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JAN. 17 — 23, 1994. VOL. 5 NO. 3

# Citizen

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## BRIEFLY

Alhaji Abdullahi Musa Magaji, director-general, office of the head of state, Abuja was expected to be turbaned last Saturday January 15, 1994, as the *Turakin Jega* in Kebbi State, by the *Sarkin Kabin Jega*, Alhaji Haruna III.

Alhaji Abdullahi, 46, was born in Pankshin, Plateau State and bagged a degree in History, Hausa and Arabic from the Ahmadu Bell University, Zaria, in 1970, and a diploma in public administration from the University of Ife in 1973. Before his present posting, he had been a director-general, political affairs in the presidency.

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## FROM THE EDITOR

**F**inally, Budget 94 arrived — full ten days late. But then it is better late than never, especially when people have already started wondering whether the budget itself was going to the way of the promised civilian governors or the deputy governors. That may be taking things to extreme, though.

The delay, which causes no measurable anxiety, became understandable and perhaps even useful when it became clear that a momentous struggle and battle of wits was going on for the soul of SAP. It was good that it was SAP that died. It was very very good riddance. The budget for many is a celebration of that death.

But there were no surprises — delightful or horrible — in the budget,

largely because the government must have listened to a wide spectrum of public opinion; and the areas needing attention were quite obvious, anyway.

Naira value, interest rate, inflation, deficit — and the figures looked nice. It was all clear that the government had started on the right footing. But as one former civil servant noted, "it is not the elegance of the arithmetic of a budget or beauty of prose that is important, but the will to implement it."

This fear was echoed by many in this week's cover on the budget written by **Mahmud Jega and Aluko Akinyele.**

*Mahmud Jega*

## LETTERS

### This constitutional conference!

Sir,

Predictably, the forthcoming constitutional conference will be similar to the last transition period. We have had enough of squandering. Therefore, if the conference must hold, the government should only moderate the conduct of the conference. In other words, the government should neither pay any sitting allowance nor give hotel accommodation to the would-be members. Afterall, those calling for this conference are patriotic Nigerians, so no amount of sacrifice is too much for them.

We should not allow social parasites to decide their hosts. We have given too much room to cheap publicity seekers to propel their credentials for political appointments.

L.G. Hassan  
UDU, Sokoto

Sir,

May I know what was wrong with the untested 1989 constitution? Political instability has always originated from the Yoruba speaking states of Nigeria before spreading to other parts of the country. This is obvious in any presidential election involving a Yoruba candidate. The entire Yoruba race usually take it upon themselves to make the election a Yoruba affair. Their voting patterns and behaviours in 1959, 1964, 1979, 1983 and 1993 presidential elections confirm this.

It seems that the Yorubas cannot differentiate between federal character and democracy, especially when it comes to presidential elections. Infact there is the need to look critically at the socio-political set-up of Nigeria particularly the bureaucracy to see who is actually dominating who economically from the year 1914 to date.

Ibrahim B. Adamu  
T/Wada, Kontagora

Sir,

As we begin a new year and in

anticipation of the promised constitutional conference, it is pertinent to reflect upon and learn some salient lessons by recounting what transpired in some countries where political crises occurred in the recent past.

In Somalia, following the exit of Siad Barre the nation was thrown into turmoil with various warlords holding sway in different areas. This resulted in large scale killings, complete dislocation of the society and famine of unimaginable scale.

Then take the case of Haiti. After many decades of dictatorship backed by the militia, a free and fair election was held and the winner Rev. Father Aristides, a Roman Catholic priest, was installed president without first purging the polity of the influence of the militia. Ofcourse it did not take long for the elected president to be thrown out of office and into exile.

Third is the case of Burundi, where an oligarchy backed by a partisan military had been ruling the country since independence. Like on June 12 in Nigeria, there was a free and fair election that heralded a change of power base from Tutsi to the Hutu majority. Ndayaye, the winner of the election was installed without first purging the military of the supporters of the former hegemonic oligarchy. The new helmsman was soon to be assassinated in an attempted coup and the inter-ethnic carnage that followed is yet to abate.

The cases of Liberia and Yugoslavia are too familiar to warrant recounting as the strategy of these pieces are played out daily in the news media. The list is by no means exhaustive but the foregoing should suffice to give those insisting on "June 12 or nothing" and "Our man by all means" food for thought. The forces against June 12 are not mere ghosts or intangible spirits but real and very potent interest that cannot be wished away. One should take risks and fight for justice all right,

but let it be calculated risks as only the living have rights.

Ayo Makinde  
Festac Town, Lagos

### The big rip-off

Sir,

I refer to your edition Vol. 5 No. 2 page 14. I was highly embarrassed as your reporter displayed overzealousness in committing a private discussion into a public interview. This mix up has caused me a lot of trouble in my place of work. I am an officer of First Bank and not a manager and could not have granted public interviews. I hereby demand a public apology for this.

This so-called interview was unauthorized by me.

Tijjani Sarki  
First Bank Plc, Kaduna

### Re: Now who is better?

Sir,

Your publication of a letter (purportedly?) written by one Kabir Dangogo of Apapa, Lagos *Citizen* January 9-16, 1994, has sort of put me in an uncomfortable situation. Since the publication last Monday, several people have telephoned me to ask if I wrote the letter.

I have to draw your attention to the similarity between the writer's name and mine, that is if the writer exists at all as well as the embarrassment it has caused me. You probably would have saved me this embarrassment if you had published the full address of the writer, or even taken the trouble of cross checking the existence of the writer before going to press.

To those who wondered if I was the writer of the letter, I hope this satisfies their curiosity.

Kabir Dangogo  
BON, Head Office, Kano

### Editor's Note:

The address of the Kabir who wrote that letter is 35B Wharf Road, Apapa, 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 Unguwar Kanawa, PMB 2334, Kaduna. The Editor reserves the right to edit, publish or reject all letters.

# SAP: rest in pieces

**L**ast week's federal budget, the details of which were provided by the head of state, General Sani Abacha, the minister of finance, Dr. Kalu Idika Kalu and the governor of the Central Bank, Mr. Paul Oguwuma, was the first budget since 1966 to depart from the policy of deregulation and clearly brings to an end the notorious Structural Adjustment Programme, SAP. SAP was controversial at its inception and remained so throughout its inglorious reign, ruining firms, farms and factories, wrecking family incomes and rupturing the fabric of society. Why did the country have to go through all that? At the inception of SAP in 1986, the government even denied that it was inspired, nay, dictated by the International Monetary Fund, IMF. Many patriots protested at the time that a policy of total deregulation is both illogical and unethical. Illogical, because there is no way the productive sectors of our economy can hold their own in unbridled competition against foreign transnationals. The whole IMF idea that each country should "specialise" in an economic area in which it has "natural advantages" is hypocritical and is not followed by the developed countries themselves.

The government here argued that the whole idea of SAP entails a policy of national belt-tightening and sacrifices in order to pull the economy out of the woods. And Nigerians made sacrifices, huge sacrifices. Eight years into SAP the economy is not out of the woods. In fact it seems to have sunk deeper into the quagmire. If the measure of economic recovery is greater production, there is less production today. If the index of success is less foreign debt, there is no appreciable drop; if it is higher living standards, well, those standards are at their lowest level in a long time.

So where did the sacrifices and savings go

to? These were squandered, by political leaders and speculators. SAP turned economic sense on its head by depressing production and encouraging speculation. The biggest beneficiaries in eight years of SAP were the banks, black marketeers, smugglers and assorted hustlers and speculators and also the political leaders. Was this what the people bargained for? To save resources, only to see a parasitic group squander it to build cars, even while unemployment rises and incomes disappear?

No one expects the policy of renewed regulation to be a panacea in itself. The civil service and financial sector technocrats have not proved themselves in the past to be the best managers of national resources; and the civil service today is in much worse shape than it ever was in.

It was wrong to have allowed market forces complete freedom, no doubt. But the racketeering that manipulated and hijacked the little gain that would have accrued to the economy resulted not from market forces but because no one cared. The economy was abandoned. Even when budgets were read no one intended to implement them; and everybody knew that.

Budget '94 is honest in its admissions, that the past was a failure; and courageous in jettisoning it without a further waste of time. It looks modest and its targets achievable. However, any hope of realising its objectives and plugging all loopholes through which it can be abused lies in the area of implementation.

The Abacha regime must see and regard the implementation of the budget as a sacred trust. First, because our people have suffered greatly from its neglect in the past; and, second, its own estimation in public eyes will be tied to how it tries to deliver what it

promises. And many people seem to believe that government forces must succeed where market forces fail.

In the end, the Abacha regime must harbour no illusions. It must rise to the challenge and revamp the attitudes of public

officials, so the whole business of returning to state intervention in economic planning does not become another case of jumping from frying pan into the fire.

## The Major headache

**L**early, British prime minister, John Major, is up to his ears in trouble. A recent poll said only 11% of voters believe the government is trustworthy or in touch with the people. Major's personal popularity has plummeted to 14% from 48% before he was elected.

Among the many reasons are broken promises over taxes, the debacle over the exchange rate mechanism, duplicity and then cover up in the arms sales to Iraq, lack of clarity over contacts with the IRA, lack of jobs and declining quality of life. Then there are scandals that led to the resignation of two cabinet ministers and the housing scandal in which the Conservative Party had been vote-buying council flats which has cost the British tax payer some 30 million pounds.

It was inevitable. For a time, the figure of the powerful and wilful Margaret Thatcher loomed over him. Secondly, accumulated ills and mishaps began to surface. Then Major and the Conservative Party added fresh problems. Given this environment, is it surprising that the British are disenchanting?

Major's response to all this has been to initiate a fuzzy return to "traditional values" which have presumably broken down, but what caused it? The noise over ERM, the arms sales to Iraq or the dalliance and indiscretion of ministers? The truth is that the British have been brutalised by the business as usual conservatives who have very little time for the small man. It all comes down to cynical exploitation, lack of remorse by the leadership, crass deceit, and insensitivity.

If Edwina Currie, the controversial MP and former minister can set parliament alight with debates over the age of consent for homosexuals in the midst of all this, no wonder the British are outraged, disenchanting and want the Tories out.

It may well be that Major's prescription of return to "traditional values", however defined, would be an antidote to the web of intrigue, deceit and arrogance that of recent has characterised the exercise of power, not just in Britain, but globally.

For us here, the issues are far broader. The action or inaction of Britain in the global power equation and the re-defining of the world have been nothing but acts of double standard and arrogance. But then, it isn't surprising in a world where individualism has been carried to extremes and global leadership is morally destitute. That, warts and all, is the New World Order. Take it or leave it.

In Iran, Iraq, Libya, Bosnia, Nigeria, Somalia, Algeria, Sudan, Liberia and Angola or even in Northern Ireland, human suffering on an unimaginable scale has become routine, yet those who profit by these tragedies treat them as if they are war games. Britain, no matter its contributions, actively took part or acquiesced in the economic, political and social destruction and dehumanisation of peoples in these areas. And that may be just the beginning of the chickens coming home to roost.

Major can afford to talk about the return to basics, but does something more basic for him is to try to survive beyond the summer of 1994.

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## ADAMU ADAMU

— on behalf of the public are necessarily the most anxious about its welfare. They were not; and they are not.

Nor are they about yours. They are like miserly golden geese. They have a nest to feather; and eggs to lay—and hatch. Despite their claim to democracy and even becoming famous fighting for it, they are as far away from it as Marx was from

But corruption must be fought— thieves must be caught, property confiscated and criminals punished. Otherwise this generation and indeed future generations will begin to believe that public property is just there for the taking. And they will take it. Nigeria will only change in order to remain the same.

The treasury will continue to be looted; political support will remain for sale; infrastructure will never work; crime will increase; hospitals — which have been consulting clinics for nine years — will disappear; and the nation will be at war with itself. At the moment every aspect of corruption is growing at an astronomical rate.

Yet unless corruption is attacked and checked nothing that will be done by this or any future government will work. Abacha and his colleagues must take the painful decision to purge their own circle, and then descend on every scheming criminal. But it appears the government, in typical Nigerian fashion, is doing last things first.

The searchlight is already focused on some institutions but this, commendable as it is, appears to be no more than the effort of a regime troubled by its conscience. The ad hoc investigations ordered into NNPC, NIPOST, NEPA and Customs are no more than a salve that will probably lead nowhere — or at best take us back to square one.

It all depends on what Abacha does. And the time to start being decisive is now. In the past they called him *Sai Kayi*; now, *To Kayi*. So what more, besides name, does he have to make?

Nothing. But the choice is clear. Either he launches an immediate, comprehensive and vicious attack against corruption, he loses the battle against history and fame.

For the nation it will be an inexorable drift to the precipice and descent into the abyss. Which is not what the nation expected when it sighed in relief on November 17.

# Matters arising

**T**he budgetary process may now truly be described as a process of worrying about what to spend before incurring the expenditure instead of afterwards. And there may be good reasons.

With falling oil prices we may fail to collect the money to spend. With expected hostility from the World Bank, IMF, multilateral aid agencies and sundry trade creditors the going will prove too tough. And with a uniting Europe and the new GATT agreement there is little room for manoeuvre; and many reasons to worry about.

But at least one worry is over: Budget 94 is ready and read. And if for nothing else, we must congratulate General Mohammed Sani Abacha for putting an end to the Structural Adjustment Programme, SAP. It required courage to begin, and it required greater courage to dismantle a policy that was not working well.

And courage is what the government needs now more than ever before — the courage to faithfully implement the budget, and the courage to tackle the only thing that can defeat everything else — corruption.

There is good reason for optimism, because the government has shown it is flexible — sometimes perhaps too flexible for comfort.

