

Ogbemudia quits in styl

RSD

July 22 — 29 1991 Vol. 2 No. 30

N10

Citizen



Saddam



Arafat

PLO
disowns
Saddam?

FACTS TO KNOW ABOUT...



HELP
SPREAD
PROSPERITY
REPAY YOUR
LOANS
PROMPTLY

Wherever you are, you're never far from Nigerian Agricultural and Co-operative Bank Limited, the nation's greatest sower of agro-wealth. These facts bear us out:

- With an equity base of half a billion naira, NACB is notches ahead of other institutions in Nigeria

- Buoyed by a loan portfolio of N1.70 billion, NACB has the highest exposure to agriculture among lending institutions in Nigeria

- Over 200,000 farmers nationwide have benefited from our credit facilities, the highest

thus far

- With over 200 operational offices throughout the country, we are able to bring farming to your doorstep

- We led the first-ever loan syndication in the field of agriculture — to achieve the goal of local production of agro-chemical

Still more of such sturdy achievements have been farmed out for the growth of our nation's agricultural base. You can now see that we provide more than food for thought. We provide the energy that drives the nation's wheel of progress



NIGERIAN AGRICULTURAL AND CO-OPERATIVE BANK LIMITED

Head Office: Hospital Road PMB 2155 Kaduna
Tel (062) 20100-2, Fax (062) 210611 Telegrams NAGRIBANK Telex 71115 NABAWKNG

Leaders in Agricultural Financing

1991
DEPOSIT
1991

CONTENTS

Citizen

July 22 — 29, 1991

Vol. 2 No. 30

PLO Disowns Saddam?

Is the PLO about to disown its Gulf-War hero, Iraq's Saddam Hussein?

Page 12



PLO's Arafat



Iraq's Hussein

Ogbemudia goes



After failing to live up to his reputation as Mr. Fix-it, Sole Administrator, S.O. Ogbemudia leaves the Railways—in style.

Page 28

Leaders

PLO: what now after Iraq? 7
Hajj disaster 8
Voters register 8
G7 and Africa 9

Departments	Page		
LETTERS	5	BUSINESS & ECONOMY	33
ADAMU ADAMU	11		
Hajj Mishap latest	22	AFRICA	36
Ogbemudia goes	28	WORLD	38
		KABIRU YUSUF	39

Citizen

All the News in Perspective

Editor-in-Chief:

Mohammed Haruna

Deputy Editor-in-Chief: Bilikisu Yusuf

Executive Editor (South): Kabiru Yusuf

Executive Editor (North):

Adamu Adamu

General Editor: Mohammed Domei

Principal Staff Correspondents:

Tawey Zakka, Mahmud Jega, Ike Okonia

Senior Staff Correspondents: Abu K. Memmoh;

Babajide Adesoye, Delta Nzekwu, Aluko Akinyele;

Staff Correspondent Isaac Umunna

Tela Sunday (Business):

Olayinka

Tella

Sports Correspondent: Joe Olujuwon

Reporter/Researchers: Samson Ojo; Rabiu Barde.

Sub-Editors: Tijjani Isa, Zainab S. Oldne

Proof Reader: Dorothy Hnjarf

Deputy Arts Editor: Oluwale Oluokun

Graphic Artist: K. Beluolu Ojide

Graphic Artist: Samuel Offeng

Press Photographer: Alubakar Yakubu

Computer Operator: Suleiman Garba

Computer Operator: Thomas I. Belam

Computer Trainee: Chris G. Gulen

CITIZEN COMMUNICATIONS LTD.

Board of Directors

Turi Muhammadu (Chairman);

M D Yusuf, Umaru Abdul Mutalib;

Ade Olusuyi; Lawul Idris;

Lawal Batagarawa; Bilikisu Yusuf (Executive); Kabiru

Yusuf (Executive); Adamu Adamu (Executive);

Mohammed Haruna (Managing).

Deputy Finance Manager:

Alhassan Kullig

Accounts Officers:

Alli T. Muhammad; Usman Musa

Credit Control Officers: Tunde Sumuola

Steno Officers: Ezra Gadsdon

Marketing Officers: Usman Kadiri, Isaka Ajibola;

Marketing Assist: Justina Akpan; Adamu Jibrin;

Umar M. Musa; Bonifare Okoro

Adverts Executives: Emmanuel Emere;

Oluhanmi Adesoye, Stella Emere, Yekini

Abdullahi; Timothy Eluewilem

Sales/Advert Asst: Hassan A. Adesoye

Administrative Officers:

Muhammed Ndallman, Nkechi Attoh

Secretaries: M. J. Doko; Mary Egharevba

Typists: Osagie I. Ebuochi, Imoh Obot

Receptionist: Dinatu S. Nyom

Clerks: Amina L. Abdullahi; Olabode S. Rotifa; Abub

Okunle

Drivers: Hapudu Mnkun; Jelili Odeboju; Umar

Adamu; Fawasi Balogun; Ezekiel Jayochi, John

Okoh

Office Assistants: Abhis Garba; Kingsley Benson

Dispatch Rider: Lawal Olayiwola

PREFACE

Mahmud Jega calls it the mother of dilemmas. This aptly describes the position that the PLO has found itself in as a result of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and what has followed in its wake. How do you relate to someone who poses as a champion of your cause but uses the wrong means? There was no doubt that the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait was wrong, but then Saddam Hussein, the Iraqi leader tried to link his withdrawal from the Sheikdom with the permanent resolution of the Middle-East crisis at the heart of which is a state for the exiled Palestinians. Instantly Saddam became their hero.

Unfortunately but predictably Saddam lost out. And with his defeat came a severe setback for the Palestinians. Do they now think he merely took them for a ride? Tawey Zakka seized the golden opportunity of the last OAU summit in Abuja to find out the answer from Jamal Sourani the PLO Secretary-General who accompanied Yasser Arafat, the organisation's chairman, to the summit. The answer Zakka got was equivocal. Kabiru Yusuf sought clarification from PLO's man in Lagos and got a more definitive answer but still somewhat ambivalent. It is all an understandable dilemma which symbolizes the confusion that the Middle-East remains inspite of the Gulf War which was supposed to be the mother of all wars.

When we predicted, July 1, that Brigadier Samuel Osaigbovo Ogbemudia, the Railway's sole administrator, would either resign or be shown the way out because of his failure to revive the ailing corporation, little did we know that he will leave in the wake of a rather farcical drama. He did resign a little after our prediction (one version says July 11, another says July 13) but soon stories started making the round that he resigned, not because it was the alternative to being fired, but because he was threatened by a gun-wielding senior staff of the corporation. Our investigations reveals that the truth is somewhat different.

Mohammed Haruna

LETTERS

Haba New Nigerian

Sir,

The attitude of *New Nigerian* towards General Buhari shouldn't have come as a surprise to anyone especially Mohammed Haruna bearing in mind that it was Buhari who sacked the current sole administrator from his job of managing director.

Musa Abubakar Daura
Kaduna

Pini Jason's Jingoistic Goof

Sir,

With his "Dasuki's crocodile tears" that appeared in *Vanguard* of June 28, Pini Jason has surely stepped upon a banana peel cast by the monster of disunity Sultan Ibrahim Dasuki and other leaders have been seeking to conquer.

Unless his sense of proportion is given to an incipient paranoia, his perceiving the northern governor's meetings as "anti-south and anti one-Nigeria" is no more rational than the systematic campaign of calumny that has for ages perpetuated the north-south dichotomy.

To imagine that the governors meet to "enact anti-southern laws" with the active connivance of the federal government is not only a typical seditious form of blackmail particularly those in the north and their way of life have been subjected to, but a faulty premise as well.

The north, he well knows, contains pockets of discontents more southern in protestation and anti-north in propensity than what his sweeping assumption, that the governors meet to enact anti-southern and anti-one Nigeria laws" portends.

The peoples in the north whose loyalty he questioned have all along been victims. Acolytes of disunity from which they have been suffering and for whom Sultan Dasuki's exhortations are directed, have, like

Jason's discordant "Dasuki's crocodile tears", been the very bases of whatever violence in the north he presumed "Islamic Jihad".

What, one wonders, special rights has Jason to misappropriate the "south" for Nigeria, pursuing as he did his jingoist interest as Nigeria's?

Jason should know that in the north the Nigerians he accused with anti-nationalism because of their uncompromising allegiance to a way of life that is different from any in the south, offer no apologies.

In so far as the basic premise of pluralism stipulates freedom of choice and right of association, Arabia, Iraq, Iran or Sudan or Libya would remain part and parcel of us, just like the south's affinity to Rome, America or Britain constitutes a noticeable colonial mentality in the people there without their being in anyway "un-Nigerian".

If he is bothered about un-Nigerianism of some Nigerians, then the nation itself is guilty. For what is Nigeria without the disparate socio-economic and religious entities inhabiting it?

Abdullahi Mohammed Doki
Kano

Republican fury

Sir,

I draw your attention to the article titled "Republican Fury" in the *Citizen* of June 10th.

It is true that Chief Tom Ikimi came late to the Kampala Forum. It is also true that Julius Nyerere could not as a result place him to read his speech but after he consulted with General Olusegun Obasanjo, chairman Africa Leadership Forum, it was agreed that since his paper was on security he could present it in the security committee.

Chief Ikimi not only led the meeting of the committee with his 15-minute presentation, the paper also formed part of the basis for the

discussion and elements of it found its way into the report of the committee and it was after the participation that Chief Ikimi departed for Nigeria.

