

GOVERNORS ELECT: HOW THEY WON

DECEMBER 23-29, 1991 VOL. 2, No. 52.

# Citizen

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**CONTENTS**

**Citizen**

December 23 — 29, 1991

Vol. 2 No. 52

**COVER STORY**

Which was reported in the  
 general newspaper in the  
 Dec. 20, 29 of 1970, is entrenched

**Christmas gift for old politicians**

The federal government changes its mind about keeping the four-year old ban on "old-breed" politicians, **DIRECTOR** saying that the transition programme can no longer be derailed

Page 12

**How the mighty fell**



The December 14 governorship elections passed peacefully — but with lots of surprises

Page 18

Babangida

**Leaders**

Unbanning the "oldbreed" politicians 7

NEC's new powers 7

Jawara falters 8

**Departments Page**

LETTERS 5

NIGERIA 18

AFRICA 39

**Page**

BUSINESS & ECONOMY 41

KABIRU YUSUF 44



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# PREFACE

**C**hief Olu Falae, a leading presidential aspirant told the BBC last week that the federal government's decision to lift the ban on "oldbreed" politicians not found guilty of any misconduct was a bit of a surprise. Falae couldn't have been alone in expressing surprise. Three weeks ago the authorities nullified the primary elections in some states and banned some contestants partly on suspicion that the outcome of the elections was the handiwork of some ex-banned public officers and that the contestants were surrogates of these people. As if to stress that it meant business, these actions were followed by the detention of 13 of the banned public officers, among them Major General Yar'adua, the nation's former No. 2 citizen, several former civilian governors, ministers and senators. These men were to be charged for breaching Decree 25 of 1987, on January 16.

Against this background, the partial repeal of Decree 25 and the decision to eventually release the Big 13, could not have been more surprising. But then surprise has been the hallmark of President Babangida.

One obvious implication of this Christmas Surprise, if we may call it so, is a complete realignment of the political forces and a change in the political fortunes of the presidential aspirants. This development was obviously a natural cover story. The problem was it came rather late to allow for a definitive story. The choice before us then was either to duck the challenge posed by insufficient time and run the story on the outcome of the governorship elections, or to rise to the challenge by giving you enough meat on the Christmas Surprise story to sink your teeth into. The choice was made the more difficult by the fact that, like our preview of the governorship elections, our story on the outcome is probably the most definitive. In the end we chose to go with the Christmas Surprise as cover and the governorship as second cover. To do the two stories all hands were on deck with the result, once more, that you have an edition to keep you busy all week — and to keep for all weeks.

*Mohammed Haruna*

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## LETTERS

## Diarchy can't work here

Sir,

The cover story of your publication of 18-24 November 1991, "Will Babangida's Diarchy Work" is a question for all. The civilians being the governors and the military being the president.

Looking into the situation of Nigeria today this system is hard to work. This third republic is supposed to go with only one system of government, not diarchy.

Let us go back to religious riots this year, the one that took place at Bauchi and Kano. Were it not because the military was in charge, Nigeria could have turned upside down.

I suggest that the government should be left for the military till the year 2000. The civilians are not for good leadership but for embezzlement and corruption.

Ikegbune Okechi  
Funtua

Re: Memo to the  
Kano panel

Sir,

I absolutely agree that all the facts assembled in your memo to the Kano panel were consistent with truth. All the points raised in the memo were the causes of the so-called religious riots in the north. However, I wish to state the following as additional points:

1. Over the years, the administration of churches in Northern Nigeria has been taken-over from the northern Christians. Today, apart from the ECWA church, all other church denominations are not administered by northern Christians. Though, it may be argued that Christians are Christians regardless of where they come from, why is it that there are no northern Christians administering churches in the other parts of the country?

This point buttresses the argu-

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

ment raised in the memo that the Muslims and Christians in the north are allowing themselves to be used as instruments by those whose strategy for ruling Nigeria is to divide its biggest region.

2. It is also a fact that in this country, the north remained the most homogenous family, notwithstanding its multi-religious, multi-cultural



and tribal denominations. This for long has remained an obstacle in the actualization of ambitions, particularly that of leadership by those who feel marginalized. Thus, in their keen effort to find out the cheapest strategy for dividing the north, they came to realise that it is only on the basis of religion that they could succeed.

In conclusion, therefore, one could say all the riots in the north were never absolutely religious, but were politically motivated riots, created deliberately to break the solid

pillars that bonded the north.

Adamu Sambo Kwami  
Lagos

## On your preface

Sir,

I am an ardent reader of your magazine, *Citizen*.

I read a bit of others as well. I can observe that you plan your pages like *The London Economist*. However, I have noticed you write your preface, though in good prose but with the concluding part commenting on how well your editorial staff have done their weekly assignment (i.e. who reports the story or who anchors it).

To me, I believe you have given such expression on your editorial staff alone — an undue attention. Such thing I think should be done on other staff too. Going through *Tell*, *Newswatch* and *The London Times*, such comments are not narrowed to editorial staff. Since your production, marketing, administrative and advertisement departments undergo the same rigours of producing and selling the magazine on weekly basis; an occasional report on their smart jobs is worth including in your editorial preface to make them feel they belong. *Time* magazine did the like for Charlotte Quiggle and Tony Striane in their January 14, 1991 edition and for Trany Ba Chuong on April 29, 1991.

More grease to your elbow.

Tajudeen Mohammed,  
Lagos.



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Public Enlightenment Supplement

## NIGERIAN PETROLEUM DEVELOPMENT COMPANY LIMITED

One arm of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) which could be described as **THE HEART OF THE MATTER** is the Nigerian Petroleum

**The existence of NNPC is hinged on exploration and production of crude oil.**

Development Company (NPDC). This is so because the existence of NNPC is hinged on exploration and production of crude oil.

When it was created in 1988 along with the other subsidiary companies of NNPC, the NPDC took over the major functions of oil exploration and production responsibilities of the NNPC, and was initially endowed with ten concessions, namely oil prospecting licences of OPL 110, 113, 135, 90, 450, 474, oil mining licences OML 64, 65, 66.

Five of these concessions were later reassigned to other indigenous companies as part of the Federal Government's determined efforts to encourage private indigenous participation in the operations of the oil industry.

Concessions, be they OPL or OML, are given acreages for companies to prospect for oil, and produce if found in commercial quantities.



PROF. JUBRIL AMINU  
MINISTER OF PETROLEUM RESOURCES  
*-indigenising the production of crude oil*

The first major task the NPDC executed was a remedial job or work-over carried out at a well named ABURA 4 in ABURA FIELD between 1989 and 1990. This involved repairing the existing ABURA 4 oil well, by changing

**Today, the NPDC is producing 3,000 barrels of crude oil per day without any assistance from any expatriate firm.**

tubings, pipes, and or replacing them in order to arrest the decline in the performance of the well, and

thus, recover more oil from it. Also it was discovered that an additional well needed to be drilled in order to improve on the oil recovery. The NPDC team went ahead to drill the sixth well, which reached a depth of nearly 14,000 feet. At that depth, the team made substantial oil discoveries.

Today, the NPDC is producing 3,000 barrels of crude oil per day without any assistance from any expatriate firm. The total crude being produced is transported by Pipeline from the ABURA FIELD through Utorogu Flowstation to Forcados Terminal where it is exported. Abura Field located in OML 65 was formerly held by Teneco, Mobil and Sunray. Teneco has been bought over by British Gas and Mobil has sold its holding to NPDC. In this concession, NPDC has 80% share holding while British Gas has 20%.

The lesson of the successes recorded at ABURA 6, according to Mr. Ishola Olawale Jimoh, Managing Director of NPDC, is that possibilities now exist for more accurate assessments of the potentials of the field, and this will ensure that the field is fully exploited.

To improve on the state of the facilities in the field which were dilapidated, the exploitation management team of the company embarked upon relaying of flowlines by erecting H-frames to support those lines and reduce corrosion of the pipes and their misuse.

# Unbanning the "old-breed" politicians

Three weeks before we made our debut on August 20, last year, we advocated in our preview edition (July 30, 1990) that the ban on so-called old politicians should be lifted.

We are tempted to reproduce the whole editorial because the arguments are as true today as they were then. However we do not intend to bore you, so we will merely quote the editorial at some length.

At that time we said 'there have been criticisms of the ban in the past. Most of these have focused on its blanket nature which did not discriminate between criminals and innocents. But clearly if there were villains in the politics of the past, there must also have been saints, or at worst, non-villians. What ground was there then to punish these for crimes they did not commit?

"Some have argued that it would kill or dampen initiative. The decree banning the politicians, for instance, disallows an achiever of sound character and the highest moral integrity from participating in politics simply because he has once been a commissioner or minister. This looks like punishing excellence. But if there is no profit in doing good, there ought certainly not to be any loss.

"A more serious criticism of the ban is that it is porous: many banned by the letter of the decree have escaped the censure of its spirit and the evidence is there in many of the names that are now being touted for such elective jobs as the governorships and the presidency.

"But has the ban achieved what it was promulgated to do? Hardly. By the Chief of Staff, Admiral Aikhomu's own admission, the negative tendencies the government has sought to banish by its blanket ban remain very much around. He told the Abuja conventions that "moneybags" still manipulated things and as in the past there was undue emphasis on zoning."

Since our preview edition, we have remained steadfast in our advocacy, in the

strong belief that the blanket ban was unjust and a violation of the victims' fundamental political rights. The most recent occasion we had cause to renew our call was four weeks ago, when the National Electoral Commission earlier on nullified primary elections in several states and banned a dozen contestants. "Consistently" we said on December 2, "we have expressed reservations about the blanket banning of persons for no worse 'crime' than that they are 'old' politicians or their alleged surrogates. We still stand by that reservation. In that respect we think that the most drastic cure for the political chicanery of recent past is to unban so-called old politicians. That way they will do in the open what everyone knows they have been doing underground. And once they can operate in the open it will be easier for them to be held accountable for their conduct."

One week after NEC's crackdown, the federal government went a step further by detaining 13 of the banned politicians for breaching Decree 25 that imposed the ban in the first place. After this, any hope that the ban will ever be lifted must have vanished. Then, surprise, surprise, last Wednesday the federal government pleasantly reversed itself and decided to partially repeal the four year old decree.

The federal government is to be congratulated for this act of courage. The blanket ban of politicians, both the guilty and the innocent alike, was patently unjust. However government, in its wisdom insisted on sticking by it for four years. It needed courage for the authorities to own up to the fact that they may not have been right after all, no matter how well-intentioned they were. Last week, the Federal Government demonstrated that courage and reversed itself. That act not only deserves praise, it also deserves to be reciprocated by those who have now been unbanned. They must reciprocate by avoiding the political mischiefs of the past that contributed to the sorry political economy in which we have been since.

## NEC's new powers

**L**ate last month, the National Electoral Commission, powerful enough as it were in deciding the fate of politicians, was given even more powers by the Federal Government. Under a decree entitled Participation in Politics and Elections (miscellaneous provisions) Decree 48 of 1992, government has now empowered NEC to declare any person unfit for election if "in its opinion," the activities of such a person are inimical to, or not in consonance with, public order, morality, law and order. The decree said also that NEC can disqualify anyone who "disturbs, hinders or prevents the progress of the grassroot political system." Finally NEC was empowered to disqualify any one whose loyalty, patriotism and attitude towards peaceful and orderly democratic election were questionable. NEC may, by the same token, disqualify anyone whose participation in the elections would cast doubts and jeopardise the legitimacy or credibility of such an election.

To say that by this decree NEC has been

handed a blank cheque is to understate the enormity of the grievous damage that this development may do to the transition programme. Even without this new power, several of NEC's decisions have been questioned on grounds of fairness and justice. To now give the same body more or less the power of life and death over the political fortunes of aspirants to public office is to put the sincerity of government's commitment to its on transition programme, on the line. NEC, as an organ of the executive arm of government, is not equipped to deal with matters through due process. And where the law is concerned unless due process is allowed, justice, legal as well as moral, may be jeopardised.

We would therefore like to urge government to reconsider Decree 48. Otherwise it will detract from the wise decision of the government to liberalise the rules (see leader above) guiding participation in the transition programme.

## Jawara falters

**A** few weeks ago President Dauda Jawara of Gambia told his countrymen, during this year's annual congress of his ruling party, that he planned to step down from his office next April. For many, it was perhaps just about time. At a ripe age of 67, Sir Dauda has ruled this tiny (4,361 sq miles; about 800,000 population) and poor country since independence in 1962. Today nearly three decades since he took office, little has changed for the better in the lives of his countrymen. On the contrary, there seems to have been enough disaffection with his rule to have led to an attempted coup against him in July 1981, while he was away in England attending the wedding of Prince Charles. It was only the intervention of troops from neighbouring Senegal, perhaps with the prompting of France, that saved his bacon.

Before the attempted coup, Jawara's Gambia, was widely touted as a true model of

democracy in a sea of Africa despotism. Gambians may indeed have enjoyed some measure of free speech and free association, but it would seem that this was really skin-deep. Otherwise how come he could remain effectively unchallenged for nearly two decades up to the 1981 coup attempt?

It is rather unfortunate that ten years after the unsuccessful coup, Sir Dauda still wants to remain in power. At 67, what can he now do for the Gambians which he could not do in the past 30 years?

When he announced his retirement from politics, many must have praised him for wisely heeding the wind of democracy blowing across the continent. Apparently the praise was premature. Sir Dauda now thinks without him Gambia will go to pot. The truth is that it will not.

It is still not too late for him to banish this illusion and bow out of power when the ovation is still audible.



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## NIGERIAN PETROLEUM DEVELOPMENT COMPANY LIMITED

After their remarkable success at ABURA FIELD, the all Nigerian NPDC team moved over to OREDO FIELD in OPL 110, where the former Exploration and Exploitation Division had drilled eight wells, six of which were successful. The OPL 110 was as a matter of fact, earlier abandoned by ex-

Escravos Lagos Pipeline (ELP) system.

The NPDC pays rent to Shell for the use of its facilities at Utorogu, as well as handling charges, which in the opinion of Mr. Ishola Jimoh, is revenue lost to Shell.

Since everything in Abura has gone according to plan, and there is a Management commitment to cut costs as much as possible, and establish independence of operations, the NPDC is now in the process of building a mini flow station that can handle the treatment of the 10,000 barrels per day production envisaged.

In this regard, they are working in close collaboration with another subsidiary of NNPC - the National Engineering and Technical Company Limited (NETCO), for engineering and technical support.

The mini-flow station which can be expanded to handle 15,000 barrels of oil per day will be tied into Shell's flowstation at Utorogu for delivery into the Ughelli Quality Control Centre (UQCC) and subsequently to Forcados terminal for export.

OPL 110, another prospect called Oziengbe-South has been identified, and is targeted to be drilled after Oredo-9. If the first well drilled shows promise of oil and gas finds, the team will drill more wells to appraise the prospect.

The Integrated Data Services Limited, another subsidiary of NNPC, handles some of NPDC's

seismic contracts which are awarded to them on the basis of competitive bidding.

These collaborative efforts with the NPDC with sister subsidiaries is a portrayal of the determination of the company to try as much as possible to utilise local expertise in all its operations.



DR THOMAS JOHN  
GROUP MANAGING DIRECTOR OF NNPC

This aspiration, which is a very laudable one especially in a commercialised NNPC, not only serves foreign exchange but also promotes Government's goal of ensuring that Nigerians acquire the technology needed for the country's development and in so doing provide jobs for Nigerians.

Apart from the mini flow station at ABURA FIELD the NPDC is also planning to build a major flow station at Oredo Field that will be capable of handling about 20 to 25,000 barrels of crude oil per day.

**The OPL 110 was as matter of fact, earlier abandoned by expatriate oil prospecting companies as an area of poor oil prospects.**

private oil prospecting companies as an area of poor oil prospects.

In 1990, the NPDC team drilled Oredo-9 well which proved to be the most successful. With tests being conducted to ascertain the type of crude oil there, the possible rate of production per day, and other recoverable rates of the condensates and gas, Oredo is about to be put into production, an exercise which is likely to increase NPDC's production capacity from 3,000 to 10,000 barrels per day.