One of Abacha's biggest mistakes was to assume that those who were most vocal — or indeed most violent

mosque.

They are adepts at political power acrobatics, as late Malam Aminu Kano said; and they will as soon kick away the ladder they use to go up. For Abacha the trip from Dodan Barracks to Aso Rock is in many ways the beginning of the coming of age in Abuja.

There is corruption in the land — moral, political, economic and financial. The common people say so; and, even the leaders admit it — everyone seems ready to accuse everybody else but himself.

Doing this may be good enough for those who hold no trusts, from those who lead us we must demand much more than mere talk. We must assume that those who held trusts, who kept custody of privileges and handed same out, who took decisions that could unfairly benefit them or needlessly harm us, had a case to answer. If soldiers, politicians or bureaucrats become millionaires after taking office, we should have the right to ask them to explain.

Since we have a system easy to abuse — indeed it often abuses itself on your behalf; and all you have to do is to collect — it is not impossible therefore that people in leadership positions have been compromised by it, with the result that, despite their desire to satisfy current expectations, they are, unable to cast an effective first stone against corruption.

Budget '94

# Bye-bye to SAP

The Abacha regime formally ends SAP. But, will the IMF condone it? Is the suffering over? Who are the big losers?

**T**he budget speech was already 10 days overdue. Throughout the first week of the year, top officials of the new military government continued to hold a series of meetings in order to iron out the details of the 1994 federal budget whose underlying principles will also guide the states in preparing their own budgets.

Within the confines of the new regime, a great struggle was being fought over the Structural Adjustment Programme, SAP, the IMF-inspired supply-side policy that has guided federal budgets, since 1986 and has left misery and ruin in its wake. Even though everyone agreed that SAP has not made the economy bigger or more productive, some economists within the government fought to maintain the policy, arguing that all it needed was a little fine-

tuning and more fiscal discipline. But the die was cast. In late November, General Sani Abacha formed a ministerial sub-committee to review the 1994 budget as prepared by the defunct Interim National Government, ING. The committee was headed by works and housing minister Alhaji Lateef Jakande, and included agriculture minister Malam Adamu Ciroma, finance minister Dr. Kalu Idika Kalu and national planning minister Chief Sias Daniyan, among others. This committee laid the basis for the jettisoning of SAP, and its recommendations were subsequently adopted by the federal executive council and the Provisional Ruling Council, PRC.

When General Abacha appeared on television on the evening of January 10 to deliver his long-awaited speech, he removed his dark glasses for the second time since November

17, when he seized power from the faltering INC. The opening passages of his hour-long speech quickly departed from tradition. Rather



Abacha: Kills SAP

than launch into a praise of government's efforts and rationalise its failures, the head of state went as far as any human rights activist could go to condemn the economic and social policies of the government. "Nigerians," General Abacha said, "are wary and weary." After many years of abuse and suffering, he said, "our people's impatience with government and almost total distrust of its functionaries can no longer be dismissed as merely cynical."



Kalu: Banks stand accused



Naira: honour restored?

**Sectoral allocations**  
**Annex table 4**  
**Capital allocations 1993-1994 (budget)**

Ministry/Agency	1993 Appropriation Million Naira	1994 Appropriation Million Naira
1. Office of the chief of general staff	100.423	
2. Office of secretary to the govt. of the federation		104.7
3. Central Bank of Nigeria	1,292.632	1,439.6
4. National planning commission	—	500
5. Federal environmental protection agency	294.62	234.9
6. Establishment and services matters	40.00	81.25
	69.86	
<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>1,797.535</b>	<b>104.4</b>
		<b>2,464.85</b>
7. Agriculture and water resources and rural develop.		
i. Agriculture and natural resources	734.5	1,423.4
ii. Water resources and rural devpt.	1,049.5	1,254.9
iii. DFFRI	350.0	121.8
<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>2,134.0</b>	<b>2,800.1</b>
8. Commerce and tourism	137	281.8
i. Defence	1,546.3	1,956.5
ii. Defence operation	—	870.0
<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>1,546.3</b>	<b>2,826.5</b>
9. Education and youth develop.	520.41	696.4
i. National University Commission	700.0	1,200.0
ii. National Board for Technical Education	90.0	192
iii. National Commission for Colleges of Education	90	192
iv. Youth	112.61	65.3
<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>1,563.02</b>	<b>2,405.7</b>
10. Labour and productivity	244.105	287
11. Finance		
i. Finance	363.72	585.9
ii. Budget	3,542	40.0
iii. Customs	80	130.5
iv. MOFI	—	200
v. Others	—	230
<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>447.262</b>	<b>1,186.4</b>
12. Foreign affairs	156.75	300.0
13. Health and human services		
i. Health	332.70	961.0
ii. Social welfare	20.150	14.5
<b>Sub-total</b>	<b>352.85</b>	<b>975.5</b>

Ministry/Agency	1993 Appropriation Million Naira	1994 Appropriation Million Naira
14. Internal affairs		
i. Prisons	130	113.1
ii. Immigration	80	61.2
iii. Border patrol	30.30	10.0
iv. Others	33.82	42.5
Sub-total	274.12	226.8
15. Industry	903.65	1,451.9
Information and culture	491.70	609.0
Justice	154.0	111.8
16. Petroleum and mineral resources		
i. Petroleum resources	192.2	56.5
ii. Mines	73.5	34.8
iii. Geological survey	17.5	10.4
iv. NNPC	57.117	2,000.0
Sub-total	340.767	2,107.0
17. Power and steel		
i. Power	401.5	600
ii. Steel	473.0	700.0
iii. Others	21.06	490
Sub-total	894.55	1,850.0
18. Transport and aviation		
i. Transport	752.9	539.0
ii. Aviation	460.1	544.6
Sub-total	1,213.0	1,083.0
19. Communications	233.7	210.5
i. Works and housing	1,630.2	2,433.62
ii. Housing policy council	—	250.0
Sub-total	1,630.2	2,683.62

Abacha also distanced himself from the controversial annulment of the June 12 election, describing it as a "horrendous blow" to the people's search for a new order. How could Abacha, President Ibrahim Babangida's right-hand man for eight years, repudiate his former boss so completely? "We make no pretensions about culpability," Abacha said.

In reviewing the performance of the 1993 budget last week, Abacha noted that economic output as measured by the Gross National Product, GNP, declined; employment stagnated, money supply increased "phenomenally," inflation run out of control, bank interest rates went through the roof and the Naira more or less collapsed. In addition, the service charges on external debts increased and worsened the balance-of-payments profile. Especially after the annulment of the June 12 election and the resulting tension and chaos, the government no longer pretended to abide by its own budget and, by year's end, a deficit of 91 billion Naira was envisaged. The collapse of oil prices in the international market late last year, from the 17.5 dollars

per barrel envisaged in the budget to 13 dollars, clearly contributed to the huge deficit.

For this year, too, General Sani Abacha promised a balanced federal budget. Based on what government regards as a "realistic" oil price of 14 dollars per barrel and a Naira exchange rate of 22 Naira to the US dollar, total federal revenues from oil and non-oil sources was estimated at 110.2 billion Naira. Accordingly, federal expenditures were also pegged at that level. Revealing details of capital and recurrent allocations to ministries last Wednesday, finance minister Dr. Kalu Idika Kalu revealed that the ministry of education will receive the highest allocation of 10.2 billion Naira, followed in that order by the ministries of de-

**P**reparing a budget for 1994 was clearly not easy, given the failure of the 1993 budget, announced with great fanfare by the then head of the transitional council, Chief Ernest Shonekan, to realise anything close to its lofty objectives.



Shonekan: things went haywire



Ogwuma: no more bidding

fence, police affairs, works and housing, health and agriculture. But by far the most important revelation in the head of state's speech was the decision to fix the exchange rate of the Naira at 22 Naira to the dollar. Allowing the Naira "to find its own level" in relation to foreign currencies was a key aspect of SAP; the policy was commenced amidst great controversy in September 1986 and, in time, the Naira fell from 70 kobo to 22 to the US dollar at the official exchanges, and to as low as 47 to the dollar on the black markets. Has the Abacha government abandoned deregulation, a major demand of the IMF and other creditors? Abacha claimed that the regime "remains committed to the policy of deregulation and to safe-

guarding the integrity of market forces," but he said the low value of the Naira "one of the fundamental factors which have further complicated the national economic crisis."

Clarifying the new policy last Wednesday, Dr. Kalu accused banks of mishandling the deregulation policy. Henceforth, the minister said, the pro-rata system of foreign exchange allocation will be abandoned in favour of an allocative system. This sounded suspiciously like the import-licence system of the pre-1986 days, so the minister added that the allocation will be made through some select banks and that the choice of these banks will be determined by "their own performance during the actual operations of the new measures." How? Central bank governor Mr. Paul Ogwuma, who was at the same conference, said CBN will consider degree of usage of foreign exchange allocation to the productive sector, volume of loans, deposits and shareholders' funds, pretax profits and record of demand of foreign exchange by banks in the last six months, before it decides on the "chosen few" to handle the new policy.

**D**r. Kalu Idika Kalu, the former IMF economist who, as finance minister in 1986 introduced the policy of SAP, last week went out of his way to condemn the old system of foreign exchange deregulation. The government, he said, could no longer allow further experimentation and freer rein to the exchange rate, since the policy has failed to achieve the desired result. Dr. Kalu also said the policy of deregulation failed to channel resources to the productive sectors, something predicted by pro-SAP economists in 1986 and which was also the policy's main objective. Over the years, the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria, MAN, and the Nigerian Farmers Council, bitterly opposed the deregulation policy and charged that it favoured speculative

sectors of the economy.

Having decided to fix the Naira exchange rate, the government followed up on another key demand of the manufacturers and farmers, this time by fixing a ceiling on bank interest rates. In his budget speech last Monday, General Abacha announced that interest rates on savings and deposits are now fixed at 12 to 15 per cent, and lending rates are now fixed at 21 per cent "inclusive of all charges." This, Abacha said, was done because "with the existing interest rate regime, it has become clear that real producers were being penalised while peddlers of paper money, crafty manipulators and idle speculators were milking the economy dry." In other words, the tables were completely reversed in favour of manufacturers, farmers and the bureaucracy, all of whom prefer regulation and intervention.

At the same time, Abacha delivered a simultaneous blow below the belt to black market foreign exchange traders, bankers and bureaux de change, and importers of motor vehicles. Within 24 hours of the budget speech, the Naira appreciated on the Lagos black markets from 48 to 35 to the US dollar. The Naira also rose from 68 to 52 to the pound sterling; from 23 to 18 to the Dutch guilder, and from 26 to 20 to the German mark. Citizen reporters saw many Nigerians, who had kept foreign currency in their homes, scrambling to unload them on the black markets at Yaba, Murtala Mohammed Airport and Broad Street. Last Wednesday, the police in Lagos raided the black markets at Ikeja and made many arrests, but the hustlers who escaped soon returned and resumed frantic business.

Also unsettled by last week's events is the country's sprawling banking industry. Since the beginning of SAP, the number of banks and finance houses in the country has grown in geometrical proportions, and most of them made huge profits out of the high interest rates and speculation in dollars and pounds. Central bank governor Paul Ogwuma said last week that banks

obtained official foreign exchange allocations of a US dollar for 22 Naira and resold it for up to 40 Naira. In time banks became the centres of economic activity and drove manufacturers to the margins. After the bottom fell out last week, Mr. Atedo Peterside, managing director of Investment Banking and Trust Corporation, Lagos, grumbled, "There was not need to throw the baby with the bath water."

Not all banks held their own in the deregulated environment. Many were unable to pay the high interest rates promised to depositors and went under. Last week, though, finance minister Kalu said "a concerted effort will be made by the regulatory authorities" this year to "deal with defaults and distress in the financial system."

The new policy hit the bureaux de change, not only below the belt, but well outside the ring. At the Monia Bureau de Change in Jos last Wednesday, customers besieged the manager, Jimi Adekanle, and wanted him to buy dollars at 46 Naira each, which he refused to do. Prior to the budget speech, Monia bought a dollar at 46 and sold it at 48 Naira. Last week, Mr. Adekanle himself was looking for a way to sell his dollars. He had bought 2,000 dollars at 45 Naira each in December, Adekanle told *Citizen*; if he sells it at the current rate of 22 Naira, he will lose up to 46,000 Naira. Still, Mr. Adekanle said last week that the new policies are for the good of the economy, although he said the cost of a dollar will remain high as long as it is scarce.

**A**lso troubled by the new policies are car importers. According to the finance minister, a 30 per cent import tariff is to be imposed on imported vehicles that cost less than 200,000 Naira each. In this category will belong most of the imported second-hand vehicles popularly known as *tokunbo*. Similarly, a 100 per cent tariff was slammed on all imported cars that

cost more than 600,000 Naira each, a category that includes the sleek fibre-glass luxury cars of the SAP era. Local assembly plants were smiling doubly last week; a zero import duty was placed on imports of completely knocked down parts, or CKD's.

Not everyone praised last week's budget. Former petroleum resources minister Professor Tam David-West said the 14 dollar per barrel oil price on which the budget is premised "may not be realisable," considering that Iraq may reenter the oil market this year and Kuwaiti production may recover fully from war devastation.

Renown economist Professor Sam Aluko, who has long campaigned for a fixed Naira value, said last week's announcement was the "beginning of a good programme," but he said the dollar rate of 22 Naira was still too high. Aluko suggested that by next year, the government should further appreciate the Naira to 15 to the dollar and continue on that course until parity is restored.