Ayodele Aderiwale
For Chairman

Letter to Yohanna Kure

Sir

I write to you to about the Ahmadu Bello Stadium, Kaduna.

The stadium is the only one in the country that has been neglected by the previous sports ministers, while small ones in other part of the country are given undue and excessive attention.

Sir, I have noticed that everytime any of previous sports ministers visited the stadium Kaduna, they made noisy promises, that the ABS would be completed before the end of a particular month, year etc of their visit or something like that. But immediately they go back to Lagos, they suddenly develop amnesia about their promises.

We need, on our knees, the following from you and we shall never be tired of begging until the stadium is 100% completed.

- (1) Abandoned work to be completed
- (2) Electronic score board and floodlights to be fixed
- (3) More funds be channelled to the zonal co-ordinator-zone 6
- (4) The athletics track to be modelled like that of Lagos and Ibadan.
- (5) More toilets to be built
- (6) Other sporting facilities and grounds be built or completed

We desire that the complex be completed, not in the year 2000, but 1991. I firmly believe you can do it. God bless.

Alhaji Shareeff Abdullahi
Kaduna

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

THE NNANNAH 2000 CORDLESS IRON

Put a new wonder of the modern world in your hand. A new Innovation in the world of modern Technology - THE NNANNAH 2000 CORDLESS PRESSING IRON.

THE NNANNAH 2000 CORDLESS PRESSING IRON is the only Cordless Iron available worldwide and has the following features:-

- It Is automatic with Computerised ignition
- Has no electric connection,
- Has instant heat up.

ADVANTAGES OVER OTHER PRESSING IRON.

**YOU CAN TAKE IT TO ANYWHERE:-
IN THE AIR, ON THE SEA. ON THE LAND.**

IT'S OUTSTANDING CONVENIENCIES:

It is invaluable in the rural areas where there is no electricity. Acts as a travelling partner to your clothes. It is automatic in operation in that as soon as you press the botton the iron gets hot instantly.

EASILY CONTROLLED TEMPERATURE FOR ALL FABRICS.

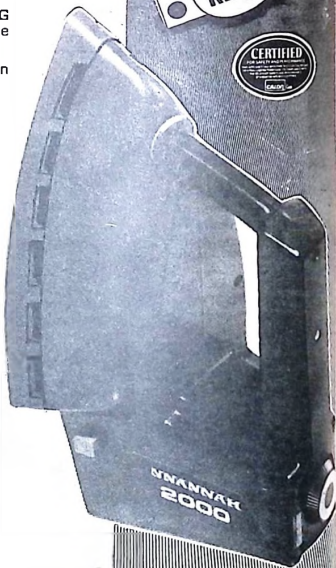
Simplicity itself, set the temperature dial to suit fabrics from silk and nylon through to heavy cottons.

We recommend Newport Gas only which is available from your NNANNAH 2000 IRON stockist and which is suitable for all cigarette lighters.

It is an invaluable asset to you. You will be happy that the 2000 Years of tomorrow is already in your hands today.

THE NNANNAH 2000 CORDLESS IRON.

NO PLUGS
NO CORDS
NO ELECTRICITY
REQUIRED



**UNION TROPIC MERCHANTS
(AFRICA) LTD.,**

A MEMBER OF PAN NNANNAH ORGANIZATION

PLT90, BLOCK 'C' LATIF SALAMI STREET,
ALONG INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT EXPRESS, AJAO ESTATE,
MAFOLUKU, OSHODI,
GPO BOX 4660 MARINA LAGOS, TEL: 521032/524564
TELEX: 27442 PANNA NG.

**DISTRIBUTORS
WANTED**



PLO: What now after Iraq?

For a moment the Arab world fell victim to an as-yet-undetermined psychosis—the delusion of hope triumphing over reality and probability. That was when Saddam Hussein of Iraq invaded Kuwait. It was clear that he was not up just against Kuwait, which he could wallop but against a US-led coalition too delighted he took its bait.

Now after all the dust had settled, its clear that the best way to fight the United States of America was not by supporting Iraq in its unequal and unjustified battle. Instead of admitting this simple fact and owning up to a disastrous mistake many are now trying to explain away or disavow their previous stand.

No doubt, the Gulf crisis had thrown the Middle East and much of the politically sensitive parts of the Muslim World into disarray. Muslims, to most of whom religion is a matter of more immediate and emotional concern than bread and butter, even under the best of normal times, hold the west—in its materialistic and aggressive best—in deep suspicion. In addition, the troubles Muslim world could easily count all confronting it and correctly point which part of the west was responsible for creating or prolonging it.

And it is on Israel that the Palestinians, whose movement is currently not overly religious, have their bitterest grouse against the United States that provides the weapons with which they are killed. It is therefore only to be expected that the Palestine Liberation Organisation, PLO, will throw its weight, behind any American enemy. My enemy's is my friend, the PLO must have reasoned. Sound reasoning but unfortunately it cannot be extrapolated. That, however, is what the Palestinians did by implication. At least Kuwait has every reason to think so because there can be no other conceivable explanation. Especially if Kuwait used to pay for PLO's expenses. Or the Saudis or the other oil-rich and easily vulnerable Sheikdoms fearful of a future Saddam. All of them have at one time, or the other bankrolled or still bankrolling some aspects of Palestinians' lives in refugee camps, if not the struggle against Israel.

Joining the bandwagon on Saddam's side

when the PLO had all to lose was a grave miscalculation. It must rank among the worst mistakes committed by Arafat and they must suffer its consequences as patiently and as long as possible before the forgetful Arab World forgives it the lapse. For the time it must accept that its stand was counter productive for many reasons.

First, its own legitimacy and the *raison d'être* for its existence and support by the world derived from its being a victim of a past not dissimilar aggression by Israel. The PLO should have opposed it on principle whoever was the victim.

Second, realism should have dictated to the PLO the impossibility of an Iraqi victory (Iraq had no truck bombers!) and this should have allowed it to weigh all the consequences of its support. Third, now a Middle East settlement looks very possible without it. The Israelis had never hidden their distaste for the PLO, nor did the Americans. The Arab regimes hid theirs well but, now in the light of what they can rightly consider Palestinian treachery and extreme ingratitude, they have no need to keep it under wraps. Not that any settlement imposed by the superpowers or their friends may last. It may not but it will certainly make life more difficult for Palestinians.

For the time being this had taken them further away from the liberated Palestine they expect the Americans to give them. Perhaps they must look for another route to Palestine.

With the largest crop of trained intellectuals in the Middle East, and with a cadre of battle-hardened guerrillas who could stand up to Israel and a very supportive multitudinous diaspora, it is very possible for Palestinians to stand on their own, and not to have to need patrons as capricious as the Arab regimes.

The lesson for Palestinians in the Gulf crisis lies in the necessity for standing firm on some just principle. And that when a Palestine that is to last will be created, it will have to come out of Palestinian sweat they should stop looking up to anyone to take them there. After looking in vain for 43 years they should be tired.

Hajj disaster

The nation is still steeped in mourning following the death of 242 of its pilgrims in an air crash which occurred at Jeddah last week. The ill-fated DC 8 in which they commenced their return journey to Sokoto was chartered from National Air Montreal, a Canadian airline, by the Holdtrade Nigeria Limited, one of the approved carriers for this year's Hajj. We at the *Citizen* extend our heartfelt sympathy to the families of the deceased and to the Muslim Ummah in general. They should derive consolation from the knowledge that death during pilgrimage, particularly when the acts of worship had been completed opens the gate of paradise to the deceased. May the souls of these devout martyrs of Islam, the guests of Allah, rest in perfect peace.

The setting up of a high powered panel to investigate the cause of the crash is commendable. We believe that only by ascertaining what went amiss could adequate preventive measures be taken to forestall a recurrence. While we are constrained to reserve our comments until the report of the probe panel is released, our knowledge of the lapses experienced during past Hajj operations makes it imperative to draw attention to these.

We had in our comment on last year's Hajj which was acknowledged as the worst in 25 years, bemoaned inadequacies of the Hajj contractors.

"And with less than two weeks to the closure of the Jeddah airport and a faulty and accident prone plane, the stage was nicely set for disaster". (Volume 1 No. 3).

The fact we that had a premonition that danger was lurking in the sky if contractors continued to relax on safety

measures did nothing to mitigate our shock when the tragedy struck. Indeed our grief will be extended because we could do no more than warn against an impending danger that finally claimed so many lives and left a long trail of grieving relations in its wake.

Already disturbing questions have begun to be asked and we hope that by raising them, rather than be seen as pre-empting the probe, we will be seen as helping its work. There seems to be evidence that the crashed DC 8 was known to be in condition of disrepair and might have been certified unfit for flying. So how did it fly? Who was able to see it through all the barricade of instructions that must be satisfied before an aircraft is airborne?

It was known the Ambassador Zakari Ibrahim, minister of state for external affairs, who was in Jeddah to coordinate the Hajj operations had complained bitterly about the condition of the place before and after the crash. The Minister of Aviation, Tonye Graham Douglas was reported to have specifically gone to Jeddah to check matters. What matters were those and what did he do when the DC 8 broke down in his very presence? We believe Graham-Douglas has useful information to tell the probe panel.

Whatever the outcome of the probe, this tragedy should force government, and promptly too, into undertaking a critical reexamination of the air worthiness of air crafts chartered to transport passengers. To do less is to court another disaster.