At the moment, the NPDC is using the Shell Oil Flow Station at Utorogu for separation of water, gas, and basic sediments from the crude oil (known as treatment), before it is transported to Forcados for export, while the gas is treated and flared, or fed into the



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Because of the complexity of the hydrocarbon types in the field (oil condensate and gas), and it's being the first time the company is getting involved in total oil production management, the NPDC has awarded a contract to a firm of consultants to assist in the total conceptualisation of production economics of the OREDO FIELD.

***To produce the oil, gas and condensates in the most economic manner.***

The Oredo Field Development Project is going through feasibility studies to ascertain whether or not it will be viable, as well as conceptual design to determine how best to produce the oil, gas and condensates in the most economic manner.

The firm of consultants, KELT UK PLC of London is working on detailed engineering design - procurement, commissioning and training of NPDC staff. As at April, 1991, the entire project was estimated to cost about US \$60,000,000.

It is the view of Mr. Ishola Jimoh, that of all the strategic business units of the NNPC, "the NPDC is one of the most aggressive in staff development". Mr. Jimoh was among the first 32 staff employed by the NNPC during its origin as NNOC, in July, 1972.

He was the head of the Production Division and one of those responsible for setting up the Exploration Division of the then NNOC. He led the first drilling team to drill in the deepest Ports of Nigeria's offshore drilling sites. He went through NNPC's "grinding mill", the last of which was his appointment in 1988 as Executive Director of Operations (EDO). He is now the Managing Director of the Company.

***Mr. Jimoh was among the first 32 staff employed by the NNPC during its origin as NNOC, in July, 1972. He was one of those responsible for setting up the Exploration and Production Division of the then NNOC.***

He says that the NPDC has no choice in its aggressiveness in training, because they are operating under an environment of a constantly changing technology, and must keep abreast with the trends of the rest of the world.

The staff of NPDC, therefore, are sent on technical courses

overseas, placed on attachment with other oil companies, existing facilities, and also they effectively take advantage of relevant courses available at the Warri-based Petroleum Training Institute (PTI).

In the process, every year, middle level manpower, production technicians, mechanical and electrical technicians are turned out. Other staff who have the necessary biases but are not in the production team, he says, are also encouraged to convert and train at the PTI to join the team.

Apart from its Joint Venture activities in OPL 64, 65, 66 and 100% operations elsewhere, the NPDC is responsible, as contractors, for NAPIMS' drilling operations in the Chad Basin. In order to avoid duplication of efforts, the Direct Explorations Services (DES), Division of NAPIMS, takes charge of Data Acquisition, identification of locations and civil engineering works.

NPDC is also assigned OPL 91, located offshore Niger Delta. Being offshore, it is more expensive to explore, develop and produce.

It is seen as the major challenge or the heart of the matter, for the company. Strategies are being mapped out to develop it with NPDC's own resources or under a joint venture arrangement, within a short time from now. That time will come when the feet of the team are firmly entrenched onshore at ABURA, OREDO and OZIENGBE.



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where it is cheaper and easier to produce crude oil than it is offshore. Money derived from these concessions would be available for utilisation in the offshore projects.

The estimated petroleum or crude oil reserve in OPL 91 is considered to be reasonable and viable, from the experience of 4 wells drilled there in the past.

NPDC has been issued a license to lift its own crude oil just like any of the other joint venture oil production companies. However, due to the small volume of crude oil involved, the Crude Oil Marketing Division of NAPIMS handles the sale of its crude oil for now.

A proposal is being made to the NNPC Management to treat NPDC as any of the other oil companies as well, which, in compliance with the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) and other guidelines prescribed by government, are allowed to lift equity crude to enhance their operations.

In carrying out its field operations, the NPDC interacts a great deal with local communities in whose forests, farmlands, etc, it must drill oil wells.

It is on record that in this area of community relations NPDC has to its credit an enviable track record. It has over these years maintained

excellent relations with communities in its areas of operation.

After the activities of the NPDC listed above, it becomes obvious that to be effective the company must be effectively and efficiently structured. Along these lines the company has two functional divisions, namely, Operations and Services headed by Executive Directors who report to the company's Managing Director.

It operates with headquarters in Benin and two field offices in Warri

and the Chad Basin, Maiduguri in Borno State.

The field offices are headed by Field Superintendents who are responsible to the Executive Director, Operations.

At the headquarters, NPDC has several functional departments viz Drilling, Exploration, Technical Services and Materials Management and Petroleum Engineering which report to the Executive Director Operations. Public Affairs, Finance and Accounts, Administration and Personnel, Commor Services, Legal and Planning departments are responsible to the Executive Director Services.

With the NPDC properly groomed, the Company's Management is very optimistic that appropriate machinery would be in place for the NPDC, and the Federal Government for that matter, to produce a barrel of crude oil, as well as leave a legacy of adequate acquisition of the art and technology required for running the complex oil industry in Nigeria.

This is the vision and mission of the NPDC which as we said in the beginning, qualifies the company, to be the real heart of the matter.



MR ISHOLA OLAWALE JIMOH  
MANAGING DIRECTOR OF NPDC

*Aggressive staff development to keep abreast with changing technology*

# Christmas gift for old politicians

The government last Wednesday lifted the ban on "old-breed" politicians as suddenly as it was slapped on them four years ago

**P**resident Ibrahim Babangida once again, last Wednesday, December 18, treated politicians, both old and new, to his government's "continuing strategy of surprises." Just when Nigerians have become resigned to the ban placed on political office-holders between October 1, 1960 and the end of the transition programme, the President decided that it was time to "liberalise and democratise" the transition programme by a partial lifting of the ban.

The surprise in the decision, announced at the end of a joint meeting of the AFRC and National Council of State in Abuja, is all the greater coming barely 16 months after the president flatly ended all speculations that the ban was about to be lifted. Speaking during the fifth anniversary of his government (August 27, 1990) President Babangida said, "for the avoidance of doubt, I wish to reaffirm that the provisions of Decree 25 of 1987, and its amendment, Decree 9 of 1989 are still in force. In other words, the ban placed on certain categories of past politicians and public office holders, remains in force. There is no intention whatsoever, on the part of this administration to lift the ban during the period of transition to civil rule."



Babangida: season of surprises

But that was exactly what it did last Wednesday. So what would have been the reason for this "sudden" shift of position? The statement given out by the government in Abuja said it was confident that the transition programme could no

longer be "derailed" by freeing banned "old politicians to take part in politics, either now or in the foreseeable future."

"The government now believes that the time has come when the old and the new should meet, cooperate

and compete," the statement added. According to the government, local government, state assembly and governorship elections conducted during the transition period, have put "a new crop of men and women in power are no surrogates and cannot be surrogates." Decree 25, which had been meant to protect them from the bad influence of the "old-breed" politicians is no longer desirable.

**T**here are two categories of politicians and office-holders affected by the partial lifting of the ban. The first is listed in the second schedule to the Decree 25. The first segment includes past civilian office holders from October 1 to January 15, 1966 and October 1, 1979 to December 30, 1983. These were politicians and public officers in the first and second republics. The second part of the schedule lists military and police personnel who hold public office from January 15, 1966 to the end of the transition period. Chairmen and members of MAMSER, NEC and Code of Conduct Bureau bring up the rear of the schedule.

Also freed from the ban are the old political guns arrested on December 2 for allegedly sponsoring candidate for the December 14 governorship polls. The government policy said that their trial would no longer continue and they would be freed as soon as that could be arranged. The trial had been billed to start January 16. Reports reaching us as we went to press said the detainees have indeed been released.

Those not affected by the partial unbanning are politicians convicted by a tribunal or court. The government's position on this category of politicians is that it "cannot compromise political morality," by unbanning the guilty. The ban against President Babangida also remains, but for a different reason. According to the government's statement, the intention is that the president should not succeed himself.



*Some of the politicians now off the hook, from left, Yar'adua, Jakande, Saraki*

The political implications of this shift in policy, will only begin to emerge as the initial surprise begins to wear off. Old politicians who were, despite the ban, still calling the shots from their underground hide-outs will now start to emerge. A list of those who are most likely to enter the political fray in this last phase of the transition programme, already can be made out.

It will include the likes of Lateef Jakande, former UPN governor of Lagos State, who has not made secret his political ambition. Another is Bola Ige, also former UPN governor. Also suspected to be in this league is another former governor, Alhaji Abubakar Rimi, and retired Major General Shehu Musa Yar'adua. All four were among 13 old politicians and public office holders arrested and detained since December 2, for meddling in the transition politics. With the lifting of the ban, they are expected to jump onto the political stage not as faceless sponsors but as players.

Another "oldbreed" politician who is expected to join the presidential race is Malam Adamu Ciroma, a minister in President Shagari's government. Back in 1978 he contested keenly against Shagari for the presidential ticket of the defunct NPN. He is known to still

nurse the ambition and is well regarded by the northern Establishment. If he joins the race as he most probably will, the fortunes of leading contenders in the NRC like Alhaji Umaru Shinkafi and Alhaji Lema Jubrilu are bound to be affected.

Also known to have an eye on the presidency is one-time secretary to the government and the present chairman of the National Population Commission, Alhaji Shehu Musa. The timing of the lifting of the ban should suit him. He has just conducted Nigeria's third census since independence and if he is able to deliver controversy-free figures next March, as he promised he would, he should be taking a mighty plus into the race.

Reacting to last Wednesday's announcement that the ban on "oldbreed" politicians has been lifted, Dr. Liman Ciroma one-time secretary to the federal government said it has been difficult to justify the ban in the first place. He described Decree 25 of 1987 as "a draconian law" which "condemned together, the good, the indifferent and the not so good."

Where will the re-entry of the old political horses leave the government's so-called newbreed politicians? Lacking in resources and



10. Parliamentary Secretary
11. Presidential Liaison Officer
12. National Assembly Liaison Officer
13. President of the Senate
14. Deputy President of the Senate
15. Speaker of the House of Representatives
16. Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives
17. Speaker of the Regional House of Assembly
18. Speaker of the State House of Assembly
19. Deputy Speaker of the Regional/State House of Assembly
20. Chairmen of Committees or Selected Committees of the Senate House of Representatives and Regional and State Houses of Assembly
21. Members of the National Executive Committees of all Political Parties
22. Members of Regional Working Parties/Committees or State Executive Committees of all Political Parties.

PART II—OFFICE HOLDERS (MILITARY AND POLICE)

All Military and Police personnel who hold or are currently holding the underlisted public offices from 15th January 1966 to the end of the transition period will not be allowed to contest any election into any elective office or hold any position in any political party in Nigeria during the transition period; the offices covered in this group include those of—

1. President
2. Head of State
3. Chief of Staff (Supreme Headquarters)
4. Deputy Chief of Staff (Supreme Headquarters)
5. Chief of General Staff
6. Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff
7. Chief of Defence Staff
8. Deputy Chief of Defence Staff
9. Chief of Staff (Army Headquarters)
10. Head of Navy
11. Head of the Air Force
12. Chief of Army Staff
13. Chief of Naval Staff
14. Chief of Air Staff
15. Inspector-General of Police
16. Military Governors/Administrators
17. Members of the Supreme Military Council and the Armed Forces Ruling Council between 31st December 1983 and end of the transitional period.

MADE at Lagos this 6th day of October 1987.

GENERAL I. B. BABANGIDA,  
President, Commander-in-Chief  
of the Armed Forces,  
Federal Republic of Nigeria

experience will they be able to hold their own? The government believes they can. It said that "these new men can hold their own and be able to compete with any other group of Nigerians who are still outside the two parties."

Chief Olu Falae, a Social Democratic Party (SDP) presidential aspirant, who resigned 18 months ago as secretary to the federal government, to run for political office, is confident about his chances.

He said in a recent interview that he welcomed the freeing of the "former big guns" and considered his chances as good as theirs. "I believe," he said, "that I can hold my own in any free and fair election. So either from my own point of view or from the point of view of Nigeria, I think it is a good thing that the competition is being widened."

**D**r. Farouk Abdulaziz, another SDP presidential

hopeful told *Citizen* that he was convinced the re-entry of the old-guard politicians into politics would "enrich the political process." He said "nobody, certainly not myself, should grumble." According to him, if any "newbreed" politician failed to achieve his ambition it should not be because old political horses have been allowed free reins. As for himself, "I can assure you that I'm confident that unbanned politicians with their experience and wealth cannot upset my calculations."

Reactions from elsewhere have been generally appreciative of the government's "magnanimity" during this Christmas season. Alhaji

## "It's a surprise"

Chief Olu Falae, former secretary to the federal government and SDP presidential aspirant spoke to BBC on Thursday on the lifting of the ban. The transcript:

**BBC:** What do you make of this? Did it come as a surprise?

**Falae:** Yes, indeed. It is a surprise that this ban has been lifted. It isn't clear from the report in Lagos whether the lifting refers to all politicians or a group of 13 governorship aspirants who were recently disqualified. But I think in the course of the day we'll know precisely who and who are covered in the new dispensation. But it is a surprise if it is a general lifting of the ban imposed in 1987.

**BBC:** Do you think it is a good idea?

**Falae:** I think it is always good to give everybody an opportunity, a fair chance to compete.

**BBC:** But won't it seriously affect your chances if all these former big guns are allowed to take part?

**Falae:** Not really, because I believe we should think of Nigeria first and foremost. I think Nigeria deserves the best and when competition is open I believe Nigeria has a fair chance to choose the very best to assume leadership of the country when the military departs. Secondly, I believe that I can hold my own in any free and fair election. So either from my own point of view or from the point of view of Nigeria, I think it is a good thing that the competition is being widened.

**BBC:** Don't you think the transition process is a little bit of a joke?

**Falae:** I hope it will not be taken as a joke because governance is a very serious business. Nigeria is a very important country, which has the potential and therefore anything affecting its

future leadership. **BBC:** But up till now every one has been saying, including yourself because you were part of the process, that these people should not take part. But suddenly, overnight they can.

**Falae:** I've never said that anyone should not take part in politics. The government said so. No, I don't think it is a joke, I believe it is a surprise but those who live in Nigeria know that the military government has been known for surprises. I believe it is part of military strategy that you always surprise your opponents. So I think it's part of a continuing strategy of surprises.

Dahiru Modibbo, former director general of the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) told *Citizen* that he was not excited by the lifting of the ban by its "suddenness." He saw it as "part of the learning process," but even so it should have come much earlier to have enabled those affected to contest the governorship and house of assembly elections.

Alhaji Yusuf Dantsoho, a second republic politician, told *Citizen* in Kaduna that he was elated when he heard the news. "It shows that this government is listening to the call of the people for the oldbreed to be freed," he said. Alhaji Yusuf believes that the punishment which

the ban was meant to be had been right. "It is now up to the politicians, old and new, to chart a better political course," said he.

Alhaji Mohammed Sanu Aminu, a Kaduna lawyer told *Citizen* that the people are ultimately supreme. In democratic arrangements, it would be the right thing to do to allow people the freedom of choice, unless the individual seeking office has committed a crime.

He said it is absurd to prevent an individual from participating in active politics per se simply because he has held public office. "It is not fair."

Alhaji Mohammed said that he had never been convinced of the



Dr G.G. Dara, a member of the editorial board of the *Daily Times* said that freeing the banned politicians has been long overdue. He too suggests that it was unnecessary in the first place, an action, perhaps meant to "handicap political rivals," and contended that the issue is not that of people, but the socio-economic system "which should be changed." In any case, he said, the government could no longer afford to run against the people.

Mr. Samuel Ezeazu of the Civil Liberties Organisation (CLO), also thinks that the lifting of the ban would affect the calculations of the two parties. The competition would now be stiffer. Those lurking or hiding would now have to come out. "People like Augustus Aikhomu who is presiding over the electoral process might decide to join the race in the future which would be morally wrong."

"There definitely is an advantage in this," he said. We need mature and experienced hands not just at the top, but from the grassroots upwards. You can't seriously have a secondary school leaver who has never held a job or ever married

#### Waziri: a come back?

reasons advanced by the authorities for the ban. It should have been made to apply to only those found guilty of any offence. A good many of those people banned actually sacrificed a great deal for the country from 1960 to 1983. And there was absolutely no justification for banning them in the first place, according to him.



#### Mbakwe, a chance to play politics in the open

Another editorial board member, Dr Chidi Amuta, told *Citizen* that government may have become confident that the banned politicians no longer possessed the capacity to "interfere" with the transition programme" and while the ban lasted, it was able to "consolidate the idea of a new breed grassroots democracy, test the maturity of the electorate to reject leaders they disliked."

