

Arewa House fall out



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# Citizen

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O.A.U.:

# Can Babangida make a difference?



# Citizen

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## PREFACE

**T**he 27th session of OAU heads of government holds a lot of promise. The council of ministers has recorded an unprecedented turn out. The fog of uncertainty, insecurity and violent changes hovering on the continent make candid and in-depth discussion of these issues an urgent priority.

Eleven trouble spots are sizzling with wars, others are rocking from violent demonstrations to pressurise autocratic one party states into the newfound attraction of multi party system. Since the last summit in Addis Ababa in 1990, eight African leaders have fallen. Something must be done, and soonest too.

As President Ibrahim Babangida hosts this summit in Abuja and prepares to take up leadership of the OAU, political observers are wondering whether he can breathe his astute management of political affairs into the overburdened and cash strapped OAU. If the OAU has performed below expectations because it represents an imperfect continent, can Babangida reverse the tide of imperfection into that of stability, sustainable growth and security?

Our team of Bolaji Adebisi, Akinyele Aluko, Tola Sunday, Samson Ojo, Delia Nzekwu, Rabiu Barde and Mahmud Jega analysed the growth of the OAU and talked to international relations scholars. The cover story anchored by Mahmud Jega is a master piece.

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If the millions that were raked in at the launching of the Arewa House appeal fund have kept tongues wagging, the sacking of the director of the centre opens another controversy. Mohammed Haruna keeps you posted.

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## LETTERS

## Wooing the bride

Sir,

Just like her first and second marriages, the third is also doomed to fail with whoever she might decide to marry. (*Citizen*, May 13, Vol. 2, No20) This is because as is typical of society, her parents will not be honest, bold and courageous enough to choose the best of the suitors for her. Already there is enough evidence to suggest that their individual self-interest will be the determining factor in their choice. But fortunately this time around she has enough warning and enough time to take precaution to ensure the success of her third marriage. Good luck is all we can wish her.

Abdulahman Ibrahim  
Kano

Sir,

Isaac Shaahu's assertion on late Chief Awolowo's concern for the creation of the midwestern region is either a deliberate or an erroneous historical tendention. The correct version is that while Awolowo supported the balkanization of the northern and eastern regions he remained reticent about the agitation for the carving out of the mid-west region from the old western region.

Putting the facts straight, the Midwest (Bendel State) became a reality as a result of the "conspiracy" of the Northern NPC and the Eastern NCNC to counter Awolowo Action Group's political calculations or machinations.

Egbuna Amuta  
Enugu.

## Way out of religious crises

Sir

The federal government and the tribunal set up under the chairmanship of Justice Rabiu Danlami Mohammed to try culprits of the recent religious crisis should do everything possible to trace the root cause of the recent conflict and punish

both the originators and perpetrators of the crisis.

Towards this the first person to be prosecuted by the tribunal should be the writer of that offending article that triggered off the crisis. This person should be prosecuted alongside those who took the law into their hands and embarked on wanton destruction of lives and property.

Again, those newspapers and magazines which enjoy publishing sensational stories and down right falsehood in order to whip-up sectional or religious sentiments out of ignorance or selfishness should know that their responsibility is not only to themselves or their proprietors but also to their readers and the whole people of this country. No amount of incitement can cause permanent dismembering of this country rather it will only fling us into continuous bloodshed which of course will not be in our own interest. "A stitch in time saves nine".

Malami A. Maiyama  
Calabar.

You amplified the call by the SCIA and the CAN Chairman in Bauchi State for the establishment of judicial commission of Inquiry. However, I feel that a judicial commission of inquiry will be a fruitless effort as the government has concluded and blamed the Muslims (despite the fact that they were the ones massacred) for the carnage. This could be drawn from the scurrilous speech of the minister of Information, at the Catholic Mission, on behalf of the federal government. The Christian leaders and the southern-cum-christian press had earlier blamed the Muslims for the killings. From the above, I feel findings of any committee have been pre-empted.

The other side of the coin is where the crises is viewed as communal. The indisputable fact is that Muslims (be it Hausa or Fulani) were massacred and their property

destroyed in Tafawa Balewa. Also, if it is political let the chairman and secretary (both Christians) of Tafawa Balewa Local Government dispute what the Garkuwa said. The Chairman of Tafawa Balewa Local Government, has a lot of explanation to make on the crises in Tafawa Balewa for assuring the governor that there was no security problem in his area on 21st April 1991 and for the killings to take place on 22nd April, 1991.

I feel no Muslim should give any evidence or even appear before the commission set-up because it will be an exercise in futility.

A.I. Isawa  
Kano

## Create more states

Sir,

What the nation expects from the present administration is the creation of those states strongly recommended along with Katsina and Akwa-Ibom but were unlucky to see the light of the day when the last exercise was carried out. Areas ought to have been affected, if one may recall, would have been Kogi to be carved out from the present Kwara and Benue States with part of Nassarawa Area of Plateau State which lies very close to the confluence town of Lokoja.

Also to be created should be Wawa State from the present Anambra while the third should be carved from Bendel State.

Since the government has again raised the hope of Nigerians toward this direction, it should ensure that it accomplishes this task before handling over power to civilian administration in 1992. The exercise will not in any way affect the transition programme rather it will serve as a booster and earn this administration all the praises it deserves from the people of this great nation.

Alhaji Adamu Mahmoud Idris  
Kaduna.

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# OAU Summit

**T**his week, the 27th Assembly of Heads of Government of the OAU will hold in Abuja, Nigeria. We join other Nigerians in welcoming our brothers and sisters from all over the continent to this august conference. The assembled leaders may not need any reminder regarding the dire straits our continent has found itself in. Individually and collectively, our countries are up to their necks in foreign debt; our economies are in severe recession, and the living standards of our people are plummeting by the day. Our relationship and standing with the rest of the world is daily deteriorating to our disadvantage.

African leaders therefore understand why many of their subjects are openly sarcastic about this and other summit meetings. Costly as they are, the decisions that emanate from them have not appeared to have the desired effect of reversing our continent's declining fortunes. Many African leaders are actually seen in their own countries to personify the problems, rather than embody the solutions. This is all very sad and

unfortunate.

However, it is never too late to reverse this ugly situation. We therefore join other Africans in demanding that our leaders assembled at Abuja should produce and implement decisions that will speedily arrest the worst of our problems and restore our continent to the path of honour, glory and prosperity that has eluded us for so long. We urge all African leaders to regard the current demands for democratisation all over the continent as a progressive and inevitable epoch in our history. Those of our leaders who have not yet conceded to these popular demands should urgently do so. Those leaders who still have secessionist and other sectarian conflicts on their hands should urgently seek democratic accommodation. Those leaders whose troops still violate the sovereignty of other African states should immediately withdraw them. And those of our brothers in South Africa who have engaged in internecine conflict should promptly terminate it.

No sacrifice is too great for Mother Africa.

## Quite untidy

**T**wo weeks after the successful launching of the Arewa House Appeal Fund, there is still no clear word about the fate of the former director of Arewa House, Dr. Bashir Ikara. What is known for certain is that he has been removed. The news came exactly a week after the launching.

What exactly led to it, what type of removal, under what circumstances and to which place he has been posted remain unclear. All those who should know are keeping sealed lips.

It is all rather very unfortunate that a story that began so well and so happily should have such a sad and sour ending.

The little we know about this rather dark affair is that the former director is not the best

of subordinates to higher authorities. He has had difficulties with his superiors; and, especially in connection with the arrangements for the launching, he has been known to have shown utter contempt for, and was outrightly dismissive of, recognised protocol procedures.

In his relations with colleagues and his own subordinates, the consensus seems to have been that the director was not the most humble co-worker.

According to unconfirmed newspaper reports, he has also been accused of disorganising the Arewa House with bad policy implementation and a thoroughly non-challant attitude to the governments of the northern states that own it. He has

refused to take corrections despite warnings, presumably by the owner governments.

We think all this is neither here nor there. The punishment given to him is too harsh and excessive. He certainly deserves better than that.

Arewa House, though the former director has argued for its autonomy, is still a part of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. Was the Director removed by the ABU, by Kaduna State government or on the orders of the owner states? There is much that is untidy in this affair and keeping sealed lips is not the most proper attitude to it.

If all along Dr Bashir Ikara had only been tolerated, the government, without doubt, had chosen the most inopportune time to get at him. In any case he couldn't be as bad as he

is now being painted.

The whole idea of launching the Arewa House Appeal Fund was his brainchild. He doggedly worked at it, and saw it through, no doubt, with the indispensable assistance of the organising committee, to a glorious conclusion. This certainly doesn't look like bad policy implementation or a disorganisation of Arewa House. Perhaps in his zeal, he overstepped a limit or two. The best thing would have been to resolve whatever differences there are and allow him finish the good work and give way honourably. It is indeed a pity that things didn't go this way.

Now they must go the next best. And that is, he should be posted more properly to some place where the nation can benefit from his boundless energy.

## NLC and politics

The on-going dispute between NEC and the NLC regarding organised labour's support for one of the two political parties deserves comment. Two weeks ago, NEC's spokesman, Tony Iredia, issued a statement warning the NLC to desist from its declared intention to support the SDP, since this action stands in violation of decree 27 of 1989. This decree bans the inclusion of "quasi-organisations" in a political party and prevents them from canvassing for or sponsoring any candidate for election. The NLC has since rejected NEC's warning. While restating its decision to support the SDP, the NLC maintains that it is not affiliated to it and therefore does not violate decree 27. In any case, labour argues that its position is in the best interest of democracy and the country.

We dare say that whatever be the true legal position of this matter, labour has a very important point. As far back as 1988, the NLC's triennial delegates conference at Calabar decided that labour has genuine interests in politics and would sponsor a political party of its own. This led to the formation of the Nigeria Labour Party, one of the thirteen unregistered associations, in 1989. After the formation of the two parties later that year, the NLC's

political action committee, sponsors of the Labour Party, decided to pitch camps with the SDP, a decision subsequently endorsed by the Central Working Committee of the NLC.

NLC's stand on this issue fully accords with the practice in other civilised and democratic societies. While maintaining the integrity of trade unions for the protection of workers' immediate interests, there is only a thin dividing line between trade unionism and politics. Issues of the greatest concern to workers, such as full employment, minimum wage, worker insurance, health, education and housing are best resolved in the political arena rather than through bargaining with employers. Labour's case is not an isolated one. Associations such as MAN, NACCIMA and the Farmers' Council also have interests in politics, but do not have to make a similar fuss since their sympathizers already dominate both parties.

Workers' only strength is their unions. In Britain, the Trades Union Congress finances the Labour Party and nominates delegates to party conferences. In the USA, political action committees of the America Federation of Labour - Congress of Industrial Organisations (AFL-CIO), United Auto

Workers and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters are all active in democratic politics. This does not in any way deny any worker the right to vote for a party of his

choice.

This is what we ought to have. If decree 27 of 1989 stands in the way, we urge the federal government to review it.

## Yugoslavia: Re-caging the ethnic monster

**T**his tenuous collection of Balkan statelets is 'falling apart', and every Yugoslav knows why the ethnic monster is astrir again in Slovenia and Croatia, the country's two northerly republics. They believe that Yugoslavia exists but only in name and therefore are demanding a new arrangement that will give the six republics a semi-sovereign status. In other words, they want a looser confederation of self-ruled states.

To understand the country's politics today, one needs to go further back to the time of its creation. First, it was meant as a "reward" for the free kingdom of Serbia, which fought on the side of the Allies in World War I. Before 1929, the new state was called the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. An awkward name, but one which correctly captured the tenuity of the nation.

Yugoslavia therefore is like a child born out of war, which has been unable to forget the difficult circumstance of its birth. Ethnic strife has stalked it all these over 70 years of its existence. The first explosion occurred in 1939, with the assassination of King Alexander by Croatian extremists.

Between 1945, when Marshal Josef Broz Tito, hero of the Yugoslav resistance against Nazi occupation, was elected president and 1980, when he died, this ethnic tension subsided, in a large measure, due to his personal leadership style. Though a communist, he refrained from applying the repressive measures that other communist regimes used against their populations. The country prospered under him.

Before his death, Tito instituted an eight-man rotating presidency to govern the country. The republics provide the chairman, one at a time, every year. By it Tito, no doubt, meant to be able to diffuse the ethnic rivalry.

But today, rather than do that, the arrangement is contributing to worsen an already terrible situation.

On May 15 this year, Serbia, the largest of the republics, stopped Stipe Mesic, the Croatian representative from assuming the chairmanship of the presidency. This only helped to swell the vote for a sovereign Croatia in the May 19 referendum. Slovenia had taken a similar decision last December, following up in February this year with a decision that laws of the republic should take precedence over federal laws.

Yugoslavia is tottering on the brinks of a break-up. Since May 15 there has been no president and no army chief. The Serb-dominated army on May 6 issued an ultimatum to the politicians to declare martial law in Croatia or allow it deal with the problem there in its own way. That would have been a foolish thing to do, for it would have been the country's death-knell. It is a good thing that the ultimatum was not carried through.

The state security coordinating group, which the politicians set up on May 17 to "govern the country temporarily" during political crises of the kind witnessed earlier in the month can hold back the "fatal moment" only for a while. The ongoing dialogue should be kept up. But the ultimate thing is for the leadership to recognise that a federal Yugoslavia has become a myth and should be banished into the pages of history.

If a loose confederation of semi-autonomous states is what most of the republics want, let them have it. The result will be a weakened Yugoslavia but the country would still appear with that name on the world map. The alternative will be no country called by that name any more.

# Hotline

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- Here revealed for the first time: Nigeria is home to over one million Arabs. Read the Plight of One million Nigerian Arabs, in our Cover Story.
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- Alhaji Asheikh Jarma, once Borno state Governor for ninety days has broken a vow of silence. He comes on Hotline Summit exhibiting not decay of eight years of inactivity but force and fire. He says "Major General Muhammadu Buhari's coup is the greatest blunder".
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## OAU Summit

# A time for change?

President Babangida takes over as OAU chairman this week, but can he save Africa?



*Babangida: what will he teach Africa*



*Salim: charisma paying dividend*

Official sources in Abuja told *Citizen* last week that up to 35 leaders were expected to attend, which was remarkable considering the precarious political situation in many African countries.

This year has already gone down as one of the most turbulent in Africa's recent political history. Since the last OAU summit meeting in Addis Ababa in June, 1990, eight African leaders have fallen from power. The most recent was Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam of Ethiopia, who fled the country two weeks ago when rebels of the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front closed in on the capital. President Samuel Doe of Liberia was captured and killed by rebels last August. In November last year, President Hissene Habre of Chad also fled from N'djamena when rebel forces led by General Idris Deby closed in. Somalia's long-time leader Siad Barre fled Mogadishu in January when rebels of the United Somali Congress closed in on his hideout near the city's airport. Two other leaders, President Moussa Traore of Mali and Major-General Justin Lekhanya of Lesotho, were overthrown in military coups. Two more leaders, Presidents Mathieu Kerekou of Benin and Aristides Pereira of Cape Verde, were defeated in multi-party elections

**A**frican leaders are assembled in Abuja this week for the 27th ordinary session of the OAU heads of government summit meeting. This is the first time in ten years, and the second time since the formation of the OAU in 1963, that a summit meeting is being held in Nigeria. The first such meeting in Nigeria was the emergency economic summit in 1981, where the famous Lagos Plan of Action for the continent's economic recovery was

adopted.

Dr. Ibrahim Daggash, director of Information at the OAU secretariat, told reporters in Abuja last week that attendance at this round of meetings is already a record. By last Wednesday, all 51 member-states of the OAU had sent delegations to the 54th session of the council of ministers, which ended in Abuja last Friday. That assures that all member states will attend this week's summit meeting. Just how many heads of government will attend however remains to be seen.

and had to relinquish power.

Many of the surviving African leaders are in dire political traits. In Cameroun, for instance, President

the peace talks in London. There were already indications that the OAU secretariat may not immediately return to Addis

## The bloody civil war in Liberia has also not ended. Although President Samuel Doe died in the hands of his opponents eight months ago, the country's warring political factions are yet to come to terms.

Paul Biya is facing the greatest challenge to his nine-year rule from the Camerounian Union for Democracy, a coalition of twenty-two vocal groups demanding his resignation and the introduction of multi-party democracy. In Togo, the authoritarian rule of President Gnassingbe Eyadema was also challenged in the streets by pro-democracy protesters. Even in normally tranquil Algeria, the opposition Islamic Salvation Movement recently held nationwide protests against the redrawing of election districts and also called for the holding of a presidential election. In the past year, multi-party supporters were also active in Gabon, Zaire, Cote D'Ivoire, Congo, Kenya, Zambia and Niger. In most cases, with the notable exception of Kenya, the regimes were forced to concede the protesters' wishes.