Can the Abacha regime adhere to this budget? Former World Health Organisation deputy director-general Professor Adeoye Lambo last week worried that it may not, while Chief Theophilus Iwajomo, former head of the Ondo State civil service, mused, "it is not the elegance of the arithmetic of a budget or beauty of the prose that is important, but the will to implement it." Dr. Tai So-

larin, for his part, was worried that the budget seemed not to recognise the weakness of the country on the international scene. "How could a budget be made without reference to our external debt?" he asked. "We are part of the world, and our creditors can easily suffle us." Indeed they might; last Thursday, the IMF criticised the budget and said, rightly, that it departed from SAP.

It remains to be seen if the fledgling regime of General Sani Abacha can stay its new populist course in the face of expected pressure from the International Monetary Fund.

By Mahmud Jega and Akinyele Aluko with additional reports from Tayo Odunlami and Bolaji Adebisi



David-West: not realistic yet



Babangida: another legacy gone



Aluko: raise Naira some more

Adamu Wazirin Fika

# A prophecy comes true

In his budget speech last week, head of state General Sani Abacha complained about the size and productivity of the federal civil service and promised to review the 1988 civil service reforms. Alhaji Adamu, *Wazirin Fika*, who resigned as head of the federal civil service in 1988 to protest those "reforms," spoke to Mahmud Jega last Thursday regarding the new policy. Excerpts:

**F**rom the start, there were no principles guiding the (1988 civil service) reforms. None at all. Go and look at President Babangida's 1988 budget speech, where he announced the reforms. In the speech, he complained that the 1987 federal budget recorded a deficit of 1.2 billion Naira and said there will be no extra-budgetary spending in 1988 and ministries should not make requests for funds outside the estimates. He then said, "After critically examining these policy implementation issues," the government had decided to reform the service and make ministers both chief executives and accounting officers of their ministries, make the post of permanent secretary political so that the officer leaves with the government that appoints him, and professionalise each ministry so that an officer makes his career only in one ministry. Now, in what way were these policies the answer to the problem of budget deficit? How can you blame civil servants for deficit spending?

The previous administration could not in any way justify its criticism of the civil service because from day one, they created parallel structures which duplicated the functions of ministries and other agencies. Normally, when the government creates a new agency, it should only appoint the board or commission and the rest of the staff will be deployed from within the service or hired in accordance with service regulations. This was not what happened that time. Many agencies were being created in the presidency and they were hiring their own staff in any way they liked.

Most of those agencies created at that time duplicated the functions of ministries. Look at MAMSER. It was doing the work of the ministry of information. Okay, look at the National Population Commission. Population census is the work of the ministry of internal affairs, normally. A census is supposed to be done every 10 years. It is only then that you appoint a temporary census board, as was done in 1973, with a part-time chairman, Sir Adetokunbo Ademola, and you then



deploy civil servants to the board for the duration of the census. Why do you need a permanent population commission?

You don't need a permanent National Electoral Commission, either. Elections take place once in four years. Do you keep people sitting there and waiting for four years to organise an election? In a federation, there should be federal and state election commissions, formed during elections only. You don't even need a commission to organise a by-election, once the machinery is put in place.

The work of the Road Safety Commission is the work of the police. Give the money to the police and let them

do it. If the police were doing their work well, there would be no need for that agency. And if they are not doing their work, make them to do it, instead of creating another agency. The same thing applies to the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency. It is the work of the police.

All these agencies were created and were given autonomy to recruit their staff. You should not make an agency autonomous unless it has an independent revenue base. Some of the agencies, such as the Centre for Democratic Studies, are just useless. Do you teach democracy in a school? Only communist countries do that kind of thing. Even the TCPC, its work should have been done by the ministry of finance. You should have asked the ministry of finance to divest itself of ownership of all these companies. We had before this the indigeni-



- The choi

sation programme in this country and we didn't have any agency like this; it was all done by the ministry of industries. You said the work of privatisation was complicated because of the need for even spread of shares—who told you the TCPC succeeded in doing that?

Now, they had no confi-

dence in the civil service, they created all these parallel agencies, their new agencies failed to perform, and they turn around and blame the civil service. Even SAP, it moved policy implementation from the civil service to the banks and what happened? Corruption grew and became a monster. Even import licensing is better than what you have now.

**B**efore the new reforms promised by Abacha can have any meaning, the government must tackle the issues of indiscipline and corruption. Even the dedicated civil servants who remained behind have joined the corruption spree. Today, anyone who joins the civil service is only thinking of what he will go and get. Unless that attitude is changed, no reform will work. If you like, you can even change the name of director-general back to permanent secretary and make him the

accounting officer, but so long as this attitude persists, nothing will change. There are very few people left in the service today who are not corrupt because they believe it is morally wrong. Most of the others, if they don't steal, it is only because they fear they may get caught. If the government shows determination to lead by example, things will improve.

In recent years, the trappings of public office have

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become very attractive to people. Look at the use of siren cars. *Haba!* In the past, siren is reserved only for the special guest on an occasion, to announce his arrival. But today, even empty cars of governors, even an ambulance with no patient inside, will use siren. They will tell you that they use siren in order to beat traffic jams. Ah? I thought government officials are meant to solve problems for the people, not for themselves alone. During Gowon's regime, commissioners had no official cars. I was a commissioner in then North Eastern state for three years. I was driving my own car.

It is good that the government has abandoned the policy of deregulation. For eight years, we followed a policy and things did not improve. If a doctor gives you the same medicine for eight years and there is no improvement, are you going to continue taking it until you die and then stop? These Europeans who say we should deregulate, do they do it in their own countries? Why is Clinton meeting every day with other leaders and they talk of rice and cars... why don't they just leave everything to market forces?

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## NIGERIA

## Politics

## Let's get on

Government stops Arthur Nzeribe from holding a press conference as General Yar'adua's own criticsises its policies

**W**as retired Major General Shehu Yar'adua subtly preparing the grounds for a re-entry into politics? The question could not but agitate the minds of reporters as the former presidential candidate led a return of his old associates to parley with journalists in Lagos last week.

Included was Senator Chuba Okadigbo and Chief Dele Cole, a prominent figure in the general's discussion team to Aso Rock with former President Ibrahim Babangida on the interim national government as well as several other old faithfuls. But General Yar'adua was quick to remove the strong political representation evident there from his mission to comment on burning issues on the aftermath of the June 12 debacle and the military take over as a concerned Nigerian and a statesman.

From the tone of his speech, it was evident the general was impatient with General Sani Abacha's failure so far to articulate a clear political agenda for the nation three months after seizing power. He saw the continued silence of government on a programme of activities for a new political dispensation as disturbing.

General Yar'adua was apprehensive of government's resolve to study the submission of the conference before releasing it to the public. Apparently, his fear was that the Provisional Ruling Council could doctor the original report of the conference. To him, this alone would not reflect the wish of the people. The former presidential aspirant would even want the people's freedom to express their wishes unhindered in the conference reflected in the name of the body. He said if

government really wants a conference that would be free to determine its own agenda in taking its decisions and is so empowered that those decisions are binding on both the governors and the governed, the automatic appellation for such a conference then is "sovereign." "I am in full support of a sovereign national conference" he said, "without any no-go areas whatsoever." Fears that such an all-embracing conference could lead to chaos and anarchy was, in his view, unfounded. In fact, what could, to him, constitute "the real problem may be the capacity of this administration to muster enough determination and develop the right temperament required to administer the conference in view of the expected robust debate that may characterise such a conference."

The desire of the retired general to see politics back in full steam very early was underlined by his proposals: he wants the sovereign national conference to take off not later than March 1, 1994 with three members elected from each senatorial district. Full electoral activities as defined and sanctioned by the conference held between June and December and a new civilian president in Aso Rock by January 1 next year.

In another development, the NUI Light House was sealed up last week to prevent Chief Francis Arthur Nzeribe of the infamous Association for a Better Nigeria from holding a press conference, similar to that of General Yar'adua. The 30-man operation led by an assistant commissioner of police was carried out early in the morning when the police arrived in four vehicles — two pick-up vans with registration number NPF 1266 A, and NPF 1143



Yar'adua: let's talk politics

A and two Peugeot station wagons with registration number NPF 6765 A and NPF 4539 A. The siege on the premises lasted through out the day as workers of the place were prevented from entering their offices.

The reason, *Citizen* gathered was related to the federal government's reaction to General Yar'adua's press statements. Indications were that authorities were not happy with him and reasoned that once the spectre is allowed to continue, there would be no end to it.

Expectedly, Arthur Nzeribe complained of "double standards" on the part of government. What then is the content of Nzeribe's aborted press conference? His aides disclosed that the press conference was being organised to explain an advert "The state of the nation; complex crisis, simple solution" earlier published in newspapers.

Indications last week was that government would beef up security in readiness for politicians who may violate the ban already placed on them. The police have therefore been put on alert to abort any act that may threaten the situation. This much was confirmed last week by Chief Nzeribe who said that "a top police officer" confided in him that press conferences have been banned from above.

By Tayo Odunlami and Moyo Akoshile

## Anti-malaria

## Curative or poisonous?

Nigerians shun chloroquine-based anti-malaria tablets for fear of infertility

**S**egun Dawodu is a 14 year old secondary school student living with his parents in Anthony Village, Lagos. Knocked down by malaria after a hectic term in school, the teenager bluntly refused a popular chloroquine-based anti-malaria tablet given him by his mother. His reason: "My friends told me in school that it causes infertility." Inside a molue bus, ploughing its way from Obalende to Oshodi, a passenger, while trying to pay the conductor, brought out a packet of a popular anti-malaria tablets. The man sitting next to him was quick to ask, "you wan do family planning?"

While the views express total ignorance, others like John Kalu, a bus conductor told *Citizen*, "I don't even use tablets, at all, I drink herbs, so I am not bothered about side-effects." On the other hand, Mr. Ade Eynafe, a civil servant in the employment of Lagos State government said; "Because of the itching allergy associated with chloroquine-based anti-malaria drugs, I don't use them, but I am not aware of infertility as being one of the side effects."

Professional opinion sought by *Citizen*, revealed however that the noise about infertility is a hype. At the federal ministry of health, Lagos, Dr. (Mrs) Olorunda, assistant director of immunisation and control of yellow fever, described the anti-malaria drug-phobia as unfounded. In her words: "From my experience, there is nothing wrong with the drugs. In my 10 years in the hospital, it was only one patient who made such a complaint." She concluded; "It will look very unscientific to arrive at such a conclusion and call for the ban of the drugs." Medical doctors, whom *Citizen* spoke with also expressed opinion similar to Olorunda's.

According to Dr. Ebohon Michael

of Best Hope Hospital, Mushin Lagos "I am not aware of the fact that chloroquine-based anti-malaria drugs can cause infertility.

"Any drug that can cause infertility should be able to cause abortion, but we recommend these drugs for pregnant women".

At the Eko Hospital, Ikeja Lagos, Dr. Oladiran Ayodeji, a senior consultant obstetrician and gynaecologist differentiate between those anti-malaria drugs that have chloroquine as the active ingredients and those that have other active ingredients like proguanil, daspsons, mefloquine and others. This he said does not give a basis for generalisation.

Shedding light on the probable origin of the "infertility" rumour, Dr. Ayodeji told *Citizen*, a laboratory test was carried out on rabbits with high dosage of chloroquine and it was discovered that the sperm produced by the rabbits at the point in time was watery". Apart from the fact that the dosage of chloroquine involved in this experiment is far higher than what the ordinary person will take, Dr. Ayodeji further told *Citizen*, "laboratory evidence should be separated from ordinary everyday experience". On whether the long-run effect of the drugs on human beings can result in this problem, the senior consultant said, "That will depend on how long it is used and how much". Explaining the basis for the experiment on rabbits, the doctor said, "Where this fact was experimented the idea was maybe it could be our own male contraceptive, but we are still light years away from that."

It is apparent that those crying wolf over the issue do not understand the clinical definition of infertility. Said Dr. Ayodeji, "When a couple is said to be infertile, we mean that their chances of achieving a



Tafida: guine hoax

pregnancy is reduced compared with normal couple. That is different from when we say a person is sterile, a condition that may result from lack of ovary in a woman and lack of testis in a man." Explaining further the problem of infertility, the doctor said: "In the man, the main problem of infertility is associated with low sperm count, that is below about 20 million per millilitre while infections that affect the testis or accidents resulting in torsion can also cause infertility in man". In women, the causes are many. Explained Dr. Ayodeji: "We have to think about egg release, but the commonest cause of infertility in women is blocked tubes, probably caused by infections of the pelvis."

The second common cause in women is what we call enovulation that is, inability of the ovary to release eggs every month." However, since infertility could be regarded as temporary, Dr. Ayodeji said, there is virtually no case of infertility that cannot be cured. "It is virtually impossible not to achieve a result if one tries hard," he asserted.

Dr. Ayodeji collaborated Dr. Ebohon's stand on the administration of chloroquine-based anti-malaria drugs on pregnant women. Said he, "Pregnant women can take anti-malaria tablets. In some hospitals

and teaching hospitals, they are given chloroquine at first visit just to eradicate the malaria load in them before they start their prophylactic". However, the green light signal is not for also all anti-malaria drugs in early pregnancy. According to Dr. Ayodeji, "some newer anti-malaria drugs should not be used in early pregnancy because they have not been fully tested. For example, "I wouldn't use fansidar, alavar and quinine for patients in early pregnancy," he advised.

For Mrs. Elizabeth Kafaru, a Lagos-based herbal expert and a health columnist in the *Guardian* newspaper, the care for malaria is within the easy reach of every Nigerian. She told *Citizen* at her Ikeja clinic, "Boiling and drinking freely 'Ewedu' roots cures and as well prevents malaria". Called 'Ahahara' in Ibo, *Ewedu* (Yoruba) is a common vegetable used in the preparation of vegetable soup in the country. The herbal expert further told *Citizen* that even the Europeans who are the originators of synthetic drugs are turning away from them having realised the efficacy of herbs. She added: "The herbs are very effective, for example, cashew leaves when used for malaria treatment induced sleep and aids frequent urination both of which are necessary for curing malaria" Kafaru further explained that herbs can be taken freely without the fear of overdose, or side effects.