Would the lifting of the ban change the political landscape as it concerns the presidential and national assembly elections? Yes, said Dr Dara. "It would make the contest more dramatic and exciting."

handling sensitive positions" just because he is a new breed.

Dr Amuta said it was a question of individual response, but that all political actors and aspirants would have to go back to the drawing board because the context of the competition has changed," and that the contest would now reflect the "complexity" of our politics.

He said that it would have been unfortunate if the leadership of the third republic had been chosen through

"politics of exclusion." He shares Dara's view that the remaining part of the transition programme would be more exciting as some of the "previously banned politicians are colourful and flamboyant. Those sponsoring people are now going to have to remove their masks and sponsor themselves. Some might even discover that they spent their resources to breed political monsters."

By **Mohammad Bomo** and  
**Tawey Zaka** with reports from  
**Rabiu Barde, Ike Okonta, Yinka Tella, Bolaji Adebisi, Samson Ojo and Tola Sunday**

**F**or Hajiya Laila Dogonyaro, a female activist and herself a banned politician, the ban had its good side. "But for the ban," she told *Citizen*, "the mess the new breed seem to be making of the transition politics would have been blamed on the old breed." Even then she thought the lift on the ban was most welcome since it was unjust and unfair.

For Alhaji Mohammed the crucial issue is that of maturity of both people and the political culture. He said politics is like building a house. "You start from the foundation up, a continuing process of learning. People mature in politics. Look at the life of the late Ayatollah Khomeini. He was banished by the authorities for many years from Iran. With time, the people's verdict prevailed and he came back to rule them. This is how politics should be. Let the people decide; what their leaders later do is irrelevant."

## Election

# How the 'mighty' fell

Favourites flounder as the December 14 governorship elections separate the wheat from the chaff

**P**rofessor Eric Agume Opia, the NRC governorship candidate for Delta State stepped confidently into the collation centre of Ndokwa West Local Government at Kwale. That was in the late hours of Saturday, December 14. Clad in a navy blue guinea brocade, gold-rimmed spectacles with a black-bowler hat to match, he cut a picture of supreme confidence as he joined NRC collation agents in the hall to evaluate the amount of ground covered in his political backyard.

As Opia fiddled with his calculator, however a different scenario was playing itself out elsewhere. Poll results announced by Elijah Eghagha, electoral officer for Ndokwa, the professor's home local government council, showed that he had lost to SDP's Chief Felix Ibru. Interestingly, the House of Assembly seat for Ndokwa West I constituency — Opia's base — also went the way of SDP's Chief Aneke Ifemeri. Ifemeri defeated Opia's candidate

K. Oseji, a lawyer, by 14,844 to 13,445 votes. Oseji had lost in Opia's ward by 1,619 votes to Ifemeri's 2,410. Neither did Opia fare better in Ndokwa East Local Government Council. He could only score 2,202 more votes than his SDP opponent.

If lack-lustre performance in the two local government areas meant danger signals for his governorship aspirations, Opia still looked much like a man who had a joker up his sleeves. As he made to leave the collation centre, he told *Citizen* he was not too keen on granting an interview. "No inter-



Opia (top) and Ibru



political terrain link Edu's defeat to the continued struggle for supremacy between the Agbalajobi and Sarumi factions of the party in the state. In the wake of NEC's disqualification by fiat of the two gladiators, September 26, Yomi Edu a founding PF member in the state who had teamed up with Tokumbo Awolowo Dosunmu to beef up Dapo Sarumi's support base after the SDP national executive had ordered a re-run of October 19 primaries in four wards of the state, inherited Sarumi's mantle. The alliance whose battle cry was "Sarumi

chairman of congress, I have not ratified any candidate".

Citizen investigations reveal that the incident of that Wednesday was the Agbalajobi camp's way of getting their own back at Yomi Edu who had spurned moves by a delegation led by Somolu Local Government Chairman, Adelani Dada consisting of colleagues from Epe, Badagry, Ikorodu and Mainland to concede the deputy governorship seat to their group. Edu refused to budge arguing that he had already picked Dr. Frederick Maccado of the Sarumi group as his running mate.

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## Shortly after that a whispering anti-Edu campaign started in which the code words were "we no longer use coal." Edu is the Yoruba word for coal.

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the leader; Edu the governor" had rallied to snatch the Lagos governorship ticket from Agbalajobi's crony Prince Abiodun Ogunleye.

Obviously tired of the protracted war of attrition, Lagos SDP chairman and hardline Agbalajobi supporter, Alhaji Muniru Barua immediately took steps to reconcile the warring factions when he publicly endorsed Yomi Edu's candidature. Indication that things were yet to smoothen out within the SDP camp however emerged, Wednesday, December 11 when the congress of the state SDP failed to ratify Edu's candidature. Congress chairman Henry Onafowokan was forced to storm out of the place when Ogunleye supporters carried their protests to the congress venue. Said Onafowokan; "I am not in position to give a categorical Yes or No in the ratification of Yomi Edu's candidature. Nobody will however pressurise me to give a verdict that is ambiguous. In my capacity as

Chief Owopetu Ishola, supervisory councillor for finance for Somolu Local Government Area told *Citizen* last week that the Agbalajobi group did not leave efforts at reconciliation at that. He said that the delegation was at Edu's Victoria Island residence the next day to present alternative proposals which would have seen Edu conceding the office of the secretary to the state government and a few commissionerships" to the Agbalajobi camp. That second time around, Edu was said to have walked out on them, saying that nobody was going to teach him how to run his government. According to Ishola, the delegation "promptly left His Excellency alone" and proceeded to Otedola's Surulere home where details of how the NRC candidate would be enthroned, December 14, were worked out. Shortly after that, *Citizen* learnt, a whispering anti-Edu campaign started in which the code words were "we no longer use

coal." Edu is the Yoruba word for coals. Yet another factor which reportedly worked against Edu was his religion. If he had won, he would have been the third muslim after Alhaji Lateef Jakande and Col. Raji Rasaki to rule Lagos since 1979. A prominent religious leader in the state was said to have sent word round that it was time for a change.

Given the fact that SDP won 26 assembly seats to NRC's four, in the December 14 elections, political observers say Ishola's story is plausible. Attributing SDP's loss of Mushin and Alimosho council chairs to the NRC during the last local government elections, Barua also lent credence to this thesis, Chief Okebode Jimoh, chairman of an SDP ward in Somolu infact told *Citizen*: "It was an agreed plan. We instructed our supporters to vote enmasse for Chief Michael Otedola, if nothing, but to prove the point that we are in the majority".

Already, a triumphant Sir Otedola is talking of tapping talent from outside his part in what observers see as a way of fulfilling his own party of the bargain. That may well be so as many of Otedola's appointees may not have an easy ride through the state house of assembly in which 21 of 26 SDP members belong to the Agbalajobi camp.

**I**mo, Abia and Enugu states, erstwhile bastions of support for the Nigerian People's Party (NPP), one of the parties that went into the moribund Progressive Parties Alliance (PPA) also fell to the lure of the right. If the loss of Enugu State to the NRC is understandable given the support of ex-Anambra State governor, Chief C.C. Onoh who is the undisputed king-pin of Wawa politics and the smoothness with which Dr. Okwesilize Nwodo stepped into the shoes of his disqualified brother, Dr. Joe Nwodo, the same cannot be said of Abia and Imo States. Keen watchers of the Abia political scene see Sam Eke's defeat as the culmination of a string

of tactical errors committed by the state's SDP. First, Sam Eke had a liability in his estrangement from Chief Empire Kanu, Chief August Atairbe and Ejike Ukaegbu whom he defeated during the SDP primaries. Being from Alaye in Bende senatorial district of the state, he did not come from an area of high population concentration. As an in-law of ex-Imo governor, Chief Sam Mbakwe, fears had also been expressed as to the possibility of Mbakwe pulling the strings of Abia government house from the border town of Obowo, his home town. Yet undenied allegations that Eke's company failed to execute a contract for the construction of Aba market during the Mbakwe days, say pundits, also meant that he could not rely on the support of the politically conscious Aba people.

NRC's Dr. Ogbonnaya Onu from Ohaosara did not have any of these liabilities. Having chosen his running mate, Dr. Nwafor from Arochukwu he was able to win massive support of the Afikpo, Arochukwu, Edda and Ohazara which are the major population centres of the state. He emphatically won the elections with 308,087 votes to Eze's 116,408. In the State's Assembly election the NRC plucked 25 seats to SDP's nine.

In Imo state, Chief Evan Enweren, from Atta Ieduru, home place of NRC vice presidential hopeful Chief Emmanuel Iwuanyanwu, was said to have exploited this connection to the hilt. The popularity he garnered as the chairman of Imo Airport Appeal fund launching committee also came into play in a race in which the SDP was clearly at a disadvantage. With Arthur Nzeribe, SDP's political ace in detention and Professor Fabian Osuji, his favourite disqualified, the Nzeribe Foundation still mustered enough grit to win the SDP ticket for stand-in candidate, Dr. Alex Obi. An embittered Ezekiel Izuogu was dispirited and apparently worn out after a long drawn-

out but futile struggle for the SDP ticket with Dr. Alex Obi. Alex Obi still struggling to catch his breath Enweren coasted home with a clear victory. He polled 386,724 votes to Obi's 278,724 to win the right to swear to the governorship oath of office come January 2. He would however have to contend with seventeen SDP members in the State's 42-seat legislature.

In Edo State, if someone had told Lucky Igbiniedion, heir to the massive Okada empires, that negative votes from Oredo local council where he once held court as chairman, would be his Waterloo in the governorship race, he, probably would not have given it a thought. Yet, for the youthful Igbiniedion, the handwriting began appearing on the wall on the morning of the election day. At the Adesuwa Grammar School, GRA Benin City where he and 45 others cast their votes, Igbiniedion watched helplessly as 35 people crossed over to the SDP line leaving him with just 11 pensive enthusiasts. Currently, that was one polling booth which anyone would have passed for his stronghold being just a stone-throw from his 14, Ugbor road residence. Even in other parts of the ancient city the SDP secured longer queues than the NRC. By noon, a grave yard silence had descended over Benin," visibly worried Igbiniedion told reporters who besieged his residence. Perhaps so, for when on Sunday, December 15, Alhaji Isa Muhammed, the State's resident electoral commissioner released the results of the contest, seven of the 14 local governments of the state went to him while SDP's Chief John Idigie Oyegun picked up the other 7. However Oredo local government returned the highest votes cast in the whole state. Of the 78,809 votes cast in Oredo, Oyegun polled 46,713 representing 59.27 percent, leaving 32,096 votes (40.73 percent) for Igbiniedion. Overall, Isa Muhammed said Oyegun scored 260,442 or 51.33 percent against Igbiniedion's 24,952 or 48.67 percent of the 507,394 votes



Adejo and Eziobuna: (NRC) lost

cast state-wide. Oyegun had triumphed with 13,490 votes having mustered 14,617 more votes in Oredo than NRC's Igbiniedion.

The story of how Lucky Igbiniedion lost his grip on Oredo, which hosts the state capital is one mostly told in whispers in Benin city. He was the chairman of the council between 1987 and 1989 when he worked hard to build up the image of an achiever. During the first party election in December 1990, his party, NRC, remained in the saddle through George Idah. Edo political watchers readily admit that Igbiniedion dissipated a lot of money and energy in the governorship contest and that most of these were dissipated in Oredo. So what went wrong? "I think this is a protest vote against his father (Chief Gabriel Igbiniedion). People love Lucky as a person, but there is this feeling that he is too much in the shadow of his father whom the Benin people resent" was the comment of a middle-

aged woman who craved for anonymity.

This indeed is the general feeling in Benin. Chief Gabriel Igbinedion is also said to have immersed himself in a running battle with the Benin Monarchy. This came to a head December 7, during the launching of the 100 million Naira Benin Development Fund at the Oba of Benin's Palace. Igbinedion, who had agreed to be chief launcher, to the embarrassment of the Benin monarch and traditionalists, did not show up. Instead, he sent Bright, a younger brother of Lucky, to read a three paragraph message. In it, Chief Gabriel Igbinedion, who is the Esama of Benin, urged all to donate generously to the worthy project. Surprisingly, he did not donate a kobo.

In any case Bright wore a cap and refused to remove it while greeting the Oba of Benin. That was regarded as an affront to the Benin monarch whom the Binis hold in great reverence. Lucky, who was also present, completed the cycle of blunders when he donated 10,000 Naira. His opponent, John



*Oyegun: royal sanction?*

Oyegun, swiftly cashed in on these blunders. Not only did he pay due respect to the Benin monarch, he donated 60,000 Naira to the development fund.

Lucky's problems with the Bini traditionalists had started when he picked up a quarrel with the Benin monarch over payment of tenement rates, during his tenure as Oredo council chairman. Lucky had insisted that tenement rates, which the

Benin monarch thought should be paid to the palace, should go to the council's treasury until the federal government's dissolution of councils nationwide in 1989.

Benin elites noted Lucky's intransigence over the tenement rate issue and vowed to deal with him at the appropriate time. Initially the battle was waged within the NRC. Chief Nosa Isekhure, the traditional minister of Benin said, April: "I am opposed to his candidature. I am even more opposed to it because of the partisanship of the party (NRC) leadership in the (old Bendell) State". Isekhure, alleging personalisation of party structures in the Igbinedion family, crossed over to the SDP when Lucky won the NRC primaries. Citizen gathered that Nosahure Isekhure virtually conducted a door-to-door campaign for Oyegun in Benin on the eve of the election. He also sponsored air-time on radio asking the people, in obvious reference to Igbinedion's



*Igbinedion: lost out*

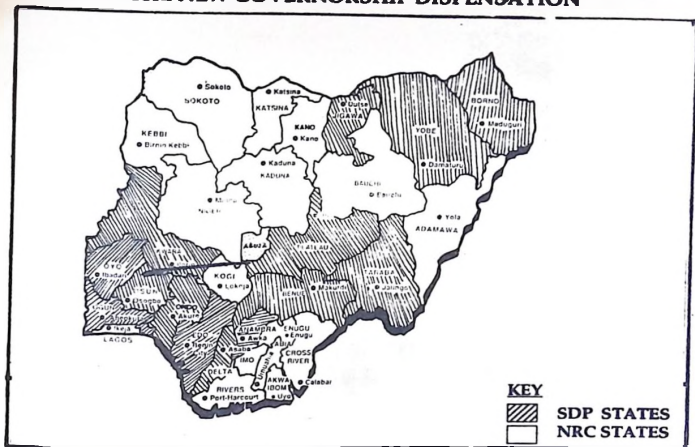
spending spree not to sell their votes and conscience for 20.00 Naira.

Religion also played a big role in the Edo elections. Igbinedion's deputy, Alhaji Isa Braimoh is a Moslem and airline magnate from Owan East local government, while Oyegun himself a devout Christian picked Rev. Peter Obadan, a member of Benson Idahosa's World Outreach Church as running mate. For



*At the polling station*

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Oyegun, the choice of Obadan proved an electoral asset as many, including Reverend Idahosa who was hitherto an unabashed supporter of Igbinedion switched sides on religious line.

Obadan told *Citizen* after the announcement of the results that as far as he was concerned Edo people had made the right choice. Said he: "There is no doubt that we are a better team that had something to offer. I feel grateful to God". At the time of the interview, youths had broken into a frenzy of celebration in Auchi, Sabongida-Ora, Benin and several other parts of the state. When *Citizen* visited Lucky Igbinedion's residence at Ugbor road, however a grave yard silence

in the state had chosen their candidates from the area. SDP's Dr. Steven Achema who emerged victorious from his party's rancorous primaries, is from Idah local government area. In routing Chief Silas Daniyan, a Yagba born business baron who was his closest rival, Achema relied on block vote from his native Igalaland. In Idah, he had polled 54,605 votes, 17,927 in Ofu, 35,712 in Ankpa and 14,051 in Kotonkarfe to Daniyan's zero vote in Idah and Ofu, 3,602 in Ankpa and 316 in Kotonkarfe respectively. Given this impressive run, SDP strategists had banked on solid support from the Igalaland area. They did not however take enough cognisance of NRC's Prince Abubakar

Igalaland, analysts point at the simmering disagreement between him and the powerful Atta of Igalaland who did not hide his discomfort with his candidacy. Audu strategists in the state cashed in on this stand-off. They caused to be photocopied for mass circulation a letter dated November 14, purported to have been written to ex-senator Arthur Nzeribe by Dr. Achema.