Yet another group of African leaders may feel too insecure to come to Abuja. At the start of the council of ministers' meeting last week, OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim identified eleven "troubleshooting" on the continent (including Palestine, obviously the biggest source of worry for North Africans). Among the most unsettling of the conflicts was the one in Ethiopia, where rebels overran the capital city last week. In Abuja last week, Dr. Ibrahim Daggash said OAU foreign ministers had urged the Ethiopian factions to settle their differences at

Abuja; Vice President Augustus Aikhomu has said Nigeria will permit the secretariat to stay on temporarily, if it so desires.

Conflict also persists in Sudan, where the rebel Sudanese Peoples Liberation Front, led by Colonel John Garang, has been waging a war against the government in Khartoum.

The situation in Sudan was



The Conference Centre: everyone is here

complicated early this year when the country's leader, General Omar Hassan Ahmed Al-Bashir, reintroduced the *Shariah*, although non-Muslim southern Sudanese are exempt from its personal aspects. Nor is the situation any calmer in Mozambique, where the rebel movement RENAMO has continued its brutal war against the FRELIMO regime led by President

Joachim Chissano. In Angola, too, despite considerable progress at Portuguese-brokered peace talks, the rebel UNITA movement continues to launch sporadic attacks at the MPLA regime in the northeast and south-east of the country.

The bloody civil war in Liberia has also not ended. Although President Samuel Doe died in the hands of his opponents eight months ago, the country's warring political factions are yet to come to terms. At issue, mostly, is the refusal by Charles Taylor, leader of the National Patriotic Front, to recognise Dr. Amos Sawyer, head of the interim administration installed by ECOMOG. Skirmishes also still occur in Somalia as the new regime of President Ali Mahdi Mohammed mops up elements of the deposed Barre regime, and in Rwanda, where President Habyarimana's government has contained rebels of the Rwandese Patriotic Front who

invaded the country last year from Uganda.

The conflict in Western Sahara is yet to be resolved. Although POLISARIO has been admitted to the OAU since 1982 as the *de jure* government of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic, Morocco continues to occupy nearly half the territory of Western Sahara and has blocked all moves by the United



Oumarou: *lacklustre tenure?*

Nations to organise a referendum in the territory.

The saddest of all African conflicts is probably the one raging on in the black townships of South Africa. For some time last year, Africans celebrated what appeared to be the speedy demise of apartheid. The white regime of President F.W. de Klerk had publicly pledged to end apartheid. It had released Nelson Mandela and hundreds of other political prisoners and had unbanned the ANC. Last August, the government also held the first round of its "talks about talks" with the ANC, designed to "remove obstacles" in



Nwachucku: *what is Nigeria's gain?*

the way of constitutional negotiations. Everything seems to have come to a stop, however, with the bloody mayhem in the black townships, where ANC supporters are pitched against the Inkatha.

**T**his grim picture of political unrest and instability comes on top of severe social, economic and environmental problems afflicting the African continent. One of the most worrisome of these is external debt. African countries were indebted to the tune of 230 billion Dollars in 1988, and are believed to be currently owing 280 billion Dollars.

This represents a great leap in the continent's overall debt from only 6 billion Dollars in 1970. Sub-saharan African countries alone owed 143 billion Dollars in 1989. Debt service obligations of these countries now exceeds 50% of their export earnings annually. At the same time, aggregate export earnings for sub-saharan African countries had dropped by 10% in 1987 over its level in 1980, despite a 16% increase in the volume of exports. Dr. Ayo Dunmoye, head of political science at the Ahmadu Bello University Zaria, told *Citizen* that Africa's economic situation should receive priority attention at this week's summit meeting. "How do we pay this debt?", he asked. "Do we ask for debt forgiveness? Do we ask for rescheduling? The OAU must address these. We cannot restructure our economies when we have to pay this huge debt. It is time for a collective decision on debt."

Dr. Abdullahi Mahdi, former head of history at the ABU and acting director of Arewa House in Kaduna, told *Citizen* that "poverty and debt should be first on the agenda because democracy cannot work where there is so much poverty. Africa is moving backwards industrially and technologically. There is no way Africa can overcome these problems without first solving the debt problem. Payment of interest on debt alone could tie African countries down permanently".

What can be done about debt? Sully Abu, editorial board member of *The Guardian* told *Citizen* that "unless the whole world recognises that this debt is unpayable, there is no way we can get out of this quagmire. Our condition has already gone beyond desperation to the point of hopelessness. The point is, we cannot pay this debt whether it is genuine or not. The rest of the world must give us a clean slate. Unfortunately, we lost the critical moment of coming into concert with countries such as Brazil to form a solid alliance of debtor nations."



Eyadema: *symbol of the bad days*



Traore: *swept away by the gale*

It is probably in realisation of this situation that the 27th OAU summit meeting will focus on economic issues. In Kaduna last week, Ambassador Mahmoud Yahaya told *Citizen*, "Focusing on the economy is proper. The OAU has been pre-occupied with apartheid, which is on its way out now, thus the shift to the economy. The current picture of Africa is a milestone of shame for the OAU. Now they have the opportunity to address some serious issues".

Realisation of Africa's precarious state is the motive behind the current campaign for reparations to Africa, led by Chief M. K.O. Abiola, publisher of the *Concord Group of Newspapers*. Ambassador Yahaya does not however put much hope in reparations. "Tackling development issues should be done through hard work and commitment", he said. "This talk about reparation is lazy thinking, slavery was not imposed on us. We should instead tackle the problem of reconstruction." Dr. Abdullahi Mahdi, of Arewa House, wants to see the environment question tackled as well. "We cannot talk about development", he said, "while erosion, desertification and deforestation are daily eating up the

resources of an agricultural continent such as Africa." One of the major items slated for discussion at this week's summit is the wind of political change sweeping across the continent. Probably no phenomenon has swept across Africa with such intensity since decolonisation in the early 1960's. The collapse of single-party rules in Africa came hot on the heels of the fall of east European communism. In Africa, the idea of multiparties found a fertile ground, since dictatorship and repression are widespread on the continent. The majority of African regimes today have come to power by violent means. Former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere said in December 1986 that there had been



Gowon: he too was there

## The legitimacy question

If all goes according to plan, most heads of government of the fifty-one member-states of the OAU will converge in Abuja this week for their 27th ordinary summit meeting. A big question that will hang in the ornate hall of the conference centre is, who are the leaders representing?

In fourteen African countries today, the ruling military regimes seized power through a coup. These are in Mauritania, Guinea-Conackry, Guinea-Bissau, Burkina Fasso, Mali, Ghana, Nigeria, Chad,

Equatorial Guinea, Sudan, Central African Republic, Rwanda, Burundi and Lesotho.

By our count, another six regimes came to power by way of a coup, but have since tried to civilianise themselves by holding elections. These are in Egypt, Libya, Togo, Niger, Congo and Zaire. Two African countries, Morocco and Swaziland, are ruled by absolute monarchs and one, Comoros, has a regime installed by mercenaries. The revolutionary regimes in Angola and Mozambique took over power by force of arms.

Three civilian

presidents in Africa, Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, Abdine Ibn Ali of Tunisia and Albert Rene of Seychelles, came to power through a military coup. The president of Somalia, Ali Mahdi Mohammed, arrived at his current position after a savage war. Dr. Amos Sawyer of Liberia was imposed by ECOMOG. The legitimate government of Western Sahara has been exiled by Moroccans, and at the time of writing, there is no government in Ethiopia.

There are eighteen African countries where the

regimes were installed through a system of regular election. Of these, the legitimacy of President Dauda Jawara was tainted by Senegalese intervention in 1981. There is strong suspicion that the regimes in Senegal, Cote D'Ivoire, Cameroun, Gabon, Kenya and Malawi would not have won elections if they were very free and fair. Sao Tome, Cape Verde and Namibia's multi-party democracies, while sound, are too young to be judged. President Joseph Momoh of Sierra Leone is a soldier dressed in civil garbs.

By Mahmud Jega

sixty nine successful coups in Africa up to that time. Since then, military coups have taken place in Burundi,

Burkina Fasso, Sudan, Tunisia, Lesotho (twice), and Mali, while the regimes in Chad, Somalia and

Ethiopia were overthrown by armed insurgents. All told, therefore, there have been seventy-nine violent changes of government in Africa since independence.

Dr. Ayo Dunmoye sees the current uprisings as part of Africa's economic crisis. "Autocratic leaders did not care about the welfare of their people", he said. "Now things are changing, and people want to see changes in the economy. The OAU must tell people that it is okay to democratise, but democracy does not mean merely replacing leaders. The new leaders must be seen to develop the economy". Ambassador Mahmoud Yahaya said the sweeping changes represent "a new face in African politics. The first post-colonial civilian regimes in Africa were replaced by military dictatorships. Now people are sweeping away civilian and military dictators."

Dr. Femi Aribisala, senior fellow at the Nigeria Institute for International Affairs (NIIA), Lagos, welcomes the changes sweeping across Africa. "One-party system has not allowed for free expression and individual creativity", he said. "These two are vital elements in harnessing energy for national development. This has led to a reduction in social and economic development in many of the one-party states."

Dr. Adekunle Ajala, director of research at the NIIA, Lagos is skeptical about the changes. "It is a routine to the conception of change," he said, "that people seek to replace what they have with what they do not have. There is nothing specially intelligent about multi-party politics. Those clamouring for it have lived under one-party systems and now want multi-parties. Not everything new is a gain. It may mean additional stress and pain." Dr. Segun Osoba, historian at the Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, explained why one-party systems face difficulties. "The problem had to do with conducting national liberation in a

hostile international environment. The few genuine liberation movements in Africa were frustrated by a conspiracy between the imperialist powers and reactionary African forces. Angola and Mozambique are classic examples."

Can the OAU meet the challenges of economic and political crises? One of the organisation's strategies for rising to the occasion appears to be the infusion of a new leadership. Last year, Salim Ahmed Salim of Tanzania was elected the organisation's secretary-general to succeed the lack-lustre Idi Oumarou of Niger. Salim's



**Arab Moi: no concessions  
to the new order**

charisma is already reflecting on the work of the secretariat. Ibrahim Daggash, OAU's director of Information, told reporters last week that Salim has broadened the issues to be addressed by the OAU to include "inter and intranational disputes."

Leadership will also change at another level when President Ibrahim Babangida this week replaces Ugandan president Yoweri Museveni as chairman of the OAU. Already, Nigerians are fiercely debating the significance, if any, of General Babangida's new role. Some Nigerians complain that the federal government went to

great lengths to host the OAU in order for President Babangida to become the chairman. Sully Abu told *Citizen*, "In Nigeria, we love titles. We like to wear garlands. Perhaps this is uncharitable, but this chairmanship thing is the icing on the cake for the president. He wants to acquire a bundle of international honours. This is a very expensive way of doing that."

Some other analysts who spoke to *Citizen* are sure that General Babangida's tenure will give a boost to the OAU. Dr. C.S. Momoh, philosophy lecturer at the University of Lagos, thinks that



**Kaunda: accommodated  
the new order**

Babangida will achieve a lot "if African countries have the political will to emulate us. When President Houphouët-Boigny came here, he was surprised to see Nigerian naval officers manning a ship. He wanted to know where the British commanders were. In his country, the French man everything." Dr. Momoh is sure that President Babangida's tenure as chairman will also be important for Nigeria. "It will bring home to us our role as leaders of Africa", he said. "I am not happy that we do not see ourselves as leaders in this part of the world. We should act as a leader. In the on-going conflict in Ethiopia, America

# Gowon was there

**D**ecaring open the OAU ministerial conference in Lagos on July 9, 1973, General Yakubu Gowon remarked: "Our sole objective is that the political, economic and cultural independence we have recently resolved in Addis Ababa to secure for Africa is jealously maintained and safeguarded". Coming exactly two months after he was elected chairman of the OAU, in May 1973, this statement, brief and simple as it was, was to turn out to be the bedrock upon which General Gowon anchored his programmes, policies and utterances as the chief pilot of the OAU.

The new OAU chairman, fully aware that it is one thing to pass a resolution and an entirely different ball game when it comes to implementing it, undertook a shuttle diplomacy of sorts to other African countries after the 10th Anniversary summit with a view to convincing his brother heads of state as to the necessity of an African consensus on economic matters. It is a credit to Gowon's diplomatic and persuasive skills that he managed to overcome the initial opposition to his pet-project, especially from the Francophone countries and finally put in place a lasting forum where matters of common interest are deliberated upon.

Gowon had conceived of Africa as the cornerstone of Nigeria's foreign policy right from the outset. Thus, after the Civil War in 1970, rather than adopt a posture of hostility toward such countries as Cote d'Ivoire, Gabon and Tanzania which had supported Biafra, General Gowon went out of his way as Nigeria's head of state to court these countries and make them friends of Nigeria. In his efforts to concretise his vision of Africa he organised the Second All-African Games in Lagos and also played host to the entire continent in a grand festival of art and culture (FESTAC).

Critics have tended to

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fault General Gowon on this account, arguing that he should not have squandered the nation's economic resources on such white elephant projects when the populace was starved of such basic amenities as food, education and healthcare.

The underlying spirit of these programmes was however beyond the

material and mundane. In inviting the rest of Africa to Lagos, General Gowon was merely acting out his Pan-African vision - a continent whose diverse people are familiar with one another and share things in common. He regarded Africa as one country consisting of several distinct, but united villages and when the suggestion was mooted early in his tenure as OAU chairman that Nigeria be accorded veto powers in the organisation on account of her size and economic strength, Gowon's reply was frank and unequivocal: "Any one with such an idea is living in cuckooland. The OAU will be destroyed if such

thirteen years after the event, General Gowon said, "It was an OAU decision that in order to show our disagreement with what Israel was doing to another African country (Egypt) and because of our policy in the Middle East, we decided to take the necessary steps of breaking diplomatic relations with Israel". Interestingly, this decision was taken when Gowon was only six months old on the saddle as OAU chairman.

General Gowon, with the assistance of General Gnassingbe Eyadema of Togo also laid the foundation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) during his tenure as OAU chairman. He saw ECOWAS as a prelude to a much wide economic agglomeration that would embrace the entire continent and indeed forge viable and mutually beneficial links with other Africans in the diaspora. Alas, this noble dream was rudely interrupted when General Gowon fell victim of a palace coup and was removed as Nigeria's head of state while attending the OAU heads of state summit in Kampala, Uganda on July 29, 1975.

Africa saw in Gowon a worthy and capable son. And he did not disappoint her.

By Ike Okonta.

an action is taken."

But perhaps Gowon's greatest contribution and indeed lasting legacy as chairman of the OAU was the Organisation's swift decision in October 1973, following the Arab-Israeli war to break diplomatic relations with Israel. Explaining the genesis of this historic decision in an interview with John Araka of *Sunday Times*

has more clout than we do. It should not be."

Professor Richard Olanayan, a historian of diplomacy and dean of arts at the Obafemi Awolowo University, is also confident that General Babangida's tenure will make a difference. He told *Citizen* that "General Babangida has the intellectual, political wisdom and vision to take the organisation to new heights and chart a new course for the continent. It is good that a man of his calibre will lead the OAU at this time. He will turn the organisation round and make it more relevant to the continent's needs". Dr. Femi Aribisala argued that "with President Babangida as chairman, the kind and nature of confidence which Africa and the world have in Nigeria will increase. He will harness the energy of

General Babangida's chairmanship of the OAU is important for Nigeria. "What does Anyaoku's secretaryship of the Commonwealth mean to Nigeria?" he asked. "What has Museveni's tenure achieved for Uganda? The chairman of OAU is symbolic. He has no authority over other African countries." Onanuga does not see how Babangida, as chairman, can influence African countries. "The man will just be there", he said, "telling African countries what should be done but they will not do it." Onanuga also does not believe that the president has much to offer the continent. "Six years after he came in", he said, "the lot of a Nigerian isn't any better. What has SAP achieved? More people are jobless than when he came in. The petrochemical and steel plants that

SAP has taken us nowhere." Equally pessimistic is Dr. Segun Osoba, historian at the OAU, Ile-Ife. "If President Babangida translates his achievements in Nigeria to the OAU", he said, "then the recolonisation of Africa by America and her allies will be speeded up. Nigeria has lost her sovereignty. The economy is in the hands of the IMF. In foreign policy, Nigeria is now a surrogate fire-fighter for world imperialism in Africa through such devices as ECOMOG". Osoba fears that with Babangida as chairman of OAU, Nigeria will try "to impose a rapid deployment force in Africa to quell riots against unpopular regimes and try to establish an association of African dictators".



