

RAND

SEPTEMBER 10 - SEPTEMBER 17, 1990 ■ VOL. 1 NO 4

Citizen

Politics • Economics • Culture

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF NIGERIA
 CERTIFIED TRUE COPY
 17 DEC 1990
 LEGAL DEPOSIT SECTION
 SIGNATURE: *[Signature]*

THE WHEAT WAR

RECEIVED
 15
 1990

Botswana	100p	Nigeria
Canada	31.50	Sierra Leone
CFA Zone	700CF	Tanzania
Egypt	£11.00	Uganda
Ethiopia	EB4	UK
Ghana	C300	USA
Kenya	Sh25	Zambia
Liberia	L\$1.00	Zimbabwe



A. M. B. & SONS LTD.

ELECTRONICS & GENERAL GOODS



HEAD OFFICE:
Bagudu House
LL. 6 A/Bello Way,
P. O. Box 9099,
Tel: 062-214689
Kaduna

STORE
No 2 A/Bello Way,
Kaduna

- 1 IBM ELECTRONIC TYPE WRITERS 6784
- IBM ELECTRONIC TYPE WRITERS 6770
- IBM ELECTRONIC TYPE WRITERS 6783
- IBM RIBBONS FOR 6784, 6786, 6770
- IBM ELECTRONIC TYPE WRITERS 6788
- IBM ELECTRONIC TYPE WRITERS 6786
- IBM RIBBONS FOR 6788, 6786
- IBM LIFT-UP TAPES (CORRECTABLE) FOR 6784, 6770, 6770, 6783
- IBM WHEEL WRITERS ALL (TOTAL 19 VARIOUS TYPES)
- 2 GESTETNER DUPLICATOR 4130, 1566, 4605
- 3 PHOTOCOPIES
CANON (ALL PLAIN PAPER COPIER)
XEROX COPIES
- 4 SHREDDING MACHINES
- 5 FRANKING MACHINE (CHECKER SYSTEM)
- 6 MANUAL ADDING MACHINES
- 7 CALCULATORS (ELECTRONIC) 12 DIGITS
- 8 OVERHEAD PROJECTORS
- 9 SAFE (DOUBLE COMBINATION LOCKS)
- 10 FIRE-PROOF FILLING CABINETS
- 11 OLYMPIA MANUAL TYPE-WRITERS
- 12 PHOTOCOPYING PAPERS
- 13 IBM - COMPUTERS
- 14 IBM - CONSUMABLES

CONTENTS

Citizen

Politics, Economics, Culture

COVER STORY

The wheat trap springs



Page 15

MEDIASCENE

Citizen comes to Lagos



Page 26



ENCOUNTER

..... WITH
ALHAJ MUHAMMADU ARZIKA

15 JAN 1990

Page 33

Department
LETTERS
LEADERS
The wheat
FMG should
eschew ban
A juggernaut
passes away

MOHAMMED
HARUNA

AFRICA

WORLD

MEDIA SCENE

BILKISU YUSUF 31

ENCOUNTER 33

Citizen

Politics, Economics, Culture

Editor-in-Chief Mohammed Haruna
Deputy Editor-in-Chief Bilkiisu Yusuf
Executive Editor (South) Kabiru Yusuf
Executive Editor (North) Adamu Adamu

General Editor - Mohammed Bemei
Principal Correspondents:
Tawey Zakka, Mahmud Jega
Deputy Arts Editor - Oluwole Oluokun
Graphic Artist - Samuel Offiong
Proof Reader - Dorothy K. Hnjart

Computer Operator - S. G. Bulkwang
Asst. Computer Operator - Thomas Iliya Balami
Computer Trainee - C. G. Guten

CITIZEN COMMUNICATIONS LTD.
Board of Directors
Turi Muhammadu (Chairman) M D Yusuf, Umaru Abdul Mutallab, Ade Olawuyi, Lawal Idris, Lawal Batagarawa, Bilkiisu Yusuf (executive), Kabiru Yusuf (executive), Adamu Adamu (executive), Mohammed Haruna (managing)

Deputy Finance Manager: Alhassan Kutigi

Senior Accountant: Bilyaminu Afolabi

Accounts Officer: Ali T. Muham-madu

Marketing Officer: Usman Kadiri

Adverts Executives: Isiaaka Ajibola, Olubunmi Adeoye

Adverts Assistant: Umar Musa
Administrative Officer - Muham-med Ndallman

Secretaries: Mohammed J. Doko, Mary Egharevba

Clerks: Amina L. Abdullahi, Olabode S. Rotifa, Alabi Olakunle

Drivers: Bagudu Makun, Salisu Abdu

Office Assistant: Abbas Garba
Intern - Ogola Onazi

PREFACE

The other day, Prince Tony Momoh, then still Minister of Information literally told the imported wheat lobby to shut up. The case for lifting the ban on imported wheat was as good as closed he said in effect. Vice President Augustus Aikhomu, then still in uniform as Chief of General Staff, lent his considerable weight to the Minister by refusing to discuss the matter when representatives of the wheat lobby sought audience with him.

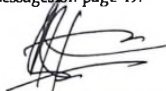
In spite of Momoh and Aikhomu, the lobby was prepared to do anything but shut up. For all it cared the debate was just beginning. If anyone imagined they would invest 15 billion Naira in 22 wheat processing flour mills all over the country and then see their investments go down the drain for lack of wheat, then someone was in for a rethink, the millers seemed to say.

The debate, which never really died in spite of apparent finality of the 1986 ban, was re-opened recently by Chief Anthony Enahoro, a frontline nationalist and politician, leading Messrs Rewane and Akpata, both fellow-investors in the wheat milling business. Enahoro and Co. added a new dimension to the debate which is guaranteed to make it divisive — a north/south dimension.

To explore what may very well turn out to be the most explosive controversy, after OIC — after all, at the centre of it all is bread which has become a national staple food — we sent out Mahmud Jega and Tawey Zakka principal correspondents, as well as Deputy Editor-in-Chief Bilkiisu Yusuf, to talk to all parties of the dispute. Their report is our cover for the week.

* * * *

In his post-graduate days in New York back in 1983/84, Mohammed Haruna, the Editor-in-Chief noticed a series of public service messages, in *Wall Street Journal* that combined wit, precision, humour and profundity. We thought we should share them with you as useful lines to guide your everyday life. Starting today and for the next 17 weeks you will find the messages on page 49.



Citizen (ISSN 1115 2389) is published by Citizen Communications Ltd. G11 Unguwan Kanawa, PMB 2334, Kaduna. Tel. 212165 Fax. 210037 Telex. 71704 Lagos Office: 10A Acme Road, Agidingbi, off Isheri Road, P.M.B. 21742, Ikeja. Copyright Citizen. All rights reserved. Printed by Al-Risalah Printing and Publishing Company, Mando Road, Kaduna.

Citizen September 10, 1990

Citizen

Politics, Economics, Culture

Editor-in-Chief Mohammed Haruna
Deputy Editor-in-Chief Bilikisu Yusuf
Executive Editor (South) Kabiru Yusuf
Executive Editor (North) Adamu Adamu

General Editor - Mohammed Bomot
Principal Correspondents:
Tawey Zakka, Mahmud Jega
Deputy Arts Editor - Oluwale Oluwale
Graphic Artist - Samuel Offong
Proof Reader - Dorothy K. Hinjari

Computer Operator - S. G. Bulkwang
Asa. Computer Operator - Thomas Iliya Balami
Computer Trainee - C. G. Guten

CITIZEN COMMUNICATIONS LTD. Board of Directors

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

Deputy Finance Manager: Alhassan Kutigi

Senior Accountant: Bilyaminu Afolabi

Accounts Officer: Ali T. Muham-madu

Marketing Officer: Usman Kadiri

Adverts Executives: Islaka Ajibola, Olubunmi Adcoye

Adverts Assistant: Umar Musa
Administrative Officer - Muham-med Ndallman

Secretaries: Mohammed J. Doko, Mary Egharevba

Clerks: Amina I. Abdullahi, Olabode S. Rotifa, Alabi Olakunle

Drivers: Bagudu Mokuin, Salsu Abdu

Office Assistant: Abbas Garba

Intern - Ogola Onazi

PREFACE

The other day, Prince Tony Momoh, then still Minister of Information literally told the imported wheat lobby to shut up. The case for lifting the ban on imported wheat was as good as closed he said in effect. Vice President Augustus Aikhomu, then still in uniform as Chief of General Staff, lent his considerable weight to the Minister by refusing to discuss the matter when representatives of the wheat lobby sought audience with him.

In spite of Momoh and Aikhomu, the lobby was prepared to do anything but shut up. For all it cared the debate was just beginning. If anyone imagined they would invest 15 billion Naira in 22 wheat processing flour mills all over the country and then see their investments go down the drain for lack of wheat, then someone was in for a rethink, the millers seemed to say.

The debate, which never really died in spite of apparent finality of the 1986 ban, was re-opened recently by Chief Anthony Enahoro, a frontline nationalist and politician, leading Messrs Rewane and Akpata, both fellow-investors in the wheat milling business. Enahoro and Co. added a new dimension to the debate which is guaranteed to make it divisive — a north/south dimension.

To explore what may very well turn out to be the most explosive controversy, after OIC — after all, at the centre of it all is bread which has become a national staple food — we sent out Mahmud Jega and Tawey Zakka principal correspondents, as well as Deputy Editor-in-Chief Bilikisu Yusuf, to talk to all parties of the dispute. Their report is our cover for the week.

* * * *

In his post-graduate days in New York back in 1983/84, Mohammed Haruna, the Editor-in-Chief noticed a series of public service messages, in *Wall Street Journal* that combined wit, precision, humour and profundity. We thought we should share them with you as useful lines to guide your everyday life. Starting today and for the next 17 weeks you will find the messages on page 49.

Citizen (ISSN 1115 2389) is published by Citizen Communications Ltd. G11 Unguwan Kanawa, PMB 2334, Kaduna. Tel. 212165 Fax. 210037 Telex. 71704 Lagos Office: 10A Acme Road, Agidingbi, off Isheri Road, P.M.B. 21742, Ikeja. Copyright Citizen. All rights reserved. Printed by Al-Rissalah Printing and Publishing Company, Mando Road, Kaduna.

AFRIBANK

offers

5%

*interest per annum
on current accounts*

Contact any of our branches to
avail yourself of our efficient and
courteous services.

with Free Cheque Book



... commitment to financial services par excellence ... **AFRIBANK**

LETTERS

You got it wrong

Sir,

I wish to make an observation on your special condolence article in honour of the late Alhaji Kashim Ibrahim at page 11 of the launching publication. In the article you mentioned that those who attained the height of Provincial Education Officers back in 1949 included Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, Sir Ahmadu Bello and Alhaji Aliyu Makaman Bida. I am afraid that this is not all that correct. Even though four were first appointed, but they did not include Sir Ahmadu Bello and Alhaji Aliyu Makaman Bida, at the time both were Senior Councilors in Sokoto and Bida Native Authorities respectively. Those appointed at the same time with Sir Kashim Ibrahim and Sir Abubakar were Alhaji Isa Kaita, *Wazirin Katsina* at Katsina Province and Alhaji Shu'aibu N.Naibi, *Madawakin Suleja* in Niger Province.

Abdullahi Bisalla
6, Kashim Ibrahim Road
Minna.

Gun-boats in the Gulf

Sir,

Let me use this opportunity to express my deep concern over the recent happenings in the Gulf region, the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the subsequent deployment of the U.S. spearheaded western troops. In the first place, I am against any type of interference talk more of invading another country. But the ongoing assem-

bly of western troops in the region is uncalled for because the U.S. itself is not free from this type of heinous offence. So in like manner as President Bush called Saddam Hussein "The butcher and thief of Baghdad" so also is he "The butcher and thief of Washington". The world has not forgotten how Mr. Bush invaded and brutalised the government of Panama not to talk of the crimes the U.S. committed in Grenada, Vietnam and Libya by his predecessors. Ironically the U.N. did not condemn such aggression or pass any resolution imposing economic sanction against America. The United Nations must come out and condemn the U.S. for those crimes otherwise people will cease to respect her. So they have no moral justification in sanctioning Iraq for her similar crime now. It is on record how America and her allies equipped Iraq to the teeth and imposed an eight years war against the Islamic Republic of Iran and closed their eyes when Iraq applied chemical bombs on Iranian citizens as well as the Iraqi people themselves, but because he has now turned against their stooge they are making hue and cry.

Let me at this juncture state categorically that we want the U.S. and its cohorts to as a matter of urgency evacuate and leave the middle east lest the calamity that struck 'the people of the Elephant' in the year 570 A.D. befalls them.

Mohammed Awwal Ibrahim,
N.T.I.,
Kaduna.

Kwara Express, wake up

Sir,

Since the inception of the mass

transit programme, the performance of Kwara Express has not been anything to write home about, compared to its Kaduna counterpart where inter and intra-city routes are well-served. It is a pity that Kaduna being a centre city, Kwara State Transport Authority could not provide sufficient buses to run the route from Okene — Kaduna, where thousands of Kwara indigenes reside.

The worst was when the only 33-seater (Mercedes) luxurious bus was withdrawn it was only to be replaced by a Peugeot J-5 bus that carries only 18 passengers.

Kwara State Transport Authority must do better than this.

Yusuf M. Raji
D12 Kano Road
Kaduna.

Citizen's challenge

Sir,

The great debut of the *Citizen* sounds to me like the arrival of the awaited 'Messiah' so its reformative task cannot be overemphasised.

I believe the *Citizen* has a great task before it. A task that goes beyond ordinarily informing, educating and entertaining. But as I said earlier, a task of reforming the society and injecting into it a new ray of hope, a sense of belonging and self-awareness. I don't under-estimate the power of the media.

It must strive to balance the reportorial coverage of the nation which has since been one-sided with the ever-increasing number of the print media in one part of the country thereby increasing the one-sidedness of the situation.

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 Unguwan Kanawa, PMB 2334, Kaduna

I welcome the arrival of the *Citizen* placing all my confidence on its ability to deliver the goods.

I hope not to see junk, yellow and speculative journalism in the *Citizen*. I believe the *Citizen* is above that from its composition. I trust the men and women aboard the ship of the *Citizen* and in addition, I pray for Allah's support and guidance to them.

Ibrahim Idris Bello
Lagos.

Sir,

The Corporate Relations Department of the NNDC wishes to congratulate you, the Editorial Staff and the Board of Directors of the *Citizen* Communications Limited for the successful launching of your budding magazine, "*Citizen*".

It is our hope that the entry of your magazine into the media scene would transform the landscape of the journalism profession in the country through the provision of accurate, objective and fair presentation of information and reports. This in our view is particularly important now as the media industry suffers from a credibility gap.

Considering the calibre and quality of the editorial staff assembled, *Citizen* magazine is strategically and experientially positioned to provide an alternative view that would stimulate intellectual growth and education of the reading public and the target audience. We have no doubt in our minds that you would stand up for truth and defend the edifice and legacies of our past heroes against mud-sliding and vituperative utterances by some sections of the media.

Perhaps it would be worthwhile for the magazine to devote some

space to Business and Economic News as information contained in such pages are crucial for decision making by individuals and organisations especially with the sophistication of the economy.

We look forward to an amiable and fruitful relationship with your magazine. Once more, congratulations for a job well done and keep up the good work for God in his infinite mercy would make your path easy.

Mohammed Awwal Haruna
NNDC
Kaduna.

Sir,

I am writing to congratulate you and all those who laboured to bring about the existence of the *Citizen* magazine. The birth of such a publication alone in these austere and difficult times is by no means a small achievement. And to crown it you came out with a master-piece!

I have read your first issue all through and found the write-ups concise, bold and analytically thorough. Of course I don't expect any less from a team comprising Mohammed Haruna, Bilkiyu Yusuf, Adamu Adamu and Kabiru Yusuf. All of you now in the *Citizen* are tested and tried journalists who have since cut their teeth and secured places of honour in the journalism profession.

Having set such high standards elsewhere, you will be expected to exhibit those sterling qualities you have developed and even do better. You owe this to your admirers and to your good names, so you cannot afford to falter or to fail.

I wish you Allah's guidance and protection now and always and the eventual success of the mission of your new enterprise.

Kassim Musa Bichi
Managing Director
NNIL
Kaduna.

Sir,

I write to congratulate you and your colleagues for successfully launching the *Citizen* on Monday, 20th August, 1990. I found the preview edition of the magazine most interesting. You have, with this, set yourself a very high standard in a very competitive market. I have no doubt in my mind that you are capable of sustaining this good work. Please keep the flag flying.

Dr. Mustapha Zubairu
General Manager
Niger State Housing Corporation
Minna.

Sir,

One can not fail to notice what makes *Citizen* stand in a crowd. The attractive cover design, the high quality paper you use in your second edition and the professional touch in the write-ups, which makes reading exciting yet comfortable, all makes *Citizen* unique. One must also commend your foresight for including columns like 'Definitions in Humour', 'Private Eye', 'Citizenship' and 'Leisure', that adds flesh, make-up and flavour to your magazine. You have really made it.

Ali Alkali,
SE 22, Celestial Church Road,
Kaduna.