The letter, purportedly signed by Achema and written on his official letter-headed paper portrays the SDP candidate not only as soliciting for financial support but also as somebody who is anti-tradition. It read in part; "I have seen Chief Olu Falae and Senator O. Saraki on this issue and both have (sic) promised their financial assistance to eradicate (sic) power of oppression from our feudal lords and install possible modern traditional system and break Islamic oligarchy in the state..."



Achema and Prince Audu: Kogi State

reigned. Security-men wearing long faces told *Citizen* that Lucky was not at home. A close aide later told *Citizen* that Lucky has taken his defeat stoically. "He had never taken the matter as a life or death issue. He had always told people that he, unlike others, did not borrow money from anyone to pursue his aspirations. So, there is no big deal to it", the aide said.

As in Edo State, the institution of traditional rulership was as deeply embroiled in the political power play in Kogi state as was religion. The two political parties in recognition of the position of the Igalas as the dominant ethnic group

Audu, a pragmatic fighter from Aloma in Ofu local government area who carefully rehearsed his game-plan while his opponents engaged in intra-party war of attrition.

By the time the December 14 Kogi state governorship election results came tumbling in, it became clear that save Idah, where Achema had spent two terms as conciliator, SDP, lost elsewhere in Igalaland. In Ofu, for instance, the NRC polled 20,901 votes to SDP's 14,992 Bassa electorate preferred NRC to SDP by 31,347 to 10,123 votes, while Ankpa scored NRC 56,000 to SDP's 29,000 votes.

If Achema was routed in his

Although political analysts say the letter may have been forged, the stereotype of anti-Islamic now stuck to Achema like glue. His choice of a muslim engineer and a Silas Daniyan confidant, Alhaji Ganiyu Op from Ejuku in East Yagba, while serving to placate mainstream Daniyan buffs, did not offer similar religious bounties. Worse still, Audu's decision to drop his erstwhile running mate Dr. Zdeyemi from Egbe in Yagba west for Awoniyi's candidate, Chief Olu Akande from Mopa in Yagba East, put the SDP in dire straits in the predominantly Yoruba area. Chief S.B. Awoniyi's strong influence, ensured that not only did the NRC run away with 11,632 and 6,811 votes to outmatch SDP's 9,148 and 4,707 votes in Yagba East and West respectively, Achema could only manage slim victories in other traditional SDP strongholds. In Ijumu local government area for example, SDP beat the NRC with a mere 788 votes.

Interestingly, it was Ebiraland where Dr. Farouk Abdul-Azeez, an SDP presidential aspirant was expected to beat all opposition to secure a sweeping victory for his party, that presented the greatest surprise of all. NRC not only bagged the two House of Assembly seats, it went ahead to poll 16,589 in the governorship election to defeat SDP which could only muster 10,026 votes. The same story repeated itself in neighbouring, Okehi. Jimoh Akpobi, the chairman of Kogi state SDP caretaker committee was sidelined as 11,277 voters lined up behind the NRC candidate while Achema made do with 8,799 votes.

Citizen investigations later revealed that the unusual voting pattern was sequel to the decision of Ebira leaders of thought which includes a former second republic deputy governor, some top members of the present military administration, and prominent businessmen to spurn SDP's Achema because of his alleged links with Dr. Olusola Saraki. The elders were said to have resented a situation where Saraki would lord it over the new Kogi state. Although, SDP's Akpobi told *Citizen* that such a meeting could not have taken place, it was instructive that the result sheets showed a new-found love for the NRC.

Oshun state was to be another scenario for an upset. Honourable Oladosu Oladipo, who had lost to the superior strategies of Mr. Isiaka Adeleke, an Ede indigene in the SDP primaries was yet unassailed.

Indeed, powerful members of Oladusa's caucus, *Citizen* learnt, had by late Friday night set the stage for massive support of the NRC candidate Alhaji Adebayo Salami especially in the Ifelodun local council. Being an Oshogbo indigene, Salami was also counting on reaping from the age-long feud between Oshogbo and Ede over land matters.

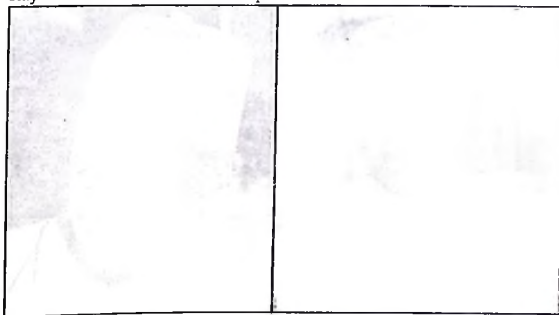
Some powerful Oshogbo elites who have a soft spot for Adeleke however thought otherwise. They

spread the word that, Oshogbo should concede the governorship to another town. "Other towns would see us as being greedy", they argued.

The effect of that campaign on Oshogbo was two-fold. One, some people, apparently confused, stayed at home and did not show up

SDP.

At the NEC office Ota-Efun, the figures for Ede was the last to come in by 11.05 pm though by then the SDP was leading by about 10,000 votes. In Ede, the home town of Adeleke, SDP scored 49,310 votes while the NRC polled a miserable 574 votes.



Ogunlade (NRC) Ondo State and Tareb Bornu State, lost

at the polling stations while those who saw reason in the argument that Oshogbo cannot be the state capital and at the same time produce the governor decided to vote for the SDP. As the results were coming in on the night of 14th December, it seemed as if NRC was having the upper hand and the security reports that tipped Salami as the likely winner may be after all not true.

Oshogbo's results, though favourable to the NRC told a story of brilliant political machinations. Osogbo local government area, returned a total vote of 16,569, 11,811 for the NRC and 4,848 for the SDP. Olorunda local government also in Osogbo returned a total vote of 12,321, 8819 for the NRC and 3,502 for the SDP. This brings the total votes cast in Osogbo to 28,980, 20,630 for NRC and 8,350 for the SDP.

**A**t Ikirun headquarters of Ifelodun local council NRC polled a whopping 30,592 votes against the 2,8612 votes of the

In the north, NRC took nine states to SDP's seven. The NRC easily took Sokoto, Kebbi, Niger, Bauchi, considered politically conservative. In 1979 and 1983, these states voted overwhelmingly for the defunct right-of-centre National Party of Nigeria (NPN). The party strung major surprises in Kano, Katsina and Kaduna, but lost Benue, which NPN took in 1979 and 1983, to the more progressive SDP.

The loss of Kano, known for its radical politics and considered a real plum for the SDP, was seen coming a long way off. All the ominous signs of an SDP poor showing were there. The bad blood generated by the factional wranglings in the party proved to be its undoing.

During the state primaries, the three main factions, *Santsi*, comprising members of the defunct People's Redemption Party, *Tabo*, Aminu Kano loyalists and *Quindawa*, the independents fielded their own candidates. Engineer Magaji Abdullahi, an independent came first, beating *Santsi's* Aminu Inuwa and

Tabo's Ahmed Rufai to second and third places respectively.

However, Alhaji Aminu forced a run-off, which Magaji again won. The three factions managed to patch up their differences and resolved to work together for an SDP victory in Kano State. The bargain led to the selection of Rufai as Magaji's running mate and a pledge made to Aminu that he would be made secretary to an SDP government.

**R**acing against time, Magaji announced that he was running with Rufai as his deputy. The latter appealed to his followers to vote *en masse* for the SDP. However, the *Santsi* group was still ill at ease with the agreement, fearing that Magaji might ditch their candidate if he won the election. They went to consult their political godfather and *Santsi's* kingmaker, who was a second republic governor.

Sources close to the party said the *Santsi* kingmaker gave a treatise on classical intrigues and told Aminu, who apparently had a greater following than did Rufai, to wash his hand off the agreement. Nothing but the governorship Aminu deserved, the kingmaker was said to have told him. If he was not good enough for deputy governor, then it was better to let NRC have Kano. The die appeared to have been cast.

Citizen gathered that Aminu returned to Kano and upset the SDP applet by urging his followers to vote for Kabiru Gaya, the NRC governorship candidate.

On election day, which passed off rather smoothly, Kabiru Gaya and his running mate Ahmed Usman a retired director general in the state civil service, polled 325,145 votes to Magaji's 251,468. The NRC made victory doubly sure by taking the house of assembly too, though with a narrower majority. It took 35 seats to SDP's 32.

A united SDP opposition would give Kabiru's government a hard time when it comes to pushing legislation through the house. But



Gaya: won in Kano State



Lawan: Bornu State Governor elect

then the SDP is factionalised and observers think, the governor should be able to capitalise on that.

In nearby Jigawa State, carved out of Kano State in August, the NRC so sure to clinch victory there, lost by technical default. The inclusion of the emirates of Hadejia, Gummel and Dutse in the new state created a solid reservoir of conservatism. The NRC moved quickly to top it and the party had in Alhaji

Ahmed Hassan, probably not the best hand, but one good enough to deliver the state.

His chances got better with the disqualification of Sule Lamido by NEC, for having the backing of a second republic governor, who was banned from participating in politics. However, NEC threw the NRC machine off gear when it ordered a second run-off on December 10 between Alhaji Haruna Suleiman and Alhaji Buba Aliyu. This was done and Alhaji Haruna got the ticket. But again NEC struck by disqualifying him and instead picked Alhaji Buba.

NRC headquarters in Lagos skulked at this imposition. A statement by party national chairman Tom Ikimi in Lagos said NRC "did not field any candidate for the elections on December 14, 1991." In the circumstance, NEC returned the SDP's Ali Sa'ad, a 32 year old lawyer as duly elected with 239,410 votes to the NRC's 120,000. Protesting the result in Lagos Chief Ikimi said "we reject the results of the governorship elections conducted in Jigawa State.... We expect that any results emanating from the purported election.. be declared null, void and of no effect as urgently as possible in the interest of peace and the smooth success of the transition to civil rule."

The NRC victory in Katsina, which as part of the old Kaduna State, was an NPN stronghold would have not come as a surprise but for the "progressive" tag the new state took on when it voted overwhelmingly for the SDP in last year's local government elections and the bye-elections conducted last year. The NRC success, coming as it did, after a former army general and powerful SDP financier was taken into "comfortable incarceration," said much about the sway this individual held over the state.

The defeat of the SDP's Umaru Musa Yar'adua, a younger brother of the general, is being seen as a protest by SDP members in the state against the imposition of the candidate on them. He received 277,990

# Governorship race: as the parties stand

## NRC

S/N	GOVERNORS	STATE	VOTES	SDP RIVALS	VOTE	MARGIN	TOTAL
1	Ogbonnaya Onu	Abia	308,087	Sam Eke	116,408	191,679	424,495
2	Sale Michika	Adamawa	348,586	Boss Mustapha	278,988	69,590	627,574
3	Akpan Isemin	A/Ibom	596,840	Ekong Ituk	416,251	180,589	1,013,091
4	Dahiru Mohammed	Bauchi	1,435,007	Adamu Bulkahuwa	204,001	1,231,006	1,639,008
5	Clement Ebri	C/River	287,519	Mathew Ojong	248,955	38,564	536,474
6	Okwesilize Nwodo	Enugu	460,188	Gbazuagu Gbazuagu	301,432	158,756	761,620
7	Evans Enwerem	Imo	386,724	Alex Obi	278,724	108,000	665,448
8	Dabo Lere	Kaduna	650,899	Ango Abdullah	525,460	125,439	1,176,359
9	Kabir Ibrahim Gaya	Kano	325,145	Magaji Abdullahi	251,468	73,677	576,613
10	Saidu Barda	Katsina	290,613	Umaru Yar'adua	277,999	12,614	568,612
11	Abubakar Musa	Kebbi	296,961	Abubakar Koko	102,543	194,418	399,504
12	Abubakar Audu	Kogi	300,319	Steven Achema	228,239	72,080	528,558
13	Michael Otedola	Lagos	425,895	Yomi Edu	355,725	70,170	781,620
14	Musa Inuwa	Niger	288,674	Muhammadu Enagi	210,613	78,061	499,287
15	Rufus Ada-George	Rivers	964,820	Eric Asor	891,569	73,251	1,856,389
16	Yahay Abdulkarim	Sokoto	485,899	Sarki Maigari	300,000	185,899	785,899

## SDP

S/N	GOVERNORS	STATE	VOTES	NRC RIVALS	VOTE	MARGIN	TOTAL
1	Chukwemeka Ezeife	Anambra	261,819	Nnamdi Eriobuna	244,486	17,333	506,305
2	Moses Adasa	Benue	461,039	Ignatius Ayun	403,405	57,634	864,444
3	Maina Maaji Lawan	Borno	285,235	Abba Gana Terab	272,221	13,014	557,456
4	Felix Ibru	Delta	479,311	Eric Opia	285,188	194,123	704,499
5	John Oyegan	Edo	260,422	Lucky Igbinedion	246,952	13,470	507,374
6	Ali Sa'ad	Jigawa	239,410	Uba Aliyu	120,011	119,399	359,421
7	Shaaba Lafiagi	Kwara	261,819	Abdulrashid Salman	109,755	152,064	371,574
8	Segun Osoba	Ogun	295,402	Olufemi Coker	114,693	180,709	410,095
9	Bamidele Olumilua	Ondo	374,866	Ayo Ogunlade	187,665	187,201	562,531
10	Isiaka Adeleke	Osun	250,638	Adebayo Salami	191,213	59,425	441,851
11	Kolapo Isola	Oyo	341,162	Yekini Ade-Ojo	352,289	11,127	693,451
12	Fidelis Taggun	Plateau	775,101	Bagudu Hirse	534,702	240,399	1,309,803
13	Abba Bukar Ibrahim	Yobe	127,933	Sadiq Maina	104,452	23,481	232,385
14	Jolly Nyame	Taraba	Unopposed	disqualified by NEC	-	-	-

Grand Total: 20,147,949 with NRC polling 11.7 million votes and SDP polling 9.2 million votes.

votes to the 290,613 polled by NRC's Saidu Barda.

The outcome of the house of assembly election appears to bear out this assumption that the doss of the governorship was more of a personal rejection of the SDP's candidate than the party itself. SDP has 30 seats in the house to NRC's 18.

The pattern of the results has led to speculation of a Kaduna-type scenario in 1980, when an NPN controlled legislature impeached the PRP governor, Alhaji Balarabe Musa.



Yar'adua: lost out to Barda in the hottest race

In Kaduna, the local SDP was just as factionalised as the national leadership. That it would lose was not in doubt. What surprised political pundits was the rather impressive show its candidate put up, chalking up 500,460 votes to the eventual governor-elect Mohammed Dabo Lere's 650,899.

Speaking to newsmen in Kaduna, after NEC declared him winner, Lere said he had been surprised by the SDP's good showing. He said he would investigate how and where it was able to snatch up over 500,000 votes. The SDP's candidate, Professor Ango Abdullahi, fought an internal war right to the eve of the show-down with his NRC opponent.

It was not until December 11 that the appeal court in Kaduna set aside a high court injunction

brought from a Zaria high court by Mr. Adamu Maikori, who lost to Ango in the primaries, restraining him from "parading himself" as SDP governorship candidate. By the time he got his go-ahead, a well-oiled Lere campaign machine was already rumbling up and down and across the state.

That was not the only set-back for Ango. He brought into the race for the Kaduna State government house an image badly smeared by his record when he was the vice chancellor of Ahmadu Bello Univer-

sity.

He was forced to quit because of his handling of a students demonstration which left some four students dead at the hand of the police.

Lere, on the other hand, didn't have Ango's many handicaps. He survived a run-off against Dr. Dalhatu Tafida, former president Shehu Shagari's one-time physician to emerge as the candidate to beat in the governorship election. Though regarded by his opponents as a political weakening (he is sometimes called "Shagari"), Lere reportedly has the backing of Alhaji Aliyu Mohammed, secretary to the federal government, who was turbaned Wazirin Jema'a on November 2.

Ethnicity, too, appeared to have played a great part in Lere's victory.

