

Human Rights activists released

Citizen

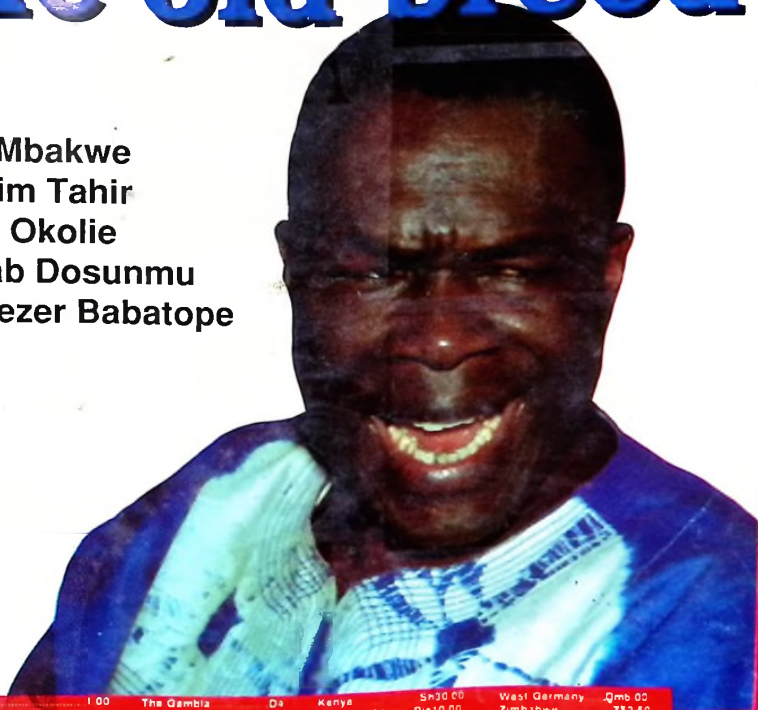
July 6 - 121992 VOL. 3 NO 27

RSD
**Kid
robbers
escape
death**

M10 **HARD ON NEWS, STRONG ON VIEWS.**

NFEC - Axing the old breed

- Sam Mbakwe
- Ibrahim Tahir
- Chris Okolie
- Wahab Dosunmu
- Ebenezer Babatope



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LETTERS

The Makama makes his bid

Sir,

The said article stated that when the late *Makaman Bida* died, his eldest son "had just retired to Bida, Niger State." This is wrong. Alhaji Abubakar Daniya was the commissioner of youth, sports and culture in Niger State when his father died. In fact when it was announced that the title of *Makama* had been given to Alhaji Shehu Musa, Alhaji Abubakar Daniya was far away in Moscow as part of the government delegation to the 1980 Olympic Games.

In the said article it was said that some people thought Alhaji Abubakar Daniya "ill-suited to succeed his father." The question is to succeed his father as what — as a national figure or as the *Makama*? Could it be that an experienced senior civil servant and at the time a commissioner in Niger State was not "competent" to succeed his father as *Makama* of Bida in Gbako local government of Niger State?

Your article also stated categorically that the late *Makaman Bida* was opposed to the appointment of Alhaji Shehu Musa as secretary to the government (SGF) during the Second Republic but that President Shagari nevertheless went "ahead to give him the job regardless." Anyone intimately familiar with the politics of the NPN and the circumstances of President Shagari's nomination as presidential candidate may find that a bit difficult to swallow.

Indeed, while other equally "competent" people were lobbying for the post of SGF, it was the late *Makaman Bida* that emerged from a private meeting with the then president-elect at the federal government special guest house with the news that Alhaji Shehu Musa had been appointed as SGF by President Shagari. Whether that meeting happened as stated above, and more importantly what transpired at that

meeting only Alhaji Shehu Shagari is alive to confirm. However, a couple of months after the appointment of the SGF, certain influential People in Bida wished to use the late *Makama's* influence with President Shagari to sponsor a prominent Bida "son" for ministerial appointment representing Niger State in the federal executive council. President Shehu Shagari in his letter to the late *Makama* gave his reasons for appointing Alhaji Shehu Musa as SGF and felt that in view of such, it would be asking for too much for the late *Makama* and Bida "people" to also demand for a minister. Hence the ministerial appointment was given to a Nupe from Agaie while the other person was made chairman of a prominent bank.

Correspondences exchanged on the above matter between the late *Makama* and President Shagari reveal quite a lot about the relationship between the two and throw a lot of "light" on this whole matter exist. I am almost certain that the late *Makama's* family in Bida would have no objection giving you access to them.

Ahmed Sanusi
FCT, Abuja

Cudjoe panel

Sir,

Let justice be done even if heaven shall fall. It is unfortunate that Justice Rahila Hadea Cudjoe's panel was unfair. The penalties for chairman of Zangon Katf, Juri Babang Ayok and Mr. Damian Audi Police DPO at Zankwa, are not commensurate with the gravity of crime they had committed in the Zongon Katf carnage.

In addition, Alhaji Danbala ATK who was alleged to have championed Hausa protest got an injunction from Upper Area Court on February 5, restraining the Zongon Katf Local Government Council

from relocating the market place on February 6, 1992. Both Juri Babang Ayok and Police DPO at Zankwa, Superintendent Damian Audi turned down the court order; hence scrutiny of the involvement of Juri Babang Ayok and Mr. Damina Audi would reveal that Nigerian court order can be violated at will.

Alhaji Danbala ATK should be commended rather than castigated by Cudjoe's panel. Why should the panel blame Alhaji Danbala ATK for alerting the court about possible eruption of violence?

Another shortcoming of Cudjoe's panel is its inability to arraign the murderers in the riot, and bring them to book.

Muhammad S. Larduma
UniMaid
Maiduguri

Re: War by other means

Sir,

A review article by U.M. Bugaje in *Citizen* June 15-21 has brought to limelight the international bankruptcy of neo-colonialism camouflaging under auspices of IMF and World Bank assisted programmes to plunder and keep the under developed countries in perpetual poverty.

The revelations by Pilger has further exposed the terrible and pathetic condition which people living in third world countries are undergoing as a result of inability of our leaders to address real issues bedevilling the various countries concerned. Rather, they have become stooges and are conspiring with their masters in Europe to throw away baby with bathwater.

Third world countries will continue to remain poor until we realise that our destiny lies in our hands.

Mohammed Garba
Box 1452,
Bauchi

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

Citizen, July 6, 1992

NEC's blank cheque

Quite predictably the recent disqualification of a number of National Assembly candidates by the National Electoral Commission (NEC) has provoked widespread consternation among politicians and observers of the political scene alike. Apparently using its frightening power under Decree 48 of 1991 as amended by Decree No 6 of 1992, it disqualified 12 NRC candidates (four for the Senate and eight for the House of Representatives), 16 SDP candidates (six for the Senate and 10 for the House) while the cases of 19 NRC candidates (four for the Senate and 15 for the House) and 10 SDP candidates (six for the Senate and four for the House) were being investigated as at July 1. In accordance with the decree in question, NEC did not offer its reasons for the disqualifications.

Not surprisingly the public has resorted to speculations, some wild, some sensible. Again not surprisingly some of those disqualified have been crying blue murder.

Of the 10 senatorial candidates disqualified, the most widely speculated upon are Dr. Ibrahim Tahir, Chief Sam Mbakwe, Dr. Wahab Dosunmu, Chief Ebenezer Babatope, Chief Chris Okolie and Wing Commander Isa Mohammed (rtd), the first four being oldbreed politicians, while the last two have been prominent public men, Okolie as a longstanding magazine publisher and Mohammed as a former governor of Gongola State. Of these lot, the reasons for disqualifying Tahir, Mbakwe, Dosunmu and Mohammed are not difficult to guess at. Mbakwe's is actually straight forward: he got a discharge not a pardon for his conviction on currency trafficking while governor of Imo State. Dosunmu was once charged

with murder but though he was acquitted, it is possible that the charge alone is being held against him. Tahir and Mohammed have had questionable public records, although they have never been tried.

This leaves Okolie and Babatope. It is hard to see why the two were disqualified, except for the fact that both have a penchant for stirring controversy and can easily pass for "undue radicals" at a time when "undue radicalism" is seriously frowned at by officialdom. If this really is the reason for their disqualification, then there is cause for concern since radicalism, like beauty, is merely in the eye of the beholder.

Whatever the reasons for all the disqualifications — and it must be said that some of them are quite legitimate — it must be a cause for concern that NEC is absolved from stating them. Aliyu Umar, the commission's secretary told *Citizen* that it is in the public interest not to reveal the reasons. We think quite the contrary is the case. Democracy is all about accountability to the public and a transition programme which absolves a key institution like NEC from explaining its deeds to people can hardly enhance democracy.

We do not agree with a Civil Liberty Organisation spokesman who thinks we should allow murderers and drug barons to contest elections if that is what the parties want. Democracy is not madness. At the same time, however, unless those who allege, no matter how high they are, can prove their allegations through due process, those who put themselves forward for public office should be free to face the electorate.

Pardon them

The decision last week by Lagos State Governor Sir Michael Otedola, to commute the death sentence on the so-called 12 kid robbers to 10 years imprisonment is commendable, especially coming against the background of the long and tortuous path their case had taken in the last eight years.

The case started in 1984 when 15 boys were charged before the Justice Meshood Ojugbani Robbery and Firearms Tribunal, Ikeja, for robbing one woman of goods worth 500,000 Naira. Controversy set in immediately on account of their age. Civil rights bodies, notably the Civil Liberties Organisation and the Committee for

the Defence of Human Rights, claimed the 15 were under-aged and should never have been tried before the Tribunal. Apparently Justice Olugbani was unimpressed. Six years and 70 adjournments later the "kids" were sentenced to death by firing squad subject to the approval of the then military government. Soon after the judgement two of the 15 who were Beninois were repatriated to Benin Republic. One of them had died in 1988 in detention.

Not long after the judgement Colonel Raji Rasaki took over as governor. He too remained unimpressed with the argument about underage. On October 5, 1990, he seemed set to sign their death warrants when the civil rights organisations sought and obtained an injunction for stay of execution until their own prayers before a Lagos High Court asking it to declare the death sentences as a violation of the principles of juvenile justice, was finally decided.

Actually three months before, Colonel Rasaki had categorically told reporters that "I will not pardon the boys". That was how matters stood until Sir Michael's decision last week to commute the death sentence to 10

years. The commutation now leaves two more years to be served by the boys.

Were it that the remaining years were waived off and even the "kids" pardoned. It may be argued that such a gesture would send the wrong signals to wayward persons. This is a legitimate worry, but the argument assumes that the kids were indeed guilty of the crime they were charged with. This is doubtful. In this respect it is highly instructive that the State prosecutor himself said categorically the procedure of arrest was highly questionable. Among other things there were glaring inconsistencies in the testimonies of the victim of the robbery and those of her son. Also uncertified photocopies of statements allegedly made by the boys were tendered before the tribunal which the boys said did not correspond to their oral statements since they could not write.

In the light of the impropriety in procedure as well as the fact that the boys were detained in prison for six years while waiting for justice, a pardon would have been more appropriate than the commutation to 10 years, commendable and humane as the commutation was. It is still not too late to consider such a pardon.

OAU of the 90's

Half a dozen new faces popped up at this year's summit of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in Dakar, Senegal (June 29 — July 1). They came from Sierra Leone, Mali, Ethiopia, Algeria, etc, representing different shades of change on the continent's political landscape.

It is either the success of the ballot box as in Zambia or the triumph of people's power (Mali and Ethiopia) or the "victory" of the gun (Sierra Leone). Those new faces also represent for the OAU a new challenge: how to manage the people's yearning for a free political choice and halt pockets of soldiers from stifling that desire in the name of "a people's revolution."

The OAU has this task and many besides. The continent's external debt burden is growing, millions of its peoples are dying from hunger, brought on by drought and neglect of agriculture. Africa's economies are stagnating. The hope for a new South Africa, transformed by a reforming president Frederick de Klerk has all but become a mirage. If anything, the country threatens a return to the

evil days of apartheid.

Civil wars are raging like wild fires in Somalia, Ethiopia, Rwanda and regional conflicts are spreading. Does the OAU have the capacity to meet these challenges or will the continent go under?

Unfortunately, the signal from the Dakar summit did not indicate an OAU with a strong political resolve and the resources to meet the challenges of the 90's. The heads of state and government could not lay the ghost of the organisation's non-interference charter and so were unable to push through a proposal for a Pan-African mechanism for preventing conflicts on the continent. The Sudan and Somalia, both torn apart by civil war, were foremost opponents of the plan.

The Abuja treaty on an African common market, considered the driving engine of economic growth, has not been ratified by some member states. Many more have run up huge arrears in financial contribution, the organisation's sole lifeline.

PLEA FOR PEACE

We, the undersigned, lament with deep sense of concern and sorrow the horrifying spectre of violence that has been sweeping our beloved country, especially the ethno-religious disturbances in the Northern parts.

Our people who have lived together for centuries, sharing farmlands, engaging in festivals and inter-tribal marriage, schools and social amenities, are suddenly and violently quarrelling over issues that had always existed, but which were often amicably resolved.

Communities are drifting apart, resorting to mindless killings and destruction of property. We recognise that poverty, ignorance, selfishness and destruct, have gone a long way to fan the embers of these problems.

In the Northern parts of the country where most of these crises are manifest, there are complex historical, economic, ethnic, religious and political factors, that could be easily exploited to spark trouble.

The recent disturbances in Zangon Kataf, Kaduna and Zaria and the running battles around Wukari, testify to the gravity and diversity of the challenge facing us.

This PLEA FOR PEACE is directed to all Nigerians, especially politicians, religious and community leaders and journalists. There is a compelling need for greater caution, tolerance, patience and large heartedness on all sides.

Our political, traditional and religious leaders, in whom the people have always relied on for solutions to the various problems, need to reexamine their approach to conflict resolution.

The problems confronting us are not insurmountable, but they demand that each side to a conflict gives in something, for peace and progress to be sustained. Behind our minds is the fact that all Nigerian's can fare better in a one and peaceful nation.

It is therefore necessary to appeal to Individual and non governmental organisations, to help build bridges for communal and religious understanding.

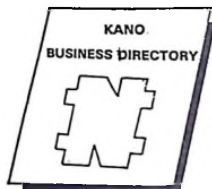
Signed:

Nathaniel Zome
Jimmy Atta
Chom Bagu
Patterson Bana .
Anthony Akika
John Yahaya
Shedrach Golen ..
Jonathan Ishaku
Dan Agbese
Tom Adambara .

Abdulkarim Abdullahi
Umar Abdullahi
Tijjani Ibrahim
Yusuf Atai .
Shehu Yahaya
Sani Zorro
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Yakubu Mohammed
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21st June, 1992.

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City, June 6, 1992



Boudiaf

The people of Algeria again have had their leader chosen for them. He is Ali Kahfi, a former diplomat and veteran of Algeria's war of independence against France. He was chosen Thursday to replace assassinated President Mohammed Boudiaf who was brought out of exile and installed as president to prevent the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) from winning an election in which it was assured an absolute majority.

A member of the five-man council that inherited power when former President Chadli Benjedid was forced to resign, Kahfi is not likely to introduce any major changes in the struggle against Islam.

In a speech after his selection, Kahfi, who was closely associated with the corrupt former ruling National Liberation Front, FLN, promised to continue with the line of Boudiaf. "We'll do this whatever sacrifices we have to make," he said. He sounded conciliatory but warned that he would intensify Boudiaf's fight against terrorism, the euphemism for any struggle for an Islamic state. The defence minister and strongman of the Boudiaf regime, General Khalid Nazzari, was more blunt. He promised to "wage an implacable war against fundamentalism until its complete eradication."

Ahmed Ben Bella, Algeria's first president now slowly emerging from political obscurity with a new Islamic

ADAMU ADAMU

tag was unsure what to say. Cautious not to further alienate Islamic elements or outrage the liberal soft centre, Ben Bella said, "It (the assassination) would only add confusion in an already chaotic situation." The killer of Boudiaf who has been arrested is a sub-Lieutenant in Algeria's secret services and was assigned as one of the president's bodyguards in the fatal visit to the city of an-Naba where the leader was shot dead. Sources say the killer is an activist muslim and a supporter of the banned FIS but a BBC correspondent reported the possibility of the killer acting on orders from within the Algerian administration.

After his installation, Boudiaf sought legitimacy by fighting corruption. There is a feeling in Algiers that he might have gone too far. There was the rumour that senior military officers, former politicians, ruling partymen and security officials were about to be unmasked and they decided that he must go. And so he went.

But the executioner himself said he acted out of his religious convictions. He was immediately hailed by an Algerian immigrant group in Paris. The group said the assassination was retribution for Boudiaf's halting the country's march toward Islam. But the Council of French Muslims, composed of descendants of French soldiers in Algeria appealed to France to help save Algeria from becoming another Lebanon. What exactly happened?

Boudiaf was assassinated Monday June, 29 in an-Naba as he prepared to deliver a speech. A gunman opened fire and detonated a hand grenade in one corner of the hall to distract attention allowing a second gunman to shoot and kill the president. Initial reports spoke of two shots to the back and one to the head. Boudiaf was dead before he could be helped.

Many would say he saw it com-

ing. A veteran of Algeria's long and costly independence war against France, Boudiaf fell out with the leadership of Ben Bella who came to head the revolution in 1964, fought in the name of Islam but handed over to Marx at independence. Boudiaf was sentenced to death in absentia. He never made attempt to come back even after Ben Bella's overthrow and house arrest, and Boumedienne's death 15 years later.