KADUNA ALUMINIUM LIMITED

Specialist In Aluminium Curtain Wall & Sunbreaker

KADUNA ALUMINIUM LIMITED,
KADUNA SOUTH
... a leading name in aluminium
products Manufacturers in Nigeria

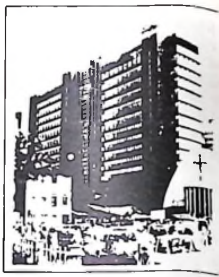
Kaduna Aluminium Limited, KAL was established in 1982. We are specialised in Aluminium Products for the building industry such as Aluminium Doors and Windows of various types and sizes, PARTITIONING, CURTAIN WALLS, SUSPENDED CEILINGS, SUNBREAKERS IN GLASS OR ALUMINIUM, CURTAIN WALLS and we also supply different types of high quality glass such as sheet - reflective laminated - or textured - K.A.L. has its Headquarters based in Kaduna, where its office, fabrication plant and storage facilities are located. The factory site is located at 20, Inuwa Abdulkadir Road, Kaduna South.

GENERAL INFORMATION

Some of the projects handled by KAL Ltd in various parts of the country include: Savannah Bank Building, Lagos Headquarters; Union Bank Abuja Area Office; Harka Nig. Ltd, at Kabala West Junction, Express Bye-Pass, Kaduna; First Bank Area Office Jos. With the technological support from Hong Kong, Japan and Taiwan, KAL Aluminium curtain wall and sun-breaker systems are specially designed for the best quality and high-class architecture of any purpose.

Our full-equipped installation team are headed by experienced and qualified engineers and technicians to guarantee hitch-free and prompt installation work.

Contact us for high class
• Aluminium Doors, Windows
• Curtain Walls and Sunbreakers.



Above Savannah Bank H.Q. Building, Lagos
-- an example of our work.

We have a reputation to protect.

KADUNA MACHINE WORKS LTD.

KADUNA MACHINE WORKS LTD. (K.M.W.L.), a newly-established Corporation specializes in all types of machine works manufacturing and general casting.

Come with your correct drawing, sketch or the damage part to Kaduna Machine Work Limited. We will cast a new part for you in a matter of seconds by simply making use of iron scraps going through a process of melting and moulding into a perfect finished products. No time-wasting, no headache, foreign exchange problem is totally eliminated.

A unique service for textile machinery, agricultural equipment, brewing plant machinery, etc - and even motor vehicles.

With our modern FOUNDRY

equipped with electrically controlled furnace and MACHINE WORKSHOP which are manned by a team of highly skilled engineers and technicians, we are capable of manufacturing various types of grinding mills, threshers, textile and various machine parts.

Our raw materials are 100% obtained locally. Kaduna Machine Works Limited has a subsidiary company called Worldwide Garment (Nig.) Ltd. that undertakes sewing of all kinds of textile garments which include: all types, style cuts, sewing of armed forces and security uniforms of all seasons with caps. All garment embroidery works which include gold and silver plated colours etc. Contact us for more information at our Kaduna South Factory or any of the Branch Offices.

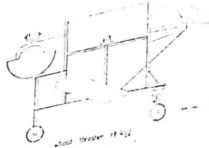
FOUNDRY

KADUNA MACHINE WORKS LTD.

Plot 20, Inuwa Abdulkadir Road, Kaduna South, P. O. Box 1889, Kaduna.

MAIN OFFICE & FACTORY:

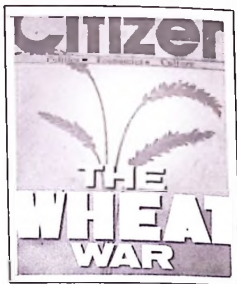
KADUNA ALUMINIUM LIMITED
PLOT 20, INUWA ABDULKADIR ROAD, KADUNA SOUTH,
P.O. BOX 1889, KADUNA, NIGERIA
TEL. 062/233037. TLX 71125 KAL.



The Wheat War

Recently, Chief Anthony Enahoro leading Messrs Rewane and Akpata stirred the hornets' nest when in a widely publicised statement they called not only for the lifting of the ban on wheat importation but also backed the idea with controversial revelations to justify their advocacy. The installed capacity of the country's flour mills of 5 million metric tonnes per annum cannot be served by a paltry harvest of 150,000 tonnes of wheat produced by Northern wheat farmers, they said. Secondly, why should this country differ from all other wheat producing African countries who still import wheat to supplement local production? Thirdly, the ban has now hiked the prices of other available foodstuff, put several people, from hawkers to flour sellers and factory workers out of jobs, deprived the government revenue from excise duties and boosted the illicit trade in smuggled flour. As ever, the millers lobby found it easier to call for a lifting of the ban.

It was not the first time these facts were touted by the flour millers, the only new dimension being the divisive north-south dichotomy incorporated into the statement. They alleged that millers who are mainly southerners and have invested 15 billion in the milling industry have been forced to tie such colossal investment down while the northern wheat growers, are benefiting from lucrative wheat sales. Clearly, according to the trio, the government is favouring northern farmers to the detriment of southern flour millers and consumers of bread. Infact, they even went ahead to predict that had the ban affected northern interests as adversely as



it has those of the south, it would have been lifted or never even contemplated in the first place.

This may not be the worst form of bigotry going on but in terms of arm-twisting and demagoguery it is bad enough. If mischievous north-south dichotomy is introduced into the purely technical information that guide policy formulation in the country, what will become of our hard earned nationhood? It is simply irresponsible that refined and informed citizens should resort to puerile and divisive machinations when more wholesome techniques of persuasion have not been exhausted.

The millers' aggressive pursuit of the lifting of the ban has not demoralised the hard facts that informed the ban in the first place. The country still does not have the 350 million dollars to squander on wheat importation, nor any other foodstuff for that matter. Apart from enhancing our food security, it should give us some pride to be self sufficient in food production no matter how difficult this may appear at the initial stages. Hardly can this be achieved where there is over-reliance on imported food,

which will only depress or kill the market for locally produced one.

However if the divisive ploy of Chief Enahoro and Company is condemnable, the plea by the wheat lobby for a re-think on the ban is not easily dismissed with a waive of the hand. Four years after the ban and inspite of severe short-fall in local wheat, it is not obvious that bread as primary product has seized being a national staple. On the contrary, the phenomenon of the so-called Ghana bread alone, whereby bread is reportedly baked by Nigerians across our boarders and brought in as a way to beat the wheat ban, suggests that many Nigerians will eat bread at all cost.

The wheat lobby argues that the attempt to grow wheat locally is a will-o-the-wisp and point at the dismal failure of the wheat project to date inspite of enormous financial outlays. Government and wheat farmers, on the other hand, say this is rubbish and point at Saudi Arabia as one example of a hot country that has not only become self-sufficient in wheat but is now a net-exporter. The trouble with both arguments is that they do not fully address the basic question of relative cost.

We are inclined to agree with the authorities that the ban on import should remain. Four years is rather too short to determine the success of the project even though quite clearly governments handling of the matter leaves a lot to be desired. Much of the poor return on the massive investments in the project so far can be attributed to poor timing in the supply of inputs to farmers and to that hardy perennial, widespread official corruption.

KADUNA ALUMINIUM LIMITED

Specialist In Aluminium Curtain Wall & Sunbreaker

KADUNA ALUMINIUM LIMITED, KADUNA SOUTH

.....a leading name in aluminium products Manufacturers in Nigeria

Kaduna Aluminium Limited, KAL was established in 1982. We are specialised in Aluminium Products for the building industry such as Aluminium Doors and Windows of various types and sizes, PARTITIONING, CUBICLES, SUSPENDED CEILINGS, SUNBREAKERS IN GLASS OR ALUMINIUM, CURTAIN WALLS and we also supply different types of high quality glass such as sheet - reflective laminated - or textured - K.A.L. has its Headquarters based in Kaduna, where its office, fabrication plant and storage facilities are located. The factory site is located at 20, Inuwa Abdulkadir Road, Kaduna South.

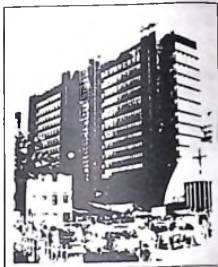
GENERAL INFORMATION

Some of the projects handled by KAL Ltd. in various parts of the country include: Savannah Bank Building, Lagos Headquarters; Union Bank Abuja Area Office; Harka Nig. Ltd. at Kabala West Junction, Express Bye-Pass, Kaduna; First Bank Area Office Jos. With the technological support from Hong Kong, Japan and Taiwan, KAL Aluminium curtain wall and sun-breaker systems are specially designed for the best quality and high-class architecture of any purpose.

Our full-equipped installation team are headed by experienced and qualified engineers and technicians to guarantee hitch-free and prompt installation work.

Contact us for high class

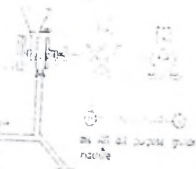
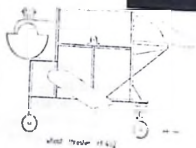
- * Aluminium Doors, Windows
- * Curtain Walls and Sunbreakers.



Above Savannah Bank H Q Building, Lagos
... an example of our work.

We have a reputation to protect.

KADUNA MACHINE WORKS LTD.



KADUNA MACHINE WORKS LTD. (K.M.W.L.), a newly-established Corporation specializes in all types of machine works manufacturing and general casting.

Come with your correct drawing, sketch or the damage part to Kaduna Machine Work Limited. We will cast a new part for you in a matter of seconds by simply making use of iron scraps going through a process of melting and moulding into a perfect finished products. No time-wasting, no headache, foreign exchange problem is totally eliminated.

A unique service for textile machinery, agricultural equipment, brewing plant machinery, etc - and even motor vehicles.

With our modern FOUNDRY

equipped with electrically controlled furnace and MACHINE WORKSHOP which are manned by a team of highly skilled engineers and technicians, we are capable of manufacturing various types of grinding mills, threshers, textile and various machine parts.

Our raw materials are 100% obtained locally. Kaduna Machine Works Limited has a subsidiary company called Worldwide Garment (Nig.) Ltd. that undertakes sewing of all kinds of textile garments which include: all types, style cuts, sewing of armed forces and security uniforms of all seasons with caps. All garment embroidery works which include gold and silver plated colours etc. Contact us for more information at our Kaduna South Factory or any of the Branch Offices.

FOUNDRY

KADUNA MACHINE WORKS LTD.

Plot 20, Inuwa Abdulkadir Road, Kaduna South, P. O. Box 1889, Kaduna.

MAIN OFFICE & FACTORY:

KADUNA ALUMINIUM LIMITED

PLOT 20, INUWA ABDULKADIR ROAD, KADUNA SOUTH,

P.O. BOX 1889, KADUNA, NIGERIA

TEL. 062/233037. TLX 71125 KAL.

These two apart, there is an obvious need for research into the relative cost of bread. Although it has several advantages it is merely one of several staples. Our agricultural economist ought to be examining the cost-benefit of bread as a staple vis-a-vis the others. This is if they

have not done so already. If they have, they ought to make their findings public so that we can search for a solution more meaningfully than is now the case four years after the ban on wheat we ought to know whether its longterm benefit is worth the

short-term cost of growing it locally.

Until we find out sooner than later we may discover too late that we have indeed been caught in a wheat trap that makes us losers whether we grow wheat locally or import it.

FG should eschew bans

In the speech marking his fifth year in office, President Ibrahim Babangida announced that the ban imposed on the Academic staff union of Universities (ASUU) by the Federal Government on July of 1977 has been lifted. The president added that by lifting the ban, the nation's academic community is now free to participate, in an organised manner in the unfolding political process in the Country. This is a welcome development indeed in fact it was rather long in coming for the government has been promising since the beginning of the year to lift the ban on the union. It is instructive that the president, in his speech, recognised the need for academics to be involved in political discussion in the country. It must be pointed out that his administrations' record of dealing with the academic community has not been exemplary. In the last 5 years, the political leaders of the academic community, including Dr. Festus Iyayi, Dr. Mahmud Tukur, Dr. Yusuf Bala Usman, Dr. Patrick Wilmot, Dr. Atahiri Jega, Dr. Idowu Awopetu and Professor Toye Olorode, have been variously imprisoned, retired, deported or had their passports impounded. Arguably, the ban placed on

ASUU in 1977 was unnecessary. The government itself seemed to have gone out of its way to provoke the union to strike so it would be an it. salary elongations were not paid in the universities months after other public servants received theirs, and government foot-dragged on the issue until the union struck. The strike lasted only a week and there were no incidents of violence, but government still moved to clamp down with a heavy hand. The 48-hour ultimatum gives the union at the time to call off the strike was unrealistic, considering the communication problems in the country and the dispersed nature of the union's National Executive council. Still, the government slapped a ban on the union and maintained it for 2 years, thereby denying the nation the collective wisdom of the academic community at a crucial time in our history. Least government forgets, the ban imposed on the National Association of Nigerian students is yet to be lifted this ban is also highly regrettable, since students, despite their youthful exuberance, have a lot to contribute to national political development. To deny students a union is to force them into

even more rash actions, since there is no regular channel of communication and no one to assume responsibility for any actions.

We strongly urge the Federal Government to allow students to form strong unions of their own that will channel their legitimate concerns. We also urge the Federal Government to take immediate steps to remove all other impediments to freedom and democracy in the universities. There is evidence to suggest that the government's own heavy-handed dealings with academics and students has encouraged many university authorities to create impediments to freedom of their own. There is no way that academic pursuit and intellectual endeavour will prosper under any atmosphere other than the freest and most liberal. Finally, we hope that government will for the rest of the transition period, enter into useful dialogue with pressure groups instead of banning them.



A "Juggernaut" passes away

The death at 73 of Dr. Kingsley Ozumba Mbadiwe on Wednesday, September 29, must have come to the nation as a great shock. Barely six months ago, the self-styled politician of "timber and calibre" was addressing the press in Lagos on how the Third Republic can endure. Six months before then, he had been implicated in the, to say the least, embarrassing story that his erstwhile political mentor, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, was dead. And so was it that *The Guardian* of September 30, broke the news of Mbadiwe's death to a doubting public.

Unlike Zik's "death", Mbadiwe's has turned out to be true. As is to be expected of a politician of his stature, it has since been an obituary galore by friends and not-quite-friends alike. Needless to say an objective assessment of his politics and contribution to national development will have to await less passionate times than so soon after his passing away. Still, it can be said categorically that he was one political leader who could not be ignored even though it could not be said that he was something to any goal or idea as, say, Chief Awolowo was to free education, Malam Aminu was to the emancipation of *talakawa* or Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe was to nationalism.

Mbadiwe's secret, it would seem, was in his style. Never a man to do anything quietly when grandstanding and grandiloquence would do, he curved a niche for himself as perhaps the most col-



ourful politician Nigeria has produced. His grandstanding was indeed legendary. Back in 1964 when he was Minister for Aviation, he decided that nothing short of high drama in far-away New York would do to announce the arrival of Nigeria as a civil aviation power. So it was that "Operation Fantastic" was born, whereby he shipped out the colourful *Atilogu* Dancers to launch one of Nigeria's first aircraft to a probably bemused American audience. Not very long after that he opened his affluent residence in Arondizego, his hometown in Imo State, and in vintage "Mbadiweism" he ensured, through a most memorable fanfare, that his "People's Palace" got national attention.

In the early days of the Second Republic, he started a newspaper, called it "*Eagle*" and in his usual inimitable style, announced to the world that it will "fly to the west, fly to the east, fly to the north and south" to provide the best in infor-

mation and entertainment. As things turned out, the *Eagle* did not fly far before it crashed, but few newspapers have witnessed more grand launching.

As for grandiloquence, Mbadiwe was about the only politician who would coin phrases whose entertainment value more than compensated for their grammatical inexactitude and incomprehensibility. Such phrases as "we will zone to unzone", "when the come comes to become" and "timber and calibre" may fail the test of grammar and meaning, but they provided comic relief from the boredom of politics and most certainly were to be preferred to violent political arguments.

Now that he is gone, he will be sorely missed as one politician who did all he could to make politics an entertainment rather than a matter of life and death. In a nation which has seen so much political violence, this is no mean achievement.

VITAFÖAM

for foam at its finest



VITAFÖAM - the first name in foam!

Factorim in Lagos, Sapele, Aba, Kano, Jos.



MOHAMMED HARUNA

Privatisation is it?

It is hardly surprising that 20 years after formal independence, but long before the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, the continent's economies have provided the perfect setting for privatisation. Twenty years of African socialist or mixed, some will say mixed-up, economies had palpably failed woefully to deliver food, cloth, shelter and education of any quality to the vast majority of its people. The culprit seemed pretty obvious — "too much government". After all, all over the continent, government not only set all the rules, but because there were no sufficient local "moneybags" around, government participated in the game. Often it was in fact the only player. With such a high profile, it had to take the flak for the continent's continued poverty 20 years after.

Only recently President Ibrahim Babangida, no less, in effect put the blame for our poverty mainly on "too much government in our lives". This was on the occasion of the submission by Justice Esho of his commission's report on corruption and other economic crimes. The president had a point. If, as we have often been told by people like Chief Olu Falae, erstwhile Minister of Finance and the chief priest of privatisation, public officials as policy makers, managers and workers will be trusted with business worth 23 billion Naira in equity and loans plus 11.5 billion Naira in grants and on these huge sums make only a paltry return of 500 million Naira a year, there must indeed be good cause to re-examine the public trust.

Yet to blame "too much government" alone may yet prove a false

diagnosis that would inevitably lead to a false prescription. The natural reaction to "too much government" is to roll it back. The grave danger is that it may be rolled back too far. Right now we face that grave danger as privatisation proceeds apace.

The other day, Chief Omowale Kuye, a director-general in TCPC in a lengthy lecture on "Privatisation and Commercialisation — Problems and Prospects", spoke in glowing terms of the virtues of privatisation. The British, as the acknowledged champion of privatisation, he argued, now enjoy "a higher standard of living than ever before." Of course he did not forget to remind us that socialism everywhere has lately been on the run where it was not dead and buried.