Biya: shaken by protests

African leaders to find a lasting solution to the endemic crises of Africa."

Dr. Adekunle Ajala of the NIIA, Lagos also shares this optimism. "President Babangida has so far shown considerable interest in the well-being of other African countries," said Ajala. "He will contribute alot towards solving the multiple problems of the continent."

Bayo Onanuga, editor of *African Concord*, does not agree that



Rawlings: captive of the IMF

are vital to our economy have not been completed. The petrochemical plant he commissioned was not built by him. Our doctors and intellectuals are fleeing the country, some going to other African countries. Things are getting worse; that is my honest view of his regime."

Sully Abu think that Nigeria has nothing to teach Africa. "we can sell to them our love of SAP", he said. "In concrete terms, there is nothing to learn from us because

Dr. Osoba does not respect the OAU's summits. "In one week of desolate summitry", he said, "wealth greater than the GDP of many African countries is consumed. The reason behind the decision to stop rotating summits was that the host became bankrupt soon afterwards. Nyerere persuaded them to stop rotating the summit and he refused to host one. Now Nigeria has forced a reversal of this policy. Incomes of Nigerians have been reduced by a factor of ten through savage devaluation of the Naira, yet we are squandering wealth on questionable projects like the OAU summit."

The veteran journalist Chief Olu Akaraogun, asked by *Citizen* to comment on President Babangida's imminent rise to leadership of the OAU, briefly replied, "The OAU should be disbanded immediately and each African leader should go back to his country and try to establish a humane and compassionate government".

By Mahmud Jega with reports by Bolaji Adebisi, Aluko Akinyele, Tola Sunday, Samson Ojo, Delia Nzekwu and Rabiu Barde

## Arewa House Sour note on "mother of all launchings"

The celebrations are over but for the initiator the hangover hangs tough

For Dr. Bashir Ikara, his removal about three weeks ago as the director of Arewa House Kaduna, a history research centre of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, could not have come as a greater irony. About a year ago Dr. Ikara decided he should make the centre, bast in the residence of Alhaji Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto and premier of the North, a first class tourist attraction as well as improve its status as a centre of excellence in research. Accordingly, he sent a proposal for expanding the centre to the governors of the 11 northern states, the original owner's of A.B.U. Zaria. The governors accepted the proposal in principle and subsequently a high-powered committee under the chairmanship of Alhaji Isa Kaita, Wazirin Katsina, and a minister and close associate of the Sardauna, to implement the proposal.

In between Dr. Ikara's initiative and the launching of the Arewa House Appeal Fund on May 18, the director worked tirelessly to realise his dreams for the centre. It must have been the greatest irony for him that what would have been his hour of glory turned out to be perhaps his bitterest. For, instead of receiving congratulations for a job well done, Dr. Ikara was not only detained on the day of the launching by the security forces, he was also removed as the director soon afterwards.

What appears to be the immediate source of Dr. Ikara's misfortune was a meeting held in the council chambers of Government House, Kaduna, three days before the launching in order to assess the arrangements made for it especially in

the light of President Babangida's acceptance of his invitation to grace the launching. At the meeting, *Citizen* learnt that Dr. Ikara behaved rather abrasively towards the governor, Col. Tanko Ayuba. Sources said when Ayuba inquired about the arrangements for feeding and accommodation made by the management of Arewa House, for the guests, Dr. Ikara reportedly retorted that he was not a protocol officer and should therefore not be held responsible for such arrangement. The governor was said to have then asked what Arewa House did with the 84,000 Naira which each of the eleven northern states gave the centre for the launching. At this point, sources said, Dr. Ikara became angry and told the governor that he objected strongly to any in-

situations that he was a thief. The money, he said, was intact and he was ready to account for every Kobo of it.

Tempers were said to have risen high and it took the intervention of some of the elders present to cool matters. Dr. Ikara left a little after that. Soon after, Alhaji Isa Kaita, the chairman of the appeal committee, arrived. He was told of what transpired before his arrival. He was said to have apologised on behalf of the committee and explained that Dr. Ikara was in any case a difficult person to deal with. He reportedly also told the meeting that his committee would accept whatever programme the meeting approved for the launching.

The Wednesday clash between the governor and Dr. Ikara on the



Mahdi: new director of Arewa House



Nayaya: no love lost between him and Ikara



Kaita chairman of the fund committee

launching was actually not the first. Long before that the governor was said to have been taken by surprise when on a visit to Dodan Barracks to clear the programme of the launching with the president, he met Dr. Ikara there on the same mission, Col. Ayuba was said to have felt embarrassed but took no action.

Since Dr. Ikara's removal, there have been speculations that three reasons were mainly responsible. The first was that Dr. Ikara insisted on speaking for at least one hour during the launching and that he was not prepared to let anyone see a copy of the speech before his delivery. The second was that he refused to involve ABU., Zaria, as the parent institution, in the arrangements for the launching. The last reason was that he was responsible for appointing Savannah Bank PLC to collect contributions on the day of the launching.

*Citizen* can confirm that the speculations were only partially correct. On the first reason, Dr. Ikara was slated to speak for only 15 minutes and he reportedly found this agreeable. However when he was asked by Col. Ayuba for a copy of his speech two days before the launching, he said "was not ready." The director reportedly gave the governor the same answer on the morning of the launching. Sources said it was to preempt any embarrassment that Dr. Ikara may cause in his speech that he was detained

throughout the day of the launching.

On the second reason, *Citizen* can confirm that Dr. Ikara did keep ABU. out of the picture of things. Indeed for a long time there seems to have been no love lost between Dr. Ikara and Professor Adamu Nayaya Mohammed, the vice-chancellor of ABU. Zaria. The sources of their friction was said to have been Dr. Ikara's ambition for making Arewa House completely autonomous. Partly due to this and partly because Dr. Ikara is said to be a constant critic of the vice-chancellor, the two are said to have been at dagger-drawn.

On the third reason, namely that Dr. Ikara appointed Savannah Bank as collectors of the donations on the day of launching, nothing could be further from the truth. Last Sunday, Alhaji Isa Kaita, the chairman of the launching told *Today* newspaper that he authorised Savannah Bank to collect the donations. Controversy has surrounded his appointment because of expectations that the Bank of the North, as a northern states' owned bank and a

dauna of Sokoto, the colossus who dominated the politics of Nigeria's First Republic.

The launching evoked, and in turn repaid the Sardauna's famed generosity. The fund, which exceeded its own target by 5 million Naira, is to be used to turn the centre into an international research and documentation centre of excellence.

Already on the drawing board are models of the complexes, including a museum, a giant auditorium, library, archives and printing presses, that will be put in place. The centre would fund research sponsor publications and be a benefactor of the arts.

**A**ll attempts to get the parties involved in the controversy surrounding the launching to talk about the matter proved abortive. "It is an act of God" was all Dr. Ikara would tell *Citizen* in his Race Course Road, Kaduna residence, inspite of repeated pleadings with him to defend himself.

Our attempt also to speak to Professor Adamu Mohammed, the vice-chancellor of ABU, was unsuccess-

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big donor at the launching should have been appointed.

The launching of the 120 million Naira Arewa House Appeal Fund took place at the Murtala Mohammed Square in Kaduna May 18.

Arewa House, a centre for historical research affiliated with Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, was originally the official residence of Alhaji Ahmadu Bello, the Sar-

cessful as the Vice-Chancellor was said to be away important meeting. *Citizen* wanted to confirm the exact fate of Dr. Ikara as it was not clear whether he was retired, dismissed or simply left in a limbo. Officials of the university that *Citizen* spoke to insisted that only the vice-chancellor could pronounce on the issue.

By Mohammed Haruna

## Students' Union

## Fracas and death on campuses

Students of some higher institutions dare government and take to the streets

**A**s the National Association of Nigerian Students (NANS) ultimatum to the Federal Government expired last week, students of at least six institutions of higher learning embarked on varied forms of political action in protest against what they called "government's indifference to the legitimate demands of Nigerian students."

The six institutions which complied with the NANS directive last week include Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife; universities of Jos, Ilorin, Benin, Ibadan and Yaba College of Technology.

Four days of boycott of lectures and several rallies attended on each occasion by no fewer than 6,000 students of Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, where Patrick Umunna, a part IV philosophy student lost his life, attest to the popularity of the NANS demands among a significant number of Nigerian students. Students *Citizen* spoke to at Ile-Ife last week said Umunna was stabbed to death, by angry students in retaliation for his gang's infliction of injuries on about 25 pro-demonstration students.

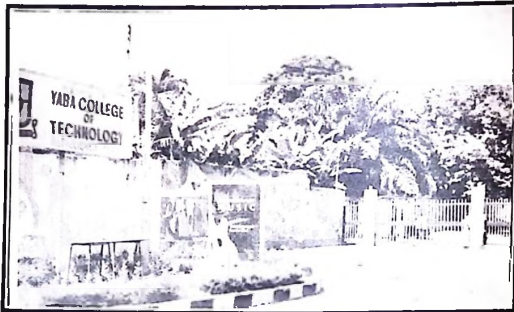
## Students of the institution

held a rally at its amphitheatre on the eve of the expiration of the ultimatum where it was resolved that they (students) would not only back the NANS demands but would also boycott lectures. But mid-way into the rally, anti-demonstration students spearheaded by CEDER, a coalition of Scripture Union groups, and Black Axe, (a secret cult

organisation) brandishing offensive weapons such as knives and broken bottles, attempted to disrupt the rally and disperse the mammoth crowd by force. Somehow, said our source, the outgoing student's union president, Adeola Soetan, managed to contain the situation and got the rally adjourned till 6 am Monday May 27 at Awolowo Hall.

Having failed to achieve their mission that Sunday evening, the cultists regrouped and arrived at the venue of the 6 am congress meeting at least an hour ahead of the others, terrorising students who started

congress meeting progressed and contributors in total disregard for the menacing presence of cultists who were said to be fully armed with knives, broken bottles and cutlasses spoke in support of mass demonstration and boycott of lectures. Black Axe members, reportedly lost their cool and made for Soetan Adeola who was presiding over the congress. By this time, the students thought the Black Axe had pushed their luck too far. They therefore chased them to the student's union bar which is situated in the union building opposite



Deserted: Yaba Tech campus last week

congregating at the Awolowo Hall venue as early as 4.30 am. However, the students, said our sources, were able to contain the menacing behaviour of these cultists until about 8.00 am when more than 5,000 students had assembled in the 1,000 capacity cafeteria of the hall, popularly called "the seat of democracy" by students. As the

Oduduwa Hall. At the bar, Umunna and his associates were trapped and asked to surrender. But rather than do just that, he and his colleagues decided to fight their way through over 1,000 angry students, stabbing more students. Eventually, some of them (cultists) escaped, but Umunna, said to be heavily drugged, was caught by the students and

stabbed to death.

When *Citizen* visited the scene of the incident last week, the bar was in ruins. Clotted human blood which had turned black was splashed across the floor and walls of the bar. Mangled chairs and broken bottles of beer and soft drinks littered the floor. Union officials put the damage at about 50,000 Naira.

The incident forced the vice chancellor, Professor Niyi Oshuntokun to address the students, pleading with them to reconcile their differences and keep their action within the campus. Although *Citizen* was unable to get the vice chancellor to comment on the situation on the campus, the chief security officer of the institution, Captain Patrick Abayomi confirmed the incident saying that it was unfortunate that an otherwise peaceful protest had degenerated into bloodshed. The students union president, Adeola Soetan, who spoke to *Citizen*, said the university authority must accept responsibility for the death of Umunna maintaining that the students will continue to boycott lectures until government accedes to the NANS demands.

**B**etween the evening of last week Tuesday and the early hours of Wednesday morning, two students of Yaba College of Technology were also reportedly shot by the Police in an attempt to put down a dawn demonstration by students of the institution who were protesting government's intransigence of NANS's ten point demands. When *Citizen* visited its Yaba campus, a platoon of policemen chanting war songs at the Aggrey Avenue end of the institution's gate and a herd of cattle roaming about the campus were what was left of the institution. Although no damage was done to the college's property, the school was closed down indefinitely by the authorities.

The situation in other campuses was not as grave. University of Jos, which hosts the NANS secretariat has remained restive since Monday

last week, with the congress impeaching its president, Lucas Dalang, for "anti students activities." In fact the students became violent burning two rooms said to be the official residence of the



**Fafunwa: ready to talk with students**

president at the Naraguta students' village. Students at the universities of Benin and Ilorin, embarked on intermittent boycott of lecturers in protest against the detention of their leaders.

But some institutions, apprehensive of demonstration by their students took preemptive measures and shut the schools. In Ondo State for instance, the

other campuses showed that the students were calm, NANS officials appeared satisfied with the degree of support they got from the students. Perhaps, they are right judging from the favourable press coverage they received last week. Most editorial opinions conceded that the students' demands, though exuberant in some cases, were legitimate and urged the government to negotiate with them. The Social Democratic Party Chairman, Babagana Kingibe also pleaded with government to talk with the students. Perhaps it is in response to this barrage of advice that President Ibrahim Babangida, told a gathering of journalists at Minna, Sunday May 26, that he was disposed to parleying with the students but it will not be "under duress." Feelers from the federal ministry of education last week suggest that the president may talk with the students this week. There is a small problem though. Government has insisted that it would only talk to the leaders of individual unions and not NANS. Kola Odetola, the NANS coordinator for Zone D, thinks this is unacceptable and may throw a

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authorities of Ondo State University which houses the NANS Senate, Federal University of Technology, Akure, Ondo State College of Education and Polytechnic and Adeyemi College of Education after some parley with the state governor, Group Captain Abiodun Joseph, requested their students to proceed on a four day mid term break. They will resume June 2.

Although situation reports from

spanner in the wheel of the move towards peace. Meanwhile, Mahmud Abdul and Sylvester Akenie, the NANS president and PRO respectively announced an extension of the ultimatum to June 16, to allow the government to formalise its new initiatives at arranging talks with the student's body.

**By Bolaji Adebiji  
and Ike Okonta**

## Bendel State

## Nigeria in microcosm

## North versus south, east versus west in the Bendel governorship race

Chief John Oyegun, a retired super permanent secretary in the federal civil service, who is now gunning for the Government House Benin on the platform of the SDP, was succinct about it. "Our problem in the state is stagnation," he told *Citizen* last week. Bendel State, he said, has stopped growing and "this has meant that there are no new industries coming up, no employment opportunities, no income is being generated and we have a situation of creeping poverty all over the place." His counterpart in the National Republican Convention (NRC), Lucky Igbinedion agrees with him. Says he, "We are underdeveloped and have been walking backwards." Oyegun and Igbinedion are both leading contenders for the government house post now up for grabs.

Twenty aspirants, nine on the side of SDP and eleven in the camp of NRC, are canvassing for support in their bid to become the helmsman of the State. In the SDP camp the contest is between Bendel North Central which has four candidates and Bendel East senatorial district with four contestants. From the North which has eight local governments, are Chief John Oyegun, Dr. Greg Agbonkina, Dr. Nabulele Amadasun, Stephen Giwa-Amu and Victor Osareren. The East is canvassing for the state house through Dr. Dumbili Chibue, Chief Austine Egbo, Dr. Godwin Iwegbue and Chief Odidli Ibuakah. Of these, Stephen Giwa-Amu and Victor Osareren, are said to have lost steam and dropped out of the contest for

now.

The NRC camp is pitched between the north and the south senatorial zones with the former presenting Lucky Igbinedion, the erstwhile Orodio local government boss, Prof Isaac Igboodu, Dr. Mic Asemota - a cousin of Dr. Samuel Ogbemudia, Dr. John Ogbeide and Philip Edothe, the former chairman of Bendel Newspapers Limited. No doubt, the electorate will have a tough time separating the wheat from the chaff. But political observers in the state are of the view that given the complexity of Bendel's politics and the experience of the people, whoever wants to grab his party nomination and proceed to win the governorship would have to convince the people of his ability to concretely address the basic issues affecting the state. These include such political questions as the domi-



nation of the north by the south, creation of more states and development of the riverine areas.