Beyond synthetic drugs and herbs, malaria, described as one of the oldest diseases known to man, and a very fast killer may require other means of control and eradication. On the prospect of developing a vaccine for the ailment, Dr. Ayodeji said the prospects are bright, "It is still being tested," he said. For the medical officer however, the use of mosquito nets and strict observation of basic hygiene within the environment especially the drainage system are basic solutions to the malaria scourge.

By Akinyele Aluko with additional reports from Samson Ojo

Zik

## Colossus in colours

Elder statesman, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe was again immortalised when a gallery of paintings was unveiled to mark his 89th birthday

**T**he Owelle of Onitsha, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, nationalist and first president of independent Nigeria still being immortalised while still on this side of the planet.

Words may have been exhausted in recording the political exploits of the *Owelle*, as Frank Woopet Inc., an indigenous firm based in Lagos decided to write the story of the "Great Zik" with oil-paints on plywood. The paintings, 39 in number, spanned a period of 44 years. In glistening colours, they depicted the political pains, travails, hardness, faithfulness and joys of the living legend. The deft brush strokes of the painter ensured a reflection of the various moods of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe.

Proceeds realised from each of the paintings whose minimum cost of purchase by the public is 50,000.00 Naira, according to the organisers will be used to beautify the roundabout by Zik's house at Onitsha into a pleasant landmark. Said Frank Okoye, president of Frank Woopet Inc, at the exhibition: "Plans have been concluded to invest a good percentage of funds generated at these exhibition into developing an ultra-modern park in front of Zik's house".

According to him: "The estimated cost of the project will gulp about 18 million Naira and shall have open-air sitting arrangements with facilities such as recreational, catering and an auditorium".

The exhibition attracted a good number of personalities within and outside Nigeria including Jerry Gana, the information minister who was the guest of honour. Though Zik did not attend the exhibition his aura and charisma, nevertheless



Zik: lives on

covered around the exhibition hall through his personal physician, Professor Onuora Ekpechi who he sent to represent him. Unveiling the paintings on behalf of Zik, Professor Ekpechi noted: "Dr. Azikiwe is happy to accept this honour but would want to go on record that his contributions to the welfare of the black race was as a member of a motivated team whose constituency transcends ethnic boundaries, Ibo, Timni, Ga, Hausa, Mende, Yoruba and Edo".

Later, Professor Ekpechi told *Citizen* that "some of the works on display were very good attempts on Zik" while earlier Jerry Gana, information minister had described the work as "a tremendous work of art".

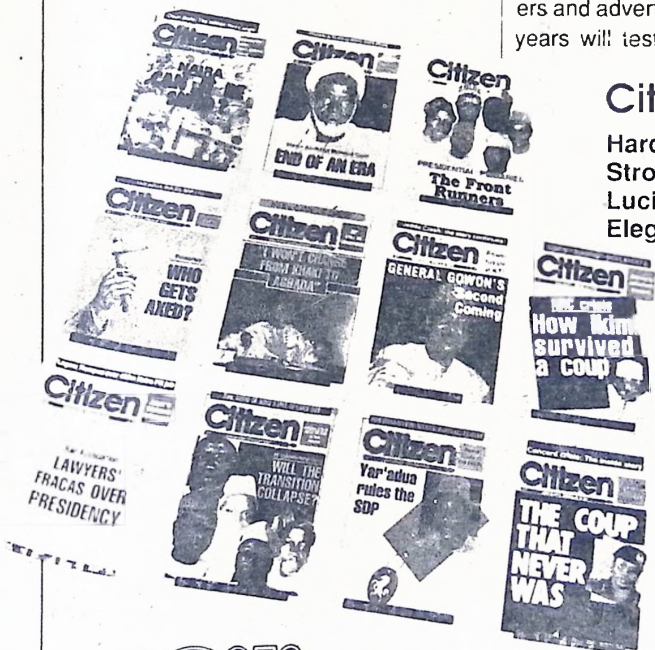
Buoyed by these pleasant remarks Frank Okoye of Frank Woopet Inc. hinted to the audience that the "painting exhibition will eventually become an annual affair."

By Tony Oko  
in Enugu

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# Citizen

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## National Conference: Benin and Mali examples (II)

This is the concluding part of our two part serial begun in our edition of January 10

The spread of the national conference

In addition to Benin and Mali, the national conference was used as a way of attaining a democratic transition in Gabon and Congo. The same has happened, or is happening in three other countries: Togo, Niger and Zaïre. Burkina Faso is a different case. The transition was done by the wish of the leaders, as in Cote d'Ivoire, without a national conference, but the government then convened a "National Reconciliation Forum," which does not seem to have accomplished its goal.

A good look at democratic transition in these countries, as well as the experiences of Benin and Mali, calls for two observations. On the one hand, it seems that the regularity of the national conference depends on the kind of transition. In Benin and Mali, the national conference was the result of the transition, while in the other countries, the national conference preceded the transition.

The regularity of the national conference

is a general national conference. The national conference is a process of autonomous and full autonomy. It has been discussed. A conference has full autonomy when it is able to do its own program and therefore discuss all the issues, needs and the good. On the other hand, a national conference that has its program set by another institution, generally the existing government, has limited autonomy.

The status of the existing leaders

One of the fundamental issues, on which the success of transition depends, is the status of the existing leaders, and especially the head of state at the time the transition began. The solution used by Mali, as was seen involved overthrowing the existing government and replacing

By  
Jacques Mariel Nzouankeu

it with a transition body. Paradoxically, it is the clearest and most logical solution with the most coherent results. However, it is not a desirable solution because it involves bloodshed. It is a result of an armed confrontation between the supporters of the system and the proponents of a new system. If this confrontation is not very brief (in Mali it lasted only three days), it could turn into a civil war, with the possibility of the existing system retaining power and taking advantage of the situation to enforce a dictatorship.

If it was possible to change regimes without bloodshed, as was the case in Tunisia (where the old president Bourguiba was overthrown by his prime minister, who became the new head of state), Mali's solution would be the best, because it allowed for a transition without unleashing popular sentiments.

Benin's solution, therefore, remains the best. It is based on two principles: to include the government in the democratic transition and to protect the head of state from any repercussions for his past leadership.

The first principle does not raise many problems and should even be encouraged. Keeping the government away from the process should be avoided, as was the case in Togo, Congo and Zaïre. It should be allowed to participate in the elections and to learn to accept the election results. The second principle is more difficult to apply and is full of risks for democracy and human rights. If the heads of state know that they would not be judged and punished for anything that they do while in power, they could very easily abuse their power. The price for their leav-

ing would then be too great, and there would still be no guarantee that they would leave. This is why the status of the head of state should be examined, case by case. In certain cases, it will not be necessary to accord immunity; in other cases, immunity can be accorded for certain acts, and for a specified time. **Controversial points: legitimacy and efficiency**

The problem of legitimacy that the national conference raises can be addressed on two levels. First, it means that the members of the conference have no mandate and are not representative of the national wishes at the time of the conference, since the people have not yet chosen their representatives. This is especially a problem for the conference that has full autonomy. In order to find a theoretical foundation for such a conference, one has to turn to the notion of retroactive legitimacy. This means that the elections that take place at the end of the transition period, in effect, not only legitimate the new representatives of the nation, but also, in retrospect, legitimize the transition bodies.

The other problem concerns the legitimacy of the acts passed by the national conference. To understand the theoretical and practical importance of this question, one must remember that political decisions made by legitimate authorities are only effective when they have been translated into legal documents. For example, when a head of state takes the political decision to help minorities in the nation, this decision is only effective when legal action is taken to put it into action. Therefore, it is not enough for the national conference, no matter what legitimacy it has, to simply make political decisions; the political decisions then have to be made legal by the transi-

tion bodies.  
The answer

to this question is also different for the two types of national conferences, those with full autonomy, and those with limited autonomy. In the first case, the conference is a body that has broken all links with the existing institutions. Existing political theory has been unable to explain satisfactorily how law can come from such a group, even though this question has been much debated in research on the relationship between revolutions and the law. On the other hand, the conference is formed by an organ of the state; it is a legal body and the legality of its decisions is unquestionable.

**H**ave the national conferences achieved their goals? Have they allowed for democratic progress in Africa? The answers to these questions determine the efficiency of this institution. Obviously, it is too early to do an evaluation of this institution since it is still in the process of happening in many countries. We can draw only two lessons, one positive and one reserved, from the cases of Benin and Mali, as well as Congo, where the transition has recently ended.

The positive point is that the national conferences played a definitive role in changing single-party regimes into multiparty ones, with a view to real democratic change and not only toward multiparty systems as ends in themselves. However, there are also certain reservations. There is a risk of returning to single-party systems regimes. This risk takes several forms: the persistence of dominant parties following elections organised by national conferences; the phenomenon of national unity governments or consensus governments, which only include opposition members in the government in order to maintain the peace. These practices endanger the principle of a plural democratic major-

ity, which is the only alternative to the single-party regime.

### Lessons

Reflecting on the cases of Benin and Mali, what lessons can be drawn with regard to the future of national conferences in the transition to democracy in Africa? To answer this question, one must first depart from the premise that if national conferences were deemed necessary, it was because of the failure of the one-party system. Africa had placed much hope on the single-party regime because it was seen as closest to the traditional social structure of the continent. It soon became evident that this was a rigid system, whereas it had been hoped that it would be dynamic. It did not allow for any political alternation, not even within the ruling party. It did not allow for the renewal of political figures. It was the same people who governed, such that it became a way for heads of state to remain in power for life.

This is what led to the first breach in the system in the form of military coup d'états. From time to time, the military took power, either to keep it, or to return it to civilian hands. But the nature of the regime remained the same. They were still single-party regimes or regimes without political parties. What changed were the people in charge. Power was taken by force because people realised that it could not be obtained democratically. It was taken not in order to change the regime (even though this was stressed in the political speeches), but in order also to benefit from power. This is the basic explanation for failed or successful coups: not to allow one person to benefit from power for life; to force him to give it to others; so that they and their friends and relatives could also benefit.

The national conference, therefore, must be placed in this context, and it is doubly creditable: for permitting the change of political figures as did the coups, but also for

changing the single-party regime by replacing it with a system of plural democracy. Despite the changes in Africa, there is still a real possibility of returning to single-party regimes. In this context, the national conference can play the very important role of safeguard. For this reason, the national conference should be institutionalised as mechanism for democratic transitions.

### Term limits

This idea of institutionalisation can be applied in the following way. Most of the new constitutions limit a president to two terms. They are usually two terms of four or five years and sometimes of seven years. This way, the same person cannot rule for more than two terms. This is a way of ensuring "alternance," by forcing a change of head of state after a determined time period.

To reinforce this mechanism, as well as to avoid the possibility of certain governments undermining it, it should be set that a national conference be convened at the end of the second term. The outgoing president would be the best person to organise the transition since he would not be eligible for the election. This conference would allow for the evaluation of the outgoing government and new proposals, in other words, a chance for the different vital forces to participate and share their opinions. The conference, however, would have to be organised in a way that would not turn into a tribunal, so that it would remain open to constructive criticism for the improvement of the system. A great, open debate organised every 10 or 14 years would avoid the buildup of resentment and frustration with the system. It would also be the measure of real democratic change.

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# Navels and bathing day

DISCOURSE

By  
Mahmud Jega

**T**he proper attitude as we approach the constitutional conference is to recall the old African adage that, on the day of bathing, you don't hide the navel.

Many northerners are afraid of the upcoming conference because, in the run up to it, the north has been put on the defensive regarding the June 12 episode, and also because some people are threatening to wind up Nigeria or at least to wrest political power away from northern politicians and soldiers.

Fine, but why should we fear? It proved possible to put the north on the defensive regarding June 12 partly because of the fact that a northern general annulled an election won by a southern politician, and also because most of the people who headed the federal government since 1960 were northerners. Even if we assume that a northerner as head of state means northern control of political power, well, political power is not the only available value to be had in national politics. Harold Lasswell listed in his classic *Politics: Who gets what, when and how*, two other values, namely income and safety, to be had in politics. He also pointed out that the three values do not necessarily go to the same place in politics.

Why can't northerners make this point? Well, partly because of the paucity of media outlets in the north. In which case the constitutional conference is an ideal opportunity to make the case.

Many northerners also fear that the posturing by some people means that the country may break up at the conference, and they fear the consequences of this on our economic health, since we have no oil and no sea coast. Okay, these concerns are real, since oil now accounts for more than 90 per cent of foreign exchange

earnings, and foreign exchange is critical to the health of a neocolonial economy, and there is at present no oil anywhere in the north.

But nor, come to think of it, is there any oil in Yorubaland or in Igboland. Almost all of Nigeria stands to lose from a break-up. Never mind the posturing. The vaunted "developed industries and infrastructural facilities" of the south-west

## The desire of northern leaders to retain formal power has become definitely detrimental to the interests of the northern masses

are more dependent on foreign exchange than the rural arid wastelands of the north. In any case, what is a big Lagos factory or a towering bank headquarters without their nation-wide markets and branch networks? The situation of the Igbo nation is probably more precarious, if those industrious traders do not have a national market.

The only communities that might see themselves as potential benefi-

ciaries of a break-up are the oil minorities of the delta. But they lack the size and territorial expanse and potential peace of the Big Three groups, what with the uneasy ethnic coexistence in Rivers and Delta states. Besides, there is little rest of mind for a small oil sheikhdom, as the Kuwaitis will probably advise them. The break-up of Nigeria might also mean the redrawing of boundaries all over West Africa.

