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Citizen

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FROM THE EDITOR

Joseph Yusuf, the eldest son of Ambassador Jolly Tanko Yusuf, vice-president of Christian Association of Nigeria, is a person who makes friends easily. In these times when religion has truly become the first refuge of every scoundrel, it sounds strange that this son of a CAN leader would live at Anguwar Sarki, the most muslim neighbourhood of Kaduna. For Joe, as friends call him, this however was as natural as, well, sleeping or waking up.

The penultimate Sunday, his indifference to religious differences nearly cost him and his family their lives, but for divine intervention. That Sunday as news reached Kaduna that, even as the report of Justice Cudjoe's judicial panel into the Zango Kataf's riots of February 6 was being awaited, a far more devastating (and from eyewitness accounts, this word is an understatement) killings of Hausas by the indigenous Katafs has taken place for two days, Hausa youths, brandishing all sorts of weapons, took to the streets in the night killing anyone who looked like a Southern Zaria indigene irrespective of whether he or she was Kataf. Along the line several people who were not even from Kaduna State lost their lives or property or both.

Joe's wife was alone with the kids on Monday morning when a gang of the marauding youths descended on her house. As they torched her home of many years, she managed to run away with all her children save for seven-year old Abbati. The youths caught up with him and put a knife to his throat to slaughter him. His poor mother watched helplessly. As the child screamed and begged for mercy, an elderly muslim neighbour, he of divine intervention, said to the youth "what wrong could this innocent child have done to you? How can he be responsible for what has happened in Zango?" Mercifully the youths took pity and let go Abbati.

Joe lost his home, but he was still a lucky man — luckier than no less than 900 Hausas in Zango Kataf who were literally bombed out of their homes, slaughtered like rams and left for dogs, pigs and vultures to feed on.

Covering this gory story, was a tough job, especially as this was the first time for the nearly two years of our existence that we would produce under night curfew on Thursday, our production day.

Then there was the human angle. The gory sight of decomposing bodies was simply too hard to stomach. Indeed right before our eyes a soldier in a passing vehicle carrying several of them shot a man dead absolutely without reason!

Then there was the problem of getting at the facts with emotions running high and incredible tales of mutual slaughters, heightened by mutual fears, flying around.

The cover story was one in which all hands had to be on deck, including that of the poor missus of the editor-in-chief, Tani, who was literally commandeered into her kitchen at 11.30 pm to boil yams and cook some junk stew for the editorial and production staff who worked flat out till 6am on Friday—only to resume at 10 am to round things up.

Mohammed Haruna

LETTERS

Can Naira be saved

Sir,

Your recent lead article on Saving the Naira, coming during the present period of transition to civil rule, set me thinking. For, if history be the best teacher, then our budding leaders of tomorrow should today, consider and try to understand the magnitude of past mistakes in the management of our national economy.

Take especially, the impact of oil revenue on Nigerian economic activity since 1970/71, when OPEC first started pushing up the international price of oil, thus creating stupendous windfalls for its member (and non-member) states.

During that period, Nigeria, by my reckoning, has earned close to 500 billion US dollars in oil revenue alone!

Regrettably, our national penchant for creaming of a percentage on all forms of government expenditure is well documented and suffice to say that even at 10%, 50 billion dollars over the years is a lot of waste



on "kickbacks" etc.

But perhaps most damaging, is the wasted expenditure on unproductive, prestige and/or uncompleted projects. Were 50% of all our projects during that period to be seen as prestige and/or uncompleted, (therefore yielding zero financial returns or equivalent in perceived welfare) this means that an additional 250 billion dollars may have gone up in smoke.

Small wonder that many have called for acts of treasury looting

and similar corruptive practices to be redefined under the penal code, not as grand larceny but as treasonable felony as the latter carries the death sentence, as its ultimate deterrent.

More importantly, this legacy of past mismanagement is not simply one of wasted opportunities, but also one of attendant psychological illnesses of get-rich-quick mania; conspicuous consumption fever and chronic aping of the West.

Akintayo Akin-Deko
Ondo State

Money politics

Sir,

The sudden withdrawal of Senator Paul Tsongas from American presidential primaries shows that the American political system is money oriented. And this is the sort of political system we are trying to copy wholeheartedly. This means that money politics has got official blessing either directly or indirectly.

Already our presidential aspirants have started an open display of money politics which could be called Third Republic money trade-fair. Could the use of money politics make NEC to change the eight weeks spread period for the presidential primaries? Since the more money a presidential aspirant spends in advertising himself, the more would be the inflated contracts.

As one elder statesman said, "if every vote is a "pure" vote not a bought vote, then a coup will never succeed". Will the open-ballot system then help stop the buying of votes?

L.G. Hassan
UDU, Sokoto

Hail Danmasani

Sir,

Alhaji Yusuf Maitama Sule has truly vindicated the good side of the saying of the Kanawas that "Koda me kazo anfi ka". (With whatever you

come, exists the better).

When he goes on any podium to speak, three things are assured. Like Caesar's Mark Anthony, he will cajole, comfort and then strike at the soft centre.

For Alhaji Yusuf Maitama Sule, there is no tailor-made situation. He makes the situation to fit his frame. He is an honourable gentleman who honours his pledges, which makes him the most sought after speaker at all occasions, this side of Nigeria.

May Allah prolong his life for more useful service to mankind.

Bashir Isma'ila Ahmad
KSMC
Kaduna

Tribute to Sheikh El-Ilory

Sir,

The passing of Sheikh Adam Abdullahi El-Ilory, secretary-general of the League of Imams and Alfas in Oyo, Osun, Ogun and Ondo states and rector of the Marass Islamic Centre, Agege, has robbed Nigeria of one of the greatest scholars this country has ever produced. Sheikh Adam was an intellectual giant, a dedicated historian, a courageous preacher, a devoted teacher, an eminent philosopher, a pious leader and a faithful friend.

Sheikh Adam was an institution by himself. His mastery of Islamic literature and his embodiment of the Islamic religion was so complete that he instantly infected and inspired any person who had the privilege of his company. He was humble, disciplined and self-denying.

Today, the seeds of this mighty tree are scattered all over the country, carrying on the great mission for which he lived and bearing witness to his exemplary character. Sheikh Adam will live for ever in the hearts of millions of us he left behind.

May Allah grant him eternal rest.

Alhaji Lateef K. Jakande
Lagos

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

Time to act decisively

Last week's ethnic conflict in Kaduna is not the first but none, save perhaps the on-going war between the Jukuns and the Tiv in Taraba State, begins to compare to it in its degree of viciousness and mindlessness. The most tragic aspect of the killings is that it was absolutely avoidable.

The tragedy started on February 6 when the long-festering quarrel over the siting of a market in Zangon Katat Local Government between the Hausas and Katabs, degenerated into violence. By the time the dust settled, it had left over 80 people dead and many homes burnt. The dead were virtually all Hausas.

Following the violence, the Kaduna State government set up a judicial commission of enquiry under Mr. Justice Rahila Cudjoe to establish the facts of the case, identify its immediate and remote causes and recommend solutions. The commission was inaugurated on February 10 and was given one month to submit its report. It started sitting on March 2 but could only finish its sittings early May. Its report is now due for submission on June 2.

Even as the Cudjoe panel sat, alarm bells of a possibly worse violence re-occurring rang loud and clear. First, reports of minor skirmishes persisted. Second, and most alarmingly, several district heads in the local government petitioned the governor in a letter dated April 21, to say that from that date the Katabs were repossessing the land their ancestors and that henceforth no non-indigene, meaning Hausa, would ever farm on those lands again. The chairman of the local government, Mr. Juri Baban Ayok, wrote the covering letter to the petition. To show that they meant business, at least three times the Hausa farmers planted their crops and three times the crops were uprooted overnight.

These were sufficient warnings for any serious-minded government to take precautionary measures against the renewal of violent clashes. In spite of the warnings the Kaduna State government did nothing. Even when Mr. Justice Cudjoe, also fearful that the clashes may be renewed, urged them to beef up security in the local government, they did

nothing.

In the circumstances, one cannot but blame the government of negligence for the near total annihilation of the Hausa community penultimate Friday and the subsequent violence in Kaduna that started the following Sunday.

The extent of the violence this time is such that we must all stop beating about the bush and be brutally frank with ourselves if we truly mean to end the cycle of violence. As far as we can see at least three fundamental issues are involved and government must deal decisively with all of them if we must have peace. First is the issue of the self-determination of the minority groups in the state or any other state for that matter. The Katabs say their self-determination has been abridged since time by their subordination to the Zaria emirate council. It is in everybody's interest that they should be allowed their own chiefdom, never mind the irony that they want the very institution they love to castigate as feudal.

Second, the Katabs say the Hausa community does not belong and must be ejected from the local government. The wanton killings on February 6 and the latest round of carnage is presumably their way of making this point. Government must make it abundantly clear that the demand to uproot the Hausa community is simply unacceptable. It goes against the very existence of not only this country but of the entire human race. Every race or tribe in this world came from somewhere. This is why universally the basis of ownership of land, whether it is communal or individual, is who lives on it or tills or develops it. The Hausa community in Zango have lived there for over 300 years and they therefore have as much claim to it as the Katabs.

Lastly but by no means the least, there is the question of the even-handed handling of this and similar crises by the authorities. We have said it before and we will say it again. So long as the authorities are seen to be partial in identifying and punishing perpetrators of ethnic and sectarian clashes, so

long will they escalate. Since the Kafanchan riots it seems certain class of people can do no wrong. While muslims were tried and jailed for that particular riot, no one was ever arrested, never mind prosecuted, for the death of 19 people in Kafanchan. The case of February 6 killings in Zangon Kataf was worse. To date no one has been arrested and no weapons seized. Actually nine Katabs were arrested and taken to the police station but were suddenly released. Asked by the commissioner why they did so the police said their pretenses had been surrounded by an angry mob which threatened to over-run the place unless those arrested were released. The police then claimed they could no longer identify the nine nor those they were released to.

This kind of partiality can simply not go on. A crime is a crime whoever perpetrates it. In this particular case names have been named for a long time, but no one has done anything about the allegations against them.

In conclusion, we must single out Brigadier Ahmad Daku, GOC 1 Mechanised Division, for praise. But for his intervention and his ensuring that his troops behaved generally well, perhaps the story of the Kaduna riots would have a different one. His conduct and that of his troops did a lot to redeem the image of the army as an institution that can be trusted to protect people regardless of their tongue, tribe or creed. How one wished the Nigeria police behave the same way. Probably we will not have seen the mindless violence that took over Kaduna State last week.

Ban on associations

The federal government last Tuesday proscribed all associations formed along political, sectional, tribal and religious lines. This sweeping proscription order was announced by the Minister of Justice, Mr. Clement Akpamgbu who said a decree to give it teeth is on the way. Their existence, the minister said, is contrary to the peace, order and good governance of the federation.

To be sure, there is much to be said about putting an end to the activities of some of these groups, especially the political groupings and the religious. They have the potential to tear the country apart but it is debatable if a ban of this nature is the best, or even a workable solution. While it came with a small list of such banned associations as examples, there is the need for further clarification as to which and which groups are affected.

While every effort is being made through the two parties to produce and nurture a new political class that places Nigeria above every parochial interest, some of the political associations are unabashedly tribal or, even more dangerously, politico-religious.

In essence, there is nothing intrinsically wrong in defending, or congregating to defend parochial interests in a healthy demo-

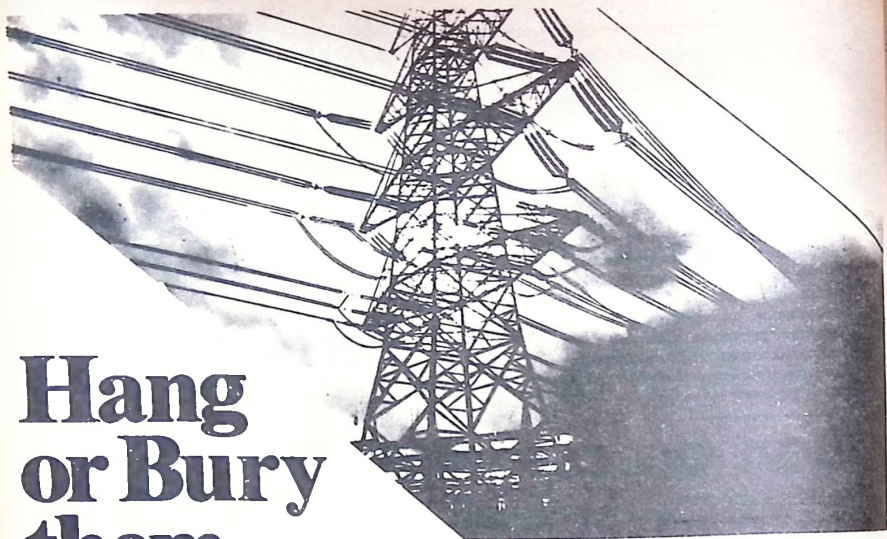
cratic set-up. What is so distasteful about the agenda of most of the banned groups is their thinly veiled preparations not to advance their cause but to obstruct that of others. We suggest that all those who have interests to advance or protect should put their trust in a democracy of fair play.

On the politico-religious plane it can be said that the ban had really taken too long in coming. Some of the groups had for too long taken the law into their own hands and the government for granted. We think it is time they are called to order.

The government may have legitimate fears that its efforts of breaking down narrow ethnic barriers in our search for credible leadership for the country can be completely destroyed if the unprogressive activities of these associations are allowed to continue.

The question to ask now is whether the ban is an effective remedy. We must fear that these groups and their potential for danger may be driven underground. And there they may do more damage.

In addition it will be wrong to assume that all that the groups represent is condemnable. They arose for identifiable reasons - even if some may be imaginary. The government will do well to identify these reasons and see what it can do for those that are genuine and throw away those that are not.



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he even found it necessary to purify the Turkish language of foreign (i.e. non-Western) influences.

Next he turned to the insurmountable problem of his countrymen's dress. He legislated the three-piece suit and fez in place of cloak and tunic. He ordered his troops to go to war with those who wore turbans. They did — and killed several hundreds.

Next, women — the playthings of

attempt to wipe out his own. To his countrymen, with the exception of the handful of leftists and freemasons who had carried on his legacy, he was an unadulterated disaster. An honour in his name is, as the ANC decided, a great dishonour to the recipient.

By refusing this so-called honour, Mandela and the ANC have demonstrated a lot of good sense and sensitivity to the feelings of millions of

Mandela: Unburying Atatürk

A pioneer is always a hero and hero-in-the-making, on his way to becoming a legend. For Nelson Mandela, president of the African National Congress, a long stay in prison had turned him into a living legend with a stature undiminished by his new freedom and even after suddenly becoming commonplace.

One of the right things he did recently was his rejection of an honour given him by the government of Turkey. Last week, Turkey conferred the Mustapha Kemal Atatürk Peace Prize on Mandela but he turned it down. An ANC spokesman later said the offer was rejected because of human rights abuses by Turkish authorities. And in case you have any lingering doubts, just imagine you are a Kurd.

Throughout last weekend the Turkish press blasted Mandela for humiliating the Ankara government and belittling its great leader. While many people in history have had greatness thrust upon them, Atatürk was an exception. He had registered many great solid achievements — a few of which are as follows:

He was a visionary: he had the vision where others did not. Part of what he saw was that the solution of this country's problems lay in secularism. He tried to cut off the Turkish people from their culture, history and religion so that they could more easily do the next logical thing — ape the West. In this great effort

Europe — were ordered to dress like Europeans. Beauty must not be hidden, said the great revered leader. Those who elected to dress properly, as demanded by decency, were molested.

The great Atatürk was also very perceptive. Early in his career, he recognised that, properly understood and implemented, Islam is a most effective combative anticolonial ideology that would stand in the way of his efforts at westernisation. Therefore, he decided to crush it. He even went to the extent of decreeing that even the *adhan*, the call to prayer, must be in English or Turkish, this being a good way to nationalise, westernise and tame this "hateful ideology".

As a result of Atatürk's policies, today the resilient Turks, who conquered Europe and taught it the rudiments of civilisation, had become neither fish nor fowl; they are guinea pigs in a failed experiment. They stand, pan in hand, at the gate of the European community begging to be let in. Atatürk had killed the authentic Turkman and all Turkish elites without giving them a new and better identity. He and his group of sociological misfits destroyed the spirit of a great people in the name of revolution.

If Atatürk was great it could only be for being such an accomplished failure as a copy cat, and he could only have been great to Europe for the sake of whose culture he had to

muslim sympathisers. Atatürk is remembered throughout the muslim world with a lot of indescribable bitterness.

But even if Atatürk's name has no offence to muslims it will still be inappropriate for Mandela to accept his prize. Mandela is trying to free his people from the most vicious aspect of colonialism — settler supremacy, with its various — political, social, economic — inequities. And so what has he to do with the legacy of the patron-saint of cultural neo-colonialism — the laughable variety that literally goes to war to impose Western dress?

And even if Mandela will agree — as some are wont to assert on his behalf — that he (Mandela) is an apostle of authentic Africanity (ho! ho!! what does that mean?), it becomes even more important that he should reject it. And in any case Africanity will no doubt wilt if its apostle finds nothing better to do than consorting with the killer of Kurds; even as he speaks of freedom to the Boers and Afrikaansers.

If Mandela had taken the Atatürk prize, the ANC ought to have instituted the Verwoed prize for the coming of age of authentic Africanity, and awarded it to Jean-Marie Le Pen.

The stand taken by the ANC over this prize gives hope that there is at least one country in Africa where future leaders will attempt the impossible — tell the truth while doing diplomacy.

COVER STORY

Hausa/Katab conflict

Mayhem in Kaduna

The Katab-Hausa conflict in Zango spills over into Kaduna. The result is hell

The first indications that there will be trouble were noticeable at Kasuwar Barci, in the heart of Tudun Wada, as early as 2 pm on Sunday afternoon. Butchers in the market were stocking knives, cutlasses and swords and they loudly proclaimed that they will seek "vengeance".

The source of the anger was the second round of fighting at Zangon Katab, 150 kilometres south-east of Kaduna. The previous Wednesday, a seven-member judicial commission appointed by the Governor of Kaduna State, Alhaji Dabo Mohammed Lere, to investigate the first Zangon Katab riots of February 6 had concluded public sitting and was expected to present its report to the governor on June 2.

Even while the Justice Rahila Cudjoe panel sat at State House, Kano Kaduna, there were reports of tension at Zango. Counsel to the Hausa community at Zango, Yahaya Mahmood, had waged a continuous battle to get the police to arrest the perpetrators of the earlier unrest, in which the Hausa side suffered a heavy toll. A letter dated May 6, signed by ASP Y. Haruna, made it clear that the police intended to do no such thing until the government issues a white paper on the Cudjoe panel's report, which it is yet to receive. The Hausa community in Zango alleged that the Katab felt reassured by the police failure to act



Displaced residents fleeing to safety

and were already uprooting crops from Hausa farms all around Zango. Last week, though, retired Colonel Yohanna Madaki, himself from the Bajju community of Zangan Katak local government, in an interview with *Citizen*, alleged that it was the Hausa who uprooted Katab crops.

Still, there can be no doubt as to who launched the major offensive. Soon after the Hausa of Zango, almost entirely muslim, had concluded congregational Friday prayers on May 15, a well-armed Katab army set upon them and proceeded to carry out a massive and unprecedented massacre by various means. The attackers, whose Katak villages completely surround the mainly Hausa town of Zango, had sealed off the town. Knives, bows

children stood amongst the wreckage, begging to be evacuated to safer places.

It was the evacuation of the corpses, widows and orphans that raised tension in Kaduna. Some of the corpses were taken to the Ni'ima Hospital at Tudun Wada, not far from Kasuwar Barci. Many of the orphans, widows and the wounded were taken to Sheikh Abubakar Gummi's house. The Sheikh himself reportedly shed tears at the sight, and some of his followers demanded that he declare a Holy war, which he refused to do. Instead, the Sheikh joined the governor that evening to make an emotional radio and television broadcast for peace.

But peace was not to be. The first fires of the Hausa "revenge" attacks

their allies (a mix of ethnic groups) armed themselves with knives, clubs, cutlasses and dane guns and began to hunt down "Katafawa". But in so far as the Katak are relatively few and not too distinct, the mob soon broadened its target to include all the many minority, mostly Christian, ethnic groups of southern Kaduna State. Much of the violence was targeted at peoples from this part of Kaduna State, though a number of non-northerners were subsequently affected. It was alleged that Katab youths did some of the killings to widen the scope of the conflict.

