosen by NANTAP as its signature play for this year's festivities. The author, Professor Osofisan, a literary guru and social commentator who in his plays attempts to probe into society and tries to capture its conflicts and tensions and in doing this speaks for the voiceless many, is an apostle of the Epic Theatre of Ideology originated by the German-born Bertolt Brecht, aimed at the demystification of the theatre and the enlightenment of the audience. And what is more? He is a dogged advocate of social equality

and a classless society.

It is quite instructive and significant to note that as the world celebrates the theatre, NANTAP has, amidst the harsh socio-economic realities of the Nigerian situation especially as they affect the common man, adopted as the nucleus of its celebrations, *Morountodun*, a play with peasant uprising as its pedestal.

Directed by Fred Amata, and with such names as Liz Benson playing the

role of Titubi, Tunde Euba as Deputy Supretendent Salami, Toun Oni as Alhaja, forming the core of its dramatic personae. *Morountodun* (a Yoruba word for 'I have seen that which is sweet') is a play structured in the guise of history. That is, the history of the famous Agbekoya uprising in Western Nigeria of the '60's. This device demonstrates how the past can be used to as a means of challenging the forces of oppression and injustice in our present society.

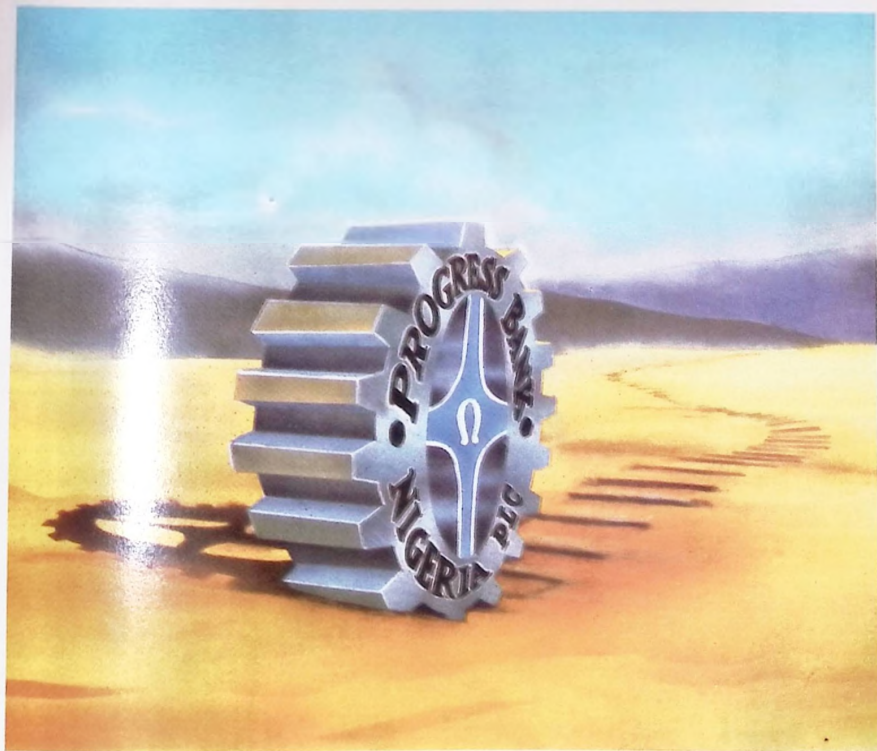
Furthermore, the play recapitulates the Moremi myth. Indeed as an authoritative exponent of African mythology, Osofisan believes that myth and history should be made to serve the contemporary demands of social transformation and improve life for mankind. Myth, therefore, serves to project the role of cultural heritage in the struggle against oppression and in the fight for the upliftment of the down-trodden masses. This approach often rouses people from mental passivity in a culture of surrender. In this play, Moremi metamorphoses in to Titubi, renounces her magnificent heritage and joins forces with the oppressed peasantry.

This play which makes use of traditional African aesthetics by employing folktale, riddles, dance, music and songs to make sensory and intellectual appeals and stimulate the audience's sensibility, squares the peasantry who has risen like one to demand for better conditions, against the gentry who is oppressive and antagonistic. And at the end of it all, nothing stands the same again.

As the curtains were drawn on Saturday, one could not but agree with Tunde Euba, a key actor in *Morountodun*, and the director of Theatre Fifteen UNILAG, that the theatre in Nigeri has a preponderance of potentials, but needs money to tap them.