Therefore, northerners ought not fear for any conference. As a people, we must plan for our own survival with or without a Nigeria. But the first task is to determine the objective interest of our people and then work out the procedures for protecting it. The objective need of the northern masses is for physical safety, economic prosperity and social advancement. Contrary to the current posture of the northern elite, these interests can be protected and advanced without the benefit of a northerner residing in Aso Rock as the head of state. In fact, the desire of northern leaders to retain formal power has become definitely detrimental to the interests of the northern masses.

The presidency should be negotiated away. No need for fear. In a united Nigeria, the north has certain assets that no constitutional arrangement can take away, such as, sheer large numbers of people. This does not, however, mean that a northerner must be president because there are so many northerners. This is pure elite opportunism. At any one time, our primary concern must be how to ensure peaceful coexistence and overcome our economic, educational and infrastructural handicaps. Our task is to realise this objective without regard to the nature of constitutions or the regional origin of presidents.

## INTERVIEW

# A call to duty — Laila Dogonyaro

President of the National Council of Women Societies bares her mind on contemporary issues.

**H**ajiya Laila Dogonyaro, 49 and mother of six is a newsmaker. Her involvement with the *Jam'iyyar Matan Arewa* for decades and the National Council of Women Societies, NCWS as president of the Kaduna State chapter drew the limelight to her. With a bubbling interest in humanitarian activities, Hajiya Laila has initiated a rehabilitation scheme for street children into schools, and income generating activities for women, youth and underprivileged people. When she contested for the presidency of the NCWS last April, victory virtually fell on her laps. She scored 468 votes against the 242 for her opponent. She anchored her campaign on the need to "prepare Nigerian women for the challenges of the year 2000, to enable them achieve their goals, dispel their fears and inhibitions while coming to terms with the present cultural realities." When *Citizen* caught Hajiya Laila at her home in Kaduna, she talked at length on the status of women, her assignment since she assumed office, her plans for the council and a wide range of issues. Although she was battling with a bout of catarrh, those competing for her attention were many on that Wednesday morning as she sat for the interview. They included endless telephone callers, the secretarial staff, hand delivered invitations to attend community events, NCWS visitors from a neighbouring state, and a woman who came to lodge a complaint of sexual harassment at work. From one diversion to the other, Hajiya Laila maintained a friendly disposition, a perfect picture of a public figure who has devised her own strategy of coping with over-activity and executive stress. Excerpts.

*Citizen: What were the first assignments you undertook on assumption of duty as NCWS president?*

Dogonyaro: The first task I set for myself was a nationwide tour of the country. It provided that vital opportunity to thank the members for their cooperation during the election, to assess the projects undertaken in all the 30 states and listen to the people's problems. In short, that assignment was a fact finding and thank you tour. As soon as I finished with that, my attention shifted to organising elections in all the states, which is the tradition after every convention. The states have concluded their elections.

Administration of the headquarters was also a priority in the first few days after I assumed duty. Repair of grounded vehicles and offices were effected. Work has now reached an advanced stage at the Abuja national



headquarters of the council. Although the plot was allocated sometime ago the council has finally decided to develop it. The complex will have administrative offices, lodging for visiting officials, a nursery and shops for rent. Development will be in phases and the first phase is nearing completion.

The council has been playing an active part in women's issues at the international level. This year it will consolidate it by nominating one of its past presidents, Mrs. Ifeanyi Nzeako to contest for the presidency of the International Council of Women (ICW) at the triennial convention scheduled for Paris in June 1994. I am calling on women associations to give moral support to the contestant whose success in the election will make her the first African to clinch the post.

*Citizen: Are there specific projects that you plan to initiate or complete?*

Dogonyaro: NCWS has many affiliate organisations under it and there are various interests to cater for in the process of improving the lot of women. We have started an effective networking with various Non-Governmental Organisations, NGOs and also governmental organisations like the National Directorate of Employment, NDE. We invited them to brief us on their self-reliance projects and how women can maximise the benefit accruing from them. Various embassies are also linking us with NGOs in their countries for the global and regional networking. They supply us with information on workshops, training programmes, and the NGOs in their countries cooperate with us in supervising joint development projects. Several projects in family health services jointly sponsored by the federal government and NGOs in the United States are on in many states

such as Enugu, Kano, Plateau, Abia, Kaduna, Anambra and Niger. They focus on women's reproductive health. The Ford Foundation is also involved in a project for the rehabilitation of patients afflicted with the Vesico Vaginal Fistula, VVF a deformity that occurs during childbirth.

**Citizen:** How would you assess the status of Nigerian women?

**Dogonyaro:** They are making slow but steady progress towards their upliftment but it is an uphill task. There are educated women, many of them are professionals who are capable and willing to serve this country but opportunity is denied them. Neither the government nor the private sector adequately utilises the skills they are ready to offer. However, if their skills are effectively tapped, this country will be the better for it.

**Citizen:** But this is recognised as the period of self reliance and women should be expected to organise themselves if their services are not patronised.

**Dogonyaro:** Quite true. We in the various women's organisations are working hard to promote the spirit of confidence demonstrated by the women themselves. They lack the zest to demand their rights or fight back at any attempt to infringe on these rights. Many have been intimidated by the societal norms so they become docile.

**I**t is a very serious issue because lack of confidence in one's capability would always lead to lethargy and even where opportunities abound, they would not be utilised. Of course ignorance is also a critical factor in this regard. Most women do not even know their rights let alone demand them. So the campaign for the upliftment of women's status should simultaneously educate women on their rights and also instil confidence in those who know their rights but are too timid to demand them although they really yearn to do so.

**Citizen:** If education is so important to improvement of women's status, have you noticed any advancement in that sector?

**Dogonyaro:** There has been some remarkable progress in the education of women. One amazing factor is that girls are now resisting attempts by their parents to remove them from school and marry them off. While it is delightful to have more educated women, the graduates and other professionals, there is still some cause for worry. Many female graduates are still underutilised. Some of them do not work after the substantial resources spent on training them.

**Citizen:** How will you assess those in paid employment?

**Dogonyaro:** As I said earlier, women are not given the opportunities they need to realise their potentials. In the past, military regimes did not appoint female ministers. It became their tradition to ignore women when making ministerial appointments. However, the Babangida regime broke the pattern when he appointed two female

secretaries of state in the transition council. The Abacha administration has also followed suit with the appointment of Mrs. Ada Adoga and Mrs. Mobolaji Osamo as ministers of state in the ministries of agriculture and establishment and service matters. In the Second Republic women made their debut on the ministerial scene with the appointment of Mrs. Eburn Oyagbola as national planning minister. Two others, Mrs. Janet Akinrinade and Mrs. Elizabeth Evasse were also ministers of state. In terms of ministerial appointment, women actually did better in a civilian regime.

**Citizen:** But aren't there other lower profile appointments where women could be effective too.

**Dogonyaro:** Yes there are many. Take the local governments. The third tier of government is in dire strait and needs to be rescued from maladministration, corruption and profligacy that have been plaguing most of them. Women should come to the rescue. Tried and tested women abound who should be given an opportunity to

serve as local government sole administrators. Apart from the local government, women should have featured among the newly appointed military administrators. There are many capable women in the army who are lieutenant colo-



nel, colonels and even brigadiers-general yet it was not seen fit to appoint even one. Perhaps this happened because these women did not lobby for it. We are now waiting to see what will happen when commissioners are appointed. It is sad that people have to lobby to get appointment and now that lobbying seems to be the criteria, the women should also lobby since they also qualified and have immense determination to render selfless service.

**Citizen:** The assumption here is that they can lobby to get what merit did not earn them?

**Dogonyaro:** The issues at stake must not be misunderstood. Women proved their mettle in the past when a few of them got appointed as local government sole administrators. They worked hard and contributed immensely to the development of their country. Women are known to be honest so what else do you need to turn the local governments around? Our society will witness a new era of growth and stability if at least 30 to 40 per cent of the local government sole administrators are women. I am, however, opposed to the practice of tokenism that seems to have taken root in the appointment of women. For example you discover that when appointment is being made in a 30 member body women are

forgotten until 28 men have been appointed. Then suddenly someone will remember Nigerian women. They then start asking "where can we get two women to add to this list?" Anybody around would then give them the names of any two women just to fill the two positions. In the hurry to fill the two vacancies, care is not taken to reflect merit and those appointed then turn out to be the least qualified to occupy that position. We are against these "after thought appointments" given the population of women in this country, there is need for a change.

**Citizen:** *What is the NCWS doing to improve income generation among women?*

**Dogonyaro:** The key factor here is to disseminate information to women on the ways they can organise and help themselves. Information on income generating activities of NGOs and government donor agencies should be supplied to women. And when they know about the facilities available, these women will get involved and subsequently benefit from them. The council is now working on the reorientation of several women associations on the need to incorporate income generation projects in their activities. The sky is the limit in this sector because there is so much to offer. To cite a few, batik production, poultry, soap, groundnut oil, and crafts.

**A**fter teaching women these skills, the next step is to provide the women with credit facilities. The local government committees for the improvement of women's economic activities ought to play a relevant role and so should the NDE, and Peoples' Bank. I tried this method in my local community, the Garki Local Government of Jigawa State where I helped the women to learn a trade and get credit. It was quite beneficial and they have fully paid back the loans granted them. Information dissemination at all levels, from ward to local government and state is necessary if women must benefit from a available credit because many are not aware of them. For example, many believe that you have to know people in the banks before you can get credit. To cite another example immigration officials sometimes demand husbands' or parents' consent before issuing passports to women whereas that is not included in the requirements applicants must meet.

**Citizen:** *Media involvement in this is vital.*

**Dogonyaro:** Indeed it is imperative to involve them but many of the media organisations do not consider information that is useful to women and women's achievements as a priority. Instead they focus on the negative portrayal of women in their media. The Nigeria Association of Media Women, NAWM, Nigeria Association of Women Journalists (NAWOJ) and the Nigeria Union of Journalists (NUJ) should take up the challenge.

**Citizen:** *Does the NCWS make efforts to reaching out to them?*

**Dogonyaro:** Yes, and we are also networking with several groups and professional associations that can help us achieve our goals in all areas of common interest. One

of these is the Federation of Women Lawyers, FIDA. It can do a lot to help women who are victims of injustice and those who are denied justice because they cannot afford to pay for the services of a lawyer. I visited the Kaduna prisons recently where I saw a female prisoner who had been there for 19 years. The woman was away when her husband brought his mistress to her room and on her arrival, a fight ensued between the two women. They both stabbed each other and were rushed to the hospital but the mistress died later. The woman was then charged to court for murder and subsequently sentenced to death. Because that woman had no money to hire a Senior Advocate of Nigeria as her lawyer, there

was nobody to defend her by citing the fact that she was provoked and that she acted in self defence. The mistress could have stabbed her fatally and it would have been the other way round. I just thought I should cite this example although it should not be interpreted to mean that one supports violence



or condones manslaughter. However, other cases of injustices abound where FIDA could render useful services such as campaigning against humiliating traditional widowhood practices and unjust inheritance laws in certain parts of the country. Among some ethnic groups, when a woman loses her husband she is forced to observe oppressive widowhood rites and the husband's relations take over the estate of the bereaved. Some even go as far as removing household goods and stripping the home of anything useful although the couple jointly worked and saved to acquire these possessions. Our sisters in the south are often subjected to such oppression but even where Islamic law has specified the woman's share from the estate of her spouse, people sometimes exploit women's ignorance and cheat them in the allocation of their rightful share. FIDA should mount a campaign against these injustices and also provide legal counselling services to these women who might need them.

**Citizen:** *The quality of education is on the decline what is the NCWS doing to pressurise the society into addressing this issue?*

**Dogonyaro:** We as mothers are concerned about the decline in the standard of education given to our children. The ASUU strike which crippled our universities for almost six months visited great havoc on an already bad situation. The council was really disturbed that both the government and ASUU did little to end that debili-

tating strike. The indifference arose because the rich can afford to send their children to schools abroad and the lecturers are not helping matters either. We have news of lecturers who are now exploiting the rush to meet the requirement for this academic year to produce lecture notes for sale to students at 50 Naira per copy. With the economic hardship facing most parents, how many students can afford to buy these lecture notes? How many lecture notes for various subjects will a student be able to buy? It is distressing, because children of the poor are being deprived of their basic right to education.

**A**dd to this the book drought, poor laboratory facilities, overcrowding in hostels, drug abuse, insecurity due to the activities of secret cults and the pathetic state of our universities will begin to emerge. The secondary and primary schools, these vital institutions are worst. Pupils sit under trees or on the floor of dilapidated buildings to take their lessons. Absenteeism among teachers also encourages truancy. Sometimes the teachers do not turn up for a whole day because they had gone elsewhere to find means of making ends meet since school teachers go several months without salary. So what we get at all levels of our educational system are half baked graduates. We at the council are concerned about this and are already participating in a "save our schools" campaign in conjunction with the federal government.

**Citizen:** *Is the government or the council thinking of getting all parents and teachers' unions to contribute to this campaign given their vital role in ensuring its success?*

**Dogonyaro:** "Charity" as an adage says "begins at home." The home is a child's first school and parents role as trainers are crucial in a child's formative years. But what we have today is ineffective parenting where parents shirk their responsibility of proper child upbringing. They push everything to the teachers and rarely take an interest in their child's progress. Infact some even dread the holiday season when their children are home, because they see the school as a dumping ground for troublesome children. With such an orientation, no campaign will succeed if parents do not change their indifferent attitude. If we fail to address this issue, our society will continue to produce juvenile delinquents. And their number is past on the increase.