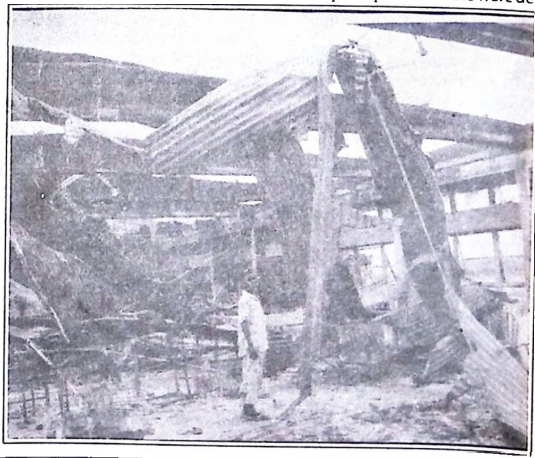
Blowing whistles and shouting Islamic calls, the mobs went about a most gruesome deed. Houses of would-be victims were identified, then invaded. Many people were killed in the street when they ran into the mob. The large Celestial church at Unguwar Sanusi was attacked by the mob and set ablaze. The few worshippers inside mostly escaped with deep cuts. A young lady, clad only in underwears, was dumped near the Usman Danfodio Institute with half her neck slashed, although she survived. Others were not so lucky. At Unguwar Gwari bus stop, shops and houses were de-

Zangan Katak was a ghostly sight the next day. Corpses littered the ground, most of them burnt, some covered with wrappers and roofing sheets. Practically all Hausa houses and vehicles had been razed down

and arrows, dane guns and automatic weapons were all employed in the grim operation; the army patrol that was sent to restore order to the area recovered a lot of 9mm empty cases and double barrel cartridges. Most of the victims died from sub-machine gunshot wounds. Many of the victims were then thrown into wells; others were taken into rooms, doused with petrol and set ablaze by Katab mobs. Policemen at Zankwa, six kilometres away, confirmed that they heard the sound of machine-gun fire. It appeared that the main attack came from the neighbouring Katak villages of Gidan Kondo and Sarkin Kwaku, long alleged by the Hausa to be huge armories.

Zangan Katak was a ghostly sight the next day. Corpses littered the ground, most of them burnt, some covered with wrappers and roofing sheets. Practically all Hausa houses and vehicles had been razed down, and dazed and homeless Hausa women and

were lighted at the sprawling slum of Tudun Wada. As early as 5 pm on Sunday, a young Hausa mob and

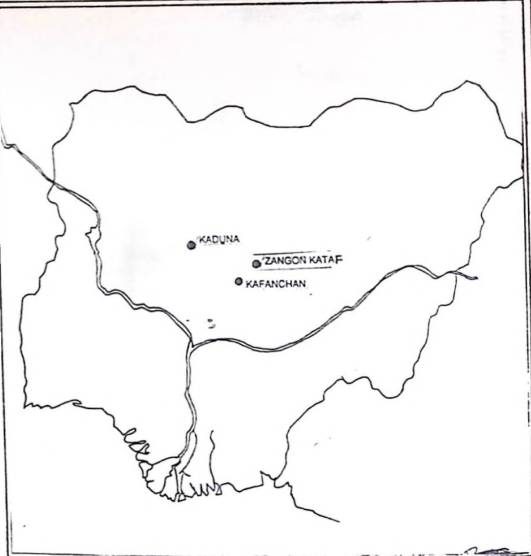


stroyed and at least four corpses were picked up the following day.

At Rigasa, Hausa mobs attacked a quarter inhabited by the Kataf as early as 6pm and set many houses ablaze. As night fell, other mobs left Tudun Wada to attack Kabala West, where the southern Kaduna peoples were concentrated. There was open fighting on the By-pass road; vehicles were set ablaze and many people were killed. Tunji Ojo, of TWT Precision, was returning to Unguwar Muazu with his wife and driver when they were attacked by the mob. Ojo himself was hit with a sword, and he made to run, was shot with arrows. The driver was also injured, but the wife escaped.

At Unguwar Rimi, mayhem was the order of the day. A stampede had begun as early as 5pm when news filtered in that there was trouble at Kasuwar Barci. A young Hausa mob quickly formed and began to smash passing vehicles, many of which were burnt. The first target was the ECWA Church; the English service pastor, Torshio Duniya Kagoro, was not in, and his family of four were being killed when he drove in. The mob chased the pastor, who crashed his car, was pulled out and hacked to death. They then went after the pastor of the ECWA Hausa service, who stood at his door, holding a sword and a bible and chanting what, in retrospect, were his last prayers. A leading mobster lunged forward with a sword and the pastor ward off with his hand, which promptly fell to the ground. Although he then ran into a nearby house and an elderly muslim Babur lady protected him from the mob, he later died.

Unguwar Sarki, almost exclusively Hausa, also exploded that night. Short of Kataf or other southern Kaduna targets, the mob arrived on the main Ali Akilu road and set seven vehicles ablaze in front of the emir of Zazzau's Kaduna house. Joe Tanko Yusuf, whose father, Ambassador Jolly Tanko Yusuf, is hated by Hausa mobs for his CAN activities, was attacked at Unguwar Sarki that



Sunday night. His eight-year-old son was dragged outside and was about to be slaughtered when elders intervened and saved him.

One of the worst carnages occurred at Badarawa, one of the most densely populated villages of Kaduna. At midnight, a Hausa mob, again made up of young boys, attacked the large Apostolic Church where a group of Christians took shelter. For two hours, the two sides battled; the attackers repeatedly threw flaming objects into the church in order to burn it, and every time the defenders managed to stamp out the fire. Then disaster struck. A zealous young attacker, named Awwal, climbed onto the church wall to get a closer shot, and was promptly dragged inside by the defenders and hacked to death. Now the attackers had their excuse; they pushed down the wall in one massive shove, set the church ablaze and killed the pastor and one other person who stayed. The other defenders had ran into a near by house,

where they were attacked and at least four of them were killed.

Neutral parties were caught up in the melee. An elderly and popular Igbo truck driver, widely known in Badarawa as *Baben Yara*, had parked his truck when he saw the mob and began to run. He was promptly pursued and attacked until he was recognised, spared and rushed to hospital, where he died the following day.

All over Kaduna on Sunday night was bloody mayhem. At Kawo, Unguwar Kanawa and other areas, the same grisly operations were repeated. The tables turned in areas where southern Kaduna ethnic groups had a numerical superiority. At Kabala West, the defenders forced Yoruba, Igbo and other groups to join forces with them, as a result of which they were able to beat back a Hausa mob attack that night. As the Hausa mobs ran, the defenders went over to the offensive. An elderly Hausa man from Sokoto, known in Kabala West as big sheep rearer,

Searching for the fuse

Colonel Yohanna Madaki spoke to Citizen for 45 minutes. Excerpts:-

Q. Have you been able to determine the extent of casualties on the Katsf side in the recent fighting?

A: It wasn't just Katsf, it was everybody from southern Kaduna. My tribe lost 50 dead. Other tribes have also lost. Igbo and Yorubas were also killed. Of course the Katsf and Bajju were the specific targets. In the case of Zangon Katsf itself, I do not have an idea. I have not been there.

Q. What precipitated the second round of violence in Zangon Katsf?

A: You must link the reactivation of violence to the first one. No genuine effort was made to find out the causal effects of this thing. All they do is set up a commission, "Zangon Katsf market riot"! The market was only an excuse. I will blame the second round (of violence) squarely on government. While the (Cudjoe) commission of inquiry was going on, government went behind secretly trying to proffer their own solution. They were talking to irrelevant people, people who do not matter in society. Such talk of course broke down and rumours started that government

has intention to station policemen to escort Hausa people to farm Katsf land. I am not saying government did that but when there is a competent judicial inquiry, you go behind and try to set up another Kangaroo one, can only lead to this type of thing. Government must be blamed for ineptitude. It has abdicated its role. I am very disappointed as a citizen.

Q. You spoke of subterranean moves by government even while the Cudjoe commission sat. Exactly what did government do?

A: My information is very reliable. They went round trying to settle the problem, and the reckless way with which it was handled. They called the two communities separately, then called them together and said this thing is finished. They said, "you, don't farm Katsf land again, and you, don't attack Hausas again". Finish! Is that not recklessness?

Q. How do you respond to allegations that Gen. Lekwot and yourself instigated these riots?

A: I thank you for this question. Again, I put the blame on government. I came from Zangon Katsf local government. I was a colonel in the army. I was one time governor. I served abroad in peace-keeping. Do you know that as I am talking, nobody in government has ever asked me, "What do you think is the problem?" They are afraid to know the truth. General Lekwot was a governor, he

was a GOC, he was commandant of NDA, he was an ambassador. Nobody called him and said, "what is the problem with your people?" We are not given the opportunity to do anything. All we hear was General Lekwot's name over the radio, that he is inciting, that Madaki is the one supplying arms. I will not do something disgracefully in secret. In 1987 when the governor went to Kafanchan, someone said Madaki was the one distributing weapons in a Landrover. Colonel Abubakar Umar was matured. He didn't do anything. The papers published my name — I still intend to go to court. Aikhomu! He is called vice president now. He was called CGS then! He was asked by a reporter, "what is the extent of Madaki's involvement?" He said, "we do not know the extent of his involvement yet". You know the implication? That we know he is involved but we do not know the extent. No apology has been made.

Q. What do you think can be done to prevent a recurrence of this tragedy?

A: Well, my dear brother, when you talk of the future, this thing is still going on. I couldn't work today. The courts are not open. Market is not open. I can't buy food. Though I must commend police. When I asked for protection they did not give me but I must commend them. How do we restore order? You saw our governor on television, no selection of words, no authority, just saying, "Open! Please open!"

I condemn the killing in Zangon Katsf. This thing



Madaki: "I wasn't consulted"

(the land and other problems) should be in court. If you lose, appeal! That's how I live. They go and bring incompetent people! We haven't pinned down the causal factors (of the riots). They come to the pride of man. "Man does not live by bread alone". The problem is the Zaria emirate. People think I don't like traditional rulers, and therefore I don't like emirs, therefore I don't like Islam, therefore I don't like Hausas. "This man ba ya son Musulmi" No! I have gone to the emir (of Zazzau) to talk this. He won't talk to me. He won't invite me for anything, and he is supposed to be my traditional ruler. He doesn't know my language or culture. The issue is one of pride. Man's foundation is pride. The chiefs there (in the southern districts of Zazzau) are the wrong guys. As a former colonel, today, I am proud to say you cannot go to Zangon Katsf and ignore me. Okay, I may not be No. 1, but you count 50, I must be there. You go and count 15 in Zangon Katsf and you don't count General Lekwot — it is a mistake! The solution is, let us start talking to ourselves.

By Mahmud Jega

was attacked and killed in his house; all his sheep were set ablaze.

In other areas, too, the Hausa paid a stiff price. At Makera, young Katsf boys and girls, dressed in shorts, besieged a sealed Hausa house and set it ablaze. After nearly 30 minutes, the occupants ran out, were seized and slaughtered. Afterwards, the mob began a search for Hausa compounds, which they identified by their "*Ba a shiga*" signs on the door. Any house so identified was attacked, torched and the occupants killed. The Hausa were also pursued and killed at Unguwar Television and at Narayi, where they were outnumbered. At Unguwar Muazu, fleeing Hausa men, women and children were attacked and killed; at least 12 corpses were buried at the area's burial ground on Tuesday.

In areas where there was "power parity" between the ethnic groups, warfare ensued at Sabon Tasha on Monday morning, and at Narayi, the fighting continued until Tuesday. But there was relative peace at Kabala Costain and Kabala Doki, where mobs attacked three churches but no lives were lost, and at Barnawa, where a formidable Igbo army, desirous of peace, defended a mosque from attack.

Tens of thousands of people fled their homes and took refuge in safer places. On Sunday night, hundreds of people from Tudun Wada flocked into the police station and barracks at Unguwar Sanusi. Throughout Monday, thousands of people fled Badarawa, Kawo, Hayin Banki and Unguwar Kanawa for the Nigerian Defence Academy's sprawling quarters. Every soldier's house sheltered some refugees, but most sprawled in parks, under trees, and in the sports complex.

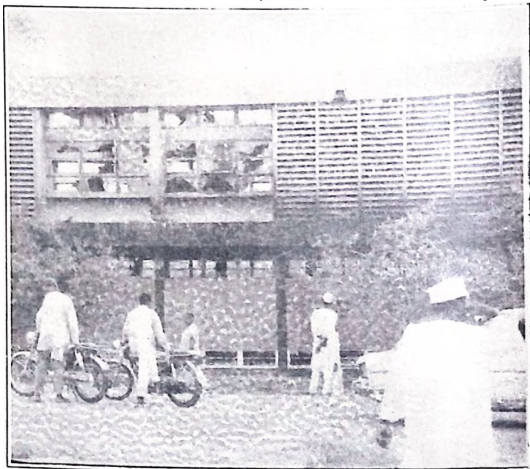
Some of the refugees told grim tales of their escape. John Danladi, who said he did not believe rumours of impending unrest when he first heard them on Sunday, managed to flee into the NDA on

Monday morning after a gruesome night at Badarawa. "People were killed before my very eyes", he said. "My heart was in my mouth until I entered the NDA".

The city of Zaria, 75 kilometres to the north, also experienced unrest. Tension rose in Zaria on Tuesday when the corpse of Galadima Harande, *Madawakin Daji*, was brought for burial. Galadima Harande, a popular broadcaster of agricultural programmes, had driven in his car to Sabon Tasha, Kaduna, where he was apprehended by a mob hunting down Hausas and killed. As soon as his funeral was

creeping unrest and, while he was in the palace, a mob set ablaze his official car. His personal aides then fired in defence. On Wednesday, the army sealed off the old city and waved away motorists who tried to enter or leave.

In the meantime, the authorities were struggling to contain the situation. In the eye of the storm was Dabo Mohammed Lerc, the affable governor of Kaduna State. On Sunday, soon as the riots began, the governor made a broadcast appealing for peace and imposing a night curfew over the entire state. Still, Governor Lere's television appear-



Burnt Jama'at ul Nasril Islam headquarters in Kaduna

over in Zaria, mobs went on a rampage in Zaria city, alleging that a soldier had fired at and killed an innocent young man. They killed several people in "retaliation" and also attacked the Zaria prisons, where people of southern Kaduna took refuge. Last week, the GOC of 1 Mechanised Division in Kaduna, Brigadier Ahmad Daku, told *Citizen* that the mob rioted before the army acted. In fact, the deputy deputy commandant in Zaria had gone to see the emir in connection with the

ance was disastrous, because the camera caught the governor smiling amiably. Colonel Yohanna Madaki scathily attacked the governor last week. "He imposed a curfew when he made no plans to enforce it", Madaki said.

Influential leaders of religion also made frantic appeals for peace. Sheikh Abubakar Gummi urged muslims not to "add water to the swamp". The Zangon Katsf episode, he said, was a "*masifah*" from Allah and all should bear it stoically. Arch-

Chronicle of violence

Kafanchan, Kaduna, Katsina, Bauchi, Wukari, Kano and Zangon Kataf. All have one thing in common - violence. Violence committed in the name of religion or ethnic chauvinism and intolerance.

In Kafanchan March 1987, a Reverend Bako who can't still be found by the authorities, blasphemed Islam by denigrating the name of Prophet Mohammed. The face-off between Christians and Muslims at the College of Education that resulted from this officially left 19 Muslims dead, some burnt in their homes. Mosques and churches and property in thousands of Naira were destroyed.

When word of this spread to the rest of a Kaduna State that included Katsina, Funtua, Kaduna and Katsina joined in the fray. A number of persons were killed, churches and mosques were set ablaze. The panel that was set up by government to try those involved jailed nearly 300 Muslim youths. No one was prosecuted for the death of 19 killed in Kafanchan. Long before this however and in between, there had been minor clashes mostly in secondary schools over modes of dressing.

After this, things quietened a bit, but the vio-

lence left a deep wound. Then in April last year, the seemingly peace was shattered when police clashed with Muslim youths in Katsina. Again, the Prophet Mohammed was blasphemed in a publication of the Daily Times group known as *Funtua Times*. Many of the youths were arrested, tried and 66 jailed.

A few days after the Katsina violence, a far more terrible carnage occurred at Tafawa Balewa in Bauchi State. On April 22, the nation woke up to killings and burnings by mostly Sayawa which soon spilled over into Bauchi town itself. There, security forces sent in to restore order made matters worse by deliberately killing people whether or not they had anything to do with the disturbances. Nearly 100 persons were killed. As with Kafanchan, no one has been prosecuted for the numerous deaths.

The train then moved from Bauchi to Takum, where because of a political dispute, Jukuns and Kutebs soon engaged in violence that eventually expanded into one of the bloodiest communal violence in recent times.

It was in August. In October, Kano witnessed its second violent upheaval in recent times. A German evangelist, Reinhard Bonnke, was billed to hold sessions of "spiritual healing" when the ancient city exploded into violence that has left a

large scar. Muslims had protested to the Emir of Kano, Alhaji Ado Bayero, that it was unfair to allow Bonnke to hold his sessions, when among other things, they had been denied a similar facility. The peaceful protest they led was infiltrated by the teeming unemployed. The result was all too predictable. For three days, looting, arson and murder were perpetrated.

tered like animals. Thousands were displaced in the worst communal violence in recent memory. No one appears to know how to put to an end the eight-month or so conflict whose full ramifications will only be known one day.

Then on February 6, Katsina, set about the systematic elimination of the Hausa living in Zango Katab who they regard as "guests." Ostensibly, this was a dispute over the siting of a new market. When the



A scene of last October's riots in Kano

Many were killed. Government is yet to make its views known on the matter.

Meanwhile, the violence that was ignited in Takum between Jukuns and Kutebs, slowly expanded into a big theatre of war to include Fulani, Hausa and Tiv, but mainly between the latter and Jukuns. Villages have been sacked. Human beings slaugh-

smoke cleared, Over 80 Hausas were dead, houses and farmlands burnt. The government of Kaduna State set up a panel which investigated the violence. It is due to hand its findings to the government on June 2, when the second Zangon Kataf "riot" erupted.

By Muhamad Bomo

The original sin

What really happened at Zango? The Cudjoe Commission heard from each according to his whims

In the 12 weeks in which the Cudjoe Commission sat in Kaduna to try to unearth the grim passions, personalities, issues and events that culminated in the first Zango Kafaf riots on February 6, a welter of conflicting claims was conveyed by 48 memoranda, 45 exhibits and 47 witnesses who testified.

The powder keg, it seems, was the market. Official local council position is that the old market, sandwiched between houses, has no room for expansion and no toilet facilities. Hausa traders, for their part, protest the new market site at Mandakiya because, they said, it is too close to a highway and too close to a muslim praying ground. The real reason for the argument is that Hausa traders operate most of the stalls in the old market, and the now sacked council chairman Juri Babang Ayok, a retired policeman, former chief security officer of the local council and, apparently, a fervent Kafaf nationalist, had made a solemn campaign pledge to move the market and end Hausa domination.

On January 30, the new site at Mandakiya was levelled, and

Babang Ayok issued a proclamation for the new market to take off on February 6, even though it hadn't a single stall or toilet.

The Hausa of Zango were incensed. On February 3, Alhaji Danbala ATK went on FRCN Kaduna's *Jakar Magori* programme

handled the matter "leaves alot to be desired". The judge issued the order at 5pm on February 5 in Kafanchan. He then made three mistakes. Once, he asked the police DPO at Zonkwa, Mr. Damian Audi, to enforce it, whereas the police are legally required to enforce



Cudjoe, chairman judicial commission that probed the february riot

and urged traders not to move. Counsel to the Zangon Kafaf council J. B. Daudu told the Cudjoe panel that ATK's "counter-proclamation" caused tension. Undeterred, Alhaji Danbala went to an Upper Area Court in Kafanchan on February 5 and obtained an injunction restraining the local council from commissioning the Mandakiya market.

Counsel to the commission, Gideon Isa Kurada, said the manner in which the area court judge

an injunction only in a criminal case. Two, he did not record the proceedings in his Civil Record Book as required by law, and thirdly, he gave the order personally to Alhaji Danbala, whereas only a court bailiff should deliver it.

Alhaji Danbala says he delivered the order to Juri Babang Ayok on February 5 and the chairman ignored it. According to Ayok and several others, ATK came to the Mandakiya market on February 6, when the market was

in full swing, and served the order on the chairman. He also, others said, brandished the order to Hausa youths who hated the market, and they began shouting. ATK denies that he ever went to the market that day, or another allegation that he insulted a Kafaf woman.

The Cudjoe panel will have to determine who spoke the truth. No matter, a riot was soon underway in Zango, and lasted anywhere between 30 minutes (by Kafaf estimates) and several hours (by Hausa estimates). Counsel to the commission, Gideon Isa Kurada, calculated from several exhibits a total of 95 persons killed. The Hausa community listed 84 of their people as killed, proof, they contend, of who was the aggressor. No doubt the Hausa also paid for geographical detail. While they make up 99 per cent the population of Zango town, according to figures supplied by the district head, they are entirely surrounded by Kafaf villages. They were therefore surrounded on D-day, February 6. Fulani herdsman, regarded to be Hausa allies, were also attacked in their camps by the Kafaf.