Segun Ojewuyi...NANTAP Sec. General





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# "The European community is guilty!"

— Ilija Jankovic,

the Yugoslavian Ambassador to Nigeria

a July 6, 1992, *Newsweek* report, the United Nations has branded Slobodan Milosevic, the Serbian President, as the aggressor in the conflict, the Serbs decry their victimisation by the world powers. For the Serbs, this trend represents a modern-day advance on the horrors of the past. Dobrica Cosic in *The Time of Death* describes the traumatic suffering of Serbs during the 1914 war, the tortures and atrocities committed against them by the Austrian-Hungarian army, primarily in its prisoner-of-war camps. In *The Time of Evil*, he describes the devastation brought about by the Stalinist fanaticism and "madness of inhumanity" as Ivan Katic, the voice of the author, tries to

stand up against cruelty and stupidity. Who then the land-hungry, blood-thirsty devil: the Serbs, the Croats or the Muslims, especially against the back-drop of the recent withdrawal by the other parties to the New York peace conference on charges of intensifying Serbian aggression? Perhaps the answer lies in the informed conclusion by Ilija Jankovic, the Yugoslav Ambassador to Nigeria, that all parties, including the EC, must share in the guilt.

Jankovic's acceptance to "have a dialogue" with TSM, hinged on his admiration of the quality of our discourse with the Israeli Ambassador (TSM Vol. 6, No. 21), came after weeks of trial. But it was worth it. For the ambassador is certainly a rooted flag-bearer. A doctor of economic science, with a Ph.D thesis on "Transfer of Science and Technology as a Key factor for Faster Over-all Development of Developing Countries," he has served as deputy to the Yugoslavian Minister for Science and Technology, Counsellor to his country's Vice President, head of the centre for coordination of Scientific and Technological Cooperation with

Ilija Jankovic, the Yugoslavia Ambassador to Nigeria.



By Maik Nwosu & Joseph Umunegbu

**T**HE tragedy of the former Yugoslavia — that of living cadavers fore-doomed infants and electric hatred — is a phantasmagoria that has been justly described as the shame of Europe. "We are living in difficult time," according to Ilija Djukic, the former Yugoslav Foreign Minister. "Men of letters would call it troubled times. In our analyses, we usually describe it as a complex, complicated, hard period. These are all euphemisms, the meaning is the same. I am deeply convinced that the nations which lived in the former state are all together and each one individually profoundly affected by what has happened in our part of the world and the attitudes of the international community, especially the European Community. This is a drama that has turned in to a tragedy." Milena Spsovski, a professor at the University of Belgrade, has also made an akin assessment: "The disintegration and collapse of Tito's Yugoslavia and totalitarian communist regime and international recognition of Bosnia — Herzegovina as an independent state, have induced the separation of the Serb and Croat ethnic spaces from their ethnic mother-lands, causing a horrible, inter-ethnic, inter-confessional war." Part of the reason for the calcification of the crisis lie in the inevitable pointing of fingers. While, according to

non-aligned and other developing countries, chairman of the inter-governmental Committee for Transfer of Technology within UNCTAD in Geneva and a member of various Yugoslav delegations participating in international negotiations particularly dealing with science and technology and economic development. In this interview, which spanned two and a half hours, he brings his synthetic erudition and sterling humanism to bear on the various issues raised. Read it; keep it.

**What are the root causes of the Bosnian conflict?**

This is a big question and the answer is very complex. Therefore, we may not be able to cover all the factors that produced the civil war. These causes include the disintegration of Yugoslavia, or better still the secession of some republics in the former Yugoslavia.

The process of conflict began when Slovenia made a unilateral decision to secede. But economic determinants also contributed in stimulating the war. Yugoslavia's economic environment lacked a free market economy to encourage competition and private ownership. In this case, links with the free market economies of Western Europe was weak. Yugoslavs became dissatisfied with the standard of living. Production was not tested in the market. And no project or stimulation was required. In this environment, enterprises were built according to political and not economic principles. And nations were unprepared for the process of democratisation. Multipartyism must be done in an environment which accepts basic developments in the market system. We cannot produce a multiparty system immediately because there must be a simultaneous process [between multipartyism and free market development].