It is precisely in the infatuation of policy makers like Kuye with privatisation that there lies the danger of prescribing the wrong cure for our ailing economy. These days it all sounds as if capitalism is all virtue and any form of public ownership of property is all vice. Nothing could be more wrong than this attitude. Needless to say the evidence to the contrary is all too glaring. Privatisation too has its vices, perhaps more than public ownership, certainly more than its advocates would care to admit. As the massive scandals in industry and finance since the advent of Reagan and Thatcher have shown, privatisation invariably breeds greed. In the U.S. alone, according to *Playboy* magazine (November 1989), Reagan's deregulation — deregulation is a cardinal principle of privatisation — of savings and loans has led to a financial scandal, in which President Bush's son is incidentally implicated, that will cost the American tax-payer 285 billion dollars (2,280 billion Naira) "much of which was stolen". In both America and Britain, privatisation has bred inflation and serious unemployment such that

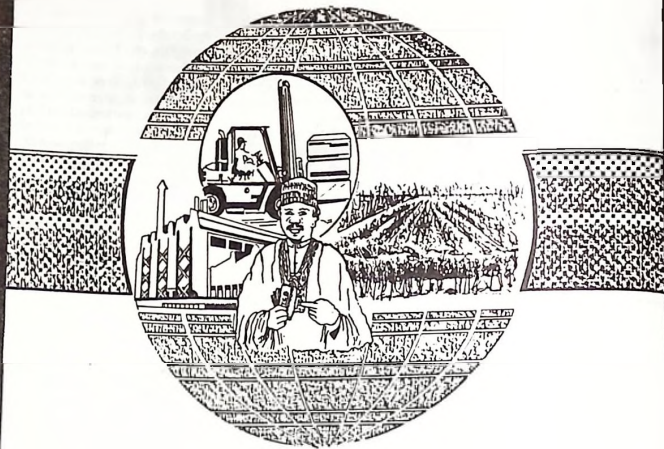
in spite of Kuye's claim that "the average British enjoys a higher standard of living than ever before," crime and hooliganism have been on the surge in both countries. In any case, if Adam Smith is so inherently superior to Karl Marx, how come Uncle Sam, his staunchest disciple, is in hook to the rest of the world to the tune of 200 billion dollars or 1,600 billion Naira? Here at home there is the additional danger that, as we roll back government all too fast, our economy will be re-colonised, this time by counterfeited or no expertise or enterprise as Alhaji Aliko Mohammed, the Dan Iyan Misau, pointed out at the launching of this magazine. And the Dan Iyan should know; he is himself a dyed-in-the-wool capitalist.

The moral of all this is that government intervention in business, in one form or the other, is ALWAYS there. The difference is who government is intervening on behalf of and how far. In the U.S. the tax breaks for industry, the matching grants for research, the more specific case of the on-going gun-boat diplomacy in the Gulf to secure oil supplies for Big Business, probably costs the tax payer more dollars than his own health, education and housing bills. You hardly get to hear much about the first type of government intervention.

As government rolls back public ownership of property and the means of production, it should bear all this in mind. And remember also that it is not only fire-eating socialists who have reservations about privatisation. Dyed-in-the-wool free marketeers like Alhaji Aliko and Dr. Pius Okigbo, a national merit award winner too, do have their own grave reservations. At least our pace of privatisation ought to be tempered by these reservations.



TROPICAL COMMERCIAL BANK LIMITED



SIMPLY DEPENDABLE

Our assistance starts the very day you come to us to discuss your business ventures. We put our wealth of experience at your disposal; offer sound advice on business activities monitor your progress financially and are committed to see you grow even bigger. Our assistance continues when your business cuts across the fields — industry, agriculture, commerce, international trade and many more.

We are now opening more branches for easier and better services to our customers.

The world market is yours through our world wide affiliations.

Come to the traditional business developers.

Head Office:

No. 1, Dr Bala Mohammed Road, P. O. Box 4636, Kano. Tel: (064) 627181 621991, 621992, 621993, 626173-6 & 627187; Telex 77279 BANCOP NG, Cable: BANKOP KANO

Branches

No. 10E, Bello Road, P.M.B. 3229, Kano. Tel: (064) 627188 & 620331 No. 22, Warehouse Road, P.M.B. 1057, Apapa, Lagos. Tel: (01) 874143. Telex 21789 BANKCOP NG Hadejia, Birnin Kudu, Dawakin Kudu, Wudil, Dambatta, Kafin Hausa, Karaye, Maigatari, Audu Bako Secretariat and Agency at Tsakuwa.

The Wheat Trap Springs

An angry national debate rages over bread.



A wheat farm in bloom

In the last 4 years, the exalted status of bread has been toppled in Nigeria. A medium-sized loaf of bread that cost 40 kobo in 1985 now costs N5 or more, and in most cases is of much inferior quality. The consumption of bread has fallen drastically as a result, leaving in its wake a trail of idle flour mills and bakeries, thousands of frustrated bread traders and millions of desperate consumers. The direct cause of this calamity was the ban imposed on the importation of wheat by the Federal Government in July 1986, although the genesis of the calamity goes much further back in time.

The exact circumstances and causes of the rise and fall of bread is now the subject of a heated national controversy. Deeply involved in this debate are officials of federal and state governments; assorted wheat farmers grouped in the National Farmers' Council; flour millers, master bakers, bread traders, consumers, researchers, academics and economists. Already the debate has turned sour; no longer confined to citing economic statistics and agricultural production indices,

some of the parties to the debate have invited the wicked ghost of the North-South divide. In due course, the bread and wheat debate may become Nigeria's bitterest since the OIC imbroglio of 1986.

The fracas, however, had been ably perceived by two renown Swedish academics, Professor Bjorn Beckman and his wife Dr. Gunilla Andrae, many years before it happened. In their book, *The Wheat Trap*, published in 1985, the two political economists traced the rise of bread in Nigerian diets and the simultaneous growth of wheat in Nigeria's import bills, and predicted that a vicious "trap" will soon close in on Nigeria. It has.

Recently, a powerful group of flour millers made an urgent call on the government to lift the ban. Chief Anthony Enahoro, former minister in the Gowon regime and a director of Life Flour Mills, had published a strongly worded letter condemning "the role of official advisers in the wheat imbroglio". The officials he had in mind were former Information Minister Tony Momoh, who said the

matter was "closed" and not subject to appeals; Minister of Industries Mahmoud Yahaya, who has said it will be "inconsistent" for him to support lifting of the ban now; and Vice President Augustus Aikhomu, who refused, in a meeting with the Flour Millers, to discuss local wheat production or the suitability of wheat varieties grown in Nigeria for baking bread.

Chief Enahoro felt that the Federal Government was not balancing the contending interest of local wheat growers with those of millers and importers. This, he alleged, was because the millers were mostly from the disadvantaged south whereas the farmers are from the north, supposedly the favoured section of Nigeria.

Only nine days later, Chief Enahoro was joined by Mr. Tayo Akpata and Chief Rewane to publish an appeal letter to the Federal Government. Among their many arguments against the ban were that it has led to a sharp rise in the prices of bread and other foodstuffs; has incapacitated the flour mills' N15 billion investment, encouraged smuggling and scared off foreign

investors. Also, they wrote, "there is the distressing feeling... that if some 82% of the flour millers in Nigeria did not happen to be from the South... the ban would never have been imposed on wheat in the first place".

Some flour millers in Kano, who agree with the call to lift the ban, were embarrassed by this trio's resort to invoking the North-South divide. Mr. T.A. Oyeleke, Managing Director of the Northern Nigerian Flour Mills, said, "Nigeria is one united country, and flour millers can pursue their legitimate interests without resorting to demagoguery".

However, Mr. J. O. Fagbemi, managing director of Flour Mills, Apapa, the largest in the country, seemed to share the sentiments of Chief Enahoro. He charged that "We are only deceiving

" If our smaller neighbouring countries who are not as rich can afford to eat bread, produce and smuggle into Nigeria, then the wisdom is somewhere — either we are wise and they are foolish or we are foolish and they are wise".

The millers' public outcry quickly received a heated response from the management of Dangote (Nigeria) Limited, a powerful sugar trading company. The unedited copy of the millers' appeal to Babangida had referred to the Dangote Ltd's sugar trading, alleged to be worth N400 million a year, as evidence of the federal government's misplacement of priorities and patronage of trades cornered by northern Nigerians. The public statement issued by the company condemned the Enahoro group for confusing its

lies. Bread featured in the exquisite dishes of 5-star hotels; at another end, conspicuous tea and bread joints, *masu shayi*, were central to social interaction in city wards all over the northern parts of Nigeria.

The preeminence of bread as an urban and semi-urban food had come about as a result of many factors, not the least its sterling qualities of convenience, easy preservation and "combinability" with other foods. As a processed "fast" food, bread was superior to most local dishes such as *tuyo*, *fura*, *amala* and *akpu* all of which require tedious preparation, something urban families can no longer afford. Bread can also be preserved, in refrigerators or in cupboards, for up to 4 days without fermenting, drying or turning sour, as would most local foods. It was also more convenient to handle than most foods and can be transported over considerable distances without damage. Moreso, bread has been successfully combined with a wide range of other foods in order to round up the diet. In proletarian hands, Nigerians eat bread all by itself, or by dipping it in a sugar solution. It is also eaten with tea, soft drink, *akamu*, *akara*, with rice, beans, roasted groundnuts, sardine, *geisha*, *gari* and yams. The middle classes eat bread variously with margarine, butter, jam, fried or cooked eggs, meat, baked beans, or as bread toast.

Until recently, bread was also cheap. This was partly because domestic inflation in Nigeria in the 1970's and early 1980's surpassed its international variety, thus making local foods more costly than imported wheat, and also because, until 1986, the Federal Government controlled the price of wheat flour. In 1980, for example, the controlled price for a 50 kg bag of wheat flour was N13 or 26 kobo per kg, though it often attained N16 per bag or 32 kobo per kg on the open market. This compared, in 1980, with the 28 kobo per kg price of unmilled millet; 28 kobo per kg for guinea-corn; 32 kobo per kg for maize, and 87 kobo per kg for brown rice, all unmilled. Also, while the average cost of food in Nigeria in 1980 was 336% the 1975 level, that of wheat flour was only 141%. Bakers were able to throw off pressure



Ideal Flour Mill, Kaduna

ourselves. Our machines are idle. In our attempts to be independent, by growing our own wheat, we are turning round to import bread into the country".

He stated further that his mill has just 700 workers instead of the 3,000 because there is no wheat. "Since the beginning of this year we've only got 400 tons whereas our machines have the capacity for 3,600 tons per day", he said, adding that many flour mills have gone into businesses like selling cement, fishing and brewing beer.

"The Maiduguri Four Mills which I am also a director of, is not working. Kano Mills which is in the heart of the so-called wheat producing area is not working either", he said.

overall turnover from several operations with its turnover from sugar trading. Moreso, the statement implied, sugar should be given priority over wheat, since it is indispensable to bottlers, beverages, confectioneries, some pharmaceuticals and homes, not to mention bakers, for whom sugar is at least as important as wheat flour.

Until fairly recently, the ubiquity of bread knew no bounds. Bread was to be seen everywhere on sale, in stalls, teashops, markets and on the streets throughout Nigeria. It was also consumed everywhere, by school-children at or on their way to school; at construction sites, by passengers in taxis and lorries, and on the breakfast tables of middle and upper class fami-

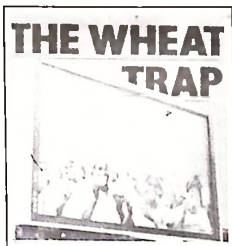
on wheat flour prices posed by the high cost of other foods by cornering, in 1983, 85% of the supply of wheat flour at controlled price.

Advertising also aided the popularity of bread, as the association of flour millers sponsored large billboards and radio adverts urging Nigerians to "join the energy feast - eat bread".

As a matter of fact, bread was not a new food formula to mankind or to Nigerians, since it is central to the Christian Lord's Prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread . . .". The stomach of the Scottish "Bog-man", estimated to have lived in 500 BC, contained an early kind of bread. Said a senior lecturer in political science at the Bayero University, Kano, "Bread is the eighth wonder of the world".

Bread began to acquire importance in the national diet during the colonial era. In the 1950's and 1960's, its rise was steady, and then gained rapidly in the 1970's and early 1980's. To be fair, wheat has been grown in the *fadama* lands of northern Nigeria during the harmattan season since antiquity. It was used to make a variety of local foods, including *taliya*, *kus-kus*, *chinchin*, *gurasa*, *alkaki*, *pankasu*, *kob-kob*, *dibila* and *kulikalin kubura*. Production was always in small quantities. But from the 1920's Nigeria began to import wheat to supplement local production, largely for the purpose of making bread. In 1955, Nigeria imported 41,000 tonnes of wheat. This figure rose to 86,000 tonnes in 1960; 182,000 tonnes in 1966; 267,000 tonnes in 1970; 408,000 tonnes in 1975 and 1,363,000 tonnes in 1978. Wheat imports continued to grow, to 1,336,000 tonnes in 1979; 1,176,000 tonnes in 1980; 1,517 million tonnes in 1981; 1,375 million tonnes in 1982; 1,498 million tonnes in 1983; 1 million tonnes in 1984 and 1.433 million tonnes in 1985.

This massive, some say irresponsible, level of wheat imports fuelled the proliferation of flour mills. There are 22 flour mills in Nigeria, 17 of them located in the south and the other 5 in the north of Nigeria. These were built and commissioned with much grandeur and aplomb in the 1970's and early 1980's. For example, the Ideal Flour Mills in Kaduna was commis-



Beckman's book; started a debate

sioned in April 1982 with an initial capacity of 300 tonnes of flour a day, and with plans to quickly raise this to 800 tonnes a day. Apart from its huge factory and silos in Kaduna, it had built a 16,000 tonne capacity steel storage silo at the Tin Can Island Port in Lagos, equipped with automatic discharging and loading facilities. Ideal Flour also had a fleet of 80 trailers that ferried imported wheat from Lagos to Kaduna. The stage was set for trouble when the crunch came.

Why and how did wheat bread come to occupy such an exalted place in the Nigerian diet in order to occasion such massive outlays? According to Professors Beckman and Andrae, the "oil boom" in Nigeria during the 1970's and early 1980's had produced a massive rural-urban migration, and also generated mass movement in the rural areas themselves from farming to non-agricultural activities, such as trading, construction and transportation. As a result of this mass movement, much labour was withdrawn from the farms and the remaining farm-hands made more costly. At the same time, oil-fueled economic growth led to an annual increase in food demand of some 10%. Very soon, domestic food production fell behind this high demand for it. Of the various possible alternatives to fill the void, rapid urbanisation and changing household patterns favoured the entrenchment of wheat bread. In particular, the large number of urban workers who did not have the facility of cheap domestic labour in the form of housewives,



Major-General Muhammadu Buhari "Bread is cheapest staple"

quickly took to bread, which required no further processing.

The convenience and relative cheapness of bread aside, the activities of flour millers and bakers also aided its entrenchment. Bread-baking turned out to be one of the most adaptable of technologies, ranging from mud-ovens in remote villages to electric bakeries in Lagos. Powerful foreign, in particular American, interests aided this process until bread was well and truly established in Nigeria.

Trouble began, however, when the country's foreign exchange earnings from petroleum began to decline after 1981. By this time, wheat imports occupied a substantial part of the country's import bill, to the tune of \$355.5 million in 1984. Bread was so strongly established, however, that the regime of Major-General Muhammadu Buhari refused to tamper with wheat imports in its austerity budget revealed in May 1984. "Bread", said Buhari at the time, "has become the cheapest staple food for our people". This policy continued for another 2 years. Then, as part of its Structural Adjustment package announced in July 1986, the regime of General Ibrahim Babangida clamped a total ban on wheat imports.

The reason for the ban, according to the government, was to conserve the country's scarce foreign exchange earnings and instead promote local production of wheat. The government also encouraged the making of bread from composite flour, made of wheat as well as maize. A prototype pro-

duced by FIRO in 1986 had been served for lunch at a meeting of the AFRC, and it was said to have convinced the government that the formula was acceptable.

In the meantime, the ban placed on wheat imports visited first the millers, then the bakers, the traders and bread consumers with vengeance. When the *Citizen* visited the premises of the huge Northern Nigerian Flour Mills at Bompai Industrial Area, Kano last week, it was found that what was once a thriving flour market in front of the huge building had disappeared. And the environs now wears a lonely, gloomy look. A few metres away from the production department, some paltry bags of wheat offal are stacked in the open, a sad contrast to the thousands of bags turned out daily from the same mill four years ago before the wheat importation ban crippled flour mills across the country.

The Northern Nigeria Flour Mills of Kano is the second largest flour mill in Nigeria with a capacity of 2,000 tonnes per day, superseded only by the one in Lagos. Incorporated in 1971, the Northern Nigerian flour Mills began production in 1975. By 1983 during the flour boom, the installed capacity of the mill was 1,500 tonnes a day and although it was working 24 hours a day and 7 days a week it was unable to

meet the demand for flour and other by-products such as semovita. The company therefore sought and obtained federal government permission to increase its capacity by another 1,000 tonnes. For this the amount of 38 million naira was spent on expansion of factory and installation of machinery in 1984 but the ban on wheat importation was slammed on the country in 1986.

Mr. T.A. Oyeleke, the Managing Director of the mill told *Citizen* that the sad reversal in the fortunes of his company began in January 1987 when the ban on wheat importation became effective. In anticipation of the ban, the company had stockpiled a large consignment of imported wheat in 1986 which was prudently used to keep the mill going up to October 1987. The company's initial response to the scarcity of wheat was to experiment with production of composite flour which consisted of 75 to 80 percent wheat flour and 20 to 25 percent of maize flour. With the exhaustion of its wheat reserve the company acquired farmland and embarked on the large scale production of wheat.