It goes without saying that if the crash was a result of wanton disregard of rules and regulations, or selfishness of well-connected individuals, the nation will most certainly not tolerate glossing things over. We must expose and punish whoever is responsible.

May the souls of the departed pilgrims rest in peace.

Voters register

The revision of voters' register started throughout the country last Tuesday, except in Sokoto State, where it was

suspended in honour of air crash victims. There were few hitches at the start of the exercise last week. Though turn-out was very low, officials

said they were confident that it will improve.

The revision exercise is meant to check the many lapses that became apparent during last December's local elections, including confusion, duplication and misplacement of voters' names. It is very important that the voters register be regularly revised. Since 1987, when it was compiled, many people have attained voting age; some have changed their place of domicile, and others have either lost or damaged their voters' cards.

It is important to clear up the confusion.

Many prospective voters simply went away last December when they could not find their names at any polling station. This is especially serious in large cities with many polling stations. It is also important to check duplication, some of which was deliberately contrived in order to rig the elections. In 1987, NEC initially issued 55 million voters' cards for the registration exercise and later increased it to 88 million, and these were all used up. But when it came time to vote last December, only a small fraction of that number of voters turned up at the booths. This should not happen this time around.

G7 and Africa

The leaders of the World's seven richest nations met in London for three days last week and came away with far-reaching political and economic decisions, apparently meant to make the world a safer place for them and the rest of us. But in truth, they were smoothening the rough edges of a new world order, shaped and run by them.

The impact of their summit on Africa was not as immediate as it was on the Soviet Union, whose president, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev was invited to attend. No African leader received a similar call to come to London though Africa's economies are in as serious a recession as the Soviet's. However, the continent cannot afford to neglect the long-term effects of the signals that were sent out from London last week.

First, the G7's "commitment" to "a stronger, more interventionist UN role". Ordinarily, this should be good news as it should mean that the world body will now have the teeth to bite harder than it has hitherto done. But an interventionist UN acting at the behest of the West would do more harm to Africa's interest than a UN in its current form.

Already, the West has dropped a hint of what its real intention is in "radically transforming the UN". The name on the lips of the seven leaders who gathered in London for the post of secretary-general of the UN was not that of any of the three we

heard during the Abuja summit of the Organisation of African Unity, OAU, last June. They are believed to favour Egypt's deputy foreign minister Butros Ghali, not as a compromise candidate but to repay Egypt for joining the US-led coalition against Iraq in the Gulf war. Too bad for Africa if one of its own would fall easy prey to the ploy of the West.

The G7's handling of the situation in South Africa was not a surprise but Africa should note it all the same as a bad lesson in north-south cooperation. Their call for new economic investment in that apartheid enclave was an endorsement of the American government's lifting of trade sanctions announced last week. Japan, which is a member of the G7 says it would follow suit in the not too distant future. By now black Africa should realise that the sanctions bag has gone burst.

The good news from London is the group's decision to control the sale of arms. This they hope to do through keeping a register of arms sales at the UN. But even on this point the group is divided.

In a word, the message from London to Africa is that it must learn to be self-reliant. Fortunately, the G77 meeting next month in Algiers should drive this message home. As a counter-force, this grouping of developing countries seeking stronger south-south cooperation can more than make up for its light financial weight with its numerical strength.

Condolence



The Sultan of Sokoto
Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki



President Ibrahim Babangida

Board and Management of Citizen Communications Ltd, Kaduna, wish to condole Nigerians, the Federal Government, the President, General Ibrahim Babangida, the Military Governor of Sokoto State, Colonel Bashir Magashi, the Sultan of Sokoto, and the President-General Supreme Council on Islamic Affairs, Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki, the relations of the victims as well as the people of Sokoto State over the tragic death of 242 pilgrims to this year's Hajj in an air crash near Jeddah.

May the beareaved have the strength to bear their losses and may Allah have mercy on the dead.

**Citizen Communications Ltd.
G11 Unguwan Kanawa
P.M.B. 2334, Kaduna.**



ADAMU ADAMU

alive but seek to re-create it.

No people ever lived on the glory of their past. Muslims must take only inspiration from the past and mix it with perspiration from the present to create that dynamic tomorrow in which they hope to take full charge of their affairs.

Islamic societies of the past encouraged initiative and recognised

irrespective of their faith.

The four areas of emphasis for the new organisation have already been covered during the conference. First is the desire to improve exchange of information in order to re-create a sense of *Ummah*, which though still present, has not sufficiently recovered from the trauma of colonial division.

In the area of economic cooperation, a great deal can be done to channel investible funds to the desired sectors, and help raise loans in other areas of surplus for areas with deficit.

It is perhaps in areas of political cooperation that the strain will be most felt. With sovereignty such a touchy affair and with most governments deeply suspicious or outrightly hostile to any international Islamic bloc, resistance may be encountered as attempts are made to create continent-wide political institutions. Certainly the goodwill of African governments will be nice, helpful and needed but it need not be crucial.

The area of coordinating and giving immediate relief will probably require immediate attention. While nobody expects a young day-old organisation to do much in the short-run, this is an area that will immediately give IAO relevance and legitimacy, two things it will certainly require as it turns its attention to the enormous problems that become its responsibility from today.

The hope of Muslims in Africa today is that the Islam in Africa Organisation is the initiative of people who are committed to Islam in a practical sense and who have abundant sympathy for people's suffering. If this hope is not misplaced it follows that the IAO will have a fate unlike many other Islamic organisations worldwide that have been unable to implement even one article of their charter.

Islam in Africa Organisation

In November 1989 delegates from all over Africa and the Muslim World converged on Abuja to attend the Islam in Africa Conference, IAC.

Going by the level of attendance the personalities present, issues raised and discussed, hope was naturally raised that the Muslim community in Africa was about to do something worthwhile for Islam and Muslims. It would appear that the hope raised was not unfounded. The Steering Committee set up to see things through had apparently done its job because delegates are once more gathered at the same venue today to witness the inauguration of the Islam in Africa Organisation, IAO, that the conference was held to midwife, we salute their hardwork and hope the secretariat and General Council that will take over from today will note the following.

The African continent is the only one with an absolute Muslim majority. No doubt Africa's Islamic past was one of glory—torch-bearing intellectualism, civilisation-building by Islamic liberation-theologians engaged in Jihads to stop or expel colonialists. Societies of the past were largely self-sufficient, peaceful and supportive of the flowering of people's creative energies. We hope those who take the reins of the IAO today will not only keep this vision

reward for Jabour, and, as a result, they were generally prosperous. Yet today much of this prosperity is in short supply. If anything, much of Muslim west and Central Africa is wallowing in extreme poverty and oscillating between excruciating starvation and barely sufficient food or water supply.

This is the most crucial area where the IAO must pay attention to relieve suffering. No doubt, it would be a strange thing when comparisons were made with the past. During the time of Umar Ibn Abdul Aziz distributors of *zakkat* failed to find receivers in Africa. Today, those in power over lands in the immediate vicinity of Umar enjoy the highest standards of living—the rulers at least—while Muslims in Africa suffer the lowest. If the IAO will try to revive bonds of brotherhood and unity between Muslims it will be a commendable thing. If not, it is not impossible for Muslims in Africa to survive without anybody's help.

Muslims in many African countries are victims of horrendous oppression as a result of their belief or a peaceful expression of it, the IAO must help their cause.

But it must do more than cry on behalf of Muslims alone. It ought to try to be the conscience of Islam in Africa and seek to protect victims of every type of high-handedness

Jamal Sourani

"Saddam Hussein disappointed us"

The Gulf War has been over some four months now, but for Sourani and his Palestinian compatriots their disappointment with Saddam Hussein won't just go away

Mr. Jamal Sourani, secretary-general of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, PLO, slipped into Abuja for the meeting of Organisation of African Unity foreign ministers, and would have left just as quietly. His status as observer did not place him in the big league of the African ministers. But his shoulders, made to bend double by years of carrying the cares of the Palestinians, have given Mr. Sourani a slouch that gave him away as a "man of sorrow".

After addressing a session of the ministers' meeting on May 30, he must have thought his assignment done. But he was wrong! As he was walking out, head and shoulders bent forward, news reporters and photographers swooped upon him. This reporter patiently awaited his chance and when it came Sourani would spare only "few minutes". But in the 20 minutes he could afford he gave it his all. The interview ranged from the PLO's

message to the summit of the OAU heads of state and government to the Gulf war, President George Bush's peace plan for the Middle East, the PLO's own initiative, the immigration of Soviet Jews to Israel and his fears about a new world order under American "hegemony".

Sourani took great care to try to undo "the great lie" the United States government told the rest of the world about PLO backing for Iraqi president Saddam Hussein in his August 2 invasion and annexation of Kuwait. In trying he let slip the disappointment of the Palestinian people with the Iraqi leader for dashing their hope of reclaiming Palestine.

Saddam Hussein, he said, raised "our hope greatly, when he said he had the missiles to hit Israel. All Palestinians looked up to him as the Arab leader to provide the means of reaching Palestine". It was a hope they had lived on for five decades and the Palestinians, according to Sourani, "expressed it

as if we were against Kuwait". As it turned out, it never materialised. Saddam Hussein "lost" to the American-led coalition forces. Worse still, the war cost the PLO considerable Arab sympathy in Cairo, Riyadh and Amman which fought alongside the Americans against Iraq.