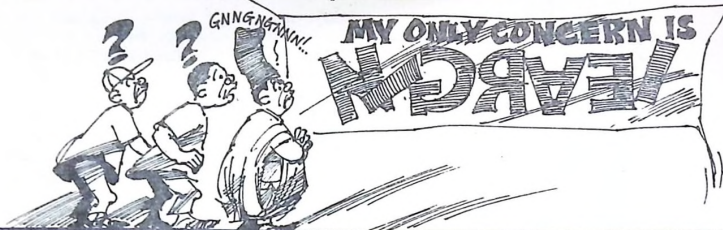
His only claim to legitimacy it seems was the fact that he had served in Algeria's war of independence. But so have others. Abbasi Madani, the imprisoned FIS leader was one of the first to join the struggle when it was launched in 1954.

His first military assignment was inside Algiers. He was arrested after only 17 days of active freedom fighting and thrown into jail. He remained there until after independence in 1962.

In 1966 he, along with a group, founded the *Jam'iat al-Qiyam*. The same year he led the first public defiant demonstration of Algerians in front of the Egyptian Embassy when President Gamal Abdel Nasser executed the great Islamic scholar, Sayyid Qutb. At Nasser's request, Boumedienne banned the group.

In 1982 and 1988 Madani led demonstrations against the government of Chadli Benjedid agitating for moral reform and the installation of an Islamic government. His agitation bore fruit when at the coaxing of the west, Benjedid took a shot at multi-party democracy. The hope, as events later showed, was that the Islamic agitators would discredit themselves. Instead, the *Jamiat*, now renamed FIS, swept all local elections the first time it participated. Then in 1991, it looked set to win the presidency - and Benjedid was told to stop it. He did and the army took over and installed Boudiaf.

Just see where it landed Boudiaf.



...I TOLD THEM SUCH A BANNER WILL MAR OUR RALLY.....
...I TOLD THEM!!



... HENCEFORTH I, THE PRESIDENT BY THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE WILL GIVE ORDERS AROUND HERE!!

...NOW HANG THIS!



...CHIEF... DON'T BOTHER TO AMEND THE SCRIPT... THE CROWD HAS GATHERED BEHIND YOU... AT YOUR BACK!!





NITEL COMMENCES MASSIVE DIGITAL NETWORK PROGRAMME TO IMPROVE SERVICES

In response to the new autonomous status granted to the Nigerian Telecommunications Limited as a fully commercial outfit under the Technical Committee on Privatisation and Commercialisation, NITEL has begun a massive digital network expansion in various parts of the country.

The project initiated by the present management of the Nigerian Telecommunications Limited (NITEL) is to meet the yearnings of the ever increasing demand for telecommunications services nationwide from both the strategic commercial, essential and administrative sectors of the economy.

Ostensibly, the programme will serve as a springboard for the take-off of a full fledged commercial company whose mission statement under the TCPC reformed package is "to develop, operate and offer efficient and reliable telecommunications services to the public as well as realise the objective of making NITEL a financially viable organisation, capable of sustaining itself in addition to making reasonable margin of profit to ensure continuity, growth and development of the sector and contribute to the overall economic development of the country".

The expansion programme which will usher in a lot of modern facilities and services is also aimed at ensuring a proper and effective transformation of the Local Nigerian Network into modern digital system.

Specifically, the massive expansion project has started in earnest in Lagos and on completion by year's end, not less than N2 billion would have been committed into these new efforts that will drastically change the face of telecommunications in the country.

The entire 2 billion naira cost of the on-going project is financed from internally generated revenue.



ALHAJI DODO MUSTAPHA,
Chairman, NITEL Board of Directors.

Digital Network Programme:

AMONGST the projects being undertaken in Lagos are the supply of digital toll and local exchanges for Lagos and environs to improve customer access to the services, national network and increase connectivity between primary and secondary centres at the cost of about N250 million. It will take over the functions of the present analogue toll exchange of about 5800 trunks that are no longer adequate for the present volume of traffic. The project which is currently being admitted into the network will bring in 22,222 trunks, that will improve connectivity, as against the existing 5,800 Trunks which are grossly inadequate.

Part of the Lagos expansion project is the introduction of Digital Mobile Exchanges into various parts of Lagos at a cost of over N180 million. The Eight Mobile Exchanges involved in this project will be located at Victoria Island, Apapa, Ikeja, Agege and Iponri areas. The remaining four Mobile Exchanges will be located in Port-Harcourt, Otuorkpo, Nnewi and Yola. NITEL is handling this project with a sense of urgency and commitment in a bid to reducing the high demand for telecommunications services in the Lagos area with the worrisome congestion and delay dialling tone in the area which were due to congestion. The Mobile Exchanges which will bring in about 20,000 lines into the specified five areas will go a long way at reducing illegal telephone connection deals and meet a fifth of the over 100,000 applicants waiting to be served in the Lagos area.



ENGR. AUGUSTINE OTIUI,
Managing Director, NITEL



NITEL COMMENCES MASSIVE DIGITAL NETWORK PROGRAMME TO IMPROVE SERVICES

Greater Access to Network:

THE problem in Lagos will be further reduced with the introduction of 40,000 Digital Telephone Lines in Odunlami, Central Lagos to serve the teeming number of telephone requests in the highly commercialised area. The Odunlami Exchange will represent the largest Telephone Exchange ever installed in a single location within the Country.

To ensure that connectivity problems do not arise between the Mobile Digital Exchanges being introduced into Lagos, an Optical Fibre

installed into the Lagos Network is that a wide range of facilities that hitherto have not been possible under the analogue system will now be introduced. Infact for the business user it is a first step towards the realisation of the futuristic Integrated Services Digital Network (ISDN), a technology which ensures that a single connection provides avenues for wider services possibilities.

Mobile Phone

TO meet the aspirations of Government functionaries and business men mostly in Lagos who, while in their various villages, wish to make contacts with their offices and business partners in the city and speak while on the highways, Mobile Cellular Exchange is being introduced into the Lagos Network this year spreading through Ogun, Oyo, Imo, Abia, Anambra, Enugu and Rivers States. The project will cost about N420 million. An identical project shall provide Mobile Telephone Network at Abuja, FCT, Niger, Kaduna and Kano States. This project is also going on at a cost of N180 million.

NITEL envisaged that the Cellular Mobile Telephone Project simply referred to as CAR TELEPHONE will ensure that individuals on the highways and remote areas will be in constant communication, thereby encouraging urban to rural movement, assist to report accident cases on our roads and forestall highway robbery. Intact it would be a veritable tool for safety guard, the police and medical services. As Lagos gets its fair share in the elaborate expansion programme of NITEL other parts of the country are not being left out. It

will be recalled that under the Abuja Digital Telecommunications Programme involving a Loan of DM441.19 million about N1.5 billion from Germany 20,000 lines were introduced into the Federal Capital in 1990. Under the same programme 30,000 Digital Telephone Lines are being put in place in Kano and 10,000 lines in Kaduna, 5,000 lines each for Minna and Gusau and 500 Digital Mobile Exchanges are being installed in some of the Local Government Headquarters in Niger, Kaduna, Kano, Jigawa and Sokoto States.

The Eastern part of the country will also benefit from NITEL elaborate and forward looking plan to satisfy the communications needs of the people and contribute to the economic development of the country.



DR. HAMZA ZAYYAD,
TCPC Chairman.

Transmission path with its high technology gains and possibilities is being introduced into the Lagos Network and work on it, already in progress, will be completed by June this year.

One thing that needs to be said about the various Digital Exchanges being



NITEL staff on the new operator equipment at Kaduna Digital Exchange.



NITEL COMMENCES MASSIVE DIGITAL NETWORK PROGRAMME TO IMPROVE SERVICES

The World as a Neighbourhood:

AS part of the efforts to improve connectivity with other parts of the world and increase channel-carrying capacity, a Satellite Earth Station with a total capacity of 5,000 channels is being completed at Saka Tinubu, Victoria Island and will be ready for use in May 1992. It will complement the functions of the Satellite Station in Lanlate, Oyo State. Also to complement the Victoria Island and Kujama Earth Stations, another Earth Station is being put up in Enugu at a cost of about N400 million. The Enugu Earth Station is in response to the yearnings of the business community in the Eastern part of the Niger whose business transaction links are mainly with the far East and Asia.



ENGR. I. A. MOHAMMED,
Executive Director, Operations and Maintenance.

All these elaborate expansion programmes are being handled by seasoned and some of the leaders in the global telecommunications industry such as Siemens/ELTEC of Germany, L. M. Ericsson of Sweden, AT&T of America, Marubeni of Japan and ITT Nig. Limited. Not less than N8 billion would have been committed to all the projects at completion. The money will be sourced from contractor — financing arrangements with some countries and funds from the World Bank.

For instance such projects as the Third Satellite Earth Station in Enugu, the Mobile Cellular Telephone Network will be financed by NITEL from internally generated revenue while the Lagos Expansion Programme will receive funding from the World Bank, \$225 million loan grant. Digital Telephone Expansion in Abuja, Kano, Kaduna, Minna, Gusau and some Local Government Areas in the North got funding from the SIEMENS DM441 million.

The South West Zone, North East Zone and South East Zone expansion projects will get financial lease from the ITT \$170 million, and the Japanese \$200 million loans arrangements. The policy of seeking external funding from the local and international monetary markets to effectively develop the telecommunications network of the country is in line with the status granted NITEL and the charge given to it by the Federal Government which withdrew all subventions to it at its inception in 1985 and the full commercial status being vested on it by the TCPC.

With the huge amount of money borrowed from the international financial market and contractor-financier, NITEL is no doubt going

to be saddled with the inevitable burden of paying both interest and principal amount at agreed terms.

From the out set, NITEL calculates that the investment would be productive, that is, earning adequate returns from services, by economic billing to meet both operating cost, create necessary remunerations and incentives to inspire workers towards greater productivity, meet its financial obligations to its creditors and have enough to meet developmental and ever growing expansion needs.



ALHAJIS S. ALLAHBAMUAFIYA,
Executive Director, Corporate Administration

Revenue:

NO doubt the revenue level of NITEL will improve enormously when all these expansion programmes are completed and put into use. But industry watchers, telecommunications financial analysts



NITEL COMMENCES MASSIVE DIGITAL NETWORK PROGRAMME TO IMPROVE SERVICES

and officials fear that the present tariff level of the Company is a bit on the low side to meet all the financial obligations that would be brought to bear on it in the years ahead.

It is against this background that NITEL had to take a firm decision to raise tariff in order to meet operating cost according to global telecommunications market forces.

For some time, and in the face of changes in value of Naira the tariff charged by NITEL became so low and based on the accounting rates and bilateral agreements between Nigeria and other countries which its calls pass through, the company's out payment to the telecommunications administrations for services rendered were higher than the charges collected from local subscribers. That meant that NITEL was subsidising the subscriber on the use of other administrations facilities, apart from losing in its own portion.

Before the last tariff review of international telecommunications services, subscribers paid a fixed rate of N16 per minute to all African Countries.



Digital Satellite Earth Station, Victoria Island, Lagos

But the average collection charges of other African Countries to Nigeria was N43.71. The uniform charge of European countries was N22.00 while a corresponding collection charge from American countries was N36.00. The case for Asian countries and the Oceania was N25.00 per minute to the region while Asia charged N41.00 and Oceania was N34.00. Yet Nigeria is not a manufacturer of telecommunications equipment.

Today, everyone now knows what the value of the Naira is in comparison with other currencies.

Commitment:

NITEL hastens to remark here, that efficient and reliable telecommunications network anywhere in the world hardly comes cheaply. Nigerians have demanded from NITEL an excellent and efficient service which the Company has resolved to provide immediately but at the current inevitable buying cost. NITEL knows that the Nigerian service user is becoming more and more sophisticated. The company eagerly looks forward to a short future when every call initiated will be completed at just one dial. This is NITEL's new challenge, a new commitment.



Abuja Digital Exchange

COVER STORY

NEC's powers

Sword of Damocles

A clear picture is emerging as to who will not succeed Babangida —the oldbreed

For the second time in seven months, the National Electoral Commission brought its heavy, and double-edged sword crashing down on politicians.

Addressing reporters in Abuja on Friday, June 26, NEC's secretary Aliyu Umar said the outcome of the screening exercise on candidates for the July National Assembly election was the disqualification of 32 of them, while another 25 had their cases "still pending". The rancorous ranks of the Social Democratic Party, SDP, suffered the heavier toll, with nine senate and 10 House of Representatives candidates disqualified. The National Republican Convention, NRC, had four senate and nine House candidates disqualified.

At first, NEC withheld the list of disqualified politicians, and wild rumours moved in to fill the void. Over the next five days, several newspapers reported various candidates as having been disqualified, many of them erroneously, as it turned out. On Tuesday, June 30,

four days to the elections, NEC changed gear and through its director of public affairs, Tony Iredia, revealed the list of those disqualified. Axed in the SDP were former Imo state governor, Sam Mbakwe of Imo; Second Republic Housing minister, Wahab Dosunmu of Lagos; director of organisation of the UPN Ebenezer Babatope, of Oshun; former military governor of Gongola State, Isa Baba Mohammed, of Plateau, and *Newbreed* publisher Chris Okolie of Delta. Alhaji Umaru Muazu, running for the senate in Katagum, Bauchi state, was also disqualified.

Two of the NRC's senatorial candidates in Imo, Chief C. Anyanwu of Okigwe and Mr. Martin Agbaso of Owerri were disqualified. So was Umaru Yaro Bida, running in Borno North. But by far the most prominent senate candidate axed in the NRC was Dr. Ibrahim Tahir of Bauchi, at various times chairman of NNDC and NET and minister of internal affairs.

With the elections only a few days away, the two political parties



Nwosu: NEC or hidden hand?

rushed to replace the lost candidates. NRC chairman Tom Ikimi said his party will have no problems forwarding substitutes, since party electoral rules provide that in the event of disqualification, the runner-up fills the void. In Bauchi, therefore, Dr. Tahir was quickly replaced by Adamu Ambi Mohammed, *Majidadin Bauchi*, whom he had defeated in the primaries. The SDP adopted the same rule; in Lagos, Dr. Dosunmu was replaced by second-placed Mrs. Kofoworola Akerele.

Still, there were angry complaints. Dr. Dosunmu told *Citizen*



Umar: ban is for good



Dosunmu: the things NEC does



Okolie: even Newbreed had it

last week that "the military government has some hidden agenda for the Third Republic. There is no doubt about that. What remains hidden in the agenda is the identity of those the military wants to succeed it." Ebenezer Babatope told *Tribune*, "I am not surprised that I am disqualified from the senatorial race. These are signs of things to come as they relate to the Third Republic. God however knows best."

Leading politicians of both parties also expressed shock at the disqualifications. Dr. Femi Agbalajobi, disqualified as an SDP governorship candidate, told *Citizen*, "Why allow people to work and to toil and to go around all the wards only to say at the last minute they cannot contest? If you know you have something against them, why don't

you say so before the primaries? All I want is for (this regime) to go. I pray they will go."

Aminu Abdulfatah, Speaker of the Kaduna State house of assembly, predicted trouble. "Those who for three months had used their resources to campaign only for them to be stopped at the last moment", he said, "will most likely cause trouble". Governor John Odigie Oyeun of Edo State said NEC's action was "tragic" and can derail

the transition programme. Dr. Babalola Aborisade, SDP's director of research, warned that "if NEC is not careful but decides to use power randomly, there will be chaos". Alhaji Lamidi Adedibu, veritable strongman of Ibadan politics, said, "Government should have said what qualified people to contest at the initial stage, not to wait until they spend much money and undergo a lot of strain before disqualifying them".

NEC's blank cheque

A 17

PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS AND ELECTIONS (MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS) (AMENDMENT) DECREE 1992



Decree No. 6

[See section 3]

THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT hereby decrees as follows:—

1. The Participation in Politics and Elections (Miscellaneous Provisions) Decree 1991 (hereafter in this Decree referred to as "the principal Decree") is hereby amended as set out hereunder.

2. Section 2 of the principal Decree is amended—

- (a) by deleting subsection (1) thereof; and
(b) substituting therefor the following new subsection (1) as follows, that is—

"(1) The Commission may, after the commencement of this Decree if of the opinion that a person is not a fit and proper person to stand for an election or to hold an elective office as specified by section 1 of this Decree, also declare the person banned from contesting or seeking any public office or post whether elective or otherwise in any Government or political party in Nigeria";

(c) by deleting subsection (3) thereof and substituting therefor the following new subsection (3) as follows, that is—

"(3) Notwithstanding anything contained in any enactment or the Constitutions of the National Republican Convention and the Social Democratic Party, the Commission may—

(a) issue to the political parties such guidelines with respect to the conduct of party primaries; and

(b) accept, cancel or annul the report of any primary presented to it by the political parties."

3. This Decree may be cited as the Participation in Politics and Elections (Miscellaneous Provisions) (Amendment) Decree 1992 and shall come into force on 20th January 1992.

MADE at Abuja this 1st day of January 1992.

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

Commencement.

Amendment of 1991 No. 48.

Amendment of a section 2.

Citation and commencement.



Mbakwe and Tahir: business deals is it?

In the ensuing turmoil, politicians quickly discerned the logic of NEC's action and saw in it a trial run for the all-important presidential contests of later this year. SDP national chairman Babagana Kingibe said on Radio Nigeria's *Radiolink* programme, "By the list I have before me, most of the candidates disqualified have had dealings with past administrations," a euphemism for the oldbreed. The *Tribune* went fur-

ther than Kingibe. On Monday, June 29, it reported that the federal government was gradually reversing its decision of last December to unban oldbreed politicians. *Tribune* then listed presidential candidates of both parties likely to be banned by NEC, including most of the heavyweights in the race.