Could disagreement over a market alone cause so much bloodshed? Hardly. The Hausa saw the "hidden hand" of retired Major-General Zamani Lekwot as the culprit. General

Lekwot, a Katabman, had said on a BBC programme that the Hausa in Zango are but guests of the Katab, even though they have resided there for 300 years. Lekwot's memo to the panel also listed the "bad colonial legacy" of sending chiefs to Zango from Zaria, and the "arrogance of power" it generates, as remote causes of tension. The Katal made it clear that they were an independent chieftaindom that does not answer to the Emir of Zazzau. Some Katab memos to the panel also wished to reclaim the specious farmland around Zango that the late Emir of Zazzau, Ja'afaru, declared as *hurumi* in 1920. Counsel to local council JB Daudu thought the latter to be an unconstitutional demand. "It will be unconstitutional", he wrote, "to tamper with the acquired rights of all

those who benefitted from the gifts of land in the Hurumi zone"

In outlining the original sin at Zango, the role of the police was very contentious. Police counsel, Pius Uba Usang, said they received no signals "in recent time to give rise to suspicion that there would be open confrontation between the two communities". As such, the police were unready when the fighting began and could muster only 21 men, including a six-man anti-robbery patrol team from Kafanchan. Hausa community counsel Yahaya Mahmood said the police "did not do enough to prevent" the riot. More seriously, Mahmood said "three months after the riot, no arrest was made by the police, which is responsible for the continuous threats by Katabs on Hausa". He spoke on April 5, five weeks before the second Zango episode. The Hausa community

counsel, as requested by his aggrieved clients, tried again on April 21. In a letter to the commissioner of police, he urged him to arrest and interview 14 people who were positively identified by the victims to have committed murder and arson. Counsel Mahmood objected in particular to the conduct of CSP Luka Gish, the area commander at Kafanchan. At one stage, Justice Cudjoe also ordered the police to get cracking. But they were totally disinclined to do so; a police letter dated May 6, signed by Assistant Commissioner of Police Y Haruna, for the commissioner, informed Mahmood that "this command is aware of the appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry into the Zangon Katal episode and terms of reference of which identification of culprits is inclusive". Therefore, the police wrote, "it is necessary to

advise you to ensure that your clients whose interests are affected do appear and testify before the judicial commission of inquiry so that the government white paper would advise the police appropriately, please". In other words, the police will not arrest anyone.

The district head of Zangon Katal and *Kuyambanan* Zazzau, Malam Bala Ade Dauke Gora, was accused by the Hausa of evacuating his family from the town a day before February 6. But some policemen absolved the chief of blame and said they drank *kiani* in his house on that day. Nevertheless, Bala Dauke was such a fervent Katab nationalist that when he appeared before the Cudjoe panel, he refused to speak in Hausa.

By Mahmud Jega

bishop Peter Jatau of the Roman Catholic diocese of Kaduna also appealed for peace. Archbishop Jatau said the people should not be divided by religion or ethnic group, a rather late piece of advice. The emir of Zazzau, Alhaji Shehu Idris, also called for peace. The emir said a meeting of chiefs on both sides of the Zangon Katal divide had reached an understanding and that government will deal with perpetrators of the massacre. The emir's address, broadcast on Sunday and Monday, rang hollow, for it appeared to have been taped before the carnage began in Kaduna. Nor did the mobs believe that government will deal with anyone, since no one was arrested for three months after the first episode of February 6.

On Monday, policemen and soldiers appeared in force all over the city. The police had intervened in the fighting at Unguwar Rimi and Tudun Wada the previous night, but they were unable to contain the mayhem. At Unguwar Rimi, the Hausa mob grabbed two policemen on Sunday and only spared them when it was realised they were Hausa too. But the police recorded other casualties. On Tuesday, a vehicle conveying Mobile policemen veered off the road at the Lugard Hall roundabout. The truck somersaulted and killed eight policemen on the spot, while another died in hospital.

The police and army's massive presence on the streets from Monday morning quickly restored or-

der, though fighting continued in some areas, notably Sabon Tasha and Narayi, until Tuesday. By evening, soldiers were on patrol deep inside nooks and crannies of even the most densely populated areas, thus achieving calm. Many residents were soon accusing the police, in particular, of taking sides in the fighting, and the army, in particular, of unprovoked shootings. Some areas said the police aided the Katal while other areas said they aided the Hausa. At Malali, five soldiers grabbed a 13-year-old boy who was picking mangoes with a long stick and thoroughly beat him up. Despite pleas from by-standers, they bundled the boy into a dark-grey Peugeot 505, KD 1956 KN, and drove off.

Directly in front of *Citizen's* offices, a passing army patrol jeep suddenly and inexplicably opened fire at three youths who stood gazing at the conference hall of the Jama'atu Nasril Islam, 400 metres away, which had been torched that Monday morning by a mob that came from within the NDA. The four boys fell to the ground; three of them soon rose and ran, but the fourth, identified as Bala, an apprentice with second-hand vehicle dealers, had been hit at the base of the neck. Bleeding profusely, he was retrieved, too late to be saved.

It was not easy to determine how many people died in the conflagration. When *Citizen* visited the ABU Teaching Hospital's mortuary on Wednesday, the stench could be smelled 50 metres away. Twenty bodies lay outside the morgue, and wailing relatives were busy searching for their kin. Funerals were taking place in cemeteries all over the city. Colonel Yohanna Madaki told *Citizen* last week that his own Bajju community of Zonkwa had lost 50 people in the mayhem; he also knew, he said, that four pastors died, but he did not know exact casualties of other southern Kaduna ethnic groups. *Citizen* learnt that more than 20 Igbo had died in the melee. The angry Igbo community held a meet-

ing near the Fina White House Hotel on Wednesday. No Igbo shops opened the following day when they went to see Governor Dabo Lere to demand protection. The Igbo anger discomfited other people in Kaduna; not only did the closure of their richly-stocked shops paralyse the city, but there were rumours that they would seek revenge.

It was not easy to determine Hausa casualties either. At the Tudun Wada bypass cemetery, 24

only one of several muslim burial grounds in Kaduna, but it still appeared that the dead were fewer than initially feared.

With the killings over last week, it remained to point accusing fingers. Widely rumoured to have engineered the riots at Zangon Kataf were retired soldiers of all ranks. The most prominent accused was retired Major General Zamani Lekwot, at various times a military governor, COC, NDA commandant



Aftermath of the bloody carnage

It was not easy to determine how many people died in the conflagration. When *Citizen* visited the ABU Teaching Hospital's mortuary on Wednesday, the stench could be smelled 50 metres away. Twenty bodies lay outside the morgue, and wailing relatives were busy searching for their kin.

charred remains were buried after congregational prayers on Wednesday afternoon. Some community leaders spread the story that more than 300 muslim corpses remained to be buried and all should come early on Thursday. But at the appointed hour, after carefully combing various morgues, only six identifiable muslim corpses were brought for burial. A dazed school Principal told *Citizen*, "It was a hoax. We were told there are 300 muslims to be buried today, so we came early. Yesterday and today, we buried a total of 30, one of whom died in a motor accident unrelated to the riots." The Tudun Wada cemetery is

and ambassador. For years, the Hausa community of Zango have identified General Lekwot as the brain behind a Kataf scheme to harass them. Soon after the first round of killings at Zango, the general spoke to the BBC about the episode and charged that the Hausa are oppressors in Zangon Kataf. General Lekwot also took special interest in the Cudjoe commission and submitted a memo detailing Hausa "arrogance of power" and "bad colonial legacy" in the area.

One of the counsels at the Cudjoe Tribunal told *Citizen* that the general once boasted to his hearing and the hearing of another lawyer

during a break in the tribunal's proceedings that unless the demand of his people for chiefdom was conceding, the February 6 killings will look like a child's play when next his people decided to act. Another prominent old politician told *Citizen* of an occasion in the residence of a prominent Kaduna businessman sometimes after the February 6 killings, when the general told the businessman that the Hausa community in Zango will suffer systematic annihilation. The politician said Lekwot apparently did not know a third party was present in the house but he (the politician) got alarmed at Lekwot's words and came out to confront Lekwot, whereupon he (Lekwot) said his people simply have to do what they have to do to regain their dignity and birthrights.

Last week, army sources in Kaduna told *Citizen* that several ex-soldiers have been fingered by military intelligence to have aided the carnage in Zango. They include Lekwot; Major Kedei Sarkin Katak, reportedly the "chief executioner"; Captain Bako, Lt. Buba and Sgt. Boman Katak, all ex-servicemen. There were conflicting reports about General Lekwot's whereabouts. FRCN Kaduna and some newspapers reported that he was under arrest, news that sent sighs of relief surging among the Hausa. But Archbishop Jalau told *Citizen* that Lekwot has been released, and Colonel Madaki said he was in Abuja.

Colonel Yohanna Madaki however told *Citizen* that Lekwot and himself agree as to the real roots of the problem of Zangon Katak. Madaki's explanation (see box) indicates a two-fold problem, one historical, to do with the Hausa domination of the area's trade and traditional rule, the other contemporary, to do with failure to recognise Lekwot and Madaki blamed the authorities for incompetence and reaffirmed his abhorrence of violence and his love for constitutionality, but the impression still remained

that he and Lekwot are personally aggrieved.

The two leading clergymen in Kaduna were both embittered by last week's episode. Uncharacteristically, Archbishop Peter Jatau uttered harsh words. "The trouble with Nigeria", he said, "is that some people who have been in power want to remain there at all costs. Some tribal groups in Nigeria particularly in the northern area have been fighting for their own independence for centuries. We condemn apartheid in South Africa but we practice it here".

moved last week to pick up the pieces. On Thursday, it announced the dissolution of Zangon Katak local government council and the removal of its controversial chairman, Juri Babang Ayok. Mr. Ayok was widely accused of partaking in the carnage; Hausa victims told police that the Katak attackers ate and drank in the chairman's house after the assault. Government was still to move last week against Bala Dauke Gora, the District Head of Zango who was also accused of aiding the mayhem. Otherwise the Katak of



Police patrol ready to roll: how impartial were they?

The Archbishop also condemned Zaria's continued traditional rule over the southern people. During muslim festivals such as the Sallah, he said, they "are bound to go and pay respect to the emir in Zaria" even though they are Christians. Sheikh Abubakar Gummi's prescription for peace was also contentious. "The only solution", the Sheikh said, "is when everybody becomes a muslim". Besides that, Gummi said, "I have nothing to say except that I hope people will take this as a lesson. And pray for the souls of those who died".

The Kaduna State government

Zango did not regret the action. A visitor to Zango two days after the carnage told *Citizen* that barely a kilometre away in the Katak settlements, normal life went on with the market in full swing. Not only were schools open but there was a general lack of worry. There were no burnt vehicles or houses and no corpses anywhere. Instead, life went on as usual.

By Mahmud Jega with reports from Mohammed Haruna, Adamu Adamu, Mohammed Bomai, Abu Mommoh, Rabiu Barde, Joe Olajuwon and Zainab Okino

NIGERIA

Wage increase Still a deadlock

As labour and government fail to agree on wage increase, workers accuse their president of ineffectiveness

There was an air of disappointment around him. Pascal Bafyau, the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) president was last week filled with fury. He held his head in his palm, lost in thought. His predicament: he had just returned from Abuja where he had a botched meeting.

On May 16, he had led a delegation of the Nigeria Labour Congress to hold talks with the federal government on how to tackle the workers problems, but the government representative was conspicuously absent at the Abuja Sheraton Hotel, the venue of the meeting. Alhaji Bunu Sherif Musa, the minister for labour and productivity, the head of the government delegation, had on May 8, shifted the date of the meeting till May 16, when he announced that the government was still considering the terms of the meeting.

The government action has however rekindled the criticisms against



Bafyau: a sell-out?

Pascal Bafyau's posture to finding a lasting solution to the workers hardships. The criticisms came not only from workers who feel the NLC

leader have "sold out" but also from within. The Central Working Committee (CWC) of the congress leads the pack of the union leaders who are not impressed with the style of Pascal Bafyau led NLC leadership. Mr. Precious Kalo, the general secretary of the National Union of Electricity and Gas Workers, is in the same camp. "I am not happy with the current situation. Labour is closer to government than it used to be. It ap-

pears the leadership doesn't know what to do", he told *Citizen*.

Joseph Nwajei, the general secretary of the Nigeria Railway Corporation Workers Union, too is not impressed with the labour leader's stand on workers problem. According to him, the labour leader needs to take concrete actions to persuade governments to alleviate the suffering of workers. Said he: "I am not impressed with the atti-

tude of the NLC leaders".

However, Bafyau, was undaunted as he told *Citizen* last week in an interview. He explained that those criticising him for his stand are very unfair. According to him, "those who believe that labour should be militant; let them be militant themselves. I believe you can never achieve anything in a state of confusion, no nation can move if it don't have a well defined path of development. The solution is not to go militant. To be cautious is not an act of coward-



Nwajei: not impressed

ice". Bafyau says Nwajei "does not have to wait for the NLC to use power to revolt against the system as a trade union leaders. He needs not to look up to NLC's".

Alhaji Jungudo Salu, the national deputy secretary-general of the National Union of Petroleum and Natural Gas Workers (NUPENG) disagrees; "the present NLC lacks the capability to help the Nigerian workers. They have failed to set a research and statistic department at the secretariat that would have responsibility for monitoring how the current economic fortunes of the country have been affecting workers in the country".

By Samson Ojo

Voters register Laying ghosts to rest?

As NEC began moves to put 39.8 million Nigerians on its voters' roll last week, some argue that Chairman Nwosu is "counting his chicken before they are hatched"

Between October 1 and November 12, 1987, NEC had compiled a voters register with which it conducted the zero-party local government elections of that year. By 1989, when elections were to be held on the party basis into councils nationwide, however, NEC said it had discovered ample evidence of double registration and



Nwosu: taking a joke too far?

the inclusion of fake names in the voters register and organised a revision to redress the defects from May 12 to 28 of that year. Hopes that the 1989 exercise, which was followed by a display exercise in October 1990, had finally instilled some sanity into the voters roll was dashed, June 11, 1991, when Nwosu again emerged on national television, his hands up in evident despair.

Nwosu said the continuing flood of protest over the voters register dictated another review which he ordered for July 15 to August 30 last year. Eventually, NEC was able to compile a list of 70 million voters in 220,000 polling centres which it heavily relied on for the November 23, 1991 local government elections and the subsequent governorship elections in December. According to NEC figures, 20 million Nigerians exercised their civic duty during the latter elections.

Based on the United Nation's statistical projections that those qualified to vote in a country should be between 45 and 52 per cent of the total population, Humphrey Nwosu's carefully compiled register should not have contained more than 48 million names. Apparently, the NEC chairman could not prevent 22 million ghosts from creeping to his commissions voting list. In Bauchi State, which the NPC says is inhabited by 4,294,413 people, the ideal registrable voters population based on the UN formula should be 2,233,095. NEC registered 3,895,623 voters overshooting the assume target by 1,662,528. Akwa-Ibom's case was even more glaring with NEC registering 2,011,642 more voters than UN estimates of 1,227,062 in a state whose total population the NPC has put provisionally at 2,359,736. Imo, Jigawa, and Kano states also made nonsense of the UN estimates by 1,249,503, 1,146,033, and 2,374,619 voters respectively.

Against this background, NEC had no option but to begin a fresh seven-day registration exercise last week, Monday. This time around, however, the commission is bent on a guided registration exercise. Us-

ing the provisional results of the November 1991 census exercise as a benchmark, the electoral body has introduced a caveat. The total population of registrable adults has not only been pegged at 39,831,525 (representing 45% of country's populace) Nwosu's NEC has also proceeded to allot same on state-by-state basis. In line with the new reality, NEC also reduced registration centres nationwide from the 220,000 used last year to 103,572. A maximum of 500 voters are expected to be registered at each of the nation's registration centres.

NEC's decision to utilise the NPC figures as its working model has not however gone down with many who dispute the provisional census figures. Said Dr. Olu Onagoruwa, a constitutional lawyer and human rights crusader who spoke with *Citizen* last week: "Government vacillates. It goes backward and goes forward. How can you use a tentative census figures for elections. And they now say that in certain areas that they should not register more than certain numbers. They are already rigging the elections scheming to disenfranchise people. NEC's policy is simply anticipatory rigging."

SDP deputy national chairman, Mr. Augustus Babalola also told *Citizen* in his office that his party is in the same shoes as Onagoruwa: "It is very wrong to have based Nigeria's registrable population of voters on the 1992 census results considering the fact that the results are still being challenged by various states and the census tribunal has not commenced sitting to confirm or reject the result. On what basis has NEC pegged voters' population at 39.8 million... We consider the NEC arrangement as a joke that cannot materialise."

Indeed, many Nigerians were still showing their dissatisfaction with the census figures last week. Malam Babakpotun Shaba Emi Kafa, the *Lancila Bida*, writing in *Citizen* picked holes in the census figures for some local government areas of Niger State. Argued Kafa: "The population increases awarded to

Mariga (9.73% per annum) and Chanchaga (4.02% per annum) local government areas by the 1991 Census cannot by any stretch of the imagination be demographically justified and it makes a mockery of the whole exercise."

The Ijebus whose kinsman Otunba Durojaiye was one of the principal architects of the 1991 census have also disowned the exercise. Oba Sikiru Adetona, the division's paramount ruler said in a statement issued on behalf of his brother obas, that if existing demographic data are anything to go by, the Ijebus cannot be a shade less than 1,040,995 as at last December. The NPC had put the population of Ijebus at 515,648.

The sister states of Osun and Oyo have however been most vocal at the game of census-bashing. Osun State governor, Isiaka Adeleke told visiting Mrs Adekunbi R. Adeleye, the state director of the NPC, that the census figure as they relate to Osun are simply "unrealistic". Adeleke told the NPC tophat that the figures does not include the population of students at the state's colleges of education in Ila and Ilesa, Polytechnics at Iree and Esa-Oke as well as pupils in nursery and fee-



Durojaiye: disowned the census figures

paying primary schools. He also argued that the average of 66,876 people per local government which the NPC figures show cannot be true as the state's 23 local governments

each have not less than 20,000 houses each with a minimum of 10 occupants per house. The Osun State government is already planning on going to the census tribunal with Oyo, whose chief judge, T.A.A. Ayorinde refused to grant a prayer for interim injunction stopping NEC from using the census figures to compile the voters register which Oyo parliamentarian brought before it last week.

As Nigerians await the clash of statistics of the tribunals, NPC's new

chairman, Lt. Colonel Ugokwe, provides a sampler: "Some communities inflate the number of buildings in their areas as guiding frame for attracting World Bank loans for projects such as water, supply of electricity ... Even the arguments advanced in respect of positive and negative growth for the varying parts of the country are more embarrassing because they do not hold water".

By Yinka Tella with additional reports from Samson Ojo and Tayo Odunlami

Human Rights

The big stick again

As the heat of social unrest cools, government clamps down on human rights activists and regional groupings

Hot on the heels of the ban on seven regional organisations by the federal government, security agencies hauled three human rights activists into detention without giving reasons for their incarceration. The three some include Dr. Beko Ransome Kuti, recently elected chairman of Campaign for Democracy (CD), a coalition of human rights organisations intent on convening a national conference; Mr. Baba Omojola, a member of CD and a consultant to the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation, UNESCO, who was detained for five weeks last year for allegedly supporting Nigerian students' demands for improved conditions of living; and Mr. Femi Falana, the president of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers, NADL, and a member of CD.

Few hours after their detention, Justice minister, Clement Akpamgbo, announced an indefinite ban on seven political organisations which have been very visible and vocal on regional interests. Those who came under government's hammer include CARIA; As-

sociation of Northern Elders; Middle Belt Forum; Egbe Illosiwaju Yoruba; Council for Unity and Understanding; Association of Minority Oil



Falana: Babangida must resign

States; and Commonwealth of Oil Producing States. Announcing the ban to State House correspondents in Abuja, Akpamgbo said government was compelled to put a halt to the activities of these pressure groups because their activities, organised

mainly along tribal, ethnic, religious and other parochial lines, were a negation of the objectives of grassroots democracy. He explained further that by setting up a process of selecting candidates for elective positions on their parochial platforms of regional interests, the groups were compromising government's "aim of breaking down narrow ethnic barriers in our search for credible



Beko: *government is incompetent*

leadership for the country..." He announced a stiff punishment of three year imprisonment or a fine of 100,000 Naira or both, for anyone who contravenes the ban. Leaders of these organisations could not be reached as at press time, but political analysts expressed fears last week that the ban may drive the organisations underground where government will not be able to monitor their activities.