Though a muslim as Ango is, he comes from one of the minority ethnic groups, collectively called Southern Zaria, who resent the hegemony of Zaria. They see Ango as a proponent of Zaria's overlordship. When Maikori, a Southern Zaria man lost to Ango, his supporters swung to the NRC. Their backing gave Lere and NRC victory on December 14. The party picked up both the governorship and control of the house of assembly where it has a simple majority of 20 seats to SDP's 16.

The NRC, again predictably made clean sweeps of Sokoto and Kebbi, the Siamese states, which the federal government's surgical knife has been unable to separate. The party candidate in Sokoto, Alhaji Yahaya Abdulkarim won easily with 485,899 votes, leaving SDP's Sarki Maigari with a rounded 300,000 votes. The NRC made mince-meat of its rival in the house of assembly election, picking up all but 3 of the 55 seats. In Kebbi, the NRC's Abubakar Musa was elected with 296,961 votes. Alhaji Abubakar Koko of the SDP trailed with 102,543 votes.

Sokoto, the hub of the north's conservative politics, producing such leaders as late northern premier Ahmadu Bello, Sardaunan Sokoto and lately former president Shehu Shagari, is a "safe house" for the NRC any day. Its candidate, Yahaya, Abdulkarim 47, is said to have the blessing of Sokoto's power brokers, from former president Shagari to the present Sultan of Sokoto.

Besides, he was quick to pacify the Zamfara of Gusau, who nursed a resentment against the Sultan for denying them a state of their own. By appointing one of their number as running mate. SDP's Zubairu Sarkin Magori, must have known what he and his party were up against. In Sokoto, the party is regarded as cast in the mould of the defunct great Nigeria People's Party (GNPP), which in the second republic, drew its followership from

people who opposed the Sokoto establishment.

**R**ecognising its weakness in Sokoto, SDP stalwarts refused to give Alhaji Muhammad Arzika, a Sokoto son, national chairmanship of the party at its first national convention in Abuja in July 1990.

The success of the SDP in Borno and Yobe states did not come as a complete surprise. As we said in the run-off to the governorship elections, the elements of Ambassador Babagana Kingibe's national chairmanship of the SDP, ethnic sentiments and the near absence vis-a-vis the intra-party squabbles in the NRC were strongly in favour of the party.

In Borno, Alhaji Ma'aji Lawan's election with 285,235 votes as against Abba Gana's 272,221, on the ticket of the SDP as Muhammadu Goni's election as governor more than ten years ago came as a result of the combination of sentiment, sympathy with Alhaji Ibrahim Waziri whose Nigeria Peoples Party, NPP, was hijacked, the historical tradition of dissent imbedded in the Borno politics since the days of the old North and the powerful, but covert intervention of the civil service.

The irony of the Borno election is that the defeated NRC candidate, Alhaji Abba Gana Terab, was very much a GNPP man in the Goni administration. His troubles were two-fold. One is that, in Borno, the monied class merely dole out money to the candidate of their choice, they rarely ventured out to persuade the electorate to vote for the candidate, leaving others to do the leg work. It worked in the old Borno because those who did the leg work were mainly the minorities whose combined vote could put anybody in power.

In the concluded elections, very much the same thing happened, only this time, the minorities themselves were disenchanted. This factor, the SDP seized upon. The party

worked on the minorities in Shani, Biu, Kwaya Kusar, Shani, Gwoza etc to earn for Lawan the Maiduguri government house.

The second was that Alhaji Abba Gana Terab is from Bama. The powerful Maiduguri traditional institution is forever apprehensive of any Bama man walking into the government house largely because of ancient dynastic squabbles that are yet to end. Indeed, the traditional institution had never hidden its opposition and dislike for any candidate from Bama. At one point it even wanted to wrench an oil executive from Lagos to contest the

experienced extremely poor organisation and intra-party squabble. Up to the election, there was no de facto party structure in the state. What exists is the office of the NRC run by a sole administrator, Alhaji Kabir Yahaya Abdullahi, a Katsina man appointed by the NRC national secretariat. The party structure inherited from the old Borno was disbanded. The candidate therefore had to rely on a few tested hands who had little official say in the way the party was run. In the final days of the campaign, the NRC candidate undertook what can be described as a whistle-stop campaign. It was



Isemin



Osoba

governorship in preference to a Bama man. In the final analysis however, lack of hardwork and poor party organisation proved to be NRC's undoing in the elections.

The same thing could be said of Yobe State. The SDP simply worked hard and won. Of course the ethnic factor that worked in favour of Ma'aji Lawan next door, did the trick for Alhaji Buba Abba Ibrahim who won with 127,933 as against Abubakar Sadiq's 104,452. His NRC rival, Sadiq, a banker who worked in Hadejia in Jigawa State, is barely known in the state. His campaign took off extremely late and when it did, he was hospitalised as a result of a car accident.

More importantly, the NRC

more whistle than substance.

A school of thought had argued that had the NRC fielded a candidate from the Fika/Nangere axis, he would have had a better chance than Sadiq from Machina whose traditional institution had been wholeheartedly backing the SDP. In fact the NRC could only manage one councillorship out of nine in that local government.

In Adamawa, the SDP simply gave away victory to NRC, due to its inability to put its house in order. It started rather well but the infectious internal struggle for control of the national leadership soon got the better of it. Ethnicity worsened an already bad case, dividing the followership into supporters of the

Adamawa Fulani dynasty and the minorities, who wanted to end their marginalisation from "the scheme of things."

The two camps found leaders in Abubakar Atiku, representing the ruling class and Dr. Bala Takaya, who very well articulated the resentment of the minorities. The two were engaged in a battle for control of the party, the like of which probably had never been seen anywhere. The battle was fought in the political arena as well as in the courtroom. It was ended with NEC disqualifying both candidates, to stop what threatened to abort the transition programme.

It was therefore a terribly weakened SDP that Boss Mustapha, who in all that time was the state chairman, led into the polls on December 14. He was belted by his NRC rival, Alhaji Saleh Michika,

who polled 348,586 votes to Mustapha's 278,988. In the house of assembly, SDP has 14 seats to NRC's 18.

The SDP got Taraba in much the same way as it took control of Jigawa. There, the NRC candidate, Dr. Ando Shiaki, who had spent more of his time visiting Lagos either to petition against his being "rigged" out of victory or to clear his name with NEC, was finally disqualified by NEC on December 12, two days to the poll.



Adasu: Benue State Gov. elect



Musa (NRC): winner Koko, Sokoto State



### Assembly Seats

State	SDP	NRC
Akwa Ibom	10	35
Abia	9	25
Adamawa	14	18
Anambra	18	14
Bauchi	6	38
Benue	22	14
Borno	27	13
Cross River	15	14
Delta	22	15
Edo	17	10
Enugu	19	19
Imo	16	27
Jigawa		
Kaduna	16	20
Kano	32	35
Katsina	30	18
Kogi	10	22
Kwara	22	2
Lagos	26	4
Niger	12	26
Ogun	2	
Ondo	45	6
Osun	42	2
Oyo	37	13
Plateau	35	11
Rivers	19	29
Sokoto	3	55
Taraba	12	12
Yobe	18	8

According to NRC chairman Chief Ikimi, the party was not given enough time to find a "suitable" replacement for Dr. Shiaki, who it said was "popularly elected" in the primaries. NEC did not give any reason for his last-minute disqualification, but it apparently took the action under the new decree 48, which says NEC can disqualify a candidate without saying why it did so.

Having demolished NRC by fiat, NEC got the SDP an easy ticket to the government house in Jalingo. The returns from the state, the last to come in, said the SDP candidate Rev. Jolly Nyame won "unopposed." His tally hadn't been known by press time. The result from Taraba is among three others which the NRC is contesting.

In Niger State, the victory of the NRC's Dr. Musa Inuwa, had been long predicated, despite the court

case brought against him by opponents in the primaries and coming late into the race. Though not of the majority Nupe, Dr. Inuwa is said to be the choice of members of the establishment in Niger State, some of them prominent Nupes.

Some five "prominent sons" of the state, signed a petition against Dr. Inuwa, alleging that he entered the race late in the day, was cleared by NEC in five days whereas it took the commission "two weeks" to clear other contestants. They also questioned how, Inuwa, until recently a civil servant, got the money to buy "10 new Peugeot cars" and which he allegedly doled out to supporters. Those who signed the petition were Professor Shehu Bida, Alhaji Muhammad Liman Doko, Dr. Muhammad Yabagi Isah, Alhaji Yabagi Sani and Alhaji Umar Li-man.

We said in a preview of the polls

that the "Nupe factor" might prove meanly to be an "irritant" to Dr. Musa and so it was. He strode to government house in Minna with 288,674 votes. His rival, Alhaji Muhammad Egba Enagi got 78,061 less.

The NRC did not do well in Benue, Plateau and Kwara states, which the SDP easily pocketed. In Benue, the NRC was unable to follow through its victories in the local government by-elections a month earlier. Professor Ignatius Ayua lost narrowly to SDP's Rev. Moses Adasu who polled 460,039 votes. Only 57,634 votes separated the two.

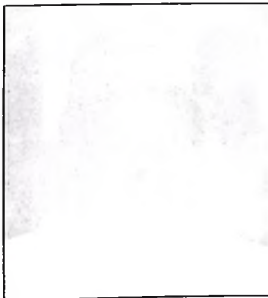
What Adasu had going for him was populist image he cut for himself at the constituent assembly and the backing of a popular second republic minister. Professor Ayua's selection of Dr. Enyatu Ifenne, former director general of Women's Commission in the presidency, was regarded as a deft political move. The choice fetched him votes in Idoma land but they were not enough to swing the result of the election in his favour.

In Plateau State, Mr. Fidelis Taggun of the SDP lived up to his pre-election rating by pocketing the governorship fairly easily. He received 775,101 votes to beat NRC's Bogudu Hirse, who got 534,702 votes. Here the deciding factor was one of history rather anything else. It could not have been religion, because both candidates are christians. Plateau has a tradition of voting for the progressive camp. In 1979 and 1983, the NPP held sway in the state. Both NPP and UPN were members of the old alliance of progressive parties.

The SDP also took Kwara, where its candidate Shaaba Lafiagi won by 261,819 votes to the 109,755 scored by the NRC's Abdulrasheed Salman. But the NRC took Bauchi, SDP does not have a firm footing here. Perhaps what was surprising about the NRC win was its size. The tally of 1,435,077 for its candidate, Alhaji Dahiru Mohammed, was the

highest in the country.

It was all the more surprising, knowing the big protest that followed his win in the primaries. Some aspirants who lost out threatened to decamp with their supporters to the rival SDP to protest the "election" of Dahiru, who personally announced his own "victory." *Citizen* has received reports of vote padding, but Dahiru is agonising over such reports. In a post-election



Inuwa Niger State Gov. elect

press conference, he thanked security agencies for their "steadfastness and hard work" in ensuring that "eversmart members of the society" did not tamper with results of the election. He said the "massive support" he received was a measure of his own popularity.

**T**hough SDP stalwarts are reluctant to admit their party did rather poorly against the NRC, they agree that it could have done better. Chief Olu Falae, an SDP presidential aspirant said the party won in 13 governorships out of the 29 declared and controlled the legislature in 4 other states. "So in total," he said in a recent interview, "the SDP is in control in 17 states."

He however said the failure of the party to take states like Lagos, Kano and Katsina, where it had been adjudged the party to beat, was due to "a lot of internal dissension." He alleged manipulation by party functionaries. Said he: "In several

states, the wrong type of candidate was imposed and the electorate quite rightly, in my view, rejected those unpopular, imposed candidates."

Chief Falae, who 18 months ago was secretary to the federal government, believes the election was "very sophisticated" Colonel Ahmadu Ali (rtd) a second republic senator, unbanned last week from participating in politics, also thinks the Nigerian electorate are better informed "and would fight against imposition of candidates by voting against them.

Most political analysts who spoke with *Citizen* believe that if there was one thing the elections brought to the fore it is the increasing sophistication of the Nigerian electorate. Chima Ubani, Civil Liberties Organisation (CLO) assistant national secretary who monitored the election as an observer said there was a lesson to be learnt in electoral misfortune of the SDP. Said he: "It shows that ultimately the electorate have the power to protest unhealthy development in the parties through the way they use their votes. This renders unnecessary the whole idea of the military using decrees to ban some people from contesting. The electorate has the power to ban such people through their electoral behaviour."

Col. Ali however criticised the use of the open ballot, saying that it has shut out "the most articulate, the most intelligent section of the community."

He did not agree with NEC that open ballot minimised voting and he asked what business the commission has in party primaries. "this is the most reggable one."

**By Yinka Tella in Kwale, Asaba and Ughelli with Bolaji Adebisi in Benin and Auchi, Akin Aluko in Ikirun and Oshogo, Samson Ojo in Lagos, Isaac Ummunna in Enugu, Tawey Zakka in Kaduna with additional reports from Mohammed Bomo, Bilikisu Yusuf, Abu Mom-moh and Rabi'u Barde.**

## Pensioners

# Woes for the "known" soldiers

## Retired soldiers protest the non-payment of their pension benefits

For some pensioners in Kaduna, Monday last week was pay day turned woes day. They were gathered at sub-treasury waiting to be paid "our entitlements." But after a long wait and then the realisation that the government official who actually issued a statement to that effect was out of town, they decided not to let this provocation go unpunished.

Marching through Bida Road and the adjacent Hospital Road, they mounted a makeshift road block. The situation might have been degenerating, even though the pensioners claimed that there was nothing to show that they were disturbing public peace. Apparently the police were not impressed by such claims, especially when it is considered that the president, General Ibrahim Babangida was about that time on an official visit to Kaduna. The police acted swiftly, using clubs, gun butts, tear gas and as the pensioners claimed, other explosives. This crackdown was to last over an hour. The police public relations officer, Malam Gora told *Citizen* that he was not aware of any such action by the police.

At the end, not only the pensioners, most of them octogenarians were injured, other unconcerned citizens waiting at the ever-busy *Gidan Mai* bus stop were reported to have been injured.

Hassan Mathew, the pensioners' association's vice chairman told *Citizen* that he could not explain why the police had to come into the matter in a manner tantamount to inviting them for a war. Mathew said "as far as I am concerned we didn't disturb

public peace." Malam Sule Rahama, a retired sergeant, now aged over 65 years was emphatic that soldiers have never been so provoked and embarrassed. "The police followed us up to the market throwing explosives, hitting us with clubs and guns butts; yet we didn't fight back even though we are capable of fighting back." Added Rahama. "I am just calling on respected soldiers like Generals Hassan Katsina and Yakubu Gowon — and even the president himself to do something about what has just happened to us today".

The questions that keep coming up were, why did the pensioners, considering their ages, decided on protesting and also could the police have used a better method of controlling the protest? Chairman Audu Jangwa Madamingwari, explains the genesis of the problem. Early in the month, the Kaduna State accountant general, Alhaji Dalhatu Balarabe was said to have issued a



Governor Ayuba of Kaduna State

statement informing pensioners that they will be paid their arrears on the 16th of December, 1991. On that Monday, when they came to keep the date, they were told that there was no money and that the accountant-general was out of town and that he didn't leave any explanatory message.

*Citizen* gathered that the retired soldiers have not been paid the arrears of their pension benefits since January when President Babangida ordered that they be paid. In essence they are claiming their benefits which range between 120 and 140 Naira for 12 months. Even then, before the circular from the accountant-general's office they had never protested the non-payment. The accountant-general, Alhaji Dalhatu Balarabe refused to speak to *Citizen*, pointing out that the state governor had taken over the matter.

On Tuesday, the second day of the protest, a message purported to have come from the government house Kaduna, was delivered to the executives of the pensioners, inviting them for a meeting with Governor Tanko Ayuba. *Citizen* learnt the meeting didn't hold even though six members of the pensioners association were at the government house. The meeting was later rescheduled for Thursday last week. Most pensioners were not quite ready for a settlement. "To be sincere, we are not ready for anything but to get our money," says Hassan Mathew amid applause from other members.

The impression gathered was the apparent inability of the pensioners to bear the hardships they have been thrown into since retirement. Malam Sule Rahama says he had fought three wars before retiring. One other old man, who was looking younger than his over 80 years was said to have fought in the second world war, yet the 140 Naira that obviously is hardly enough, hardly comes by. Mathew reduced it to the question of lack of respect by the society.