Sourani believed, however, that "the misunderstanding which took place between the PLO and some Arab states (over the Gulf crisis) will not continue for long". In truth, he said, a renewal of Arab solidarity has already begun. He referred to the meeting of Arab League foreign ministers on August 3-4 in Cairo, Egypt to which he personally led a Palestinian delegation. There "I expounded the Palestinian viewpoint and won", he said. The position of the PLO was that it objected to Iraq's occupation of Kuwait but would not accept it being used as an excuse to introduce foreign military presence on Arab lands. That position has not changed. Said Sourani: "The PLO



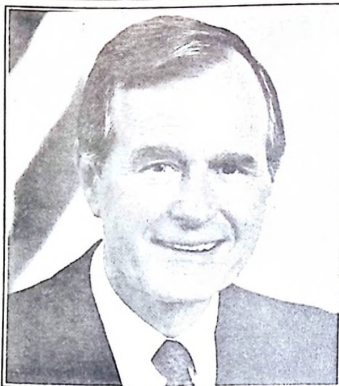
Sourani (inset) Saddam and Arafat: "no victory for America"

was and still is and will continue to be against any foreign military presence in the Gulf, on Arab land and anybody else's land in this world".

Sourani was painstaking in his denial of American victory in the war. What victory the Americans are claiming is sham. "There was no American victory", he said emphatically. You can only speak of victory when two equally matched belligerents are fighting and one defeats the other. But Iraq and the United States are no military equals! "It was the US and the rest of the world against Iraq, but the Americans are making it out as a victory for themselves because they want to erase the shame of Vietnam", the PLO scribe said.

The shame of Vietnam! Yes, Sourani thinks it will stick with the Americans for a long time to come yet. For pursuing Iraq into its territory even after Saddam Hussein accepted to withdraw from Kuwait, the Americans "planted hatred, hatred, hatred". Sourani believes that if America fails to seek solutions to problems in the Middle East, including the Palestinian question, "believe me, explosions will begin and nobody knows how they will end — in the region, in Africa, in Asia. It will not be a local but world explosion".

On the Palestinian problem, the PLO and US are nowhere near closing the gap between them. Though Sourani spoke of the need to renew the suspended Palestinian — American dialogue (at the instance of the Americans), he did not hold back from accusing Washington of double standard. All things considered, the senior PLO official suspects that the Americans have no



Bush: American peace initiative a non event

policy at all. Their double standard lies in the fact that though they claim they can do no more than act as a catalyst to bring the parties to the conflict together to talk peace, the Americans "are paying the money" Israel needs to put up new settlements in the occupied territories. They are getting Israel more armaments, patriot missiles", but at the same time they are calling for the

tation of Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, withdrawal of Israeli troops, occupation of legitimate political rights of the Palestinian people and security of Israel. PLO chairman Yasser Arafat called it "a new slavery for our people" and to Sourani it is "an abortion of any possibility of a solution that ever existed".

According to him, the plan denies the presence of the Palestinian people, their rights to self-determination, statehood and to choose their representative. He asks: "How could there be peace if a principal party to the conflict is excluded from the peace process?" To him, the American move "is no more than an attempt to buy Israel time to bring in more Jewish immigrants from the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and Ethiopia, build more settlements and change the demography of the West Bank, Gaza and Jerusalem". American recognition of the PLO as the "sole legitimate representative" of the Palestinian people, Sourani said, would be the first "real and sincere step toward a solution of the (Middle East) problems". A solution, if and when it comes, he says, will spare

"They are forced to go to Israel because America closed its gates against them", he said. "The majority would go to America if its gates were wide open. Life there is better; in Israel it is a miserable life".

destruction of Iraq's stockpile.

Sourani dismissed President George Bush' five-point peace plan announced March 6, 1991 as no initiative at all. The plan calls for peace between Israel and its Arab neighbours, implement-

"hundreds of thousands of lives" which would be killed in future with the weapons of mass destruction "now in the hands of more than one country in the region". It will also save "over 300 billion Dollars" spent on arms annually for the "development

"We looked up to Saddam" — Sourani

Citizen: During the Gulf crisis the PLO openly backed Iraq against the multi-national coalition, which included some of your staunchest Arab financiers like the Saudis. What did this backing of Iraq cast the PLO in terms of sympathy for its cause in the Arab world?

Sourani: First, there is a great lie told to the world that the PLO supported Iraq in its invasion and annexation of Kuwait. We were against it. We were the first to try to persuade Saddam Hussein to withdraw from Kuwait. We took the first initiative for the withdrawal and the resolution of the problem between Iraq and Kuwait and the rest of the problems of the area,

including the Palestinian problem. That was on August 11 (1990). So it's not true that we were backing Iraq. They are confusing our objection to foreign military presence. The PLO was and still is and will continue to be against any foreign military presence in the Gulf, on Arab land and anybody else's land in this world.

Citizen: Even if it was a lie, your staunchest supporters like the Saudis and Syrians and Egyptians swallowed it hook, line and sinker.

Sourani: No, No. I headed the Palestinian delegation to the Arab league foreign ministers' meeting in Cairo on August 3 - 4. I exposed the Palestinian

point of view and won. That position was that we did not want foreign military presence and I warned that Arabs would pay greatly for it. Now what is happening tells that we had been right all along.

Citizen: When you articulated the PLO position, what response did you get from the Arab States which initially thought the PLO to be a Saddam Hussein ally?

Sourani: You know, Palestine is something precious. Everybody wants Palestine to be a mosaic. The PLO has always played the mediator between any two Arab nations at conflict. We did that between Algeria and Morocco, Libya and Egypt, the two Yemens and Kuwait and Iraq before the (Gulf) war. But of course, in the latter case we did not succeed. So we cannot lose one country to gain another. The Palestinian problem needs the support of all Arab countries ... Saddam Hussein, when he said he had the missiles to hit Israel, of course, all Palestinians were euphoric. They were looking for hope, any hope. They looked up to him as being the one to take them to Palestine. This hope they expressed it as if we were against Kuwait.

Citizen: That hope, unfortunately did not materialise.

Sourani: Well, no. They

thought Saddam Hussein would lead them to Palestine. They were living in the last five decades on this hope. That's why we were pictured as if we were with Saddam Hussein in his invasion of Kuwait. If we were standing with Kuwait against Saddam then we would lose the precious stone, which is Palestine. This is very important... Well, the misunderstanding which took place between the PLO and some Arab states will not continue for long.

Citizen: After the war, president Bush proposed a peace plan, a peace initiative for the Middle East. Does the PLO have much faith in the Americans?

Sourani: It's not an initiative, but a move, which is an abortion of any possibility of a solution that ever existed. The move denies the Palestinian people their rights to self-rule, statehood, to choose their representative and it denies that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. How could there be peace if a principal party to the conflict is excluded from the peace process? The American move, I think, means no more than an attempt to give time for Israel to bring in more settlers, build more settlements and change the demography of the West Bank, Gaza and



Shamir: heads a beggar nation

of Arab, African countries, indeed the Third world".

The immigration of Soviet Jews to Israel and their resettlement on occupied Palestinian territory, Sourani says, has caused bad blood to flow between the Palestinian people and the Soviet authorities. "Opening the gates wide for Jewish immigrants in the name of human rights is a contraction of those very rights" because their resettlement on Palestinian land "is trespassing on the rights of the Palestinian people". According to him, the immigrants are not allowed a choice of where to go. "They are forced to go to Israel because America closed its gates against them", he said. "The majority would go to America if its gates were wide open. Life there is better; in Israel it is a miserable life".

The message the PLO representative took to the OAU summit in Abuja was to solicit

Africa's renewed support for its Palestine Peace Initiative (PPI), which calls for an international peace conference in which the five permanent members of the security council will take part as well "all the concerned parties in the conflict, including the PLO and the government of Israel on equal basis". Sourani said the African response "is 100 per cent positive". There is no doubt he is aware that there is a gradual Israeli come-back in Africa since the 1979 Camp David peace agreement between Israel and Egypt which enabled the latter to repossess the Sinai, which Israel occupied in the 1973 war. The OAU broke ties with Israel in solidarity with Egypt.

Reacting to this surge upward in relations between Israel and some African countries, Sourani has this to say: "Those countries that have moved towards Israel have not been courted by Israel but have

been lured by American (promise of) assistance. America is pressing for it because Israel to America is like the horse of Troy". America wants to court Africa through this Trojan horse, Israel — and it does this by giving Israel a lot of money to dole out.

Sourani sees in all this a deliberate attempt by Washington to shape a new world order under American hegemony. Such a world order dominated by America, he fears, will be the end of the sovereignty of smaller nations. He says therefore "it is the duty of all countries of the world ... to work for a new order whereby the United Nations rather than the US will be the supervisor over the security and peace of the world". On that note, he took his leave to keep "other appointments" ... A man of sorrow, indeed.

By Tawey Zakk

Jerusalem.

Citizen: What do you think of the Soviet Union allowing its own Jews to immigrate to Israel?

Sourani: The problem of the return of Soviet Jews is a long-standing one and we have been in bad terms with the Soviet leadership for a long time over this problem. Opening the gates wide for Jewish migration in the name of human rights is a contradiction in terms because the immigrants are trespassing on the rights of the Palestinian people. They are packed like goats from Moscow to Tel Aviv. They are not given a choice of where to go. They are not given even passports as

Soviet citizens. All what they get is a *laissez-passer* for a one-way trip to Tel Aviv. Of course,

of state and government. What was their response? *Sourani:* I can say that the OAU response is (a long

South Africa. If the OAU's response is "100 per cent positive", why is this trend a surge upward?