Some European countries supported secession and at the same time prohibited the self determination of other republics who wanted to stay within Yugoslavia. If Slovenia and Croatia exercised unilateral decisions to leave Yugoslavia, you have to allow the people from other republics and regions who want to stay together to live in one country as well. The right to secede cannot be stronger than the right to remain within the mother country.

In addition, the 1.4 million Serbs in Bosnia realised that they must live in the so called independent state of Bosnia-Herzegovina which unilaterally decided to leave Yugoslavia, and the leadership of Yugoslavia saw that the



*"Political solutions should be backed with economic perspectives."*

country was going to be Islamic, in which president Alija Izetbegovic said that the muslim state had nothing in common with the other ethnic groups. So you cannot expect Serbs to live under that umbrella. The Croats also made similar decisions with the Serbs.

Also, the secessionist movements coming from East European countries were nationalistic. In this process, a multiparty system was introduced. They were financed abroad and the leaders of these new parties had stronger links with some Western European countries. They thought they could live better if they secede. Even the mass media was in the hands of the secessionist forces. One must also take into account that some European countries wanted to interfere in the Balkan Peninsula. They wanted to separate Yugoslavia and write it off from the geographical map. But those who remembered what happened in the first and second world war realised that they could not inhabit these separate states, preferred to live in one republic. While Western European countries encouraged European integration as in the case of the EEC, they at the same time wanted the disintegration of Yugoslavia. This is not goodwill.

So the UN was right to have declared Serbia as the aggressor in the conflict?

The UN did not brand Serbia the aggressor in the war.

What is your response to media reports that not only spell that out but note that the Serbs of Bosnia-Herzegovina have enjoyed significant logistical support from the Serbian president and that their announcements of cease-fires have been no more than propaganda trumpets?

It depends on which report you're using. There is a need for balance of information. Nothing is black or white. There is so much manipulation in the mass-media: they want to accuse the Serbs of everything. In the near future, hopefully, that should change. There are many agencies which later realised

that they've made mistakes by believing the message of big publishing houses. Yet they don't want to turn back because it's not going to support their credibility. That is another manipulation—as is the case with the EC.

According to some analysis, Germany facilitated the Yugoslavian crisis by immediately recognising the break-away republics because it wants to be the major power in Europe. Is there not an exaggeration there? Have you ever considered Yugoslavia as a threat to German influence in Europe?

Germany forced the recognition of Croatia and Slovenia from the beginning. There is no doubt about that. The root is mainly historical and other ties. But, as an economist by profession, I would say that the basic root of the break-up was the lack of a free market economy. We cannot ignore the fact that by immediately recognising Slovenia and Croatia, Germany did contribute to the break up of Yugoslavia.

By grabbing 70 percent of Bosnia Herzegovina is the current conflict not traceable to Serbian aggression?

From a historical perspective, that is about one hundred years ago, the Serbs were a predominant nation. But after the genocide of the first and second world wars, the population of the Serbs reduced to about 33 percent, which is 1.4 million people, while the muslims are presently 1.8 million in number. Before the genocide of the great wars, the Serbs were about 60 percent of the Bosnia Herzegovina soil. And this is officially confirmed.

Independent trade unions in Belgrade described attacks against muslims and ethnic cleansing by members of the ultraright wing Radical Party as a prelude to the rise of fascism. Why are Serbians moving in this direction?

Ethnic cleansing did not start from Serbia. This is a historical fact. During the end of World War II, in 1945, there was a law prohibiting Serbians from going back to Kosovo and Metohija. But the borders were opened for Albanians. The genocide against Serbians began during the second world war. The Nazis killed 800,000 Serbs in concentration camps.

But in the present civil war, I am not justifying ethnic cleansing. It is against law and humanity. And it is not going to contribute to resolving the problem. But the environment in which people are struggling to survive occurred because of the historical past. People know what it means when ethnic wars are in process — that this is the most brutal war that one can

imagine.

Don't you think the communists were more effective in containing nationalism in Eastern and Central Europe than present day governments?

One of the biggest mistakes made by the communist party was to introduce an economy that was not productive. Yugoslavia accepted World Bank and IMF loans. It became indebted and could not pay the money back. So the communist ideology was not appropriate because at the end of the Cold War there was no balance between East and West. Multipartism immediately exposed an environment which awakened nationalist movement.