Akpamgbo: *we will not compromise Third Republic*

Last week's clampdown by the government did not come as a surprise. Penultimate Friday, Vice President Augustus Aikhomu in a combative mood, told State House correspondents in Abuja at his weekly

Obviously government was not impressed by these rather unequivocal putdown and decided to act. The CDHR, among other organisations, has described government's action as an exercise in self-deceit.

press briefing, that government knew and would soon apprehend the brains behind the recent nationwide riots against worsening economic conditions of living. Analysts are now linking this statement to last week's arrests. At least two of those incarcerated spoke in support of the demonstrators. Femi Falana for instance in an interview with *City News*, a Lagos weekly, justified

the fuel riots on the doctrine of reciprocity. He said that government was being paid back in its own coins for taking the people for granted. Averring that "the IBB government is a bundle of liars who keep giving



Oyelanmin: *scribe Egbe Ilosiwaju Yoruba*

us contradictory explanations for fuel shortages. Falana asserted bluntly: "Once a country's president says there is no solution to the people's problems, he either resigns or allows the people to force him out and Nigeria is at this stage". Ransome Kuti was equally truculent. He said "the government was incompetent and that its efforts so far is to steal money and ruin the nation". He therefore advised President Babangida "to resign and make way for a national conference".

Obviously government was not impressed by these rather unequivocal putdown and decided to act. The CDHR, among other organisations, has described government's action as an exercise in self-deceit charging that the arrests would not divert public attention from the on-going social protests enveloping the country. Gani Fawehinmi, who headed for the courts on behalf of the detained and CD last week, spoke in similar vain saying that the arrests must be condemned and resisted by all those who believe in the values of decency, democracy, rule of law and humaneness.

By Bolaji Adebisi



NATIONWIDE MERCHANT BANK LIMITED

CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT

(ABRIDGED)

LADIES & GENTLEMEN,

I am delighted to welcome you once again to the Annual General Meeting of the Shareholders of Nationwide Merchant Bank Limited. This meeting, which is the third since we commenced operations, provides us with a better opportunity to examine our performance, having attained a certain measure of stability.

THE DOMESTIC ENVIRONMENT

The economy showed little improvement in efforts towards self-sufficiency last year, in spite of favourable signals as shown by relevant indicators. For instance, earnings from oil, upon which much of our planning was predicated, performed considerably well during the year. By June last year, earnings from oil stood at N33.68 billion, as against projected total for the year of N46.955 billion or 68.7%. This was however, mainly due to increase in production following the Gulf Impasse as against favourable prices, the latter which marginally went above budgetary projections only in the last quarter of the year.

Even for the non-oil sector, the World Bank reported a 4.5% increase in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) for 1991. In spite of all these potentials, rate of growth in the industrial sector dropped by almost 1%, to 6.11% from 7.60% recorded in 1990. This was due to depreciation of the naira exchange rate and other inadequacies of the financial system.

Generally, the GDP at 1984 constant factor cost grew by 4.3% as against 8.2% recorded in 1990. Agriculture showed a growth rate of 5.0% as against 4.3% recorded in 1990.

THE FINANCIAL SYSTEM

Though export earnings exceeded budgetary expectations, trends in the foreign exchange market were not in favour of the naira. One main reason for this was inadequate funding of the market due to large reserve build-ups and extra budgetary commitments to debt servicing. In the first six months for example, external reserves were built up by close to US \$1 billion up from December 1990 level of US \$3.88 billion to US \$4.74 billion. Besides, government reported that N24.585 billion was spent on debt servicing last year as against estimated budget cap of N10.642 billion.

The premium given to debt servicing and reserve build-up over increased consumption of foreign ex-

change, understandably, was to inter alia, strengthen confidence in the economy for overall good. But this too propensity to increase consumption in the wake of increased income, created anxiety and uncertainty among manufacturers who now began to offer high bid rates for foreign exchange.

In addition, credit restrictions and liquidity mop up exercises through stabilisation securities, created scarcity of funds in the financial market. Also, interest rate regulation created a parallel money market, especially for short term funds, with prohibitive coupon rates. The entire market scenario, worsened the desperation of the manufacturers who were now prepared to pay whatever price to procure foreign exchange. Since a situation like this goes in a continuum, the tendency was for rates to be on a constant rise.

In June 1991, the Federal Government promulgated two new decrees encompassing the entire spectrum of banking and financial services in Nigeria. These decrees, the Central Bank of Nigeria Decree (No. 24) and the Banks and Other Financial Institutions Decree (No. 25) further streamlined activities in the sector. More importantly, they set the stage for more adequate monitoring of the credit system, as the CBN now took control not only of the activities of banks, but also of non-bank finance institutions. Being that the period of compliance to the basic tenets of the decrees went beyond last year, (for instance the new guidelines for non-bank finance institutions were released only in October), the impact of the decrees was minimal for the remaining period of last year.

OPERATING RESULTS

Having effectively managed the environment in which we operated last year, the Bank earned a pre-tax profit of N20.7 million, which shows an increase of 55.6% against the N13.3 million recorded last year. After-tax profit was N14.195 million, representing a 40.9% increase over the N10.078 million for the previous year. Our Bank's total assets stood at N445.5 million as at 31 December, 1991.

Management realises the need to control overhead expenditure. As a result, steps are being regularly taken to reduce expenses and costs by putting in place necessary cost control measures.



DR. (ALHAJI) SAOBANA A. BELLO
(Chairman)

DIVIDEND AND BONUS ISSUE

We are pleased to recommend for your consideration and approval the declaration and payment of a dividend of 5 kobo per 50 kobo share totalling N2,250 million. As I intimated you at our last meeting, members were approached to provide additional contributions to enhance our capital base by a rights issue of 20,000,000 ordinary shares of 50 kobo each which was fully subscribed bringing total paid up capital to N32.5 million presently.

Your directors also recommend that a sum of N7.5 million be capitalised from the company's general reserve. Upon approval at this meeting, the Bank's paid up capital will become N40 million. This is the minimum required by the Central Bank of Nigeria. However, in order to further enhance our capital base and to prepare us for the challenges that lie ahead, a resolution will be proposed at this meeting to increase the authorised share capital of the Bank to N100 million.

THE BANK

Our Northern Area Office situated in Kano is now fully operational. Our personal approach to client services for which we have been known since inception shall be improved on. The company continues to pursue its computerisation programme for higher efficiency and all round excellence in the provision of banking services. Our ultimate goal is to generate maximum earnings with very high returns on capital employed by building on the foundation already in place. The systems we have introduced will place us in a vantage position to take advantage of emerging opportunities in the industry.

OUR EMPLOYEES

Without well trained and moti-

vated staff it will be impossible to achieve our business plans and goals. We specially commend our staff for their support and dedication in the face of considerable change in the industry and the economy at large. They continue to make positive contributions to the growth of the company. On your behalf, I will like to express our appreciation to them for the efficient manner they have hitherto managed the company's resources to achieve these results.

CONCLUSION

During the current year, greater effort is expected from all towards making sure that we continue to improve on our profits as we have been doing since inception. We also expect a more conducive environment to assist the entire industry thrive better.

I therefore task our Management and Staff to double their efforts, dedication and loyalty during this trying period. Their excellent performance these past three years is sincerely appreciated, but there can be no better time the Board and Shareholders can better appreciate these efforts than continuing in that same zeal now and even improving on it.

I also wish to seize this opportunity to once again thank our numerous customers for their ever growing faith in us. We will continue to strive hard to develop a challenging, efficient and effective bank to provide the highest quality professional services.

I extend my appreciation to the Board and Shareholders of the Bank for their relentless support these past years. May God grant us all the strength and direction to continue to work and also to prosper.

Thank you.

Dr. (Alhaji) Saobana A. Bello



NATIONWIDE MERCHANT BANK LIMITED

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS AS AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1991

Balance Sheet as at 31st December, 1991

	1991 N000	1990 N000
Assets		
Cash and short-term funds	181,672	280,894
Loans and advances	218,336	155,382
Investments	1,942	1,942
Assets on lease	13,534	14,672
Other assets	20,002	21,817
Fixed assets	9,046	6,460
	<u>444,532</u>	<u>481,167</u>
Liabilities		
Deposit and current accounts	376,122	405,032
Tax payable	7,584	3,201
Dividend payable	2,250	-
Other liabilities	20,828	48,132
	<u>406,784</u>	<u>456,365</u>
Net Assets	<u>37,748</u>	<u>24,802</u>
Shareholders' Funds		
Share Capital	22,500	14,000
Statutory reserve	7,459	3,200
Reserve for bonus issue	7,500	7,500
Revenue reserve	289	102
	<u>37,748</u>	<u>24,802</u>
Acceptances, guarantees and other obligations on behalf of customers and customers' liability thereon.	<u>1,502</u>	<u>21,531</u>

Profit and Loss Account for the Year ended 31st December, 1991

	1991 N000	1990 N000
Profit before taxation	20,746	13,278
Taxation	6,551	3,201
Profit after taxation	<u>14,195</u>	<u>10,077</u>
Appropriations:		
Statutory reserve	4,258	2,519
Reserve for bonus issue	7,500	7,500
Proposed dividend	2,250	-
Retained profit transferred to revenue reserve	<u>187</u>	<u>58</u>

These financial statements were approved by the Board on March 19, 1992 and signed on its behalf by:

Dr. (Alhaji) Saobana A. Bello
Chief S.A. Ojukutu

Chairman
Managing Director

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS TO THE MEMBERS OF NATIONWIDE MERCHANT BANK LIMITED

We have examined the financial statements set out above and have obtained all the information and explanations which, to the best of our knowledge and belief, were necessary for the purposes of our audit. Proper books of accounts have been kept in such a form as to explain and give a true and fair view of the transactions at Head Office, and at the branch, and the financial statements are in agreement therewith.

During the period covered by these financial statements, the Bank contravened Section 60 (1) of the Banks and Other Financial Institutions Decree, 1991. This has been noted by the Central Bank of Nigeria and appropriate penalty paid.

In our opinion, the assets have been properly valued and adequate provision has been made for any losses or diminution in the value thereof.

In our opinion, to the best of our information and having regard to the explanations given to us, the financial statements give the information required by the Banks and Other Financial Institutions Decree, 1991 and the Statement of Accounting Standards (SAS) on accounting by banks and non bank financial institutions in the manner so required and give a true and fair view of the state of the Bank's financial affairs at 31st December, 1991 and of the profit and source and application of funds for the year ended on that date.

To the best of our information the Bank has complied with the requirements of the relevant Central Bank of Nigeria circulars, and from the examination of the books and records, no contravention of the Prizes and Incomes Policy Board guidelines has come to our notice in respect of the year ended 31st December, 1991.

AKINTOLA WILLIAMS & CO
Chartered Accountants
Lagos, Nigeria
March, 1992

DIRECTORS: Dr. (Alhaji) Saobana A. Bello (Chairman), High Chief Bola Adedipe, Gilbert Odiola, Alhaji Hassan Mohammed, Lt. Col. Tunde Oyedele (rtd.), Chief S. A. Ojukutu (Managing Director)

Census '91

"Our figures are in order"

There are four broad arguments against the results and they are as follows:-

1. That the higher male population recorded in the figures does not tally with the expected higher female population which some termed to be in ratio 2:1 in favour of the female.
2. That some parts of the country recorded negative growth rate based on their population in the 1963 census while some have super growth

rate.

3. That the northern part of the country cannot be more populated than the south because according to some stated demographic law, the forest region of the south are usually more populated than the arid north.
4. That there is an under enumeration of the population because the 88.5 million fall short of the 120 million United Nation's projection for the country.

In respect of the higher male popu-

By
Lt. Colonel Chris Ugokwe (rtd)

lation recorded for the country, let it be stressed that there is nothing abnormal about this. There is no scientific law which states that the population of females should be more than that of males. Nigeria is not the only country where there are more males than females as the populations of the following countries reveal:-

MALE/FEMALE FIGURES

S/No	Country	Date	Total Pop.	Male	Female
1.	Angola	—	8,534,000	4,455,000	4,079,000
2.	Coted'Ivoire	30/4/75	6,709,600	3,474,750	3,234,850
3.	Egypt	18/9/86	48,205,049	24,655,297	23,549,752
4.	Bioko	31/12/60	62,612	41,378	21,234
5.	Libya	31/7/84	3,637,488	1,950,152	1,687,336
6.	Madagascar	1/1/75	7,603,790	3,805,288	3,798,502
7.	Mauritius	30/6/72	851,334	426,122	425,212
8.	Rodrigues	11/7/83	33,082	16,552	16,530
9.	Morocco	3/9/82	20,449,551	10,236,078	10,213,473
10.	Nigeria	5/11/63	55,670,055	28,111,852	27,558,203
11.	Seychelles	1/8/77	61,898	31,171	30,727
12.	South Africa	—	38,509,000	19,563,000	18,946,000
13.	Sudan	—	24,476,000	12,238,000	12,238,000
14.	Tunisia	—	7,916,000	4,021,000	3,895,000

OTHER COUNTRIES

15.	China	—	1,112,299,000	571,722,000	540,577,000
16.	Turkey	—	55,356,000	28,121,000	27,235,000

Even the discredited population figure of 1963 has more males than females. There were 28,111,852 males and 27,558,203 females and nobody rejected the figure on the basis of this.

The argument advanced in respect of positive growth rate and negative growth rate for varying parts of the country are even more embarrassing because they do not hold water. The arguments have been based on the 1963 figures by comparing the

population of the areas concerned in 1963 with those of 1991 Provisional Results. It is common knowledge that the 1963 figure were negotiated figures and cannot be relied upon for accuracy and consistency. It is also common knowledge that the figures were generally inflated by between 15 and 18 per cent. It is also true that some areas had a greater degree of inflation than others. This explains why the comparison between the 1963 figures and the 1991

Provisional Census Results leads to wide spread anomalies. It is inadvisable to compare falsehood with truth.

When one considers the first post-war census of 1952/63, one will understand how grossly inflated were 1963 figures. The following table will clearly show the percentage increase which is demographically abnormal:-

Regions and Provinces	Population (000) July 1952	(000) Nov. 1963	Inter-Censal % Increase	EAST	7,215	12,394	71.8
Nigeria	30,402	55,670	83.1	Calabar "	1,540	3,024	96.3
NORTH	16,853	29,809	77.1	Ogoja "	1,082	1,603	48.1
Adamawa Province	16,835	2,585	131.2	Onitsha "	1,768	2,943	66.4
				Owerri "	2,078	3,280	57.9

SPECIAL REPORT

NYSC IN A TRANSIT NIGERIA

IN 1970 the more than 2-year old Nigerian Civil War ended.

Emergent problems of the war ranged from increasing regional suspicion, reinforced commitment to ethnic chau-

vinism and a dwindling in the patriotic flavour amongst majority of Nigerians in the elastic capabilities for the Nigerian nation-state to adequately shelter for the fears the worries, marginalisation and alienation bug; wishes and aspirations of the diverse Nigerian people.

Within this contextual framework, the Gowon Administration set-out to prosecute a post-war stabilised economy, through the articulation of such philosophies and policy institutions that could guar-

antee the oneness of the Nigerian people. Governmental efforts were intensified to propagate the virtues of ethnic tolerance and the utmost need to intensify the march toward national integration and development.

The Gowon's Government leitmotif in the march towards national integration and development was wrapped up in the three word slogan of reconstruction, reconciliation and rehabilitation. Conscious of the significance of nurturing a new generation of Nigerian youths who would be less prone to these problems of ethnic dimensions

Peter Isika



General Ibrahim B. Babangida (Fss Mni)
*President, Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces,
Federal Republic of Nigeria*

that had harassed the integrative and development efforts of Nigeria, the Gowon Administration, by Decree No. 24 of May 22nd, 1973, established the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC)

This contextual antecedents gave meaning and vibrancy to the conceptualisation and formulation the noble objectives of the NYSC which were designed to, "Inculcate discipline in our youths by instilling in them a tradition of industry at work, and of patriotic and loyal service to the nation in any situation they may find them-

selves; raise moral tone of our youths by giving them the opportunity to learn about his/her ideals of national achievement and social and cultural improvement; develop in our youths attitudes

of mind acquired through shared experience and suitable training which will make them more amenable to mobilization in the national interest; develop common ties among our youths and promote national unity by ensuring that:

(i) As far as possible youths are assigned to jobs in states other than their states of origin and away from their geographical, ethnic

and cultural background areas;

(ii) Each group, assigned to work together, is as representative of the country as possible;

(iii) The youths are exposed to the modes of living of the people in different parts of the country with a view of removing prejudices, eliminating ignorance and confirming at first hand the many similarities among Nigerians of all ethnic groups; to encourage members of the Corps Service, career employment all over the country thus promoting the free movement of la-

bour; to induce employers, partly through their experience with Corps members, to employ more readily qualified Nigerians irrespective of their states of origin and to enable our youths to acquire the spirit of self-reliance.

For the past 19 years the NYSC leadership has trudged on in pursuance of these objectives which are in harmony with these goals and objectives-reformulated by Government and people of Nigerian out of the ashes of the civil war. Such reformulated goals and objectives were aimed at moulding the foundation blocks for the new Nigeria that is, "A united, strong and self-reliant nation; a great and dynamic economy; a land of bright and full opportunities for all citizens; and a free and democratic society.

Although the immediate tasks of healing the wounds on the horns of the nation's train towards integration and development inevitably gave enormous legitimacy for the establishment of the scheme; yet the objectives did not lose sight of our traumatic history and experiences as a colonised nation characterised with a high level of underdevelopment, manifest in problems of poverty mass illiteracy, dearth of high-skilled manpower (coupled with a most uneven distribution of the skilled people that are available) and limited infrastructural facilities.

In the firm conviction that the future of the nation belongs to the youth and educated, the scheme, has althrough the years strove to primarily, "inculcate in the Nigerian youths the spirit of self-less service to the community, and to emphasise the spirit of oneness and brotherhood of all Nigerians irrespective of cultural or social background".

From the formative years of the scheme to its present age of maturity, it has undergone different phases of structural transformations. Col. Hafiz Momoh, NYSC National Director explained, adding: "These are a part of self-renewal effort firmed up on self



Colonel Hafiz B. Momoh (Fss, psc)
National Director, National Youth Service Corps.

re-discovery against the immense challenges of the nineties" The restructuring of the traditional eastern time community development programme into the year-round Community Development Service (CDS) is one of such enduring legacies that has placed the NYSC scheme on a solid pedestal for an abiding growth and development.

Through the establishment of the CDS programme the NYSC has over-time, ventured into Agriculture, among other, taking advantage of the skilled manpower at its disposal, aimed at contributing to national food production objectives of the country. Corps members who specialize in agriculture are deployed to NYSC farm locations for their primary assignment while others are encouraged to undertake projects that are of felt-need to their host communities.

Prominent among the projects embarked upon under CDS programmes include, Public Health Education; Organizing Farmers Clubs and training local youths on modern methods of farming; cultural revival through community dances, music, drama; organizing literacy classes for adult in partnership with the Adult Education Division of State Ministries of Educa-

tion; and conducting extra-moral classes for secondary school drop-outs.

In the Education sector, the NYSC scheme has contributed immensely to the operational manpower requirement in the training of students of both secondary and post-secondary institutions across the country. This service is provided annually and on a continuous basis targeting the rural communities where manpower shortages are more pronounced.

On Health, Care Delivery, the scheme has impressively enhanced the Government's plan of making adequate health care available to Nigerians, especially those residing in the rural communities. In such areas, the

n the firm conviction that the future of the nation belongs to the youth and educated, the scheme, has althrough the years strove to primarily, "inculcate in the Nigerian youths the spirit of self-less service to the community, and to emphasise the spirit of oneness and brotherhood of all Nigerians irrespective of cultural or social background".

NYSC play a key role in the supply of qualified health personnel like, doctors, pharmacists, dentists, nurses et al. The resultant effect is the provision of free and dependable services to rural health institutions which were starving from the dearth of skilled health personnel.

In this vein too, corps members initiatives are abound as exemplified by the enviable innovative project of a former corps member named Musa Mbahi's Mobil Clinic Services. This primary health care project was conceived by Dr. Musa Mbahi as part of effort to assist the less privilege and less fortunate Nigerian citizenry, especially in the rural areas. The farreaching effects, of this kind of projects, according to the Health and Human Resources Minister, Professor Olikoye Ransome-Kuti, "testify to the efforts of the National Youth Service Corps scheme in mobilising the Youth for development of their communities".

As part of its effort to contribute its quota to the collective national will to attain self-sufficiency in food production, the NYSC has ostensibly acquired large hectares of arable land across the country with evidence of increased cultivation and bumper harvest.

On agriculture, Mr. Ladi Daniel General Manager, christopharm (Nig) Limited, Lagos, observes that, "the road to meaningful socio-economic transformation of the Nigeria state depends essentially on self-sufficiency in food production". This is because food is a basic necessity that can not be compromised even at periods of national financial problems and abysmal economic downturn".

As part of NYSC contributions, in this nexus the scheme could today boast specifically of being in possession of well over 12,000 hectares of arable farm land across the Nigerian geographical terrain with more than 50% utilization. Among the commonly grown food items are cassava, sorghum, Irish potato, cowpea, beans, rice, maize soya bean, vegetables and yam.