Growing speculations that the military regime is again after the oldbreed got a boost on Wednesday when *The Guardian* published a strange interview with one Dr. Matiu, said to be a senior official of NEC. Matiu reportedly said, "It would have been monumental hypocrisy on the part of the Babangida administration if those whom the regime seized power from were allowed to take over power again. Rather than blame Babangida or NEC for disqualifying them, they should blame their own lack of political judgement." Matiu cited three of Babangida's controversial pronouncements in the past, including the one about "we know who won't succeed us" and said the oldbreed should have seen the handwriting on the wall.

Last week, at last, supporters of many presidential aspirants began to see that handwriting on the wall. In a press release in Lagos, Nduka Onum, director of information of the Falae for President organisation, said, "In the last 24 hours, national and state campaign offices of Olu Falae for President have been bombarded by numerous telephone calls and besieged by thousands of sup-

porters" anxious to confirm if NEC will disqualify Chief Olu Falae. His name had been high on the *Tribune's* list of those likely to be axed, even though Chief Falae is not an oldbreed as commonly understood. This point Mr. Onum strongly stressed last week and assured their "millions of enthusiastic supports" that Falae won't be banned.

How could Nduka Onum tell? The Babangida regime's position on the participation of the oldbreed in Third Republic politics has been a long tale of flips and flops. In 1987, Babangida firmly said that those who held high office in previous civilian regimes will not be allowed to contest this time around. Also affected were some top officials of previous military regimes. Babangida added himself and a few other officials of this regime to the list, as contained in the controversial Participation in Politics and Elections Decree No. 25 of 1987.

For four years, Babangida stood by the ban. Irrked that the oldbreed had gone underground and were manipulating the political process, the regime enacted decree 48 of 1991 which widened NEC's power to disqualify politicians from standing for elections. Decree 48 provided nebulous grounds for disqualification, including any person "likely to disrupt the process of democracy," "hinder the process of grassroots democracy", whose "loyalty, patriotism and attitude towards a peaceful election are questionable," and those whose participation "may seriously put in doubt and jeopardy the legitimacy of such an election."

The acid test for those powers came during last year's gubernatorial elections. Two weeks to the December 14 polling day, NEC dramatically "disallowed" thirteen prominent candidates from contesting the elections. Cut down in the SDP were Dr. Femi Agbalajobi and his arch-rival Dapo Sarumi, both of Lagos; Alhaji Atiku Abubakar and Dr. Bala Takaya (Adamawa), Chief Okey Odunze (Anambra), Dr. Fabian Osuji (Imo), Alhaji Sule Lamido

NEC's powers are for public good

— Aliyu Umar

The Secretary of NEC, Alhaji Aliyu Umar, denies that the commission has used its powers arbitrarily

Citizen: *There is a wide-spread belief that Decree No. 6 of 1992 which is an amendment of Decree No. 48 of 1991 gives NEC a blank cheque.*

Umar: It's not a blank cheque. On the contrary it is merely residual, to be used as a last resort. I can assure you it is necessary and, believe it or not, it is in the interest of both party men and the parties. Without the powers we will be at the mercy of party officials who may like to manipulate things for selfish reasons. For instance in the last indirect primaries we would have been forced to accept the parties' list even where there are doubts or even manifest injustice.

Let me give you an instance. In Toto federal constituency in Plateau State there has been a sharp disagreement between the state NRC and the national secretariat. The state passed on a name as unopposed but the national secretariat said information available to it shows other interested aspirants were denied forms. (Tom) Dami ordered an election but Helen Gomwalk (the state chairman) ignored the order on grounds that the national headquarters is not on the ground. Our position was to reject the name until there

is an election because our own information too shows there was no election there.

There are other instances of allegations of governors trying to impose candidates. Without the powers some people say is a blank cheque we cannot do anything about such allegations.

Citizen: *Residual or not, there are allegations that you are already using your powers arbitrarily if only because you disqualify people and don't give any reasons.*

Umar: I can assure you it is in the public interest not to reveal the reasons. It is in the interest of peace and stability. We do not disqualify anyone without reason. Some are on point of law, some have pending cases in courts involving fraud, some have damaging security reports against them. Whatever the reason we deliberate at length before we disqualify anyone. In any case such disqualification is the lesser of two evils.

Citizen: *It seems your recent disqualification came rather late in the day seeing there was only a week to the elections.*

Umar: This is not our fault. You remember the parties wasted a whole month telling all that cared to listen that they were broke and no money, no primaries. In any case the primaries were indirect and therefore easy to conduct. As a result they were able to send replacements of most of those we disqualified

in time to beat the June 20 deadline even in cases where they had to conduct fresh elections.

Citizen: *On the last voters' register, some people allege you bungled the exercise by predetermining the size.*

Umar: No, we didn't bungle it. It is probably the best to date. You see if you issue 100 million cards, Nigerians will consume it. The parties and the aspirants will buy it to rig elections or to deprive their opponents of victory. In the last exercise all states returned cards because our officials refused to sell. We issued over 42 million cards, which is 48



per cent of the 1991 census and not 45 per cent as people are saying. We kept a reserve of 4 per cent, just in case. We never used the reserve. Instead all states, as I said, returned cards.

So when people make noise, it is all about buying of cards not about registration.

The highest voter turn out to date was 21 million in the governorship elections. So where are all the remaining cards? People, many a times, get the cards not because they want to vote but because some governments foolishly make it a condition for say selling fertilizer to a person or registering his children in school.

By Mohammed Haruna

"We feel sad about it but....."

— Babalola

SDP National Vice Chairman, Chief Augustus Babalola, says his party is helpless to do anything about the disqualifications

On the adequacy of the party's reaction.

But the decrees are there. It is not the party's problem. It is a Nigerian problem. Most people make the same mistake, you see this thing as if it's SDP's problem. It is a Nigerian problem. If government makes (a) law that you don't want, you as an individual has a right to challenge it, you as an organisation has a right to challenge it. But if you don't do it and say "why don't you challenge it"? Why don't you challenge it yourself. It's a Nigerian problem, it's not an SDP problem. SDP says we want to take power and they (military) said they will give us power in January next year. That is what we are working towards because if you take power then you can throw away the decree, we can do anything we want with it.

On the speculation that candidates like Babatope and Okolie were disqualified because they are people who can stand up to the military.

The disqualification does not throw doubts at the transition programme. So no other person can stand up to the military? They are not thrown out of this country. They can still stand up to the military anyway. They are still

within the SDP. We can use them in other direction and they can still stand up to the military.

The military doesn't say don't stand up to me, you are not a Nigerian, you are banned from Nigerian..... No! They are here. So if they don't contribute at the Senate they will contribute elsewhere. They are still part of the system.

On whether the parties are now saying their hands are tied.

The decree says... NEC says they are not obliged to give any reasons under the law.

On whether the disqualification is not an indictment of the party.

How can it be? We have screened (the candidates). They (too) have the right to screen. Nobody says they have no right to screen. Okay. We have screened and we have presented to them our own people who were elected and government has the right to screen, right, which they have done, just like they have the right to pick you up if they want to pick you up. If you don't like it, if government picks you up because of an offence which they say you have committed, you have the right to go to court.

What about the party?

Hasn't it got a right to go to court too?

Go to court of law? For what? We have a right to know (why our candidates were disqualified) but they (NEC) has said they are not obliged to tell us under the decree, you understand? We have a right to know, we have asked them but they said "yes, fine, but we (NEC) are not obliged to tell you under the law."

On whether the parties are considering a political option to NEC's bully.

Well, whatever political action we have, we cannot do it for now. We can not do it for now. We can only use it for the future occurrence. But don't forget again, that this thing does not affect only SDP. If you want it (counter action) to be effective, you must carry along the other party. So we must be satisfied in our mind too that the other party will come along with us. Because you cannot be fighting government, if the opposition is not doing that. So at the end of the day, you will come out worse off for doing that particularly if the Nigerian public is not doing anything about it. Or if they accept it.

If the Nigerian people do not accept it, then we can say fine, if the opposition does not go along with us,

the Nigerian public is behind us. But how do you assess that? So we can't throw away our own chances by saying "yes we are the messiah" if the Nigerian public does not say we are the messiah.

On the major impact of the disqualification on the party.

Personally, I feel sad about it (because) there are people of good calibre, of good character, good materials for elections. So to disqualify them it feels sad because they have gone through the process (of the primaries). They offered themselves for primaries campaigning, some of them had had to go through the primaries about three times. They were screened by NEC at the local level, they were screened by our own screening committee, everything was done. So to now come and disqualify them, after they had been screened by their own local NEC, it's sad. So personally one feels sad about it. Because these are candidates that are electable and can win elections for us. So to that extent, the party felt bad about it.

We now have to put in more efforts to aim in some of these place. We have now been given additional responsibility which we did not plan for.

By Bolaji Adebisi

(Jigawa) and Mr. Sargent Awuse (Rivers). Disqualified in the NRC were Dr. Joe Nwodo and his rival Reverend Hyde Onuaguluchi (Enugu), Alhaji Yusuf Sani (Jigawa) and Mr. Zebulun Abule (Rivers). It was known at the time that while NEC announced the ban, the decision was actually made by Babangida and the service chiefs in the National Security Council.

Soon afterwards, the police arrested twelve oldbreed politicians and charged them before the Transition to Civil Rule Tribunal for violating Decree 25 of 1987. Arraigned were Major-General Shehu Yar'adua, Mr. Paul Unongo, Alhaji Bello Maitama Yusuf, Alhaji Abubakar Rimi and Dr. Olusola Saraki. Also arraigned were Mr. Solomon Lar, Chief Jim Nwobodo, Chief Christian Onoh, Alhaji Lateef Jakande, Alhaji Lawal Kaita, Chief Bola Ige and Chief Arthur Nzeribe.

But on December 18, four days after the governorship elections, the regime made a complete turnaround. General Babangida announced after an AFRC meeting that Decree 25 was being repealed, the ban on the oldbreed was being lifted and the twelve of them arraigned before the tribunal were being released. The only group that remained banned from active politics were those politicians once convicted by tribunals and courts, as well as Babangida himself.

Within weeks of the unbanning, many of the oldbreed plunged fast into the presidential race. Power, experience and money soon saturated the race until, by late May, there were more than 70 aspirants in both parties who had declared.

In the SDP, the nature of the race was completely transformed with the entry of General Yar'adua, Chief Nzeribe, Dr. Saraki, Alhaji Lateef Jakande and Dr. Jerry Gana. Chief Olu Falae, Senator Mahmud Waziri and Chief Abel Ubeke, three previous front runners, found the going very tough with only Falae remaining in the front ranks. In the NRC, Alhaji Adamu Ciroma, Alhaji



Ciroma: oldbreed as targets

Bamanga Tukur, Alhaji Shehu Musa, Chief Melford Okilo and Alhaji Inua Wada all waded into the race. Of the NRC's original candidates, only Alhaji Umaru Shinkafi and Chief Emmanuel Iwuanyanwu remained in the front ranks.

With the oldbreed back in charge, some budding newbreed aspirants ducked out of the race. Ambassador Babagana Kingibe, whose presidential ambition was an open secret, was forced to stay out when the patron of the People's Front (PF) himself, Yar'adua, joined the race. Dr. Farouk Abdulazeez of Kogi also opted out, while Dr. Patrick Dele Cole, once touted as the PF's minority option for president, soldiered on along the margins.

The entry of Ciroma and Bamanga into the NRC race also drove Alhaji Aliko Mohammed to the margins, loudly complaining that he did not expect money to become central to the race when he joined.

It now appears that these developments alarmed the Babangida regime. Actually, it had kept decree 48 of 1991 in reserve to disqualify any politician who falls foul of its catch-all criteria. Early this year, the regime promulgated decree 6 of 1992 which absolved NEC of the duty to explain to any person why he is being disqualified.

These two decrees continued to swing on the political scene like the Sword of Democles and were the

source of widespread speculations of a "hidden agenda" in the transition programme.

Ambiguous public statements by President Babangida complicated the problem. Last year, he said his administration does not know who will succeed it, but it knows who wouldn't. Many Nigerians were quick to find fault with Babangida's logic; if he knows who won't succeed him, then he ought to know who will.

In May, Vice President Augustus Aikhomu took another step that further fuelled anxieties. Accusing presidential aspirants of spending too much money in their campaigns, Aikhomu said the source of their funds will be investigated. Some aspirants quickly replied that government itself dictated the costly system of party primaries; some added that the probe was a smokescreen to disqualify them.

The disqualification of senatorial candidates was therefore seen as a dress rehearsal for the presidential elections. While it was widely interpreted by observers last week to indicate a rebanning of the oldbreed, its logic was a little more complicated. Many of the disqualified candidates had the kind of public record NEC would gladly jump at. For example, Chief Sam Mbakwe was convicted by a military tribunal in 1984 for illegal possession of foreign currency. Although he was subsequently acquitted, Dr. Wahab Dosunmu was charged in 1984 with ordering his police orderly to shoot a rival politician during the 1983 general elections. Dr. Ibrahim Tahir was reportedly self-exiled from Nigeria in 1990 to 1991 over a botched business deal, and Wing Commander Isa Mohammed, though not a traditional oldbreed, was retired from the airforce in 1990, allegedly because of his activities as governor of the defunct Gongola State.

The disqualification of some other candidates could not be easily explained. Chief Chris Okolie, publisher of *Newbreed* and *President*

magazines, was disqualified from the SDP's Delta North senatorial ticket. The action shocked Okolie, who had already been cleared by the Delta NEC office on June 18 and had filled the nomination forms. "I completed the forms and received a certification of qualification to contest the elections," Okolie told *Citizen*. The publisher had also mounted a media blitz campaign and placed promotionals in many newspapers and magazines before tragedy struck.

Last week, Chief Okolie filed a suit at the Asaba high court against NEC's resident commissioner in Delta, Alhaji Kwasu, in an effort to stop the July 4 elections. It was not the first time Okolie would engage the military; in 1978, the Obasanjo regime proscribed his *Newbreed* magazine.

Equally puzzling was the disqualification of Ebenezer Babatope. Once sacked from the University of Lagos for allegedly inciting students during the 1978 "Ali must go" riots, Babatope was prominent in second republic politics as director of the UPN's efficient organisation, though he held no public office. In recent months, he has launched some scath-

ing attacks against the Babangida regime's economic policies and human rights record.

Paradoxically, some prominent oldbreed candidates escaped the hammer. Among them was Alhaji Uba Ahmed, national secretary of the NPN who fled into exile after the 1983 coup; Colonel Ahmadu Ali, prominent second republic senator; Alhaji Musa Musawa, a leader of the PRP, and Dr. Saka Balogun, presidential liaison officer in Oyo State under Shagari's regime. Dr. Bala Takaya, "disallowed" from contesting for the governorship last year, is now cleared to run for senate. Also cleared to run is Dr. Sam Orji who in 1988 was removed as chairman of Enugu local government council by Vice President Aikhomu. Alhaji Idris Ibrahim Kuta, deputy speaker of the second republic House of Representatives, has also been cleared.

If the same logic holds in screening presidential aspirants, then there is no certainty as to who will be banned. Most anxious at present are those aspirants known to have stood up to Babangida on a number of occasions. Prominent among them is Major-General Shehu Yar'adua, whose campaign machine is arguably the strongest and smoothest of all aspirants in both parties. The general's excellent relations with the Babangida regime began to dip with the 1987 ban on the Oldbreed; it worsened with the dissolution of the PF in 1989 and reached rock-bottom with his arrest and detention, along with 12 others, last November.

Last week, Yar'adua in a Radio Kaduna current affairs programme in Hausa, accused the SDP leadership of failing to stand up to NEC



Falae: for whom the sword swipes?

and protect the party's candidates from disqualification. SDP leaders see the matter differently. Chief Augustus Babalola, the national vice-chairman, told *Citizen*, "It is a Nigerian problem. You as an individual has the right to challenge (the decree). But if you don't do it and they use the law, you cannot now shift the blame to somebody and say why don't you challenge it? Why don't you challenge it yourself?"

The NRC aspirant widely known to be held suspect by the Babangida regime is Malam Adamu Ciroma. In 1990 and again in 1991, Ciroma launched bitter attacks against the regime's economic policies as well as its record for probity. This public attack fuelled rumours that, as president, Ciroma will launch a probe of the military. Perhaps to avoid the ban, Ciroma has since his entry into the race in February repeatedly said he will not waste time probing anybody, but will pursue his own programme. Earlier this year, Ciroma told *Citizen*, "President Babangida has said his administration knows only those it will not handover to, but does not know who it will hand over to. Whether the two amount to the same thing



Yar'adua: parties to blame

and whether he will keep his word that he has no objection to my candidature remains to be seen."

Besides these two, there were those aspirants who spent months in detention after the 1983 coup. They include Alhaji Bamanga Tukur, Dr. Oluosola Saraki and Mr. Paul Unongo. Thirdly, there are those aspirants who held high office in the current administration, including Chief Olu Falae, Alhaji Shehu Musa and Dr. Jerry Gana. It appears that the government is already after Dr. Gana; soon after he quit MAMSER, it sent top cop Muhammadu Gambo to "investigate the utilisation of resources allocated to it" during Gana's tenure, a reported 300 million Naira.

As the heavy sword hang over presidential aspirants, newbreed politicians sang discordant tunes. Alhaji Ibrahim Eytayo Dan-Musa of the NRC, who expects to profit if the oldbreed are axed, reportedly welcomed the ban last week. Dan Musa told *Punch* that "the transition programme will be a colossal waste of time and funds if Oldbreed politicians succeed this administration."