In civilised societies the armed forces receive intensive indoctrination on decent behaviour. Why has rape been used as a matter of policy by the warring factions?

There is a need for clear reporting of the arguments by the press and not merely because such sensitive issues are attractive for publication. The mass media are using the issue of rape to show why sanctions are imposed. It should be left to the appropriate sources to investigate allegations of mass rape.

How will an international tribunal sentence war criminals in the Bosnian conflict, considering that the allegations being compiled are not as corroborative as say the case of the Nazis who kept records and a clear chain of command?

The establishment of the tribunal is a mechanism to judge war crimes. This is something no one should oppose. People should know in advance what is expected. I must mention that Yugoslavia set up a commission to investigate and collect information connected to war crimes and genocide. This would be established at the level of the state commission with prominent lawyers, humanitarians and people from the different professional backgrounds who will collect information and prepare reports. And this particular committee will operate under the auspices of the Yugoslavian president.

What are the prospect for resolving the Bosnia crisis?

I see the end of conflict in sight and I know we are near to that. But the outside world should not just accuse one party (Serbs) or one state (Yugoslavia). And I see the process of integration whether within the Balkan Peninsula or the EC. They cannot change the soil around them, and they have to exist; starting political remedies without economic capability contribute to the problems of Yugoslavia.

Also, the people of Bosnia must be

allowed to exercise their own right of self determination. Otherwise it will be hard to expect peace and long term justice in that republic. The Serbian president in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Radovan Karadzic says he is prepared to give some territories captured by the Serbs in order to find a just remedy. It is hard to expect that without some sort of fair re-adjustment, there would be a lasting solution. Whatever mediators force Serbs, muslims and Croats to sign, will not result in peace in the region unless it is just, correct and a long standing solution.

But Yugoslavia will respect whatever decision that is made by the three groups living in Bosnia, with the help of the international mediators. They should create a formula for adjusting the internal matter. No one can say his hands are clean of the things that happened. We have destroyed the children of Bosnia—they have no homes and no future.

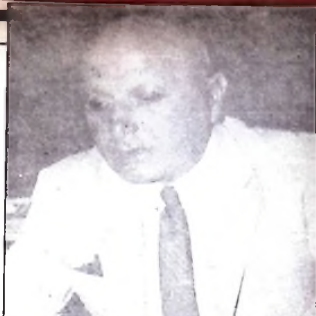
Apart from the internal difficulties, the unilateral and unjust sanctions against Yugoslavia is damaging and punishing the people. These sanctions have no legal roots within the UN charter — the UN security council is not a judicial body yet it produces sanctions. This must be examined because it is not solving the problem. The UN's decision to impose sanctions on one side and support the other, is unfair. There should be an indication for reconstructing the UN — particularly the security council. It must be balanced with, say, an African nation.

So Yugoslavia is expecting some goodwill and help in a constructive and positive manner, so that she will enjoy an appropriate position in the international community, which she deserves.

Evaluate the role the US has played so far, especially with respect to the resolution of the conflict?

Following the evolution of the US attitude up to now, there have been some sort of differences. President Clinton has made it very clear that his administration would support the parties involved in the conflict to co-exist and to keep the solution that will be arrived at through negotiations. Even Yesterday evening (March 21) I heard a spokesman in the White House reiterate this position. My belief is that it is the best solution. Whatever formula that the parties arrive at, this is something that the rest of the world will have to respect. But, first of all, they (the Moslems, Croats and Serbs) have to stop the war.

So you prefer the Clinton approach to



"The EC has to find a lasting solution crisis."

Bush's handling of the matter?

The Clinton administration had made it very clear that they receive more accurate information about the reality on the ground. Whenever you have more information, your understanding becomes clearer. So, the Clinton administration is very informed about the reality on the ground; this informs their views about the war in Yugoslavia.

Have there been proven cases of arms being shipped as emergency relief?

They turned back one plane from Zagreb recently for transporting weapons as humanitarian aid. There are also cases of people coming from abroad to fight what they consider a religious war. These contribute to the further extension of the Civil War.

Where are these fanatics from?