By Rabiu Barde

## Customs

## Open borders, open smuggling

At the Nigeria-Benin border, Some smugglers brazenly carry out their activities while security men look the other way

Fifty-seven kilometres of smooth driving, provided by the first dual carriageway in the country and the cool breeze from the coconut palms fronting the Badagry beach, both make the journey to Seme, the border town between Nigeria and the Benin Republic an experience one would wish to have. But beyond that, at the border town, the smooth drive could turn into a nightmare, courtesy of smugglers and customs men. The first indication of unusual activity is to be seen at the Mobil petrol station which is about two kilometres to the border. More than 200 motorcycles, some of them without registration numbers and about 25 cars could be seen jostling to buy fuel into their vehicle tanks and big plastic cans.

According to Dayo Ojuola, a driver plying the Seme/Mile 2 route, "any driver from Lagos should never dream of getting fuel to buy here. The station is for the smugglers".

Except for the border post building at Seme, where immigration formalities take place, the town paints a picture of a growing slum despite the magnitude of legal and illegal economic activities going on there. Explaining this apparent lack of development, Mama Kekere, a smuggler who said she has been in the business for more than 20 years told *Citizen*, "many years ago when we started crossing here, only a man, his two wives and children were settlers here. It is those of us who come here to trade that brought development here".

The human population at the border town conjures images of Idumota or Oshodi in Lagos, the only difference being the pre-dominance of teenage boys in the restless

run of humanity across the large expanse of the border area. *Citizen* reliably gathered that the duty of these young men is to help prospective smugglers cross the border as well as help in organising carriers who ferry the smuggled goods

ing to Mama Kekere, who claimed to have lost money and goods to the touts despite her long experience at the border. "They are very dangerous boys; only two days ago, I lost two bags of rice to them. If they know you are new here, there is



Bagudu, internal affairs minister and Customs boss, Bello.

across the border posts.

The boys seem to have warmed their way into the hearts of the customs men who man the posts. When this reporter was arrested for moving around "without clearance" one of the boys made the following threat. "If I want to deal with you now, I just hand you over to the smugglers and tell them that you want to write about their activities thereby exposing them to the government. They will take all your money and beat you up very well".

Like all forms of touting, the activities of the link boys vacillate between cheating through aiding illegality and open stealing. Accord-

nothing bad they cannot do to you".

Except for those custom officers who are manning the main border post, others line up between what they called pillars one and 20 seemed to be doing nothing. Directly under their surveillance, the link boys and touts troop in with rice and flour packed in big polythene bags conspicuously balanced on their backs. On getting to the pillar, the leader of the group leads his contingent to the 'Kelebe' boys. The Kelebe boys charge a fee which depends on the quantity and quality of the item smuggled. *Citizen* learnt that wheat flour attracts a higher fee than rice.

The 'Kelebe' boys are the official touts working for the customs men, some of them are dressed in mufti, some in Man O' War cadet uniforms while some are dressed in the brown uniforms of ex-service men.

Worthy of note is that like their counterparts at the Murtala Muhammed International Airport, customs men at the Seme border do not go off-duty despite the fact that they run shifts. They only remove their caps, shirts and shoes, replacing them with civilian gear. Why they do this said one of the custom men who begged anonymity is that "nobody knows when the big deal will surface", apparently referring to the smuggler who may be ready to pay a very high price for a valued

Aroso' sells for about 425.00 Naira while the type called 'Agric' sells for about 395.00 Naira.

Goods purchased are classified into two: Those that will be ferried across the border immediately and those to be kept till night fall when security becomes more relaxed and there is little or no prying eyes around. Those items reserved for the night journeys are textiles, ready-made dresses, alcoholic beverages and large quantities of wheat flour.

Across the border, except for a few words of French, the predominant language is Yoruba. As such, with Naira exchanging hands one almost thinks that he is in Balogun market except that the office build-

referred to himself as Joe, told *Citizen*, "I have been in this business for over eight years. Our problem only lies with the Nigerian security officials. But as soon as we get to the Benin borders, we receive warm welcomes". Night activities across the borders are at their peak between 9.00 pm and midnight. For the smugglers, getting the goods across the border is not the only hurdle they have to cross. Commuter drivers charge fees that are commensurate with the quantity of goods carried. According to one of the drivers, "The more contraband you carry, the higher the risk of your being delayed at the check point or your vehicle being impounded". Along the 57 kilometre stretch of the Lagos-Seme carriage way are check points mounted at various points by the Customs, Army, Police, Immigration and Plant Quarantine Units. They all take their "fee" from the smugglers.

The risk of loosing goods does not end with the threats of the uniformed men to confiscate rice and other items. Clever Nigerians have devised ways of cheating some of the unknown smugglers out of their valuable goods.

**Worthy of note is that like their counterparts at the Murtala Muhammed International Airport, custom men at the Seme border do not go off-duty despite the fact that they run shifts. They only remove their caps, shirts and shoes, replacing them with civilian gear.**

smuggled goods.

Crossing the border into the Benin Republic is as interesting as it is hazardous. Potential threats are thieves and dupes along the paths. For a price of between 50.00 Naira and 70.00 Naira, the newcomer is ready to cross into the Benin Republic. Having paid the price, an assurance is given that the escort will not be liable for any loss of property or arrest.

The paths leading across the border would leave even the best trained navigator in a cul-de-sac if care is not taken. The bush paths across to Seme market take about one hour.

Business on the other side of the border is brisk and brief. The protracted haggling over prices that attends market transactions are absent. A bag of imported rice called

ings that dot the central Lagos landscape are missing.

Considering the large sums of Naira that change hands at Seme, one cannot but agree with one of the Benioniso rice traders who told *Citizen*, "This market is for Nigerians; without them we cannot sell anything".

While the night is for ferrying bulk goods into Nigerian territories, the Nigerian side uses the night to ferry petrol, diesel and Kerosene into Benin Republic. Helping the fuel smugglers in their illegal activities is the poor illumination around the border post. Though the smuggler enjoys free passage on "settling" the security officers, they try as much as possible to avoid this in order to increase their profit margins.

One of the petrol smugglers who

**M**adam Iyadunni Taiwo narrated her ordeal in the hands of rogues in September. She told *Citizen*, "I and my friend were having two bags of rice. When the two men approached us, they told us that they only came to visit somebody at the border and would not like to return with an empty car. We jumped for the offer since the price they gave us was very small and the fact that they told us not to worry about police men and others along the road". Narrating her ordeal further, she told *Citizen*, "We passed the customs check point without trouble, when we approached the one mounted by the army they told us to get down as that would facilitate their easy passage. That was the last we saw of them and our rice."

By Aluko Akinyele

NTI

# The augean stable

## NTI director indicts society for exam malpractices

Results of August 1991 Teachers Grade II certificate examination by National Teachers Institute Kaduna released December 13, show that out of 44,306 candidates who sat for the examination, only 13,502 passed in all the subjects entered. This represents 30.5% pass.

The breakdown shows that of the figure of 13,502 successful candidates, 8,183 passed English language, 9,491 passed mathematics and 7,380 passed education.

In addition, the results of 1,544 candidates were cancelled and 1,181 — others in seven centres in seven states and the federal capital territory have been withheld pending the outcome of an administrative investigation.

Commenting on the dismal performance of the candidates in this year's examination, the NTI director, Dr. Mustapha Bunza told *Citizen* last week that although the examinations set were the ones the institute expected the students to pass but that a lot of the candidates did not pay attention to what was expected of them because most of them did not prepare thoroughly for the examination.

He said a thorough analysis of the result subject by subject shows that some students scored hundred per cent in a subject while a good number of them scored zero per cent in other subjects. He explained that going by that criteria, the award committee lowered the cut off marks but even then "regrettably you find that a lot of these students have not

really concentrated in doing their work".

As part of the long term measure, Dr. Bunza said, that the institute has always maintained a close contact with the students in many teachers training colleges and the local government education departments who use their services. The aim he said is to draw their attention to the activities of the NTI to assist and develop the teachers especially at the primary school level.

"We have been informing the students in schools, the local government education department that we have printed books (that) they should buy", adding that if the books are bought and studied by the students a lot of improvement will be seen because all the questions are based on the books provided however, that the candidates study them thoroughly.

The director who agreed that the rate of failure in the public examinations is a result of deficiency in the education system especially at the primary schools, however, laments the dearth of teaching aids and materials in most training colleges. According to him even "a good teacher can do very little where there are no teaching aids" in such a hopeless situation.

The director also decries the spate of examination malpractices prevalent in our schools which he blamed on the attitude and emphasis on paper qualification. "We have a lot of these malpractices because the certificate is the only passport to



Dr. Bunza

your meal" adding that "once you don't have it, you are nowhere".

He noted that from his experience students who sit for the NTI or WAEC examinations see it as do or die affair. Thus, they go to any length including forging, bribery, and impersonation to get the certificate because "they realise that it is the certificate that matters not the capability to perform".

In order to check the malpractices in its examination, the director disclosed that the institute has embarked on a number of measures.

"We have started paying invigilators... Before the last examination we were not paying them because they are usually given to us by the ministries of education to be their supervisors or invigilators. We realise if we give them monetary assistance, it is possible, the malpractice will reduce".

Another area, the institute is looking into is the congestion in the classrooms. The institute intends to reduce the number of students to a manageable proportion so that the invigilators can efficiently supervise the students and detect any malpractice.

The director though concedes that it is difficult to achieve a hundred per cent success, however believes that these measures are necessary to reduce malpractices in the institute's examinations.

By Abu Mommoh

# Group Captain Ochulor's progress report



Grp. Cpt Luke Ochulor of Delta State

## Public Utility Board

To boost water supply in Asaba, contracts have been awarded for a six-inch borehole at the Central Hospital at a cost of 82,000 Naira and the extension of pipeline to the new secretariat along Illah-Asaba Road, Asaba.

Also contracts have been awarded for the purchase of nine submersible pumps at a cost of 3,695,500 Naira as well as the drilling of three new boreholes. Meanwhile, 700,000 Naira has been released to the contractor executing the Ekuku-Agbor water scheme.

In addition, government has approved the supply of cast iron fittings and sluice valves at a cost of 1.5 million Naira; the supply of asbestos cement pipes worth 500,000 for pipeline extensions and repair of four standby generators at the water pumping stations in Asaba, Ibusa and Ogwoshi-Uku at a cost of 249,707 Naira. Others are the drilling of additional six-inch borehole at Asaba; the drilling of three new boreholes in different locations in the state at a

total cost of 675,000 Naira and the drilling and equipping of three new submersible pumps for installation at Asaba, Okpanam and Eku at a cost of 1,534,000 Naira.

**Health, Social Development, Youth Sports and Culture**  
The ministry has been able to secure comfortable office for its operations.

## AIDS Control Programmes

Towards implementing a comprehensive AIDS control programme in the B zone which consists of Lagos, Ogun, Osun, Oyo, Ondo, Edo and Delta States, a workshop on the strategies for implementing a comprehensive AIDS control programme was conducted in Benin. As a follow up the surveillance programme in AIDS/HIV started in two hospitals in the state as from November 25, 1991.

## Family Work

The state joined other states in the federation to celebrate the family week from October 13 to 19, 1991. Government approved 214,500 Naira for the week long celebration.

## Control of Diseases

With the recent outbreak of yellow fever which claimed some lives in Aniocha East, Ika South and Ndokwa local



## Delta State House of Assembly

government areas, government approved 543,000 for the procurement of drugs and equipment towards ensuring mass immunisation against the disease. Immunisation is already in progress, while health personnel are engaged in educating the various communities.

Recently, a workshop for doctors, nurses and other

# SUPPLEMENT ON DELTA STATE

health workers on clinical management of diarrhoea diseases was carried out.

## Provision of drugs

To stem the acute shortage of drugs and surgical equipment in the state's health institutions, the government approved the sum of 3.5 million Naira for the purchase of drugs and dressings. Tenders have been considered and the contract awarded to successful bidders.

## Nursing services department

Within this period, the three schools of Nursing viz Warri, Agbor and Eku entered a total number of 197 student nurses for the national examination as follows 103, 79 and 15 respectively.

## Hospital management board

Three general hospitals — Asaba, Agbor and Sapele have been upgraded to the status of central hospitals. This brings to four the number of central hospitals in the state.

## National Primary Schools Soccer Competition, 1991

The state emerged the national champion at the second edition of the NITEL All-Nigeria Primary Schools Soccer

set of officers reported for duty. At the expiration of the deadline given by government for all other officers to report for duty, more reported and have been deployed to field stations where their services are needed.

The ministry is now settling down following the receipt of some furniture and equipment from Benin.

So far 15 vehicles were received from Benin City with three in a state of disrepair.

However, with a pick-up van, and the 100,000 Naira approved for ministries and departments to enable them procure essential materials, the ministry was able to acquire items of stationery, benches and so on.

**B**y August, 27, 1991, work on all major civil engineering projects in the state was at a stand still. Most contractors, beset by heavy financial problems occasioned by non-payment of certificates earned, suspended work on their projects. Moreover, the rainy season reached its peak and made it difficult, if not impossible, to continue work on most aspects of civil engineering projects even



*One of the community banks in Delta State*

Competition recently concluded at the main bowl of the National Stadium, Lagos. The state represented by Ojomba Primary School, Koko, defeated Enugu State 2-1 in the final of the inter-zonal competition in Lagos on Saturday, December 7, 1991. The team was presented with overall winner's trophy, a souvenir trophy, and a cash prize of 10,000 Naira.

## 5th All Africa games

Three athletes from Delta State, attended the 5th All Africa Games held in Cairo, Egypt, this year and won medals. While Rita Izoje won a gold medal in heptathlon; Orise Smith won a silver medal in 4x400m relay; David Dafiagbon won a silver medal in boxing.

## Works, Housing and Transport

As soon as the state was created on August 27, 1991, the first



*Dustbins for Delta State Sanitation Authority*

where resources for their prosecution existed.

The ministry has got in touch with virtually all the major civil engineering construction companies involved in development projects in the state to urge them to reoccupy sites and show greater sense of urgency in the prosecution of their various projects.

In the appreciation of the new status of Asaba, the state government is waiting for news about capital, road development programmes in Asaba. It is being pursued in conformity with the new road policy. The Asaba-Ugbolu-Illah road complete by 1992. It was too much and kerbs at an estimated cost of 27 million Naira. It is stoical to bear in mind.

Following the grant by the state government of 5 million Naira in plant and equipment, the company has started work on the

**By Tawey Zakka**  
*with agency reports*

# SUPPLEMENT ON DELTA STATE

**A**pproval has also been granted to invite tenders for the dualization of a number of arterial routes in Asaba. The estimated cost of the programme is 114 million Naira.

Government has plan also to dualise and provide street lights for one road each at Warri and Sapele.



*Some road projects*



*Delta Line buses*

## **Electricity:**

In the area of rural electrification, government has awarded contract for the electrification of Okuebude at a cost of 1,970,000 Naira; Ikpokpogri at the cost of 1,392,676 Naira and paid the contracting firm 1.5 million Naira for work done on the Egori, Issele-Nkpitima, Umutu/Umuaja electrification.

Also government has paid NEPA 936,500 Naira for linking Abbi water pumping station to the national grid.

Government has provided the board a brand new Bedford water tanker and 566,000 for the repair/rehabilitation of 12 vehicles belonging to the board.

Government has also allocated offices to the board and

these have also been renovated. Electricity has been extended to the office while there are plans to extend water supply.

## **Office of the Clerk-Designate Delta State House of Assembly**

### **Delta House of Assembly:**

The government has acquired a building along the Niger Bridge Road, Asaba, to serve as the Delta State House of Assembly. A contract for the renovation, completion and furnishing of the building has been awarded and work is almost completed. The government has also awarded contract for the fencing, interior decoration and provision of other necessary facilities that would make the House functional.

### **Appointment of Clerk-Designate:**

A Clerk-Designate has been appointed in the person of F.A. Eluem, a former Director of Personnel in the state Ministry of Education. He has been sworn-in and has since assumed duty. Soon, more staff, including official reporters will be deployed to the House.

## **MINISTRY OF FINANCE AND ECONOMIC PLANNING**

The Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning in its first 100 days of the present administration established its offices and acquired such facilities that are desirable for the effective discharge of its functions.