From the perspective of the search for national integration, the NYSC since its establishment has enabled many to contract marriages across geo-ethnic divides. It has given the new batch of Nigerian youths a higher appreciation of the monumental problems facing the country, outside a parochial ethnic fixation. This national perception of the Nigerian youths of level of the communal problems of the

ruralities places them in vantage position to articulate solutions to these perennial problems.

On the cultivation of a spirit of higher enthusiasm and commitment in the scheme, the National Directorate recently introduced an NYSC National Directorate of Employment (NDE) employment generation pact which could enable the former serve as guarantor for the corp member who desires a loan from the latter to advance in the self-employment frontier.

In the same vein, it also introduced last year, the National Trust Fund which is designed to complement the efforts of the Federal Government in alleviating the sufferings of the immediate families of corps members who lose their lives in the course of the national service.

A re-inforcement of the abiding faith in amelioration of the agonies and pains in the parent, kith and kins of corps member who pass on in active national



Professor Aliyu B. Fafunwa
Hon. Minister of Education and
Youth Development.

service, the National Directorate also recently introduced the NYSC insurance scheme which covers death through natural causes or accidents; permanent disability et al.

Apart from the NYSC-NDE pact which seeks to facilitate the prospects of creative corps members' self-employment in the post service years, the NYSC Directorate is reportedly putting necessary machineries in place for the successful take-off of the Nigeria's First National Inventors' Exhibition.

"It is envisaged that this exhibition would enable us render advisory support to creative corps members in terms of

packaging these inventions for the best commercial option, acquisition of rights and patents and copy rights in terms of intellectual property "Momoh explains, adding: "these would enable corps members, on the strength of their creative inventions launch themselves into self-employment and accelerate our nation's technological development".

However it has not been an entirely success story for the NYSC as it has had to grapple with both the institutional problems and the sociological comprehension of the Nigerian elite.

Having successfully bridged over the credibility problems that confronted it at the formative stage, the scheme is currently fighting to save itself from the elite that conceived it as a frame-work for at-

Through the establishment of the CDS programme the NYSC has over-time, ventured into Agriculture, among other, taking advantage of the skilled manpower at its disposal, aimed at contributing to national food production objectives of the country. Corps members who specialize in agriculture are deployed to NYSC farm locations for their primary assignment while others are encouraged to undertake projects that are of felt-need to their host communities.

tainment, of accelerated national integration and development. Specifically worrisome, is the phenomenon of Lobbyists amongst the elite class who try to flout laid down procedures so as to influence the posting of corps members to areas of their choice. The import of this influence in posting which occasioned the recent alarm by Col. Momoh, is that it has the capabilities of derailing some of the objectives of the scheme.

The concern against some potential corps members collective attitude towards influencing their primary assignment posting, and abandonment of duty post, is not exclusive to the NYSC Direc-

to:ate alone. Mr. Ebogie Areban-Okogie, a 1990/91 corper and a Lagos based Advertising Executive believe that, "these phenomena either exhibit stunted knowledge of the aims of NYSC scheme against the background of Nigerian political history or outright lack of patriotism and selflessness. The scheme is the best that has happened to Nigeria in her quest for national integration and unity".

As regards the conservative suggestions for aiming the youth corper Mr. Nasiru Ikharo, Associate Creative Director of Nigeria Promotions Company Limited opined that, "the substantially ignorant campaign by some section of the elite that the corps members be trained in armed combat is faulty on national integrative perspectives that informed the establishment of the scheme" adding, "this kind of development has no historical antecedents and anywhere in the world that institute youth mobilization structures as the NYSC".

Mr. Lawal Salami, Managing Director, Plastic Industries limited, Lagos, assessing the gains and losses of the NYSC scheme observes that, "empirical evidence within the past 18 years shows that the scheme possesses tremendous reservoir of talents and expertise for a meaningful socio economic development".

Salami adds, "The reported establishment of the NYSC NDE pact is a

welcome development and shows that the NYSC Directorate has become more interested in the corps members post service year in term of employment generation, "adding: "they could employ too, the possibilities of penalizing those companies that perpetually utilise Corps members services but refuse to employ them".

The currency of public opinion applauds the increasing institutional relevance of the NYSC in the evolution of a new Nigeria smattering from the battery of ethnic wranglings as a consequence of the unfortunate Nigerian Civil War.

A segment of the public opinion highlights and roaringly salute the increasing involvement of the NYSC Directorate in creating enduring structures and institutional framework that would give the corps members a higher sense of national belongings and commitment to the enviable ideals of the scheme.

Such institutional frameworks entail the annual regularisation of the National Inventors' Forum, NYSC NDE pact, NYSC Inspectors development programme, NYSC insurance scheme and corps members trust fund et al.

The need for the scheme to serve more articulately as the rally point for the optimal utilisation of the creative intellectual energies of Nigerian Youth in aid of national development also tally with opinion of Nigerian social commentators, and

even that of veteran critics.

On this note, the current Col. Momoh led intellectually turbo-charge NYSC directorate has initiated enviable proposals for the dawn on a new day, toward the actualisation of the creative potentials of the Nigerian Youth. In this regard, the Monday February 24th 1992 Tribune Newspaper editorial commends: "The NYSC proposed inventors forum is laudable project, and the organisation of a national Inventors forum in the country is long over-due. A progressive society depends on the fact that its educated citizenry is composed of members each with a tinge of scholarship, a tinge of discovery, and a tinge of intention".

A segment of the public opinion highlights and roaringly salute the increasing involvement of the NYSC Directorate in creating enduring structures and institutional framework that would give the corps members a higher sense of national belongings and commitment to the enviable ideals of the scheme.



***NYSC National Activity
Corps members parade***

uchi "	1,423	2,476	74.0
nue "	1,468	2,642	80.0
mo "	1,519	2,854	87.8
rin "	530	1,119	111.2
bba "	666	1,280	93.6
no "	3,820	5,775	51.2
isina "	1,483	2,545	71.6
tiger "	715	1,399	95.6
ateau "	825	1,367	65.8
koto "	2,680	4,335	61.8
ria "	869	1,553	72.7

The nation and in particular the national Population Commission never accepted the 1963 census figures of 55.7 million as accurate either by implication or out-rightly. Equally the 3.5 per cent growth rate projected by the United Nations was not (and is still not) accepted by the commission as accurate. Two attempts have been made to determine the growth rate of Nigeria's population. The Federal Office of Statistics (FOS) between 1965 and 1967 embarked on rural fertility

surveys but these surveys were not simultaneous all over the country and secondly there was no total coverage of the entire country. The growth rate of 2.5% from the surveys was therefore unrealistic. The world fertility survey put the growth rate at 3.2% for other parts of the country and 4.0% for Lagos. It is noteworthy that Nigeria only joined this survey in 1982, some 19 years after the 1963 population census. These rates were not even accepted by the federal government. Any at-

Rivers "	747	1,544	106.8
WEST "	4,954	10,266	123.4
Abeokuta "	630	975	54.8
Colony "	238	778	227.1
Ibadan "	1,650	3,327	101.6
Ijebu "	348	376	65.5
Ondo "	945	2,728	188.5
Oyo "	783	1,882	140.5
MID-WEST "	1,491	2,536	70.1
Benin Province "	901	1,355	50.4
Delta "	590	1,181	100.2
LAGOS "	267	665	149.1

tempt at using the rates to estimate any population for Nigeria was therefore unrealistic.

In respect of the third argument that based on demographic pattern, the north cannot be more populated than the south, these critics failed to realise that by the 1991 Provisional Results the south is more densely populated than the north, while the latter occupies a far greater land-mass. It would be only fair to remember that the total landmass of the north is 730,885 square kilometres as against the south's 192,883 square kilometres:-

S/No	STATE	AREA (SQ/KM)
1.	Anambra/Enugu	17,675
2.	Bauchi	64,605
3.	Bendel (Edo & Delta)	35,500
4.	Benue (and part of Kogi)	45,174
5.	Borno/Yobe	116,400
6.	Cross River/Akwai Ibom	27,237
7.	Gongola (Adamawa & Taraba)	91,390
8.	Imo/Abia	11,390
9.	Kaduna/Katsina	30,245
10.	Kano/Jigawa	43,285

11.	Kwara (and part of Kogi and Niger)	66,869
12.	Lagos	3,345
13.	Niger	65,037
14.	Ogun	16,762
15.	Ondo	20,959
16.	Oyo/Osun	37,705
17.	Plateau	58,030
18.	Rivers	21,850
19.	Sokoto/Kebbi	102,535
20.	Abuja	—

NIGERIA
AREA:- 923,768.64 Square Kilometres

Whilst it is true the north has more population in aggregate terms it is much less densely populated than the south.

In respect of the last argument, it is funny to cite a United Nations report as being more authentic than a nationally conducted census. It should be noted that it is not the United Nations that determines the population of any country rather it is the country which does its own census which are used by international bodies and communities.

Recently the director of the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) visited the commission and I formally presented the Provisional Results of the 1991 census to him. You will recall at

that visit that the UNFPA director commended the figures and added that he never believed in the earlier projected 120 million figure for Nigeria because its basis — 1963 figures — were inflated by about 14 million based on expert studies and analysis.

In conclusion, I wish to appeal to all Nigerians and the international media to feel free to comment on the Provisional Results as they have done in the past. However, it is only right and proper that such comments should be based on knowledge factual information and testable data; not on sentiments, misconceptions or political manipulations. fortu-

nately, the federal military government has established a census tribunal. Those who feel genuinely aggrieved or can establish lapses or inaccuracies should take their cases to the tribunal. We in the National Population Commission will only be too happy to meet such complainants at the tribunal especially if the outcome of the exercise meets our common objective of giving to Nigerians and the international community, an accurate and acceptable census.

Ugokwe is the chairman of the National Population Commission and this article is excerpted from his press conference on Census '91 on May 7 1992.

ENCOUNTER

Lannon Walker

Uncle Sam's eyeview (II)

In this second part of our dialogue, Mr. Lannon Walker gave his government's view of terrorism, the Gaddafi factor, drugs and international security

Citizen: Sir, let's move to other topics: First drugs. It seems that the emphasis in containing the drug problem in the US is supply side, but one would have thought that the problem really is the consumption.

Walker: Yes, well, of course it's both. I think that was probably a fair statement a year or two years ago, that we put most of the emphasis on supply, interdicting supplies. But that criticism that came against that policy I think has had some effect, and we've put — I haven't got figures in front of me, but we've put vast resources now into demand. And if you look at the statistics you'll find that part of the cocaine-use among youngsters has decreased — it's still too big, but it's come down two or three percentage points. So we have begun to put more emphasis on education programmes and demand things. And I think that is a step in the right direction, but you can't do one or the other. You have to do both of these things.

Citizen: Maybe we can talk about the Libyan case. Time magazine said recently that apparently the PLO's investigation into the matter is correct, that it was not Libya that bombed the plane. We have not heard the US government's reaction to this.

Walker: Well, I have. They think that that analysis is wrong. There was another story that said something to the effect that there was some kind of a DEA controlled delivery on the plane, that this had to do with the whole drug thing, and that we were trying to do some undercover operation. That's been denied as well. So my government denies these interpretations.

Citizen: Mr. Walker, what is your evidence? I mean, you bombed Tripoli on the suspicion that the Libyans bombed the nightclub in West Berlin. It turned out that it was wrong.

Walker: What do you mean it was wrong? Who said it was wrong?

Citizen: In the end that turned out to be wrong.

Walker: Who said that? Who said that? Who?

Citizen: So many American papers said that it was Syria that bombed that discotheque.

Walker: I have seen nothing that convinces me that that was the case. And my government has not said that. And the evidence that we deduced, I believe we are standing by.

Citizen: You spoke a while ago about observing international rules of the game and let's play by it. Libya went to court and said, "Look, this is it." And the Americans said, "Look, whatever the court says, this is what we want".

And we went to others — we went to our European friends, we went to others — when this was all exhausted, all of these things were exhausted, we then, in accordance with the rules, took matters into our own hands.

Walker: Now wait a minute. Libya asked originally that the whole case be referred to the International Court of Justice. We said, "Wait a minute, let's play by the rules." The International Court of Justice doesn't have jurisdiction in criminal matters. And that's true. So then Libya said, "Well, *hmm*, let's go to the International Court of Justice and have the International Court of Justice tell the Security Council that it should not have done what it did". And we went and we said, "Let's play by the rules." The Court of Justice is not supposed to tell the Security Council what to do. The Security Council has responsibility for certain areas and the court for certain

others. And the court got together and agreed. It said, "It's not our job to tell the Security Council this. Next problem?"

Citizen: Excuse me, Mr. Walker —

Walker: We are playing by the rules here. It just so happens that the rules do not permit Libya to go to the ICJ with this case, *per se*. Now they are looking for any other alternatives. God bless them. We have said we think we know a good one. Give them to us; if you don't like that, give them to the Scots — Scotland, where the plane went down. Those are two jurisdictions where people were — the country and the place it went down. Take them there and try them. And the Security Council has unanimously agreed to that.

I think on the second one — an abstention.

Citizen: So, by what rules were you playing when you bombed Libya in 1986 — Or when you mined Nicaraguan harbours?

Walker: I am going to give you one answer for all of this. I am going to take the Libyan one as an example, but it's the principle that applies. So you get one answer for all, okay? In the way the international rules are applied, when a country is aggrieved, believes it is aggrieved, it first should go to the party that aggrieves them and say, "Now listen here. I want you to stop what you are doing." If the party does not stop, and you continue to believe that you are aggrieved, you then go to other people, to their friends. It's kind of African style. And you call upon regional organisations, you call upon bilateral groups, and you say, "Would you please make some sense to this problem?" We did all that in the Libyan case of terrorism. You see, the history of Libyan terrorism isn't just a disco. The history of that, and I can give you a piece of paper that details it over the years, is quite extensive. And we consistently went around and told them, "You'd better stop." It's widely known that Abu Nidal had his headquarters in Libya — widely known and admitted. Widely known that Gaddafi gave money and arms to the IRA in support of terrorism. All of this — we said, "Don't do it." And we went to others — we went to our European friends, we went to others — when this was all exhausted, all of these things were exhausted, we then, in accordance with the rules, took matters into our own hands.

Citizen: In accordance with the rules?

Walker: That's right. The right of self-defence. We exhausted those — You go back and check the records and you will find that we walked down the path of all these things. The use of terrorist tactics should be unacceptable to every member of the civilised community, whoever they are. Just very simple. And if you can't agree to that, I don't care who the hell it is — I don't care if it's the IRA or whoever — you have to draw a line somewhere. And the use of terrorism, is not an acceptable mode of international behaviour. If you agree to that, and then if people

continue to do it, then a method must be found to stop them. Now, it would be nice if everybody got together and stopped it. But at some point, especially if you think you are an aggrieved party, if you have the wherewithal, the right of self-defence, which is recognised in international law, then you'd better be damn well ready to use it.

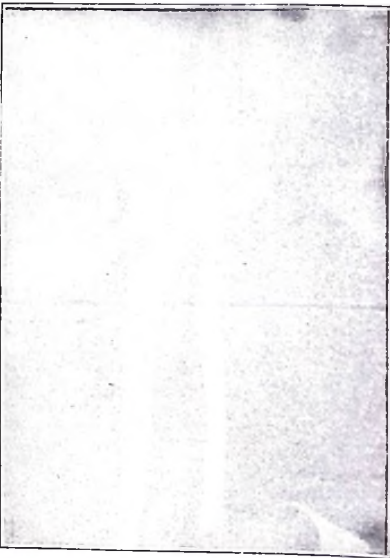
Citizen: You seem concerned about the Iraqi bomb, the Arab bomb, and so on and so forth, but everybody knows Israel is armed with nuclear capability, but why is the Israeli bomb not a threat to peace in the Middle East?

Walker: Well, why is the Nigerian bomb not a threat?

Citizen: We don't have one. There is no bomb.

Walker: You don't? Everybody knows you do. Of course, everybody knows you do. The "Black Bomb."

Citizen: Sorry, Mr. Walker, everybody knows Israel does have the bomb.



Walker: Well, everybody knows Nigeria's got one.

Citizen: Okay, let us be more specific.

Walker: I don't know that Israel has a bomb.

Citizen: Are you saying, sir, that you don't know that Israel has a bomb?

Walker: I'm telling you that I do not know that Israel has a bomb.

Citizen: Well, I would not be surprised if you say so.

Walker: Now, let me say the next thing. If a country does have access to nuclear technology, let alone a bomb, then

we insist whoever they are, that they play by the rules of the international atomic energy agency, and we want them to sign the non-proliferation treaty —

Citizen: Oh, they have refused to sign it.

Walker: Did they? That's something I wasn't aware of.

Citizen: They have a bomb. You know it very well, sir. Because the London Times carried the story of Vanunu, which nobody denied, kidnapping, and everybody knows that by now Israel probably has about 200 nuclear warheads. There is a lot of literature.

Walker: If they do, my country's position is quite clear. The same safeguards, the same rules need to be applied to every nation.

Now, we are against nuclear proliferation, for very obvious reasons. It's not in our interest to have this thing running around all over the world, and we shouldn't have it either, for that matter.

Citizen: Well, Israel is running around with it and America doesn't seem to be doing anything.

Walker: So you say.

Citizen: Is the American official position to deny it? Is this the official position, that they don't have it?

Walker: I am not aware of it. Are you aware? Have you seen any facts, figures?

Citizen: American policy has some difficulty when it comes to Israel.

Walker: It doesn't have any difficulty.

Citizen: It does. Sir, when you talk about, let's take human rights for example. Everybody knows what is going on as a result of Intifada. Nobody says anything. America doesn't say, "Look, stop these human rights

abuses." They bomb houses, whole neighbourhoods... Walker: Oh? We've never said anything about that? You've never heard our statement..

Citizen: You are not leaning on Israel like you are leaning on..

Walker: We've never leaned on them? I'm very surprised. I thought I read these same newspapers you're so used to quoting and I have seen them in your own papers and elsewhere where we are leaning on Israel, and they're very unhappy. Now what's that about? Citizen: Doesn't that say something about American double standards toward the Palestinians?

Walker: Well, you know, I've heard that argument. But what I would say is this. This may or may not persuade you. My country sits at the table at the United Nations.

But at some point, especially if you think you are an aggrieved party, if you have the wherewithal, the right of self-defence, which is recognised in international law, then you'd better be damn well ready to use it.

We are playing by the rules here. It just so happens that the rules do not permit Libya to go to the ICJ with this case, *per se*. Now they are looking for any other alternatives. God bless them. We have said we think we know a good one. Give them to us; if you don't like that, give them to the Scots — Scotland, where the plane went down. Those are two jurisdictions where people were — the country and the place it went down. Take them there and try them. And the Security Council has unanimously agreed to that.



Anybody around can say, "I think we ought to do the following and make it mandatory on every member state — make it mandatory." Now remember, we believe in playing by the rules. My country is likely to sit there and look at it and say, "Do I want to do this? But even if I wanted to do it, can I do it? Is it likely to work? Do I want, really, to do this? Because if I sign it, I'm going to do it." And if the answers to those questions aren't positive, my country will say, "No, I don't believe this should be under Chapter 7, because I don't believe this is implementable." Do you follow me? So you will find us, in the past, when the veto power was used frequently, you will find us vetoing on certain issues, because we didn't believe that that was the solution. Among other things, nine times out of 10, guess who has to implement these things? You?

Citizen: Did you encourage the visit of de Klerk to Nigeria?

Walker: Did I encourage it? I didn't have to encourage it. Your president, when he became OAU chairman, said it very clearly. He announced as OAU chairman that if the South African government, de Klerk, makes an effort, and makes progress, he said, "I will lead the way." didn't he? And you waited in your own time for what you considered to be progress.

Iwould say that after 30 years in Africa, Nigeria is clearly the post-graduate course in African affairs.

Citizen: Is that a compliment?

Walker: I think so. I think so. There is more complexity, more dynamism, more diversity, in this society than there is in any other place in Africa I have been. And in a way, you see, my job here has been much like the job

of an African ambassador or any foreign ambassador in America. Imagine if you were an ambassador in America. You would arrive. You would see — you would have your country's interests you wanted to pursue. Now, you don't have a big aid programme you're going to give to America to use influence, right? So how do you find the way in America to view? You look out at this vast country of America and you say, "My Lord! There are 50 states here! How important is it for me, as the Nigerian ambassador or any other ambassador, to go to the state of Washington" — you know, out there by California. Is it important that I do that? How much do I have to know about the state politics or local politics in New Mexico? Is the economy in Minnesota an important thing for me? What's this Congress and all this politics on the Hill and the budget process? And this press? And all this information? You know, most ambassadors have to scratch around and try to find out what's going on. You come to America — too much information. Too much. You don't know how to use it. So the challenge is to decide from all of this what's important — and then find a way to work with the system so that you pursue your interests. Now, that's basically what I do here. I say, "Well, do I need to know the North? Do I need to go North? Do we need to have a presence here? East? What's the economy?" All these things — the press — very similar to what you would find in America. Very complex. Not easy at all. So what I come away with is that this has been the most diverse experience that I've had in my career, and very, very interesting, and I come away quite optimistic for Nigeria, taking the long view of things.