According to the report, they're coming from some Muslim countries. I can't tell you specifically where. We shouldn't manipulate what we have no appropriate evidence on. But basically it is extremists that are responsible for what is going on now, not the inability of muslims and Serbs to live together. Such negative influence can be used elsewhere in the world. The FC has to recognise that — the mistake they made accusing one side, which is now difficult for them to admit. They contributed to the break up; they have to find a solution, a lasting solution, not make another mistake. That's what the EC and other international intermediaries have to work at. For the time being, there is a need to cool the situation: to stop the war.

How are Nigerian troops, under UN auspices, coping in Bosnia?

The information coming from UN-PROFOR (UN protection force) shows that Nigeria is protecting the area between Glens and Toplskov, in the Serbian Republic. Although the Nigerians are not happy where they are because

of the continental climate, they are appropriately equipped. The Nigerian troops in Yugoslavia are very friendly with. They act according to the precise instructions of the UN. They are very healthy and none of them was wounded or attacked. There have been many articles and reports about Nigerian troops: that they are highly disciplined and have even begun to understand some words in our language. This embassy can be used as communication for the Nigerian continent. At the beginning we provided all the necessary information.

So I can say on behalf of the government and people of Yugoslavia that we are very pleased with Nigeria's role and we highly appreciate the decision of the Nigerian government to participate in peacekeeping in the former Yugoslavia. Nigeria also has peacekeeping troops in Liberia and other parts of the continent as well. Nigeria deserves appropriate attention all around the world, and to have a seat in the UN Security Council.

Considering the state of the nation today, do you see the Yugoslav tragedy repeating itself in Nigeria?

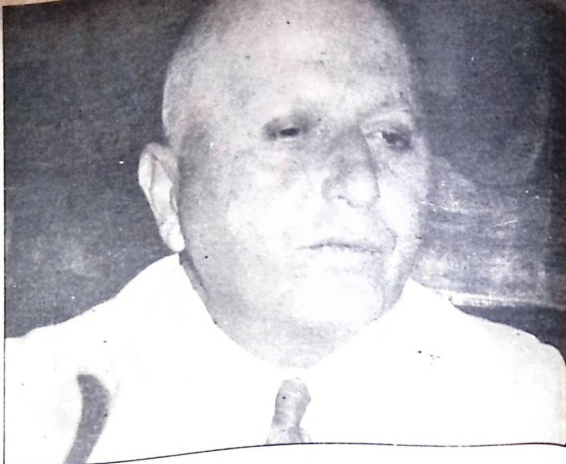
I cannot imagine such a scenario in this country. Nigeria has already had a bad experience between 1967 and 1970, when a part of the country wanted to secede. I am sure this will not repeat itself again in this environment. The people and political structure are aware of that fact and taking appropriate care about the unity of the country. I am happy because of that. Nigerians should coexist, cooperate, and have enough tolerance and respect for themselves and not to dominate each other, because one party cannot remain the slave, otherwise sooner or later some one will have to pay for that imposition.

What advice would you give Nigeria's economic planners?

I'm not supposed to make any particular suggestion in the country where I'm serving as ambassador. I'm here to contribute to the improvement of the over-all bilateral relations between Nigeria and Yugoslavia.

I am in favour of economic diplomacy, which Nigeria also supports, because it is cornerstone for the over-all relations between the two countries.

And our relations from the beginning has been very good; Yugoslavia was among the first country to recognise Nigeria after its independence.



Jankovic stressing a point

There were good political relations between Nigeria and Yugoslavia in the NAM (Non Aligned Movement) and for many years in the UN and other multilateral gathering. As one of the negotiators of the G77 (the group of 77 third world countries) in the UN and UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development), dealing with many Nigerians, participating in the transfer of technology from the developed countries to the third world, and the World Bank, I received advice from many Nigerians and I was impressed both by their knowledge and their way of thinking; that the Third World should cope for its own future.

Nigeria and Yugoslavia are working in advance for a future which will come after the embargo against Yugoslavia is lifted. We received support from Nigeria before the Bosnian crisis started and we appreciate this very much. Later on, Yugoslavia broke up; Nigeria supported a peaceful solution.

How has NAM been affected by the end of the Cold War?

With the appearance of the New World Order, the disintegration process and without the balance in the international system, it appears NAM and the movement is not strong enough to play an integral role for the future of the Third World. This is because of the disintegration process in the former Eastern bloc, economic difficulties, ethnic, religious and ideological differences.