Sourani: Well, I don't want to dwell on this. Those countries that have moved towards Israel have not been courted by Israel, but lured by American promise of assistance. America is pressing for Israel's return to Africa. Why? Because Israel to America is like the horse of Troy. America goes back to Africa through the horse of Troy, which is Israel. Israel is a beggar; how can a beggar give to another beggar? The money in the hands of the Israelis is American money.

By Tawey Zakk

The Palestinian problem needs the support of all Arab countries ... Saddam Hussein, when he said he had the missiles to hit Israel, of course, all Palestinians were euphoric. They were looking for hope, any hope.

there are dangers and we hope that the Soviet would reconsider this. We are asking for Soviet passports for the Jewish immigrants so that they could choose where they want to go.

Citizen: You brought a message to the African leaders here in Abuja for the OAU summit of heads

of state and government. They see the Palestinian and South African problems as one of liberation, discrimination, settler colonialism, human rights.

Citizen: But more and more African countries are re-establishing relations with Israel and

"We consider Iraq a brotherly nation" — Baker

Citizen sought the views of Samir Baker the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) ambassador in Lagos on past and recent developments in the Middle-East.

Citizen: Have you been forced to assess your relationship with Iraq especially after the Gulf war, in view of the attitude now of the West towards negotiations?

Baker:—We consider Iraq as brotherly country, they are our brothers and we shall continue our very good relations with the people and government of Iraq. We don't feel that..... they have been the first supporters to our course and they have been always in the frontline in any confrontation with Israel. What do you think? Our stand will remain to consider Iraq and the people of Iraq and the government of Iraq as brothers and we wish them all the best to overcome their difficulties after the Gulf war.

Citizen:—I ask this question because people, at least the commentators outside are saying well, the PLO is in a difficulty, now if it wants recognition from the West, with James Baker (US secretary of state) going around trying

to have Middle East peace conference. The PLO will have to distance itself from Iraq in order, to may be get a good deal or a fair deal during this conference, do you think this is necessary?

Baker: I think this is nonsense. We know it even before the Gulf crisis it is not because of our relation with Iraq. What

James Baker shuttled four or five times to the region and after all they could not change an inch in Israel's position and instead of that they went to tell the Israelis that we are ready to give you more arms, they have given more money to build settlement for the Soviet Jews, they have caused more suffering for

continue from strength to strength in facing the occupation of the Israeli authorities and our hope is our friends all over the world both the countries and the people of the world will support us and will stand with us. We are confident that at the end we will achieve our goal, we will have our independent state because from history no people struggling for their course have failed.

Citizen:—I mean there are suggestions that PLO's position has changed on Iraq?

Baker: Really I don't understand what they mean that our position has changed. You know from the beginning of the Gulf crisis we were very clear, we were working towards avoiding the war. It was all propaganda. In fact we know from the beginning this war is not in the interest of the Arabs, we know the aims of the Americans before they came into the region, that is why we were not with Iraq against any Arab countries but we were with Iraq against the Americans and against the foreign forces who came to occupy our region and this is clear now the reasons of the war that the Americans remain in the region with their forces and that they were the



Israeli soldiers frisk a Palestinian demonstrator

the Palestinian people are suffering for 43 years is not because of our relations with Iraq. What have the Americans done to see to an end to the suffering of the Palestinian people and in spite of their promises, even during the Gulf war, that they will solve the Middle East problem? What have the Americans done after the Gulf war?

the Palestinian people.

Citizen:— In the present situation, do you see any hope of a breakthrough in the near future?

Baker:— Frankly, if the Americans continue in this policy, we don't see any hope in the near future, but of course our hope remains that our people struggling in the occupied territory will



Ever so defiant: Ramallah youth replying Israeli soldiers with stones

countries.

Citizen: What of the government itself, now in Iraq, the government of Saddam, have you felt that the way he conducted the war has made you feel less class with it after the war?

Baker: We feel the same. We feel our relationship with the brotherly people of Iraq and the government of Iraq have not changed. It is as normal as usual, and we are sure at any time the real contribution to the Palestinian question is continuing as it was before. What we are trying to do now is to normalize relations between Iraq and other Arab countries. And we should consider this war as the intrigue of America and we should try to forget and build a new relationship that is based on respect and cooperation and we have to realise that there is an external danger on all the Arabs. And they have to go back to the normal relations to face the real challenges and real dangers.

By Kabiru Yusuf

only beneficiaries from this war. The Americans and Israelis don't see that we need something we have to change it, we remain in close relation with all Arabs countries, even during the Gulf crisis we did not lose contact with all Arabs but some of them, they wanted us to say that we have loved the Americans who came to the region. This is the difference but you know that after the Gulf war, all the Arabs countries met in Cairo. Iraq was there, all

the Arab countries participated in the Arab league meeting and we are working towards the normalising relations and to put the Arabs again to face the main challenge before them, which is Israelis and the track of Israelis on all the Arabs.

Citizen: So you have no apology to make for the position you took during Gulf war?

Baker: No, no, why make apology, we know we took the right position. We were not with one

against the other. We were against the presence of foreign troops in our region, and we were calling at the same time for solution to the problem within the region. The Arab League tried but unfortunately the presence of the Americans at that stage has left no chance for any regional solution to the conflict between Iraq and Kuwait. And we will continue our efforts to keep good relations with all Arabs and all friendly

The Palestinians

Mother of all dilemmas

Engaged in the world's bitterest struggle, the PLO split again and again

The defeat of the PLO's fighters in Sidon recently by the Lebanese Army was the organisation's most recent setback. At the height of the PLO's military power

prior to 1982, the Lebanese Army wouldn't dare reclaim any territory from it. Then, the PLO was a state within the Lebanese state, more powerful than any of Lebanon's

innumerable armed factions.

The year 1982 was one of the worst ever for the PLO. The Israeli government was at its hawkish worst that year. Menachem Begin and Ariel

Sharon capitalised upon a rocket attack on northern Israel and invaded Lebanon; they overran PLO redoubts in Sidon and Tyre and laid siege on Beirut. After a six-month fight, the PLO agreed to evacuate Beirut and relocated their 8,000 fighters to Tunis.

This wasn't the Palestinians' first exile. Actually, they have all been on one continuously since 1948, when the State of Israel was declared on May 4 and 650,000 of them fled from the ensuing fighting. Israeli president Chaim Weizmann said at the time that the Palestinians' flight represented "a miraculous simplification of Israel's tasks". Most of them went to Jordan, from where they again had to flee when the Royal Jordanian Army attacked them in 1970. Then they went to Lebanon.

During the horrific 1975-76 Lebanese civil war, the PLO got mixed up in the fighting and was about to annihilate the Christian Phalangist militia when the Syrians intervened on the Christian side. Tables were turned, and the Christians massacred 3,000 Palestinians at the Tel Zaatar refugee camp outside Beirut.

Nor was the September 1982 evacuation to be the Palestinians' last setback. Soon after the commandos left, Phalangist militiamen, aided by the Israelis, attacked the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps, killing 700 women and children. Exactly a year later, in November 1983, the Syrians sponsored a mutiny in the ranks of Al Fatah. Dissident leader Abu Musa then seized camps in the Bekaa Valley and chased Arafat loyalists as far north as Tripoli and out of Lebanon.

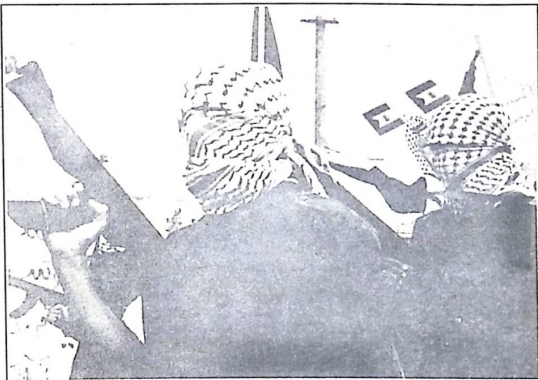
One of the Palestinians' worst problems is the power and determination of their Israeli enemy. Not that the Palestinians themselves are weak or irresolute. In the 1970's, the PLO scored several diplomatic successes. First, it was recognised by the Arab League in 1974 as the sole

legitimate representative of the Palestinians. In November of that year, Arafat wore a black-and-white checked kaffiyeh and a pistol and told the UN General Assembly, "I have come bearing the olive branch and a freedom fighter's gun. Do not let the olive branch fall from my hands". Since 1976, the PLO has been a full member of the Arab League and an observer at the OAU. Since 1989, the UN has called it Palestine.

The PLO's military campaigns were also spectacular, if sometimes

which has 1,000 commandos. Even more radical than Habash's group is the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine — General Command of Ahmad Jubril, which is allied to Syria. Other very radical elements who reject the PLO's 1988 recognition of Israel include Abu Daoud, leader of Black September; Abul Abbas, who led the 1986 Achille Lauro affair, and the most feared Palestinian of all, Abu Nidal, leader of *Saiqa*.

The PLO had further setbacks when Mossad killed Khalil al-Wazir,



Intifada march at the West Bank

gruesome. It hijacked and blew up three aircraft in 1969; killed Jordanian Premier Wasfi Tal in Cairo in 1971; killed 18 Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics in 1972 and launched the 1974 attack at Ma'alot, in Israel, killing 30 and wounding 87.