BUSINESS & ECONOMY

Takeovers

The buyer's might

Ikeja Hotel Plc gradually overcomes Federal Palace Hotel's workers initial objection to its buy-over

Strident opposition by staff of the Federal Palace Hotel (FPH) and their union against the 50 million dollar wholesale sale of the imposing edifice appears to have lost steam as buyers, the Ikeja Hotel Plc cautiously moved in last week to commence operations.

Already, a director of the new owners, Mr. Agboti, is occupying the topmost presidential suite office of the FPH managing director from where he is still making frantic efforts to appease the remaining protesters to the takeover. When *Citizen* interviewed him to know the extent of settlement between the Ikeja Hotel Plc and the grumbling workers, Agboti evasively replied, "We have reached a friendly agreement which we are not prepared to divulge now. Soon, we shall issue a press release on the affair."

The "friendly agreement", *Citizen* gathered from an inside source, includes an "advice" given by the Ikeja Hotel director last Tuesday to the FPH staff to withdraw cases pending at the Federal High Court on the mode of privatising the hotel. An assurance was also given that full entitlements of employees retrenched in the course of re-organisation would be paid. The source asserted that "the threat in the advice that the resort to the courts was an exercise in futility" and the director's assuring reputation for abiding by his words are now informing the protesters decision to co-operate with their new owners.

The Federal Palace Hotels under its holding company, the Tourism Company of Nigeria (TCN), was sold early this year to the Ikeja Hotel Plc by the Technical Committee for

Privatisation and Commercialisation (TCPC) at a cost of 50 million dollars. The terms of the agreement, gave the buyer a hundred per cent control of the Federal Palace Hotels. It was further agreed upon that the sum of 26 million dollars would be paid by March 1992, while the balance of 24 million dollars is to be paid over seven years. The Ikeja Hotel is also mandated to sell 10 per cent of the FPH shares to the general public within the next five years.

But the purchase agreement came under vehement condemnation of the Hotel and Personal Service Senior Staff Association (HAPSSA), the National Union of Hotels and Personal Services Workers (NUHPSW) and the entire FPH staff who saw their jobs threatened by the privatisation. The grouse was that the purchase agreements violated Decree No. 25 of July 1988 (Amendment Decrees No. 33 of 1988 and No. 22 of 1989) setting up the TCPC. The decree provided that 10 per cent of the shares of any government company being privatised should go to the staff and a certain percentage to the general public.

The fact that no share was reserved for the staff of the FPH after the wholesale purchase, drew the ire of the NUHPSW and the HAPSSA. In paid advertisements in national newspapers, the two bodies suggested that instead of selling the multi-million Naira tourist attraction to what Mr. Paul Igweoku and Malam Gambo, two deputy general secretaries at NUHPSW told *Citizen* are an elite family, government should vigorously pursue:

"Selling the shares of the TCN Limited to the Nigerian public at



Zayyad: in good faith

whatever price considered equitable. In this regard, a hotel management company can then be invited to manage the outfit on management fee and commission;

* the interested core group/technical managers can be allowed 25 per cent shares and the balance of the shares sold to the general public; and alternatively, shares of TCN Limited can evenly be distributed to the 30 states, including Abuja, through their investment companies; partly to the general public and a proportion to the core group/technical managers.

But obviously, government was not prepared to buy these suggestion. The excuse was that after a revaluation of the net worth of FPH assets, it would be unwise to privatise the hotel by offering its shares for sale to the Nigerian public. TCPC chairman, Dr. Hamza Zayyad explained that "based on the share capital of the company of only 28.222 million Naira and using the standard SEC (Securities and Exchange Commission) valuation methods, our calculations showed that if we privatise by public offer for sale of shares we would obtain a price of about 55 kobo per 50 kobo share using the maintainable profit method and we will get 8.66 Naira per share per 50 kobo share using the new asset method."

Zayyad, a chartered accountant,

felt SEC was unlikely to approve a share price of 3.25 Naira, and which in the end would only produce gross proceeds of about 182.316 million Naira. "These proceeds of sale do not in any way compare with the net worth of the company which was as at June 30, 1991 calculated at 489 million Naira", he declared.

Consequently, the TCPC devised a shortcut approach to selling the hotel without losing its high net worth by offering the TCN (incorporating the FPH) for sale wholly to any willing buyer on the condition that the buying investor would divest not less than 40 per cent of the company's equity to the Nigerian public through the Nigerian Stock Exchange within five years from the date of sale.

Until last week, litigation has stalled effective commencement of operations by the Ikeja Hotels Plc at the FPH. The NUHPSW and HAPSSA had gone to court challenging the terms of the purchase agreement. Igweoku told *Citizen* he was yet to be briefed by the union's lawyer on latest developments while Gambo would prefer not to comment on the issue. But it is gathered that the Federal High Court had directed that entitlements of FPH staff be computed by the union and sent to the Ikeja Hotel Plc for payment.

This has been done. In a letter reference AK/HOTELS/51/92 written by NUHPSW on May 12, it was calculated that the TCN owed its over 600 staff 77,600,119.00 Naira as terminal benefits. These benefits, according to the letter, were expected to be settled on or before May 18, 1992. "But from indications at the 97 Herbert Macaulay Street, Ebute-Metta secretariat of NUHPSW, there was no response yet from the new owners of the TCN as at deadline date.

Beside contesting the manner of purchasing the hotel, NUHPSW is also now praying the Federal High Court to look into the mode of payment of the first two instalments (26

million dollars) effected last month by the Ikeja Hotel Plc. The union's complaint is that the buyers used the old exchange rate of about nine Naira to a dollar, operating at time of purchase to effect payment instead of the exchange rate of 19 Naira to a dollar prevailing as at time of actual payment. Gambo considered the deal an abnormal cheating of government and the public. When *Citizen* asked Agboti how this development would affect current settlement efforts, he preferred not to mix the litigation suits on the matter with the agreements reached with the staff. "They are two different things",



Ibbru: owner of FPH

he said.

Apparently, management of the Ikeja Hotel Plc is still keeping its progress on the FPH affair under wraps. When the public relations managers of the Sheraton Hotels and Towers, Ikeja (owned by the Ikeja Hotel Plc) and the Federal Palace Hotels were contacted to comment on the matter, they both pleaded ignorance, saying it is being handled at top management level. Mrs. E.B. Oni-Okpaku, Sheraton Hotel public relations manager said she has not been briefed. Mrs. Gladys Dadzie, her counterpart at FPH stated she has not been directed to disclose latest developments to the press. "We hope to call a press conference very soon where a progress report

The fact that no share was reserved for the staff of the FPH after the whole-sale purchase, drew the ire of the NUHPSW and the HAPSSA.

will be given", she said.

For now, only security person-

nel have been deployed by the Ikeja Hotel Plc to the FPH to, according to Mrs Oni-Okpaku, protect the equipment there. But top officials from the Sheraton Hotels are understood to be daily visiting the FPH, assessing the situation, preparatory to full takeover. No staff of the FPH has been sacked, according to sources, as normal operations continue. But the strain in relations between the old staff of the hotel and the Ikeja Hotel security staff deployed there was evident as the latter would

not take meals or even drink water prepared by the FPH staff. "All their needs are always brought along from Sheraton Hotel, Ikeja." This, it was understood, is being done to prevent possible poisoning by disenchanted FPH staff.

When Ikeja Hotel Plc finally takes over the FPH, it plans to refurbish the hotel extensively. Already, a team of design consultants has been assembled to take charge of the exercise. Preliminary estimates anticipate the exercise may gulp between 17 million and 32.7 million dollars. "The Ikeja Hotel Plc is committed to restoring the Federal Palace Hotels to its five star status," a source said.

By Tayo Odunlami

BUSINESS BRIEFS

Nationwide Bank

A giant stride

Nationwide Merchant Bank has posted a profit-after-tax, of 14.9 million Naira for the year ended December 31, 1991.

This was disclosed by Dr. Saobana Bello, the chairman of the board of directors of the bank at the 3rd annual general meeting of the bank which took place in Lagos recently. The bank's operating results for the year under review showed a gross earning of 109.35 million Naira as against the 105.76 million recorded in the previous year.

Profit before tax also increased from 13.3 mil-



lion Naira last year to 20.75 million in 1991, representing an increase of 55.6 per cent.

With a total asset of 444.53 million Naira in its balance sheet, a resolution has been passed to increase the share capital of the bank to 60 million Naira from its present 40 million Naira.

Community Banks

In the league



Twenty-seven newly licensed community banks were last week given induction certificates in Lagos.

The induction ceremony was the 5th to be

performed by the National Board for Community Banks for chairmen and managers of newly licensed community banks.

Chairman of the National Board for Community Bank, Professor Akin Mabogunje used the occasion to enlighten the operators of the Community Banks on their functions and duties.

He reminded them that the mission of a community bank is the traditional one of providing banking services to the community pointing out that "every community bank is unit bank, committed to exploring and exploiting intensely and in depth the economic potential of the territory of the community which it is licensed to serve."

Ajaokuta Steel Firing the furnace

An agreement for the reactivation of the light section mill of the multi-million Naira Ajaokuta Steel Company over the next few months has been signed. The agreement was signed in Lagos with two indigenous firms, Niger Investment and Commercial Enterprises Limited and Steel Supply and Finance Company Limited. Dr. Philip Atanmo, the project director and chief executive of Ajaokuta Steel Company Limited, signed for the

company while Dr. Emmanuel Oyeka and Mr. Awwal Tukur, signed for Niger Investment and Commercial Enterprise Limited and Steel Supply and Finance Company Limited respectively.

The two companies will jointly assist Ajaokuta Steel Company Limited in the reactivation of its light section mill over the next few months, and thereafter recommence the production of steel reinforcement rods and bars at the mill which has been idle since 1987.

NAIPEPC comes on stream

Nigerian Association of Indigenous Petroleum Exploration and Production companies (NAIPEPC) was last week inaugurated in Lagos.

Vice President Augustus Aikhonu and petroleum resources minister, Professor fibril Aminu used the occasion to call on indigenous investors to contribute to the successful realisation of govern-

ment's objective to fully indigenise the oil exploration business.

The association is expected to address the problems facing indigenous petroleum explorers.

Otunba Mike Adenuga, the chairman of consolidated Oil Limited is the president of the 21 indigenous companies constituting NAIPEPC.

By Tola Sunday



One of those to strike oil, Kola (left) and Abiodun (right)

SUPPLEMENT ON KADUNA STATE AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

The farmers friendly ally

Highlights on the activities of Kaduna State Agricultural Development Project

Introduction

Kaduna State covers an area of 45,567 sq km of land. It has a population of 3.9 million out of which about 603,300 farm families are spread all over the state.

The conducive climate of Kaduna State allows for the growth of all the crops grown in Nigeria. Some of these crops include sorghum, maize, millet, soybeans, rice, ginger, cassava, yam, cocoyam, cowpea, cotton, potatoes, assorted vegetables, sugarcane, beniseeds, banana, palm oil, kenaf, sheanuts, kola nuts, etc.

The former Funtua Agricultural Development Project (KIRDA), Kaduna Integrated Rural Development Authority became the nucleus of the present Kaduna State Agricultural Development Project whose loan package was signed by the federal government of Nigeria after negotiating with the World Bank. The loan was for the sole purpose of agricultural development in the former Kaduna State and it became effective in July 1985.

In October 1987, the state was bifurcated into Katsina and Kaduna. This necessitated the bifurcation of the project accordingly.

Except for some little problems associated with counterpart funding to a lesser extent by the state government, progress of the implementation of the project's activities has been highly encouraging.

The Kaduna ADP has its head office at No. 11 Race Course Road Kaduna where the chief executive (programme manager) is based with the team of his professional heads of sub-programmes.

These sub-programmes include

- i. Technical Services
- ii. Livestock Development
- iii. Land Planning & Development
- iv. Irrigation Services
- v. Cooperative Services
- vi. Engineering Services
- vii. Manpower Development and Training
- viii. Monitoring and Evaluation
- ix. Finance and Supply
- x. Administration & Personnel

The activities of each of these sub-programmes are replicated at each of the three zonal offices

which are headed by Zonal Project Directors. These include -

1. Maigana with its headquarters at Maigana and its activities covers seven local government areas of the state namely - Giwa, Igabi, Ikara, Makarfi, Sabon Gari, Soba and Zaria.

2. Samaru-Kataf Zone, with its headquarters at Samaru-Kataf and its activities covers Jaba, Jema'a, Kachia, Kauru, Kaura, Lere and Zangon Kataf Local Government Areas.

3. Birnin Gwari Zone with its headquarters at Birnin Gwari. Its activities covers Birnin Gwari, Kaduna North, Kaduna South and Chikun Local Government Areas.

Considering the size of coverage by each zone and the numerous agri-



Alhaji Muhammadu Zuntu
Comm. of Agric

cultural activities of these areas, a proposal for the establishment of the 4th zone at Saminaka is already receiving government attention.

Aims and objectives

The project was established with the sole aim of inspiring the agricultural productivity of small scale farmers who form over 65% of the 3.96 million people of the state by encouraging modern improved agricultural techniques, thus indirectly improving their income and standard of living.

At present the project service or attends to about 603,300 farming families spread all over the state.

SUPPLEMENT ON KADUNA STATE AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

Amongst the main objectives of the project are:-

- (a) Provision of effective agricultural extension services to farmers in the fields of crops, livestock, tree-fruits, cooperatives, vegetables production and improved seeds to farmers.
- (b) Encouraging adaptive research and provision of improved seeds to farmers.
- (c) Timely and adequate provision of farm inputs through its commercial arm (FASCOM).
- (d) Develop dry season crop production.
- (e) Encourage the adoption and establishment of improved pasture farms by livestock farmers.
- (f) Encourage establishment of orchards by farmers.

(g) Encourage Animal Tractor.

(h) effective land planning, development and soil conservation.

(i) Formation of cooperative groups.

(j) Encourage the participation of

and boreholes.

The campaign for adoption of dry-season farming and inclusion of livestock in form of mixed farming by farmers had yielded positive result.

Farmers had positively taken up the usage of animals as a source of farm power (Animal traction) especially at Giwa, Soba, Paki, Birnin Gwari and Hunkuyi areas.

A lot of women had gone into agriculture and many women agricultural cooperative groups have been formed at Zonkwa, Palladan, Birnin Gwari, etc.

The achievement of most of the aforementioned objectives was made possible through the combined efforts of the departments which usually work in unison and the activities channelled to the farmers through project's untiring extension agents. These extension agents though not adequate, each extension agent attends to about 1000 farmers, are spread all over the villages of the 18 local government areas of the state living permanently in the midst of the farmers offering them advisory and training services on modern agriculture.

They are provided with motorcycles and bicycles to ease their mobility problems so as not to affect their job.

In order to be up to date the extension agents are subjected to continuous training in form of field days, FNTs, workshop etc. in the various fields of agriculture.

Each of the sub-programmes mentioned earlier has its areas of jurisdiction which is mandated to concentrate upon with the support of others.



Mr Ibrahim Kakaki
Programme manager

women in agriculture.

(k) Establishment of effective staff and farmers trainings.

(l) construction of rural feeder roads and rural water supply.

(m) Of recent, the encouragement of dairy farming and aquaculture (fish farming).

Achievements

In addition to the increase in agricultural productivity of the rural populace, the project had done quite a lot in the provision of rural infrastructural facilities especially feeder roads for easy transportation of farm inputs and produce, construction of dams for irrigation and watering of livestock, supply of portable water through open wells



A newly introduced animal drawn implement

SUPPLEMENT ON KADUNA STATE AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

Technical Services

It is directly involved with :-

i. The provision of Extension Services through the unified training and visit system to 603,300 farming families.

ii. Improved agricultural production through adaptive research whereby improved farming practices and technologies are formulated for the farmers to adopt.

iii. Multiplication of seeds and agro-processing.

The department works closely with IAR (Institute of Agricultural Research), Zaria, especially in the areas of Adaptive Research on newly developed varieties of crops like maize, cowpea, soya beans,

The conducive climate of Kaduna State allows for the growth of all the crops grown in Nigeria. Some of these crops includes sorghum, maize, millet, soyabeans, rice, ginger, cassava, yam, cocoyam, cowpea, cotton, potatoes, assorted vegetables, sugarcane, beniseeds, banana, palm oil, kenaf, sheanuts, kolanuts, etc.

millet, yams, rice, sorghum, which are the state priority crops.

It also does collaborate with other agricultural research institute like NRCI Badegi, IITA Ibadan, NRCRI Umudikwe, where palm trees, kolanut, pine trees, etc. are produced.

The extension unit of the department is the most vital component of the whole project. Because it is associated with the dissemination of all agricultural information, be it crops, livestock forestry, cooperative, fisheries, etc. under the umbrella of the unified extension system.

The importance of its activity (extension) explains why over 70% of the project staff are extension based. The extension staff serve as the main linkage between the project and the farmers.

Livestock development

This department is charged with the responsibilities of proposing and initiating simple but modern and relevant livestock technologies for easy adoption by small scale farmers. These are then translated into extension messages for easy

transmission to these farmers by the extension agents.

Some few cattle, sheep and goats are kept at the zones for the purpose of demonstrating to farmers the new technologies. All the veterinary clinics in the state are being rehabilitated and equipped.

1. The department is involved in fodder bank and pasture development.

2. Animal traction for which two training centres are established at Maigana and Samaru zones to train farmers, blacksmith and extension agents.

3. Helping farmers to get production inputs such as feed and drugs.

To this, the project is hoping to start a drug revolving programme which will also include private veterinarians.

The department works closely with NLDP, NAPRI and ILCA for the development of specific packages aimed at improving livestock production.

Of recent the project is trying to incorporate fish farming and dairy production. Already dairy farmers cooperative societies are being formed at Birnin Gwari and Samaru zones in conjunction with NLDP.

Land planning & development

The department is involved in :-

i. Farm planning and management for farmers

ii. Soil conservation and land development

iii. Agro-forestry

Advice are given to all categories of farmers on farm planning and soil survey. Advice on mechanized farming, judicious usage of chemical and biological control of weeds are also being rendered by this department.

The usage of viti-ver grass on contour lines, tree planting etc. are encouraged so as to prevent and control erosion.

Improved varieties of fruit tree seedlings such as mango, citrus apple, etc. are being developed at the zonal nurseries and sold to the farmers at affordable prices in order to encourage the establishment and development of orchard by farmers.

Fadama irrigation

Like the other departments, the irrigation department plays a vital role in the planning and development of irrigation and water control systems for the farmers.

SUPPLEMENT ON KADUNA STATE AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

The department is intensifying efforts to fully exploit not only the ground water potentials by means of shallow tubewells and washbore but also surface water by means of low suction water lifting from the river using two or three water pumps.

Other services being rendered by this department includes:-

- i. Drilling of shallow tubewells and washbores for individual groups of farmers.
- ii. Pump lift irrigation or direct river abstraction for community irrigation.
- iii. Intensification of residual moisture cropping techniques.

- iv. Rendering technical advice on channel construction, practices in irrigation.

The department has experts for the attainment of these objectives. The irrigation department is able to drill 1000 washbores and tubewells.

Cooperative financing agency

The main objectives of this department is to organise, encourage and give guidance to farmers as much as possible to establish viable cooperative societies throughout the state so as to ease their efforts. In sourcing of farm inputs like irrigation pumps, hand pumps, chemicals seeds, etc. The department also links and facilitates the effort of such societies to get access to farming loans from financial institutions like NACB, Union Bank, Habib Bank, etc. Over 500 cooperative societies have been revitalised.

Rural infrastructure

The department handles all the infrastructural developments of the rural areas such as feeder roads, boreholes, open wells earth dams, etc. So far, a total of 1,712.6 km of feeder roads, six earth dams and over 600 boreholes and open wells have been constructed or drilled throughout the state.

It also provides mechanical maintenance and servicing of the project's vehicle, plants and other machineries which are necessary for rural development.

Manpower development & training

For the effective implementation of the project's activities the need for constant training and retraining of its staff in order to uplift their technical competence can not be over-emphasized. Hence one of the reasons that necessitated the establishment

of this department. In order to achieve this, vigorous and systematic staff development is through training implored by the department as follows:-

- a. The department conducts skill gap analysis to asses training needs for the project staff.
- b. It then identifies appropriate courses to the needs of the staff based on the skill gap analysis conducted.
- c. Procure and distribute relevant training materials for training purposes.
- d. Establish, equip and maintain training centres.
- e. Organised and conduct in-house or on the job training.
- f. Publicise — project's activities and enlighten farmers and the project staff through the project media production unit.

From the inception of the project to date, the department has trained about 23,002 staff from all the department, both short and long term, locally and abroad.

Planning monitoring and evaluation

This department is vested with the responsibility of the planning of the activities of the entire project and the subsequent implementation before the final evaluation of the impact or achievement of the planned programme after completion under the various sub-programmes.