Yet in the 1970s and 1980s the G77, which was fighting for a New International Economic Order was accepted by NAM. They struggled for better economic terms and conditions — in financing, transfer of technology, writing off indebtedness of the Third World countries, better international price fixing of raw materials and manufactures and so on.

So the Third World is expecting a more active participation in the UN, the only world mechanism — in expressing themselves at a global level. They should have equal treatment in the most powerful body of the UN which is the security council.

But I must stress that political solutions or suggestions without an economic perspective is one package I oppose in the new world order. Many countries are preoccupied with multiparty systems but are not making enough attempts at solving their economic problems. This is a danger, and it must be treated by Third World countries, because this is the only mechanism to prevent wars. But it does not mean that I am against multipartism or democracy. On the contrary, this is the way things will go whether we like it or not. But it must be the desire of the country aiming to belong in the international system. There must be mutual interdependence. But as an old Chinese proverb goes, the interdependence of the rider and the horse will not solve the problem, but worsen the situation.

Reasons. The NNPC house is in disarray. It is embroiled in several crises. Take the Petroleum Inspectorate Commission (PIC) thing. The president and commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces of Nigeria, Ibrahim Babangida, in his 1991 budget speech, ordered the setting up of an autonomous PIC. More than two years later, this has not been done. No reasons had been given except pointers to the fact that some big shots within NNPC and the Petroleum Resources Ministry are sitting on the idea.

Because of the failure to set up PIC amongst other things, the unions started their strike last two weeks ago.

As has already been noted, (TSM Vol 6, No. 23), this is one strike that could have been avoided by the ministry and the presidency. "What would it cost them to grant the workers PIC?" queried one concerned observer. Nothing, actually. But it could cost some billions of naira if those guys go on strike.

As if the problems relating to the clamour of PIC are not enough, NNPC

has the oil subsidy palavar to contend with. On this subsidy issue the NNPC's plan to spend about N50 million on media campaigns "to sensitize the public," on the removal of oil subsidy, is of concern to Nigerians.

They are of the view that the sum could be put to other pressing needs.

They think that NNPC is misplacing its priorities. One of which is the problem currently plaguing some of its key subsidiaries. Take the Nigerian Petroleum Development Company (NPDC) for instance. It is the productive arm of NNPC, responsible for producing NNPC's discoveries from its exploration drilling operations onshore and off-shore.

According to an NNPC source "It is the company which will lead the way in NNPC's bid to increase Nigeria's crude oil production capacity." This being the focal point of any oil producing nation, NPDC took some firm steps to achieve its goals. It acquired and has since been producing the Abura fields owned previously by Mobil NNPC. Ten

*Itsueli....NNPC's boss*



# Crises and conflicts

*\*Power play in high places*

*\*NPDC, the productive arm, almost grounded.*

*\*Confusion takes over the oil industry*

By Isodi Dike



HE Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) is at it again. The giant economic octopus is bracing up for the final showdown on removal of oil subsidy with already SAPPed Nigerians.

Why petroleum prices should occupy the centre of NNPC's heart now seem rather surprising to oil industry watchers. Fact on the ground says it should not be. TSM investigations reveal that although NNPC may desperately need some additional capital, the prime oil firm requires a cleaning exercise, in order to effectively manage its Affairs.

**Oil & Energy**



neco Sunray joint ventures and what is known as the Oredo field project, an oil and gas field in Edo State. The project is supposed to boost the company's production to about 10,000 barrels of oil per day before the end of 1991.

"I am happy to announce NPDC's readiness to put the Oredo Oil field on stream," that was former Petroleum Minister, Jibril Aminu on NNPC and National Development in 1991.

In order to transform these worthy aims into action, Jibril Aminu in January 1992 swore in the re-constituted board of directors of NPDC and its subsidiary firms, 11 in number. Eight eminent Nigerians were ushered into the board of NPDC. They included Ubaidu Dikko, a retired colonel as chairman; Ishola Jimoh, managing director; Idris Koko, J. Tilley-Gyado, Ngozi Allana, a doctor, Mayen Adetiba, an engineer, Cyprian Okonkwo, a professor and M. Akpan as the executive director, operations.

These board members went into their assignment with vigour. That is, until November 27, 1992. That day disaster called in London. Ishola Jimoh, the managing director died there while on official engagement. Since that day, the NPDC has known no peace.