The Palestinians' second worst dilemma is divisions within the Arab world, which has splintered their own movement. Since 1969, Yasir Arafat has headed the PLO, since his group, Al Fatah, has 80% of the PLO's guerrillas and all 110 of its foreign envoys. Fatah is also the richest and most autonomous of the factions.

The second largest is the radical Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, led by Dr. George Habbash,

the legendary PLO war minister known as Abu Jihad, in 1987, and again killed Salah Khalaf, better known as Abu Iyad, in 1990. In Western eyes, PLO support for Saddam Hussein was another setback.

Despite all these, Palestinians should one day win back their homeland which has, in that order, been occupied by Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Alexander the Great, Ptolemies, Seleucids, Romans, Byzantines, Ummayyads, Abbassids, Fatimids, Crusaders, Ayyubids, Mamluks, Ottoman Turks, Britons, and the latest occupants — Israelis.

By Mahmud Jega

Arafat/PLO: Childless couple

Chairman Yasser Arafat and the Palestine Liberation Organisation PLO are inseparable. And there is a very good reason: Arafat is a husband, and Palestine is his wife. That was what he himself said. And so seriously does he believe in this metaphor that he hasn't taken a real human wife in all his 62 years on earth. "People ask me why I am not married," the engineer-said. "I have no time for a wife because I already have one. Palestine is my wife"

Born August 3, 1929, Arafat did much of his early school in Jerusalem. He proceeded to University of Cairo where he read civil engineering graduating too late to participate in the first Palestinian war in 1948. But he was there during the Gaza war against the Israeli-British-French occupation of 1956.

Those were the formative years when the whole Middle East was in ferment and permanent flux. There was social unrest, political agitation and the threats of a potential military apocalypse.

International Zionism, with headquarters in Frankfurt and New York's Manhattan, had just succeeded in founding a state for world Jewry. It all began in the immediate aftermaths of the Second World War during which

it was claimed. Hitler killed Jews. Zionists said Jews were unsafe everywhere except a state of their own.

Initially they were to be settled in Uganda. If this plan had gone ahead, the Jews, using the Old Testament perhaps, would have owned Uganda by material inheritance through the Queen of Sheba. The boundaries of Abyssinia, like Judea and Samaria, could always be shifted to accommodate

gangs were able to clear a sufficient number of Palestinians to declare the creation of Israel, with the active help of the Soviet Union and the United States of America under the auspices of the United Nations that they now say they wish to strengthen to oppose occupation. As Jews — many of them forced — came in from the Diaspora, Palestinians became the new refugees.

The creation of Israel was seen throughout the Muslim world as a

Arafat is a husband, and Palestine is his wife. That was what he himself said. And so seriously does he believe in this metaphor that he hasn't taken a real human wife in all his 62 years on earth.

Greater Israel.

The People of Baganda were saved from the prospect of being the unneeded refugees of the modern world. The Jews insisted on Palestine. The promise, they declared, had been made to them by Lord Arthur Balfour half a century earlier. And the British mandate over Palestine after the First World War had done much by way of judicialisation to make the eventual creation of Israel a mere formality.

Through intrigue, forced purchase with support of high finance and the most atrocious form of terrorism, Jewish

continuation of the crusades using the Star of David instead of the Cross. And the Ulama rose up to meet the challenge. The first to arrive on the scene were the *Ikhwan al-Muslimum* of Hassan al-Banna in 1948. Along with the Palestinians they fought but failed. But even before the creation of Israel, the leadership in Palestine rested with the Ulama. In the 1920s, Sheikh Izzuddeen al-Qassam was the first to oppose the judaisation policy during the mandate. The British eventually killed him in 1935. The standard passed to Al Hajj Amin

Al-Husseini who led the great revolt of 1936. He was exiled to Cairo when the revolt failed. After the Jewish Tiquaddim al-Khabs had sought to unite all the groups and create all the Palestine of purity. Palestine of aggressors. His organizational influence. His organization, the *Hiz al-Tahrir al-Islami* exists in this day. Though the Islamic groups have effectively been marginalised in shaping the past they may play some role, along with *Hamas*, in determining the future of Palestine.

The present struggle for Palestine began in 1964 with the formation of the PLO as a political body representing the people aspirations of Palestine. (Original Palestine would include Jordan which the British carved out of Palestine to mollify Sherif Hussein of Hejaz and Israel which was created for them). The following year saw the formation of guerrilla groups dedicated to the eviction of alien Jews as opposed to the 15,000 living in Palestine in 1948.

While Palestinian groups were not lacking in men of bravery and daring and have the best of possible motivations their struggle had met with less than the success expected of it.

This might be because the Palestinians were not fighting only Israel. They have numerous enemies — including themselves. A child of the Arab world and a strand of its nationalism, the

COVER STORY

Palestinian struggle has been factionalised by the Arab world's unending divisions. Muammar Gaddafi has his own groups so has Syria's Assad and Iraq's Saddam. Whoever pays the gunman pulls the trigger. Many Palestinian activists would as soon pull the trigger against their fellow Palestinian as they would an Israeli soldier.

Thanks to Israel, PLO's fledgling unity always held as Palestinian guerillas and refugees were always either fighting the Israeli Army or running away from its superior fire power. The PLO has had to mature before it could cut teeth. In 1968 its Fedayen took on and defeated the Israeli Army in the little-sung battle of al-Kameh. Two years later, King Hussein of Jordan clipped its wing when he massacred 30,000 guerillas in what is now known as Black September.

For a moment Palestinians seemed to have lost hope and they

turned their eyes towards focusing attention on their plight. It was not a spectacular hijacking of aircraft was a gruesome murder of Israeli citizens certainly got attention though not altogether favourable.

In 1974 Arafat addressed the UN. His success was to be sought in Lebanon. At five years to his appearance, the PLO were beginning to hope of ever defeating Israel on the battlefield. That was when, for the first time, there was a land for peace. Palestine instead of being a cry of unity for Arab liquidation began in Jordan in 1970 and continued by Syria in 1982. The previous then Crown Prince had led the Arab League to an implicit recognition of Israel at the summit. The PLO accepted an Israeli 1967 borders and



Fahd: Foresook the PLO?

Citizen, July 22, 1991

be satisfied
a mini-state
the merger
Israel.
in v a
Lebanon,
declared
was going
liquidate
long
military
Syria pos
and d
Palest
polit
independ
It achiev
aims but
a third —
of

Jedda air mishap

No redeeming defect

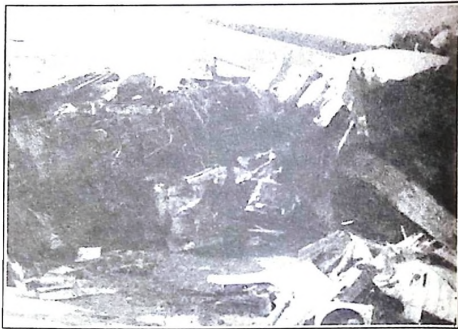
The death of 250 pilgrims in Jeddah stunned all Nigerians.
Was someone negligent?

The usually tranquil Sultan Abubakar III airport at Sokoto was already overflowing with people when a Nigeria Airways plane landed at 8.30 am on Friday, July 12, after an overnight flight from Jeddah. The anxious crowd, traumatised by reports the previous day that an aircraft headed for the same airport had crashed, surged forward to welcome the last batch of 175 pilgrims from Sokoto State. As each pilgrim alighted, dozens of his relatives and friends jumped forward and seized him, crying with joy at his near-miraculous return. At last all passengers alighted, and a despondent Nigeria Airways official stood at the door of the aircraft, staring down at the thousands of people who still watched the door intently for their relatives to emerge. Then, in a brief gesture of despair, the official raised both his hands above his head and crossed them; there were no more passengers on the plane. The next moment, a nerve-rattling, spontaneous wail erupted from the crowd. Some people immediately fainted and were carried away. Others lay on the tarmac and cried their hearts out.

The gruesome scene at the airport culminated the charged atmosphere of the previous day. On Thursday, when news of the air disaster in Jeddah were first received, Sokoto town was immediately transformed. Offices and schools were abandoned. Everywhere, people formed small groups and dashed from one house to another, checking out on the pilgrims yet to

return from the hajj. In every house where a pilgrim had not returned, women and children immediately commenced crying. The situation worsened as rumours spread that the crashed plane was the final one meant for Sokoto, and all unre-

Those who were on Flight WT 2120, however, were 242 pilgrims from the state; 5 officials of the air charter firm Holdtrade, and 14 crewmen of the Canadian aviation firm Nation Air, who leased the aircraft. Early reports from Jeddah said



What remained of FWT 2120 and its human cargo

turned pilgrims were thought to be in it. Among those most widely rumoured to be in the plane were Dr. Sani Ka'oje, chief medical director of the Sokoto Specialist Hospital and leader of the medical team to the hajj; Alhaji Sarki Kigo, a director general in the governor's office, and the entire cast of the state's famous cultural troupe, who were sent on the pilgrimage by the state-owned Gamji Bank. As it happened, none of them was in the ill-fated plane.