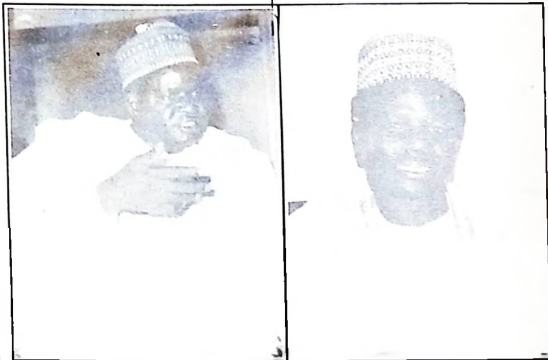
One of the few leading presidential aspirants not immediately threatened by the ban, it seemed, was Alhaji Umaru Shinkafi; his name was left out of *Tribune's* long list of those who may be banned. Shinkafi last week said he regretted the ban and wished there will be no more. "I wish nobody was disqualified and nobody will be disqualified," he said. "I wish the government allows them to face the electorate. That way, those who will lose will not blame government for their fate". Shinkafi's brave posture last week might have masked other feelings; last February, he told *Citizen* that the Babangida regime's desire not to hand over to those it once ousted is reasonable. "Regimes all over the world tend to play it that way", he said.

They well might, but many Nigerians still condemned NEC's arbitrary use of its powers. Dr. Funso Daramola, law lecturer at Lagos State University, told *Citizen* last week, "The disqualification of aspirants at

the wee hours is an indication that government and NEC have no respect for the rule of law. In any country where the rule of law operates, government cannot just wake up to disqualify candidates without saying why". Chief J.O. Williams, Lagos State chairman of the Shehu Musa campaign organisation, saw it all as "the tendency of the military regime to still justify the overthrow of Shagari's regime by discrediting all those associated with it". Mrs. Florence Diya, minority leader of the Kaduna house of assembly said "NEC was most unfair" to ban candidates "at this eleventh hour". Mrs Aya feared that the substitute candidates to be forwarded may be unpopular and this could spell doom for the third Republic. Mr. Ishola Fi-

violation of their fundamental human rights. If a person is a murderer or drug baron, let him go if the party chooses him. It is left for the people to determine, since people get the type of government that suits them."

One official rose to the stout defence of government's action last week. Dr. Omo Omoruyi, director-general of the Centre for Democratic Studies, told *Citizen* in Abuja that "the society is not ready to take risks" with the disqualified politicians. "The law does not protect anybody who could derail the transition programme". But isn't the action undemocratic? Omoruyi, whose centre in Abuja teaches democracy to politicians, responded with an analogy. "The government has invested bil-



Shinkafi: the field clears and Gana: who is the cop after?

lani, SDP's acting national publicity secretary agreed with Mrs Aya, "if party A's candidate is not disqualified and party B's candidate is disqualified", Filani said, "then it means party A has been given an undue advantage since it is presenting its best candidate while party B is forced to produce a second-rate candidate".

The Civil Liberties Organisation also condemned the bans. Its acting national secretary, Osaze Lanre Ehonwa, said, "The CLO has been opposed to any non-electoral restraints imposed on aspirants. It is a

liens in this programme and does not want its investment misused," he said. "Government has a right to protect its investment so that it can declare dividend, and that is a just and democratic society." Whether the Babangida regime will share the CLO's total faith in the democratic process, come the presidential primaries, remains to be seen.

By Mahmud Jega, with reports by Mohammed Haruna, Bilkiisu Yusuf in Abuja, Bolaji Adebiji, Tawey Zakka, Yinka Tella, Samson Ojo, Moyo Akoshile, and Aluko Akinyele

NIGERIA

Bauchi In aid of learning

Education gets a boost in Bauchi State as the administration of Governor Dahiru Mohammed launches endowment fund

When the twice-postponed launching of the 200 million Naira Bauchi State Education Development Appeal Fund finally took place June 27, it was more than a collection of money — it was also a rare get-together. It was like the NPN of old resurrecting.

More than 70 million Naira was collected on the spot with the clear possibility that more could roll in if the collection drive kept up the pressure. Alhaji Buba Mohammed Gamawa, the state's commissioner of education had assured that it would.

"We are the first to launch a fund for education," he said, "and



Mohammed: back with old glory

we shall not rest until we are the first to collect what is required. The crisis is very real and the launching is only the first stage of the solution to it."

Bauchi was one of the intellectual centres of the old northern region and a hot bed of radical politics from where champions of education emerged. "The felling," Alhaji Buba said, "was that if it had been possible to produce a prime minister

from the lowly-state of the educational facilities of yesteryears, the sky would have been the limit in the new dispensation.

The state, according to the commissioner, not only wanted to excel but it was indeed among the best. "Today," he added, "this glorious past has receded into an unimaginable pitiable position of being one of the worst in the country."

Revenue available to government was dwindling while prices of all educational inputs were rising wildly at an even faster rate. Since there was no quick returns on investment in education, little attention was paid to the possibility of privatising educational institutions along with all else. In other words the public purse must — should — continue funding and subsidising education. Something must be done.

Yet even now, going by members, it is easy to conclude that education in Bauchi State is about to experience its golden age. It will be easy indeed but it will be false. No doubt the number of primary schools in the state has increased by more than 50 per cent in the last 15 years, from 1040 in 1976 to 1575 in 1992 during which period enrolment

swelled by more than 370 per cent to 519,572 pupils from 139,874.

Post primary schools multiplied more than ten times to 114 with more than 80,000 students from a mere 10 and a little more than 11,000 students. There is a university, two polytechnics, a college of education and other post secondary institutions. Nice statistics but what type of story do they bury?

Due to lack of facilities in these expanded numbers of schools and



Gamawa: first stage

the inability of the government to get, keep and fully utilise very high quality competent teachers, more than half of pupils have to terminate their education at primary school level. Of the less than half that proceed, less than 10 per cent are able to go any further.

For the last 15 years there was no year in which Bauchi State recorded up to 50 per cent pass in the English Language and mathematics examinations of the West African Examinations Council. In 1990, only seven per cent passed English and 16 per cent mathematics. Only 30 students out of the 343 who passed English did so at credit level; only 77 had credit out of the 801 who passed.

And at a time when emphasis is on the teaching of science there is only an average of 0.4 teachers of integrated science and chemistry in the state's schools. In other words, there are only four teachers of chemistry and integrated science for any 10 schools.

Everyone seemed agreed that a fund to save the day was needed. Hence the launching. The occasion of the launching was the first time that Alhaji Shehu Shagari, the first civilian president, would meet Bashorun MKO Abiola in Bauchi. Many expected President Babangida to come. Indeed there was considerable delay in starting the ceremony as people await the arrival of Alhaji Dahiru Mohammed, the state governor, who had gone to receive the president at Heipang, near Jos, Plateau State.

Circumstances beyond control were said to have prevented his coming and, as the governor explained, the same thing kept Vice President Aikhomu away. In their place the minister of finance, Alhaji Ahmadu Abubakar came in good time.

The absence of the president, many feared, would mean losing expected federal contribution and up to the end of the ceremony people believed there was none. But the uproar raised by Sheikh Ibrahim Bello, chairman of finance and economic planning of the state house of assembly, about a federal contribution would seem to indicate that this must have arrived later.

Yet even if the federal contribution, came, other donors who would wish to be seen by the president did not come.

The inability of Professor Jibril Aminu to come was also a matter of great regret; many would have come for his sake. More importantly though he has left the oil ministry, the state wanted to tap from his good will.

Most people interviewed before the launching said they expected that the whole target amount would be collected. Even those who didn't expect all the 200 million Naira to be collected at least expected 100 million Naira. Part of the explanation would be the absence of the president and the former oil minister.

As the launching got underway, it became clear that enthusiasm was dampened indeed. As he rose to speak, Bashorun MKO Abiola decided to play modest, but his attempt at modesty overdid itself. If he had announced his one million Naira donation it would have set the ball rolling well. But he didn't. He said he had been donating to the state and he would continue to do so and be involved in the state's development.

People took this to mean that he would probably be donating a widow's mite and they seem to have taken one. The day was taken by one

person who didn't seem to have taken one. Alhaji Bashir Mustapha, the state's new big donor, gave two million Naira. "When he gives, he keeps his word" the guest speaker of the occasion declared. He got the loudest applause after President Shagari.

The uproar and wild applause at the arrival of Alhaji Shehu Shagari once more attested to the fact that the former president had now been fully integrated into the mainstream of Nigerian politics. Announcing Shagari's arrival, the sweet-mouthed Umaru Azare, of MAMSER fame, summed it up all. "We are with you Shagari," he declared and the lionising began so much so that he (Shagari) had difficulty reaching his seat for quite a while.

A lot of energy has clearly gone into staging the affair, Alhaji Adamu Aliyu, *Wakilin Katagum*, the master of ceremony, must be commended for fishing out the big guns and bringing them all to Bauchi, it is however a pity that earlier arrangements had to be abandoned and the launching twice postponed. All the same, it was a success though the target couldn't be collected on the spot.

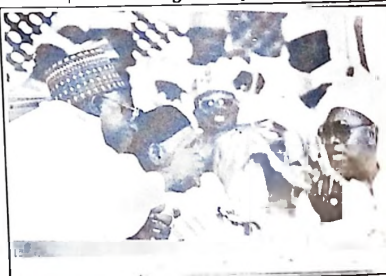
Now of course the question is what exactly should be done with what has been collected.

Many people are sceptical about how the money will be utilised. A good example is the anonymous donor of 500 thousand Naira who only wanted that the money be used for education and for it alone. It is a very good and well-intentioned request.

They opined that the urge to treat the fund as consisting of some recurrent expenditure items in the usual budget must be resisted. This is a fund to resuscitate education — not to pay teachers' salaries, not to embark on construction sprees and certainly not to waste on purchase of everyday consumables, they added. Though of course a measure of each of these may be inevitable in the res-

urrection process, they must be kept to the barest necessary minimum.

Already the government had indicated how it intended to spend the 200 million Naira if it had all been collected. It would complete the building of some classrooms, student hostels and staff houses, provide basic infrastructure, instructional materials and furniture. Indeed the breakdown of what needed to be done looked more daunting than starting from square one.



President Shagari and Abiola in a chat at the launch

As it is, only a little more than one third of what is needed was realised. Other well wishes also advised that the government must cut its coat according to the size of the state's purse, it should try to rehabilitate such structures as are redeemable without any extensive works.

Well wishers again said the government needs to concentrate on hostels and classrooms. Patch the gaping holes, plug the leaking roofs and learn to manage.

They also opined that there is the need to learn to use what is available. In one school *Citizen* visited at least three hostel blocks exist that are not habitable. Yet instead of constructing new ones or even rehabilitating the dilapidated ones, analysts advised the conversion of the good but unused dining halls in the school into hostels.

After a year or two of this, things should be able to sort themselves out.

By Adamu Adamu in Bauchi

Kid robbers

Saved from the hangman

Lagos State government commutes the death sentence on the 12 kid robbers to a 10 year jail term but human rights activists are still not satisfied

Lagos State governor, Sir Michael Otedola, who recently came under attack for what his adversaries called "inaction", took the nation by surprise last week and momentarily shifted public opinion away from political issues. By a stroke of his executive pen on Monday June 29, he halted the executioner's dagger that has been hovering menacingly over the heads of the celebrated 12 'kid-robbers' since June 22, 1988, and ordered the commutation of their death sentence to 10 year-jail term.

The state attorney-general and commissioner for justice, Chief Yomi Osikoya told reporters in Lagos that the convicts will however spend two years in jail having already spent eight years in detention awaiting trial and subsequent conviction. He explained that the state government, which was moved by the "barrage of protests that greeted their conviction", deemed it necessary to "tamper justice with a human face".

Perhaps the case of the 12 'kids' will remain one of the most complex in recent history of litigation in the country. The trial was as windy as the conviction was controversial. The boys were arrested on September 17, 1984 as primary suspects in the robbery at Alhaja Latifatu Odu-sanya's residence at 16 Benson Street, Ikorodu, Lagos. It took the police 30 months to carry out preliminary investigation that led to their trial beginning March 13, 1987.

It also took the robbery and fire-arms tribunal, headed by Justice Moshod Olugbani of Court 13, Ikeja, Lagos, another 15 months (with 70 adjournments) to establish that

the kids were guilty of the offence. But barely a month after the judgement was handed down on June 22 1988, the administration of Lagos State changed hands again from Group Captain Gbolahan Mudasiru through Navy Captain Mike Akhigbe to Colonel Raji Rasaki.

Justice Olugbami had noted in his highly controversial judgement that —"it is recommended that the sentence of this tribunal shall be carried out by firing squad if the military government approves the conviction and the sentence." Thus, he set the stage for an avalanche of protests and criticisms that caused an uproar from local and international circles.

With the commutation of this sentence to 10 year-jail, the questions is whether or not judgment has finally been delivered on the prolonged case. Osaze Laten Ehonwa, assistant national secretary of Civil Liberties Organisation, CLO, said the commutation was two edged decision: Commendable but inadequate. He told *Citizen* in his office that while the decision "is a great step forward, it does not adequately address the issues we (CLO) had raised over the trial and the conviction."

Ehonwa reasoned that since the former state's director of legal services, Mr. Bayo Manuwa confirmed that the trial was fraught with "procedural irregularities" "the boys should have been "retried or released unconditionally." He argued also that the governor's order implies that the state government upholds the judgment rather than redressing the procedural irregularities. "The amnesty does not fundamentally

address the questions over the trials and conviction", he insisted.

But Mr. M. A. Banire, a law teacher at the University of Lagos, disagreed that the convicts should be set free. "The governor cannot overturn the tribunals judgement because his is not a law court," he told *Citizen*. According to him, if the governor had set them free, he would have laid a precedence of giving incentive to crime as "more youths will now commit crime with the hope of being released" through executive amnesty.

Banire also reasoned that any decision to set the convicts free, with the political tension in the country, would simply be regarded as an attempt to regain cheap popularity. This view was infact confirmed by a political adversary of Governor Otedola who pleaded anonymity. The Lagos SDP stalwart argued that the executive order which came barely a week to the National Assembly elections "certainly has some political undertone." He told *Citizen* that it was aimed at stimulating public sympathy for NRC candidates



Otedola: magnanimity?

who were "sure to lose at the elections". He however agreed to the view that the action is nonetheless commendable. Arguing that the order is a political one, he retorted "an SDP governor would have set them free."

Beyond this political dimension to an otherwise serious and emotive issue, CLO's Ehonwa believes that the "Kids have suffered so much in the last eight years that their immediate release would be justified."

By Moyo Akoshile

Citizen against citizens

The media reactions to the riots in parts of Kaduna State have shown the dilemma the non muslims face in the northern states. The riots are covered by say the *New Nigerian*, *Gaskiya Ta Fi Kwabo*, the *Reporter*, *Today*, *The Democrat*, *Citizen* and *HOTLINE* can only leave the non muslims in the North in stupefying silence as to motive and interpretation. I am saddened by the fact that most of the newsmen and women are of my generation and should have a far greater stake in the unity of the whole area for the survival of the future. But alas, perhaps owing to the fact that they are all just learning to walk financially, there is surely a greater stake in personal survival and success of ventures than facing the truth of building a strong bond of trust and friendship. So there has been a bit of playing to the gallery of the northern ruling classes and Islam. I wish to review the positions taken by Mohammed Haruna, Alhaji Hassan Sani Kontagora, Bilikisu Yusuf and Kabiru Yusuf in recent issues of this magazine as examples in this matter.

In his write up titled *Zango and our Conscience*, (1/6/92), Mohammed did us a great service by his frank account of his experience with the setting up of the People's Bank. I use to think that the Mohammed I know would have resigned in the face of this glaring injustice rather than append his signature to this flowing wind of deceit. But I am compelled to wonder whether his fear of the invisible hands at the top and how antagonising them may hurt his business may have been paramount in his decision to stay on until his sun finally set. By this he and his cronies became party to the sowing of the ill wind that later exploded into a whirlwind in the riots in Zangon Kataf. Mohammed says that the retired military officers whom he attributes these problems to, suffer a bruised ego, arising from

the contradiction posed by the paradox of their wealth and the poverty of their people. This argument begs the question and flies in the face of the realities on the ground. If Nigerian communities frown, it is not due to the wealth of their sons and daughters who have been in the kitchen of power, rather they frown at their poverty for the shame they have brought back home. In any case, what evidence of wealth is there at Zangon Kataf, and who are these generals, any way? It is the deceit embarked on by muslims in higher positions in tilting the scales in favour of their kith and kin that turns the bile and sows disaffection even among a peaceful community. This is the fact we must face. I am aware that as far back as 1987, Mohammed always talked of a *Kafanchan Mafia*, perhaps due to the fact that for the first time, a non muslim from the Southern Zaria became the Managing Director of New Nigerian Newspapers Ltd., at a time when AVM Muazu was the governor of the state! I agree with Mohammed that intra elite battles are at the heart of the struggle, but we are still faced with the problem: if these people have no weight in the communities, how can they in turn be charged with misleading their people? Surely, to imagine that communities are incapable of resolving the contradictions arising from the political rascality that masquerades as democracy simply because they are not a military or bureaucratic elite, is to be blind to the historical antecedents such as we see in the Aba women's riots and the Mahdist uprisings.