It would appear however that, as far as the SDP is concerned, the prominence of the north in its governorship contest is a product of bargaining and compromise. Abel Ubeku, a strong contender for the party's presidential ticket is an Isoko man from Bendel South. According to an inside source of the party, it will be politically tactless to have the presidency and the governorship from one section of the state. Political wisdom therefore dictates that the presidential ambition of the south be matched with the governorship aspirations of the north.



Top contenders: Igbinedion (NRC) and Oyegun

There is a problem though, for the northern camp. The party lost their constituency to NRC during the last local government elections winning only two—Orhiomwon and Agbazo. NRC won the important Oredo local government that houses the state capital, Ovia, Owan, Etsako and Akoko-Edo. Okpebho is still in dispute. It is not known yet, how the southern camp will trade its political fortunes which it acquired at the last local government polls. It covered the four councils in the east and picked up five of the eight in the south. John Oyegun, easily the most visible of the SDP aspirants, told *Citizen* in Lagos that he had implicit confidence in his campaign machinery which he insisted would turn in nothing but victory for him at the impending primaries. Specifically, he spoke of his "impeccable twenty-two years of meritorious service at the national level" and "firm understanding of the problems of the state" as the high points that will steer the nomination his way.

Incidentally, Oyegun's weakness is Lucky Igbinedion's strength. Fresh from his stint as the boss of Oredo local government, his party won six councils in the north and in the south. It recently won Aniocha in the east, courtesy of the much verified election tribunal. Igbinedion's main opponents are John Ogbeide also from the north, and Godwin Koma Omuamuli, a Warri high chief. But Omuamuli, a very wealthy man, political observers say, will have his aspiration dampened by the poor showing of his camp in his senatorial district. Although like Igbinedion, NRC won Warri, his immediate constituency, observers are quick to point out that it was a victory by default since a quarrel within the opposing SDP left Warri for grabs by NRC without electoral contest.

Lucky Igbinedion's problem however, says a reliable NRC source, may be the royal camps. *Citizen* learnt that the influence of the Oba of Benin and Olu of Warri in the two parties is strong and cannot

be discountenanced. For instances, Ogiamen Atunwase II, a lawyer and the Olu of Warri, is said to be a smooth political operator who, perhaps due to his running battle with some powerful Warri high chiefs, feels strongly that the consolidation of his traditional and economic powers lies in the effective control of the two parties. To achieve this, he was said to have played prominent roles in the last congresses of both parties ensuring that his candidates Johnson (NRC) and Dr. Oritsejfor (SDP) erstwhile chairmen in Warri were elected.

Secondly, Igbinedion is said to have quarrelled openly with the Oba of Benin, Erediauwa II, during his days as the chairman of Oredo, over tenement rates and renaming of some popular streets in the state capital. Before Igbinedion's ascendancy to the Oredo chair, tenements rates were said to have been paid to the Oba but his chairmanship put a stop to that as he directed that all such rates be paid to the coffers of the the local government. The second source of friction between them was the decision of the local government to rename some streets in Benin after those instrumental to the creation of the state, during its 25th anniversary. This was done without consultation with the Oba. Erediauwa took offence. It is believed in Benin political circles that these past quarrels are likely to set the Oba's camp within the party against him.

Igbinedion told *Citizen* last week in Benin, that there is no misunderstanding between him and the Oba. For him, the quarrel exists in the fertile imagination of journalists as he recalled that while he was chairman, the Oba commissioned two of his personal projects. He contended that more than any other administration, the Oba enjoyed his stewardship. In spite of these strong denials, Benin political commentators insist that the Oba's camp is pitched against Igbinedion, citing

Kelure's support for Chief Omuamuli as their evidence.

Creation of state is another issue which is quite dear in the mind of an average Bendel northerner. All the contestants have promised to work hard towards the realisation of this goal. But as Ohare puts it, "it is not uncommon for politicians to make promises. There has to be a concretely discussed programme of action on how this will be achieved." Air Iyare, a Benin based politician and social critic in the camp of John Oyegun, agrees with Ohare. "We in the SDP", he told *Citizen* in Benin, "have our programme of action which is a prerequisite for any concrete discussion of the problem. We have asked all those who prevented the realisation of this goal at the last exercise because of the bickering over the citing of capitals to bury the hatchet."



Iyare: bury the hatchet

Meanwhile, as D-day draws near, political compromises based on what observers call the reality of the Bendel situation are compelling the reduction of the lengthy list of contenders. Those dropping out of contest are said to be gunning for the second spot—Deputy Governor—and some other plum jobs like the speakership and influential ministerial portfolios.

By Bolaji Adebisi,  
in Benin

## Drug scandal

# Dusted virtue

Former school headmistress turns drug courier and falls into the waiting arms of the law

**R**osemary Ogbolu, 53 will breath the air of freedom in the year 2000. Then she will be 61-years old and there will be little left for her to aspire to.

A former headmistress of the elite University of Benin Staff School and wife of a professor, Rosemary walked into the hands of the law, June 21, 1989, as she attempted to cart away heroine through the Murtala Muhammed International Airport, Ikeja on the way to New York. She was arrested with 89 wraps of the lethal drugs weighing 480 grammes. Her son, Nathaniel Ogbolu, 21, also excreted 505 grammes in 79 wraps. That was the beginning of the trip to jail. The trial took two years and on Wednesday, April 17, Don Egbue, a high court judge and chairman of the Lagos zone of the Miscellaneous Offences Tribunal, jailed Rosemary and her son for 10 and 5 years respectively.

Mrs Ogbolu, who holds a master of education degree was a teacher and a business woman. She had lived for a long time, with her husband, Professor Ogbolu, in the United States. They returned to Nigeria in 1975 when she joined the services of University of Benin as the headmistress of the staff school.

In October, 1978, she withdrew her services from the university of Benin, to take up appointment with the Bendel State Post Primary Schools Management Board. While in the employ of the school, she was said to have ran a vocational school with her husband in the heart of Benin City. She retired from the services of the board about six years ago. That retirement, which was predicted upon the hope that her business would flourish, seem to be

her greatest undoing. For before the final decision to retire was taken, she had become hypertensive and diabetic. Then, her business rather than pick up, began to flop.

As the head and chief custodian of discipline at the school, she was an uncompromising disciplinarian who took pupil counselling very seriously. According to a female colleague, Mrs. Ogbolu was "a moralist who always cautioned her pupils and students against youthful vices and a moral behaviour".

Her son, Nathaniel, with whom she was jailed, is said to be a naturalised American citizen and attends North Texas State University, Denton. So could she have been trying to raise funds to pay his school fees? No one could say with certainty. But in her statement to the police 27 July, 1989 a month after she was arrested, Mrs. Ogbolu, admitted carrying the drugs and pleaded that it was done very much against her will. She claimed that she was either hypnotised or charmed to carry the drugs as in her opinion she has no reasons to run hard drugs.

However, most staff of the University of Benin Staff School where Mrs. Ogbolu was head were not in the least surprised that she ended up the way she did. Contrary to newspaper reports that Mrs. Ogbolu retired as headmistress of the school, a teacher in the school told *Citizen* that she was forced out of service "because of her notorious and dubious behaviour after only two years". According to our source, Mrs Ogbolu operated a private nursery school (Wee Wisdom Nursery/Primary School)



Mother and Son: end of the road

near Ekenwan Road, Benin City in contravention of civil service rules. This was why she was given the sack.

Meanwhile, a former headmistress of the staff school has also threatened to sue certain newspapers and magazines for publishing that "Mrs. Ogbolu was the first retired headmistress of the staff school". The former headmistress who does not want her name mentioned for fear that "Mrs. Ogbolu's relations may try to eliminate me", told *Citizen* that since Ogbolu's photograph was not published with the story, certain people have begun to link her with the drug story.

By Bolaji Adebisi in Benin, with reports by Abubakar Yakubu.

## Press

## Enter the new "mafia"

Colonel Tanko Ayuba has a new rethink in the calibre of the real "Kaduna Mafia"

**T**uesday May 28, the Governor of Kaduna State, Colonel Abubakar Tanko Ayuba hosted media executives to a well-attended "dinner and cultural evening." The occasion afforded the two a chance to review events and talk things over.

Col. Ayuba was full of praises for Kaduna-based journalists and media organisations. According to him, the government of Kaduna State has "very little to complain



Zorro: NUJ President

about with regard to coverage." He said the assessment was not a mere tittle-tattle meant to settle "our full appetites," but an acceptance that government and the media had much to congratulate each other for.

"For the Kaduna-based media, long known for being second to none in objectivity, foresight and intellectual depth, as well as an unwavering loyalty to public interest, this is a pass of our litmus test."

The governor said Kaduna State was lucky because being in the "frontline, so to speak, as the host of Kaduna media, with its attendant feeling of being a constant target if for nothing else, for the fact that we are physically and easily available for scrutiny, criticism and advice, to give a clean bill of health to the media that surrounds us is no mean achievement."

The good thing is that despite the constant searchlight and proximity in terms of greater coverage, "we have not received coverage that is necessarily more adverse than other far away states." In fact, "we believe that the very high standard of conduct by previous governments may partly derive from being subjected to intense scrutiny."

Col. Ayuba seems to be more at ease with clean journalism of the Kaduna media, whom he had referred to jokingly as "real Kaduna Mafia". They have resisted the temptation to dabble into the "cheap but murky waters of yellow and junk journalism." He referred to a "muted" debate as to the desirability or otherwise of a particular, and admittedly popular, brand of journalism that thrives on exploiting a section of the public's gullibility for cheap, sensational expose of other people's lives and activities, or the belittling of our sacred values for "cheap fun" which undermines societal values.

In the relaxed atmosphere he used the occasion to chip in some words of advice to the media executives to keep to their professional tenets. The position of government, he said, has been to allow decent public opinion and

professional ethics to check the spread of junk journalism.

Col. Ayuba, warming up to the subject of whether or not the press be granted constitutional guarantees more than the ordinary Nigerian, contended that it is hypocritical for the nation's media to claim special privileges or status as the guardian of values when, on quite a number of occasions, "it cannot even agree what those values are."

Though competition in the media is fierce, "the harm to your profession is all the more glaring when certain national values and interests are subverted in order to catch the buyer's attention. Sensationalism sells, but often for the proverbial blood money."

He had good words for the role the media played in the Gulf crisis. He mentioned restraint and maturity, particularly by the electronic media as virtues that commend themselves. It was a clear example for him, of the "highest sensitivity" to the contending forces which, if poorly handled could have wrought "unmitigated disasters."

At the end of it all, he extended the government's hand of friendship to all media organs and notified them of government's "advanced" arrangements to resettle the secretariat of the Nigerian Union of Journalists, NUJ, on a "permanent and improved site." Colonel Ayuba pledged to extend assistance to the NUJ whenever possible and asked the media chiefs to continue with their objective and informed assessment of "our administration."

By Kolawole Fatal

# Chairman's Statement

## BISMILLAHIR RAHMANIRRAHIIM.

It gives me great pleasure to welcome you all to our 8th Annual General Meeting and to present you our 1990 Annual Report and Audited Accounts for consideration and approval. Your Bank by the grace of the Almighty ALLAH has continued to perform satisfactorily as in the past. I would like to briefly review the internal and National contexts of our operations in 1990 before presenting the details of our operational performance.

### 1990 BANK PERFORMANCE

#### Operational Performance

1990 to the Banking Industry has been a difficult year largely owing to re-introduction of stabilization securities with its resultant impact of reducing the revenue of affected Banks, increase in cost of funds and increase in administrative costs brought about by high tariffs on almost all services and utilities as well as constant increase in staff costs. Notwithstanding this unfavourable environment in which the Bank operated, I am pleased to inform you that your Bank has performed well as could be seen from the summary given below:

**Assets:** Total assets base of the Bank as at 31st December, 1989 stood at 637 million Naira and this has been increased in the year 1990 to 98 million Naira, a growth of 54%.

**Deposit:** Deposit figure of the Bank increased from 335 million Naira as at 31st December, 1989 to 604 million Naira as at 31st December, 1990, a growth of 80.30%.

**Advances:** Advances portfolio of the Bank which was 175 million Naira as at 31st December, 1989 increased in 1990 to 197 million Naira, a growth of about 12.5%. The growth in advances has been limited to only 12.5% because of the restriction in credit expansion placed by the Monetary Authorities.

**Profit:** As at 31st December, 1990, the Bank has posted a provisional profit of 49.5 million Naira as compared to a provisional profit of 45 million Naira achieved in 1989. However, owing to application of the Prudential Guidelines requirement introduced in 1990, the Pre-tax profit of the Bank has come down from 45 million Naira recorded in 1989 to 33.8 million Naira.

**Dividend:** Dividend of 25% amounting to 7 million Naira for the year 1990 is proposed by the Board for your approval.

#### Branch Development:

Since our last Meeting, we have been able to open six more urban branches in Onitsha, Anambra State; Ikeja, Lagos State; Bauchi, Bauchi State; Fagge-Ta-Kudu, Kano State; Ilorin, Kwara State and Abuja in the Federal Capital Territory, thus bringing total Branch Network of the Bank to 26 made up of 20 urban and 6 rural branches. With these branches, the Bank has so far covered 16 of the 21 states of the Federation and the Federal Capital Territory. In the next 12 months, it is planned that 8 urban branches would be opened at Calabar in Cross River State; Uyo in Akwa-Ibom State; Benin in Bendel State; Makurdi in Benue State; Funtua in Katsina State; Kaduna South in Kaduna State and Gombe in Bauchi State. Further to these, it is also intended in the year to open 6 rural branches at Faskari and Zangon Daura in Katsina State; Turunku and Birnin Gwari in Kaduna State; Ikare in Ondo State and Ede in Oyo State. At the end of this exercise, the branch network of the bank would be increased from 26 to 38 and we would be present in each of the 21 states of the Federation and the Federal Capital Territory.

As I have just mentioned, the Bank plans voluntarily to open 6

branches in areas commonly referred to in Banking circle as rural areas. We are going into such areas in response to demand by the communities for our services and more importantly, out of the desire to make available to these areas banking services currently non-existent. Our belief here is that Banks have a crucial role to play in nurturing banking habit in the society which can only be possible by making available and taking banking services to all localities.

We are beginning to voluntarily go to rural areas as from this year and subject to grant of necessary approval from the Central Bank of Nigeria, we shall continue to expand our branch network into not only urban areas but also so call rural areas.

#### Board Changes

Since the last Annual General Meeting, there has been changes on the Board of your Bank. Messrs Safdar Abbas Zaidi, A.A. Sakrani and Mr Ch. Ahsanal Haq all representing Habib Bank Limited, Pakistan have resigned from the Board. To replace them we now have on our Board Mr. M.A. Soomru and Mr Ch Shafi Arshad. In accordance with provisions of Article 67 of our Banks Articles of Association, Messrs M.A. Soomru and Ch. Shafi Arshad are retiring and a resolution would be tabled at this meeting for the reappointment as Directors. We sincerely thank Messrs Zaidi, Sakrani and Haq for their contributions to the Bank and wish them success in their future endeavours.

#### PROSPECTS FOR THE BANK IN 1991

1991 from all indications is likely to be a difficult year as the Bank will continue to operate under stringent control measures of the Central Bank of Nigeria and the National Deposit Insurance Corporation as well as tough competitive economic environment. There is also likely to be reduction in the level of Foreign Exchange allocation to Banks as more Banks have come into the market. To mitigate the effect of the aforementioned factors, the Bank would strive to increase its revenue generation capacity, use its human and material resources more efficiently and increase its share of the market.

#### CONCLUSION

I would conclude my address by thanking our numerous corporate and individual clients for their continued patronage which has enabled us achieve good result. My thanks also go to my colleagues on the Board for their continued support. Finally, I want to place on record my appreciation of the dedication and loyalty of the entire Management and Staff of the Bank. ALHAMDULILLAH.

May Almighty ALLAH bless us all. Amen.