### **Offices of the Ministry:**

In August, 1991, the officials of the ministry serving in the defunct Bendel State Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, moved to Asaba to establish offices in the new state. The following departments and semi-autonomous offices have since been set up — Personnel Management, Finance and Supplies, Planning, Research and Statistics, Investment and Loans; Board of Internal Revenue as well as the Treasury (Offices of the Accountant-General).

Some buildings were acquired along Nnebisi Road which now accommodates the headquarters of the ministry and the office of the accountant-general. Other buildings located along Okelue and Ezenel Streets were allocated to the Board of Internal Revenue. Extensive rehabilitation of the buildings was carried out to make them suitable for use.

### **Government Investments and Liabilities:**

Discussions have been held with the officials of the Edo State Ministry of Finance on the investments of the defunct Bendel State Government so as to facilitate fair sharing at the appropriate time. Also, moves are being made to ascertain the liabilities inherited by the state government from the defunct Bendel State Government in such areas as contracts awarded for projects located in Delta State as well as loans obtained before the creation of the state.

### **Socio-Economic Studies:**

Plans are underway to commission experts to undertake socio-economic development studies towards the production of master plans in such areas as health, education, development of roads/waterways, as well as water and electricity supply.

## Egypt

## Death at sea

Over 500 Egyptian pilgrims and holiday makers are feared drowned in the Red Sea

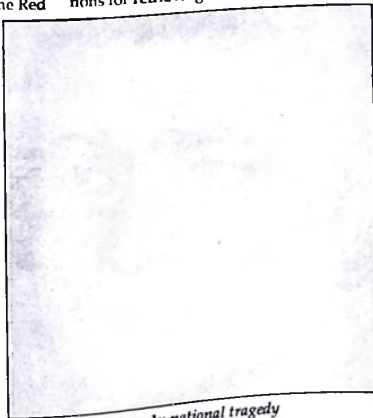
Egyptians had not finished celebrating Dr. Boutros Ghali's victory at the United Nations (UN) when tragedy struck at the weekend of December 14-15. A ferry ship, with over 600 passengers and crew, struck a coral reef and sank in deep waters in the Red Sea.

A report quoting Brigadier Abdulkarim Al-Ghazar, Egypt's director of harbour security, said there were 660 people on board, 72 of them crew of the ship. He said all but 10 were Egyptians. Another report said that the ship was carrying pilgrims returning from Jeddah in Saudi Arabia where they had just performed *ummra*, the lesser *hajj* and migrant Egyptian workers going back home on holiday.

According to the reports, the accident happened six miles off Safaga port. The ship sank "very quickly in very deep water during Saturday night and Sunday morning." Rescue operation got underway that morning but four or five hours after the vessel went down.

Transport aircraft hovered over the area, dropping dingies for passengers who managed to jump off the ship before it sank. Helicopters and naval vessels also patrolled the site of the disaster in search of dead bodies that might have floated to the surface. As at last weekend, only 150 survivors had been picked up.

Reports said that officials in Cairo "are very pessimistic about the possibility of finding more survivors." No dead body has floated to the surface, though. The search was said to be continuing. The officials are said to be considering two options for retrieving the dead bodies



Mubarak: national tragedy

trapped in the wreckage of the ship. They are thinking of either "floating" it or taking explosives down to the sea-bed to "blow open" the cabin doors "to free the bodies."

An official inquiry has begun to find out the cause(s) of what is easily Egypt's worst shipping disaster for years. Meanwhile observers have been giving their own reasons. One described the waters of the Red Sea, particularly in the Safaga port area,

as "very treacherous." He said it was partly "because of the coral reef just a few inches below the surface of the water and difficult to spot." Another likely cause is the approaches to Egyptian harbours which are said to be "very poorly lit even at the best of times."

Yet a third cause might have been the bad weather in the night of Saturday December 14. There were high winds, causing squalls of up to 13 feet high. The difference in the temperature between the wind and the sea created "a lot of sea faults" that could have pushed the ship off course.

People are not discounting the human factor. Survivors interviewed in their sick beds in the Central Safaga hospital alleged negligence on the part of the crew. They said the ship had life-jackets on board but the crew did not give "any instruction to go on deck." According to them, the life-boat was not lowered in the 15 minutes the crew and passengers had to make their escape before the ship sank. Instead, the "crew stared at the ship in amazement, while the captain was running around doing nothing."

Meanwhile families of people who have not been seen have been calling at the Safaga harbour to hear what news there is about relations. But there is news black-out. Officials have sealed off the crew, not allowing even news reporters and relations of the victims to get news.

One reporter described the scene as "pathetic." People waited in the cold for days for news about their relations that might never come. Some got tired and broke down. The scale of the tragedy was too much for even the most stoical to bear in silence.

By Tawey Zakka  
with agency reports

# Angola Back to the land

Angolan refugees return to the country as peace accord is having a firm footing

**T**he Angolan peace accord brokered by both the United States of America and the Soviet Union last May has started bearing fruit. The accord which brought together the two warring factions, the guerrilla group, UNITA and the ruling MPLA government to sign a cease-fire agreement.

Now thousands of Angolans have started trooping into a country they left 10 years ago. The latest returnees arrived from Zambian north western villages. Agency reports from Zambian border posts of Mwinilunga and Chauvuna districts say the refugees have been returning home for the past three

months. Reporters who visited the area were quoted as saying, "an average of about 200 pass through the border, some hundreds are doing so through bush paths."

The 15-year old civil war between UNITA led by Jonas Savimbi and the MPLA government of Eduardo Dos Santos has led to the death of thousands of people, while those lucky to escape were accepted as refugees



Dos Santos of Angola.

## Djibouti

# On fire

Fighting continues between government forces and the northern based Afar

**D**ijibouti's central government's continuing fight against the northern-based Afar community took a more tragic dimension last week. Reports say government forces opened fire on innocent civilians in an Afar dominated section of the capital, Djibouti. The forces were said to be on a raid in the Afar dominated area in search of persons without identity papers. Afar leaders are claiming that between 20 and 50 persons had been killed. The government figure which includes three police was

slightly lower than the Afar's.

Another source said violence actually erupted when the security forces discovered arms suspected to be owned by an Afar guerrilla group based in the northern part of the country. The discovery was said to have resulted in an exchange of fire killing many people. A BBC reporter was able to count over 30 bodies brought to the graveyard. What has not been confirmed was whether or not the security forces were actually checking people's identity papers. For, there were still reports that police were carrying out indiscriminate killings in the street of the capital.

Before this exchange, the government has been engaged in a bloody fight against various Afar guerrilla groups in the north. The Issas, the largest ethnic group and ethnically related to the Somalis

have been fighting the Afars, another large ethnic group, related to the Ethiopians since 1976. And reports indicate that fighting is getting serious with the government despoiling more forces to the north.

All these problems are coming up at a time the government has put final arrangement for multiparty politics. Elections which are due in the first half of next year are expected to be on the basis of multiparty basis. The government is still under pressure from the opposition to renounce the fighting as going on in the north as part of a national problem before it could take a step towards politics. The opposition actually wants a referendum.

It was expected that the opposition would immediately clear the way for a referendum. However, the opposition's move towards a multiparty system, as well as the recent killings will have a negative impact on the country's move towards democracy.

By our reporters

Citizen. December 23, 1991

## Economy

## A formula for sustained growth

Economists call for innovative policies to boost the private sector.

The current shift from a controlled to a market economy, has more than ever before increased the focus on the role of the private sector in the development of the economy of the nation.

Before now, economic analysts believed that the private sector has existed in one form or the other, even in the most heavily centralised economies, and it has mostly been in the form of small scale, informal and agricultural enterprises.

According to economic analysts, however, government policies have not been fair enough towards the sector. Interestingly though, failure and inefficiency of state run industries especially in Africa coupled with the World Bank imposed Structural Adjustment Programme has led to a rethinking by governments with regard to business investment.

In Nigeria, President Babangida has since 1988 instituted an annual general meeting with the Organised Private Sector (OPS) during which he informs the OPS of government's economic policies and also solicits for their supports.

Unfortunately, despite government's reiterated promise to make the industrial climate conducive for the Organised Private Sector, Mrs Rachael Adeleke, chairman of Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (MAN) Apapa Branch believes that some government policies are still against healthy industrial growth in the country.

Some of these impediments, she told *Citizen*, are inadequate tariff, protection for locally manufactured products, the high rate of foreign exchange, environmental pollution charges and high bank inter-

est rate.


Infact, despite government's commitment to privatisation or commercialisation in line with the new industrial development policy which now emphasises accelerated growth with minimal government participation, keen observers of the economic climate believe that the government is yet to provide the needed conducive atmosphere for private investors to operate.

At a recent seminar organised by the International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA) Ibadan, the British High Commissioner, Mr. Christopher Macrae argued that for the private sector to aid economic growth, the government must not only set it free, but also nourish it. For the sector to succeed, the government must do effectively what alone government can do but limit itself to that. The British envoy however observed that "outside friends can and should contribute at the margins; but wealth creation comes from within."

According to Macrae, who besides being a diplomat for over 30 years has worked on development problems for the development directorate of the European Commission in Brussels, there are certain indications that show that the policy context for private sector-led growth is right.

Macrae argued that when government budget deficits and debts take a big proportion of national wealth, scarce investment funds are diverted from the private sector into public sector projects and spending and repayments — which have all too often been uneconomic.

More importantly, the envoy observed that over-large govern-



Macrae, British High Commissioner: Government must set private sector free.

ment budget deficits can lead to accelerating rates of inflation, even bigger deficits, and a vicious downward spiral of economic mismanagement.

Another by-product is overvaluation of the exchange rate. This, according to economic observers, stifles exports, damages domestic producers and creates pressures for protectionism. Thus, it is suggested that a realistic exchange rate and the need for government to allow market forces determine prices without the distortions produced by administrative price controls or subsidies is necessary for the private sector to grow.

According to Macrae, supplying petrol at give away prices, preventing public utilities from earning the return on their investment and subsidising essential products such as fertiliser, leads to smuggling and waste.

Professor Sam Aluko, a noted economist disagreed with Macrae, however. He observed that the Nigerian economy cannot be left to market forces since government still controls the majority share of the economy.

"Until Nigeria develops to the stage where government controls less of its economy, it would be suicidal to talk of market forces," argued Aluko.

With the commencement of the privatisation and commercialisation of state companies, economists point out that the extent to which the new civilian government maintains

the programme will be a further yardstick of its commitment to the private sector.

However, it is believed that for the private sector to thrive and at-

tract foreign investors, government should provide the right policy context for encouraging the growth of the sector.

By Tola Sunday

## BUSINESS BRIEFS

### \$2,687.3 million allocated through FEM

The cumulative foreign exchange allocation in the eight-month period ended August, 1991 totalled \$2,687.3 million indicating an increase of 21.4 per cent over the level of \$2,214.5 million in the corresponding period in 1990.

According to the Central Bank of Nigeria CBN monthly report for August, a breakdown of the allocation shows that allocation to the visible imports rose from \$1,958.8 million to \$2,489.6 million in 1991.

Allocation to industrial sector, at \$1,733.2 million, showed an increase of 23.9 per cent over the level recorded in the comparable period of 1990. The raw materials sub component of this sector accounted for \$945.5 million while \$787.7 million went to machinery, spare parts and CKD, representing 35.2 and 29.3 per cent of total allocation, respectively.

However, allocation to agricultural sector showed a decline of 28.1 per cent from \$67.9 million in 1990 to \$48.8 million in the review period. Foreign exchange allocation to finished goods was \$704.5 million or 26.2 per cent of the total and indicated an increase of 44.9 per cent. Food imports and general merchandise components amounted to \$154.3 million and \$476.6 million respectively. Their share of total disbursement increased by 1.2 x 2.4 percentage points from their respective levels in the corresponding period of last year. Total allocation of foreign exchange to invisible trade transactors in the first eight months 1991 totalled \$197.7 million indicating a decline of 22.7 per cent below the level of \$225.7 million in the comparable period of 1990.

Allocation to all invisible items declined from their respective levels in the review period with the exception of aircraft lease and maintenance,

investment income-profit and dividends as well as repatriation of Capital which rose by 127, 10.3 and 9.4 per cent respectively.

By Tola Sunday

### UACN in joint venture

UACN forms joint venture company with General Motors Corporation of U.S.A

The UAC of Nigeria Plc (UACN) has formed a joint venture company with the General Motors Corporation of the United States of America.

The company will manufacture, assemble and distribute motor vehicles and spare parts in Nigeria. The venture company is owned 60

per cent by UACN, 30 per cent by General Motors and 10 per cent by its employees. Its initial production will include Isuzu cars, light commercial vehicles, heavy trucks and vehicles as well as spare parts.

The new company will buy up the assets of Federated Motor Industries division of UACN.

### Customs collects 2.7 billion Naira from the port

The department of Custom at the Tin Can Island Port has collected a total revenue of 2.7 billion Naira between January and November.

The amount is 45.9 million



Customs boss: Bello

Naira higher than a projected revenue of 2.63 billion Naira expected from the port within the period. The Area Controller of the port, Reverend Olusola Onanusi said that the amount is about 485.785 million Naira higher than the 2.2 billion Naira collected from the port between January and November last year.

He said his department is well equipped to carry out the responsibility assigned to it, warning all fraudulent and unscrupulous importers, exporters and their agents to keep off Tin Can Island Port.

Meanwhile, 15 items valued 5,976.656 Naira have been seized at the port since January while the department has also collected about 25.3 million Naira as underpayment.

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## KABIRU YUSUF

what was expected of an old Action Group (AG) stalwart. He said two actions of the present regime had destroyed federalism as envisaged by the "founding fathers". The first was the creation of too many small and unviable states that are beholden to the centre. The second was misapplication of the principle of the federal character such that appointment into the AFRC now favours one section of the country.

## Echoing Enahoro

**T**he lecture delivered by Chief Anthony Enahoro at the Yoruba Tennis Club, some three Sundays ago has received exceptionally wide publicity. It deserved to be reproduced, quoted and commented upon. I was in the small but elitist audience that listened to the talk and it was a brilliant job by someone who took an active part in the shaping of modern Nigeria.

As a journalist I was impressed with the old man's powers of communication. There were several nuggets of wisdom and clarity that stand out: On the two-party system which he castigated, Enahoro said "the danger in such a situation is that society is burdened with a system to which it submits only in order to be free to bring it to an end as soon as possible". Or "the trauma in Eastern Europe shows that a system resting on fear cannot survive. Modern society cannot long be governed by fear — whether it is people's fear of government or government's fear of popular discussion, public debate and political competition."

Democracy, was, however, only one aspect of the lecture. The second and more dominant theme was "power-sharing" in our federal system. From the questions and comments later, this also was the subject that most stirred members of the Yoruba Tennis Club. Enahoro did

The members of the Yoruba club took this to mean that their section of the country is the one having a raw deal. But when I took another look at the names of the leading members of the AFRC that Enahoro himself gave to indicate this lopsidedness, I began to feel that the Hausas too should set up a Tennis club (where they will play politics!). Ibrahim Babangida, Augustus Aikhomu, Sani Abacha, Salihu Ibrahim, Murtala Nyako, Nureini Yusuf, Aliu Attah, Abubakar Abdussalam, John Ingienger, Olatunji Olurin and Chris Garuba. Asked Enahoro, what are we to make of the fact that these men are the most powerful in Nigeria?

Well, considering the forum, we can say in ethnic terms, there is one Hausaman (Babangida), Abacha, who is of Kanuri extraction; Salihu Ibrahim and Attah are Ebiras; Nyako is Fulani, while Nureini Yusuf is Yoruba along with Olurin, Ingienger is Tiv, while Abdussalam Abubakar is Hausa, Chris Garuba is definitely Idoma. This is not the full list of members of AFRC, but even on the basis of it many Nigerians should complain about power-sharing: the Igbo, the Ibibios, the Urhobos, the Efiks and incidentally the so-called "far-north". For power, by ethnic and geographical origin, is really concentrated in the middle-belt of Nigeria.

But it was revealing to me how strongly the Yorubas feel about being "schemed out". Chief Olu Awotesu, who had himself tested power directly as a minister in Shagari's government, stood up to say that "they" were now slaves in their country and he was just coming from solemn church service, that day being the last Sunday when Lagos would be the capital of Nigeria.