In this endeavour the Kano State Government assisted in the wheat procurement drive by heavily subsidising the inputs supplied to farmers who went into large scale wheat pro-

duction. It was the first time any state government initiated and supported an accelerated wheat production programme on a commercial scale in the country. Although he commended the government for its foresight Mr. Oyeleke is disturbed by the inability of local wheat producers to meet the requirement of the flour mills. Citing the case of his company which he claims "is operating at only one percent of installed capacity", the Managing Director is also unhappy with the discrepancies in the wheat harvest figures often quoted by the government and actual figures available for purchase on the market. "In 1987 we were able to procure only 3,500 tonnes although the government claimed to have harvested 285,000 tonnes". According to Mr. Oyeleke, the Flour Millers Association then sponsored a survey the following year 1988/89 season for identification of wheat growing areas, after which members proceeded to three wheat purchasing zones recommended by the survey, Kano, Maiduguri and Kaduna. "At the end of the exercise we got only 15,000 tonnes although Kano State Government alone said it produced 385,505 tonnes. Last season all the flour mills put together bought only 40,000 tonnes yet Kano State Government claimed that it harvested 480,286 tonnes. We now



A bakery in Kaduna



**Alhaji Ahmed Hassan:
for the ban.**

want them to direct us to where the wheat is hidden", Mr. Oyeleke added.

Apart from the wheat crunch facing the flour mills, their problems are compounded by the activities of smugglers who flood the market with imported flour from neighbouring countries such as Niger, Benin and Cameroon.

Despite this rather bleak picture, Mr. Oyeleke disclosed that his company has not given up hope. Instead, it has diversified its base with the installation of a corn mill which processes and grinds other grains such as maize and guinea-corn. It produces Masavita and MasafLOUR from maize and Dawavita and DawafLOUR from guinea-corn (dawa).

Echoing the views of the flour millers, Mr. Oyeleke called for the lifting of the ban on the importation of wheat. He noted that the lifting of the ban should be partial "to augment the shortfall in local wheat production until such a time when the country can attain self-sufficiency in locally produced wheat". He wondered why the government encouraged his company to spend 38 million Naira on its expansion project only to ban wheat importation shortly after. "That capital" he said in a pensive tone "is now tied up in an idle mill".

Supporting this view, the Deputy Managing Director of the Mill, Alhaji Muhammadu Rabiu Gwarzo told the *Citizen* that a powerful lobby of flour millers is already at work, campaigning for the partial lifting of the wheat ban. In return for this concession, the flour millers have pledged to buy all the locally produced wheat while ex-

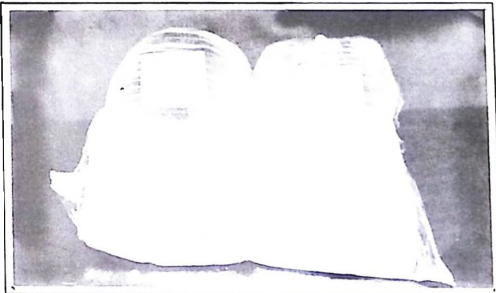
cise duty realised from an increased capacity production at all flour mills shall be pumped into the accelerated wheat production projects.

The Administrative Manager of Ideal Flour Mills at Kudendan Industrial Estate, Kaduna, Mr. W. A. Alao, told *Citizen* that their factory currently utilises only 2% of its 1,000 tonne a day capacity, down from 90% before the ban of wheat imports was placed. Presently, the company purchases its wheat and maize directly from the market and use these to produce Doki brand flours of maize and wheat. Mr. Alao said while he does not advocate total lifting of the ban, he will want the wheat import ban to be introduced gradually in order to allow time for local farmers to make up for the short-

wheat project embarked upon in these states as extra national cake are now clamouring for their share. They are now making spurious claims that they can also grow wheat! When that ploy fails, they change tactics and call for lifting of the wheat ban".

"The wheat we produce locally is comparatively good enough for use, I see absolutely no justification in the call for the lifting of the ban on the importation of wheat or any other food item for that matter", he said.

Alhaji Ahmed however identified two major problems hindering government's objective of attaining self-sufficiency in wheat production. One is the hasty and haphazard agricultural policies pursued by government. The other is the inability to effectively



Bread, the eighth wonder

fall in wheat supply.

On the other side of the controversy, Alhaji Ahmed Hassan, a successful wheat farmer, and thrice the recipient of the best wheat farmer award at the zone 3 of Kano wheat growing project, told the *Citizen* that the powerful lobby of flour millers are motivated by self-interest and desire to siphon foreign exchange out of the country. He described the Enahoro statement as "cheap publicity for an unpatriotic cause", and another unhealthy dimension of the wheat politics. "We know that wheat can only be produced in the following northern states, Kano, Sokoto, Katsina, Kaduna and Bauchi yet the southern states who see the federal government subsidy for the

monitor the hectareage of land set aside for wheat cultivation, number of tonnes consumed by non-flour millers and the total tonnage produced and sold. These lapses must, according to him, be corrected if the controversy generated by wheat growers and millers over the actual amount of wheat produced is to be laid to rest. Alhaji Ahmed who commended the Kano state government for boosting wheat production also called for an improvement in the functions of the agricultural extension services so as to enable them monitor the wheat project adequately.

Asked whether wheat cultivation is profitable, Alhaji Ahmed disclosed that it is a capital intensive venture for

farmers like him whose farms do not fall within the government irrigated areas. "We have to buy water pumps, sink wells or boreholes, do the canalising and land clearing. It is rather expensive but I make very modest returns on my investment". He said harvests vary, depending on availability of fertilizer and improved seeds, early planting and use of combine harvesters. Alhaji Ahmed whose harvest for the past three years ranged from 50 to 110 tonnes, called on the government to supply inputs to farmers early. He was unhappy with the practice whereby government delays such vital supply until a government functionary comes to declare the wheat planting season with fanfare and pageantry. "It is not for government to embark on belated declaration of seasons. Nature does that and is no respecter of persons" he added.

Another wheat farmer who is also a civil servant, Mallam Usman Umaru whose farm is located in the irrigated Kadawa Agricultural Project described the accelerated wheat programme as a patriotic move and "the best thing that has happened to farmers in the last decade". Last year, he paid N475 for the farmland allocated to him and another N300 as watering and harvesting charges. Fertilizer and planting cost him a paltry N120. He realised N6,000 from the high yielding variety of wheat he harvested. He condemned the call for the lifting of the ban on wheat importation adding that the country is gradually but surely on the way to self-sufficiency in wheat production. He urged "the government not to succumb to the antics of the flour millers and their American backers".

With the mills and bakeries in deep trouble, the government began spirited efforts to implement its Accelerated Wheat Production Programme (AWPP). The objectives of the AWPP, as outlined, are to reduce dependence on imported food; conserve foreign exchange by means of import-substitution and export promotion; tilt the consumption habits of Nigerians towards locally produced foods; and generally expand wheat production as an aspect of expanded domestic food production. The Federal Government

and the governments of the states in the "wheat producing belt", i.e. Kano, Borno, Katsina and Sokoto, and also Bauchi and Plateau States, soon unveiled a system of subsidies, incentives and marketing mechanisms under the AWPP.

These incentives include fertilizer, which is subsidised to the tune of 87% by the Federal Government and transported to the "farm gate" by the state governments at no further cost to the farmers. In addition, there is a 50% subsidy on wheat seeds, water pumps and the use of tractors for land clearing, and a 100% subsidy on pesticides. Also, the several states set up loan



Prince Tony Momoh: no more debate

schemes for wheat farmers, and commercial banks were directed to provide loans at low interest and with less restrictive collaterals, or with government guarantees. The states also set up wheat committees headed by commissioners for agriculture and comprising officials of river basin authorities; agricultural development projects; farmers' supply companies; farmers' co-operatives and other agencies to monitor the implementation of the AWPP.

Some of the states went to great lengths to achieve these goals. Kano State, for example, which considers itself a leader in the field, spent N60.1 million in addition to a Federal grant of N10 million, between 1986 and 1989 on the AWPP. That year, it bought 30,000 tonnes of fertilizer, 20,000 litres of pesticides, 216 tractors, 17 combine harvesters, 1.5 million jute bags and several multipurpose threshers all in order to aid wheat production.

But despite these exertions, the output of wheat under the AWPP has been disappointing, to say the least. Sokoto State claimed it produced 13,000 tonnes in 1988/89 and 26,000 tonnes in 1989/90, and Kano State, leader of the pack, claimed it produced 385,000 tonnes in 1988/89.

In truth, the AWPP has been bedevilled by problems since its inception, much as the River Basin Authorities' wheat schemes of the 1970's and 1980's were similarly bedevilled. Surveys have long reported that the Kadawa wheat project in Kano State, the Bakalori project in Sokoto State and the South Chad Irrigation Project (SCIP) in



Vice-President Aikhom: won't discuss ban

Borno State had all failed by a wide margin to meet their wheat production targets. The Bakalori project had the excuse of the disastrous peasants' riots, but in 1983, when it was scheduled to produce 20,000 tonnes of wheat, it produced only 200 tonnes. The SCIP was also upset by the drying of the Lake Chad, and produced 1,200 tonnes of wheat in 1982 when it should produce 60,000 tonnes. The Kadawa project in Kano, with no visible excuse, produced 5,000 tonnes of wheat in 1982 when the planned target was 45,000 tonnes.

It now seems all but certain that the AWPP will meet with the same fate. Already, a commissioned survey of the Kano State AWPP by consultants has identified numerous problems, including inadequate machinery for land clearing; very high cost of labour on wheat farms; inadequate and erratic water supply to many wheat

farms; serious shortages of subsidised fertilizer; an unreliable system of seed supply to farmers; the failure of the credit schemes; inadequacy of extension advice by agricultural officials, grain losses due to manual harvest of wheat, as well as poor storage facilities and the cornering of wheat harvests by speculators. Despite these teething problems, the Sokoto State Commissioner for Agriculture, Alhaji Namadina Abdulrahman, argues that the AWPP should be continued because it is "worthwhile, important and necessary". His Katsina State counterpart, Alhaji Ahmed Maiwada, told *Citizen* that Katsina's main concern at the moment was to prevent speculators from grabbing the wheat at rock bottom prices at the end of the harvest season. He said security agents are being used to deter such speculators.

While the AWPP's many problems so far does not enable it to meet anything close to the nation's wheat requirements, an angry debate has started as to whether or not to lift the ban on wheat imports. Last July, after a meeting in Kaduna, the Nigeria Farmers'

ported flour from the open market. Mr. Ajayi lamented the absence of a bakers' association in Kano which should state their own case.

He however told *Citizen* that his bakery produced fine loaves and pastry because it did not rely on local flour which is difficult to procure, of poorer quality and expensive. The bakery obtains its flour from the open market where assorted brands to match one's taste is available. "The problem with locally produced flour is that it requires aiders and additives to boost the gluten or else it gives poor results" Mr. Ajayi added.

At the time the wheat ban came into effect, the bakery according to Mr. Ajayi contacted the Northern Nigerian Flour Mills with the hope of obtaining locally produced flour. But the unfavourable response from the mills forced the bakery to obtain its flour from the market. Despite the depression in the bakery business due to flour scarcity, Mr. Ajayi said the bakery is still making profit because people appreciate the good quality of its products and are ready to pay for tasty

tion elsewhere but it does not exist here" he told the *Citizen*. Alhaji Bello candidly admitted that his bakery used local flour only for a few months when it was able to procure some from Bendel Flour Mills but when that stock was exhausted and the same brand was unavailable, Rayyan switched over to imported flour. Imported flour according to Alhaji Bello sells for between 380 and 400 Naira at the market. There are various brands smuggled from Togo and Benin Republics or from the United States. "Here at Rayyan we use a Togolese brand popularly known as 'Mai Gauraka' or the American brand which we call 'Mai Kanki'. Both are very good but we use them because local flour is scarce and when it is available rather expensive".

Alhaji Bello is not disturbed by the ban because he is convinced that the country can produce good quality wheat. He is however unhappy with the wheat scarcity which he attributed to "the greedy breweries which go around buying almost all the wheat grown for food to make alcohol".

Mrs. Uchenna Ogugua, a civil servant resident in Anthony village, said she is still buying bread despite the prohibitive cost because it is the cheapest and quickest breakfast for her family of five.

Another Lagos couple, Mr. and Mrs. Adewuyi said: "Much as we tried to remove bread from our menu, the children refused to cooperate."

Mr. Dosunmu, a civil servant said that all his children are grown up, the youngest being in S.S. 2, in view of this he and the wife are not forced to buy bread for any crying tot. However, he buys bread occasionally when he feels well disposed towards the hawkers when caught in the Lagos traffic go-slow or hold-up.

It is not at all clear at the present time what the Federal Government will ultimately do as the contradictory interest of flour millers, bakers, traders and bread consumers contend. The only thing that is certain is that the wheat trap spoken of by the Swedish academics has finally sprung. By Mahmud Jega, Tawey Zakka and Bilkisu Yusuf



Chief Anthony Enahoro: started the new controversy

Council, in an appeal read by former President Shehu Shagari, urged the Federal Government to maintain the ban. Other wheat farmers generally receded this position.

On the other hand, Mr. Paul Ajayi, the administrative manager of Kano Modern Bakery, would like the ban lifted. One reason, he said, was the ban has not effectively kept out im-

ported flour from the open market.

Another baker, Alhaji Bello Sarki, the Managing Director of Rayyan Bakery another ultra-modern bakery owned by Alhaji Bello Maitama, former Commerce Minister, situated at Tarauni, confirmed Mr. Ajayi's observations about the absence of an association of Master Bakers in Kano. "I have heard of the Master Bakers' Associa-

NIGERIA IN BRIEF

* A 16-month old daughter of a woman who died last year during the anti-SAP riots in May has sued the Inspector General of Police, the Federal Attorney-General, the Commissioner of Police for Lagos State and the Nigeria Police Council, for N15 million. The child, Olaide Olukemi Adeyanju, is suing for the "wrongful killing of her mother, Mrs. Hannah Adenike Adeyanju".



Alhaji Aliyu Attah, Inspector General of Police

* Nigeria and Italy are likely to be at loggerheads over the cost of evacuating the toxic wastes dumped at Koko, Bendel State three years ago. The disagreement came as a result of Nigeria's request for a reimbursement of N164 million being the cost of evacuation, compensation and provision of amenities to the community. The Italians are doubting if Nigeria has spent that much.

* A meeting of not less than 65 politicians of the first and second republics and some "newbreeds" was allegedly held at Abuja with former President Shehu Shagari presiding. The meeting was to "brainstorm the survival of the Third Republic."

* The National Electoral Commission has given the NRC and the SDP a million Naira each to defray "national administrative costs of the parties. The grants were given, Professor Humphrey Nwosu, said because the parties could not for now raise money from members.



Professor Humphrey Nwosu

Business Briefly

* The Central Bank of Nigeria, CBN, and the Nigeria Deposit Insurance Corporation, NDIC, are now examining seven banks which have been declared insolvent. The examination is to determine what the banks are worth to facilitate a decision as to whether or not they are worth salvaging.

* The Federal Government overshoot its expenditure estimate by over 100 per cent during the first half of the year. In the 1990 budget, government had planned for a proportionate deficit of N7.1 billion in the first half of the year but started spending N14.8 billion.

* Unless urgent measures are taken to convince pilots that Nigeria's airports are safe, the International Federation of Airline Pilots are threatening to boycott our airspace. Already, Lagos, Kano and Port Harcourt airports have been declared dangerous. A meeting of IFAP in Lusaka, Zambia will take a decision on this in the week.

* Nigeria's domestic debt jumped by N17.3 billion in the first half of the year to reach N67.6 billion at the end of June. The increase, according to the CBN is due to the issue of N10 billion treasury bill raised to finance the CBN accommodation and public sector borrowing for the first half of the year.

Sports Briefly:

* Nigeria, flush with a 3-0 victory over Togo in the play-offs for the 1992 Africa Nations Cup competition in Senegal lost to the Black Stars of Ghana by a lone goal. Nigeria won the Silver in Algeria.

* The federal Ministry of Sports is to move to Abuja. The movement has been instrumental to the decentralisation of sports organisations.

* The National Sports Commission is organising the first inter-zonal championships. It is scheduled for Wednesday - Sunday in Lagos.

* The Federal Government has warned sporting bodies, teams, clubs and individuals not to engage in sporting activities with South Africa anywhere in the world until all forms of racial discrimination in that country had ended.

Liberia: Onward to quagmire

The crisis in Liberia defied all attempts to find a solution last week and instead entered a higher phase of intractability. On the ground in Monrovia, the situation for innocent civilians was worse than desperate. There were reports that the city's food reserves were completely exhausted, and rice, the main staple food, was nowhere to be seen by the people. A spokesman for Prince Yormie Johnson's rebel INPLF regretted that their rebel group had been too generous in the past, sharing with civilians the consignment of rice they captured from the Monrovia ports. Now there is none to

be had, and city residents instead subsisted on palm, fruits and edible leaves if they can find them. UN officials reported that children are already dying of starvation in Monrovia.