The department also conduct specific feasibility studies to assess the potential areas of new development and generates relevant data for future planning.

Finance and supplies department

The department establishes and maintain a sound and comprehensive policy of accounting procedures to regulate the capital recurrent expenditures of the project.

Ensure preparation of budgets and disbursement of funds.

Administration department

This department handles the traditional functions of rendering secretariat and personnel services to all the departments in the headquarters and zones.

Farmers supply company (FASCOM)

As a limited liability company, it is the commercial arm of the project. It's activities borders mainly on sourcing and supply of farm inputs to farmers at reasonable prices.

Their head office is at No. 11 Nagogo Road Kaduna, with farm service centres located all over the state



KABIRU YUSUF

tragedy will force us to radically re-examine the basis of our coexistence.

The immediate reaction of our government seems to come more from the heart than the head. The arrest of Campaign for Democracy in Nigeria (CDN) activists, the ban on all parochial political groupings and the tough stand against striking air traffic controllers and the demands of the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU), points to a

this nation has built since 1914 may go up in disintegrating and anarchical smoke, and it will be a tragedy for the blackman in the world."

On behalf of all those who do not want this country to go up in smoke, may I join Mayegun, Beko Ransome Kuti, Gani Fawehinmi and Chief Enahoro, to call for a national conference in the first quarter of 1993. No one should be afraid to sit down and discuss how we should manage our affairs as a nation. It is certainly better than settling matters with guns and knives in the streets.

The agenda of the conference should be as open as possible. Do we want to remain together as a nation? If so, under what kind of arrangement? What should be the relationship between the centre and the states on such issues as revenue allocation, federal appointments etc. Let selected representatives of all groups in Nigeria sit and talk to each other. Let everyone voice out his fears, grievances and aspirations. If we cannot agree on how to live together democratically, we should at least agree on how to go our separate ways, peacefully.

No one can guarantee that the conference will succeed. Since it may be called under a civilian setting, a lot depends on the kind of president we elect in December. If he is a strong and fair man and if the military remains united as a bulwark against disintegration, it may well be the sort of catharsis we need to renew our commitment as a nation. But we should not underestimate the risks involved.

In 1978 there was a deadlock in the Constituent Assembly over Sharia which led to a walkout and dangerously polarised the nation. Gowon and Ojukwu did not agree in Aburi, Ghana, and this was soon followed by a civil war. The conference may well turn out to be a long-drawn and bitter affair. It is a gamble that we should embark upon with the gravest sense of responsibility.

What is to be done?

Many serious and responsible Nigerians have of late been forced to think the unthinkable: can Nigeria survive as a country? It is true we have always had our alarmists and pessimists, people who see nothing good about the past and the present, and who imply that the only way we can have a future is to entrust into their able hands. Then there are those who have been watching too much CNN (Cable News Network) which has become the fad in many newspaper houses. Just as many feature writers strangely linked the riots in Los Angeles to that of Lagos, many wonder if the fate of the Bosnia Harvegovina may not become ours. Certainly the usual tension and divisions in the country, has been magnified by a sharp rise in inflation, shortage of fuel, riots in Lagos, Akure and Benin and communal clashes in Kaduna State. The month of May has probably seen more mayhem than any comparable period in our recent past. Mercifully the riots were reasonably handled by the students, despite the massive destruction caused by hoodlums. But the terrible carnage in Kaduna left one completely numb. How can ordinary people, who have been living together, wake up one day and start killing each other? One can only pray that the enormity of this latest

hardening of posture that might further drive dissent underground. What is happening in this country now goes beyond the rights and wrongs of the Babangida regime. People as old as Chief Anthony Enahoro and as young as student leader Olusegun Mayegun, are questioning our continued existence as one federation.

Chief Gani Fawehinmi told me in his chamber last week that unless

What is happening in this country now goes beyond the rights and wrongs of the Babangida regime. People as old as Chief Anthony Enahoro and as young as student leader Olusegun Mayegun, are questioning our continued existence as one federation.

there is a national conference in the next few months. "I foresee a no-Nigeria in five years". Speaking to another magazine he sounded even more urgent. "Six months or nine months more may be too late. I am definitely worried because all that

PRIVATE EYE

Believe this.....

Browsing through newspapers can at times be such fun. It temporarily provides relief from an otherwise dreary existence. One can find news items that range from the absurd, the hilarious and the insane, but never the serious.

Consider, for example, the newspaper headline that screamed 34 million Naira revenue windfall. Where did your mind go when you read the headline? Mine went to a perhaps resourceful local government council.

It never went to the federation account, but federation account it was. Turned out that the princely sum was the total amount made available to mineral producing states for the month of February.

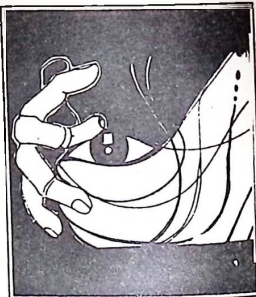
How was it distributed? Apparently Rivers State is the heaviest mineral producing state because it was allocated 19.5 million Naira. It was followed by Delta and Edo states with 7.4 and 4.9 million Naira re-

spectively. Imo was handed a million Naira.

This is where the list of the London and Paris clubs end. The rest are mere thousandnaires. Abia, 770,287 Naira and Akwa Ibom 254,377 Naira. Bauchi State belongs to this club only because there are four figures listed against its name - 2,078.

In the masses club are Adamawa and Jigawa, 136 Naira, not 136,000, just 136 each. So are Anambra, 306 Naira, Benue, 272 Naira; Enugu, 408 Naira, Kaduna and Kwara 442 Naira, Kano, Osun and Sokoto 238 Naira each, Katsina and Kebbi 102 Naira each, Niger 579 Naira, Taraba 104 Naira, Kogi 324 Naira, Oyo 204 Naira Cross River 75 Naira.

But the real beneficiaries are Borno and Yobe states. Being members of the cartel that produce desert and sand storm, they were allocated a whopping 34 Naira each representing a mind boggling percentage of 0.0001. The winner is, wait for it, Lagos State. It managed to collect



nothing, but it is an industrial city, if not industrialised. Besides, thank God no one was allocated 419!

Anyway, the point here is that Borno and Yobe now have a chance to fully develop with this literally-trail-blazing windfall. I mean, 34 Naira is not small change these days. It can go a long way in confronting poverty eye ball to eye ball, not to mention desertification! Besides, the money accruing to mineral producing states is going to the proper states against all the false stuff we are being fed with.

The guns of Makurdi

It is routine that guns and such dangerous weapons are regularly stolen from armories. What would be news therefore is not that two pistols and three magazines are missing from the armoury of the now remodelled 31st Airborne Brigade, Makurdi. Bad elements in the forces do that regularly to make money on the side. Nor the fact that so many dangerous weapons are now in the hands of private citizens. In fact, Commissioner of Police for Ogun State, Mr. Olusegun Akinlade, just last week bitterly alerted the nation to the presence of sophisticated weapons which include a decidedly American sub-machine guns used liberally in the Liberian conflict.

What would be news is who is doing, aiding, abetting and all other

...ings. In this particular case, the first suspect was Sergeant Linus Abba, the key-keeper of the armoury. Trouble is, he is dead, but before dying, he had insisted a Major J. A. had always had the keys. A board of inquiry could not unravel the mystery of the missing guns.

As always happens to the wretched of the earth, the Serge, on the orders of the major, was locked up in the brigade's guardroom. On April 30, in company of the brigade's RSM, one Major E.O., the garrison RSM, Corporal A.A. Staff Sergeant Bulus I. and Sergeant Sylvester T., the late Linus was taken to a herbalist for a trial by ordeal! Military standards have really fallen.

On May Day, when the worker is being globally celebrated, the unholy gang returned without answers.

The herbalist apparently lacks the ESP qualities of *para-wetin-call*, but Major J.A. set about with gusto, the flogging of Linus to extract what clearly was not there. By the time he was through, a doctor who examined Linus had only these to say:

"Called to see patient Linus Abba who was rushed in from the guardroom by DBE RSM; said to have been flogged seriously and pepper rubbed on the body this evening and later placed in the open in the sun.

"Was later taken into the room, hands and legs tied with rope. Staff on duty said all vital organs were absent from the body on arrival. Respiration, nil; paper white conjunctiva, pupils slightly dilated and fixed not reacting to light. Patient confirmed dead."

Attanshun!!!

Death

Thousands of people died in unwarranted circumstances through organised attack or riot. Their relations and friends are left to groan and face the agony of loneliness. Our poets decry this cold and devilish acts and sympathise with the victims and their relations.

Such a pity...

Such a pity we are all blind,
Ungenerous, shunning others with a blind,
Always wicked, hateful as if bound.

Such a pity we are all one,
But unneighbourly as if in a promiscuous barn,
Yet lovers of progress, peace all round.

Such a pity the world is a stage,
As bad actors we are all at its edge,
And soon we will fall off and wound.

Murder

See? You're treading on it
Breaking its marrowless spine
Pulping its tender flesh.

Superman, O Superman,
It's only a defenseless fly
The plate is kept open too long
Careless of the cook.....
Now you wish to murder it
For licking the dregs of tasteless food!

Stop it, Superman,
Let this innocent fly go,
Let it enjoy the fruits of life.

Shehu El-Hafiz

©

Your burden is mine

Your pathetic struggle
To keep away the tears
Speaks more clearly
Of your anguish
Than a thousand words
In spite of yourself
Your eyes glow
With the sadness you feel
A reflection of the turmoil
The 'riot' in your bosom
Which you try so hard
to hide.
But you do not succeed
In shielding me; from your woes,
For even as the tears drop
I had already been 'infected'
As a matter of course
Our destinies having been
linked; at the beginning and
at the end.
So do not deprive me of the
'right' to shoulder the burden
that is mine.

Suleiman Ismaila

©

Separation

When the curtain is drawn
And the candle of separation glows
a gloomy light
All the heart aches
And flowing tears

All the mental storms
And fever of loneliness
Is it you I lost?
You who pledged eternal
Matrimonial love life
and permanent affection and passion

I remember your laughter
During the blooming season of our
love
And all the sensational joys
Pure quality of your mirth

poets'
nest



Edited by Bilkisu Yusuf

And the long embrace
Only the sunlight broke
Now the kiss
Of eternal disaffiliation
When another fancy interferes
Which my median income cannot
cope.

Kabiru A. Muhammed

©

Apartheid

Indeed it is up in the winds
The tale of those reddened eyes
Shrimped with pain—
And we are citizens of this fashion
All the times entangled in the labyrinths
Of this cobweb mesh....

O sorrowful souls
Helplessly wrapped in suffocating
quietude
You are ragged not in dress
But thoughts and spirits.
Must you wear furrowed brows
On withered knowledgeable faces
Must your mellifluous voices be
usurped
By the hoarse barks of desperate
beasts?
Must you bow in artificial rever-
ence,
Licking the toes of dictatorial age?

Then come roof, fall —
And bring to end this dull show on
our stage.
Come thunder, with blinding com-
bined.

Shehu El-Hafiz



BANK OF THE NORTH LIMITED

HEAD OFFICE, KANO.

CHAIRMAN'S REPORT

32ND ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

HEAD OFFICE, KANO — 30TH APRIL, 1992



IGNATIUS NUHU ABOKI
CHAIRMAN

INTRODUCTION

Distinguished ladies and gentlemen, I have the honour to welcome you again to Bank of the North Ltd's 32nd Annual General Meeting and to present to you the Annual Report and Accounts for the financial year ended 31st December 1991. I wish, however, first to review the general economic situation of the Country, particularly the banking environment in which the Bank operated in 1991.

1. THE ECONOMY

Major government economic policies for the financial year 1991 were predicated on the 1991-1993 Rolling Plan aimed at consolidating the achievements that have been made since the inception of the Structural Adjustment Programme in 1986. Essentially, attention was therefore focused on the attainment of self sufficiency in production of food and agricultural raw materials, laying a solid foundation for a self-reliant industrial development, creating ample employment opportunities and enhancing the level of socio-political awareness of the people.

In this regard the activities of agencies like DFRRI, MAMSER, Better Life for Rural Women, Agricultural Development Projects etc., were given necessary encouragement by way of adequate funding, and moral support. Other Socio-Economic Programmes pursued include the conduct of the population census, completion of projects in the areas of health, education, urban and rural water supplies, environmental protection, a bold frontal attack of mass unemployment through the Directorate of Employment, and Privatisation and Commercialisation of Government Parastatals.

For various reason, attributable and peculiar to various sectors, the overall performance of the economy as measured by some indicators, was below expectations.

The real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) grew by 4.3 per cent only in contrast to 8.2 per cent recorded in 1990. There were indications of worsening trend in the rate of inflation and the depreciation of the exchange rate of the Naira.

Also, there were clear evidence of rising number of the unemployed. However, because of good weather conditions which prevailed throughout the growing season last year and improved supply and distribution of fertilisers, the agricultural sector recorded a growth rate of about 5 per cent, as against 4.3 per cent in the previous year. On the other hand, the manufacturing sector had to contend with depreciation of the exchange rate of the Naira, stiffer competition from imports, high interest rate, high monetary policies, inadequate credit facilities and shortage of even the locally sources raw materials.

2. THE BANK INDUSTRY

The banking sub-sector, an integral part of the economy suffered no less than the other sectors. While the banks were trying to cope with the provision of the 1991 monetary and policy guidelines, in June, 1991 the Federal Government came up with 'Banks and Other Financial Government Decree 1991 (decree No. 25)'. The requirements, restrictions and prohibition in respect of banking activities are detailed out in this decree. Suffice it to say that the entire management and members of the Board of Directors of a Bank are now responsible for compliance with the requirements of the decree.

The banking sector operated under very tight liquidity conditions, tight credit limit and increased competition, thanks to the coming in of several new banks into the industry. The high interest rates which prevailed in the previous year were curtailed, as in 1991, reference was to be made to 'Actual Cost of Fund' to justify interest rates. The various measures employed by the monetary authorities to mop up the liquidity had a crippling effect on the banking operations.

3. OPERATING RESULTS

In spite of the difficult conditions in which we operated, I am pleased to report that Bank of the North recorded Gross Earnings of N443,533m giving a growth rate of 11% over the 1990 earnings. This gives a profit before Tax and Provisions of N59,76m. However a loan loss provision of N1,78 million under the prudential Guidelines and the deduction of administration expenses leaves us with a profit before taxation of N7,974 million.

The results also show that Total Deposits rose by 4% from N2,070 billion in 1990 to N2,155 million in 1991 while loans and advances recorded a modest growth of 0.01% i.e. rising from N1,082 billion in 1990 to N1,093 billion in 1991. Shareholders Fund, however fell slightly from N163,935m in 1990 to N157,537m in 1991.

4. STAFF MATTERS

The bank continues to give priority attention to staff welfare in order to enhance their productivity. As highlighted in the Director's Report, the bank provides subsidy to all employees for medical, transportation and housing. I am happy to report also that we have had no strikes or lockouts or any kind of disturbances throughout the year 1991.

5. BRANCH EXPANSION

Our expansion policy was pursued with vigour in 1991 with particular emphasis in States we are least represented. I am happy to say that our branches in Uyo, Aba, and Onitsha in Akwa Ibom, Abia and Anambra States respectively are now fully operational. We also made our presence felt by participating in most of the Trade Fairs

organised in the Eastern States. We opened one more rural branch at Paiko, Niger State to answer the request of our major customers there who had to travel to Minna for banking services.

6. BOARD CHANGES

Messrs I. Shehu, A.O. Odbi, I. M. Kawu, M.M. Gusau, J.P. Machoko, V.A. Bappa, B. Ahmed, J.A. Amodu, V.A. Bena, M.K. Dapehi, B.B. Faruq, J.A. Oga, H.A. Tambuwal, Sada Katsina, Babi Saleh were appointed directors while M.M. Karaye, U. Ahmed, Ahmed O. Kamal, A.H. Mshella, O.O. Ando, I. Kawu, M. Jibia resigned from the board since the last Annual General Meeting. May 1, on your behalf welcomes all the new members to the board and hope that they will offer their wealth of experiences for the benefit of the bank.

On the other hand, I acknowledge the invaluable contribution and dedication of the former directors and wish them success in their new places of work.

7. THE FUTURE

Recent developments in the banking industry have tempted both those within and outside the system, to speculate, pessimistically, about the future of some of the banks.

The various regulatory measures in respect of lending and liquidity, have generated intense competition amongst the banks. We, in Bank of the North, hail these measures and reiterate that they will eliminate the distortions and lapses in our financial system.

We are not, however, unaware of some of the unfavourable consequences of some of these measures. For instance, the hike in interest rates, thanks to the cut-throat competition amongst banks, only encourages savings, and thwarts investments in production, for obvious reasons, and unless it is checked, the situation, coupled with increased difficulties in bringing in machinery and spare parts, will retard growth in manufacturing/productive sectors.

We also propose that the imposition and waiver of penalties under the stabilisation securities be reviewed. Banks are penalised for excess liquidity as soon as the situation is noticed by the CBN, and the penalty remains imposed even if the situation is normalised before the maturity date. We strongly feel that penalty should be waived with similar zeal as soon as the offending bank mends its position.

In conclusion, on behalf of myself, my colleagues on the Board, Management and Staff of Bank of the North Ltd, I assure our numerous customers of our best services and attention. As ever, we Earn Your Confidence.

I thank you very much for your attention.

Thursday, 30th April, 1992.

IGNATIUS NUHU ABOKI
CHAIRMAN.

BANK OF THE NORTH LIMITED

RESULTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST DECEMBER, 1991

BALANCE SHEET — 31ST DECEMBER, 1991

ASSETS

	1991 N000	1992 N000
Cash and Short Term Funds	720,133	342,631
Due From Other Banks	427,671	472,446
Bills Discounted	54,343	532,223
Investment at Cost	10,077	7,384
Loans and Advances	1,092,950	1,082,643
Other Assets	508,938	218,322

Fixed Assets	136,571	108,888
TOTAL ASSETS	2,950,683	2,764,637

LIABILITIES

Deposits & Current Accounts	2,155,021	2,070,818
Due to Other Banks	170,200	136,243
Taxation Payable	11,213	10,453
Dividend Payable	100	50
Other Liabilities	441,604	386,138
2% Loans Stock 1988/1993	15,000	15,000
	2,793,138	2,600,702

SHAREHOLDERS FUND

Share Capital		
Authorised		
Ordinary Shares of N1.00 each	99,500	99,500
Preference Shares of N1.00 each	100,000	100,000
Issued and Fully Paid Up		
Ordinary Shares of N1.00 each	57,431	49,575
Preference Shares of N1.00 each	500	500
Total Paid Up Shares	57,931	50,075
Statutory Reserves	70,369	69,500
General Reserves	16,495	33,110
Loan Stock Redemption Fund	12,750	11,250
	2,950,683	2,764,637

Acceptance, Guarantees and Other Obligations for Account of Customers (and Customers' Liability thereon)	214,354	229,842
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IGNATIUS NUHU ABOKI — Chairman

MANSUR SODANGI — Managing Director and Chief Executive

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST DECEMBER, 1991

	1991 N000	1990 N000
GROSS INCOME FOR THE PERIOD	443,533	399,422

DEDUCT: Interest Expenses	(176,879)	(145,689)
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Operating Expenses (including Depreciation and Provisions)	(258,660)	(218,076)
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PROFIT BEFORE TAXATION	7,974	35,457
TAXATION	(2,181)	(10,331)

PROFIT AFTER TAXATION	5,793	25,126
TRANSFER TO STATUTORY RESERVE	(869)	(4,000)

TRANSFER TO LOAN STOCK REDEMPTION ACCOUNT	(1,500)	(1,500)
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PROPOSED PREFERENCE DIVIDEND	(50)	(50)
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RETAINED PROFIT FOR THE YEAR TRANSFERRED TO GENERAL RESERVE	3,374	19,576
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REPORT OF THE JOINT AUDITORS TO MEMBERS OF BANK OF THE NORTH LIMITED

We have examined the above balance sheet and profit and loss account and have obtained all the information and explanations which to the best of our knowledge and belief, were necessary for the purpose of our audit.

Proper books of accounts have been kept in accordance with generally accepted accounting principles and the financial statements which are in agreement therewith comply with the requirements of the Banks and other financial institutions Decree 1991, the relevant circulars issued by the Central Bank of Nigeria, the Companies and Allied Matters Decree 1990 and Statements of Accounts Standards issued by the Nigerian Accounting Standards Board.

The Assets have been properly valued and adequate provisions have been made for any losses of diminution in the value thereof.

During the period the bank did not contravene any section of the Banking and Other Financial Institutions Decree 1991.

To the best of our knowledge and belief, the bank complied with the guidelines of the Productivity, Prices and Income Board during the year ended 31st December, 1991. In our opinion and based on the information and explanations given to us, the financial statements give a true and fair view of the state of the bank's financial affairs as at 31st December, 1991 and of its profit, and source and application of funds for the year ended on that date.