The pilgrims were from Isa and Gwadabawa local governments in northern Sokoto State. As it turned out, only a minority of the victims were from these areas. Dozens of others were from Sokoto itself, and the rest were from Gummi, Birnin Kebbi, Maiyama, Bagudo, Yauri and Zuru local government areas. Probably the most calamitous fate of all befell pilgrims from Maiyama; the only one who returned was the chairman of the local government,

Garba Dandiga, who came in an earlier plane. Possibly the most bereaved individual in the aftermath of the disaster is the Sokoto businessman Alhaji Tsoho Dan' Amali. As was his custom, he had paid the staff 24,000 Naira per head fare for 15 of his relatives and business aides, including four of his eldest sons, to perform this year's haji. All fifteen of them were aboard the ill-fated aircraft. Soon afterwards, Alhaji Tsoho went into a deep slumber and by week ending, was reported to be in hospital, receiving treatment for shock.

Horror and grief reigned unabated as the scale of the disaster became known. Dr. Mahmud Ahmadu Suka, chief medical director of Sokoto's largest private clinic, had also taken ill with grief when *Citizen* called at his house on Saturday. His wife, Dr. Aishatu Jummai Suka, director of public health in the state ministry of health and a well-known presenter of health programmes on local television, had gone to Saudi Arabia as part of the medical team and had died in the crash. This was visibly too much for Dr. Suka, whose father, a retired High Court judge, died only three months before.

Equally shaken with grief was Alhaji Garba Gummi, permanent commissioner of the civil service commission, who lost eight relatives in the air crash. The manager of SCOA in Sokoto, Mohammed Yusuf, died with his wife Aishatu, whom he married last year. Also killed along with his wife of two months was Adamu Bako, a former secretary of Yauri local government. Sheikh Tukur Abdullahi, the Imam of the Darul Qur'an mosque and Islamic School at Yauri Road, Sokoto, also died in the crash. His family's grief was worsened when returning pilgrims told of how he missed an earlier flight because he went into the city of Jeddah searching for a mechanic to disassemble and pack a bicycle he had bought for his 8 year old son. Also

stricken with grief was Aliyu Nasarawa of Lodge Road, Sokoto, a retired air force officer whose wife, Fatima, died in the crash. When our reporter called at his house on Saturday, he sat on a mat under a neem tree, surrounded by two dozen friends and relatives who did their best to console him.

As Sokoto city went into deep mourning, Rima Radio and the NTA station abandoned regular programmes and began a special broadcast of mourning, including long readings from the Qur'an. The airwaves were also cluttered with messages of condolence; practically every local government council, state parastatal, federal agency, private companies, political parties, leading businessmen and all gubernatorial candidates placed several advertisements on radio and television condoling the governor, the



Abacha: government will assist families of victims?

sultan and the families of victims. "This may be Sokoto's saddest hour", observed an official of the local NTA grimly, "but it looks like it is the NTA's richest".

Native sons and daughters of Sokoto state working outside the state mounted a stampede to get home in the wake of the disaster. On Friday afternoon, our reporter saw dozens of them buying fuel at

Gusau, where the fuel scarcity had eased only marginally. Some of them told *Citizen* that they were driving from Kano, Maiduguri, Jos, Kaduna, Abuja, Benin and Port Harcourt. An assistant controller of Immigration in Benin, Mohammed Bello, said he left Benin as soon as he heard of the crash and drove through the night to Abuja.

Not only natives of Sokoto came. On Friday, a high-powered federal government delegation arrived in Sokoto to condole the victims' relatives. Led by General Sani Abacha, Minister of Defence and Chief of Defence Staff, it included Alhaji Aliyu Mohammed, Secretary to the Federal Government; Professor Jibril Aminu, Minister of Petroleum Resources; Air Marshal Nureini Yusuf, Chief of Air Staff; Minister of Communications, Olawole Ige; Colonels Raji Rasaki and Tanko Ayuba, military governors of Lagos and Kaduna; Minister of Mines, Power and Steel, Nura Imam; Minister of State for Police Affairs, Samaila Gwarzo and the Director General for Aviation, Gidado Idris. Two days later, Minister of Aviation Tonye Graham-Douglas also went to Sokoto, as did military governors or their deputies from several states including Niger, Bauchi and Ondo.

President Ibrahim Babangida cut short a visit to Tanzania and returned home when he received news of the disaster. Upon arrival at the Murtala Muhammed Airport in Lagos, he announced that a national day of mourning will be observed for the dead last Monday. "There is a lesson to be learnt from what happened", the president said. "Government will continue to be responsive to the situation so as to assist future pilgrims". General Abacha had earlier said in Sokoto that government will assist the families of victims, though he did not say exactly how.

Even as the mourning progressed, dark rumours were spreading in Sokoto, charging that the disaster was entirely preventable.

Some of the state's pilgrims who returned in the last flight on Friday testified that the crashed plane, a visibly aged DC-8, spent many hours on the ground in Jeddah undergoing repairs before it took off on its ill-fated mission. Some officials even claimed that the aircraft evaded normal pre-flight inspection by Saudi authorities, some-

thing difficult to believe. Even as the plane took off, witnesses say that the thick pall of black smoke it emitted alarmed everyone around. Only minutes later, not entirely to their surprise, it crashed.

Other pilgrims' officials in Sokoto told *Citizen* that the visibly sick state of the DC-8 made many prominent citizens to

avoid it. The secretary to the state's government, Ibrahim K. Aliyu, and the commissioner of police, Bashir Albasu, were being checked into it when a Nigeria Airways plane arrived; they hurriedly abandoned the DC-8 and boarded the newly-arrived plane, which arrived in Sokoto while the Holdtrade plane was still undergoing repairs in Jeddah.

Below is the full list of the victims

(1) Mammam Karaye (2) Umaru Na-Ali-Iah (3) Muhammed Bashir Yusuf (4) Mainuna Yarfa (5) Hassan Ibrahim Karaye (6) Alhassan Abu (7) Mairi Abu (8) Ibrahim Mai-Dubara (9) Rabiu Abu Kaura (10) Idris Nomau (11) Hajia Muhammad (12) Ahmadu Aliyu (13) Mammam Roko Kulu (14) Umaru Labbo (15) Hajia Sada Madaeda (16) Abdullahi Nuhu Isa (17) Umaru Garba Bena (18) Inno yahaya Isa (19) Waheed Atanda Bello (20) Garso Mai-Yara (21) Sule Awa Gazau (22) Garba Mai-Fata (23) Nahantsi Di. Telle Lugu (24) Dauda Ada Gidanmadi (25) Muhammed Alimu Hado (26) Ibrahim Shehu Bashire (27) Dahiru Zogirmare (28) Usman Madugu (29) Bello Sala Karaye (30) Garba Abu Karaye (31) Maidabdo Buda Shama (32) Muhammed Tukur Yauri (33) Abubakar Usman Birnin Kebbi (34) Saa Nuhu Ilore (35) Musa Alfa Bello (36) Ibrahim Balarabe Aletiro (37) Tawakaliu Ohikora Shittu (38) Maimun Bagudu Besse (39) Ibrahim Garuba Garau (40) Garuba Usegara Maza (41) Garuba Dodo Lugu (42) Ibrahim Muhammed Isa (43) Umar Bello (44) Abdul Nagale Adamu (45) Umaru Yisa (46) Mammam Isa (47) Muhammed Muhammed Borno (48) Diji Galadima (49) Tahiru Muhammed (50) Hadiza Abdul Isa (51) Umar Inuwa Yusuf (52) Jibril Wammako (53) Buhari Sifawa (54) Muhammed Magaji (55) Rabi Garba (56) Mammam Maitso (57) Ibrahim S. H. (58) Shehu Gumi (59) Muhammed Gumi (60) Muhammed Karaye (61) Adamu Koko (62) Umar Dinyyadi (63) Ibrahim Gumi (64) Usman Muhammed (65) Ladi Suleiman (66) Ahmadu Sokoto (67) Barau Sanni (68) Umaru Na Baraguni (69) Muhammed Shinkafi (70) Ahmadu Tella (71) Hafsatu Zanko (72) Halimatu Ibrahim (73) Aminat Abubakar Yusuf (74) Iro Musange Kebbi (75) Mujib Adekunle-Mumudi (76) Buhari Mohammed Gumi (77) Abu Hano Shinkafi (78) Arifu Alhassan (79) Maina Sanusi (80) Sobahi Tanko (81) Abubakar Adamu Bako (82) Kabiru Abdul Gumi (83) Babale Mamanga (84) Wadata Bello Kaura (85) Maryamu Adamu Bako (86) Gidan Dhaba Giyawa (87) Mairiga Muhammed (88) Hamisu Dahiru (89) Muhammed Maidabo (90)