In his interview with *Citizen*, Alhaji Hassan Sani Kontagora, publisher of *Hotline*, irascible, tempestuous and volatile as ever, towed the popular line by arguing that the Hausa/Fulanis must resettle in Zangon Kataf because they have lived there for 300 years. I fully support the move that the Hausa/Fulanis should be helped to resettle

By
Rev. Fr. Matthew Hassan Kukah

in the area. The choice of language here even gives the Hausas no choice of deciding if they wish to stay or not. But the likes of Kontagora should be sincere enough to ask how the Kataf, who have hosted these people for 299 years should change gear on the 300th year. According to Hassan, it is the hard work of the Hausas that has earned them what they have now and that if the local people drank less, they would also be better off. Let me assume here that Hassan is successful and drinks no alcohol as a good muslim. But is it not the same Hassan who rained down insults on his fellow Hausas in the north whom he accused in an interview with *Classique* magazine in 1991, of being lazy and spending all their time sleeping under trees instead of working hard like the southern counterparts? I fully agree with Hassan's position that the Kataf people should have gone to court to seek redress. But why does he not even attempt to preach to his own people the values of going to court rather than the mindless killings in Kaduna, Zaria and Ikara of those who had nothing to do with Zango? It is not the prerogative of the Kontagoras to denigrate the leadership of the people in question. He is sounding like miniature Israeli demagogues who arrogate to themselves the right to decide who the leaders of the Palestinian delegations should be or the whites and the black composition in CODESA. Such a display of arrant feudal infradig is galling!

Bilikisu Yusuf resorts to anthropology and history to microscopically decipher *Katafisation* to the rest of us. The Kataf, she thinks, must be a special specie. I hope Adamu Adamu approved of all this. She talks of the massacre of the Hausa/Fulani in Zangon Kataf, remains silent as to what took place in Kaduna,

Zaria and Ikara. After all, it is obvious that more people were killed in those cities than all those in Zangon Kataf. Theirs was neither genocide nor massacre, but merely unfortunate events. Or do we need anthropology to tell us this? Bilkisu Yusuf relies on historical authorities to dismiss any claims of autonomy in historical organisation among the people of Southern Zaria from the emirate of Zaria. Well, I have said elsewhere that history is essentially a bastard. This to me is so because its father today becomes an outcast tomorrow, its hero today becomes a villain tomorrow. Even the best among us like Dr. Bala Usman have lapsed into fits of apoplectic historical amnesia by resorting to imaginary distortions relating to migrational red herrings in their assessments of the situation in the north. In the final analysis, who cares where anyone comes from? The Tivs, Igbo and Igalas claim to be from Israel and Saudi Arabia respectively. We are not about to drive them out of Nigeria yet. Beyond claims of man walking in Africa, who knows where he or she came from with any degree of certainty? I agree with Bilkisu's linkage and interdependence. At least, we now can sift the chaff from the grain from the Ayatollah legacy on the role of the Great Satan in the Islamic revolution. There is nothing on the horizon to justify the *Katafisation* bogey that she bandies. I remain shocked by the narrowness of interpretation of the events of Zangon Kataf. Perhaps, if the Katafs had a hospital to receive their own dead and wounded, the situation would be different. If they had a media to represent their own side of the story, things would be different indeed. It remains a tragedy that Northern journalists cannot be relied on to define and interpret conflict in their domains. Pity.

In issues related to religion, my vote goes to Kabir Yusuf who has always remained by far the most dispassionate of analysts from his

days in *Today* newspaper which he edited. For example, he at least openly apportions blames and points out what needs to be done. He is bold enough to say that *there is need to clip the turbans of the Northern emirs*, and proceeds to question the anachronistic rise in their political clout under the military. The respect they enjoy as Kabir rightly points out is merely discriminatory and he concludes that *the institution is restrictive and retrogressive and open to corruption and other abuses*. This sincere and dispassionate approach makes room for the analyst to be wary of mistakenly thinking that these institutions are corrupt and an anti-thesis to democracy merely because it is the Hausa/Fulani who are atop this riotous pile. The realisation that it is the institution that lends itself to all this should make the non muslim people realise that their future does not lie in reproducing, refurbishing, and baptising these institutions with their attendant rituals of decadence. Nor are they to be clamoured for merely as a soporific. Democracy and justice have their own demands which cut across such narrow boundaries. By itself, democracy is an ideal and all peoples who aspire to it do so within the limits of their cultural peculiarities. It is not an inborn attribute of humanity. There seems to be a concerted effort by many analysts in the north to ignore the fact that fundamentally, people are merely reacting to natural reflex whose time has come. How can any sane commentator praise Iran's Khomeini, South Africa's Mandela or an Arafat and then turn around to deny others the right to rout for their heroes? We would be suspicious if the oppressor saw the same man as his hero. I hold great hope that it is the duty of the Mohammeds, Bilkisus, the Kabirus and Hassans to have the courage to seize the moment and shape our future. We are at an advantage to shape history in a way that our parents did not have. Yes, my grandparents may be limited by the fact that their experiences with the Hausa/Fulanis were sour ones of master and slave. We can not

repeat those mistakes in view of the fact that things have changed. So far, from my interactions with people like Bilkisu Yusuf, Mohammed Haruna and Kabiru Yusuf, I have seen no evidence that any of them really is in romance with any turban. In fact in 1987, Bilkisu told me that the northern emirs meetings were irrelevant except for the fact that they offered them a venue to compare their latest turbans. She was clear in her mind that most of them lacked the religious legitimacy to function as religious leaders. Mohammed is spell bound by their power and influence and nothing more. It therefore pains me that in these kinds of crises, there would be no attempt to confront the fact that it is these *latter day saviours* of a vanishing empire who are at the heart of the crisis in the whole of the northern states. The attempt to limit the damage by singling out the Katafs as descendants of some evil specie merely extends the political longevity of those at the heart of the problems.

Citizen must fight a war to liberate our people irrespective of their station in life. If my good friends can manage to rise beyond these limitations and truly make our people citizens, then, the war would have been won. No muslim, christian, Hausa, Nupe or Kutebman can be proud if they are not citizens. So far, feudalism perpetrates their subservience by merely refurbishing their chains. Thus, even as muslims, they are at best subjects, not citizens. Religion as a soporific dulls us from the battle ahead. We must face the changes all over the world and sit up. The rest of the world is not waiting for Africa or Nigeria. Nor is the rest of the country waiting for the north to decide how best to deal with the feudal cog in the wheel of our development. Years of feudalism have left tears and pain. To try to give this hanged dog a good name merely postpones the evil day and makes Zangon Kataf a mere dress rehearsal. We owe God and our country a sacred duty to avert this tragedy.

Reverend Kukah, writes from Abuja

States Kogi's knotty question

Is Governor Abubakar Audu skew-handed in distributing political appointments and patronages?

It first came in the form of a tentative whimper of protest. Barely 45 days into the first civilian administration of the newly created Kogi State, a group of elders under the self-imposed tag of "Kogi Leaders of Thought" met with Governor Abubakar Audu to protest the siting of the state's radio station at Ochaja. At that meeting, Audu was said to have stood his ground arguing that the Ochaja project was not a creation of his new administration but a carry-over from the former Benue State. He however assured the "concerned" elders that only the AM station is slated for Ochaja. Lokoja, he said, would be the receptacle of Radio Kogi's FM station.

If the elders felt somewhat relieved by the governor's balancing act, it did not escape the notice of government watchers that, by some coincidence, all members of the delegation were from the state's western axis of the River Niger, referred to as Kogi West, for short. This axis consisting of Okehi, Okene, Oyi, Yagba East, Kogi, Adavi, Ajaokuta, Ijumu, Yagba East and Kotonkarfe local

government areas carved out from the former Kwara State, had been joined up with Ankpa, Bassa, Dekina, Idah, Ofu and Olamaboro, all formerly of Benue State — on the eastern side of the Niger — to form present day Kogi State.

The governor's political advisers were still trying to come to terms with this reality when government house received a petition — this time from Okun Development Association (ODA) — complaining about the "tribal discrimination being unleashed on Kogi West." Referring to the list of 25 directors-general so far appointed, ODA felt concerned that only six are from Kogi West. The association also picked holes in the promotions in the civil service which, it alleged, was making people from Kogi West junior to their erstwhile colleagues in the Kwara State civil service as far back as 1976 when the Igalas (Kogi East) were merged with Benue State. ODA, which is a grouping of the predominantly Yoruba-speaking local government areas of the state, said it feared "overwhelming economic advantage" by "a particular group" which, it said, is "being overfavoured at the expense of others" even in contract awards, and called for a quick redress.

Somehow, ODA's petition was leaked to the press and Governor Audu who is from the Ofu-Olamaboro axis of the state felt piqued enough to mount an offensive of his own. He described as "mischievous" reports that tend to portray the various groups of the state as being at loggerheads with one another. He reminded such "mischievous makers" that the

people had lived together "for more than 70 years" before the creation of the state formally brought them together again.

Although the governor's recourse to history cannot be dismissed, *Citizen* investigations in Lokoja last week revealed that apart from the fact that 13 of the 22 chairmen are from Kogi East, questions are still being raised in Lokoja as to how the headship of of such strategic boards as the Kogi Investment Company (Nuhu Audu from Idah/Ofu), Hospital Management Board (Sani Idakwoji, from Idah/Ofu), Kogi Properties Limited (Mr. S.I. Ocheja from Idah/Ofu), Sanitary Ware Company (Hassan Aguda from Idah/Ofu), Urban Development Board (W.Q. Ameh from Ankpa/Olamaboro), the Scholarship Board (Alfred Amodu from Ankpa/Olamaboro) as well as the Agro-Allied Company, the Hotel and Tourism Board, the Electricity Board, Land Allocation Committee and the all-powerful Civil Service Commission have gone to the Eastern axis.

Such boards as Environmental Sanitation (Major Aiyedogbon, Kabba, Ijumu/Yagba), Commission for Women (Mrs. Ogbaha, Kogi), Teaching Service Board (Nasiru Nasoso, Okene), Palm Produce Board (Umaru Balogun, Ajaokuta), Transport Corporation (Mrs. Comfor Auyepkan, an erstwhile director-general from Kabba/Ijumu/Yagba) and the Sport Council (Mr. S. Majiyagbe, Kabba/Ijumu/Yagba) which are headed by the west Kogites were being branded as non-strategic by such critics when *Citizen* visited Kogi State penultimate week.

Also at issue in the gathering storm in Kogi State is the award of contracts which, many allege have been skewed to the disfavour of the west-erners.

Some of the critics who spoke with *Citizen* on condition of anonymity point to the appointment of commissioners, special advisers, directors-general and chairmen and members of the state's statutory bodies and corporations as evidence of Governor Audu's sins in this

Audu favouritism

regard.

Four of the seven state commissioners — Mr. Dan Kadiri (commerce/industry) from Ankpá, Mr. Peter Adama Dogwo (works) from Bassa, Dr. S.S. Ameh (justice) from Olamaboro and Dr. Paul Amodu (health) from Idah — are from Kogi East. The education, agriculture and finance ministries are however manned by Mr. Femi Ojo from Kabbá-Bunu, Alhaji Salami Atimah from Okene and Kotonkarfe-born Alhaji Usman Garba respectively. Although the sharing of the post of six special advisers equally between the two zones was seen as a conscious balancing act by the governor, the appointment, June 9, of chairmen and members of the boards of 22 government agencies revived fading fears of domination. Overt instances of discrimination, the overarching presence of such construction companies as Merab and Lampex in Lokoja said to be owned by prominent Igalas and the award of the contract for the supply of television equipment to Idristech, also owned by similar interests, are a few of the instances cited by the aggrieved "westerners."

To prove that they are being shortchanged, the Ebiras, Yorubas and Kotos of the west grouped in 10 local governments have been pointing at the 1991 census figures which put their populations size at 1,121,770 as against the 977,276 credited the six Igalá-occupied local councils. In effect, with 53.4 percent of the total population of Kogi State, the Western intelligentsia which cuts across the political divide, feels their cases unassailable. But others do not think so. Achimugu Amna, the managing director of Babo Ama Nigeria Limited, says the state government has given "enough consideration" to "inequality of population among different tribes of the state." As far as he is concerned, "fellow Kogites from the west are just bent on black-mailing the government of Abubakar Audu." On Ama's side is

a top campaign aide of Chief S.B. Awoniyi, the NRC senatorial candidate for Yagba West who argued that since the 1963 census was still valid as at the time of some of the appointments, the governor ought to be absolved from blame.

Alhaji Musa Etudaiye, the chairman of the NRC in Kogi State who pursued a similar line of argument, insisted to *Citizen* in Okene that although population is one of the basis upon which appointments and patronages are distributed, it is by no means exhaustive. "In a presidential system of government, the involvement of a people in the party in government also has some parts to play." Etudaiye debunked the idea that there are more commissioners on the Igalá side than the Kwara side. Said he: "Why are they not counting the SSG who is also a commissioner? The same way commissioners introduce memos into the council is the same way an SSG can introduce memos into the council and his memos may even take priority because he is the one slating

NRC state government. He told *Citizen*: "Lokoja must be the most comfortable capital out of the new states created and that is not a mean achievement. We have constructed houses for most of the top echelon of the service, we've revived electricity to Kotonkarfe Local Government. We have commissioned already the Ekuku Dam treatment plant to improve the water supply to the people of Ebiraland. We have reduced school fees from 50 Naira to 35 Naira."

That may well be so as not many Kogi indigenes are quite forthcoming right now to contradict the governor's image as a hardworking achiever. But if the incidence that played itself out, June 17, at the usually "docile" Kogi House of Assembly is anything to go by however, many questions relating to the appointments in Kogi State may continue to beg for answers for some time to come. That day, the legislators, unanimously endorsed a motion moved by Mr. Olusegun Sunday (SDP, Yagba) that the ap-



Governor Audu inspecting a project

them."

Etudaiye, who thinks that the domination issue may be more of an illusion fuelled by the homogeneity of the six Igalá local government areas than a reality however, urged fellow Kogites to cooperate in building a unified state by concentrating more on the achievements of the

pointment of two high court judges and two Khadis by the state government be nullified. The house also nullified the constitution of the state council of chiefs, judicial service commission and state civil service commission citing the amended Decree 50 of 1991.

By Yinka Tella

Detentions

Upholding the rule of law?

Government grants the "Gwagwalada Five" temporary freedom

To perceptive government watchers, the bail granted Chief Gani Fawehinmi, Dr. Beko Ransome-Kuti, Femi Falana, Baba Omojola and Segun Mayegun, the five human rights activists currently facing trial for alleged treason last Monday, did not come as a surprise. Justice minister, Clement Akpamgbo, had dropped the hint two weeks ago when the chairman of the Nigerian Bar Association, NBA, Mrs Priscilla Kuye accused him of aiding the federal military government in its attempts to subvert the rule of law and indeed render the judiciary, his primary constituency, redundant. Akpamgbo had denied the charge vigorously, and then went on to say that he had entered into dialogue with the presidency with a view to securing the release of the five human rights activists.

When the case came up for hearing last Monday, June 29, at the Gwagwalada Magistrate's Court in Abuja, Magistrate Muwada Balami promptly granted each of the human rights activists bail on payment of 20,000 Naira and provision of one surety. In a three and half hours judgement, Balami argued that the five men were Nigerians of considerable social standing and that he saw no reason why they should not be released. Rejecting the plea of the prosecution for more time to conclude its investigations, Magistrate Balami said, "The prosecution counsel has failed to tell this court how long it will take to finish this investigation. I cannot afford to keep the accused persons in continued detention."

While NBA members applauded Balami's ruling last Monday, there was apprehension that the federal military government would behave

true to type, and as it had done several times in the past, refuse to free the human rights activists. By Tuesday, June 30 however, Gani Fawehinmi, Femi Falana and Beko Ransome Kuti had arrived in Lagos. For Mrs Kuye, NBA's chairman, this was a victory for the rule of law. Speaking to *Citizen* on Wednesday morning, two days after the five human rights activists were released, Kuye described Magistrate Balami's ruling as historic because, in her own words, "ever since the beginning of this case, the judiciary has been on trial."

In a newspaper advertisement inviting members of the National Executive Committee, NEC, of the NBA to an emergency meeting on Sunday, June 21, to deliberate on government's continual disobedience of court orders, Mrs. Kuye had alluded to "current momentous events which pose serious dangers to the rule of law and threatened the honour and independence of the judiciary and the Nigerian Bar Association." At issue was government's refusal to obey the orders of three judges in Lagos asking that the human rights activists be produced in court.

The meeting resolved to condemn the flagrant disobedience of court orders by government. Prior to this, members of the NBA had boycotted court proceedings on June 10 to drive home their grouse against the federal government and its penchant for executive lawlessness. Clement Akpamgbo, minister of justice however went to court and obtained an injunction a day later restraining the NBA from boycotting court in Lagos and Ikeja. The relationship between the fed-



The four after the release

eral government and the NBA has been hostile ever since.

As the Babangida administration coasts home to the end of its tenure in January 1993, it has to device means of absorbing the barbs of its traditional critics, the five human rights activists included. On their arrival in Lagos, Beko Ransome-Kuti, Femi Falana, Baba Omojola, Gani Fawehinmi and Segun Mayegun held a press conference Wednesday, July 1, using the opportunity to condemn the recent disqualification of some senatorial and House of Representatives candidates and called for a sovereign national conference where Nigerians would chart a new course for the country. Said Dr. Kuti at the press conference, "The unjustified and unnecessary detention of some of us has given us all a renewed impetus to intensify our determination to campaign for a true and meaningful democracy as distinct from a bogus and lop-sided transition menu dictated and manipulated by one man".

The treason trial has been adjourned till October 23 but perceptive government watchers believe that government will not continue the case. Their thinking is that the Babangida administration would henceforth steer clear of anything that would rock the boat as its much-maligned transition programme enters the homestretch.

By Ike Okonta
with additional reports by
Samson Ojo

BUSINESS & ECONOMY

MAN

A prophet of doom?