**Citizen:** *Is the problem of reforming these youths another dimension of the "save our school campaign."*

**Dogonyaro:** Of course the problems are all interwoven, one leads to the other in a vicious cycle that must be broken by tackling the problems together. These problem youths who have gone astray are our children and we cannot discard them. So it is our responsibility to reform them by sending them to reformatory schools. But what I saw when I visited the Federal Borstal Insti-

tution in Kaduna was shocking. The situation was so bad in what is supposed to be a reformatory school that I wept for our society, our future and generations yet unborn. The hostels were bare and students slept on the floor, the kitchen was a home of bugs and cinders. There were no classrooms, no teachers and therefore no lessons were organised for them. All the workshops that were supposed to be used for teaching some craft and trade were bare and only the sewing institute functioned because it had three sewing machines. The photographic studio had one obsolete camera and from the discoloured and weather beaten pictures on the walls it probably hadn't functioned for a long time. The sick bay was also bare. I saw two sick students who had been reduced to skeletons because there was no money to buy drugs. Although their ailments had been diagnosed, their parents had not responded to the institute's request for medicine to treat them. The surprising aspect of this sad saga is that they are children of rich and influential people. Afterall they are the ones who have access to reformatory institutions where they can dump their children and breathe a sigh of relief. As for the poor, their own problem children roam the streets as area boys, drug addicts and petty criminals. The idea of setting up reformatory institutions is to give these problem children an opportunity to change their behaviour and become useful to themselves and the society. But how does reformation take place in an institution that has no books, teachers, schools or craft centres? I saw only one classroom with nothing in it but broken chairs and I was informed that it was provided for those who might want to take examinations. But it's virtually impossible to study for and pass exams in that kind of environment. It is irresponsibility to reduce a reformatory school to a ground for breeding delinquency. The rich very traits it was established to eradicate. The government parents of these students in league with the NCWS should rehabilitate that place. On our part the NCWS has plans to draw attention to the plight of these children. I have sent a letter to the ministry of internal affairs and have asked state presidents of NCWS to inform parents about the plight of these children. The council has already donated two sewing machines to the institution and a trophy for sports competition. The NCWS also plans a fund raising event this year to rehabilitate the place. It is necessary to appeal to parents, particularly mothers to shun the rat race to acquire material things while neglecting the home. Much as we encourage economic power for women we do not want it to be at the expense of our children. Children should be properly monitored and their progress reports carefully collated from those in whose custody we leave them, from nannies to teachers. Rich parents should resist the urge to over indulge their children because it sets a bad precedence.

By Bilkisu Yusuf

## BUSINESS BRIEFS

## Multiple awards for SO &amp; U

**S**O & U Communications firm received multiple awards in product and service advertising categories at the 1993 Adworld Advertising Awards ceremony recently held in Lagos.

The award winning agency came first in the consumer products radio advertising category with the Antina body cream commercial. Also on radio, it came second with the Imani Mortgage Finance commercial in the service category. On the print media, the agency's work for Guranty Trust Bank titled Service Station emerged the first clearly distancing itself from the pack. The agency also came fifth and second with its Antina body cream and Stallion commercials on television.

Speaking at the occasion, Mr. Chris Dogbuje, a versatile advertising practitioner and the former managing director of Lintas, who was the co-ordinator of the 1993 Adworld Advertising Awards said "it is the first time in the history of advertising in Nigeria that a well organised competition involving as many as 36 television stations, 21 radio and 16 print media entries will take place."

Mr. Udem Ufot, the managing director of SO & U, obviously impressed with the outstanding performance of his agency attributed its success to the agency's professional approach and the extensive manpower development training programme which all staff had to go through.

## Kabelmetal wins NIS award

**A**lcatel Kabelmetal Nigeria Plc last year reaffirmed its position as Nigeria's leading cable manufacturer when it again won the Nigerian Industrial Standards (NIS) Gold Award for product quality.

As the first company in the cable sector to win the gold in 1992, Kabelmetal

thus became the only cable producer to have bagged the coveted accolade twice in succession. The award was announced in Lagos at the formal celebration of the 1993 World Standards Day.

Gold award is given to a product which had won the silver certification for five years consecutively.

## Gamiji Bank changes office

**G**amiji Bank of Nigeria Plc has moved its administration office from Eleganza Plaza, Apapa to ICON House, Idejo/Danmole Street, Victoria Island, Lagos. The bank's Apapa branch still remains at Eleganza Plaza.



Bello

## Nwizu retires from Texaco

**M**r. Enoch I. Nwizu, general manager of Texaco Nigeria Plc, has retired from the company, effective December 31, 1993 after 28 years with the company, 16 of which he served as general manager and later as a director. He is one of the longest serving Nigerian general managers among the eight major multinationals in Nigeria's petroleum marketing industry.

Speaking on behalf of the director, the management team and employees of Texaco Nigeria Plc, Mr. Tony de la Reza, managing director said, "Enoch Nwizu demonstrated a significant aptitude for developing and establishing excellent relations

within the petroleum industry in Nigeria. He is an authority on the affairs of Nigeria's petroleum marketing industry."

Enoch, a 1963 master of science graduate in mechanical engineering from Ohio State University, USA joined Texaco Nigeria Limited in February 1966 as lubricant sales engineer. Between 1967 and 1977, he served in various positions as technical services manager, regional manager in the then eastern region, commercial sales manager and general operations manager with responsibility for engineering services, product supply and distribution, Apapa manufacturing plants and aviation.



A parting gift for Mr. E.I. Nwizu presented on behalf of Texaco's employees by Miss Fumilayo coker (left) and Mrs. Nnena Ejenga

## Owena Bank back at FEM

**O**wena Bank (Nigeria) Plc has been readmitted to the foreign exchange market (FEM) by the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN). This is attributed to the confidence re-

posed in the new management of the bank following recent changes. Owena Bank last bided at the foreign exchange market on November 10, 1992.

## New World Merchant Bank increases share capital

**N**ew World Merchant Bank, has increased its equity share capital from 40 million Naira to 85.3 million Naira. In a statement signed by the general manager/

chief executive of the bank, Mr. J.S. Shroff the paid up share capital for the bank now stands at 88 million while 1.352 million is in its reserve.

By Tola Sunday

Dollar

Official  
ParallelPound sterling  
Official  
ParallelDutch Mark  
Official

Foreign currencies

\$1.48  
DM 1.71  
FFR 5.91  
Y 106.7

## West African Unit of Account (WAUA)

Beceao	CFA	410.2295	0.0743
Gambia	Dalasi	12.9948	2.3417
Guinea	Franc	—	—
Guinea Bissau	Peso	16700.1680	0.00019
Liberia	Dollar	1.3904	21.8853
Mauritania	Quduiua	163.8606	0.1857
Sierra Leone	Leope	807.1	0.0377
Nigeria	Naira	30.4293	—

## London oil Market: January deliveries

Bonny light	\$15.00
Fornados	\$15.05
*Brent	\$14.65*
Duba	\$13.25
Forties	\$14.60
Eko fisk	\$14.65
Urals Med	\$13.80
Iran Hysk	\$13.25
Es Sider	\$14.05
Suez Blend	\$12.10

Note: The price asterisked is for February, 1994 deliveries.

## Average Banks' Interest rates

Last week	
Prime	48%
Current	10%
Savings	25%
30 days	30%
6 months	32%
12 months	34%

## BUSINESS INDEX

## London commodity prices as at 6/1/94

Duba	1298-3.08
Brent Blend (dated)	14.22-4.24
Brent Blend (Feb)	14.07-4.09
W.T.I. (1 pomest)	15.10-5.12
Premium Gasoline	145-147
Gas oil	150-152
Heavy Fuel oil	54-56
Naphtha	129-132
Jet fuel	170-171
Gold (per troy oz)	\$396.50
Silver (per troy oz)	\$24.5c
Platinum (per troy oz)	\$397.25
Palladium (per troy oz)	\$126.75
Copper (US prod.)	85.0c
Lead (US prod.)	35.00c
Tin (Kuala Lumpur)	12.17r
Tin (New York)	221.5
Cattle (Live weight)	119.36p
Sheep (Live weight)	94.85p
Pigs (Live weight)	63.61p
Lon. day sugar (raw)	\$266.4
Lon. day sugar (wte)	\$286.9
Tate & Lyle export	\$290.0
Maize (US N03 Yellow)	\$129.0
Wheat (US Dark North)	\$175.0
Rubber (Jan)	61.50p
Rubber (Feb)	61.75p
Coconut oil (Phil)	\$637.5
Palm oil (Malay.)	\$415.0
Copra (Phil)	\$432.5
Soyabean (US)	\$205.0
Cotton 'A' omdex	63.75c
Wooltops (^SS Supper)	342p

## International trade fair

Country	Venue	Subject	Date
Taiwan	Taipei	House wares ceramic and electronics equipment and others	4-7/11/94
Taiwan	Taipei	Equipment and furniture	6-11/10/94
UK	Manchester	Bedding and ancillary products	7-10/8/94
United Germany	Frankfurt	Clothing and textiles	4/4/94
UK	London	Interior decorative accessories and gift wares	March, 1994
UK	Birmingham	Materials and equipment	11-13/1/94

## Last line

The federal government has officially fixed the Naira at 21 Naira to one dollar, parallel market and bureau de change are yet to fix their rates, as their status and roles in the new dispensation is still unclear.

Meanwhile, trading is yet to commence at the Kaduna State Exchange, this according to sources is because people are still waiting for the budget and its new financial direction.

By Shoyebi Abayomi  
with agency reports

## AFRICA

Togo

**Eyadema's nine lives**

**President Gnassingbe Eyadema escaped coup plotters' attack — a recurring decimal since he seized power 26 years ago**

**F**ollowing a failed coup attempt in Togo a fortnight ago, Togolese government has imposed dusk to dawn curfew in and around the capital, Lome.

The failed coup which was described as "frivolous" by President Gnassingbe Eyadema himself, was launched at Tokoin Barracks to dislodge the president who has been in power since 1967. General Eyadema also said the attack was "barbaric," claiming that the coup plotters illegally crossed the border from Ghana and viciously bombarded Tokoin Barracks in the central capital. Report also said that the attackers crudely crossed the border by motorbikes, taxis and some locally made four-wheel drive vehicles.

However, this version has been challenged by opposition politicians who had for long not recognised the validity of last August elections which President Eyadema won over the Democratic Opposition Coalition, (COD II) led by Edem Kodjo and Gilchrist Olympio. They accused the government of covering up internal disarray within the military, pointing out that "the government

was purging officers from the Ewe group." President Eyadema is a Kabye, from the north, while the opposition is strongly led by the coastal Ewe people who also live in neighbouring Ghana.

Meanwhile, government spokesman announced the immediate postponement of the parliamentary elections scheduled for January 23, for two weeks, although it argued last week that the postponement has nothing to do with the attack.

Since the announcement of the presidential elections held in August 1993, the opposition leader, Mr. Edem Kodjo had been persistently calling for international support to topple Eyadema and has forwarded the case to the International Court of justice at Hague to challenge the National Election Commission (CEN) and the entire processes of elections itself. According to him, "I can tell you that we don't have the chance to get the elections invalidated at home, because the supreme court is composed of people belonging to Eyadema's side. That is the main reasons why we want to appeal for international support and



**Eyadema: close shave**

immediate action."

But Ghana has seriously denied any involvement in the internal squabbles in Togo. According to Ghana foreign minister, Mr. Obed Asamoah, Ghana cannot bear the consequences of the damages brought on it by Togolese during their fight. Ghanaian authorities were also happy over 12 soldiers killed within the Togolese central town. The Ghanaian government said it would also claim compensation especially for 12 shoe shine boys killed and destroyed buildings within the Ghana territories.

Nigeria has taken steps to mediate between Ghana and Togo over their border clashes which some attackers used as strategic places from where they attempted to dislodge President Eyadema.

The Nigerian foreign affairs minister, Alhaji Babagana Kingibe, however, stated that Nigerian government felt much concerned over the tensed situation between the two countries. He also said Nigeria is always committed to ensuring peace in the sub-region. "We are ever ready to do all we can. Nigeria is a member of ECOWAS and the crisis is happening in our sub-region," he said.

*By Yabagi Kolo  
with agency reports*

**Meanwhile, government spokesman announced the immediate postponement of the parliamentary elections scheduled for January 23, for two weeks**

## Senegal

**Hard times ahead**

**CFA Franc is devalued signalling a bad time for Franco-phone countries**

Last week, the summit meeting of Francophone leaders took the historic step of a massive 50 per cent devaluation of the CFA Franc, which was put at 100 to one French Franc. This devaluation was at the instance of the French government and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The French government insisted that she could no longer carry the economic burdens of her former colonies, whose economy and currency have been closely interwoven with imperial France since 1948.

Although France is still a guarantor of the CFA Franc zone, the old currency parity has been removed. Fourteen African countries are involved in this currency deals, out of which, 12 are former French colonies; Comoros Island and Spanish Equatorial Guinea joined the currency union on their own.

Observers noted that the mood



**Bongo: of Gabon**

of Francophone African leaders before the summit was one of resistance to devaluation, but French insistence that it was either devaluation or no agreement with IMF broke the resistance.

Generally, Africans felt betrayed

by this change of policy by France. French colonial policy in Africa was paternalism, and over the years, their colonies have been made to depend completely on her. The general WORLD recession blunted France's paternalistic instincts.