The running of the organisation fell directly onto the laps of the management and the subsidiary board. That was the beginning of NPDC's present headache. TSM was reliably informed last week that there have been squabbles between the subsidiary board and the remaining members of the executive committee, since the demise of the former managing director.

Besides that, the company seems to be heading for the collision course with contractors and other business concerns. Since November 1992, when the MD died, the contractors have not been paid. This is an unusual development and the contractors have continued to besiege the premises of the company.

TSM exclusively gathered that confusion, is the general term pervading the NPDC. Key projects such as the much-touted Oredo field development project have virtually been abandoned. What all these translate to is loss of much-needed revenue.

What has the NNPC and the Petroleum Ministry been doing about the plight of its productive arm. Does it mean that the death of NPDC's MD would put on hold the company's activities?

Investigation reveals that there may be more to the whole scenario. The

delay in appointing a new managing director was attributed to a number of factors. According to an NNPC source this might not be unconnected with the changes effected when Philip Asiodu took over from Chu Okongwu as the secretary to the Petroleum Ministry. They argue that the man had not really settled down considering other weighty issues.

Another reason is that, the NNPC has already planned to reshuffle its subsidiaries and appoint new hands. This news, TSM gathered has been making the rounds since December last year. It is one of the reasons, nerves cooled a bit at NPDC.

Up till press time, the appointments or reshuffling have not been carried out. Why NNPC has been foot-dragging on this has continued to cause a stir at enlightened quarters especially in the face of the loss of money and confusion prevailing at NPDC.

All attempts to get official views have proved abortive. No one wants to broach the issue at all. However, a

source which asked for anonymity explained what he referred to as the power play that goes on in the oil industry. "Those who should know about the problems not only of NPDC but other issues in the oil industry," he said "what we have discovered is that the presidency is only informed when it suits them. Mostly they withhold their report until the last minute. This time, I think they have gone too far."

Whatever, energy observers advise that NNPC needs a lot of cleaning acts, especially amongst its subsidiaries if the oil policy is anything to go by. Improving the reserve base is very crucial to any oil producing nation, especially Nigeria under the present conditions.

To do that effectively, NPDC should be the first port of call. Without sanitising this vital subsidiary rushing to find solutions to the general confusion pervading the oil industry (like the PIC issue, the oil subsidy etc.), is nothing but a grave misplacement of priorities.

Oil installation



# This one, is a Kangaroo

*...it showed in her strides and courage. Athletics officials must groom her and other young lads that distinguished themselves.*

just bent on doing it and winning it. That's all!" says Glory who was discovered about three years ago during a primary school competition. Then she had represented Hospital Road Primary School, Aba.

Ever since, she had featured at the Intra-zonal Athletic Championship, Port Harcourt in 1991. She won silver at the high jump. So too it happened to her with the high jump event at School Sports '92 and the MKO Abiola Athletic Championship.

Her bane on two of those occasions had been her team mate Nkechi Mbaoma. How do the officials plan to direct this budding talent, who after the high

who did their state proud at the championship but those of them like Glory, hold the birth of a new hope. They will be the future champions if they are well-groomed and directed by the officials.

Glory has the height, the heart and is just willing to learn. "Anytime I want to take part in any event my mind, is

*Glory....galloping to glory*



By Isodi Dike

**H**ER name is Glory Nwosu. On or before December, 1993 she will be a 15-year old girl. But that is not in itself unique. Her style is. So too is her determination to try.

At the Under 15 National Athletic Championship, sponsored recently in Lagos by Yinka Folawiyi, Baba Adinni of Nigeria, she truly got noticed.

The officials had called the young ladies, to take their turn at the 75 metre hurdles event. When the starting gun blasted away, the athletes took, it in their strides. Before long it was over but in those brief moments, there was one particular one in lane three, who surprisingly glided over the hurdles like a gazelle. And she was that tall. She easily breasted the tape ahead of others.

It occurred to some of the spectators then, that this same athlete had earlier given a dogged fight for the ladies long jump title. In that one she was not so lucky. She grabbed the bronze medal.

But just as the spectators continued to wonder, she strolled over calmly to the high jump, stand. Within a few minutes she had scaled the bar at 1.50 meters to emerge the champion, ahead of Awuba Peters of Rivers State (1.45 meters) and Felix Rhoda of Champions Club (1.40 meters).