Meanwhile, the ECOMOG force suffered some military reverses in its effort to establish physical control over Monrovia. The force has already secured some areas, such as Loga and Fanti towns and the port area. ECOMOG also took

the bridge linking Bushrod Island with the Executive Mansion, where President Samuel Doe has been holed up for more than three months now. Ten days ago, ECOMOG also captured the Springspayne airport in Monrovia, the main supply route for the rebel NPLF forces. Irked by this development, NPLF leader Charles Taylor formally declared war on ECOMOG last Monday and 2 days later, his forces drove out ECOMOG from the airfield. ECOMOG'S Ghanaian commander, Lt. General Arnold Quianoo told reporters in Freetown that his forces had to withdraw because of pressure from the NPLF, although in Lagos, press secretary to the Vice President, Malam Yusuf Mammam, denied that ECOMOG has been pushed out of the air-

field. General Quianoo passed through Freetown on his way to Banjul to receive directives from President Dauda Jawara of the Gambia, Chairman of ECOWAS, regarding what to do with President Samuel Doe.

The matter was clearly important following the conclusion last week of the ECOWAS - sponsored national conference in Banjul to create an interim administration for Liberia. Present at the talks were some of Liberia's most colourful politicians, all exiled by the Doe regime or by months of civil war. They included Professor Amos Sawyer and Dufty Wolokolle, both of

ernment of national unity, to be led by the internationally renowned academic and human rights activist Professor Amos Sawyer, head of the commission that drew up Liberia's current constitution in 1985.

Reputable or not, it does not appear as if this agreement is about to end Liberia's agony. President Samuel Doe refused to accept an interim government and insisted on the legitimacy of his own regime, which is completely bereft of credibility or authority in Liberia beyond the Executive Mansion. Much more seriously, the NPLF also rejected the outcome of the talks

and pledged to fight on in order to expel the ECOMOG "mercenaries."

Mr. Taylor's insistence that ECOMOG intervention prevented him from winning the civil war was criticised by President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, chairman of the OAU and leader of one of Africa's most successful guerrilla campaigns. With undeniable authority, Mr. Museveni said that Taylor and the NPLF "danced around Monrovia



ECOMOG troops: more trouble ahead?

the Liberia People's party; Levy Zangai and Ely Johnson Shirleaf, both of the Liberia Action party; Edward Binyah Kessely of the United Party; Gabriel Bacchus Matthews of the United People's party, and George Toe Washington of the Concerned Liberians' Group. Also present in Banjul were several religious leaders including the Archbishop of Monrovia.

Of the three armed factions that control territory in Liberia, however, the only one present was the Independent NPLF led by Prince Johnson. The strongest of the contenders by far, Charles Taylor's NPLF, refused to send a delegation to Banjul, and neither did (or could) President Samuel Doe. The talks finally rose in Banjul with agreement on a provisional gov-

ernment for 2 months" without defeating Doe, reason why the OAU now supports the ECOWAS initiative for a resolution of the crisis.

But has ECOMOG got the muscle to impose such a solution? Already, the force has at its disposal some 4,000 troops, 25% more than the original projection, and there are reports that more Nigerian troops boarded ships at Apapa destined for Monrovia. This may well indicate that ECOMOG intends to accept Charles Taylor's challenge for a military test of strength. Considering that the NPLF has under its control thousands of heavily armed troops, controls most of the country and is actively supported by some Francophone West African countries, it appears that the quagmire in Liberia is only just taking shape.

South Africa: The White Laager is opened

South Africa's President Frederick Willem de Klerk last week moved to ensure the irreversibility of his reform

programme when he formally opened the hitherto fortified gates of the Boer laager. Speaking at a party congress in our ban in the troubled Cape Province, Mr. de Klerk announced that henceforth, the ruling whites-only National Party will welcome members from the country's Asian, coloured and black races as well. This important but not unexpected move marked an important change in South African politics.

In the turbulent politics of this century, the Boers transformed the laager mentality into politics by creating a party of their own, the National Party. In 1943, this party was able to unite Boer farmers in the rural areas with their urban cousins in commerce and industry, hitherto without a common purpose. With the Boer making up 60% of the country's whites-only electorate, the national party won the elections and proceeded, over 41 years, to establish their dream system of "grand Apartheid." Now Mr. de Klerk, successor to former party leaders Malan, Strijdom, Voewoerd, Vorster and Botha, has changed all that Apartheid is gradually being dismantled, and that leaves the ruling National Party with an ideological vacuum, hence the move.

The white opposition Conservative party led by Dr. Andries Transvaal, himself once the leader of the National party in Transvaal province, condemned the move as "political surrender". On the other hand, Mr. Andrew Langeni, speaking for the ANC, welcomed the announcement as a "posi-

tive move", although he also added that he did not expect the country's blacks to flock to the National Party. "This decision," said Mr. Mlangeni, "does not change the Boer Nationalist character of the National Party".

Mr. de Klerk had more announcements to make last week. First, he publicly reacted to the report of a judi-



F. W. De Klerk

cial probe that found the police guilty in the shooting of blacks in the large township of Sebokeng last March. The president condemned the actions of his police forces and ordered yet another probe into the handling of urban unrests by the police. In particular, the probe will look into allegations by the ANC that police aided Inkatha vigilantes to wage war against ANC militants in Vosloorus and other cities. This

time, the probe is to be conducted by the minister of law and order, Adrian Vlok, a well-known hardline racist in the increasingly liberal councils of Mr. de Klerk. The ANC quickly objected. Mr. Nelson Mandela called instead for another judicial probe into the matter. Mr. de Klerk is yet to accept this call, but he has announced that in order to reduce township violence, the 31 worker hostels around Johannesburg, which hold some 125, 000 people, mostly Zulus, will be rebuilt as family units. This will remove one of the ugliest features of apartheid and will further aid the transition to a multiracial democracy.

There is new evidence to suggest that this multiracial democracy, when it emerges, will be dominated by the ANC. The findings of a research into political attitudes recently carried out by South African sociologist Fatima Meyer reported that a clear majority of South Africans now foresee a peaceful end to apartheid. Blacks were however more optimistic in this regard than whites were. Among blacks, 67% said they support the ANC and fully 79% said they will like to see the ANC's deputy president Nelson Mandela emerge as the first president of a post-apartheid South Africa. Significantly, the report found that there were no variations in this wish between Zulus and Xhosas, elements of whom have battled for months in the townships. Only 2.3% of all blacks said they want Chief Gatsha Buthelezi to become the first president.

AFRICA IN BRIEF

Cote D'Ivoire: A basilica is consecrated

Pope John Paul II arrived Africa last week on a visit that will take him to Tanzania, Burundi, Rwanda and Cote D'Ivoire. It will be the pontiff's first visit since 1989, when he visited some West African countries. The most controversial item on the supreme pontiff's itinerary will be the consecration in Cote D'Ivoire of the world's largest basilica. Built at Yamousokro at a cost of \$130 million, it will be maintained at a cost of \$1.5

million annually, to be donated by the Ivorian government. Octogenarian President Felix Houphoet-Boigny dismissed all criticisms of the basilica by saying it was financed "entirely from family fortunes" and located at his home village, where there are many Roman Catholics, although only 10% of all Ivoriens are Roman Catholic.

Ethiopia: Liberators shell their people

A rain of shells fell last week on the Ethiopian town of Asmara, capital of the war-torn province of Eritrea. It

turned out that the shells were fired by the rebel Eritrean Peoples' Liberation Front (EPLF) whose forces recently advanced from Massawa and Affabet to besiege the Ethiopian second Army in Asmara. But why are they shelling their own people? "We are trying to force a closure of Asmara airport, through which the Ethiopian Army is supplied," explained Ahmadi Mikhail, member of the EPLF Central Committee. "But the airport is situated in the middle of the town, so some stray shells fall in the town".

Gulf: The Superpowers discuss Saddam

Since the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on August 2, one of the biggest inponderables in the ensuing saga has been the attitude of the Soviet Union. For the record, the Soviets have condemned the invasion and have joined many countries in demanding the withdrawal of Iraq's occupation troops from Kuwait. The Soviets also supported all six resolutions so far passed on the Gulf crisis by the United Nations Security Council, including the latest one permitting the use of force in enforcing the UN economic embargo against Iraq. Voting for the measure is one thing, but the Soviets have so far declined to supply any military assistance to enforce the embargo. Soviet Foreign Minister Edward Shevardnadze has said that his country will not participate in the current multinational, American-led force enforcing the embargo, but will consider sending troops as part of a UN force. Since the UN is not about to send such a force, that leaves the Soviet comfortably sitting by the sides.

For President George Bush, the Soviet attitude amounts to an abdication of international re-

sponsibility and a departure from the happy situation of the last a few years, when the superpowers together imposed peace on Afghanistan, Namibia, Angola and Cambodia. Some tough crisis nuts, such as the Palestinian problem and Korea, proved difficult for the newly-collaborating superpowers to crack, and Saddam Hussein has now joined the ranks as a third difficult nut to crack.

Nevertheless, Mr. Bush has paid all due attention to Moscow in his attempts to find a solution to the Gulf crisis. As soon as the invasion took place, he ordered US Secretary of State James Baker to fly to Moscow and draw out the Soviets on possible collaboration. Mr. Baker's early visit may have secured critical Soviet support for the UN resolutions, but now, more is clearly needed. The colossal Soviet military machine is much nearer Iraq than the Pentagon's forces are. Besides, much of Iraq's formidable artillery weaponry is Soviet made, as are some of Iraq's deadly ground-to-air missiles. From his summer home in Maine, where he was holidaying, Mr. Bush contacted Soviet President

Mikhail Gorbachev and asked for an emergency summit. The two have now agreed to meet in Helsinki, Finland on Sunday, September, 9.

What will they discuss? It has been American policy for nearly 50 years to keep Soviet troops far from the warm-water, oil-splashed channels of the Middle East. Now however, with traditional American fear of communism successfully buried and with the Pentagon's forces quivering in the Arabian deserts, fearing at any moment a chemical attack from Saddam, Mr. Bush is in dire need of help.

Will Mr. Gorbachev be able to provide it? Central to his revolutionary concepts of glasnost and perestroika was a concern for the Soviet economy, which is now in bigger trouble than at any time since the Bolshevik revolution. The Soviets have in the past 3 years retreated from troublespots in half of the world in order to look after their economy. Mr. Bush may well have to look elsewhere for help in order to pull his chestnut out of Saddam Hussein's oil-rich fire.

WORLD IN BRIEF

Chile: Allende reburied with honour

Former Chilean President Salvador Allende Goosens, who died on September 1, 1973 when right-wing military officers led by General Augusto Pinochet attacked his Presidential House, was ceremonially dug up from his grave near Chile's Pacific coast last week. He was then reburied in a solemn ceremony at his family's burial grounds in the Chilean capital, Santiago. The symbolic ceremony marked the rehabilitation in Chilean

politics of Mr. Allende's spirit, being leader of the first ever Marxist alliance (Popular Unity) to win free elections anywhere in the Western hemisphere. It was subsequently established that General Pinochet, who ruled Chile until March this year, was aided in his coup by the CIA and some American companies, including ITT, whose assets in Chile Allende's government had confiscated.

The Arab League: Another casualty of war?

The Secretary-General of the Arab League for the past 11 years, Tunisian diplomat Chadli Klibi, resigned last week from his post. Reports say Mr. Klibi's position became untenable given the desire of anti-Iraq governments in the League, who incidentally are in the majority, to return the League's capital to Cairo from Tunis. Since the Tunisian government is not part of the anti-Iraq Arab movement and opposes the return of League headquarters to Cairo, Mr. Klibi decided that his best option was to resign.

Citizen goes to Lagos



Chief Abiola launching the magazine

The *Citizen Magazine*, the latest addition to the family of news magazines in Nigeria was formally launched in Lagos on Friday 31st of August. The launching which took place at the Ethiope/Ogun Hall of the Federal Palace Hotel attracted the cream of the media, business tycoons and corporate affairs men and women. The Chairman of the occasion, Sir Mobolaji Bank Anthony who could not come on health grounds was ably represented by Alhaji (Dr) Babatunde Jose, veteran journalist and former Managing Director of the *Daily Times* of Nigeria. Former civilian governor of Lagos State, Alhaji Lateef Jakande was the guest speaker.

Dignitaries that graced the occasion included Basorun M.K.O. Abiola, Chairman of Concord Press of Nigeria and also the Chief Launcher for the occasion. Also present were the Chairman of the People's Bank of Nigeria, Dr Tai Solarin and Mrs Maria Sokenu the co-ordinator of the Bank, Alhaji Shehu Musa, Makaman Nupe, Chairman of the National Population Commission, Dr Olu Agunloye, Chief Executive of the Federal Road Safety Commission and Mr A. S. Maiyaki Deputy Governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria. Media Chiefs present included Dr. Yemi Ogunbiyi of the *Daily Times* of Nigeria, Mr Teye Akiode, Editor of Vanguard Newspapers, Mr Bayo Onanuga, Editor *African Concord*, Mr Dan Agbese of *Newswatch* and Lande Banuola Managing Director of *Guardian Newspapers*. Others were Chief Chris Okolie publisher and Chief Executive of Newbrood Magazine, Mr Tunji Oseni an Executive Director with Broadcasting Organisation of Nigeria (BON) Alhaji Wada Maida, Editor In-Chief of News Agency of Nigeria (NAN), Mr Nduka Obagbena, Mallam Haroun Adamu Publisher of the *Economist*.

Other dignitaries included Alhaji Rasheed Aribisoyin, Alhaji Ujudul Sherif, AGM Corporate Affairs, United Bank for Africa, Alhaji Kere Ahmed, NTA Director of Corporate

Affairs, Mr George Nene African National Congress Chief Representative in Nigeria and West Africa. Also represented at the occasion was Princess S.A Zui, Gambari.

In his welcome speech, Mallam Turi Muhammadu, Chairman Board of Directors re-stated what *Citizen* stands for

Closure of Newspapers

Being excerpt of speech delivered by Alhaji L. K. Jakande, Chairman/Managing Director of John West Group, at the launching of the Citizen magazine on Friday, 31st August, 1990 at the Federal Palace Hotel, Ikoyi, Lagos.

The recent closure of newspapers and the sealing of newspaper premises constitute a new phenomenon in the experience of the mass media in this country. On previous occasions, military governments which closed newspapers or magazines did so by decree, naming the alleged offender only. In the two cases to which I have referred, the authority used by the SSS to enter the premises of each of the newspaper groups was an order by a magistrate to search the said premises. It was after gaining entry that SSS men sealed the premises. There was no written authority for the closure. Indeed, there is at present, no law in our Statute Book that prescribes the closure or suspension of a newspaper as the punishment for any offence. One must, therefore, wonder what has happened to our rule-of-law concept.

I concede that it is part of the privilege of military administrations to rule without law. There is a well-known military ruler who on seizing power, suspended or cancelled all existing laws in his country

and ruled by his whims and caprices. The result, predictably, was chaos. Our own military administrations have chosen to rule by law. That choice must be binding on all the agencies of the present administration at all times.

Finally, on this matter, it is strange justice to punish all members of a family for the alleged offence of one of them. In the two cases which we have examined, the premises which were sealed also housed other businesses that had nothing to do with newspaper publishing. They also produced other newspapers than the one that made the alleged offending publication. It cannot be right that these innocent co-tenants of an alleged offender were made to suffer for what they did not do or know about.

I am happy to note that the Press and Security organisations have now found a *modus vivendi*. They have established a forum in which both sides meet from time to time to discuss matters of mutual interest. If such a forum is not used to pass instructions to the press but to inform the media practitioners of the security situation in the country, leaving it to them to determine what to publish, it is most welcome and should be encouraged.

Economic Threats

The Security Services are

and said that he looks forward to the day every Nigerian Journalist will be able to stand up and say "I write in good taste and with a clear conscience".

Dr Babatunde Jose, in his opening remarks said that government should not discourage the proliferation of

newspapers and magazines as suggested by some Nigerians. He added that reading of books, newspapers and magazines is a pre-requisite to the acquisition of knowledge. Delving into statistics the veteran journalist said that about 12.5 million Nigerians can read either in English, Vernacular

or Arabic. Out of these he said about 3.5 million people can afford to buy and read magazines. This he said is justification for the establishment of Citizen. Commenting on the growth of 'junk' journalism, Dr Jose said that he does not subscribe to the campaign against junk journalism because

not, however, the only threat to the citizen's right to know. We have economic threats which, in these days of Structural Adjustment, have become all-pervading, frustrating and devastating. The publishing of newspapers and books have become more hazardous than they normally were. In spite of puny efforts at local substitution, the bulk of materials used for printing books and newspapers are imported. The devaluation of the Naira to the absurd level of 15,4979 to the Pound and 7,9660 to the Dollar from the high point when one dollar was less than one Naira, has meant an astronomical rise in the prices of printing materials. To this increase in basic FOB prices, government has added its own duties just as it has levied them on other commodities. Even where local production of printing materials has been successful the prices are worse than what is obtainable in other countries. This is true in respect of newsprint. The result of all these factors is that the spread of information and knowledge through the print media and books has been severely restricted. No nation, particularly a developing nation like ours, can afford such restriction.

Communication between the government and the governed on a regular basis is a *sine qua non* for peace, progress and development

in any society. But how many of our people are now in a position to buy one newspaper a day or one magazine a week? Who could have thought in 1986 that we would be selling newspapers at one Naira, one Naira fifty kobo and two Naira in this country? How did we climb from one penny, to ten shillings or one Pound in the cover price of our newspapers? Or who, ten years ago, could have dreamt of paying five Pounds (ten Naira) for the best produced magazine? Yet it has happened. Not because the publishers want it but because they had no alternative, if they are to survive in our badly battered national economy.

Books are scarcer than the print media. From nursery to university the cost of books has become unbearable to most Nigerians. Thus, the right of the Nigerian citizen to know, to learn and to be informed has become the privilege of a very few.