The IMF, a major instigator of this devaluation policy, is not too sure whether this policy could bail French Africa out of the woods. The organisation however said it would



**Diof: host**

make available to Francophone Africa 10 billion French Francs. France also said that she would write off development debts of poorest Francophone countries like Niger, Mali and Chad. The argument is that devaluation will aid exports and that countries like Gabon and Cameroon would be able to earn higher foreign exchange. But the real problem remains collapsing commodity prices and rising cost of imports. Niger for example argues that she has nothing to export, but she would now have to cope with higher costs of imports. Most countries expected serious social and economic backlash from this devalu-

ation. Senegal in the past month slashed workers' pay, authorities there are now wondering how they would explain higher cost of necessities to their people. Lome is already experiencing arbitrary price hike on all commodities. Inflation is spiralling in Gabon and people are calling for the resignation of Bongo's government, arguing that only a new government could carry the people through these hardships.

In Niger, university students are already restive because of inflation. Benin Republic is also experiencing high cost for staples like rice, tin tomatoes, wheat and electronics. People generally felt the devaluation would have negative effects, and they hoarded goods in anticipation of profits. Central banks in these countries had to curtail capital flight as most people exported their wealth to foreign currencies.

Government in Francophone Africa are bracing up for a general unrest, following this devaluation that has thrown their economies out of gear. They would meet in six

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**Government in Francophone Africa are bracing up for a general unrest, following this devaluation that has thrown their economies out of gear**

---

months time to evaluate the impact of the devaluation.

However, the general opinion in this devaluation would worsen the state of poverty that is already the lot of the citizens in the affected countries.

By Shoyebi Abayomi  
with agency reports

## WORLD

## NATO summit

# No bombs for Serbs?

The first NATO summit in two years continued to dilly-dally over Bosnia

**I**t was the first summit meeting of the leaders of the 16-member NATO alliance since 1991, and the first to be attended by President Bill Clinton. For some weeks before the meeting in Brussels last Monday, January 10, NATO leaders believed that the main issue to be discussed is the eastward expansion of the military alliance to incorporate member states of the defunct Warsaw Pact alliance. Although several east European countries, notably Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia and Bulgaria all wish for NATO membership, Russian president Boris Yeltsin opposes it and sees it as an encroachment of his country.

The issue that dominated the summit, however, was the war in Bosnia. On the eve of the conference in response to public pressure, the British and French governments jointly proposed that NATO launch air strikes in order to reopen Tuzla airport the source of relief supplies to half a million muslim refugees. They also proposed air strikes against the Serbs to end the siege of Srebrenica and Sarajevo. The Anglo-French proposal was opposed by the Canadian and Danish governments, who reiterated the old argument that the Serbs will retaliate against their troops on the ground.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said in response that threats of air strikes will not help the peace process in Bosnia.

On Tuesday, January 11, NATO secretary-general Manfred Woerner announced the decision of the NATO leaders in Brussels. They decided, Woerner said, to support the Euro-

pean Union's efforts to secure a negotiated peace; they were ready to "support the implementation of any agreement", and they "remain ready to use force to end the strangulation of Sarajevo and other cities."

This doesn't sound like a commitment to launch air strikes. Last Tuesday, President Bill Clinton tried to clarify the decision at a news conference. The British and French, he said, proposed that a warning to use air strikes be added into the final communique, but Woerner and himself (Clinton) said it should not be added unless they really intend to carry it out. Despite that warning, Clinton said everyone voted for the warning of air strikes to be added; he is therefore sure that there is more resolve among the NATO leaders to use force against the Bosnian Serbs now than there was in August last year, when they first issued the threat. When will the bombers strike? Clinton said that depends now on the "behaviour of the Serbs" and the "recommendations of the military working group."

It was not only over Bosnia that the NATO leaders dilly-dallied. Rather than admit east Europeans into NATO, the leaders adopted an American proposal and offered them a "partnership for peace". Manfred Woerner said the summit decided "in principle to open the alliance to new members." What it offered to the east Europeans was, however, less than that. The proposal calls for the "partners" to undertake joint training and exercises and to share technical information with NATO,



Clinton: double standards

but they will not be privy to NATO's secret military information. US secretary of state Warren Christopher said there is no guarantee that the junior partners will ultimately join NATO, but the onus is on them to prove that their incorporation into the alliance will be of benefit to it. When President Clinton went to Prague on Tuesday and explained the decision to the "partners", Polish president Lech Walesa made it clear that they were not satisfied.

President Clinton thought he scored a coup last Monday when he announced in Brussels that he had reached an agreement with Russian president Boris Yeltsin and Ukrainian president Leonid Kravchuk for Ukraine to dismantle all its 175 nuclear missiles, the third largest arsenal in the world, and transfer them to Russia for destruction. According to Clinton, the agreement which was to be signed in Moscow last Friday, also calls for Russia to guarantee the security of Ukraine and to buy at commercial rates the enriched uranium in the nukes worth billions of US dollars. The big question was, will the Ukrainian parliament agree to the deal?

By Mahmud Jega  
with agency reports

Georgia

# Death riddles

For a week now there have been stories on the death of Gamsakhurdia but the question remains, is he really dead?

A mild drama characteristic of the dark scheming of the espionage world unfolded in Georgia recently.

The initial news bulletin of this conflicting drama came from Mrs. Manner Gamsakhurdia, the wife of the ex-president of Georgia, who claimed that her husband shot himself on the eve of the new year,

claimed that Zviad Gamsakhurdia was wounded in battle and taken to a hospital in Western Georgia where he eventually died. The drama continued as his son, based in Geneva denied his father's death. Other pro Gamsakhurdia elements in Moscow also accepted this line of argument. They argued that the news of Gamsakhurdia's death was a media hype calculated to discredit him and his heroic stand against the Georgian government.

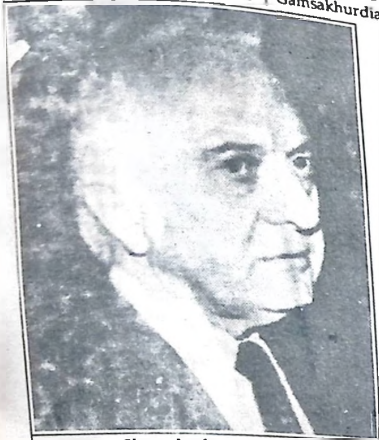
However, in order to clear the mist, the Georgian president Eduard Shevardnadze sent security agents to Western Georgia to clarify the issue. They came with authentic report that Gamsakhurdia is really dead, but the manner of his death was not explained. However, government version tends to support the version that he was killed by some of his people to

whom "he has obviously been a nuisance". Said Mr. Shevardnadze who claimed that he was informed of the death by Chechen officials, and subsequently downplayed the death of his arch-enemy, saying he was already "a political corpse."

Gamsakhurdia, 54, was the erstwhile president of Georgia who was deposed in 1992. He came to power in 1991 in the wake of the turmoil that followed the collapse of the former Soviet empire. He was a human rights activist and his opposition to the Marxist regime, gave him enough popularity that enabled him win the first democratic election in Georgia. He was later accused of autocratic tendencies, and he was forced to flee the Geor-faction took up arms against him and he was forced to flee the Georgian capital while Mr. Shevardnadze took over the presidency. Mr. Gamsakhurdia has since been involved in bitter violent struggles to regain the presidency, but his attempts had been futile. His death seems to be the end of the road for him and Shevardnadze was obviously elated to rid of his arch foe. An obviously elated Mr. Shevardnadze took Georgia back into the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) in order to show appreciation to the Russians who helped him stay in power.

Meanwhile the Alkakis' revolt is still tearing Georgia apart. A peace conference is slated for Geneva to see if issues can be resolved.

By Shoyebi Abayomi with agency reports



Shevardnadze: a foe gone

around Zugdidi in Western Georgia in order to escape government forces who had encircled his enclave.

Then follows another conflicting version of this death, which said he was killed in a battle by pro Tbilisi troops in the Russian Caucasus Republic of Chechnya. Another source had it that he was killed by some of his supporters who wanted to deify and make him a martyr in order to use him as an everlasting symbol of resistance in Georgia.

The Mkhedrioni military group

However, government version tends to support the version that he was killed by some of his people to whom "he has obviously been a nuisance"



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## PRIVATE EYE

## Probe me if you dare!!

**Y**ou just have to accept the fact that Nigerians are a peculiar breed when it comes to accountability. Five military administrators who took over from "bloody" civilians are being probed. One of them spent 136 million Naira in 27 days. Another one threw a lavish birthday party for his wife. It was clear that they all perfected the art of extortion. Contractors with outstanding payments with various state governments were their victims. Those who were so desperate to recover their money gave the military administrators a huge chunk in return for hastily arranged payments. And it came to be that the military "saviours" were worst than the civilian tyrants they displaced.

Right now if the probe search-

lights were to focus on arid Katsina State it would shed light on some dark spots of profligacy unfolding there. Who awarded a 40 million Naira contract for purchase of furniture and other items for some government guest houses? Why was the contract for carpeting these government guest houses awarded to a Lagos company which quoted 400 Naira per square metre, and not to a Katsina carpet manufacturing company that quoted only 200 Naira per square metre? Now that the Lagos company got the contract, it would have to buy the carpet from the local one and then double the cost of procurement.

But what is so special about the Lagos contractor? My scout says she's a cousin to the wife of the guy



that matters in the state. And when our cousins hold the purse strings of Katsina State, why shouldn't charity begin at home? Never mind that it is a charity of contract inflation and barefaced looting. Charity is charity, eh?

## The rich never fight

**Y**es, I have been watching that film on NTA. The rich also cry. But I disagree with that observation. I do know that the rich have a way of using the poor as cannon fodder for their wars. But behind the scene they remain the best of friends, to the chagrin of the gullible masses who foam in the mouth fighting other people's wars.

One Bolaji Adegbola of Surulere, Lagos is furious and he vented his fury in *Punch* (11/1/93).

"I read with disgust in some newspapers recently that Chief MKO Abiola's sons attended Chief Shonkan's son's wedding on December 4, 1993. For avoidance of doubt and for purpose of clarity, I even saw one of Abiola's

sons posing in one of the photographs of the said event with the man whose role immensely contributed to stopping his own father from being the executive president of this country. It is disheartening that hundreds of lives were lost protesting and asking for a return of June 12 vote to MKO Abiola. Well, since it is very clear that MKO and his sons used Nigerians and discarded them once the aim was not achieved, I can only say posterity will judge them."

## Some friends are more equal...

**A**lhaji Hydar Qadi knows that the former head of state, late General Murtala Mohammed was Chief MKO Abiola's mentor. The chief made it big during the Murtala/Obasanjo administration when he hit the jackpot with a 300 million Naira contract. That was how Chief Abiola moved from an obscure accountant at the University of Lagos to become the chairman of ITT (Africa and Middle East). To be fair to Abiola, he stood by Murtala's family long after the general's death and he had never

lost sight of the benefits he reaped from that friendship, nor did he forget Ajoke Mohammed, Murtala's wife who introduced him to her husband and paved the way for the multi million Naira contract.

But Hydar told my scout that he was surprised that neither Abiola nor any member of his family attended the wedding ceremony of A'ishatu Mohammed, General Murtala's daughter and Julius Tarka — late J.S Tarka's son which took place on December 24 last year.

Although Chief Abiola assured

the Mohammed family that he would cut short a foreign trip to beat his "daughter's wedding" he did not keep his words. Instead Abiola was seen spraying Wazobia blue notes at Chief Kuku's son's wedding which took place about the same period in the same city. Hydar believes Yoruba solidarity is expedient and more important for Abiola after the annulment of June 12 election. For the chief all northerners, particularly the Hausa/Fulani are probably seen as co-conspirators in the annulment of June 12 election.

Never mind friendships and all the votes he got in the northern states.

## POETS' NEST

# Knowledge as light

**I**t lights up the dark alleyways of our life. The shelter in the tempest of ignorance, knowledge adorns those who acquire it. It fortifies the heart and uplifts the mind. Knowledge of our Creator and the purpose of our existence should occupy our life.

## Tribute to knowledge

Knowledge the powerful power  
Power is knowledge  
Better know little than know nothing  
The seeds of knowledge nature provides  
It is through knowledge shall the just be delivered.

Knowledge, the heart of the ambitious  
To the ambitious, nothing is more excellent than thee  
To the knights, knowledge is valueless  
A comfortable and necessary retreat knowledge is  
On earth or in heaven knowledge persists  
Who knows not the fruit of knowledge?  
Ignorant he is who knows not what knowledge is  
Over and under universe, knowledge is spught  
Lest I digress, the word is knowledge.

The flit of bees on flower s but  
Dreamer's dream about knowledge is farce  
Dead not I but knowledge seeker.

Not to know, bad  
Not to wish to know, worse  
Where knowledge resides, darkness vanishes  
Like meningitis, the dodgers of knowledge shipwreck  
Casualties they are in the bankless ocean  
Knowledge who are you?

Others seek you, other dodge you  
One man's mood another man's character  
So good knowledge, so bad ignorance  
Sir, knowledge, a tribute to you.  
Mukhtar S. 'Wakeel

## Cradle to college

From cradle to college  
We must learn  
From birth to death  
We must learn.

From cradle to college  
We must tell the truth  
From birth to death  
We must speak the truth.

From birth to old age  
We must give thanks  
From birth to death  
We must give thanks for every favour.

## School time

School time is good time  
For those ready to learn  
And climb to the top.

School time is hard time  
For the lazy not ready to learn  
And reach the top.

School time is fun time  
A time to play, pray and learn  
And a time to make friends and move up.