Manufacturers Association of Nigeria's half-yearly report paints the same old picture of a dull future for the national economy

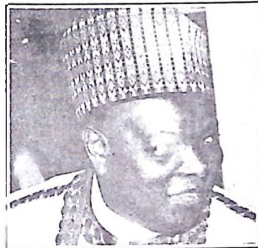
To the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) the half-yearly reports of the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (MAN) are the prophecies of Jeremiah, the Biblical seer of doom. The suspicion and cynicism with which the reports are held at the bank's headquarters in Lagos was evident in a comment by its corporate affairs manager, Mr. Tony Ede, when, after the release last week of the association's July-December 1991 report he told *Citizen*: "MAN has no research library, is not well-stocked and lives only on contributions from its members. So how can it be able to prepare well-researched reports?" Ede admitted he was yet to read the second-half report.

Ede's view would appear to be a continuation of the controversy generated by the differences in certain economic indices contained in CBN's yearly report for the year ended December 31, 1991 and MAN's report released last Monday. Both bodies disagreed on the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth percentage for the year (MAN, 4.3; CBN, 4.4) and capacity utilisation (MAN 37.38; CBN 39). Both however were agreed on one incontrovertible conclusion: the Nigerian economy is yet to get out of its quagmire.

MAN's picture of the industrial climate is a sorry sight. From the analysis presented in the report, the manufacturing sector has experienced no recovery. Capital spending for the last four years has been low while investment pattern has remained stagnant. A total capital expenditure of 312,802 million Naira was incurred by 37 of the 114 firms which responded to MAN's sampling. Of this amount, 218,799 mil-

lion Naira or 41 per cent was gulped by asset replacement. Despite the poor economic climate, firms were able to expand to the tune of 99,014 million Naira (31.6 per cent), to embark on new projects to the tune of 59.30 million Naira (19.0 per cent) and modify their plants which accounted for 25,689 million Naira or 8.2 per cent.

If the embarkation on new projects and the efforts by some firms to modify their plants or adapt them for the use of local raw materials are considered encouraging industrial leaps, MAN did not appear impressed when these were juxtaposed alongside overall decline in manufacturing investment for the two halves of last year: investment spend-



Adamu: government is extravagant

ing fell from 595.44 million Naira in January-June 1991 to 312,902 million Naira in June-December. This development, occasioned by sagging business confidence, low capacity utilisation, weak product demand and exorbitant cost of funds (high interest rates and a weak Naira) were seen as a reflection of uncertain prospects for the manufacturing sector.

MAN and the CBN are at loggerheads over these woes. A deputy

director at the apex bank maintained that manufacturers' inability to meet the challenge of sourcing raw materials locally rather than CBN's monetary policies is responsible for their plight. But opposing this claim, MAN's public relations manager, Mr. Victor Jegede, insisted that the enabling environment to make industrialists perform is not yet in place. He specifically mentioned the petrochemical and steel complexes which construction have been dragging for years but are not yet firmly rooted. Jegede asked: "How can manufacturers source their materials locally when the second phases of the petrochemical plant are not ready yet? Even the first phase which is already in operation is not reliable. This will definitely affect backward integration (local raw materials sourcing) and capacity utilisation".

The same story is told practically at Mobil Oil Nigeria Plc Apapa. The complex manager, Mr. Imafidon Osarenkhoe disclosed that the insecticide manufacturing plant, with a production capacity of 10 million cans per month, has been operating at only 20 per cent for the past two months due to irregular supply of gas from the Port-Harcourt petroleum refinery. In fact, the machines were idle when *Citizen* visited the plant for a first-hand observation. Mobil loses eight million Naira monthly as a result of the shortfall in production.

Manufacturing companies are also complaining that their woes are compounded by some government's policies concerning the procurement of raw materials. For instance, manufacturers of tea beverage using cocoa beans frown at the leeway given to the export of the beans in the bid to generate foreign exchange. The manufacturers are therefore engaged in a highly competitive struggle with wealthy exporters to buy their principal raw material from cocoa farmers at inflated prices.

Industrial users of steel are also mentioned by Jegede to be complain-

ing of the refusal by steel rolling mills to sell directly to them. The steel products are first sold to distributors who then sell to users at high prices. Alhaji Saka Alimi, a steel stockist at the Orile Steel Market, confirmed this trend, adding that distributors however try to peg prices within reasonable limits. But MAN wants this third party arrangement scrapped to facilitate both backward integration and capacity utilisation.



Osaarenkhoe: shortfall in production

Ironically, MAN's groans are not reflected in sales turnover recorded by its members.

Apart from the Motor Vehicle and Miscellaneous Assembly sector which experienced a decline from 223.43 million Naira in the second half of 1990 to 205.07 million Naira in the latter part of last year, sales turnover of other 104 firms rose from 4,321.31 million Naira to 5,984.29 million Naira within the same period. This represented a 38.4 per cent increase.

The big members of MAN have also been declaring jumbo profits for the year 1991. Nestle Food Nigeria Plc recently declared an after-tax profit of 39,748 millions Naira; Nigeria Breweries Plc, 145,369 million Naira, Lever Brothers Plc, 163 million Naira, Guinness Nigeria Plc, 60 million Naira and Dunlop Nigeria Plc, 31 million Naira. Percentage increase over 1990 figures ranges from 51 per cent for Dunlop to 500 per cent for John Holt.

MAN itself appears not impressed by these figures, against the background

of the prevailing economic climate. In fact, its acting director-general, Mr. Uzo Okeke, in an interview with a newspaper four weeks ago, described the profits as unrealistic when it is known that most firms have been producing at a lesser capacity though selling at higher prices and experiencing weak consumer demand. Efforts to get Okeke to comment proved abortive but Jegede believed the achievements were not impossible, since according to him, the big companies are in a position to "practice a prudent economy of scale." The explanation was that these companies usually buy their raw materials in bulk and can afford to sell their products at reasonably high prices since they are already household names. By these and some other cost-saving devices, they are able to beat inflation and other economic problems.

MAN's report emphasised four policy areas which the association feels should be meaningfully ad-



Ede: MAN is incompetent

dressed to resuscitate the manufacturing sector. These are: the exorbitant cost of credit arising from high interest rates, the instability of the exchange rate, double-digit inflation and the inadequate and deteriorating physical and social infrastructure. Incidentally, some of these areas are where MAN and the CBN have always been engaged in conflicting views. The March 5 deregulation of the foreign exchange market by the CBN has further affected all these areas negatively. Interest rates on lending by banks currently hover

above 30 per cent, the Naira is still not stable at about 19 Naira and 35 Naira to the dollar and the pound respectively, and official inflation figures for the period reviewed by MAN are 9.0 per cent although the association, quoting independent observers, argued that the rate of inflation for the relevant period was 15 per cent. With the March 5 deregulation and the Naira devalued 80 per cent, the consequent inflation is believed to be at a prevailing rate of 20 per cent.

This time around, MAN's report did not state any specific budget deficit by government although the excessive credit occasionally given it (government) by the CBN to finance overspending was mentioned. Last year, MAN in its January to June 1991 report strongly criticised government for incurring a 19 billion Naira deficit for the first half of the year and fuelling inflation. By the end of the year, a 35.3 million Naira deficit had been recorded.

The CBN attributed the huge deficit to unfavourable developments in the international oil market, depreciation of the exchange rate, increased debt service obligations, creation of more states and implementation of the transition programme. MAN, together with some other experts, however, believed the deficit could have been lessened if government had been prudent.

The story may not be different by the end of this year. Government's decision to purchase vehicles for all its military officers, the 10 million Naira donation to the Performing Musicians Association of Nigeria (PMAN), the 100 million grant given to the two political parties and its continued involvement in ECONOMICOM's activities in Liberia, are considered extra-budgetary expenses that could result in another big deficit. CBN's report for this year, when released, may disclose the true extent of government's deficit while strong criticisms on the issue are not unexpected in the association's next report.

By Tayo Odunlami

FOREX

Brighter days ahead**Experts say there is silver lining in the economy**

Even well intentioned solutions sometimes have an unpleasant way of becoming problems. The Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), though aimed at correcting the distortions and imbalances in the economy through prudent management of resources became bitter pill for Nigerians to swallow. But the most critical policy objective of the programme is the determination of the "realistic" exchange rate of the Naira. Unfortunately, after six years of rigorous implementation of the programme and the recent deregulation of the foreign exchange market, few people could now say whether or not we are nearer the goal.

What can be done to reverse this trend? Are there any survival strategy for the business in this volatile and uncertain economic climate? These issues were the focus of the two-day seminar organised by Citizen in conjunction with Bytes and Baker Associates, Kaduna.

Dr. Shamsuddeen Usman, the executive director, UBA who spoke on the topic: Perspectives on the Naira exchange rate, reviewed the evolution of the exchange rate and the various measures used by the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), in the determination of Naira, and concluded that the exchange rate management is complicated. He remarked that though it is understandable that because the exchange rate touches on all the sectors, the economy should generate so much public attention, but cautioned that such fundamental issues cannot be resolved on mere sentiments. He suggested as a way out that people should build confidence in themselves and in our economy, pointing that our image and perception are the best indicators for outsiders to see us. More importantly, Nigerians must engage in activities and sectors

that stimulate increased productivity.

Dr. Chi Chi Ashwe of the Savannah Bank Plc, spoke in similar vein. He identified six general misconceptions among Nigerians in the discussion of the economy. These include the notion of equating exchange rate of the Naira with national pride in the devaluation of the Naira. Others are realistic exchange rate of the Naira and stability of the exchange rate. Dr. Ashwe noted that since 1986 a realistic exchange rate has been a source of controversy. He said a realistic exchange rate can only obtain in a competitive market,

impossible.

However, it is not all gloom. Alhaji Kassim Bichi, managing director Northern Nigerian Investment Limited, (NNIL) in his paper Constraints opportunities and options for business survival, observed that notwithstanding the general malaise, the unstable exchange rate regime has created opportunities for business. He advised business organisations to explore exports markets in ECOWAS sub region and other countries, taking advantage of facilities provided by Nigerian export and import bank, NEXIM, the CBN, and small scale medium enterprises scheme (SME). He said companies could use the export proceeds to source foreign exchange and finance overseas expenditure. Other options include local fabrication of spare parts, backward integration, rationalisation of operations through



Haruna, Usman, Ajaekaye and Ashwe at the seminar

adding that, because foreign exchange market is not the only one in Nigerian economy, the market clearing rate of the FEM cannot be the true or realistic exchange rate. He said a realistic rate needs not be socially acceptable exchange rate because government or society may have other goals apart from efficiency. Similarly, he described the notion of attaining a stable exchange rate as mere wishful thinking. He said stability in exchange rate does not exist in isolation of other sectors of the economy. Dr. Ashwe identified government deficit financing and political instability as factors that make stability in exchange rate

product diversification and innovation, capital restructuring through equity. Alhaji Bichi however suggested that the government must provide the enabling environment through provision of infrastructural facilities. Alhaji Dahiru Mohammed, the managing director, New African Merchant Bank Limited sees the deregulation as a blessing to the banking industry. He said this time, only the banks with eye for innovation, well trained and motivated staff, would survive.

The two day seminar was rounded up with the distribution of certificates to the participants.

By Abu Mommoh

BUSINESS BRIEFS

NRC for restructuring

The Technical Committee on Privatisation and Commercialisation (TCPC), has inaugurated an 11-member working group to restructure the Nigeria Railways Corporation (NRC). The working group has Dr. George Banjo, an expert in transport studies from the University of Lagos as its chairman. It also has Mr. Eley Saleeby of World Bank as its adviser. Inaugurating the working

group, TCPC chairman, Dr. Hamza Zayyad said that the Nigerian Railways has the potentials for being a catalyst in the economic development of Nigeria.

He however observed that today, the Nigeria Railways accounts for only one per cent of the freight traffic and a miserable one per cent of the passenger traffic in the country thus, making it irrelevant in the nation's transportation system.

Cadbury donates to charity

Cadbury Nigeria Plc, has donated over 15 million Naira to various projects, institutions and individuals in the first quarter of this year as part of its social responsibility funding.

According to the company's annual report, it contributed a total of 388.8 million Naira to various causes in the 1991 fiscal year. Mr. Chike Morah, Cadbury's operations director said



Morah: handing over materials to Mrs. Yoshida

Texaco records profit

Texaco Nigeria Plc has recorded a profit after taxation of 43.7 million Naira for the year 1991. This represents an increase of 33.6 million Naira over the

previous year. The company's turnover rose from 653.6 million Naira in 1990 to 881.5 million Naira in the year under review.

As a result of the impressive performance,

Energy

Triumph of hope

The federal government last week released funds to offset the entitlements of coal corporation pensioners overdue for more than 20 years. The amount released was about 46 million Naira for payment of their entitlements, operational debts to NEPA and their contractors.

Receiving the federal government cheque for the amount, Nwachukwu Oside, 68, chairman of the corporation's 4,000 member pensioners association expressed appreciation for the gesture adding: "We are appreciative of the federal government's gesture, but it's rather late as many of our members have died of hunger and frustrations long ago". A similar problem has been confronting Nigeria Railway Corporation which is finding it difficult to pay its workers salaries and gratuities. Fortunately though, government had in the past tried to turn

around the corporation and alleviate the suffering of its workers, through occasional grants.

But as pointed out last week, the need to assist the coal corporation appears to have been lost on previous regimes. The problem however, is that government life line may have come too late as many of the pensioners *Citizen* spoke to last week complained that the present high inflation occasioned by low value of the Naira, would certainly make nonsense of whatever they will be paid. To cushion the effect of inflation on pensioners, Luke Obi, chairman, board of directors of the Nigerian Coal Corporation appealed to the federal government for a speedy review of the pension benefits of workers saying that to maintain the present rate (pension) is to insult the pensioners who have put in so many years in the service of their nation.

the board of directors, of the company has recommended the payment of a dividend of 18 kobo per share totalling 20.4 million Naira which is 5.7 per cent higher than the 19.3 million Naira paid the previous year. The chairman of the company, Mr. Stephen O. Farrell attributed the increase in the company's earnings to the increase in the price of regulated products by the NNPC.

He described the gov-

ernment's reduction of company income tax rate from 40 per cent to 35 per cent in the 1992 budget as a step in the right direction. He acknowledged the supportive role of all the staff of the company and extended his appreciation to them for their continuous hardwork and dedication to the company.

By Tola Sunday
and Tony Oke
in Enugu

AFRICA

OAU

Quest for new identity

African leaders, once again, have managed to stick together but can they manage the continent's mounting problems?

The continent's leaders who met for three days (June 30 — July 1) in the Senegalese capital, Dakar, had reckoned without the dynamism of the South African situation and, for once, had been ready to give it a slip on their agenda.

During their last summit in Abuja, the African heads of state and government praised South African president, Frederick de Klerk, for "courageously" taking steps to "abolish" apartheid. They resolved to encourage him to pursue reform all the way. Since then de Klerk has been invited to many African capitals.

In all probability, de Klerk would have been invited to take a seat in Dakar. But then the Boipatong killings and the consequent African National Congress's withdrawal from the convention on a democratic South Africa (CODESA), pushed South Africa back on top of the agenda. Because the summiters were not ready, they very nearly made a mess of it.

ANC president Nelson Mandela handed them a strong indictment. "An untenable situation," he said, "has arisen where Pretoria claims the main African states as its friends in the period of violence." Defend-

ing its decision last April to invite the South African president to Abuja, the Nigerian government said in Dakar that it was to give the South Africans a practical lesson on democracy.

Reluctantly, such friends of apartheid accepted to go along with the ANC in calling for an urgent meeting of the United Nations Security Council to discuss ways of ending the violence in South Africa.

Next, the leaders turned their attention to the proposed Pan-African peace-keeping force, the African version of the American rapid deployment force, to intervene in conflicts within the continent. This idea, mooted first by Ghana's late leader, Kwame Nkrumah in the early 60's, but rejected by his colleagues, has been brought up again by Nigeria and Egypt. Nigeria is one of the countries contributing troops to a peace-keeping mission of the regional Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in war-torn Liberia.

Said its foreign minister Ike Nwachukwu: "The idea makes a lot of sense to us in Nigeria." But not so to heads of state of Sudan and Er-

apealed to him, but he could not accept it knowing that some OAU member states supported the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) fighting his government in the south of the country. The plan was shelved because it failed to gain an unanimous approval.

The leaders showed greater political will on the spread of the AIDS epidemic on the continent, where World Health Organisation (WHO) statistics show that close to seven million Africans have been infected by the disease, for which no cure has been found. They agreed to initiate national programmes to educate their nationals on ways to halt the spread of the disease.

They also moved to unstrap the fund-strapped continental body. Nine member states in Dakar brought their contributions up to date. Altogether, OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim smiled back to his Addis Ababa headquarters with over six million US dollars (120 million Naira).

President Abdou Diouf of Senegal who hosted the 28th summit is the new OAU chairman, taking over from Nigeria's president Ibrahim



Past and present chairmen, Babangida and Diouf

itrea, who saw it as an interference in the internal affairs of their countries. Sudan's Omar Hassan El-Bashir told his colleagues in Dakar that the idea

Babangida. Egypt will host the next summit in June next year.

By Tawey Zakka
with agency reports

Algeria An ominous silence

Algerians hold their breath as they
mourn their slain leader

Muhammed Boudiaf broke his long voluntary exile last January to head the military backed interim government. On June 29, President Boudiaf was murdered in the eastern city of Annaba by an assailant dressed in a police uniform. He was addressing a conference at the cultural centre. About 12 people were treated for wounds in a hospital in Annaba after the assassination of President Boudiaf.

He won a considerable admirers when he accepted the country's leadership then on the brink of anarchy last January. The embattled president, Chadli Benjedid, had cancelled the second round of the elections when it became obvious that the Islamic Salvation Front, (FIS) was poised to take over power.