Many other well-fed "slaves" cheered the chief, but Anthony Enahoro refused to be drawn into giving simple solutions. To someone who wanted him to confirm if all the inefficiency and corruption in Nigeria would disappear if "a south-erner" becomes president, Enahoro patiently explained that the issue is not about individuals getting to power, but how power should be shared among groups that make-up a federal system.

Since this thought-provoking lecture, there had been many, largely positive comments on it. No doubt Nigeria is in a ferment and it is very healthy that experienced members of the old brigade, like Enahoro, should come out of the wood-works and offer their thoughts on the future. But we must be mindful that Anthony Enahoro and his generation had their day. Their idea of power-sharing which ended in a bitter civil war in the late-60's is elite-based, and is ultimately as undemocratic as the formula now used by the military. Let's have a national conference, but let's not betray the task of the present generation by using the agenda of the late 50's, and its preoccupation with sharing the spoils of office. In this conference, let's hear the genuine voices of the people, from all parts of the country, their fears, dreams and aspirations. From these, and hands of representatives chosen for their selflessness we might proceed with the task that the old nationalists left unfinished.

### SOCIETY

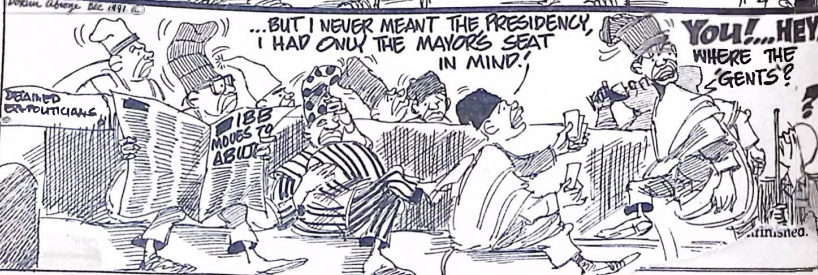
	Page		Page
CITIZENSHIP	46	MEDIAWATCH	48
PRIVATE EYE	47		
POETS' NEST	48	SPORTS	50



Nigerian players jubilating after a match . Page 50

# Citizenship

by DICKIN AUSTIN



# Winner takes all

Uhm! and so it came to pass in this country, the confluence of the Niger and Benue rivers, that citizens went to a very open ballot of an election and elected governors. Ah! relief for my ears, now I sleep like a log without the campaign loudspeakers howling in my ears!

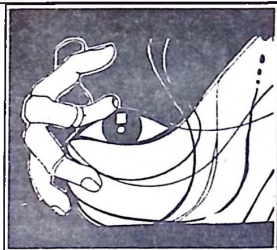
Ah! surprises and yet more surprises, imagine NRC winning the city of Oyekan. But I see ripples, widening ripples of dissent on the surface of the Lagos lagoon. How will Mr. Michael Odetola an NRC governor relate to a house of assembly with 26 SDP and only four NRC legislators? I wish him all the luck a tight rope walker needs to practise his art.

Of course 'am raising my eye brows in surprise at what emerged from Kano where the fire eating radicals used to reign supreme. Take

heart all ye leftists *your horse don kapul* as the NRC campaign advert mischievously put it. I am truly amazed that the people decided to vote for the "bird of prey" rather than drag the SDP horse to the river of victory from which the people could not force it to drink.

I also commiserate with all those women who were so close to the inner recesses of government houses but missed the plum title of first ladies.

It should console you to know that "behind every successful man is a woman and behind every defeated candidate is also disillusioned woman." You should have heard some of them talking to reporters about their plans for Better Life Programme! Wow! you'd think the poor men in this country (and they outnumber the rich) have no right to better their lives!



Anyway the parade of faces of future first ladies I saw in the *Champion* newspaper confirmed my suspicion that those women need "better life for first ladies" before they can better anybody's. You know what I mean? I mean am... am... thief cheeks could do with some filling up here and there.

As for their husbands 'am waiting to see how many of them will develop rosy cheeks, pot bellies and double chin when the sumptuous FOC meals of government house rule their weight.

## Please, come clean !

These times! Just when you think you have heard it all, you get hit, again and again. The other day, a friend told me that something really nasty is happening in one state judiciary that would definitely not serve the cause of justice. The sad thing is that the judiciary is supposed to be the last refuge for the oppressed.

Three days after the death of a judge in this state, canvassing, lobbying, cajoling and later intimidation started creeping into the game of choice for his successor. What the law and tradition dictate is that, in choosing a successor, a line of seniority is maintained. Fortunately, in this case, the next man in line is highly competent and very much respected in the judiciary. Some other people however have different ideas. The \_\_\_\_\_ one house to the \_\_\_\_\_ need not

be religiously adhered to, hence the intense, shameless, lobbying and cajoling; from their houses, to the houses of traditional institutions, to the state government house and, finally, to Lagos.

The *oga* of the state, a quiet, amiable man, apparently got taken in by their argument that hearchy needs not apply, for he cancelled the appointment of the man next in line just after three days of appointing him and in his place, put the *fourth* qualified person! The support of the traditional institution was sought to convince the state *oga* that if he is not appointed, there would be a break down of law and order.

Things then really got hot. Lagos was called in. The *ogas* there weren't sure of the politicking that went on so they asked two highly-placed *ogas* who are indigenes of the state to investigate the matter and *report the*

*truth.*

They duly complied and came up with two suggestions. One, that the rightful person has high integrity and is respected by his colleagues on the bench. The fourth person, who lobbied and got the job, is not, put bluntly, qualified in terms of hearchy and integrity, but that if things *have to be done in accordance with the base instincts of the moment*, he is superbly qualified. And so, base instinct won the day. The friend told me that the man is the best example of how not to apply justice. Which makes me wonder how he got there in the first place!

Not unexpectedly, the eminent judge tendered his resignation and has shut his ears, and rightly so, to all pleas to withdraw it. The state judiciary is now in virtual disarray because everybody knows the odious reputation of the man selected. As things stand now, the matter is still hanging. These times...

# Nature's delight

**I**t serves as the explanation for many things. The different faces of nature make our world what it is. The blending of the seasons, summer giving way to winter, the colourful foliage and intelligent birds that migrate with the seasons should make us reflect and glorify the merciful creator of nature.

## The fateful flower

The seed was sown  
And it is growing  
But was to be uprooted  
Instead,  
It is shooting out the green of leaves  
With petals of prime  
Spreading out in fulfilment  
To receive the glory bounties from above  
Wishing not for the seasons  
that would not put  
the songs of its being  
across lips of nature  
These beautiful flowers  
have a spartial of fate  
To spread the sweet scents  
Across the nature  
To continue to grow  
And suppress the old woods  
It sings a song with the winds  
And spread colours through the sky  
This flower is one flower  
Of all seasons.

## A flight across the sky

The sky is vast  
So vast and so spread  
for a reason so being  
The sky is so azure  
The birds are flight sure  
The sky is laid, the birds are made  
For a reason  
He is the sky, she is the bird

He gives the space, she loves to fly  
When the flights are risky  
The sky forbids the birds to fly  
Then no birds are seen  
What a perfect duo,  
Their world is understanding  
The reason is love  
The beauty of God's work  
They never hurts each other  
You never see the sky  
Barring a birds flight  
Once you are ready to fly, fly  
Nor a bird pecking  
away bits of the sky  
There is no apparition of hatred  
The sky will always give  
the birds a space to fly  
So plenteous to a space  
What an ideal polygamy  
You are a great sky.

Olawale Okunade

## Summer spree

Pleasant sights do grace the eye  
wheresoe'er I rove:  
the earth holds a mystery  
on things that I love

The slow summer streams  
and the swaying rose;  
the sky, as in starry dreams,  
with a pale dawn glows

Canaries that grace the ear  
upon crooked boughs dance;  
a sea-scented zephyr caresses my  
hair -  
they are in romance!

I soak my foot in morn-iced pond  
and scream with nice pain;  
oh, I think I'll ever so respond  
to any such summer that comes  
again!

Ibrahim sheme



## Flashes, in a mist

Flashes, in a mist...  
peals of reverberant laughter  
are fragments of forsaken thoughts  
to touch and hide within.  
from the lagoons in the isles  
where reflects revealed  
ecstatic moments  
captured in precious stones,  
where bonds of profane pleasure  
united flesh,  
flashes of lonely discoveries  
break the clouds;  
the waves wash ashore chalk-shells  
in which  
the secrets of a betrayed confession  
were lost.

It is the feel  
of gentle fragrances  
wooing the senses,  
a wave of insistent images  
that defy the resistance  
of a bruised flower; yet  
a residue of belief remains  
and even the shadow of a smile  
given to the seeker  
can recreate the shattered  
and the visions of the shattered  
to accept, to believe  
the whispers of a phantom  
who stepped into the night  
is the whet-stone,  
a lonely misery.

Osaze Lanre Ehonwo

## MEDIA WATCH

### Media Awards

# Bracing up

Journalism gurus converge at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, Lagos to launch the Nigerian Media Merit Award and ruminate on the state of the profession

It looked like a parade of stars in the Nigerian media, last Wednesday, the ornate conference chambers of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, NIIA was packed full with famous faces. Three former ministers Ayo Rosiji, Kola Balogun and Garba Wushishi joined ex-chief executive, Chief M.K.O. Abiola, information ministry's director general Alhaji Musa Magaji who stood in for his minister, and scores of media managers, scholars and professionals were all there to inaugurate the Nigerian Media Merit Award (NMMA).

Modelled after the American Pulitzer Award and the British Press Awards, the NMMA, which according to the chairman of its board of trustees Dr. Babatunde Jose, will "promote professional excellence... reward through competition, men and women of distinction in their spheres of specialisation" is the brain-child of Mr. Yemi Akeju's Ideas Communications. Members of the board of trustees include media veterans like Alhaji Lateef Jakande, Malam Mamman Daura, Dr. Christopher Kolade, Vincent Maduka, Alhaji Alade Odunewu, Dr. Haroun Adamu, Dr. Nwabu Mgibemana, Chief Dayo Duyile and Professor Alfred Opubor. They are to provide the policy framework within which Akeju's Ideas Communications, would organise an NMMA that would unite media practitioners and their associates annually "in a befitting ceremony extolling excellence in their profession amidst glamour and pag-

eantry."

Wednesday's formal inauguration of the 1991 NMMA award panning was not devoid of the usual backslapping. In a speech sent through his director general, information minister Alex Akinyele was particularly impressed with the idea behind the project. But the guest speaker Chief Bashorun M.K.O. Abiola, while commending the initiative of the organisers used the platform to lament the increasing inability of the nation's media to effectively play its traditional watchdog role due to ill-training especially in area of "grassroots reporting." Said he, "unless and until the press becomes the eyes and ears and the mouth of the electorate, acting as a watchdog particularly at the increasingly crucial local council level, government shall continue to be run like a company without internal control and without proper audit."

Formally established December 12, 1990 during the maiden meeting of its board of trustees at the boardroom of the Nigeria Institute of Management, the first NMMA award presentation ceremony has been slated for 25 April next year.

A panel to chose the winners has been inaugurated. The list included two academics from the University of Lagos, Dr. Ralph Akinfeso and Professor (Mrs) Egunleye and Professor Communications Clark, *Citizen* managing director Malam Mohamud Haruna, *Daily Times*' Yemi Ogunbiyi, *Lintas*' Chris Doghuje,

Dr. Tony Nnaemeka, a past director of the prestigious Nigerian Institute of Journalist as well as Dr. Adebayo Fayoyin, a senior lecturer at the institute. Dr. (Mrs.) Doyin Abiola is the chairperson of the panel.

The 1991 awards has been divided into 11 categories for distinguished work in print, television and radio media. Each awardee would go home with a cash prize of



Zorro: NUJ president

5,000 Naira apart from trophies and certificates. Entries for the maiden edition which would cover January 1 to December 31, 1991 will close by March 1 next year. *Citizen* learnt that a minimum of five and a maximum of 10 assessors would work on each category. Excellent plans, you would say but how is the NMMA to be financed? Trustee board chairman, Alhaji Babatunde Jose has a ready answer. "The board has also approved that the different categories of award can be sponsored or endowed. The sponsorship could be for a specific number of years while the endowment would be in perpetuity. Reputable individuals, corporate bodies are encouraged to subscribe..."

By Yinka Tella.

## SPORTS

## Sports current

## Football

## Algeria means business

**A**lgeria, the defending champion of the Africa Nations Cup, has sent a warning signal that it would not easily release its hold on the most prestigious football trophy on the continent by drubbing next year's host Senegal 3-1 in a friendly international in Algiers.

Algeria which battled Nigeria to a standstill in Morocco until a spectacular penalty shoot-out decided it in our favour, and whom Nigeria beat in the 1980 finals in Lagos 3-1, scored twice through new sensation in the mould of Rabah Majder and Lekdar Belloumi, Tassafout and once through Haraoui. Senegal's goal came from Omar Sene. Senegal and Nigeria are in the same group.

Meanwhile, each member of the national team, the Super Eagles, home-based and those playing abroad, are to collect 2,000 US dollars as an incentive to serve the nation. However, the money would only be given to players who are in camp as at the time Minister of Sports, Major General Yohanna

Kure, visits the national team's camp in Holland. In that case, it is likely that Denmark-based Friday Elaho, the left-wing dynamo and Uche Okechukwu, would not benefit from the windfall. This is because they have so far failed to report to camp either in Nigeria or at Holland.

## Golf

A Sierra Leonian-based golf professional, Lebbie, is carting away 40,000 Naira. That is not all. He has just become the first golf player from any African country to win the Nigeria Golf Open Championship.

James Lebbie, who is already the West African champion, played heavily, but fully composed and confident in the 21st championship that has been dominated by European players.

A Briton, Paul Eales has 220,180

Naira to spend anywhere for taking the second place posted in 10 under with a total of 274.

Gordon Brand has 112,770 Naira, coming third with a score under nine but with a higher total of 275 - one higher than Paul's. Place fourth was Peter Akaka-siaka of Nigeria who earned 20,000 Naira from a seven under with a total equal to that of Brand - 275. Swede Mats Grongberg and Briton, Paul Lyons jointly won 15,000 Naira by placing



Lebbie: winner.

fifth for posting six under with a total of 278.

## Long Jump

World long jump record holder Mike Powell of the US, has set himself the goal of winning the Olympic gold next year by extending his world best mark to 9.15 metres - in ahead of rival and compatriot, Cu Lewis.

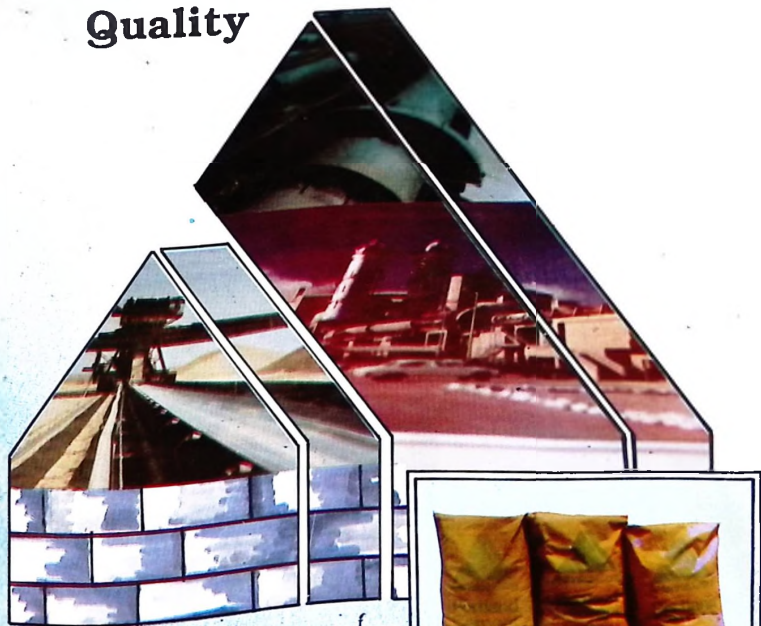
"Next year I have just one objective, to win the Olympic title at Barcelona," he told journalists after receiving an award for his spectacular achievement in breaking the 27-year old record set by compatriot Bob Beamon at the 1968 Mexico Olympic Games. Powell brot Beamon's record at the World Athletic Championships in Tokyo August.



Nigerian players jubilating during a match.

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