Ahmad Efebeli

## On education

Oh, the light of the universe  
That developed in the human intellect  
And cognition  
To help humanity in the conquest  
Of nature and other creation  
To provide life of abundance  
In both feeding and comfort  
Welfare and such science  
As the medicine and engines  
Agriculture and communication

poets'  
nest



Edited by BILKIS YUSUF

For promotion of progress  
For the people through the sciences  
Both present and future  
Umar Garba

## Perspectives

Sprays and splashes  
Glasses for your house  
Rubber or wood  
Serve your doors  
Smoothens the gritting noise  
And the darkness proper  
Laid like black mamba  
Must count your vehicular capacity  
You could be in a train or motor car  
Or clearly flying up a kite  
The ships been old  
Finished most of its work  
Cables of tele-messages  
Or nuclear launching pads  
Would promptly send request  
Simply at the press of a bottom.

Maikudi Sambo Z.S.Z

## Labour chant

We waited for a while  
And tried to wear a smile  
Then fumble with a twirl  
Looking for our file  
But found only rose style  
Smiling at us from the tile  
By the side of an unwelcomed Duke  
With his collections of books  
Ready to forecast our doom  
How worth will be our while  
While our case is still in a file  
Making us sit till we develop a pile.

Moh'd Alh. Nanu Potiskum

# A general's record

Title: *Human rights in retreat*  
 Author: Chukwuemeka Gaha  
 Pages: 214  
 Publishers: Civil Liberties Organi-  
 sation  
 Price: Not stated  
 Reviewer: Bolaji Adebisi

**H**uman Rights in Retreat, could not have been published at a more auspicious time. The military under whose servance of rights basic to human existence are routinely trampled upon have just shot their way back to power after a two month retreat. The helmsman now, Sani Abacha, a full army general, was for 10 years a key member of the defunct President Ibrahim Babangida regime whose tenure is the focus of the report published by the Civil Liberties Organisation.

The fear, widespread now, is that Abacha, not noted for any pretence to finesse may rule Nigerians with iron fist. Those who may wonder at his rule, expected to be tough may be less surprised if they read this 214 paged report that catalogues not just the wanton abuse of human rights in the eight years of erstwhile President Babangida but exposes in its nude crudity, the methods, structures and strategies used to abridge the civil rights of Nigerians. The structure was based on the command and obey principle of the military which does not allow for discourse. There was therefore an Armed Forces Ruling Council which combined both legislative and executive powers with a near total control of the third arm of government, the judiciary. Consequently this structure, devoid of checks and balances associated with democratic government, could not guarantee the protection of civil rights given the obvious contradictions between the imperatives of observance of human rights

and the dictatorial features of the military. This problem, was worsened by the breakdown of collective leadership and the emergence of one man rule with so much power concentrated in the hands of President Babangida.

To maintain his rule, the president adopted nepotism and elevated corruption to the status of virtue. Friends were given plum jobs while the opposition was tackled with the carrot and the stick. Those who refused to be co-opted were outrightly suppressed.

Given the undemocratic structure and the patronising strategy adopted by the regime to administer the nation, it was clear that the president could not fulfil his coup day pledge to respect the fundamental human rights of Nigerians. This point is forcefully made in the first chapter of the report which gives a vivid background to the exposition of the brutal violation of the four basic freedoms, namely, speech, expression and the press, association and peaceful assembly.

These rights are to be enjoyed as of right and not of privilege or at the pleasure of the state. As chapters two and three of the report show, the regime seem to have a contrary idea as those rights were constantly abridged by legislations that were written in most draconian terms. Decrees such as constitution (suspension and modification) Decree No. 1 of 1984 and state security (Detention of Persons) Decree No. 2 of 1984 actually suspended those rights. Consequently there were arbitrary arrests and detentions, torture during detention, banning of civil and political organisations; and incessant closure of media house, considered to be too critical of government.

Government was emboldened in these acts because of the near total absence of legal restraints. The courts whose powers and jurisdiction had

been largely circumscribed by ouster clauses contained in most decrees were indeed too timid to intervene in the wholesale attack on civil rights.

What was in fact rampant as the report notes clearly, is the irony of agencies set up to guarantee these rights turning the state machinery of coercion against the citizens they were paid to protect. It came to be therefore that, those charged with the important duty of doing justice spent eight full years dispensing injustice.

The high point of the report, is its ability to keep its subject in focus and deal with it in as dispassionate manner as possible. It is important that the report in indicating the regime for its excessive abuse of rights guaranteed by such international documents as Article 10 of the 1984 United Nations Charter and African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights, recognised the historic and structural disabilities of the regime. The military is structurally incapable of guaranteeing civil rights. Then there is the problem of the economy which is terminally weak and is therefore incapable of sustaining the basic welfare needs of the people. It follows therefore that an authoritarian regime that is unable to meet the basic demands of its people must seek to rule by means other than democratic. Its most logical course of action therefore is repression. Under repressive rule, there can be no rule of law which is the most basic guarantee of civil and political rights.

For those who wish to know how and why President Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida was unable to keep his promise to respect the human rights of Nigerians, *Human Rights in Retreat* is an appropriate reference. It is written in simple and readable prose, well researched and sourced by primary and secondary materials. In future, however, less emphasis should be placed on CLO secondary sources to save the report of allegations of bias.



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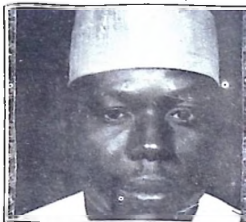
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## For '94 season

season starting less than two weeks  
**Bees FC of Kaduna is planning to**  
**Spring surprises**

while Tijjani Garba, popularly known as *Crispy Brown* is the club secretary. Others are Tunde Abdulrahman who is the assistant chief coach and team manager, Hassan Ndanusa Dabogi is the publicity secretary/welfare officer, Taiye Yusuf



because their experience in division two has shown that such players are more hard working and easily disciplined than the same old and experienced players who had made name in the game. Another measure that is expected to effectively motivate the players to put in their best is improved condition of service.

According to the publicity secretary, Hassan Dabogi in an interview with *Citizen*, players' salary and match bonuses will be paid promptly while other sources of revenue, apart from gate-takings and



Dabogi and Kuso: a year of high hopes

is assistant chief coach while Mohammed Umar is assistant secretary.

This new arrangement is to transform the club to a profit oriented company, according to Ranchers Bees publicity secretary Hassan Dabogi. He explained that the aim of the board and management staff is to ensure that the club becomes so viable as to declare profit at the end of the 1994 league season. This they hope to do by returning the club to its former glory.

Club chairman, Alhaji Nuhu also expressed confidence on viability of programmes already put in place. He said the club is putting finishing touches to the recruitment of players expected to play for the club this year. There will be 28 players in all made up of 13 old members of the club and 15 new players who will be mostly youthful boys from local clubs around the state. The emphasis on young players from local clubs, according to the chairman, is

money from the proprietor, Alhaji Ahmed Aruwa, would be explored to make the club financially sound and self-sustaining henceforth. He also boasted that Ranchers Bees are back to division one to capture all the available titles in the land. "This is no joke," he concluded with air of seriousness.

But going by the tough rivalry and competition in division one, capturing all the soccer titles in the land won't be an easy job for Ranchers Bees. In realisation of this, the club has embarked on pre-season preparation with hard training and series of friendly matches. According to club secretary Tijjani Garba, such preparation and friendly matches are to prepare the club for challenges ahead. He said the club would be playing above four matches in a week so as to keep the players in top form for 1994 pro-league season

By Joe Olajuwon with additional reports by Shoyebi Abayomi

## Football

**Thinking continental**

**Back on top of the premier league after three years in the wilderness, rejuvenated Enyimba Football Club of Aba set their sights on Africa**

**I**t is another new year and time for fresh dream, for club sides which stumbled and fell by the wayside last season it is time to see visions of a rosy future in the coming season. But for those who were able to muscle out all opposition and excel, the big challenge is how to re-enact the magic.

Enyimba FC of Abia State belong to the second category. For the soccer giants from Aba, "the Japan of Africa" and economic capital of fledgling Abia State, 1993 was indeed a memorable year.

First, they played a significant role in Nigeria's under-17 World Cup triumph. This they did by producing two key members of the all-conquering Japan '93 Golden Eaglets squad, namely defence marshal Blessing Anyanwu and midfield maestro Karibe Ojigwe.

As the eaglets were dazzling the world at the FIFA/JVC "kiddies" World Cup in the land of the rising sun, Enyimba were busy back home stalking other teams, for honours in the second division of the professional football league.

By the time the final whistle was blown to signal the end of 1993 league hostilities, the lads from Aba had shoved aside all opposition to perch comfortably at the top of the table. With a record-breaking haul of 98 points from 28 wins, eight draws and nine losses, they now lead NITEL Vasco of Enugu, Gombe United and Kaduna's Ranchers Bees into the elite league class this season

The feast by Enyimba is a befitting tribute to the resilient spirit of a club which has tasted more bitterness than sweetness but have stubbornly refused to disappear from

the scene.

Formed in 1972 as Super Avengers, Enyimba got tied to the present name in 1975, but had to wait till the late '70s before joining the amateur league bandwagon.

Their initial league experience was short-lived. Although blessed with a steady stream of young and enthusiastic ball jugglers, the team had to jump off the league train due to the non availability of funds with which to pay the players and transport them to outside match venues.

The '80s saw them back in the league and through several transformations. At a point, they took up a new name, Falcons, which they later dropped when the local soft drink manufacturing firm whose trade mark they bore as a reward for its sponsorship, threw in the towel.

The end of the sponsorship deal did not, however, throw them off the league, as they had already won the admiration of an Aba trader, who took up the challenge of sustaining the team. By 1990 the club, which had begun to enjoy the support off the old Imo state government, was rich enough to regis-

ter as one of the pioneering teams of the country pro-league.

Unable to make much impression, Enyimba were banished to the newly created second division on the creation of Abia State on August 27, 1991 and the enthronement, four months later, of Dr Ogbonnaya Onu as its first governor. *Citizen*



*Anyanwu: shining at the top*

learn that the sports loving former governor inspired the team to great heights by spending lavishly on them and charging them to go to and conquer in keeping with the Abia dreams of hard work and excellence.

Now that they are back in the premier league class, what does the future hold? A lot of good says Iheanyi Onyema, skipper of Enyimba "killer squad" of last year. His words: "I am very much happy that we are playing in the premier division. This is where we are supposed to be.

"We are promising Aba fans good football. We are going to do well this coming season. Playing continental matches in Aba is our goal".

*By Isaac Umunna in Aba*

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## DEFINITIONS IN HUMOUR



# Bitter half

A man, they say, is incomplete until he is married — then he is finished. This was said by a woman; and if you think it particularly humbling wait till you hear children.

"Daddy," a child asked his father, "is that true that a wife is man's better half?"

"Yes," answered the father, surely.

"Then those who married twice, their two best halves are gone, isn't it?"

"Yes."

"Nothing remains of them?"

"Nothing."

But that's exactly when the quarrels begin. Lion becomes a lamb, and the Queen of the Kitchen take over the whole place — and crowns herself a *She who must be Obeyed*.

Next, she attempts to conquer the workplace, in the vain attempt to become Jean of all trades, and ends up mistress of none.

Her role is in the East, her models in the West, her office to the South and her home in the North. Throughout her youth and middle age, she struggles to square the circle with a triangle. And she has all of her old age within which to regret.

That probably is all because it is man's world. But whose should it have been — woman's?

Better stop here before they accuse me. Last week many of them

phoned to say that I am a misogynist. I am not.

But if I could re-enslave all those who had "liberated" themselves I would do it — for their own good. Ha! ha!! ha!!! He! he!! he!!!

Next time I

promise to focus on men, their foibles and attempt to get out of life more than they have put into it.

Last fortnight one Hamida sent a collection of rueful observations about life. From her observations she is probably one of the few without blame of having abandoned tradition, of having blindly embraced modernism, or of having sacrificed kids to career. But even she seems to think men are cheats.

A man, Hamida said, expects his wife to be perfect — and to understand why he's not.

Yes, and why not? The Lord, in His infinite mercy and wisdom, made women beautiful so that men might have no choice but to cherish, honour and love them. And then He, it is said, made women dumb so that they might love men — instead of laughing at them.

Yes, a perfect partnership. Dumb, dumber, dumbest: happy, happier, happiest. The dumber the better. Perhaps what Hamida meant was that what a man expects is perfect dumbness. Ho! ho!!

Those of them who combine beauty and brain may disagree about the dumbness. As Hamida said, when a man and woman marry, they become one but trouble starts when they try to decide which one. But we all know which one it is, don't we?

Marriage has its theory and practice. In theory there is a master and a

missus. And like all theories, it is beautifully false. In practice, the missus is the master; and so you know which now.

## Wicket joke

Adamu, I will not bother to ask how you are because I know. SAPPed, as most Nigerians, yours truly inclusive. So how are you not? You see Adamu, I got bitten by the sports bug a long time ago and now I just can't do without it (sports, not the bug). Recently and with child-like enthusiasm I decided to add cricket to my long list of sporting past-times. To ensure I got everything right from the onset I contacted a cricketer friend for a copy of the rules of the game. He mailed to me what I thought was a package of wicket-oophs! I mean wicked joke until another cricketer friend confirmed that what I received were indeed the rules.

I have now spent months trying to make sense out of these rules without any luck and my cricketer friends are no more. Seeing that you are an expert in definitions, I now turn to you for assistance. This is what I got.

You have two sides, one out in the field and one in.

Each man that is in the side that is in goes out, and when he is out he comes in and the next man goes in until he is out.

When they are all out, the side that is out comes in and the side that has been in goes out and tries to get those coming in out.

Sometimes you get men still in and not out. When both sides have been in and out, including the not-outs, that is the end of the game.

Howzat, Adamu?

Yakubu Ibn Mohammed

How's what? The in or the out? Yakubu, let me warn you that in cricket, as in definitions, the easiest thing to achieve is a misunderstanding. And my confusion this time is perfect — just like yours.

## Outside it's Nigeria



Tee off

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