A new dimension to this problem is the recent announcement by the Chief Executive of News Agency of Nigeria, Dr. Nwabu Ngbemena, that the agency would soon go commercial and that the subscribers to the agency would have to pay ten times of what they now pay. It is incredible that any government could commercialise its principal news agency and leave it in the blind care of the market

forces. The United Kingdom has its Reuters News Agency and the French have their AFP, not to talk of the Soviet Union's TASS or the Chinese News Agency. Why is Nigeria trying to be more market-oriented than the major capitalist countries of the world? Already, our radio and television stations have become purveyors of sponsored news stories which are paid for instead of the media of news of public interest selected on merit by professional journalists.

I suggest in all seriousness that the next budget of this Administration should give due regard to this very grave problem. For it is patent that only the Federal Military government can change this disastrous situation.

Firstly, the government should abolish duty on all printing materials meant for the production of newspapers, magazines or educational books.

Secondly, the Federal Military Government should take over the servicing of loans used by the Nigerian Newsprint Manufacturing Company Limited to provide municipal services in Oku-Iboku. Certainly, the construction of roads, and houses, and the provision of water and electricity to the community are not the business of a newsprint manufacturer.

Thirdly, the Federal Military Government should

call for expert report on wisdom or otherwise further investment at Iwopin Paper Company. The government must consider the option of converting Iwopin to something else while starting of new factory for the manufacturing of fine papers much lower cost than needed to complete Iwopin as originally conceived.

Fourthly, the federal state governments should supply books to primary and secondary schools of charge and negotiate with publishers for 35 per cent discount or more on their cover prices. This would be easy if the system is stabilised in such a way that there are only one or two titles for each subject and the titles should not changeable every year.

Fifthly, the Federal Military Government should heavily subsidise the News Agency of Nigeria up to at least 75% of its running costs.

Sixthly, the commercialisation of radio and television should not be a substitute for the funding of these media by government. If the British Parliament still votes provision for the British Broadcasting Corporation, and the United States Government still runs its Voice of America, why should we starve our own electronic media of public fund which can conveniently afford

newspaper or magazine is a mirror of the society and where falsehood is published the law court is available to give a redress.

The guest speaker, Alhaji Lateef Jakande in his paper titled "The citizen's Right To know", recounted the recent closure of *Newsbreak* Magazine premises and that of John West Newspapers. He said that an informed citizenry is by far a greater asset to the government of the day than an ignorant and uninformed populace. Such a citizen he said is in a good position to understand and evaluate government's programmes and policies and therefore co-operate intelligently with the government in the implementation of such programmes and policies.

He further described the closure of newspapers and the sealing of their

premises as a new phenomenon in the experience of the mass media in Nigeria. However he said the security services are not the only threat to the citizens right to know, but also the economic threats which he said in these days of Structural Adjustment have become all-pervading, frustrating and devastating. The former civilian governor also described the cost of books which he said has become unbearable to most Nigerians and therefore making learning and information the privilege of a very few. He suggested that government in order to salvage the situation should abolish duty on all printing materials meant for the production of newspapers, magazines or educational books and also take over the servicing of loans used by the Nigerian Newsprint Manufacturing

Company Ltd. to provide municipal services in Oku-Iboku.

Bashorun M.K.O. Abiola in his own speech before launching the Magazine described the birth of *Citizen* as a historic occasion because of the role which a free press is expected to play not only in a viable and self-perpetuating democracy but in any civilised society. The *Concord* publisher described Nigerians as dynamic, talented, vibrant and blessed with abundant natural resources. He commended the privatisation and commercialisation policy of the present administration as an end to the cancer of political jobbery.

The Bashorun later launched the Magazine with N25,000. The Chairman of the occasion also bought 2 copies of the magazine for N2,000. The

In defence of the national guard

Being excerpt of speech delivered by Bashorun M. K. O. Abiola, Chairman/Chief Executive, Concord Press of Nigeria Limited, at the launching of Citizen Magazine, on Friday, August 31, 1990 at the Federal Palace Hotel, Victoria Island, Lagos.

The health of the domestic economy is clearly the ultimate determinant of the overall potential and viability of other crucial government policies. We can not build the roads, the drainage systems or the houses needed by our people unless the economy is booming, and by boom I refer, not to the temporary upsurge due to some external forces beyond our control, but to an economy driven full blast on the energy and inventiveness of our people. The foundation for the creation of such vibrant and self-sustaining economy is the policy of privatisation.

In this regard, then, the path of wisdom clearly suggests that those paras-

itals earmarked for mere commercialisation should themselves be privatised, so that the national economy will reap the full benefits of this revolutionary policy. It is not true that stopping short of full privatisation is the only way to ensure egalitarianism and protect the interests of the working class; our trade unions, senior staff associations and other pressure groups should be assisted, through the establishment of a National Trust Fund, to take meaningful part and play a meaningful role, in the privatisation exercise, and thereby ensure that the fruits of commercialisation are spread across the country, and between all social classes. The legitimate fear of a large section of our population that the wealthy will benefit solely from privatisation would have been resolved.

We can only demand accountability when people are performing tasks for which they can be account-

able. It is unrealistic to expect government to be accountable when it is dabbling into business. Governments are neither established for, nor equipped to, run railways, airlines, banks, farms, newspapers, radio or television stations, sugar and salt companies, etc. It simply cannot be accountable in these areas.

But when the government is involved in the maintenance of the armed forces or the police and in the conduct of foreign relations, then we are entitled to demand efficiency and accountability. We expect an army which is well-equipped and disciplined, and a police force that is mobile, modern and well-motivated. We expect the government of individual responsibility and initiative. It is only then that the government will be able to provide adequate water supply, primary health care, quality education, etc.

I do not believe, as some self-seeking government

functionaries often assert, that some enterprises are either too big or too important to be privatised. What this means is that we really cannot expect accountability, probity and efficiency from these enterprises, and they should be run on the archaic principles of old. This is surely preposterous.

Permit me, ladies and gentlemen, to make some comments and observations on the current political transition programme. First, let me congratulate the President and the entire government for their steadfastness in the implementation of the programme, a fact which has made the exercise somewhat irreversible. I believe we are embarking on a momentous journey, with the potential to take our country to the shores of an enduring democracy. I would, however, be more confident of the success of the experiment if two missing pieces are quickly put in place.

Events over the past few months and years have clearly shown that there is

MEDIASCENE

Nigerian Television Authority, News Agency of Nigeria and the *Daily Times* also pledged two years subscription each of copies of the *Citizen*. Other dignitaries present also launched the Magazine with various sums of money and pledges.

social critic Dr. Tai Solarin who pledged to launch *Citizen* after consultation with officials of the People's Bank, responded to Dr. Babatunde Jose's speech on the issue of junk journalism. He said that much as he welcomed the idea of an unhindered growth of the press, the role of the judiciary in redressing libel issues is not encouraging. Libel cases he said are unduly prolonged and justice delayed is justice denied he re-asserted.

By Aluko Akinyele



Dignitaries departing after the launch

no established tradition of respect for the Constitution of our nation on the part of certain elements within the Armed Forces. We must therefore address the structural and attitudinal problems raised by the sheer size of the military, first by reducing the number of our men under arms, perhaps down to 50,000; secondly, by enhancing the pace of their political education, and equipping them more properly; and thirdly, by the immediate creation and mobilisation of a National Guard which is committed to the sanctity of our Constitution and which, in an emergency, can at least slow down the enemies of the Constitution until the popular will can re-assert itself.

It is doubtful if the pruning exercise now going on can be completed by the military disengagement date of 1992, or whether a civilian government can continue with the policy. Indeed, I doubt very much whether a civilian administration will be able to establish a Na-

tional Guard, without being accused of pulling the teeth out of the military, thereby creating an excuse for intervention in the minds of those who had absolutely no respect for the Constitution in the first place. The Babangida administration must therefore proceed firmly with these two policies, and ensure their completion by 1992.

Ladies and gentlemen, let me return to the newspaper industry. If the press and the media of mass communication are to play their constitutional roles of ensuring compliance with the fundamental objectives and directive principles of state policy, and promoting the accountability of government to the people, it is obvious that they must, in large part, be in private hands. I believe the advantages in the areas of accountability, employment, initiative and efficiency are too obvious to need amplification.

I do not think that I am qualified to advise my friends, Turi Muhammadu

and Mohammed Haruna, on how to proceed with this new magazine. They are both acknowledged professionals. But I call upon them to join hands with independent newspaper proprietors to free our embattled industry from the stranglehold of the Nigerian Newsprint Manufacturing Company at Oku-Iboku. Only in Nigeria will we allow such an organisation to be the police, the witness, the accuser, the prosecutor, the judge, the jury, and the executioner. A more insensitive, and mismanaged company is difficult to find.

If it is indeed true that NNNMC has unlimited access to the export market from where it could make as much money as it needs, as was claimed when the Minister of Industries, Air Vice-Marshal Mohammed Yahaya (retired), visited them sometime ago, why should that organisation insist on preferential foreign exchange allocation to bring the long fibre pulp that accounts for only

twenty per cent of its raw materials? Secondly, why must it continue to press for punitive import duty protection which has merely served to encourage some self-seeking executives in government-owned newspapers to import their newsprint at inflated foreign exchange costs to feather their own nest? To these people, the exorbitant import duty that will be paid by their companies means nothing since the money does not belong to them. Thirdly, why has it become so difficult for NNNMC to supply newspaper houses directly, yet it is easy to supply through agents who operate with the support of the management of NNNMC, and their collaborators. The Concord Press received an offer of a large and continuous supply of Oku-Iboku newsprint at 10 per cent above the list price. We turned it down because we do not believe in paying bribes.

Drive into Today's National



- For GUARANTEED products and services of highest quality.
- Petroleum products that CAN NEVER BE adulterated.
- Engine oils made and tested to HIGHEST INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS
- Kerosine that is easily available and safe to use.
- Eagle gas that makes your cooking time fun time. It is safe too

Today's NATIONAL OIL
- Simply reputable

BILKISU YUSUF



The monotony of the sing song nearly drove you up the wall as the dailies gloat with advertisements. A not-unwelcomed development in these sappy times. Each of the mostly full page adverts sounded like the other, expressing felicitations, jublations, congratulations there is no exhausting joyous adjectives. They all shared the joy of the 5th anniversary with the President, General Ibrahim Babangida for his achievements in the saddle as the Head of State and Commander -In-Chief of the Armed Forces. Whether the man for whom these shrill public expressions of solidarity and encouragement are meant takes any notice of them is something else, but the discernible eye could read their total support for the latest bout of maraudonic machinations that accompanied the recent administrative changes. As a mark of appreciation they almost said they could follow the president into any political hell, because he is the only man they know who would stand a chance of bouncing back.

Within the last five years, President Babangida has acquired some aura attributable to his flair for unveiling the unexpected and also the pathologically secretive disposition of keeping closeto his chest all his plans of administrative reshuffle. When the time is ripe, the surprise galore is then served to an already rumour fed public. And so it came to light that military governors now have civilian number two men, and happily some women presiding over affairs in the states. Yet the plum of the civilian postings, that of the vice president went to the instantly "civilianised" former Chief of General Staff, Vice Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, who

Bump Proof Landing

made a bonfire of his naval garb to don the mufti. Those who think the move smacks of contempt for and doubts about the competence of a civilian vice president, must remember that the former CGS was charged with among others, signing the infamous Decree 2 detention permits and supervision of the military governors. How do you begin to trust a "bloody civilian" with these? Which self-respecting military governor will take orders from a chicken livered civilian no matter how learned?

As one who followed the administrative changes and media coverage of it enthusiastically, I must register my disappointment with the prospective landlords of the new Maroko for whom it was alleged, Governor Raji Rasaki of Lagos pursued the demolition of Maroko, just to make their dreams of owing choice plots a reality. Poor Rasaki, he attracted such bile to please them. The heroic match on the slum did not earn him even a half page advert of solidarity from the would-be beneficiaries of new Maroko who we all know can afford to sponsor even supplements to commend that bold Rasaki initiative. With victory thwarted in his eyes by a hostile press, a pretentious, do-nothing masses and an apathetic corp of bureaucrats, Rasaki could surely do with some morale booster. It didn't come. Despite Maroko, Rasaki has proved that he has more than average survival competence. I salute him.

If the monied guys are a disappointment, the displaced "Marokites" are a disaster. Now that Rasaki is still sitting tight despite their having hyped the slum demolition to sky limit, shouldn't they have used some of the money they saved for litigation on a half hearted solidarity message? After all, deceit and sycophancy oftentimes bear fruits in today's Nigeria where truthfulness, just and upright conduct are thrown to the dogs. The

"Marokites" Message should have said sorry though they are to see Rasaki remain, they wish him a prosperous tenure and a prompt settlement of the Maroko affair. Long live the wisdom of slum demolition!!

In Kano state where governor Idris Garba has declared war on the notorious crime gang of "yandaba" or the "invulnerables" and secret societies, we read about thanksgiving parties hosted and prayers said for his retention. He certainly could do with all the prayers, he could get after demolishing the two houses owned by cult organisations in the city.

As for the new civilian and military recruits into the transient world of governance and limelight, when the congratulatory messages subside it is imperative that they survey their terrain with utmost caution that will enable them walk on the tightrope of their democratic yearnings and the dictatorial tendencies of a military administration. There is pleasure in being able to make things happen, which is what the power game is all about, but they will also discover that the sojourn at the top can also be depressing. It can get rather lonely at the peak of the pyramid more so when the truth of any situation may not always reach them. When it does, it would have undergone distortions and misrepresentations at the hands of overzealous, sycophantic aides and scores of influential "inside outsiders" who besiege the corridors of power. Yet, they are an indispensable part of governance and ability to manage them is the beginning of wisdom.

Those who are returning to the barracks must take heart. The first shock will be the realisation that the public they could rouse at will would now hardly recognise them when they pass by nor whimper at the mention of their names. They must swallow it and take heart. So is life.

Citizen

All you want in a newsmagazine:

- Actually two magazines in one, one devoted to politics, economics, the environment and science; the other to people, culture and social events
- The News Yes, but we shall also say our minds on all the major issues of the day.
- Inspired, solid, quality writing, that will move you as it is intended to.
- Two centres of operation, bubbling Lagos and secretive Kaduna.

On the streets every Monday

Published by CITIZEN COMMUNICATIONS LIMITED

**G 11 UNGWAN KANAWA
P.M.B. 2834, KADUNA
10A Acme Rd, off Isheri Road
Agidingbi, Lagos.**

Alhaji Muhammadu Arzika



Alhaji Muhammadu Arzika

Alhaji Muhammadu Arzika's serious looks and shrill voice gained national recognition fairly late in the day, in 1989 to be precise, when he emerged as the National chairman of the defunct People's solidarity Party (PSP). By all accounts, his leadership of the party was a success, for of 13 associations that applied to NEC for registration as political parties in 1989, the PSP came out on top in terms of overall rating. Alhaji Arzika therefore fully expected his party to be registered by NEC, and he publicly expressed his disappointment when the AFRC instead banned the PSP and registered 2 parties of its own creation.

Undaunted, Arzika and his PSP colleagues flocked into the SDP; as their leader, Arzika went on to seek the leadership of the SDP, into which elements of the PFN, the PLP and the NLP had also willy-nilly converged. In the shadow elections held in Kano in June to elect a National chairman for the SDP, Arzika soundly defeated his rival, Dr. Ango Abdullahi, the controversial former Vice Chancellor of the ABU. The PFN faction refused to accept defeat and put forward Ambassa-

dor Babagana Kingibe, but Arzika arrive at the SDP national convention in Abuja in June fully expecting to win. In the event, he was defeated by Kingibe with the proportions of a landslide. The defeat was remarkable, considering that Arzika had rated his chances as "almost 100 percent". Later, he ruefully observed, "There was a wide gap between my expectations and reality".

In the wake of the defeat, there were rumours that he has withdrawn from politics altogether. This he emphatically denies. "It is absolutely false and unfounded", he said.

But what was responsible for his stumming defeat? "I do not really know what happened", Arzika said, "you see, it takes many, many things to win an election, and it appears that Ambassador Babagana Kingibe has more of those things than I have. He was able at the last moment to pull a fast one, but it is all part of politics".

But what are those "things" required to win an election? Is a moneybag one of them? Arzika did not entirely rule this out. "As I said, there are many factors involved. If could be money; it

could be blackmail; it would be some subterranean influence. I know that in politics, someone can start a wild rumour which, overnight, can upturn an election. I know that something happened [at Abuja], and it happened overnight, but I do not quite know what it was".

As Arzika said, several factors may well have been involved. For one, there was his controversial interview with *Classique* magazine days before the SDP convention. In it, Arzika had tried to distance the SDP from the banned UPN, but it soon generated thunder from the UPN hot heads. The *Tribune*, mouthpiece of Awoism, warned Arzika to beware, but he stouck to his guns. "The interview was frank, candid and down-to-earth", he said. "The reporter tried to show there was a link between the SDP and the UPN, and I said that we in the North did not join the SDP because it was UPN. In fact, if anything we joined it because we did not see any link between it and the UPN. I added that, I, who was the leader of the PSP which was also said to be a reincarnation of the UPN, has in fact never met Chief

Awolowo in my life".