Maj-Gen Shehu Musa Yar'adua  
(Rtd.), GCON  
Tafidan Katsina  
CHAIRMAN

Major General Shehu Musa Yar'adua (Rtd.), GCON  
Tafidan Katsina  
(Chairman)

# HABIB NIGERIA BANK LIMITED

## BALANCE SHEET

ASSETS EMPLOYED:	NOTE	1990 N	1989 N
CASH IN HAND		10,250,612	7,233,928
BALANCES WITH OTHER BANKS		547,338,953	371,922,283
INVESTMENTS	1	174,257,097	182,13,411
LOANS AND ADVANCES	2	180,063,123	168,995,821
OTHER ASSETS	3	53,205,791	49,963,235
FIXED ASSETS	4	43,165,097	20,886,786
	5	<u>981,280,673</u>	<u>636,915,454</u>
FINANCED BY:			
DEPOSITS	6	604,255,984	335,231,256
TAXATION PAYABLE	7	19,598,532	18,900,000
DIVIDEND PAYABLE	8	7,000,000	10,500,000
OTHER LIABILITIES	9	<u>296,887,667</u>	<u>229,263,070</u>
		596,421,203	593,894,426
CALLED-UP SHARE CAPITAL	10	28,000,000	21,000,000
STATUTORY RESERVE	11	17,786,813	13,074,953
RESERVE FOR BONUS ISSUE OF SHARES		7,000,000	7,000,000
PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT	12	2,081,657	1,946,075
SHAREHOLDERS FUNDS		<u>54,868,470</u>	<u>43,021,028</u>
		<u>981,280,673</u>	<u>636,915,454</u>

### CONTRA ACCOUNTS

ACCEPTANCES, LETTERS OF CREDIT, GUARANTEES AND OTHER OBLIGATIONS FOR ACCOUNTS OF CUSTOMERS (and customers' liabilities thereon)		<u>289,370,869</u>	<u>292,133,161</u>
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Maj Gen. Shehu Musa Yaradua (Retd), GCSC ..... | CHAIRMAN  
Tajudeen Katsina

Bashorun M.K.O. Abiola ..... | DIRECTOR  
Aare Olu Kankanafe of Yorubaland

Mallam Adams Bello ..... | MANAGING DIRECTOR/  
CHIEF EXECUTIVE

SULAIMON & CO  
Chartered Accountants

ALHAJI FALALU BELLO  
Legal Adviser

## PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT

	NOTE	1990 N	1989 N
<b>INCOME</b>			
Interest Received		103,535,215	78,561,098
Commission Charged		23,223,239	18,053,600
Foreign Exchange Earnings		6,943,079	3,445,684
Income from Investments		9,127,757	2,427,936
Other Income		<u>3,851,821</u>	<u>2,813,636</u>
		146,789,591	105,301,954
<b>EXPENSES:</b>			
Interest Paid	13	54,124,542	29,587,280
Loan Loss Expense	14	14,262,845	1,356,280
Management Fee		515,443	685,844
General Administrative Expenses	15	38,647,531	25,610,483
Depreciation		<u>5,391,788</u>	<u>3,025,204</u>
		<u>112,942,149</u>	<u>60,264,864</u>
<b>PROFIT BEFORE TAXATION</b>		<u>33,847,442</u>	<u>45,037,090</u>
TAXATION	10	<u>15,000,000</u>	<u>19,592,300</u>
<b>PROFIT AFTER TAXATION</b>		<u>18,847,442</u>	<u>25,444,790</u>
<b>APPROPRIATIONS:</b>			
STATUTORY RESERVE		4,711,860	6,361,198
PROPOSED DIVIDEND	11	7,000,000	10,500,000
RESERVE FOR BONUS ISSUE OF SHARES		7,000,000	7,000,000
<b>RETAINED PROFIT FOR THE YEAR</b>		<u>135,582</u>	<u>1,583,592</u>

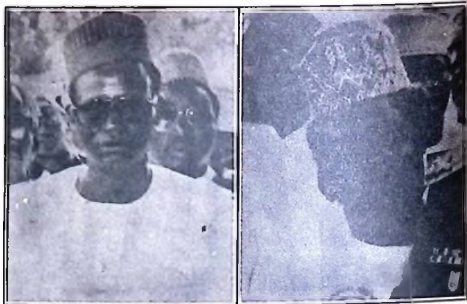
## Banking

## BON post 35 million Naira profit

**F**or the Bank of the North limited, one of the few successful indigeneous commercial banks in the country, the fiscal year ended on impressive note.

In its statement of accounts read by the banks chairman, Ignatius Aboki at the 31th annual general meeting, held recently in Kano, the bank recorded a pre-tax profit of 35.46 million Naira for the year ending December 31 1990. More impressive, however, was the bank's total deposit which in the period under review, increased from 1,223.7 million Naira in 1989 to 2,070.8 million in 1990. Total assets of the bank also increased by 69.2% over 1989 figure of 2,237 million Naira to 2,070.8 million Naira in 1990. Similarly, its total assets increased by 51% from 1,832 million Naira, to 2,764.6 million Naira.

The bank's chairman commended the bank staff stressing that the bank's impressive performance was due to their loyalty and confidence as demonstrated by the absence of strike and lock-out during the year. The banks, he said, will continue to provide the needed atmosphere to sustain their trust



Sodangi (MD) and Aboki: productive year

through vigorous pursuit of training.

On capitalization, the chairman disclosed that the board had already pre-empted the CBN circular on a minimum capital base of 50 million Naira by authorising an increase in its equity base to 100 million Naira on which 50 million Naira has been paid up. The 10 million Naira over the prescribed 50 million Naira, he noted will enable the bank to embark on more comfortable operation.

On development, he disclosed

that the bank had in the year under review embarked on expansion programme focused on the southern states adding that the bank's efforts would be geared towards modernisation and improvement of customer service.

With a wide branch net work of 100 branches in 18 states and Abuja, the chairman noted that the bank is poised to cope with the challenges of the economy and the industry.

By Abu Mommoh

## How much is too much?

Commercial banks and non-banking financial houses are locked in a war of words over interest rate ceilings

**T**he increase in the number of commercial and merchant banks in recent years has tended to suggest that the financial sector, especially the banks, is the major beneficiary of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) started by the Babangida regime in 1986. To banks, however, it has not

been as rosy as the public will want to believe. The industry is still grappling with the avalanche of liquidity mop-ups and prudential guidelines now being enforced by the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN).

Another problem facing the industry is the sharp practices of the non-bank finance houses which are

now growing like mushroom in every nook and cranny of the country. Of late however, some of the finance houses have tended to combine operation of saving schemes, an exclusive reserve of the banks with their traditional activities. To worsen the situation, the finance houses pay interest rate which exceed the 21 per cent ceiling recommended to banks by the CBN. This lures potential clients who favour high interest rates on their deposits to divert their money to the finance houses. The finance houses

also pay interest upfront, a practice which encourage many bank customers to divert their deposits to the finance houses.

Mr. Forcey Abioye who works with a finance house on Allen Avenue, Ikeja told *Citizen* that "instead of the 21 per cent ceiling recommended by the CBN, a finance house can afford to pay as high as 45 per cent interest rate to a depositor". According to Abioye, a lot depends on the cost of funds. The situation is such that, Patrick Orukari, legal officer at Pan African Bank Limited, observed at the just concluded three-day workshop organised by the Law Society of the University of Lagos on banking that "if the whole banking law in the country is not reviewed, the industry is heading towards a big doom".

Earlier on, two high ranking officials had commented on the activities of non-banking finance houses. The minister of finance and economic development, Alhaji Abubakar Alhaji, recently said that the federal government would likely put in place a regulatory framework to check the "dangerous" tendencies of non-bank finance institutions. He explained that the regulatory framework would be to check the activities of some of the financial houses which undermine the success of government's monetary policies.

Also, delivering a lecture to mark the first African Development Insurance Company (ADIC), forum at the NIIA, Lagos, Emmanuel Odozi, deputy governor of CBN said that the apex bank was unhappy at how the non-bank institutions were making it difficult to mount an effective control of the CBN's monetary policy through what he referred to as regulatory arbitrage - a situation where the institutions operate as bonafide Banks but were not subject to banking regulation or supervision.

This problem, together with the increasing proliferation of financial

houses with non-performing credits in their portfolios, he observed, "calls for urgent policy action in terms of regulation to bring about a safe and sound system and better management of monetary policy".

If the bankers are worried about the activities of the non-bank finance houses, Toyin Phillips, deputy director of CBN said "they have nothing to fear". Fielding questions from participants at the UNILAG workshop on banking law, she observed that the bulk of transactions in the country is done by merchant and commercial banks while that of non-bank finance houses amounts to only a fraction. "The commercial and merchant banks account for over 80 per cent of

As such, Dr. Kayode Familoni of department of economics, UNILAG argued that it is illogical for the CBN to expect them (finance houses) to come within the umbrella of their interest rate guidelines.

In the interest of monetary stability, Familoni suggested that the CBN should establish broad policy guidelines defining the boundaries of operation within which non-bank financial institutions should be left free to conduct their affairs as they deem fit. While agreeing that the finance houses are contributing to the socio-economic development of the country, Dr. Ogugua Anunoby of the department of finance and banking, University of Lagos



Ahmed, CBN not happy



Alhaji, finance minister

institutionalised savings and total deposit liabilities', Phillips told the participants.

According to her, CBN can only supervise the finance houses and not control them since the CBN Act does not include control of non-bank finance houses. Phillips however, observed that since finance houses operate on a higher risk level than banks, one should expect them to make higher returns. If the non-bank finance houses are making high returns it is because they operate in areas where the conventional banks fear to tread. They assume a lot of risk, plunge into the unknown and operate in areas of uncertainty.

cautioned that the finance houses can abuse the opportunities given to them by the government.

Since finance houses are competing with the banks, Anunoby wants government to investigate their activities and bring them under a relevant law.

Even though Nigeria is supposed to operate a deregulated economy, Anunoby pointed out that "if you are undertaking an activity that affects the lives of other citizens you must be controlled". According to him, the Money Lender Act is still in force in London to protect those who patronise money lenders.

By Tola Sunday

## RIMS trust fund swell

**A** drama sketch *Samanja* and his group captures the essence of subscribing in any trust fund far more clearly than any enlightenment campaign being mounted by the various capital markets. In the drama, two junior army officers had their houses destroyed by rainstorm. Because the first officer was a unit holder of the RIMS unit trust fund, he was able to use the accrued funds to put his house in order. The other officer, for not investing in any trust funds, had to go cap in hand to beg for capital to put up his house.

The management of RIMS Securities Limited chose that effective art-form to launch its unit trust fund at the Lugard Hall, Kaduna last Thursday. The

company is offering for subscription 20,000,000 units at one Naira per unit with a minimum of 200 units with subsequent multiples of fifty units. The units are redeemable at the option of unit holders "after the first 6 months of allotment". Furthermore, the "total net income of the scheme shall be distributed to unit holders as dividends at the end of each accounting year". However, like all other trust funds, the most attractive aspect of the project should be its objective of maximising returns on the invested funds with minimum risk.

The objectives of these projects are certainly laudable, even though the technicalities have ensured poor participation. Governor Tanko Ayuba who was the special guest at

the launch called for enlightenment on the objectives of the funds so as to ensure effective participation. The governor believes that the capital market is yet to be fully utilised since there are less avenues for investing available funds. He said the fact that, after the commercialisation of some companies by the TPC, some applicants over-subscribed should make people invest in the fund.

RIMS (unit trust fund) is being managed at the local level by the Kaduna state owned Nigerian Universal Bank. The launching was chaired by Mallam Adamu Ciroma, a former governor of the Central Bank and a second republic minister who observed that Muslims are prohibited by the Shariah from investing in some projects such as breweries.

By Rabiu Barde

## Cadbury

## Solidifying base

**C**adbury Nigeria limited is to increase its share capital to 50 million Naira from the present 30 million Naira through the creation of an additional 40 million shares of 50 Kobo each. This is one of the resolutions to be tabled for approval at the 26th Annual General Meeting of the company slated for early June. This was contained in a release by the company's media relations manager, Chido Nwakanmah.

The chairman of the board of directors, Gamaliel Onosode said "the directors proposed the capitalisation a 7.044 million Naira from revenue reserves for the purpose of making a bonus issue of one share for every four shares now held by shareholders".

Meanwhile, the company's turnover in the 1990 trading year has increased by 36 percent to 458.3



Onosode: a good year

million Naira; profit before taxation jumped by 94.1 percent from 19.1 million Naira in 1989 to 37.2 million Naira while after tax profit increased by 146 percent from 11.2 million Naira in 1989 to 27.6 million Naira in

1990. As a result, the company is increasing its dividends payments by 35.1 percent from the 10.4 million Naira of 1989 to 14.11 million Naira in 1990. Each shareholder will thus earn a dividend per share of 25 Kobo.

Though, it was a good year for the company as all its financial indicators are pointing upwards, the high interest regime last year adversely affected the company. Its dividend cover increased by 81.8 percent from 1.1 (times) to 2.0 (times) such that interest payments accounted for half of every Naira profit.

The new baby of the company, Cereal Conversion Plant (CCP), last year processed 10,000 tonnes of sorghum and 3,000 tonnes of maize. Onosode stated that "those volumes will be more than doubled when the plant is working at full capacity."

By Tola Sunday

## Kassim Musa Bichi

# SAP the only remedy

Nigeria's economic and political problems give great cause for concern,  
only SAP can begin to resolve them

For well over a decade, beginning from 1975 with the Murtala Muhammad regime, governments have grappled with a persisting economic problem. It is not for lack of resources. With the toppling of the Shagari government in 1983 and the subsequent imposition of austerity measures by the Buhari regime, there grew an awareness that the nation would for a long time pay the painful price for mismanagement. Yet no time has this fact been brought home than in the current Structural Adjustment Programme, (SAP).

The economic backwardness "is not in the economy, it is in us", the Managing Director of Northern Nigeria Investment Limited, NNIL, Alhaji Kassim Musa Bichi, stressed at Citizen's Platform. "Whichever way you look at it, whatever problem is picked, irrespective of those wrought upon the country by western economic manipulation through the IMF and World Bank or the giving of wheat on credit, the governments and people have helped compound these weaknesses".

Why should debt repudiation be contemplated when ironically we are borrowing more inspite of our huge foreign debt? He asked. "And when our creditors know we can pay; knowing our earning

capacity and how much has been stashed abroad?" That the monies abroad do not belong to the government is missing the point, he said, so long as government itself "participates" and "colludes" in the unpatriotic act, and for as long as government leaves "loopholes" that permit siphoning money out. When sand and stones are imported, like it was once reported, and nothing is brought back, that is taking out the nation's resources, he said.

But couldn't the illegal transfer of money abroad be checked through legislation? Alhaji Kassim concurred but doubted its efficacy. Execution of cocaine traffickers did not deter many Nigerians from committing the crime. Besides, like

corruption, it is difficult to prove capital flight in a court. Part of the solution, though difficult, lies in changing the psyche of Nigerians.

Though it is honourable not to repudiate our debts, especially when they have been "properly acquired", he contended that the allocation of a third of Gross National Product (GNP) to debt repayment is too much. Ten per cent is reasonable. For local debt which, unknown to many, is larger than the foreign one, Alhaji Kassim spoke about a dual solution he has been "silently advocating". First, that a provision be made in contract documents that government should pay interests that accrue on its debts to contractors as and when due in order to do away with inflated contract bills. Second, creditors could resort to the law courts to get the government to pay.

He also contended that numerous developmental problems which often defy economic theories, in particular, of demand and supply, are commendably being dealt with through SAP. For him, SAP alone can rectify the "false standard" the country lived in with the "jumbo loan" of the Obasanjo era which began the accumulation of "bad debts". SAP "must continue before things ever become better," he said.

SAP, however, appears



Bichi: SAP alone can help us

slow in raising the value of the Naira because, he explained, a determinant of the value of any currency, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), which in turn could be determined by inflation and the productive capacity of the agricultural sector, has not improved considerably. He said the value of the Naira is low. It should not be more than five or six Naira to the Dollar. SAP has equally been slow in revamping the agricultural sector, the base for industrialisation in agro-based economies like ours. Not enough incentives have been given to this sector, he noted, hence, farming is still insufficiently mechanised and other problems related to the distribution of inputs persist.

Tied to SAP is the ban on the importation of wheat — a policy that has been extensively debated. He sees the issue as an economist and a patriotic Nigerian. "As an investor", he laughed and said, "I think it is good", though in the short and medium term, it is counter-productive". A gradual phase out of

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*Citizen: What action can government now take, first of all to stop capital flight and secondly, to bring back what has been taken out?*

**Bichi:** The government does not know that people are taking money out. If say Mr XYZ gives Mr ABC a hundred thousand here and ABC has money abroad XYZ goes and collects abroad, that is capital flight and you can't stop it because ultimately, they will find a way of taking this money out. Even the Naira itself, not to mention foreign currency, is taken out of the country and it is because it is cheaper abroad. To bring money in, you require incentives and I think government is trying by way of incentives. For instance, through the trade fals

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Okongwu, Minister of Economic Planning

*Citizen: How would you assess the policy on wheat?*

**Bichi:** I think it is good. As an investor, I think in the short and medium term it is counter-productive. We have 22 mills, 1.5 million Naira worth of investment. With a stroke of the pen they all became waste overnight because some of them could not adapt. They were meant for wheat, not for other grains. You require a lot of money to convert them into milling other grains or even set up sections to process other grains. We did not determine that we could sufficiently produce wheat before banning its importation. The states were making unprecedented claims of wheat production. Kano, in 1985 or 1986 claimed to have produced 85,000 tons of wheat. The mills in Kano went to every nook and corner of the state to buy wheat, even at 4,000 Naira per ton. All they could get was 5,000 tons. It just wasn't there.