30TH APRIL, 1992
KANO, NIGERIA

KPMG PEAT MARWICK ANI OGUNDE & CO.
Chartered Accountants

AMINU IBRAHIM & CO.
Chartered Accountants

ARTS

National Museum

Not just a store house

The National Commission for museums and monuments joins the rest of the world in celebrating the International Museums Day sharpening its position in Nigeria's cultural milieu

The materials come in different shapes and sizes; sculptures, masks, plaques, bronzes. They are also in various forms; wood, ivory, from various cultures of the country: NOK, Terra Cotta, Benin, Ife. These various antiques portray the rich culture of Nigeria dating more than 2000 years. These objects are catalogued and classified. Says Mrs. Vicky James, assistant director, library and archives, "It's like a library. A lot of the works is documented for easy reference."

But such documentation is recent history as the earliest museum headquarters established in Jos came in tow only in 1952 and was moved to its present location at Onikan in Lagos in 1957. Before then, the prominent museums in Nigeria included the one at Ife and the Esie Museum in Kwara State.

Unfortunately, financial bottleneck has continued to stare the

museums in the face and almost crippling their perceived role in the nation's cultural sector. Said Dr. Yaro Gella, director-general for National Commission for Museums and Monuments to journalists after a 10 state tour of the museums in March this year, "maintaining artifacts and monuments is a very costly venture. And with the weight given to the culture sector in terms of handling successful project, we suffer from lack of funds". On the state of the monuments, he painted even a more pathetic picture. "The monuments are things that are left like the

will not have a past of a story as it were, to tell our generation unborn. Our monuments are fast disappearing. The crux of the matter is that we do not have adequate funds to maintain them."

All hope is not lost though. The National Museum, conscious of its place in the nation's cultural sphere at this year's celebration of the International Museum Day, introduced a new dimension to bolster its finances, a media-business luncheon held at the Federal Palace Hotel in which businessmen were briefed on the museum and the need for their

support. Said Dr. Gella, "Museums, monuments throughout the world are looked after by the entirety of the society. In fact, most of the famous museums throughout the world are funded by organisations, institutions and individuals."

Nigeria joined the international community in celebrating the May 18 event declared by the International Museum Commission in 1977 in



Gobarau Mineret of Katsina: a must for posterity

Oshogbo shrine and the palace walls of Kano. These are the monuments we want to preserve as they were originally. But it is a very costly thing. We have had buildings and shrines destroyed now and then. You have to keep on maintaining them. Now that calls for a lot of financial input and this we have not been able to lay our hands on..."

Adds Kate Southey, the museums public relation officer, "Monuments speak of our history. Unless we maintain our monuments, we

Paris, in 1983 and has continued to use the opportunity to bring into proper focus the place of the museums in Nigeria. Says Mrs. James, chairperson of the Museum Day committee, "Some people don't even know where the museum is located. People should visit the museum. It offers such attraction as the kitchen where they can relax and an exhibition gallery where different exhibitions feature. It's more than a store house."

By Oji Onoko

MEDIAWATCH

PANA

Desperate for a breather

OAU, Inter-governmental council resolve to put life into a dying Pan African Information organ

Conceived by the founding fathers of the Organisation of African Unity, OAU, in 1963 to boost the growing Pan African spirit of the colonial struggle, this principle of creating a Pan African News Agency was not adopted until November 1977 in Kampala, Uganda, by the first session of the conference of Information ministers. However, the first news items of the Pan African News Agency, PANA, did not go on air until May 25, 1983, the 20th anniversary of the OAU.

As the information organ of the African continent, PANA's main objective said Randy Zormelo, bureau chief for West Africa based in Lagos, is to promote the flow of news in Africa and contribute to the social and economic development of the continent by balancing the lopsided flow of information between the north and the south.

With headquarters in Dakar, Senegal, and regional pools in Lusaka; Zambia Khartoum; Sudan, Kinshasa; Zaire, Lagos; Nigeria and Tripoli; Libya, also with bureaux in Addis Ababa to monitor the OAU, and Zimbabwe to monitor the events in South Africa, the continental news agency was on smooth sail until 1980. According to Mr. Zormelo, "Our problems started in 1980 when out of a budget of \$2.5 million for a year, PANA gets less than 2 million dollars". More than 75 per cent of this, said the bureau chief is spent on the staff alone as salaries and allowances.

The bureau chief further high-

lighted why PANA, after it has learnt to walk, went back crawling. He told *Citizen*, "First from the beginning, PANA could be said to be structurally defective. It is admin-



Zormelo: We are in dire straits

istratively heavy and a lot of money is spent on administration rather than on editorial". Secondly said he, "PANA's technology is completely outdated. It is still using radio teletype and point to point contact. Satellites and modern transmitting gadgets are lacking". The third and the most highly felt problem facing the continental news agency said Zormelo is that "contributions are not forthcoming from member states. PANA is being owed about 18 million dollars since its creation 13 years ago". With what Zormelo described as

an overburdened editorial staff and redundant management staff, salary arrears of between eight and 14 months is being owed staffers. According to PANA's director-general, in his report to the 9th ordinary session of Inter-governmental council in Abuja on April 21, the meeting of the Inter-governmental council on communication in Africa (ICC), held in Lagos in March 1991 gave PANA the opportunity to draw the attention of African governments to the critical financial situation of the agency. The director-general stated further, "This was further reflected in resolution of the ICC (Inter-governmental Council), but resolutions hardly elicit reactions these days".

During the launching on December 5, 1991 at the African Centre for Development and Strategies Studies (ACDESS), OAU secretary-general Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim lamented the ugly state of the continental agency. Said Dr. Salim, "It is a very sad situation... we have an institution which was created by Africans... and to allow this institution to collapse simply because member states have

not fulfilled their financial obligations is to undermine the very expectations and ideals that we stood for".

Observers said that with the democratic wind gradually blowing across the continent, the dismantling of the Soviet bloc which once acted as ideological stimulants to counter western imperialism and the eventual liberation of Southern Africa, PANA's role in information dissemination must be expended and sustained, but the question now is will this be realisable?

By Aluko Akinyele

BOOK REVIEW

Title: October Surprise
Author: Gary Sick
Publisher: Random House (1991)
Size: 277 Pages
Price: USA \$23 or about 400 Naira
Reviewer: Mohammed Haruna

Newsweek magazine of November 11, 1991 tried to dismiss it as "a conspiracy run wild", that is, the theory that the Reagan-Bush Republican campaign team of 1980 cut a secret deal with Iran to delay the release of American hostages in the country and thereby ensure the defeat of President Carter in that year's presidential elections. In the run-up to that years presidential elections, Carter had tried to spring an "October Surprise", first by planning an armed rescue operation that proved disastrous, and then through negotiations. As the elections approached it looked, at one point, that Carter would indeed succeed with the negotiations. Somehow, the Iranians changed their minds and called off the deal. This was at a time when virtually all their demands — unfreezing Iranian assets in the US, releasing American arms already paid for, etc — had been met.

In the circumstance it was only natural to wonder at the behaviour of the Iranians. Gary Sick, who once served as a National Security Council staff under Gerald Ford, Carter and Reagan, thought he could hazard an answer. This was last year when he first wrote an opinion-page article in the *New York Times* of April 15, outlining the very strong circumstantial evidence he had to back up the theory that somehow the Reagan campaign team managed to persuade the Iranians that Carter was more likely to lose the elections as poll after poll indicated and therefore, they were better off cutting a deal with the Republicans. Some of the evidences included oral and documented ones suggesting that William Casey, then heading Reagan's campaign team and later

to become director of the CIA and one of few such directors to operate at cabinet level, met twice in Europe with key Iranian figures and was able to cut a deal during the second meeting in Paris. Other evidences were the well-documented ones of Israel shipping arms to Iran during the last weeks of the presidential campaigns and of massive arms transfers immediately following Reagan's inauguration. The transfers violated US ban on shipment of American arms to third countries without clearance from the US, clearance which was not possible because the Reagan administration had publicly denounced Iran as an outlaw country.

Sick's bonafides as an objective analyst of the US-Iranian-Israel relations are impeccable. He was a Columbia University professor, a sound lawyer and had served in senior positions under two Republican administrations. It was these bonafides that the *Newsweek* of November 11, 1991 sought to question as it tried to debunk the "October surprise" theory by dismissing it as the "making of a myth". *Newsweek* said its own investigation "has found that the key claims of the purported eyewitnesses do not hold up". It would seem however, that it was *Newsweek's* investigation that did not go far enough. The magazine did not disprove the allegations successfully. Instead it sought to merely question the credibility and integrity of the eyewitnesses, many of whom were admittedly often given to fibbing.

Newsweek itself agrees that the allegations of "October surprise" if true, would constitute an accusation of treason against the alleged participant including Reagan and President Bush. Obviously then these are not allegations that can be easily proven. However, as an article in the *Columbia Journalism Review* (September/October, 1991) suggest, it seems there is a media conspiracy of sorts not to dig deep enough "When the

story does appear," said the article, "key questions not only go unanswered, they go unasked."

Part of the problem clearly is that many of the key participants in the alleged conspiracy, notably Reagan and Bush, are still alive and are in positions to frustrate investigations. At least one of them, William Casey, is dead and his secrets interred with his bones. Others alive on the Iranian side, including President Rafsanjani, are similarly in positions to cover up for if it were established that they were actually supping with the "Great Satan" (America) and Israel, their political careers would be finished. What was more, some of them allegedly lined up their pockets when the deal was cut.

Newsweek's article came out before Sick published his book and indeed seemed calculated to preempt it. If that was the intention, the magazine failed woefully, for anyone who has read the book will come away convinced that the Reagan-Bush administration must be the most hypocritical, double-faced administration Americans have ever voted into power.

If any evidence is needed, it lies in the obsession for secrecy for which the Reagan-Bush administration has become notorious. For instance, a recent study showed that 48 federal agencies reported 143,531 federal employees as having been made to sign secrecy and censorship oaths. And when Congress passed legislation aimed at stopping the spread of secrecy, both Reagan and Bush allegedly instructed the executive branch to ignore the Congress.

In the circumstance, the prospects of anyone getting to the bottom of the "October surprise" does not look too bright at least before the Republican hold on the executive branch wanes. The value of Sick's book is that it would constantly serve as a reminder of a mystery that is crying to be solved for the good of America and the rest of the world.

SPORTS

Calabar Stadium

Bull by
the horn

Cross River State government hunts for 100 million Naira with which to restore the glory of Calabar sports stadium complex

The Calabar sports stadium complex is something close to a whitewashed grave. Looking at it from outside, it gives the impression of a magnificent edifice.

But inside the stadium, the facilities have greatly decayed. The eight-lane tartan track is completely rotten, while the once lush green soccer pitch is now a glorified desert. The terraces leak and the olympic size swimming pool stinks — many thanks to the aquatic creatures which have converted the polluted and abandoned pool into their breeding ground. Add to this, the dilapidated two-storey administrative block, the neglected handball courts and indoor games facilities, as well as lack of functional floodlights, electronic scoreboard and public address system, and the sad picture of the stadium takes shape.

Mr. Clement Ebri, governor of Cross River State, laments that "the great Calabar sports stadium complex has fared badly" due to "the history of excuses and neglect, the ever-deepening economic problems of our state and country" which has reduced the stadium, "once a mar-

vel in this part of the country, to a most deplorable condition". he mourns "the pain which the stadium has suffered, a mortal pain which has reduced our once elegant stadium to a giant on the grass verge — its life almost completely gone with a huge carcass as evidence of an earlier life".

Brigadier U.J. Esuene (rtd), who as governor of the defunct south eastern state, dreamt up the Calabar sports stadium complex, is also sad that the arena has become "a shadow of its former self, indeed a death-trap due to over-use and long standing neglect". When in 1972 he conceived the idea of building the stadium, Brigadier Esuene never even in his wildest imagination expected the complex to degenerate to its present sorry state. What he had in mind was an architectural showpiece that would be a pride to all in the state, and that, indeed, was what the stadium looked like after five years of construction work which cost the state 3.5 million Naira. The complex, the main bowl of which can comfortably accommodate 20,000 spectators, was commissioned in April 1977.

The Cross River State govern-



Ekpenyong for sports sake

ment has calculated that about 100 million Naira is required to restore the glory of the stadium. Although barely five months in office, the state government has taken the bull by the horn by setting up a 13-member

central working committee charged with raising the money with which to breathe life back into the stadium. After several consultation and brainstorming sessions, the committee, headed by the state deputy governor, Mrs. Cecilia Ekpenyong, opted for a well executed appeal fund launch as one of the ways to raise the needed sum. With assistance from six sub-committees, Mrs. Ekpenyong and her team set out to mobilise as many people as possible for the big event. On Saturday, May 16, when the appeal fund was launched at the Calabar stadium, the state capital was swept clean and massive turnout was witnessed at the ceremony. The day witnessed a Naira rain, with a whopping donation of five million Naira coming from the federal government.

In addition to appeals for help, the Cross River State government is taxing individuals and organisations within the state as part of the strategies to net the required 100 million Naira.

The state government is going to all these lengths to rehabilitate the stadium because it views sports as being important as any other aspect of the economy. It believes that only healthy bodies can build a healthy nation, and it does not want to be the weak link in the country's sports chain.

Another reason why the state government is determined to give Nigeria's one time capital city a befitting stadium is because of Calabar's newly-acquired status as the country's first export processing zone. This development, according to Governor Ebri, "has invariably raised our state capital to the status of a mini-Nigeria, if not an international city". He believes that since the EPZ project has given Calabar added importance in the scheme of things, the city and its environs deserve sporting and leisure facilities of internationally accepted standards, as "the foreign investors will expect nothing less".

By Isaac Ummuna in Calabar

Champions cup

Berger's bridge collapsing?

Julius Berger, Nigeria's representative in Sekou Toure Cup are on the verge of being ousted

The horizon looks bleak for Julius Berger, as far as the prospect of winning this year's champion club cup — Sekou Toure Cup — is concerned. The Lagos based pro-league division one outfit, who are representing Nigeria in the African most competitive football championship, put their fate precariously on the balance on Saturday May 16.

Berger raised so much hope in their second round, first leg match against visiting Wydad Athletic Casablanca, (WAC), of Morocco, having scored a resounding 5-2 victory over Black Devils of Congo to advance to the second round. But WAC were no Black Devils and the

Nigerian flag bearers found the Moroccans very tough opponents to handle. The Casablanca defensive play built on well executed tactical brilliance saw them holding the home boys to a goalless draw at the National Stadium, Lagos. This weekend, Julius Berger has the unenviable and daunting job of outscoring the Moroccans in Casablanca if they must remain in contention for the continent's most glamorous soccer trophy yet to be won by any Nigerian clubside.

The failure of Berger to beat WAC in Lagos could be attributed to inadequate preparation, over confidence and lack of tactical and technical depth on the part of players and



Brodrick: dismal outing

handlers to puncture the negative and defensive style of play adopted by their opponents. Talking of inadequate preparation, Julius Berger, currently being handled by one of the nation's most successful coach, Sebastine Brodrick, began plotting their own downfall when they asked the Nigeria Football Association, (NFA), to put off their pro-league tie against Kano Pillars a week to their continental tie. The week-eleven league match would have served as a warm up for Berger. More than anything, it would have exposed their weak points and allowed the coaching crew to know where to mend fences.

The Lagos based champions cup



A solo effort by a Berger player, and a Wydad player in hot pursuit



The goal that would have mattered, a penalty as saved by Wydad goalie, Karim

representatives lost their heads in the cloud of over confidence when they beat Black Devils of Congo 4-0 in the first round second leg in Lagos. They were totally carried away by the euphoria of a resounding victory over a club from a country who has never pretended to rival Nigeria in football either at club or national team level.

Julius Berger, like many unwary Nigerian clubs, also forgot the age-long and highly effective tactics of North African clubs — playing safe and frustrating their opponents whenever they are playing away from home. On that Saturday, WAC fortified their goal area, frustrating moves by Berger to break their wall of defence and score the much needed goals. If the Moroccans perfected a defensive tactic, Berger made the system to work for them by their inability to draw out their opponents and score goals. Even Berger's chief coach Brodrick, who some days to the show down predicted that "the Moroccans would play safe in this match but we won't give them the opportunity to operate", could not handle the North Africans when it mattered most.

Can Julius Berger survived Waydad's blitz in Casablanca on Friday? Going by past encounters between Nigerian and North African clubs in Sekou Toure Cup, Berger's chances are very slim. North African clubs are always at their deadliest when playing at home, and clubs like Iwuanyanwu Nationale, Ranchers Bees, Rangers International, Shooting Stars, defunct Abiola Babes and Leventis United, had ended their continental cup dreams in similar circumstances. The Moroccans also made it clear to their Nigerian opponents that they should consider themselves ousted from the championship because they (WAC) would be all out for a resounding victory on Friday.

But some Berger officials and other football analysts believed the Nigerian flag bearers would only



A midfield action that bore no fruit

scale through if they can match Moroccan tactical and technical brilliance. Berger's team manager Mr. Emmanuel Omiumu, thinking along this line, said that "we intend to effect two tactical changes in the team for the Casablanca tie".

Julius Berger's disappointing outing in Lagos has further heightened the fears that Nigeria may not

win any trophy in most of the international football competitions her clubs are participating in this year. Nigerian representatives in the Mandela Cup, El-Kanemi of Borno, crashed out in the first round second leg of the competition. If, eventually Berger are eliminated on Friday, Kano Pillars, who are in the quarter final of West Africa Football Union



Berger's Obanor in a solo run

(WAFU) Cup and Shooting Stars Sports Club of Ibadan, who are starting their confederation of Africa Football Cup competition this Saturday in Burkina Faso, will be the only Nigeria's hope in international championship this year. Shooting Stars are billed to meet USCB of Burkina Faso on Saturday in the first leg second round of CAF Cup. The match which would have been played last Saturday was shifted because of Burkina Faso's parliamentary elections. The return leg will take place in Ibadan, next week Saturday.

By Joe Olajuwon

ADAMU ADAMU S

DEFINITIONS
IN HUMOUR

Logical laws

Khaleel Ablat (almost his real name) sent a book called 1001 Logical Laws. And I have nothing to say except that they are indeed logical — too much so perhaps — most of them. The rest are indeed illogical — too much so perhaps. After going through them all, the best logic I discovered is that they cancel each other. What relief. Read on, remembering not to forget one of the very first logicals. Never allow your reading to interfere with your education. If you obey this law many of these excerpts will make meaning to you. But first keep in mind Politi's Attorney's law — "Any law enacted with more than 50 words contains at least one loophole". Find them.

The "Where Are They When You Need Them" principle.

If a man steals from you once, he's a fool; if a man steals from you twice, you're the fool; if he steals from you thrice, the odds are eight to five the thief and the agency charged with the theft protection are one and the same.

Hendrickson's law

If a problem causes many meetings, the meetings eventually become more important than the problem.

Nowlan's deduction

Following the path of least resistance is what makes men and rivers crooked.

Hoffman's rule

Smile — it makes people wonder what you're thinking.

Taft's law

If "pro" is the opposite of "con", then "progress" is the opposite of "Congress".

Imhoff's law

The organisation of any bureaucracy is very much like a septic tank — the really big chunks al-

ways rise to the top.

London's observation

If the first person who answers the phone cannot answer your question, it's a bureaucracy.

Balzac's conclusion

There is only one giant machine operated by pygmies, and that is a bureaucracy.

Walder's observation

A mathematician is one who is willing to assume everything except responsibility.

Meville's conclusion

Research is a straight line from the tangent of a well-known assumption to the centre of a foregone conclusion.

Brown's Bromide

A "peace-loving nation" is one which bans fireworks and makes hydrogen bombs.

Frederick's law

General solutions to specific problems become specific problems requiring general solutions.

Preston's axiom

Never put off until tomorrow what you can avoid altogether.

Bustlin Billy's bogus beliefs

Capitalism can exist in only one of two states — welfare or warfare.

The point-of-no-return law

The light at the end of the tunnel could turn out to be the headlight of

an oncoming train.

Match's maxim

A fool in a high station is like a man on the top of a high mountain: everything appears small to him and he appears small to everybody.

Nef's law

There's a solution to every problem; the only difficulty is finding it.

Swift's law

Laws are like cobwebs, which may catch small flies, but let wasps and hornets break through.

Frost's observation

A bank is a place where they lend you an umbrella in fair weather and ask for it back when it starts to rain.

Newbern's law

People can be divided into three groups: those who make things happen, those who watch things happen and those who wonder what happened.

Karl Marx's after-thought

The masses are the opium of religion.

Gresham's law

Trivial matters are handled promptly; important matters are never solved.

O'Malley's conclusion

Life is a series of movements from one chair to another.

Schwab's commentary on travel

You can never really get away — you can only take yourself somewhere else.

McFadden's observation

It's true that money talks, but the only thing it says to some people is "Good-bye".

Pefalque's observation

Speak well of your enemies; remember you made them.



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