Moneybags and Awoists may have helped to defeat Arzika, but then, he could not even secure the solid backing of the 232 delegates from Sokoto State, his home state, to the SDP convention. The SDP chairman in Sokoto State, Alhaji Abubakar Koko, a close friend of retired Major General Shehu Yar'Adua and a director of Habib Bank, led a faction of the Sokoto delegates to support Kingibe. Arzika saw an "element of betrayal" in it all. Weeks before the SDP State convention in Sokoto, Arzika had arranged shadow elections in which Koko and others were returned unopposed as State executives. In return, they all pledged to him the bloc vote of Sokoto delegates in order to strengthen his claim to the party's national Chairmanship. "But as soon as the elections were over", Arzika said, "the State executive [of the SDP] turned against me. I was terribly disappointed to learn that the chairman was the one who signed Kingibe's nomination

assumed responsibility for the completion of the Bakalori Dam, which was dogged by controversy following the shootings by the police of peasant farmers who were protesting against failure to compensate them for their lands flooded by the dam. During Arzika's 3 1/2 year tenure at the SRRBDA, the Bakalori as well as the Zobe and Goronyo dams were completed. A Management Audit ordered by the Buhan-Idiagbon regime in 1984 confirmed these achievements, and Arzika seized the opportunity to retire from service in January 1985.

Why, come to think of it, has Arzika opted for left-wing politics, when he should be more comfortable in the NRC, which predominates the political scene in Sokoto? "In 1987, after reading the report of the Political Bureau and the government's position on two parties", said Arzika, "I reassessed my position and decided that my natural instincts drew me to the left-of-centre party." Has this decision not complicated his personal relation-

states by promising to support the zoning of the presidency to them?

"When I was being nominated to contest for SDP national chairman", said Arzika, "there were no conditions attached. I was nominated because they thought I successfully led the PSP. And when I was being nominated to lead the PSP there were no conditions either. I was nominated because I was considered fit to lead a party. In the case of the SDP, the chairmanship was zoned to our zone, the far North, and I was nominated by those who felt that I led the PSP well. A shadow election was conducted, which I won. Therefore, there was no question of my supporting a southwestern or any other candidate for president".

Given Arzika's personal experience in the SDP, he is well placed to assess its chances of winning the elections. In his home state of Sokoto, this is clearly an uphill task. Said Arzika, "Our situation [in Sokoto] has to be reassessed. Obviously at the present time there are problems, but there are always prob-



Maj.-Gen. Yar'Adua (rtd)

papers. In the end, I got the support of just over half of the Sokoto delegates".

Alhaji Muhammadu Arzika has been, still is being, badly underrated in national politics. This is not for lack of credentials, although he entered life the hard way. Born in Tambuwal, Sokoto State in a certain month ["probably April, the way my mother used to describe it"] in 1943, he attended primary and middle schools in Sokoto and entered Barewa College in 1962. In 1964, he entered the ABU Zaria and graduated in Public Administration in 1967, after which he entered the Federal Civil Service.

Arzika became the general manager of the Sokoto Rima River Basin Development Authority in 1981 and as-



Professor Angelo Abdullahi

ship with his father-in-law Alhaji Shehu Shagari, the former president and, in a way, the symbol of conservative politics in Nigeria today? "When he gave me his daughter in the first place", observed Arzika, "it was not because I was to the Right in politics. Our personal relations are not at all affected by my political choice." Arzika now lives with his 2 wives and 9 children, 4 of whom are girls, in a Spartan one-storey house at number 20, Teaching Hospital Road, in Sokoto.

Was this dynamic and principled man, son-in-law of Alhaji Shehu Shagari, ironically being used in politics by Shagari's mortal enemies of the defunct UPN? In particular, did Arzika secure the bloc vote of the western



Ambassador Babagana Kingibe

lems in politics. We will have to re-examine our strategy in order to gain more credibility among ourselves and in the eyes of the electorate." And the SDP's chances nationally? "It cannot be less than 50-50 at the very worst. We have greater geographical spread than the NRC, and we led them during the parties' registration in the majority of states. The SDP will also capture critical states such as Kano, Oyo and Imo. So, as you can see, only some inexplicable factors will prevent the SDP from capturing power nationally".

If that happens, Alhaji Muhammadu Arzika will not be very far away from the State House.

By Mahmud Jega

Have you checked your Tyres today?

..... Remember its suicidal to drive on worn out tyres, dont endanger your life and that of other road users.

Come and put life back into your tyres and you'll have a tyre not only as good as new but also long lasting.

Lemaco retreaded tyres are for real, they will take you places.



**Lemaco
Retreads Ltd**

Nigeria's leading tyre retreaders

Plot G, 7,
Kudenda Industrial Area,
Kaduna South,
P.M.B. 2208,
KADUNA — NIGERIA.
Tel: 082 - 213089
Telex: 71208 ELJAY NG



NIGERIAN AGRICULTURAL AND CO-OPERATIVE BANK LIMITED

MOVEMENT OF OFFICE

This is to inform the general public especially the clients of the Nigerian Agricultural And Co-operative Bank Limited (NACB) that the KADUNA BRANCH of the Bank has moved

FROM

NO. 40 DAWAKI ROAD, KADUNA

TO

NO. 13 DAWAKI ROAD, KADUNA

AT NACB, every farmer is important to us.

We are leaders in agricultural financing.

PREMIER COMM

EXPO

FINAN

SERV



At Premier Commercial Bank Limited,
package which removes the complex
Premier Commercial Bank, you can im
Nigerian agricultural produce and pac

If you have decided to join Nigeria's e
Commercial Bank Limited is ready to h
position is our pride.

PCB PREMIER C
Makes banking

MAIDUGURI:
77A, Sir Kashim Ibrahim Rd.
P.M.B. 1113
Maiduguri
Borno State.
Tel: 076 - 233320

LAGOS:
Industrial Bank Building
Plot 1637, Adetokunbo Ademola St.
P. O. Box 72891
Victoria Island, Lagos.
Tel: 612038, 618915
Telex: 22364 PCBL NG

Bl
Bl
Bl
Bo



NIGERIAN AGRICULTURAL AND CO-OPERATIVE BANK LIMITED

MOVEMENT OF OFFICE

This is to inform the general public especially the clients of the Nigerian Agricultural And Co-operative Bank Limited (NACB) that the KADUNA BRANCH of the Bank has moved

FROM

NO. 40 DAWAKI ROAD, KADUNA

TO

NO. 13 DAWAKI ROAD, KADUNA

AT NACB, every farmer is important to us.

We are leaders in agricultural financing.

PREMIER COMMERCIAL BANK

EXPORT FINANCING SERVICES



At Premier Commercial Bank Limited, we offer a comprehensive export services package which removes the complexity of export business transactions. With Premier Commercial Bank, you can improve your financial gain from exporting Nigerian agricultural produce and packaged goods.

If you have decided to join Nigeria's economic crusade to export more, Premier Commercial Bank Limited is ready to help you. After all improving your financial position is our pride.



PREMIER COMMERCIAL BANK LTD.
Makes banking work for you

MAIDUGURI:
77A, Sir Kashim Ibrahim Rd.
P.M.B. 1113
Maiduguri
Borno State.
Tel: 076 - 233320

LAGOS:
Industrial Bank Building
Plot 1637, Afrekunbo Ademola St.
P. O. Box 72891
Victoria Island, Lagos.
Tel: 612038, 618415
Telex: 22364 PCB LG

IBU:
Biu Branch
Biu Local Court
Biu
Borno State.

GAMBORA/NGALA:
Gambora/Ngala Branch
Ngala
Biu
Borno State.

KANO:
Bompai Rd.
Kano.

KADUNA:
Hospital Rd.
Kaduna.



HABIB NIGERIA BANK

**A growing, resourceful,
Customer-oriented Bank**

At Habib Nigeria Bank, we know how to treat the customer.
We offer up to date, state of the art, well researched
banking solutions.

Our services cover a wide range of regular Business
Advisory Services and Custom-tailored Banking Services.

And, as a growing bank, we are continuously seeking
out new ways to help you keep ahead of the times.

So, come to Habib

Habib Nigeria Bank Limited

The bank with a difference

HEAD OFFICE: NIMB Building, 18 Wagon Road, P.M.B. 1100 Kaduna. Tel. 2000000 Cable: HABIB BANK.

CENTRAL OFFICE: Main Building 2nd Floor, 1 Kingsway Road, PO Box 5248, Ikeja Lagos. Tel. 0015000 Cable: HABIB BANK. Telex: 231900 HNBZ D NG.

AREA OFFICE NORTH: 44B Pine Office Road, P.M.B. 3405, Kano.

AREA OFFICE SOUTH: 6 Allen Avenue, Ikeja Lagos. Tel. 0015000 Cable: HABIB BANK. Telex: 231900 HNBZ D NG.

BRANCHES: Abuja • Akure • Asaba • Badagry • Bauchi • Benin • Bida • Calabar • Enugu • Ibadan • Ilorin • Jos • Kano • Katsina • Kogi • Kuchuku • Kwarara • Lagos • Makurdi • Maiduguri • Minna • Onitsha • Port Harcourt • Sokoto • Yola • Zaria

Citizen

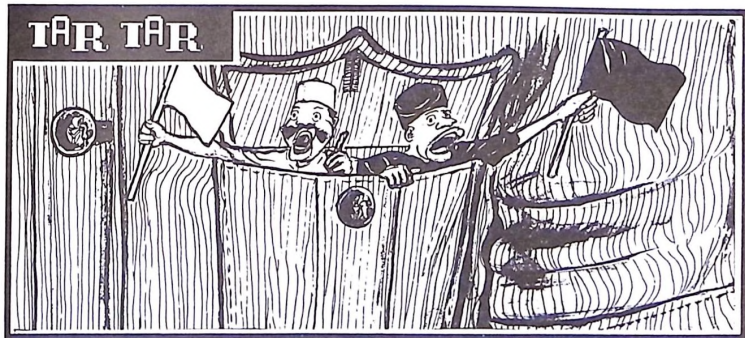
SOCIETY

	Page
<u>CITIZENSHIP</u>	40
<u>DEFINITIONS IN HUMOUR</u>	41
<u>PRIVATE EYE</u>	43
<u>GUIDE — LINE</u>	49
<u>PEOPLE</u>	50

KIDIVISION



Page 44



AH! THIS IS GOOD!... THIS IS GOOD!



...THIS IS THE BIRTH OF A NEW ERA... THE DAWN OF A NEW DAY!...



**GO ON AUGUSTUS, GO ON!...
...OUR DETRACTORS WILL BE TRAMPLED UPON, AS WE TREAD TOWARDS 1992**



...BECAUSE THIS SEASON IS FOR THE STRONG AND MIGHTY!



**...AND NOW... NOW IS THE TIME TO PROCLAIM OUR SINCERE AMBITION...
...AND...**



SHSH... TREAD QUIETLY AND DON'T FORGET THE POWER OF SURPRISE!

..... I AM TREADING QUIETLY, I AM NOT MAKING A BIT OF NOISE.... NOT WITH MY FEET!



Dokun Abioye 1988

ADAMU ADAMU S

DEFINITIONS
IN HUMOUR

Now that politics is coming back (or is it?), I think it is time to borrow some anonymous definitions that have for long adorned the wall of my office. They are very beautiful - I wish I wrote them. I am good at wishing; but I am sure this is a natural reaction for anyone who loves the beautifully written word.

As far as the definitions are concerned, I don't know how far they hold or fall apart in the light, or is it night, of *Perestroika* and *glasnost*. But we shall see.

Predictably, the definitions are very hard on Hitler, who's not? But I wish to distance myself from all that. I am one of those who are convinced that there has been more fiction than fact in the historiography of the Second World War; and, in particular on Hitler, the accounts are just an exaggerated nonsense. It probably requires more courage than the world has at the moment to admit the damage done to history by court historians whose tongue is sunk deep in the honey pot of Zionism. Indeed if Hitler is a villain it must be for reasons other than those atrocious lies of which he is accused.

And as the charade of the funeral of the cold war is played out, the policies of Gorbachev have been a reason for double-speak for some people who formerly wanted to believe that were scientific. I was told that some Marxists in Nigeria explained *perestroika* and *glasnost* as the passing away of the phase of dictatorships in the communist world. Holy vultures! just imagine the manner they would skin you alive if you had so much as suggested that there was dictatorship in the Utopia. Marxist credibility is defined by me as *cred-ability*, the ability to go back to the *cradle* and behave like a child.

world are they talking about?

Socialism - You have two cows - you give one to your neighbour.

Communism - You have two cows - the government takes them both and gives you the milk.

Fascism - You have two cows - the government takes both and sells you the milk.

Nazism - You have two cows - the government takes both and shoots you.

Capitalism - You have two cows - you sell one and buy a bull.

Trade Unionism - You have two cows - they take them from you, shoot one, milk the other and throw the milk away.

Moral - Don't have anything to do with cows. They only bring you trouble.

Glasnost - Sell your two cows - and buy *glass-snort* and imbibe coke or crack - the Americans.

Perestroika - Peres, Bush and Gorbachev is a *niex* troika. Peres - press them in Palestine; Bush - push them in Saudi Arabia; Gorbachev - grab them in Azerbaijan

DOWN TO EARTH

Now coming down to earth, or coming down to Nigeria from the height of ideological *ismism*, one can look at some of the inaction on the ground. Have you ever been to the port? Let me take you there. You may return a millionaire.

N.P.A. - Nigerian Pirates' Association

D.C.E. - Officially it is known as the Department of Customs and Excise. Popularly, people call it the Department of Auctions and Ex-tortions. Are you a people? If you are not, coin your own.

They used to say that Russia before Gorbachev is the best society in the world. And now they say Russian after Gorbachev is the best society in the world. So which

ECOMOG - ECOWAS *Morgue*, where soldiers go to die. If you believe in the right of countries to interfere in the internal affairs of others, cheer ECOMOG as the bodies pile up; and stop blaming only Americans. If you don't, mourn.

F.S.S. - *Fares Service Star*. And so what's the fuss about?

P.S.C. - *Purse - Securing College*; purse big, security guaranteed. What more can a man want? Or a woman?

A.D.C. - *Aide decamps*. So what? Who'll not? When it gets too hot, I sure will decamp and abandon general to face the fire power alone. For once.

GENERAL - Someone who is in front of his army during peace, but far behind the lines when hostilities begin.

BELOW THE CROWN

He who is down, they say, doesn't fear a fall. And he who is down to earth, I say, may have no fear of falling into his final abode, six feet further down. But until the time comes, he will at least take care. If he doesn't, in Nigeria, it may come soon enough. Some rules and observations may help. Remember to remember that in Nigeria rules are always the reverse of what they seem. And don't forget to forget how not to obey them.

General: Whatever can't go wrong, will. What should go right, won't.

Traffic: Insist on your safety, not on your right. You may have none.

School: Do what you will, you will still pass the exam. You can always buy the pass—in cash or in unkindness.

Hospitals: Rule No. 1: There are no hospitals in Nigeria. Rule No. 2:

There are only consulting clinics Rule No. 3: Consultants have gone to Saudi America. Rule No. 4: Death is a cure (What relief?)

Food: One American President was reported to have boasted: "We produce what we eat. And what we can't eat, we can", meaning of course that they put it in cans. If some Nigerians wishes to boast, here's what he will say: "We don't produce what we eat. And what we can't eat, we can - eat."

UBA

STATEMENTS SAVINGS SCHEME

-A wise and easy way to save

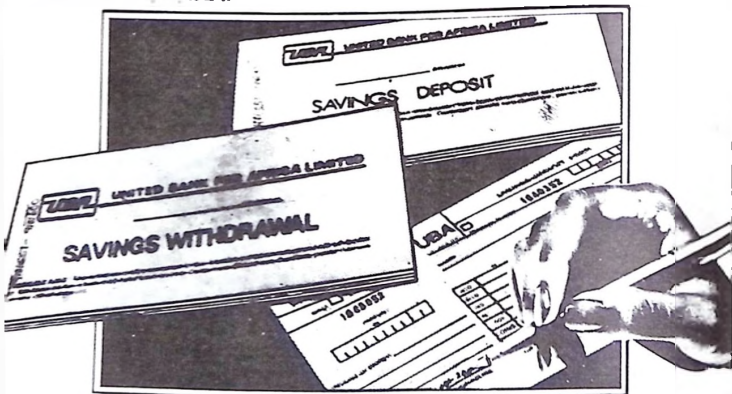
The UBA Statements Savings Scheme is now operated in all UBA branches with computerised Savings Department. Under the new scheme the account holder is issued personalised Deposit and Withdrawal booklets for regular transactions. This eliminates the need to ask for deposit or withdrawal slips at the counter.

On presentation of the Scheme's Identity Card and completion of the appropriate forms, an account holder will be paid at sight by the cashier an amount of up to N200.00, thereby eliminating delays associated with the Passbook system.

The UBA Statements Savings Scheme holder is sent a quarterly statement on the account at no extra cost. He or she can also verify his or her daily balances at the counter.

You will be wise to open a Statement Savings Account at any of our branches with computerised Savings system. It's fast and more efficient. Computerisation has made this possible.

It's a simple and easy way to save.



UBA - The wise choice in banking



UNITED BANK FOR AFRICA LIMITED

HEAD OFFICE, 91/125 Broad Street, P. O. Box 2406, Lagos, Nigeria. Tel: 667410, 667510

State: MINOGBAN, Yewa: MIDANA 21241, 21885, 21486, 21692 & 22897, UBACELE 21680

Branches throughout Nigeria.



When Metal Sacks paper.

To say I don't like money is injurious to my very, very private eye. You can guess what crisp naira notes can do to sharpen my vision. The "greenies" or "Muri" as they are popularly known work wonders for eye problems. How? well, with muri at your disposal you can make so many things happen, grease palms for instance and they will let even the most private of snoopier eyes look into inner recesses. When the hungry looking "wetin you carry" police man stops you, a few red Macauleys will do you part only to meet again at another road block.