*Citizen: But they claim you said that their wheat was of poor quality.*

**Bichi:** That is not true. However, in the long term, the ban is good because it would spur local production, make us exploit our own potentials which we have not been doing. And now the mills are gradually adjusting.

*Citizen: More banks are*

*springing up in recent times. Do you think the country is under-banked?*

**Bichi:** It is not under-banked. It is under-branched, especially the merchant banks. What is required is the diffusion of services to the lowest possible business.

*Citizen: But isn't it a paradox that many others are in trouble. National Bank closed down a long time ago and ACB is on the verge of collapse.*

**Bichi:** That is a matter of management, not the economy. May be the borrowers from these regional banks see it as part of their national cake. So people took loans and refused to pay back.

*Citizen: But it is not only the regional banks. Bankers Association in Kaduna once pointed out that all the profits they declared were not real.*

**Bichi:** Government is rectifying that problem through the prudential guidelines that have just been handed down to the banks by the Central Bank. Only interest earned can now be accrued into the profit and loss account. If the account is "classified", the interest is then put on suspense. For the false profits, what the banks are doing is taking depositors and shareholders' money and paying out to government as tax and to shareholders as dividend. With the new prudential guidelines, don't be surprised if in 1992 you hear these banks either declaring losses or very marginal profit.

*Citizen: You were in politics.*

**Bichi:** I wasn't.

*Citizen: Where were you on July 10, 1981 when Bala Mohammed was killed?*

**Bichi:** I was in my office at the Audu Bako Secretariat in the ministry of finance. I heard shouts, I saw policemen and children running around. My driver told me people were throwing stones. So I came down and saw that the police had disappeared and the people were smashing and burning cars. I was able to walk through them to my house behind Government

House. Of course, I didn't even bother about my car. My office was ransacked. I lost my briefcase and some money inside. Of course, Mahmoun Baba Ahmed lied when he said that I was beaten up and people made me say I was for Mallam, not Rimi. That was a complete fabrication, and I confronted him with it.

*Citizen: What is your impression about the query against the emir, the reason given for the riot?*

**Bichi:** That is what we were told, but it's false. That is the politics of it. I don't know how it happened, why it happened. We were told that it was because the government gave a query to the Emir of Kano and the people rose against the governor in defence of the emir.

*Citizen: Do you know differently?*

**Bichi:** I cannot know because I was not privy to the decision. It was not a government decision. It was administrative, between the governor and the office of the secretary to the government. I do not know at any time when the cabinet sat and decided that the emir be queried. If you force me to think about it, I can only say it was politics; that it was people who did not like the PRP in Kano as the ruling party because in Kano, the NPN, though not strong, was influential. May be the money bags didn't like it and perhaps, they engineered the rampage, using the excuse of the query to cause chaos.

*Citizen: You think that kind of situation can arise again?*

**Bichi:** It can. Afterall, I read in the papers that a friend of a newly elected local government chairman in Niger State was killed because mobs thought it was the chairman. This is politics in Nigeria. One just prays it doesn't happen.

By Delia Nzekwu,  
Muhammed Haruna, Bilkius  
Yusuf, Adamu Adamu,  
Muhammed Bomo, Tawey  
Zakka and Abu Momoh

## Kampala document: Great expectations

**Y**ou may attribute it to an sardonic twist of fate but as five African heads of state, three former presidents, scores of diplomats and Africans from all walks of life converged on Kampala, Uganda, May 18-23 to deliberate on the security, stability, development and cooperation on the continent, Mengistu Haile Mariam, the embattled president of Ethiopia fled his restless country to take refuge in Zimbabwe. What other cynical drama did the delegates require to underscore the need to enhance security and stability in Africa? It was indeed a timely conference.

All the statesmen present at the Conference organised by the Africa Leadership Forum in conjunction with the United Nations Development Programme UNDP, the World Bank and the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), dwelt at length on the multifarious problems facing their countries and the implications of these on the security and stability of Africa. In attendance were the host, President Yoweri Museveni, Presidents Joacqum Chissano of Mozambique, Quett Masire of Botswana, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Omar Hassan El-Bashir of Sudan. Three retired presidents, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Aristides Pereira of Cape Verde and General Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, the organiser and chairman of the Africa Leadership Forum, ALF were also present.

The colourful plenary session was presided over by Mwalimu Julius Nyerere who attributed Africa's problem more to dictatorial leadership, what he called "democratic deficit" than to any balance of payment deficit. In his opening remarks General Obasanjo bemoaned the "dehumanising poverty" of the African continent. According to him "the declining fortunes of Africa remained grossly inadequate to sustain the forces and the momentum for internalised initiative and change". General Obasanjo therefore recommended that "for elimination of poverty and for sustainability, population stabilisation, protection of the environment, capacity building and retention must form essential part of our development strategy". He also identified co-operation and integration as the critical factors for development of all communities and

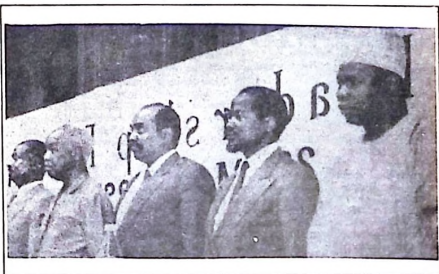
societies in Africa.

President Museveni in his address pointed out that dictatorial regimes contributed to instability in the continent and stressed that leaders must be democratically elected and their mandate regularly renewed through the ballot box. All the heads of state called for integration of Africa and an end to "slavery economics", boundary disputes, ethnic and religious unrest.

After the plenary session, the delegates retired into committee rooms where the major issues were distributed into four themes called "calabashes". They were stability, security, development and cooperation. For the two days these committees met, they identified, analysed and recommended strategies for the development of Africa. The report of the committees were then compiled, amended at a plenary session and adopted as the Kampala Document for the proposed Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa (CSSDCA). It was prepared for presentation to Organisation of African Unity, OAU heads of state summit scheduled for June 5 in Abuja, Nigeria. Below are excerpts.

### SECURITY

The concept of security goes beyond military considerations, it embraces all aspects of the society including economic, political and social dimensions of individual, family, community, local and national life. The security of a nation must be construed in terms of



Forum leaders in Kampala with our Obasanjo, right

the security of the individual citizen to live in peace with access to basic necessities of life while fully participating in the affairs of his/her society in freedom and enjoying all fundamental human rights.

#### Peace-keeping operations

Building on the limited experiences of Africa and cumulative lessons of the United Nations' operations, and taking measures that would avoid the mistakes which have been committed in such instances, Africa under CSSDCA should institute a continental peace-keeping machinery as an important instrument for the preservation of peace in instances which potentially or actually threaten the security of African state (s) or the continent as a whole. Such arrangements, however, should not preclude United Nations peace-keeping operations where necessary.

#### Confidence building measures

To restore a lasting state of national and continental

security, confidence building measures between African countries are called for under the CSSDCA process to cover inter alia exchange of information on troop locations and movements; joint military training; joint military manoeuvres; joint naval patrols, joint studies and seminars on sub-regional, regional and continental security issues.

#### Lowering of military expenditures

The undertakings involving all the security preventive measures outlined above should appreciably reduce, if not substantially eliminate, inter-African tension and dangers of open military conflicts. Such collective effort must pave the way for a collective process of lowering of military expenditures in Africa under the CSSDCA process. Overall reduction of military expenditures by participating member states should involve actual reductions and ceilings in manpower and reduced expenditures on military hardware.

#### STABILITY

Promoting political and social stability in individual African countries will be a key component in the CSSDCA process. The stability calabash will have to be guided by certain important principles to be adhered to by all member states.

To fulfil these principles governments will have to initiate, design and implement policy measures, and strengthen institutions which adjudicate disputes, resolve conflicts and attenuate the possibility

of violence. A fundamental link exists between national security, stability and sustainable development and these conditions can only be brought about by democratic practice and democratic institutions encompassing full respect for human rights, official accountability and popular participation.

#### DEVELOPMENT

Africa must subscribe to some basic fundamental principles to fashion the common direction of development under the CSSDCA process.

(i) Development based on self-reliance is the only viable basis — in Africa's circumstances — for the internalization of a self-sustaining economic growth on the continent.

(ii) Rapid physical and economic integration of the African continent is a *sine qua non* to Africa's economic survival in the 21st century and prospects for socio-economic transformation and competitiveness with the rest of the world.

(iii) Reliance on commodity production solely for export has been one of the major causes of Africa's economic crisis. Effective diversification both horizontal in terms of broadening the production base and vertically with respect to processing and marketing is imperative for the socio-economic transformation of the African economies.

(iv) Popular participation and equal opportunity and access must be promoted and sustained as a crucial basis for the realization of Africa's development objectives and strategies.

(v) Domestic partnership in development. Leaders and the governed should have responsibility for various aspects of development. The Leaders should provide the vision that should guide development.

#### COOPERATION

Africa should proceed along the three tiers of cooperation:

1. Among African countries — using bilateral and multi-lateral agreements and the existing sub-regional economic groupings as building blocks towards the achievement of an African Economic Community;
2. South-South Cooperation which Africa should pursue to achieve more fruitful results; and
3. North-South Cooperation.
4. Supranationality: As African countries foster cooperation and integration, the need for devolving certain key responsibilities to continental institutions would be imperative.

By Bilkius Yusuf



Host, Yoweri Museveni of Uganda

## Ethiopia Bumpy road ahead

Ethiopia's political future hangs in the balance

**T**he outcome of the peace talks between the Ethiopian caretaker government and rebel groups in London last week may not have come as a surprise to most people. The US-brokered peace talks was expected to discuss the political future of Ethiopia. But as it turned out, the meeting was only a grand design crafted by America to help its protégé, the Ethiopian Peoples Democratic Front (EPRDF) to power.

It was obvious even before the talks got underway that the Ethiopian government resistance had been crumbling as rebels had virtually run ring around the capital, Addis Ababa. Thus when the caretaker government went into the meeting, the odds were stacked against her.

Perhaps the government's undoing is traceable to the following: one, it forgot an important lesson in war which is never to underestimate

the enemy. Second: neither the battle weary troops straggling home nor the civilian residents already fed up with the unending war, were ready to confront the rebels. Third: the government was too naive to have blind fate in American peace initiative which was not altogether altruistic when she came to realise it was too late.

The opportunity to deliver the *coup de grace* came soon after the first round of the exploratory talks. Herman Cohen, the American mediator told the bewildered delegates that the US government had given the EPRDF rebels the go ahead and to move into the city to restore law and order which had broken down since the exit of former president Mengistu Haile Mariam. Cohen was quoted as saying that the suggestion seemed the best to ensure stability in Addis Ababa.

Not so, retorted the prime minister, Tesfaye Dinka who led the government delegation. Cohen not only dismissed the threat but said the talks could go ahead without the government delegation.

As it turned out when the rebel forces began the dawn assault on Addis Ababa there was no body to stop them. The rebels immediately seized control of most government ministries and key positions. By midday Tuesday, the battle for Addis Ababa was over.

Although Cohen said continued American support for the EPRDF would depend on the practice of democracy for which the movement has absolutely pledged itself, the task of re-shaping the country will require more. Already the leader of the rebel coalition, Menad Zanawi has outlined his priorities to administer the country

until a new government is formed.

Zanawi, a 36 year old former medical student said in London last Tuesday that the priorities of the EPRDF administration will be to improve law and order, facilitate distribution of relief materials and maintain essential services. He also disclosed that the new administration is to convene a conference in July to establish a broad based government. To facilitate the distribution of relief aids, the EPRDF will have to count on the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front (EPLF) support to open up the ports of Massawa and Assab to receive international shipments.

But observers say this may not come cheap. The EPLF's demand for referendum and independence are issues the new administration will have to act on fast. Although the EPLF has welcomed the end of the war it had insisted in not being part of the transition government. Last Wednesday, it soon reversed its stand when in London it said it will set up transition government for Eritrea under a UN supervised referendum.

It is not only in EPLF that there has been babel of voices. Some people were reported shot to death when government forces opened fire on demonstrators who took to the streets in Addis Ababa last Wednesday to protest the new administration and the American handling of the peace talks. They said it was a betrayal of the country's unity. The Oromo Liberation Front, OLF, another small rebel group is also not happy that the American government has given an unfair advantage to the EPRDF to take over the government.

By Abu Mommoh



Mengistu: down and out

## USSR

## Election of an autocrat

Georgians know he is a dictator and they love him for it

May 26, the republic of Georgia went a step further in consolidating its declared independence from Moscow after 70 years of Soviet domination. It held the first direct election for a republican president in Soviet history, and as expected, Mr. Ziyad Gamsarkhurdia won a landslide. The leader of parliament polled 87% of the votes cast to defeat five other candidates whose parties, though share a similar ideal of an independent Georgia with Gamsarkhurdia, were accused by the victorious leader of "secretly serving Soviet interest".

Gamsarkhurdia, a dissident and



Gorbachev, against Secession

former political prisoner is extremely popular for his commitment to the battle against Moscow's communist rule and for an uncompromising stand on independence from the Kremlin. He is so much of a hero, local people fear to openly criticise him. In the words of a politician, "he is an attractive man because he is an authoritarian". To most Georgians, Sunday's election is a fulfilment of the dream of a truly independent

Georgia. But for the minority ethnic groups historically embroiled in the war for self assertion, the poll means the worst for their welfare.

Georgia and most of its autonomous regions have continuously clashed, leaving many dead and many more wounded. They thus coexist distrusting each other. The regions are scared about losing their identity, their language and culture. They fear the wide-ranging powers the elected president now has will be employed in further repressing their interest. They therefore, prefer to remain with Moscow. When President Gorbachev called a referendum in March for a new union treaty, dissatisfied ethnic groups were his ally.

Gamsarkhurdia preaches democracy, but his democracy is different from the western styled. It is autocracy. Opposition groups and his supporters say it is well known he is a dictator who would hardly heed contrary opinions. The former, in addition, thinks he is a man who would not give up violence. Mr Gamsarkhurdia himself is not apologetic about his policies. He has consistently brushed off ethnic rivalries and indicated that minority rights are not as important as winning independence from Moscow. A new law which imposes stiff fine or prison sentence for anyone caught sully the new president was passed recently. Two weeks ago, a Television station was closed down because of its alleged sympathy for the National Congress Party. The Director of Georgian television in defence of the closure said, "Now is not the time for democratic programmes as Georgia is still in a revolutionary state".

Although President Gamsarkhurdia tells journalists he allows for opposition, his policies strongly belie this. Some voters in the recent poll told foreign correspondents they voted for him out of fear of possible reprisal from his supporters. When Gamsarkhurdia decides on an issue, the matter is closed. His refusal to grant autonomy to the regions demanding such is one instance. He insists Georgia has a spiritual mission to propagate Christian values in that party of the world like his book, *Georgia's Spiritual Mission* vividly portrays, and his political campaigns are blatantly religious in tone.

He admits he is steering a confrontational path with the Kremlin adamant about not allowing secession, but he will go ahead to build up the Georgian army of about 12,000 men currently to 60,000. Moscow's military high command has said the national guard is illegal. It is necessary to build up the army, some have explained. The president-elect would need it to effectively do away with most of the political parties that now make up the 200 in existence in the country. A spokesman for the president conceded to the need to abolish these parties.

Gamsarkhurdia's economic programmes are difficult to understand, especially on how he intends to move the nation away from the brink of starvation. Georgia's budget is in huge deficit. He, however, is giving priority to fighting "corruption and speculation". His greatest challenge at the moment is convincing President Gorbachev on why Georgia must secede.

By Delia Nzekwu

## Yugoslavia

## Bleak house

**Its political leaders tinker with a unity that is fast fading while the military wait for a slip**

**M**arshal Josef Broz Tito, Yugoslavia's strongman for almost half a century, until 1980 when death itself forced an end to his life presidency, must be weeping in his grave — if that were possible — over the terrible fate that has befallen a country he saved from Nazi occupation during World War II. Yugoslavia, not finding a successor like him whose birth straddled the country's ethnic cleavages, is literally breaking up!