With the charged political climate, the ruling National Liberation Front, (FNL), invited Boudiaf, a veteran of the Algerian war of independence, to take over the country's mantle of leadership. The late president had since worked tirelessly to pull the back from the brink of chaos.

First the high security council declared a state of emergency on the country. Then it began a systematic crack down on the strong holds of the Islamic movement sweeping most of its leaders including Professor Abbas Madani and Sheikh Ali Bilnaj into detention. Hundreds of the FIS supporters were also arrested and detained in several centres in the north of the country. President Boudiaf justified the crack down on the ground that FIS leadership had rejected his peace overtures.

Some analysts believe that despite these sweeping changes there

are elements in the army security force that are loyal to the FIS. The president had to contend with another front within his government who perceived that his radical reforms are likely to erode their privileges and are prepared to sacrifice him to protect the status quo.

Yet no one expects that Boudiaf would pay with his own blood. His death last Monday sent shock waves and fear throughout the world that Algeria might glide into political turmoil. Reactions from world lead-



Boudiaf: sad end

ers were unanimous in their condemnation of the killing. United Nations secretary general, Dr Boutros Ghali condemned the act of terrorism and expressed his condolence to the Algerian government. The opening session of the OAU heads of state summit in Dakar, Senegal was slightly delayed and a minute silence was given in honour of the slain leader. The National Liberation Front said the killing is a mark of failure. It blamed the state



Madani: facing trial

for not doing enough to protect its leader in spite of the state of emergency. It said that it was only President Boudiaf who was capable of preventing Algeria from disaster and its fight against Islamic fundamentalism.

But the Algerian immigrant group in France attributed the president's assassination to a just retribution for his halting the country's march towards Islam. The outlawed Islamic Front has however denied complicity in the killing.

The High Security Council on Thursday named 67 year old former diplomat, Ali Kahfi as the new leader. Kahfi, also a veteran of the war of independence was a member of the five man governing council that took over power last January. Mr. Kahfi has appealed for a national reconciliation but pledged to continue in the footsteps of late President Boudiaf. Reports from Algeria said many people particularly the youths received the appointment of Kahfi with a shrug.

Last Wednesday, hundreds of Algerians mourned the death of their slain leader who was buried at the heroes cemetery in Algiers. His assassination came two days after the treason trials for the FIS leaders opened. They are charged with insurrection and face death penalty if found guilty.

By Abu Mommoh
with agency reports

WORLD

Sarajevo

Heading for peace?

Calm returns as the three months siege on
Sarajevo is lifted

After three long months of hunger and destruction, the siegelaidd around Sarajevo by the Serbian — dominated former national Yugoslav army had been lifted. Airlift of food and medicine by the United Nations began Thursday July 2; and the same day units of French and Canadian troops took up positions to secure Sarajevo Airport and distribute supplies.

According to General Lewis Mackenzie, head of the UN Protection Force in Sarajevo, the deployment of UN military observers had actually begun the previous Monday. But until late Thursday it was not considered safe to be anywhere near Sarajevo.

After the siege had been lifted, one of the Bosnian Serb commanders, Milan Grohaber tried to explain why the city was encircled. "From the first moment," he said, "all we wanted to do is not to give opportunity to muslims, you know, to bring in some weapons to fight us". Grohaber commands troops loyal to Serb leader Radovan Karadzic.

Karadzic's forces inherited the armaments of the former Yugoslav state and continue to receive arms from outside the country, but they say they feel threatened by the government of Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic, who is a muslim. Yet 500,000 people had remained homeless and trapped inside the city unable to help themselves in this pre-dominantly muslim state.

Last month Izetbegovic dispatched his foreign minister to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe meeting in Helsinki appealing for help. Other appeal to the UN to launch an Iraq-style rescue of the Bosnian muslims

fell on deaf ears.

When the scale of slaughter and destruction passes beyond "acceptable" levels, observers say, a flurry of activities unfurled. But it was more of "politics" and remnants of Franco-American rivalry for supremacy in Europe than real help to Bosnians. And it all became clear when the Americans threatened to intervene directly. French President Francois Mitterand, in an operation described as spectacular, landed in Sarajevo Tuesday to help re-open the airport. He had gambled that his presence and personal authority would help bring the warring factions to the negotiating table. The dangerous gamble paid off; and as he returned his helicopter was strafed with gunfire.

The following day French troops arrived at almost the same time with

UN presence required to maintain peace or change the situation on the ground in the republic is unlikely to be made available.

Canadian troops travelling overland from Croatia. British, Egyptian and Ukrainian troops were expected to arrive Friday. As he left, Mitterand was heard to say, "Europe can manage its problems itself." Symbolically he had taken European leadership. Not everyone was impressed. The vice-president of Bosnia dismissed the whole UN operation.

"It is a stunt aimed at assuaging western guilt over Sarajevo's ordeal, "and it will contribute only slightly to easing the city's plight."

But according to Fred Eckat, spokesman for UN forces in Sarajevo, the international community will not give up. He said the negotiating efforts of Lord Carrington, chairman of the European Community peace conference on Yugoslavia would bear fruit. Carrington is expected in Sarajevo on Friday.

Little may change in Bosnia — Herzegovina even if there is relative peace at Sarajevo Airport because the level of UN presence required to maintain peace or change the situation on the ground in the republic is unlikely to be made available. But what exactly led to the current impasse?

After the dissolution of the Yugoslav state, Serbian Chetniks set their eyes on Bosnia including its historic capital, Sarajevo. Serbian forces securely positioned in the mountains on the outskirts began shelling Sarajevo. They have been doing so since April 6.

On May 2, President Izetbegovic was kidnapped by the army. The following day muslims retaliated by ambushing a 40-vehicle military convoy and holding 80 Serbian soldiers who had earlier been released in exchange. The Serbians went on rampage killing men, women, children desecrating and destroying mosques. EC mediator Cohl Doyle described the attack on Sarajevo as "random and indiscriminate; and absolutely unacceptable." Marrick Goulding the UN envoy who helped in the mediation however, blamed muslims for provoking the savage attack.

On May 5 Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic said his country was no longer responsible for his army's actions in Bosnia. This leaves the army free to do as it pleases while Serbia itself escapes any criticism.

By Adamu Adamu with agency reports

Q.

Which Party is really the winner?

A.



SDP



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ELECTION	SDP	NRC
* Councillors	3765	3360
* Members of the States Houses of Assembly	626	541
* Governors	14 (One By-Election)	15
* Control of Local Government Chairmen	315	274
* Control of States Houses of Assembly	18 (OneTie)	11
TOTAL	4738	4201



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Venue: *L'Hotel Eko Meridien, Victoria Island, Lagos*

Date: *Saturday, July 11, 1992*

Time: *4.00 p.m. prompt*

Admission is strictly by invitation

All enquiries should be directed to:

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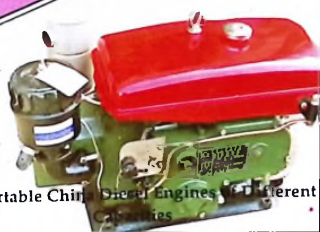


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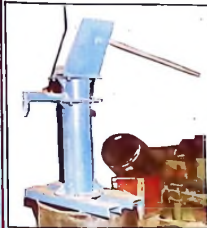
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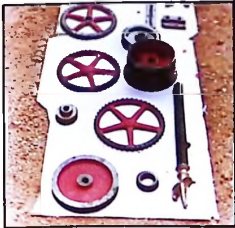
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PRIVATE EYE

Goodies of human rights.....

Two days after enigmatic, indefatigable president of the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights, CDHR, Dr. Beko Ransome Kuti was released on bail by a Gwagwalada chief magistrate court, Lagos High Court has ordered the federal government to pay him 50,000 Naira as compensation for illegal detention. In this era of sapped living, that is some fat dough. By this development it is now clear that one need not be gainfully employed to earn 50,000 Naira annually. If I were Kuti, every year I would come up with an irritating 20 point pamphlet an "why Babangida or whoever takes over from January '93, must go." One should also pour petrol on any brewing students crisis or fuel riots, condemn the harassment of journalists and so-called social critics like Gani Fawehinmi and bravo! the plan will be perfect.

At 4.15am on May 19 of every year I would keep vigil until 200 armed policemen arrive at my residence to drag me into their custody. Then the following day a counter affidavit would be prepared that will entitle me to be detained on the order of the vice-president. During the detention I would eat FOC, good food and feign illness to get FOC medical treatment. Of course, back home, I would have arranged to have all the good old human rights activists shout themselves hoarse demanding my release. My daughter would swear an affidavit on the illegal method of my arrest and many suits will litter the courts demanding my release.

Meanwhile, I will be away on sight seeing in the cool recesses of a Gwagwalada detention camp, eat-

ing and resting. Ah! some holiday at last! Then the court would order my immediate release, and the government will turn a deaf ear after all Decree 2 is supreme! And, my holiday would continue — before I am paraded before a magistrate court in Gwagwalada for treason. Some innovation? Not to bother, as the court finally grants me bail (oh! FOC food is over) I return to the hardship of Lagos Streets worrying about what to do next to court another arrest. But I am next spared the agony of worrying for too long by the 50,000 Naira compensation. Aha! if I were Kuti, I would go underground to enjoy my thousands, assuming it would be



promptly paid. If I were Kuti, I would not bother slaving away at any wretched hospital only to be paid peanuts for salary. Rather, I would concentrate on the defence of human rights, earn cool 50,000 Naira and have an all expenses paid holiday in Gwagwalada. With this, no one can tell me that the new right is fundamentally wrong!

..... and blues for destitutes

The academics of formidable Academic Staff Union of Universities, ASUU, went on strike not too long ago. As one ASUU poster puts it "my boss is a comedian, the wages he pays me are a joke." I agree, why should egg heads be in a position where they can't eat eggs? Then came the tanker drivers, before them air traffic controllers, not too long ago medical doctors were also restless. So all these people think they are suffering eh? Well, have they given a thought to the destitutes?

For these privileged Nigerians who think they are deprived the destitutes disagree. Last week about 30 of them got together in Benin City to protest against the prevailing economic hardships. The placards car-

ried by the destitutes had the following inscriptions Destitutes protest poor conditions of living. We also need government help, We need to be cared for. It was a serious affair as the protesting destitutes disrupted traffic in central Benin. Well, if ASUU, NMA and other privileged pressure groups think they have a monopoly of protesting and getting concessions from Uncle Sam, the Nigeria Association of Destitutes, NAD, has joined the league. Perhaps in the not too distant future NAD president will be seen negotiating wages with the industrial arbitration panel. Until then, long live NAD, long live those who are cheerful alms givers!

POETS' NEST

For the refugees

They were uprooted from their homes. Their relations were murdered in cold blood. The lucky ones escaped to the safety of surrounding towns nursing wounds of the brutal event. In destitution they depend on relief materials from sympathisers. Home is so far away, a heap of destruction, and abode of carnage.

Return to Zango

Let fear dominate you not
For the greatest enemy is fear itself
Have control over thy fears
Your fields are screaming for care
Your homes longing for thy presence
Your dead feeling quite deserted
Return to Zango with no fears
As the injured one
Have no fear
Truth is stronger than outlandish claims
let the hyena know
The lamb's innocence spelt no frailty
As in innocence lurk greater power
Who displays force but the weak
Afraid silent he may be though weak.

Supplication for violence

A prayer for peace
Concealing a threat
Exhortation to war
A prayer for peace in maligning tones
A prayer for peace exhorting destruction and deaths
Hmm! a prayer for peace?
All fathers did that
When no real child of theirs
Is lost or known to be maimed
A member theirs hacked was to death
Answers to violent prayers for peace.

On violence

Violence is left not to stand alone
When one stands, stand another beside it.
Violence curbed is not with sweet

words alone
As justice is best cure to it
The guilty is not acquitted scotfree
As deemed he his deeds most honourable acts
Truth is not veiled with guile and deceit
For manifest truth is like the appearing sun
Though too high but clear and true
Make them not high jump like fleeing Kangaroos
Over the truth to secure secularism's victory
Cure injustice with nectar of justice
And injury with the like thereof
Mounting the peak of civilised principles
Removing with ease homicidal orgies in realm ours.

Kabir Abubakar Mohammad

Who cares if we gaw!

The lion to growl his advice we should where it hurts
so battle line across the gate is clearly drawn
Now that our patience is driving into dawn
Soonest guys might start getting hit in the street
Where we'd been over-taxed even for a kit
Not because the piscine age has gone
Just because the Aquarian age has come.

Ask the landlord and his agents
Who should pay who for the genets?
In this world whereby we should be left alone
In this town whereby care has long foregone.

And then the policeman shall come
Stinking with alcohol, bullet and gun
The parson shall scream quoting how we'd broken the law
Who cares what you do if we gawl
while for centuries we'd cried
Buried in the street we'd died.

Sarmi Biafra Ukan

poets'
nest



His golden credo

Hypertensive, surely
His preference
In dying fighting for rights—
Our human rights:
To know, to say, to live
Than alive,
Yes yet alive:
Living for wrongs
Their human wrongs
What his golden credo
It is.

Obynna Chylekezi

To the orbit

Come gently though this knotted bridge
To our moon path strewn in fur winds
Come on like a chameleon on this fragile bridge
Through to this armful branch
Let us with our turgid talons
Hold to this billed branch
After our up homecoming
Up, up here, the burgeoning birds
Singing, dancing to an unknown song.
Come on gently, the nurse of the journey
Come on doctor onto the ark:
The log cabin of ancient oyster
Come on like the chameleon
Escaping from the intervening master
Come on teacher the thinker of the times
Clutching your papyrus
Come on
Into our orbit, we go
To dodge
The fire balls of intervening master.
Alex A. Maiyanga

ARTS

Folklore

To the roots

Nigerian Folklore Society draws up a grand plan to salvage folklore from extinction and launch Nigeria into cultural El Dorado...

Just think of it: *Tuwon Shinkafa*, that rare delicacy, the favourite of Nigerians up north; *Isi Ewu*, which no easterner ever misses; *Iyan*, that every *Shon* of the *sho*il (Apologies Olunlayo) in the west cannot do without; Akwa Ibom's *affang* and *edikan-Ikon*, Urhobo's *banga* soup, suddenly becoming main dishes at Abuja's NICON-NOGA, Lagos Sheraton, Eko L'Meridian, and other five star hotels worldwide. And instead of chefs in tall caps and aprons you have the men in traditional loincloths, the women decked up in wrappers as they go about taking orders...

What of miniaturising the works of such great Nigerian artists as Ben Enwonwu, Bruce Onobrakpeya, Uche Okeke with millions of the copies finding their way to international fairs thereby fetching much needed dollars and pounds sterling to the country? Or linking the native weavers of *aso-oke* and *babanriga* scattered around the country with the textile industries? And exporting cane chairs, traditional ornaments, folk medicine, distillery and architecture to the international community? After all, didn't African traditional medicine predate modern practice? The first skyscrapers built in Africa with burnt bricks (remember the pyramids of Egypt) and *Ogogoro* (local gin) technology a thousand years old as against imported Gordon gin begun only in 1897?

How about having a Calendar of Nigerian festivals: *Okebadan*, *Agemo*, *Argungu*, *Igue*, *Oshun*, *Ofala*... (every community has at least one!) compiled and distributed worldwide to potential foreign tourists.

Citizen, July 6, 1992

ists (many already through the annual Osun festival of Oshogbo) who to the bargain would also be detained on such memorable sites as the Obudu Ranch, the Long Juju of Arochuku, Ikogosi warm spring, Ethiopia River (the cleanest river in Africa), Mambilla Plateau?...

Grand? The Nigerian Folklore Society formed 12 years ago in Zaria, has even moved up sleeves: Offering financial assistance to researchers for and publication of a multi-volume Nigerian folklore and directory on all the languages of the country; making Nigerian folklore and various media of exploitation more accessible through print (the society for now publishes an annual Journal of Nigerian folklore and a quarterly *Folklore News*), electronic, audio-visual aids, phonograph film and videograph. Then build a befitting African Folklore centre in Abuja



Ndoyako: heads folklore committee

complete with an archival unit, a seminar room, an hotel, an amphitheatre and craft village! Agrees, Dr. G. G. Darah, Chairman *Daily Times* editorial board and president of the society, "The Abuja Project is a monumental one. We shall enter it with all our talents alert, the cost

reduced to the barest minimum and design reflecting the best in African traditional architecture".

Even then, the Society requires a whopping 100 million Naira to actualise tall dreams. Says Darah, "we plan to recover the traditions of Nigeria, of Africa and utilise same for the betterment of the present. We need resources to do the work we have set for ourselves. Luckily, for us, our folklore is rich in goodwill, hospitality, neighbourly assistance.... If we succeed, Nigeria will become the centre of civilisation in Africa..."

Such goodwill was manifested, Thursday June 18 at the National Theatre at the fund launch with Bashorun M.K.O Abiola as the chief launcher, doling out 0.1 million Naira and the *Etsu Nupe*, chairman, Alhaji Umaru Ndayako, parting with 0.02 million Naira. In all 25 million Naira was garnered from a broad spectrum of appreciative Nigerians present at the occasion. The firm of Ellens Konsult led by the managing director, Samuel Aigbokhan, even pledged to handle all the electrical works of the centre valued at five million Naira free of charge and a computer company vowed to put down computers at the centre's disposal.

But do these not still fall short of the projected 100 million Naira? Replies Darah, "As an event it was very successful. The primary task was to publicise the event and give it legitimacy. The Lagos launching was the first point of call. Next, we are moving to Abuja where the President will lay the foundation stone of the centre. Thereafter we would move round the 30 states of the federation. By the time we finish, we would certainly have overshot the target".