Despite these miraculous powers of money I make bold to say that some naira notes are also injurious to my eye. No? O.K. what do you do with the smelly tattered Macauleys and 50 kobo notes that are in circulation? I can

swear that some of them are infected



with tetanus germs. In spite of my healthy aversion for naira I won't touch some of these wretched looking Macauleys with a ten metre long pole.

Well, maybe with a gloved hand I could tolerate them.

Now the smart guys at the Central Bank, bless their souls, have saved me the trouble of buying antiseptic sprays to sterilise infected naira notes. As from next January, they say all Macauleys and their 50 kobo kid brothers will be phased out and replaced by one naira and 50 kobo coins. When that happens these smaller denominations will also usher in the giant fifty naira note! My private mind tells its eye that the giant notes will remain sanitised since the masses who soil baby currency notes like Macauleys and 50 kobo may never have an opportunity to acquire too many giant notes. Giant Muri, you are jolly welcome.

Name of the game

The old name for the gratification news reporters receive from the host newsmaker was brown envelope, derived from the colour of the envelope which carried the money, which could be big or small depending on the weight of the protest of the giver and the status of the reporter. And brown it had stayed until very recently.

Every locality has its variant of the name of the game. If you are in Lagos, you're still likely to hear brown envelope, or kola. In Abuja, the nation's growing new capital, the esoteric was first, 'viability'. You would hear it often asked: how viable is the assignment?

Today, at least up to last August, the name that has gained currency is 'communique'. This we all know to be the final statement on a conference/seminar. It states who was present on the occasion, what was decided, etc. But this certainly is not what the newsmen mean. The word is only a figure of speech, a sign for the 'real thing' - a shared meaning between the newsmaker and the reporter. Occasionally, you hear, too of letters to the editor.

Ordinarily, these are comments editors receive from readers of their newspapers. But in 'newspeech' (courtesy of George Orwell) it is a tip from a newsmaker to a newsmen.

Eight years ago the name of the game was brown envelope. Now I hear something else — "This is my complimentary card". Everybody else sees the reporter and his host exchange card for 'card'. The reporter's invariably, will be a thin slab of business card but the other will be an open envelope. What is in it, of course, will be a shared meaning between the giver and receiver.

Journalists have earned a bad reputation, been kicked, sometimes physically, 'left, centre and right' for demanding gratification for what they are paid to do. Yes, they do request it sometimes. But most of the time it is given unsolicited. Take the case of the big government official who decides to give you his business card in an envelope! The small card is in there alright but there is 'something' besides. Should the reporter reject a complimentary card, which is, to all

intents and purposes, an invitation to become friends? Or should he destroy that goodwill by opening the envelope, if he suspects something other than an ordinary card, in the presence of his host and all else? Will he have proved any point by doing so? Let me hear from you, the reader.

Of late, the game has acquired some sophistication of its own. It is no longer money that is offered. No, not cash. It is not in kind, either. Not any more. I had known editors who received a fat wad of clothes from textile companies, cars from automobile plants, chickens from poultry farms and even grains. All these have been found to be ephemeral pleasures.

These days, the talk is about landing a big fish in industry. Yes, become corporate affairs managers of big money-spinning commercial banks. The qualification? The same as for getting the brown envelope in the past. Just a little service to a top shot in the bank of your choice and some small sweet whispering in the ear. You now know the power of the pen and the name of the game.

Kidivision 101: Children's own television

The concept was novel. Since children form a significant and unique segment of television viewers, many programmes are produced exclusively for their taste, but there is one in which children themselves are the major actors. Besides, its presentation is brilliant and often approaches the ingenious, as is attested to by *Kidivision*'s successes in national competitions. It is, so to speak, a programme by children and for children.

Back in the early 1970's, the old Radio-Television Kaduna (RTK) produced a popular programme, *Oho-television*, whose idea was adapted and refined in *Kidivision 101*. The producer of *Oho-television*, Malam Bello Abubakar, and its director, Malam Ibrahim Abba Gana, are now the general manager and programmes manager, respectively, of NTA, Sokoto. During the NTA's national film festival (Telefest) of 1987, they created *Kidivision 101* as their station's entry in the children's programmes category. The entry subsequently won the competition both in its category and as the all-round best entry, and went on to become a regular NTA Network programme.

The idea of *Kidivision 101* is designed to permit children to attempt, on camera, things that adults do. The children actors, however, are held to be of above-average child standards and, in the programme, they call the attention of other children to things such as morality and obedience to parents. This is not presented too hard, but in a light and entertaining fashion. Each episode of *Kidivision 101* contains a news segment, jingles, a guest forum, a short drama presentation. All the segments in one episode are related to a theme, such as, 'kiddies and journalism.'

As of August 1990, a total 60 episodes of the programme have been produced. The seven latest episodes are yet to be aired by the NTA, probably because of sponsorship difficulties. Another six episodes are expected to be produced before the end of the



One of *Kidivision*'s star newscasters.

NTA's third quarter, (that is September 30). although *Kidivision 101* is a sponsored Network programme, both NTA headquarters and NTA Sokoto, as well as the sponsors, chip in with contributions. The six production staff, comprising the producer/director, assistant producer, production assistant, cameraman, driver and one "hand", are all full-time staff of NTA Sokoto who are more or less permanently leased to *Kidivision 101*. NTA headquarters provides the videotapes and the editing facilities as well as the "physical cash" after due arrangements with sponsors. The Peugeot 504 station-wagon used for the production as well as the equipment and fuel, belong to the local NTA.

Dr. Victor Ezeokoli, the NTA's director of programmes, is the executive producer of *Kidivision 101*, while Mr. Peter Igbo is the supervising producer. In Sokoto, the general manager and the manager of programmes supervise production. The award-winning script for the original *Kidivision 101*, as well as the first 13 episodes of its network adaption, were written by Malam Ibrahim Abba Gana. Since then, several persons partake in writing the scripts, the two leading ones being Mainasara Iilo of NTA Network

Sports and Frank Williams, the acting Manager of News and Current Affairs of NTA Sokoto. Central to the technical production, however, is Mohammed Idris Koko, variously known as "Danzariya" and "DZ", the producer and director.

Mohammed Idris Koko, 30 years old and single, has been trained at the Central Academy of Film Arts in London and the University of Beverly Hills at Los Angeles, USA. He joined the NTA in 1978 and has since acquired his colleague's appreciation as a "Top Notch Producer" (TNP) and director (TND). A confirmed workaholic, he reluctantly concedes the difficulties of producing *Kidivision 101*. First, there are the child-artists. "We acquire the artistes from schools around Sokoto only, due to the pressure of time. We try however to reflect the diversity of the communities in Nigeria, although we will not sacrifice quality for this." There are other problems. "Since the children are not professional actors and actresses, we have to teach them their lines as well as everything else. We shoot the programme daily, but must wait for the children to return from school. We must also avoid having the children being scorched by the sun, and we

must get them home in good time, or else their parents will deny us their use."

The films are shot in Sokoto and edited at the NTA Post-production Centre in Kaduna. Some animation artwork is done in Jos, and the films must be rushed to Lagos in time to be aired, often only hours before they go on air.

"The work is very demanding," says Koko. "Most of the time, one thinks of nothing else but the programme, especially identifying locations and artists. I have used the bedrooms of more than

30 people since 1987. It is a major challenge, having to produce a Network programme, for it must address the taste of viewers all over the country." Danzariya must have done this quite well, for the films he directed that won national honours include *Kidivision 101; Lost and Found*, winner of the children's programmes category in the 1989 Telefest; and the variety show *Abba Gee Show*, also winner in its category in the 1989 Telefest.

Koko's biggest regret is that sponsors do not readily patronise children's programmes. Cadbury (Nigeria)

Limited sponsored *Kidivision 101* for a year, but as of now there is no sponsor. In fact, *Kidivision* was probably the first of its kind to find Network sponsorship. "In Europe and the US", Koko said, "Foundations sponsor children's programmes such as *Muppet Show* and *Sesame Street*. Here, we have a problem because children's programmes do not supply the kind of sensation promoted by junk magazines. Also, the purchasing power of our children is weak, and that scares off sponsors." So, what is Danzariya's life ambition? "To produce a feature film."

Amana: The Express Way Motel

Hospitality is said to have found a fertile ground on which it is growing and bearing fruits in Kaduna. One of the fruits you can't miss as you drive along the N4 Express Road, which *Citizen* had a taste of, is Amana Motel, situated at Express Road, Tudun Wada. The Motel offers you accommodation, catering, and recreation as written boldly on the billboard right in front of the Motel.

After one or two visits and attempts to get an insight into the outfit, *Citizen* was able to get to the Director/Proprietor of the motel Mr. S.O. Jemefade. The motel was established in 1982 by Mr. Jemefade who was an accountant with the First Bank, which he left in 1974 to become the image maker of a construction company till 1976. He then established Tech-Tools in 1976 and diversified into hotel and catering business in 1982. Opened sometime in 1982, the motel, according to the proprietor, has 18 room accommodation with single, double, and VIP services with rates varying from N69 - N200 per night, all fully furnished and equipped to standard.

The Motel offers not only catering services and accommodation but also a variety of delicious African and Continental dishes specializing in Nigerian dishes. In addition, other facilities like the garden and basement bar are available, where you can relax in the evening, take in the beautiful

scenery or have a quick lunch break with cold drinks and snacks like meatpie, kebab, moi-moi also at an affordable price of N2 - N5.

If you are given to music or video clips, the basement bar is just where you should be. This hospitality extends into the night at Amana, with promises of socialising, interacting with friends and drinks combined with sensuous music into the wee hours of the morning, all at the Ultimate Club an extension situated behind the motel. Mr. Jemefade is convinced that Amana has clinched the two best DJs in Kaduna in the persons of Messrs White and Isaac Blue, a combination he says is unbeatable.

After that dialogue with the proprietor the *Citizen* went back to have a taste of those irresistible offers. It was a sight to behold! Though on the outside, the motel looks quite inviting with its mixture of traditional and modern architecture, the inside interior decoration appeared overdue for retouching.

The first port of call was the basement bar. Being an underground building one would have expected that due consideration would be given to the lightening system. The interior decoration would have benefited from some lighter, colours and shades. Brighter furnishings have been known to work wonders for drab settings. The dark fixtures of the bar blend with

the darkness of the basement.

An extended tour to the restaurant and garden bar unveiled less exciting sights. The restaurant too could do with some ventilation and renovation to replace the chandeliers hanging at odd angles.

A glance through the menu however revealed a rich selection of continental dishes, from the likes of Salad with egg, fluffy white rice, jollof or fried rice mixed with beef stew. Amana chips with omelette, dove sole (Amana dressed) and the chicken in Amana (Special) which goes for N50. All dishes range from N12 - N50 for the special. Of course the nationwide popularity of Pounded Yam and Eba gave them pride of place. Both are served with Egusi or okro soup.

On a last note, the management should ensure that the staff always wear the designated black trouser, tie and white shirt so as to avoid embarrassing a guest with the usual "do you work here?"

Something that does not go unnoticed was the courteous and prompt service of most of the staff. For that reason one could give the management a pat on the back because public relations is one major ethic and practice that every hospitality venture should acquire.

By Ogola Onazi



Natural Gas...

An energy breakthrough to a healthier economy for our nation

For too long now, Nigeria has depended on one source of energy...oil. It's inability to meet the energy requirement of the future due to our growing population and industrial development is past debating. The energy source of the future has been identified - NATURAL GAS. As a deliberate National policy, we are building our country on the fuel of the future - NATURAL GAS. We are laying pipelines all over the country to bring Natural gas to our industries so as to produce products within a cleaner and healthier environment. Soon, we will be expanding our pipelines systems to your homes, for a more comfortable life. Natural gas is the fuel to build the country on. Natural gas, the fuel of the future.

For more enquiries contact:

NIGERIAN GAS COMPANY LIMITED

ODIN ROAD, EKIPAN - P.M.U. 1288, WAHRI.

NATURAL GAS - The fuel of the future



LAUNCHING OF CITIZEN

Acknowledgement

The Board of Directors of Citizen Communications Limited wishes to thank all those who in one way or the other contributed in making the launching of the second edition of its magazine *Citizen* on August 31, in Lagos a successful one.

In particular we would like to thank the following:

1. Alhaji (Dr.) Babatunde Jose, OFR, who chaired the occasion on behalf of Sir Mobolaji Bank-Anthony who was indisposed during the week.
2. Bashorun M. K. O Abiola, Chairman, Concord Press, who was the chief launcher.
3. Alhaji Lateef Jakande, Chairman, John West Group, who was the Guest Speaker.
4. All those who personally bought copies for more than the cover price or committed their organisations to one year's subscription or more.
5. Last but by no means the least, the many important dignitaries who spared time inspite of their busy schedule to attend the launching.

We cannot thank you enough, except to say we felt greatly honoured that you could accept our invitation.

Board of Directors

In spite of the fact that the WAI programme has not been on air since late 1984 when it was replaced by Uncle WAI, Enebeli Elebuwa still gets the star treatment. An overzealous policeman ignoring his pleas in the heat of the just concluded general checking exercise got the shock of his life when

him. So how does it feel being a Star? one asks. He is all smiles as he reclines on his seat. "I feel really loved by Nigerians. People from all walks of life go out of their way to be nice to me". You must be a millionaire then? one asks further. "Oh, no. Not at all. In fact I was not paid a kobo to play Andrew.

It was a kind of social service. But the goodwill I get from Nigerians comraterh sadly."

So why is his face a rarity on the screen since Andrew? one d e m a n d s . "People keep asking me that. I

petition, she automatically qualified for the National Competition which was held in Lagos in July. The winning dish that tilted the scales in her favour was a traditional food, Alkubua, served with Mint (Na'na'a) soup and eggs. It was a "stomach care remedy" that left the judges at the competition licking their fingers.

On the choice of the dish, Magajija, a lover of traditional food, believes that "Culture is so all encompassing that no aspect of life is devoid of its pervasive influence. Even the food we eat should reflect our culture", and she gave the "30 million viewers" of NTA fame who watched her prepare the dish on the Maggi sponsored network television programme the secret of Alkubua preparation. Although she did not win at the national competition



Enebeli Elebuwa (Andrew)

he took him straight to his boss. "Wetin dey do you?" the officer queried. "You no know Andrew?" A beg leave am jare." The policeman was flustered. "Sorry O. I no know say na you be Andrew."

All smiles, Elebuwa obliged him. Far away in Abeokuta, a middle aged man on recognising him could not hide his elation. "You are Andrew," he shouted. "Men, I'm going to tell my wife, I met you today." Warmly, Elebuwa shook hands with him. At another place in Surulere, the accountant on setting eyes on him shot out. "Ah, how are you? We met at the Hill Station Hotel, Jos. Remember?" He did not remember. In fact, he had not been in Jos for about two years now. But he never wanted to spoil the man's fun. "Oh, yes, I remember," he shot back, making the outstretched hand . . .

Such is the life of Enebeli Elebuwa as Andrew. At bus stops, in go downs, in stores and markets, people "I over themselves when they see

ama producer, you see, not an actor. It's just that I love acting. And by the way, as employee of NTA and we have been recently banned from appearing on the screen as actors." he concludes resignedly.

"The way to man's heart," according to that immortal adage "is through his stomach." The very good cooks among women today find their ways not only into the hearts of their families but into that of all lovers of good food who benefit from their skills.

Hajiya Magajija Muhammadu Hassan, 25, is a cook to be reckoned with. As a proof of her mastery of the art, she emerged the second place winner in the zonal Maggi Cooking Competition last year. Having won the zonal com-



Hajiya Magajija Muhammadu Hassan

last year, Magajija received a consolation prize which if anything has braced her up for more kitchen action and more finger licking cooking.

Watch out for Magajija at the next national competition since she has completed her plans to contest again this year. She has polished her use of culinary in preparation of traditional dishes, brushed up her recipes for versatility and washed her wander pots. Magajija is just on her mark, getting ready to go! and it should be a goal!

More people trust

Bank of the North



Overdraft:



Project Finance



Personal Loans



Loan Syndication



Agricultural Facilities



Housing/Vehicle Loan Scheme

.....And now you know why.

Bank of the North Limited having evolved through the years as outstanding specialist in local and international banking services, insists you know where your financial transactions would be well favoured. (When doing business in Nigeria or contemplating doing so). Whether in the sphere of business, commerce or industry, channel it through Bank of the North where the major pre-occupation is



to make your business successful. Our close connection with major banks in all parts of the world as well as our strategically located branches all over the country ideally place us to handle quickly and efficiently all your banking transactions. More than a commitment in the regard, it is our responsibility to our customers

Bank of the North Limited

HEAD OFFICE AHMADU BELLO HOUSE 2 ZARIA ROAD P.O. BOX 211 KANO NIGERIA
TEL 064 800250 TELEX 77233 NG

1st Class COLOUR SEPARATION NOW AT YOUR DOORSTEP



For years, the belief was that the best colour separation could only be done abroad.

Now ASTS, a subsidiary of the Nigerian Security Printing and Minting Company has proved that first class colour separation can be done here in Nigeria in 24 hours.



ASTS Colour Separation can match and even surpass whatever you get anywhere. ASTS will provide First Class Positives and Cromalin proofs from Colour Transparencies and direct Colour Photographs to give printers the sharpest colour prints.

For your first class separation and 24 hour - express service call 610981, 613333, 612864.

ADVANCED SECURITY & TECHNOLOGY SERVICES LTD.

(A subsidiary of Nigerian Security Printing & Minting Company Limited.)

Plot 1215, Iyemba Gborunmba Close, Off Amodu Ojikutu Street, Victoria Island, Lagos.

ASTS — for Colours Brought Alive!