Yugoslavia is a federation but over the years that term has lost its meaning for many Yugoslavs, especially the Croats and Slovans, who think they have been victims of a raw deal in the hands of the majority Serbs. They now prefer a looser confederation of semi — autonomous states, or failing that, let the six re-

ferred to binding the country together has snapped with the ethnic pull that resurfaced after his death. Even his own political invention, the rotational presidency, meant to allow each of the ethnic groups a say in the way the government is run is not helping the situation at all.

Earlier this month, the Serbian and the two provinces it controls — Kodosa and Vojvodina blocked the Croatian representative, Stipe Mesic from succeeding to the chairmanship of the Yugoslav presidency. He was to have taken over from Borisav Jovic, a Serb, on May 15. Since then, the country has been without a president.

Before then, in December last year, Slovenia had held a referendum which decided in favour of independence. In February this year,

referendum came in the wake of increasing unrests in the republic and the setback its candidate for the presidency suffered.

On May 5, there was an anti-army demonstration in the Croatian coastal town of Split, to protest against perceived army support for Serbian insurrection against the republic's government. The next day the army issued an ultimatum to the politicians to declare martial law in Croatia or it would deal with the violence there the way it saw fit. The warning set off a frenzy of political manoeuvring meant to stave off a break-up of the federation.

First, the presidency agreed that Croatia's special militia and the armed Serb groups in Croatia should disarm. Second, it set up a national salvation body, a state security coordinating group to govern the country "temporarily" in times of political crises. This body is made up of the prime minister, Ante Markovic, General Veljiko Kadijevic, defence minister (down with a lung cancer), Peter Gracanin, interior minister and others.

As things stand now, whether or not Mesic gets the presidency's chairmanship will decide whether Croatia and Slovenia will go all out for independence. The United States is believed to be using both the carrot and the stick to get Serbia to drop its opposition to Mesic, hoping that the two republics would "hold back from independence". The break-up of Yugoslavia, the Americans fear, would set off a chain reaction in Eastern Europe, particularly Czechoslovakia and possibly in bigger Soviet Union, too.

By Tawey Zakka

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**The cord which Tito's mix of Serbian and Croatian blood provided for binding the country together has snapped with the ethnic pull that resurfaced after his death. Even his own political invention, the rotational presidency, meant to allow each of the ethnic groups a say in the way the government is running, is not helping the situation at all.**

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publics go their separate ways. It is as if the ghost of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovans, which was the name of the country, has returned to haunt it.

The cord which Tito's mix of Serbian and Croatian blood pro-

vided for binding the country together has snapped with the ethnic pull that resurfaced after his death. Even his own political invention, the rotational presidency, meant to allow each of the ethnic groups a say in the way the government is running, is not helping the situation at all.

its elected government announced that its laws were to take precedence over federal laws and it was to have its own currency. Following in the footsteps of Slovenia, 3.6 million Croats voted overwhelmingly in favour of a semi-sovereign state. The



## BILKISU YUSUF

It became obvious that the rapport was strong and the unscheduled women conference that was holding simultaneously with the CSSDCA required some communication through which the women delegates could share their views with their male counterparts. The women met after the plenary session and

delegates also observed that continental security can only be achieved when there is food security. They called on governments to enhance the productive capacity of women who are the major food producers of the continent. The statement made it clear that democracy goes beyond multi party system, adding that only popular participation can guarantee effective involvement of women in governance. To achieve sustainable development the delegates called on all governments to enforce the United Nations recommendation on establishment of an autonomous women's commission geared towards initiating, promoting and monitoring programmes for mainstreaming women into development in all spheres. As a first step the statement advocated representation of women at the forthcoming Abuja conference of the OAU.

On cooperation, the statement noted that factors uniting Africans are greater than those dividing them and called for prompt dismantling of all barriers that hinder free movement of people, capital and goods across borders.

The Kampala statement was a lot more illuminating on the needs of women, their concerns about our state of underdevelopment, and their resolve to change our continent for the better. They, however, had their reservations about tendency of African organisations to be long on rhetoric and pious resolutions but short on action. The delegates therefore announced the establishment of a people's watchdog comprising non-governmental organisations and women's groups to monitor the implementation of all the resolutions adopted at various continental fora.

I challenge any male chauvinist to dismiss this realistic statement as another overheated reaction from women libbers.

## Women in Kampala

As diverse as the countries that form the continent of Africa, women delegates at the Africa Leadership Forum's conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa (CSSDCA) held in Kampala, Uganda last week were a curious combination. They comprised leaders of assorted non-governmental organisations, professional associations, diplomats, trade unionists, civil servants, academicians, journalists, entrepreneurs and prominent individuals. My humble self was there. It was not unexpected that there was a cross fertilisation of ideas and a convergence of minds, as many of them exchanged information on the role of women in the development of their various countries. The theme covered a broad spectrum of human endeavours, health, education, the effects of wars and structural adjustment programmes on women, income generation, access to credit facilities and land. This impromptu symposium was a continuous one that made every relaxation spot its venue, the spacious lobbies of Kampala Sheraton and Nile hotels, the registration arcade of the conference centre, between mouthful at lunch and dinner tables in the well lighted restaurants, even on the bus while riding to Entebbe from Kampala to attend the official reception hosted by President Yoweri Museveni.

resolved that a statement from them on the theme of the conference should be presented at the closing session for inclusion in the document to be tabled before the OAU heads of state at their Abuja summit scheduled for June 5th 1991. A drafting committee was set up and subsequent meetings fixed to deliberate on the content of the statement.

The statement which was read by the Ugandan minister of state for women in development, Mrs Gertrude Lubega, reflected the acute passion of women for the progress of humanity. First, it observed that Africa is experiencing socio-political and economic crisis, while the structural adjustment programmes imposed on its citizens had resulted in lower quality of life, unequal terms of trade and unemployment. Women and children were identified as the major victims of these harsh policies. To ensure democratisation, stability and sustainable development the statement urged women to fully participate in the political process and attain the highest level in decision making. The statement identified instability, turmoil, human right abuses and sit-tight posture of African leaders as some of the causes of underdevelopment and recommended the establishment of an advisory committee comprising reputable former heads of state for mediation and conflict resolution. The

# Citizen

All the news in perspective

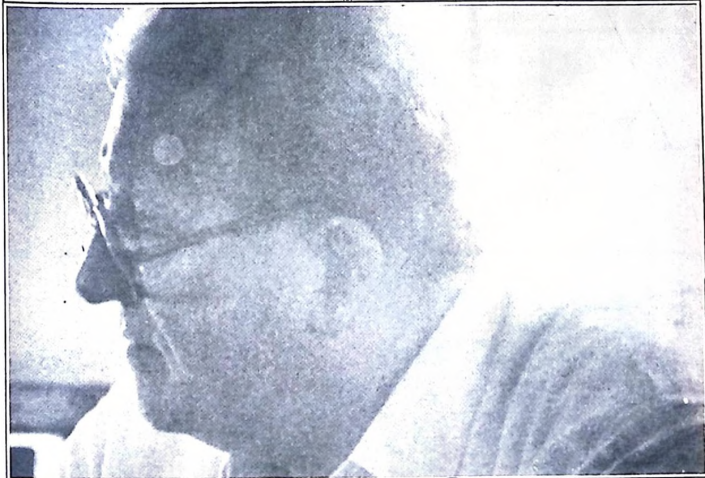
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*Meunir: Young at 65. Page 46*



YOU BET!... AN OFFICIAL  
DECLARATION!... A COMMUNIQUE  
OF THE O.A.U. MINISTERIAL COUNCIL  
SESSION HELD IN ABUJA, NIGERIA!

... DO YOU REALISE YOU'RE  
IMPORTING FOREIGN GOODS?



**ARE YOU OUT OF  
YOUR MIND?** ...  
MY MISSION WAS TO BRING THIS. IT  
MAY HELP IN BRINGING TO AN END  
THIS SENSELESS  
WAR!

... WITH A  
HEAVY SMELL OF DELICIOUS  
FOOD AND WINE?... GOOD WINE!...



**...SO, A DELICIOUS  
COMMUNIQUE  
CAN STOP  
WARS?!**



# Republican fury

**K**ampala, Uganda last week had its share of privileged Nigerian drama. It was free of charge (FOC) and the venue was the main hall of the International Conference Centre. The Africa Leadership Forum was hosting delegates from different parts of Africa to discuss the security, stability and development in this troubled continent of ours. Africa's who's who were all there.

Two of the delegates were the chairmen of the National Republican Convention, NRC, Chief Tom Ikimi and the Social Democratic Party, SDP, Ambassador Babagana Kingibe. The latter was absent, not surprising, since parties that are a little to the left have always left many things undone due to lack of funds. 'Am told that the fare to Kampala could print one million campaign posters for one of the too numerous SDP gubernatorial or even a presidential candidate.

Well, the NRC being a little to the right should naturally have more dough to throw around, after all what does it cost to go to Kampala? So, good old Ikimi on receiving the invitation thought it was an opportunity to blow the NRC trumpet, and loudly too.

The plenary session was half way through when Ikimi walked in with his entourage. Over-starched, guinea brocade *babanriga* creaked to announce their arrival. Heads turned, the entourage could not be ignored, a governorship hopeful from Sokoto State, M.B. Alkali, one Chief Maxelle Amadi, a Graham Douglas—looking guy and our one and only colleague in the pen fraternity, publisher of the defunct *This Week* magazine Nduka Obaigbena, now turned Ikimi's image manager.

The group travelled in style, a chartered Okada flight delivered them and waited to convey them home the following day. They checked into the biggest suite in Kampala's Sheraton Hotel, a marked departure from the double room other delegates had. When you're a party official you need plenty of space to grow democratically. One "amebo" of a delegate even swore the contingent brought all its food. I won't raisebrows, 'amsure they harboured



doubts about getting *swan* water, *agbono* soup, *fufu* and stock fish in Kampala. Only the poor can swallow the humiliation of eating hotel food, changing flights and other rigours transit passengers experience. Blessed are the poor for they shall remain tolerant of what they can not prevent.

But the poor need not despair

because Ikimi arrived in Kampala with a panacea for the eradication of poverty. It was a 10 page paper titled "Poverty and African Security" which he insisted on presenting to the plenary session. Yes! and why not when the NRC has the solution to abject continental poverty? However, the chairman of the plenary session, former Tanzanian head of state, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere had other ideas. After allowing five heads of states and a few leaders of non-governmental organisations to read their speeches, he had no time for late comers despite their flamboyant apparel or the efficacy of their prescriptions for the poverty ailment. The NRC baron was told that he could only present his paper to any of the four committees when they convened. No, that wasn't good enough! Of course Chief Ikimi didn't take kindly to this and waited for an opportunity to vent his spleen on General Obasanjo, the organiser of the Kampala Leadership Forum.

Trust Obasanjo to call a spade a spade and he made it clear to Ikimi that the Kampala Forum was not the venue for Nigerian party conventions. If the NRC insisted on monopolising the plenary session, democracy demanded that all the one thousand and one parties littering the continent should also have a go at vote catching. And by the time they all deliver their 10 page manifestoes, the Kampala Forum would have extended into the year 2000.

A disappointed Ikimi turned down a dinner invitation, distributed an NRC poverty alleviation pamphlet and breezed back home in his chartered flight to nurse his fury. Blessed are the affluent politicians for they shall inherit politicking and the guile voters are the fallouts!

# Animal world

**A**rrogance of human beings prevents us from exploring fully the world of animals. But animals do have a world, all very real which can only be appreciated by those who care to know. The bee colony is a complex social system as organised as the termite community. For all these animals and insects we take for granted we ought to pause and imagine what life will be without them.

## Bee queen

I salute thee Bee of wisdom  
 Busy as you buzz in your kingdom  
 Brave is the bee queen  
 She lays all eggs so spick and clean  
 To keep the species living  
 But the bee workers kill her before  
 leaving  
 the colony to gather flower pollen  
 Before the sun is fallen.

Yet the best of food she gets  
 To strengthen the eggs she begets  
 for her who gets the best  
 Death is nothing but a nest.  
 In it she lays her eggs  
 Hidden between her robust legs.  
 Brave queen on you rely the rest.

But for you there will be no honey  
 To procure with gold or money  
 But for you there will be no healing  
 From the soothing, medicinal deal-  
 ing  
 That honey provides for sundry  
 diseases  
 The instant protection honey re-  
 leases.

Bilkisu Yusuf

## The Zoo

The Zoo is the show case  
 of wild animals,  
 a little like Noah's Ark.  
 Some animals are in cages,  
 others walk in enclosures,  
 all longing for freedom.  
 They are in fact prisoners,

and I read in their eyes,  
 sadness, boredom, nostalgia.  
 But, in a way children,  
 a Zoo is a blessing,  
 it enable you to know  
 all the creatures that God  
 has put on our planet.

Lions and elephants are the darlings  
 of young children,  
 the monkeys as well, always ready  
 to grimace and pull faces.  
 As to the giraffe so tall,  
 she is the link between earth and  
 sky.

## The donkey our friend

Donkey, my friend, you are such  
 a good-hearted animal  
 sober, robust and wiry  
 a bit stubborn yes,  
 but so gentle if well treated.  
 Donkey, my friend, you are  
 always happy  
 when you bray  
 heehaw! heehaw!  
 I understand your tongue,  
 heehaw! Hawhee!  
 These words mean a lot of things.  
 Following your cries  
 I know when you are sad,  
 heehaw! heehaw!  
 angry or pleased,  
 heehaw! hawhee!  
 Trudging through the mud  
 or struggling over the sandy track.  
 Heehaw! hawhee!  
 loaded with sacks of grains,  
 bundles of wood,  
 or even children,  
 heehaw! heehaw!  
 Donkey my friend  
 you deserve respect.  
 Heehaw! hawhee!

Pierre Meunier

## "Cocky" and "Heny"

The Hen:—I am glad I am created a  
 hen  
 I seldom taste the hereafter.



Of joy, the knife  
 I just ecstatically receive,  
 Lay, incubate and breed  
 some death-doomed roosters  
 who ingloriously ended up in pots!

The Cock:—I am graced I am made  
 rooster  
 Martyrdom in pot is better than  
 Heartlessly witnessing the butcher  
 of my own!

The Hen:—I am glad I am sane  
 I don't oppress our peaceful-times  
 with any loopy crowing  
 In the name of worship!

The Cock:—I am proud of my roos-  
 timine worship  
 It reminds creatures-of-understand-  
 ing  
 of the inevitable return to our origin  
 It scares, enrages and humiliates the  
 cats  
 who have no time of cropping up  
 evil  
 Than at dusk!

The Hen:—And I am glad that I  
 don't have to live on plunder?

The Cock:—Me it is whose purity  
 has reached a Senith  
 where I don't mind pecking on grav-  
 els  
 To let you devour on my share

Ahmad U. Abdullahi

# Backache I

I would be surprised if anyone reading this article has not had at least one episode of it. By the age of 50, no matter how diligently you try to stay in shape, your back will probably have given you some problems.

One of the worst episodes of back pain I have ever had myself came on abruptly when I twisted to try to get a tennis ball. I had to stop playing immediately, and it was almost three weeks before I could return to tennis or golf. I have often had patients, usually women, who developed back pain while stretching to wash a window or take something off a high shelf.

Some scientists say that our back problems really began when our species started to walk upright, putting an undue amount of stress on our back muscles. Sturdy as they are, the muscles aren't quite strong enough to handle heavy lifting, or even sudden twists and turns, which can tear a portion of a muscle loose from the vertebrae. That can cause bleeding, irritation of the nerves that branch out from the spinal cord—and acute pain.

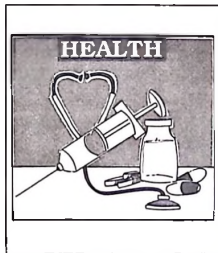
There's another problem with walking upright. The vertebrae are stacked on top of one another in a chain that runs from the skull to the tailbone. In between each pair, acting as a sort of protective cushion, is a cartilaginous ring known as an intervertebral disc. If the disc slips or is torn or pulled away by physical stress, part of it may put pressure on the spinal cord or its branches and cause pain very much like that of a torn spinal muscle. If it presses on a nerve that runs down the leg, the patient will also have leg pain. Unfortunately, as we get older, the intervertebral discs begin to show the wear and tear of years of pounding and become more susceptible to

By William A Nolen

tears and herniation.