Glory Nwosu is a young athlete from Aba. She had come to represent Abia State alongside eight other athletes. There were so many young athletes from other states of the federation.



Azu Egege... Kangaroo waltch

jump event insisted and in fact actually ran the 200 meters heat?

"Since I discovered her, I will like to train her until she gets to National and international standard" says Azu Egege, an elder and Head coach of Abia State. "I will want to monitor her closely. The events are really too much for her. It will not happen again. We came with few athletes and she wanted to do the 200 meters."

TSM Sporting gathered, however, that if the dream — of grooming the talents discovered must succeed, the different state governments have to show more interest in the welfare and activities of those involved in winning laurels for them.

At the championship, it was the common cry, that the states lacked training facilities. Take Abia State which Glory represented so well, and for which another Nwosu a male, won gold and a record in long jump, the coach revealed that they lacked even stop watches and foam for the jumpers. "If I had a foam to train with, Glory would have done better than this" says Egege. He was not alone in this complaint. Several state contingents cried too.

The athletics officials must be given credit this time around for standing firm on the issue of age and its discrepancies.

State coaches were seen justifying the officials to allow the various disqualified athletes to participate later but the officials for once refused to budge.

And so, the message of Abdul Kareem-Amu, Chairman of Athletic Federation of Nigeria (TAF) would have started on a genuine note.

"We are looking on these youths to aspire to improve the standard of their performances so as to fill the gap when senior Athletes leave the scene."

# Bournvita gives Challenge Cup glamour, to Tennis

...with 1993 Open Table Tennis Championships

By Isodi Dike

Last, the format has been revealed. It had remained a closely guided secret, that is, until Monday March 29th, when Biodun Jaji, the Sales and Marketing Director of Cadbury Nigeria PLC blew the whistle.

Now, everybody knows that Cadbury is into sports in a big way. The company had made some trail blazing moves in corporate sports sponsorship. In 1991 for instance, it introduced the All-Star circuit that saw Nigeria, albeit black Africa hosting the best ten table tennis players in the world.

All these notwithstanding, a lot has happened in tennis circuit within the country to make ping pong lovers, wonder what other packages could beat the current excitement.

That query was what Jaji answered with a lot of vitality, when he briefed the press on another Cadbury sports package. It is the 1993 Table Tennis Championship alright, but this time, the vigour and glamour usually associated with challenge cup have been injected jected.

The fourteenth edition of the Bournvita Open, has been divided into zonal contests, that is expected to climax in Lagos from June 16th to 20th.

Zone 1 in Kaduna will have Abuja, Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Yobe, Jigawa, Kano, Kaduna, Katsina, Kebbi and Sokoto. Zone 11 has Enugu as the venue with Abia, Anam bra, Akwa Ibom, Cross River, Rivers, Enugu, Plateau, Imo, Taraba and Niger whilst Ibadan will host zone 111 featuring

Edo, Delta, Ondo, Ogun, Osun, Oyo, Kwara, Kogi, Lagos and Benue.

Ibadan zone will slug it out from April 28 to May 1st after the Kaduna zone which rounded off April 3rd, and the Enugu zone from 14th - 17th April.

"Each state is expected to present 2 male and 2 female players for the zonal contests. The first 2 male and first 2 female players in each of the zones will qualify for the Bournvita Open proper in Lagos. This is expected to raise the level of competitiveness and excitement," says Jaji. "National players will not be allowed to participate in the zonal competitions, but will take part in the Bournvita Open proper in order to leave room for discovery of new talents at the state levels."

TSM Sporting gathered that winners at the zones will take away prizes both cash and kind, worth over N60,000 naira besides free accommodation, transportation and feeding for the players, coaches and officials.

That is not all 12 countries from within and outside Africa are expected at the grand finale in Lagos with various prize monies comming into over a half million naira. Already over 40 zonal umpires have been trained with 15 succeeding in Ibadan zone, and 12 from Enugu.

World class!...A foreign player during the 1991. All stars circuit



The food drink of future champions The food drink of future champions The food drink of future champions The food drink of future champions

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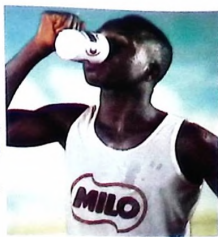


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The food drink of future champions

The food drink of

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