Such optimism is also anchored on his proposed trip to the United States this week where he is scheduled to host fund raising luncheons and dinners with Chambers of Commerce and Allied Organisations to advance the folklore cause. Britain is also on the bill, though much later in the year.

By Oji Onoko

MEDIA WATCH

DTN

Giving voice to the city

Abuja, the nations new capital
gets its first daily paper

The crowd was not a huge one, partly because the venue was changed from Sheraton Hotel and Towers to NICON NOGA HILTON on the launching day and partly because it was obvious the special guest of honour, President Babangida could not be there in person since he was in Dakar for the OAU summit. But what the crowd lacked in size was more than made up in its calibre and eventually in the mind-boggling amount with which the chief launcher launched the paper.

The occasion was the launching of *Abuja Times*, the first daily, in the words of the managing director of Daily Times of Nigeria PLC Chief Tola Adeniyi, "to be edited and printed in our new federal capital." Before *Abuja Times*, the new federal capital has had first *Abuja Newsway*, a weekly published in Abuja but printed elsewhere and the *The Nation* planned as a daily but which has remained an ailing weekly about a year since it first started.

On hand to represent President Babangida as guest of honour, was Professor Sam Oyoibaire, the information minister. The chief launcher was Alhaji Hassan Adamu, *Wakilin Adamawa* and chairman of NICON.

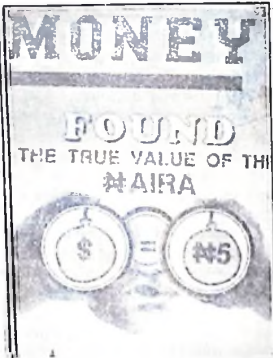
There were speeches by the chairman of the occasion, Mr. Dagogo Jaja, one time managing director of DTN, Chief Adeniyi the special guest of honour as well as by the chief launcher. In between there was a musical drama by the Niger State cultural troupe.

In his speech the president congratulated the board and management of DTN for its foresight and faith in Abuja which it has demon-

strated by establishing a daily paper "in the world's newest and fastest growing capital." He hoped other businesses will take DTN's cue. In the course of the speech the presi-

was away at the OAU summit, but sent a cheque of 25,000 Naira.

As Abuja Times was being launched in the federal capital with fanfare, yet one more magazine was joining the crowded magazine market quietly. The first and so far the only edition of the magazine appeared in April without fanfare. With a most likely title of *Money*, the magazine, according to its publishers, Alfa Communications Ltd, Lagos, will focus on the use and misuse of money



The maiden editions of *Abuja Times* and *Money*

dent took time off to assess his regime's human right's record. "My government" he said, "has had excellent relationship with the press, inspite of everything." He was emphatical that the press was "the freest of any military regimes." To which claim there were more chuckles than claps.

The climax was the launching. Here the *Wakilin Adamawa* lived up to his billing as "a generous and large-hearted man," in the words of one of the masters of ceremony, Medeline Tador. The *Wakilin* launched the paper with 500,000 Naira, perhaps the largest at any similar launching. Coming a distant second were NICON with 25,000 Naira and Chief MKO Abiola, who

as "the pulse of business." Accordingly the first edition has as its cover story its own claim that it has "Found the true value of the Naira." This value, it said, is five Naira to the dollar.

But as if to anticipate the criticisms that are bound to follow, Remi Akano, its Editor-In-Chief, said "we know that both the methodology and its conclusions may be controversial. We would be disappointed, even shocked if they are not."

The magazine is essentially a business magazine but it also reports on politics, and obviously to relieve the reader from a large dose of statistics, there is even a sports section.

By Mohammed Haruna

Citizen, July 6, 1992

Productivity in the mountain-top

Title: *Increasing productivity in Nigeria*
Editors: G.A. Usman et al (4)
Publishers: Macmillan Nigeria Publishers Ltd for the National Productivity Centre.
Date of Publication: 1991
Price: 250 Naira
Reviewer: Mallam El-Bishak

Increasing productivity in Nigeria is a golden egg that drops fresh from the warm belly of the National Productivity Centre, Lagos. The 586 sentence-strewn and variously diagrammed pages of the fat, green, soft cover are adorned with an enchanting pearl of researched facts and lucid blend of refined linguistic expressions of a vibrant Nigerian economy. The contents richly celebrate the rare wisdom of no fewer than 178 top-flight speakers and participants across sectors at the maiden National Conference of the National Productivity Centre held from December 1 to 3, 1987 at Owerri, the Imo State capital.

The book excites nostalgia of the past — purveys a magic carpet that travels down memory lane to 1958. It was the year Nigeria first discovered crude oil or rather struck the 'black gold'. Ever since, she had lived opulently with the Midas' touch in an 'oil boom' era that reigned till the turn of the 1980s. But, the oil glut of the early 80s in the middle of the global economic recession mocked Nigeria to her face. The situation coldly betrayed her false lifestyle or overdependence on oil money from business partners abroad. The truth soon dawned that Nigeria's depleted money was a windfall after all, not necessarily the result of her productivity. The drift began to set in: low balance of payment, huge external debts, hollow foreign reserves, massive devaluation of the local currency (Naira), mass retrenchment of workers resulting in high unemployment

rate, cut-throat inflation, poor standards of living, erosion of welfare incentives to workers, incessant civil unrest, marginalisation of the middle class and pauperisation of the lowly class, low capacity utilisation of manufacturing industries, winding up of factories, etc. Some of these ills had been papered over by the oil wealth of Nigeria who had also played "Father Christmas" to needy African countries. Now is the moment of truth. The way must be shown out.

In the potpourri of ideas traded in this book, the federal government's concern for a reinvigorated economy is brought home through its Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) policies.

The panacea of our endemic economic problems emanating from low productivity is analysed in 54 chapters juggled along 15 sections representing the number of dialoguing sessions at the Owerri conference. The headings of the different sections speak succinctly of their contents. These are dovetailed by a communique of the conference that proffers fresh suggestions on how to concretise productivity consciousness in the country.

The book is as mutely intellectual as it is controversial especially as it relates to the valid premium placed on labour in the hierarchical ranks of productivity. It kicks off with a disarming proclamation through former labour minister, Major-General I.O.S. Nwachukwu (rtd) that, "sometimes people prefer to take the easy way out by regarding productivity as an abstract idea. But this need not and should not be so. Viewed as the measure of hardwork, or in terms of the quantity and quality of the output of hardwork, or in terms of the quantity and quality of the output of goods and services by a worker, productivity is a very tangible matter which can easily be measured in concrete terms, whether in the area

of a nation's agricultural enterprises or in the office work of the bureaucrat or the worker in the public or private sector of a nation's economy".

A crucial question posed in the book by R.O. Agoro is that, "If therefore calls for reasoning that if a worker has not enough rest, no good accommodation, no good healthcare, and no means to good transportation how come is this man expected to produce his best talk less of increasing productivity"? (25). These quotations sum up the view that the issue of productivity must be addressed at three levels: The government, the organisation and the worker.

The book reminds us of a similar depressing situation that has existed in Britain, America, Japan and China, and how through conscious effort at high productivity many socio-economic problems have been reduced to the barest minimum.

The solutions to Nigeria's productivity problems are legion. The communique therefore asserts that, "factors that determine productivity should be addressed. These factors are: technological, managerial, cultural, and psychological". (586). It goes to define them in broad terms.

This is one volume that is hardly tarnished by the stains of common errors and bad print. Its weakness, if any, is perhaps the seeming over-academisation of productivity which is basically seen from the vantage of the ivory tower through with some allowance for out-of-school pragmatism. But, that should be expected of a work of this nature.

Yet, the book is an invaluable compendium of rain-fresh data and elucidating discourse which cannot be found anywhere else. It sparkles in its excellent purity, towering above pretentious intellectualism that is the order of the day. It offers itself readily to the inquisitive reader as an irresistible companion of study.

SPORTS

Junior World Cup

Eagles' tough task

A CAF circular throws Flying Eagles camp into disarray, but James Peters says he is up to the task

The junior national team chief coach, James Peters, has a seemingly daunting job to grapple with. The man who is saddled with the responsibility of ensuring that Nigerian junior national team, the Flying Eagles, qualify for next year's junior world cup, has just had his almost perfect team dissolved. The former BCC Lions coach now faces the challenge of raising a winning team before August, when Nigeria is billed to meet Congo in the qualifying round of 1993 junior World Cup.

James Peters and his coaching crew



Peters: equal to the task

were just settling down for the last lap of their preparatory training to raise a formidable junior national team at their camp at Ahmadu Bello Stadium, Kaduna, when the shocker came. A circular from the Confederation of Africa Football (CAF), made available to Coach Peters by Nigeria Football Association (NFA) stated that the junior world cup

would now be under-20 and not under-21 as had initially indicated by the same continental football governing body. According to the CAF directives, only players who were born on August 1973 or there after are qualified to feature in the team. The Flying Eagles' coach had no option but to drop players born in August 1972 to July 1973. That instantly threw the junior team into disarray since most of the key players regarded as the nucleus of the team were affected. Among those

dropped are such skillful and utility players like John Zaki, Jide Oguntuwase, Christopher Edem, Akinwumi Akinseinde. Others are Joseph Dosu, Gazali Mohammed, Abdusalam Ibrahim and Victor Achebe.

The new development, unsettling as it is, however, does not seem to scare the well-tested junior national team coach. James Peters

told *Citizen* at his Ahmadu Bello Stadium camp in Kaduna that he was not scared by the latest CAF directive that has forced him to reshuffle a team he has worked so hard for almost two months to put in place. He explained that rebuilding the team with just over a month before the first qualifying match, "does not give us sleepless nights."

The Flying Eagles coach is banking on some good players he had come across in the course of series of screening exercises he had conducted along with his coaching crew. Among those screened are players whose ages fall within the under-20 bracket, as demanded by CAF. Such players, according to Peters, will be groomed along with the remaining members of the old team. The flying Eagles coach is also doing everything possible to put in place a perfect team before the August show-down. He has invited young but reliable players some of who graduated from the under-17 team, to strengthen the new squad he is putting together. Among them are fleet footed Patrick Mancha, Andrew Aikhomogbe, Stephen Musa, Precious Monye, Chinedu Anazonwu, Hakeem Ogunlade and Teslim Faturin. Others include Audu Sule, Umar Sule, Nura Mohammed, Charles Kadiiri, Ali Ahmed, Peter Anyanobi and Obinwa Obiakor.

Although Coach Peters has many highly skilled and experienced players in the above names to form a good team from, time is surely not on his side. He told *Citizen* that one of his biggest tasks is blending the boys — getting the boys to understand themselves and play as a perfect team before August. Even in this regard he did not envisage much difficulties if only the players and their clubs placed national interests above selfish gains. "Some of the boys," explained Peters, "have been playing together in the camp. It is just a question of replacement. We were not caught napping."

The Flying Eagles coach believes that a perfect team will be in place by next month (August) if the old and the newly invited players comply with the NFA directive that they should return to camp for intensive training by last week Friday, July 3. Any player who fails to make the camp on that day, according to Peters, may be recommended for stiff disciplinary measures. The coach also hinted that once the players returned



Aikhomogbe and Monye: new entrants

to camp last Friday, it might not be possible to release the players to their

clubs again until after their qualifying match against the Congolese

Olympic team named

Nigeria has finally made public the number of athletes and team officials that will represent her at the Olympic Games in Barcelona, Spain. According to Chief Alex Akinyele, the chairman of the National Sports Commission, Nigeria's medal prospects in the world's most glamorous

sporting events has been placed on the shoulders of 77 athletes and 42 officials. The Barcelona Olympics commences on July 25 and ends August 9. A breakdown of the contingent shows that 29 of the athletes are females while the remaining 48 are males. According to the NSC boss, the officials comprised of 29

junior national team in August. Coach Peters wants the clubs concerned to consider such deprivation as part of the sacrifice they have to make from time to time for the greater interest of the nation. "I was a club coach and I know how it hurts, but when it comes to national assignment, they (the clubs) must let the players off. I don't expect that without two players in a club, such club will not exist," Peters explained. Speaking with confidence, the junior national team coach said he had no course to complain or get scared about the CAF directive.

"Nigerians should not panic. We would do our best to give Nigeria a good team," he assured.

technical officials, seven medical staff and six contingent officials.

Chief Akinyele explained that the selection of the athletes were arrived at after a critical look at the performance standard of the athletes, using the minimum requirements of the International Olympic Committee (IOC). "This consideration has led to drastic reduction in the number of the Nigerian team in order to avoid the mistakes of the past," Chief Akinyele explained.

Nigeria will also feature in nine events as against six previously approved by the NSC. The chairman attributed the change to the intervention of the vice-president, Admiral Augustus Aikhomu (rtd) who instructed that all events which qualified for the Olympics should be included in the team. Following this directive from the presidency, handball, table tennis and wrestling which had earlier been dropped were added to the previous six. The other sports are athletics, boxing, Taekwondo, weightlifting, judo and swimming.

By Joe Olajuwon



Some of the female athletes to the Olympics

ADAMU ADAMU S

DEFINITIONS
IN HUMOUR

Quotations

Why I have known the boundary between quotation and plagiarism. Do you?

Resolution - You cannot run away from a weakness. You must sometimes fight it out or perish and if that be so, why not now, and where you stand?

-Stevenson

Wrong - If it is better to suffer wrong than to do it, and happier to be sometimes cheated than not to trust.

-Johnson.

Love - If, as the poets say, love has moved mountains and forests, and so deeply touched the hearts of men that all of the oceans, and the rivers and the lakes, are made up of tears love has shed, if this poetic lyricism be true, then the love of which they sing is the love of money.

Investment - Hard work is the soundest investment. It provides a neat security for your window's next husband.

Misery - There's no place like home - after the other places close.

—Laurieff

Gratitude - Gratitude is a useless word. You will find it in the dictionary but not in life.

pleased with him

La Roche foucauld

Goodness - Most people fancy themselves innocent of those crimes of which they cannot be convicted.

-Seneca.

Democracy - Democracy becomes a government of bullies tempered by editor.

-Emerson.

Wisdom - You can acquire knowledge but not wisdom. Some of the greatest fools ever known were learned men.

Ethics - A set of rule laid out by professionals to show the way they would like to act if they could afford it.

-Lieberman

Fashion - Fashion is the most powerful force in creation. It rules the women, who rule the men, who rule the world.

Man - Man is certainly stark mad; he cannot make a flea, and yet he will be making gods by dozens.

-Montaigne.

Thief - We hang petty thieves and appoint the great ones to public office

-Aesop.

Principle - Adversity is the trial of principle. Without it a man hardly

knows whether he is honest or not.
-Fielding.

Age - Man fools himself. He prays for a long life, and he fears an old age.

Example - Nothing is more dishonourable than an old man, heavy with years, who has no other evidence of his having lived long except his age.

-Seneca.

Ambition - The darkest day in a man's career is that wherein he fancies that there is some easier way of getting a dollar than by squarely earning it.

—Greeley

Politics - I never vote for the best candidate, I vote for the one who will do the least harm.

Education

As a series of stupid laws in 1000 Logical Laws, these aphorisms and observations look at life in a rather round about way; er, the right way, that is.

Experience - The trouble with experience is a teacher is that the test comes first and the lesson afterward.

Teacher - No amount of poor schooling can spoil a good student.

Education - Education is what you get from reading the small print. Experience as what you get from not reading it.

Funding - There is no direct relationship between the quality of an educational programme and its cost.

Aptitude - The universal aptitude for ineptitude makes any human accomplishment an incredible miracle.

TAIL PIECE - Knowledge is a wild thing and must be hunted before it can be tamed.

—Persian proverb

- We have earned our name



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Kano — Nigeria
Tel: (064) 625172/625291,
Telex: 77277 Kabo TLN
Site: KANDZKO

Lagos:

Murtala Muhammed Airport
Tel: (01) 962130

Kaduna:

11 Ali Akilu Road
Tel: (062) 214844

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SOKOTO CEMENT

**..a commitment
to progress**



The development of SOKOTO CEMENT from raw materials to finish product is symmetrically ensured to give you topmost quality cement/performance.

Some qualities of SOKOTO CEMENT that attest to this age-long commitment:

- Low heat of hydration - which makes it suitable for massive construction jobs i.e. Bridges, Dams, heavy structural supports etc.
- Medium setting time - allows transportation of mixed concrete to sites.

- Low alkali content - makes it resistant to chemical and corrosive attacks. Best for heavy and marine construction.
- Highest strength achievable in concrete structure by any Portland Cement.
- Dark grey finish texture bestow an appealing lustre.
- Most competitive market price per 50kgs bag.
- Availability nation-wide.

The high quality of SOKOTO CEMENT had been affirmed through its numerous applications from the commonest blocks to residential buildings, dams, bridges, sky-scrappers, etc.

**Whenever the job requires real cement,
make sure it's SOKOTO CEMENT**



Winner of the seal of NIS quality (NIS No. 11) 1982-1988 and 1989 Silver Award from the Standard Organisation of Nigeria.



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**CEMENT COMPANY OF
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HEAD OFFICE/FACTORY: KALAMBAINA ROAD, P.M.B. 2164, SOKOTO, NIGERIA
TEL: (066) 2000 18, 231827, 231210.
TELEX No. 73101 SOKCEM NG. TELEFAX No. (066) 234806.
80A, BAYO ROAD, P.A.B. RD, KADUNA. TEL. (043) 319111
1ST FLOOR, 12, CIVIC CENTRE ROAD, P.M.B. 10141, KANO. TEL. (044)
LAGOS LAMRON OFFICE, 1, PARK LANE, APAPA LAGOS. TEL. (01)