If a patient's pain is localised to the lower back, I'm usually comfortable in assuming it's a muscle tear. Ordinarily, I don't even x-ray the back in these patients. You can't see torn muscles on an X-ray. Why make them spend money on X-rays that will almost certainly look normal? I tell them we can always get X-rays later if the pain persists.

Low back pain, particularly if the injury is severe, may take as long as two or three weeks to go away. Such slow progress prompts some patients to leave their doctor and seek out a chiropractor, who is likely to take a lot of X-rays and advise a series of manipulations to



"realign" the vertebrae correctly. Most M.D.'s believe that the chiropractor's claims are a lot of hokum and that when the pain goes away it is only because nature has done its job and healed the damaged tissue. I'm one of those M.D.'s; I have yet to see any scientific proof that manipulation realigns anything. But please don't write and tell me how you have complete faith in your chiropractor. I know lots of patients who

believe as you do.

I also know patients who believe in more exotic treatments. For several years, there was a woman in a nearby town who had a reputation for curing people by the laying on of hands. I will call her Ms. Swenson. And I will remember a farmer in his early 60s who came to me complaining of pain that I was certain he had gotten from a back muscle, torn when he tried to lift a heavy bale.

"Ralph," I said, "I'm going to give you prescriptions for both pain pills and muscle relaxants. You take these, use a heating pad on your back, get off your feet for a few days and take it easy for another week. Let me know if you aren't better in ten days".

A week later, I bumped into Ralph as he was coming out of one of our local hardware stores. "You are walking fine, Ralph," I said. "Those pills worked faster than I thought they would".

Ralph gave me an embarrassed grin. "Hate to say it, Doc, but I never did get those pills. Thought I'd give old Miss Swenson a try first. I know you won't believe this, Doc, but I went to her three days in a row; and each time, she laid her hands on my back, muttered something, and I could actually feel waves of heat moving from her hands into my back, just like electric shocks. I was back on my tractor by the fourth day, and I haven't had any trouble since".

I congratulated Ralph and made no comment about Ms. Swenson. I long ago learned never to argue with success.

Still, since most of us doctors don't have magic hands, we usually treat torn spinal muscles with a combination of rest, heat and pain killers.

*Called from 50 plus*

## Pierre Meunier

# Young at 65

At his age, Meunier can hardly be considered young. But in the world of the playwright, he certainly is

He started barely three years back. Precisely in 1988. And in that period, he has churned out twenty plays! Incredible?

Bayo Oduneye, who directed one of the plays, says: I have read fifteen of his plays and I find them very interesting". He should know, for he has more than twenty years directing experience behind him as a senior lecturer in drama at the University of Ibadan.

Echoing the same feelings, Bassey Effiong, a Lagos-based theatre director and playwright maintains: "Pierre sent me seven of his plays. I must confess that he writes well".

French by birth, Nigerian by naturalisation, he writes in English and speaks Hausa fluently. He explains: "I was born in Grand, Eastern France on 10th July, 1926. After attending the school of Commerce in Paris in 1946, I was drafted into the French army where I served with the French occupation forces in Germany for two years. In 1948, I came to Nigeria to join the overseas services of SCOA. Before then, I had worked briefly with the American army to improve my English".

His job in SCOA took him to the length and breadth of Nigeria. He was in Lagos, Port-Harcourt, Jos and finally Maiduguri where he settled. After a twenty two year stint with SCOA, he left to set up a distributive business. In 1973, he became a full Nigerian citizen. Thereafter, he opened a medical

clinic as well as a manufacturing plant. So how did he come into writing"? He enthuses, "As a fifteen year old, I had written some short stories. But in business you are a slave. You have no time for yourself. But I managed to gather materials within the period. So when I retired in 1988, I started writing earnestly". But twenty plays in twenty four months? He laughs. "The materials were all there. All I just did was put

"My love for the theatre grew from there. Writing just came naturally to me".

Any influence? "Yes, yes" he asserts. "I am influenced by Moliere. His farces are fantastic". He confesses that he has not seen much of the Nigerian theatre but has read the works of Soyinka and Achebe. "They are good writers", he says.

Unlike the novelist whose final output is the novel, the playwright's

job actually begins with the script. Producing it on stage is a *sine qua non*. Pierre Meunier realises this much. Besides sponsoring an amateur theatre group in Maiduguri, The Space 2000" which produces his plays. He added: "I hope to start a season of my plays in Lagos in August this year".

What about sponsor-ship? "I will secure sponsor-ship for the season. What is important is for the plays to be good".

And judging by the rousing reception to his "John Brigg's Paradise" a play he dubs "a farce on infidelity", produced at the National Theatre, between April 23 to 28, his optimism is well placed. What with the French cultural centre already discussing taking it to far away Nairobi in Kenya.

By Oji Onoko



Meunier: Youngest oldman

them together".

Indeed. But not so easy. Besides paying clinical attention to plot, setting and characterisation, conflict must be established and suspense maintained to avoid boredom. So how was he able to do these having had no formal education in drama? "In Paris, I was exposed to the theatre", he answers.

## SPORTS

## Kaduna State

## Big boost for sports

Kaduna State has taken steps to build a multi-million Naira sports complex in a bid to recapture its old glory

If everything works out fine, the hosting of the National Under-18 Handball Championship by Kaduna State next month is going to mark the first major step by the state towards its pet sports project the multi-million Naira sports complex.

The complex, which will have its facilities tailored to international standard, is expected to enable the state recapture its old reputation as one of the leading centres of national and international sporting competitions in the country.

The state capital's sports glory went with the pulling down of Ahmadu Bello Stadium (ABS) in 1987 for renovation in preparation for a FIFA junior world cup that never was. Gone with ABS was the opportunity for the state's athletes to train and stage competitions in a stadium with standard sports

facilities. Having waited in vain for the federal ministry of youths and sports to complete the ABS project, the Kaduna State government decided early this year to build its own ultra-modern sports complex as the best means to put an end to the bitter experience its athletes and sports associations have been going through since 1987.

The first step towards putting the sports complex project on track was taken a couple of months ago when the state government decided to construct two playing courts at the complex site to host next month's national Under-18 handball championship. Borini Prono, a subsidiary of an Italian construction firm has been entrusted with the handball courts, while another construction firm JAFCO, an indigenous firm based in Kaduna

will also help in shaping up the complex with the building of a basketball courts.

But what seems a convincing move by the state government to make the complex a reality was its decision last week Wednesday to pay about 200,000 Naira out as compensation to individuals and organisations whose farms, structures and other property are affected in the land acquired for the complex at Kaduna South, along western by-pass.

According to Kaduna State Director of Sports Alhaji Ahmadu Maude, the complex will be constructed in phases over a period of two years. Attempts to know the total amount the 45,000-capacity stadium sports complex will cost proved abortive. Sources at the state sports council said that the over-all amount is still being worked out by an estate firm. The complex is however, expected to cost a pretty sum of money running into many millions of Naira because of its design and facilities which are to be of international standard. Alhaji Maude told *Citizen* that the complex will contain among other things, the main bowl with tartan track, training pitches, lawn tennis court, Olympic-size swimming pool and multi-purpose gymnasium.

The Kaduna State sports council boss is already counting the benefits the State would derive from such a gigantic sports edifice by the time it is finally completed. The complex, he explained, would confer more social and economic benefits on the state because Kaduna would be in a position to host important national and international competitions. Alhaji Maude believes that the only way Kaduna State can match its political status with sporting excellence is through provision of adequate sports facilities that can help its athletes to train well and excel in major national and international competitions.

Meanwhile, the State Sports council and the ministry of social



Governor Ayuba



Maude

development youth and sports have started working out strategies to ensure the successful hosting of the National Under-18 Handball Championship taking place next month. The main organising committee and five-sub committees were inaugurated last Thursday at the sports council conference room. Their assignment was to ensure that the championship is

hitch free. The main organising committee, which is to work towards the over-all success of the competition is headed by the commissioner for social development youth and sports Mr. Barnabas Pikawi. The sub committees are accommodation and feeding, publicity and documentation, transport and protocol, facilities and venues, and

medical/welfare.

The director of sports also spoke on the preparation being under taken by the state team to emerge the overall winners of the championship "we are doing everything within our power to ensure success for the state team. We are giving them all the necessary support to see that they top the championship."

By Joe Olajuwon

## Basketball celebrates silver

OBJ's book, 25 years of basketball was launched with most dignitaries not in attendance

OBJ: Oliver Babatunde Johnson. That name ought to ring a deafening bell that would see all basketball buffs, of whatever era, congregating to be counted among the students of the master. How wrong could this statement be? Well, an OBJ bell that rang in the form of a literature was



Prof. Abdullahi:  
Chaired the occasion

just like a rolling stone. Of course, it gathered no moss.

Wednesday 29th of May, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, gymnasium. That was where Oliver Johnson chose to launch his immensely important book, 25 years of Basketball in Nigeria. Earlier, it was announced that the occasion would be graced by important dignitaries like Major General Joe Garba (rtd),

Alhaji Ibrahim Galadima, Alhaji Aliyu Sambo, Godwin Anani, Abraham Ordia and Walid Zabadne. But by the time the day's last event, a match between ABU and Kano Pillars was over, only Professor Ango Abdullahi could be regarded as any personality of repute in attendance. He was the chief launcher.

What went wrong? Perhaps, two things. First must be the lack of organisation and proper arrangement. And secondly, it could be that the organisers never in the first place planned for an elaborate launching. Whatever was the reason, the personality of OBJ in basketball circles and the launching

of such an important book deserve better than what we got last Wednesday. This is the first time a reference literature for officials, administrators, coaches and players was put together. Yet its celebration was a huge anti-climax. No-nonsense former Ahmadu Bello University vice-chancellor, Professor Ango Abdullahi did not let whoever is responsible for the poor organisation go without some knocks. He accused the authorities of the ABU of insensitivity at what should otherwise be a glamorous event that deserves to be supported nationally.

And apart from Professor Ango Abdullahi's strong words against the



Basketballers in action

organisation, everyone, including the author himself, conspired to portray a cheerful face, as if they have achieved something. Actually apart from the pulsating basketball match between the collegiate champions ABU and one of the best teams in the country, Kano Pillars which was played under floodlights, nothing gave OBJ what he deserves. Kano Pillars won the match 82-78.

Oliver Babatunde Johnson, a black American is as old as basketball in the country. In fact history would have dealt him a cruel blow if he had failed to produce such a masterpiece. Since coming to Nigeria, OBJ has trained the national teams and several other teams. He is a household name in every part of the north where he has been teaching the game with such teams as Pillars,

Niger Potters, Kaduna Super Stars and Plateau Peaks.

Besides, there is nothing one would want without getting it in the book when it concerns basketball in Nigeria. The book contains most important statistics and records. Perhaps, it also has the most memorable collection of sports photographs in the whole country.

By Rabiu Barde

## Red Star clinch Euro cup

**R**ed Star Belgrade of Yugoslavia last Wednesday night, inside Bari stadium in Italy emerged the winners of European most prized soccer championship — the Champions Cup. Red Star made history as the first Yugoslav team to win the cup after defeating cup favourite Olympique Marseille of France 5-3 in a penalty shoot out.

In what looked like the replay of the one sided 1990 world cup final between Western Germany and Argentina, Olympique Marseille did the playing, while Red Stars who were jittery right from kick off decided to rely on purely defensive strategy. The pulsating match which was full of tension and feverish excitements however failed to produce a single goal within the regulation time of 90 minutes. The 30 minutes extra time also ended in a barren draw.

When the two sides chose to settle scores through penalty shoot out, luck decided to pitch its tent with the Yugoslav champions. Amidst choking tension and high expectation among soccer fans, Manuel Amoros, 34-year-old attacking full back reputed for his exceptional skills shattered his club's dream of being the first French club to win any European soccer trophy, when he directed the first kick for Marseille to the waiting hand of Red Star 26-year-old experienced goal tender, Stevan Stojanovic. The Yugoslav side however, made a fine



Savicevic of Red Star

job of the penalty shoot-out by converting all the five kicks they took.

Olympique Marseille, who had a fantastic run to the final by eliminating such hot favourite like defending champions AC Milan, must however be cursing their luck for failing to wrap up the match within regulation time, especially when many scoring chances came their way in the early part of the match. Jean Papin who for three years has been top scorer in the French league and is rated as one of the world's most consistent strikers, and former Tottenham Hotspur sensational striker Chris Waddle failed to convert early scoring chances that came their way.



Waddle of Marseille

The first European Champions Clubs cup was held in 1956, with Spanish club Real Madrid emerging the maiden champions after beating Stade de Reims of France 4-3 in Paris. Real Madrid also hold the Championship record as the only European team to have won it five consecutive times between 1955 and 1960.

By Joe Olajuwon

### Bauchi Polo takes off

The Bauchi Polo Club will stage its first Nigeria Polo Association (NPA) tournament between June 4-6. The tournament is expected to feature about 20 Polo teams from different clubs in the country, according to the club assistant secretary Alhaji Sani Mohammed. The clubs will compete for trophies sponsored by some major companies based in Bauchi during the three day-tournament.

ADAMU ADAMU S

DEFINITIONS  
IN HUMOURPeace  
Correspondent

The other day the sub-editing devil made Kabiru a war correspondent and I thought in order to call a sub-editing angel to make me a peace correspondent. If by now you haven't seen the joke, chances are that you will never see it. I hope there are more of you. It is good to escape.

But I wish to doubt my hope because one such was dashed the other day.

I had gone to visit one old retired colonel on some assignment. Since his house is within shouting loudly distance from *Citizen* I naturally expected to meet a friend of the magazine. It was a sobering, humbling and deflating experience.

"What's your name and where do you work?"

I identified myself. "I work in *Citizen Communications*."

"I see. What do you sell?"

My heart sank.

"We are a magazine, sir."

"Here in Kaduna?"

"Yes."

"So you are still in business?"

My heart sank deeper.

Oh! I thought. Did he expect us to expire in our first year?

"We are sir," I answered when I recovered.

"The last time I read it was about 30 years ago."

Good. I brightened up. I now got his message.

escape the embarrassment of people screaming at us about the unacceptable number of typos, sentences ending in mid-air or doing *layar zana*, or transposed captions, *ad infinitum*. To date correspondent takes the prize. Now, since such mistakes are a thing of the past, we can heartily laugh at ourselves.

**Citizen** — *Sea-tea-zinc*. How will boiled sea water with a sprinkling of zinc taste as tea? Very disagreeable. Is it true that that's what *Citizen* journalists take? It is not. Ha! ha!

## Things to tick

The regime of getting organised has devised so many strategies to help with the paperwork, to help the memory, to help remember and match names with faces, and generally improve efficiency and time management. If it does that there won't be any complaint. It generally does so but it is in danger of becoming a dogma and ritual.

Just take the example of this young man. Everyday he wakes up, he draws up a list. "Things to do Today" he calls it. A neat list of about 20 places to call, people to see and pieces of work to complete. Immediately after breakfast he drives out with No.1 on his mind. He arrives at the rendezvous. He

"Sir, you must be talking of the Nigerian Citizen."

"Yes."

"Oh! that's a newspaper, we are a magazine."

"So, what can I do for you?"

And so I told him — and left.

Now if all people are like our old colonel, sales of course will be disastrous, but we can safely

looks around hoping not to meet the one he is to see or praying the meeting place is inaccessible. The desire is not to accomplish what is on the paper. The young man is in a race against himself. His victory is in seeing as many numbers on his list as possible finished with.

"Well, at least I have come," he has been heard to moan with a shrug, and not without satisfaction. Then he will rush toward No.2, then No.3, then No.4 — to the end, ticking as he goes.

Alhaji, remember Lamara doesn't do it that way, does he?

"Things to do Today" becomes "Things to tick Today" — and they are ticked. Meanwhile the work piled up.

## Students

**Work** — What you do when you are not sleeping, especially if you are ticking it. That's what we call efficiency.

Student's unionism is a microcosm of the country. See how easily their resolve is broken. The nation is an unreasonable entity. And just so are the student!

**NANS** — *Nones*. Many nonentities.

**NATS** — *Nuts*. Technology in the hands of nuts — *technutlogy*.

**BURSARY** — Bursa is the anti-friction pouch found on some organisms. Naira is a bursa-ray, the best medicine for the many frictions in a student's life.

**GOAL** — Students shout about changing the country and improving the world. The reality is that they are unable to even change their campuses.

## Politics

**NRC** — Northern Republican Convention.

**SDP** — Southern Democratic Party.



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