Muhammed Maldabo (90) Fatima Kangiwa (91) Aminu Bikoli (92) Aishatu Kangiwa (93) Umaru Burkulu (94) Ibrahim Gumi (95) Garuba Gumi (96) Hauwa Gumi (97) Sanni Gumi (98) Abubakar B.M.K. (99) Luba Bello (100) Ruwa Garuwa (101) Abdullahi Sokoto (102) Abdullahi Sokoto (103) Yahya Bakare (104) Saadu I.G (105) Umar Gasawa (106) Jimmal Shinkafi (107) Abubakar Gamo (108) Abubakar Gandhi (109) Aliu Gumi (110) Muhammed Dankade (111) D/Ige Nomo (112) Abubakar Abara (113) Abubakar Gagga Gingga (114) Namadi Buzu Kaura (115) Umaru Dagawa (116) Abdullahi Musa Gumi (117) Sanni Gumi (118) Hal Tella Gumi (119) Rufai Bena (120) Abubakar Shuaib Kebe (121) Mammam Nawal Gumi (122) Garba Jibo (123) Asabe Zaki (124) Hindatu Usman Ila (125) Muhammed Danmaka Maika (126) Abubakar Isamiya (127) Balarabe Tubuh Gumi (128) Hajio Umaru Bulama (129) Zainatu Ali Gede (130) Wakala Kaura (131) Rakiya Shehu Gungu (132) Mairo Dauda (133) Mairi Kuci (134) Balkisu Ahmed Maccido (135) Lado Rabiu Kaura (136) Faruku Hungumawa (137) Hadizatou Muhammed Giro (138) Rabi Labbo (139) Aishatu Gandu (140) Rabi Muhammed Gusau (141) Aliu Giyawa (142) Mammam Dansadai (143) Muhammed Noma Bena (144) Liman Gona (145) Isa Bona (146) Umaru Hausawa (147) Abubakar Abubakar (148) Bello Muhammed Riba (149) Muhammed Yabo (150) Abdullahi Usman Yabo (151) Rabi Muhammed (152) Imamuro Bigoro Bena (153) Muhammed Lawal Usman (154) Abdul Magaji (155) Muhammed Dantala Kurya (156) Yahaya Magaji (157) Yushau Sanni Kurya (158) Rakiya Muhammed Haruna (159) Aishatu Haruna (160) Fatimah Nasarawa Aliu (161) Muhammed Tukur Abdullahi (162) Ibrahim Samalla Wasagu (163) Illyiyasu Giyawa (164) Abdulrasak Sule Kurya (165) Mukhtar Abubakar Giyawa (166) Abubakar Muhammed Giyawa (167) Zubairu Barkeji (168) Suleiman Lawall (169) Umaru Yale Dakku (170) Bello Sanni Zuru (171) Muhammed Yawale Abubakar (172) Miskail Sanni Dabai (173) Zaki Ibrahim Gwandu (174) Yusuf Liman Ila (175) Mammam Yidi Sakaba (176) Aliu

Wasagu (177) Dahiru Wasagu (178) Sabe Abdul Muhammed (179) Liman Muhammed D/Daji (180) Mammam Giyawa (181) Fadimatou Abubakar Giyawa (182) Shaibu Giyawa (183) Haruna Kebe (184) Umaru Hausawa (185) Abdullahi Bala Rawaya (186) Umaru Jabaka (187) Ila Abdullahi (188) Musa Magaji (189) Usman Liman Goru (190) Rabiu Dan Yara (191) Haidayat M. Doherty (192) Musa Nasu Zuru (193) Missa Kwatto (194) D/Ware (195) Muhammed Sanni Danmadi (196) Yaro Babe Hamisu (197) Aliyu Balarabe (198) Muhammed Bala Dandinmah (199) Muhammed Bawa Birni (200) Umoru Jaji Magaji (201) Hauwa Ibrahim (202) Muhammed Yidi Birni (203) Ibrahim Muhammed Kurya (204) Usman Aliu Kurya (205) Abdullahi Mukhtar Ringim (206) Ali Hamman Goza (207) Maina Muhammed Gusau (208) Gambu Usman Zuru (209) Aishatu Abdullahi Turaki (210) Maryam Ibrahim Zuru (211) Halimam D/Tani Maili (212) Luba Yahaya Barmo (213) Aishatu Muhammed Yusuf (214) Ummu Aliu Kainiya (215) Nassara Abdullahi Ruwa (216) Halimotou Tahale Helele (217) Muhammed Yusuf K/ Namud (218) Muhammed Tsho Muhammed (219) Muhammed Bashiru Tarfa (220) Yusuf Imam Marina (221) Ahmadu Malami Morina (222) Yahaya Muhammed Arikila (223) Muhammed Nura Yusuf (224) Nicholas Azinge (225) Osa Ye Ahigbe (226) Umoko E. Azong (Victoria A. Michael (228) Yemi Aderinlewa (229) Yaro Tsho Ahmad (230) Yahaya Tukur Tsho Ahmad (231) Adamu Muhammed Tsho Amali (232) Yahaya Tsho Amali (233) Dr. (Mrs.) Amina Jumai Ahmed Suka (234) Aliyu'u uleiman Ngaski (235) Sheikh Muhammed Tukur Abdullahi (236) Adamu Bako (237) Ibrahim Olawale (238) Zalikat B. Adebeshin (239) Rafiu Animashau (240) Akano Yusuf Boloji (241) Mudiat Alake Balogun (242) Atis Habibu (243) Ada Abdul Tozi (244) Samalla Muhammed Dula (245) Ibrahim Muhammed Dula (246) Ibrahim Sani Kaura (247) Audu Bako Borgea (248) Umaru Aliyu Abu (249) Abdulrazaki D. Tsande (250) Muhammed Jibrin (251) Salisu Rabiu.

dah. Some crash victims were also known to have tried to avoid the plane. Family sources in Sokoto said Fatima Aliyu Nassarawa, a senior nursing officer with the medical delegation, had declared at one stage that she would not board such an old plane, but was persuaded by a friend who was anxious to return home.

As recriminations increased, accusing fingers were being pointed at Holdtrade Air Services, the agency that chartered the ill-fated plane. Only 48 hours before the crash, the FRCN Kaduna reporter in Jeddah quoted the minister of state for external affairs, Zakari Ibrahim, as charging that Holdtrade had failed to meet its contractual obligations and he had asked Nigeria Airways to evacuate the rest of the pilgrims. An official in Sokoto told *Citizen* that hours after the minister's order, Holdtrade pulled powerful strings in Lagos and overrode the minister's order. According to our source, with their only plane undergoing repairs in London, Holdtrade went to Ghana and picked up the old Nation Air DC-8. Officials of the Sokoto State pilgrims agency were plainly embarrassed by the DC-8, because they expected the aviation firm to produce a jumbo jet that will make one trip out of the state's 415 remaining pilgrims on Thursday. They only agreed to use the plane, they said, because many pilgrims were anxious to go home.

Nor was this the first time that Holdtrade bungled a hajj airlift. The firm made its debut in hajj operations only last year. Said to be owned by Lagos-based businessmen, it had a herculean task displacing Trans Air Services, the Kanonba-based firm that has dominated hajj airlifts for many years. Both Trans Air and Nigeria Airways tendered to airlift each pilgrim for \$900; Holdtrade asked for \$650. In order to make up for its very low quotation, it had won the contract,

Holdtrade chartered one Canadian-owned Boeing 747 named "Evergreen", with a capacity for 477 passengers. The 1900 hajj contract called for airlifting 4400 pilgrims from Kano, 1990 from Lagos, 1000 from Maiduguri and 1500 from Sokoto. The Holdtrade 747, described by some officials last year as "sick and accident-prone", was required to make 20 flights from these four airports in order to evacuate all the pilgrims. It started the airlift a week behind schedule and managed to complete it only a day before Saudi authorities closed down the King Abdul Aziz Airport in Jeddah.

The sorry state of last year's hajj airlift drew heated condemnations from many quarters. The hajj proper is a five-day affair, but Nigerian pilgrims spent 30 days each in Saudi Arabia while officials spent up to 55 days. Long after all other countries were through with the airlift, Nige-

contract. Senior officials in Sokoto told *Citizen* last week that there was stiff resistance within the state government to Holdtrade's bid. The leader of the anti-Holdtrade lobby, our sources said, was the deputy governor, Alhaji Isa Wasagu. Prior to his appointment as the deputy governor in September last year, Alhaji Isa was the chairman of the state's pilgrims welfare agency and was therefore thoroughly familiar with the operation. In fact, sources said, during last year's hajj, Alhaji Isa was infuriated by Holdtrade's incessant delays of the airlift. Holdtrade officials were also arrogant; Mr. Charles Gigi, their coordinator of the airlift in Jeddah, would only say anytime he was approached by officials that their plane was being serviced. Things came to a head when Alhaji Isa, as chairman, invited Mr. Gigi to come over and explain to him the cause of

As recriminations increased, accusing fingers were being pointed at Holdtrade Air Services, the agency that chartered the ill-fated plane.

rian pilgrims stood in queues. A Nigerian pilgrim stood in the queues for several days prior to his departure last year and another three days in the queue for the return trip, all because of the failure of Holdtrade. This made last year's hajj operation about the worst-organised in 25 years, although last year's pilgrims contingent of 8,800 was the smallest since 1965. Officials of Holdtrade said last year that, given its contract of 650 dollars per pilgrim, it could not break even with just one aircraft. But then, Holdtrade won the contract in an open bidding.

This year, after the federal government's dissolution of the Pilgrims Welfare Board and the transfer of its functions to the states, Holdtrade again bided for Sokoto's

the delays; the air firm's co-ordinator refused the invitation.

There were angry calls last week for a full judicial investigation into the cause of the tragedy. The leader of the Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam in Lagos, Alhaji Animashaun, told the *Vanguard*, "It is only when there is no evidence of human failure, no evidence of human avarice and greed, that we can as true believers resort to the excuse that it is the will of Allah". In Sokoto, too, people trouting to condole Alhaji Aliyu Nassarawa over the death of his wife angrily called for a probe; one of them, a former commissioner in the state, told *Citizen*, "This is not Allah's will. It is a human deed".

By Mahmud Jega and
Mohammad Bomol.

Katsina civil disturbances tribunal

What, whose, which law?

It is a war between two forces, law according to Qur'an and the English common law

The civil disturbances special tribunal trying persons who allegedly caused a breach of the public peace on April 19, in Katsina is continuing with its sitting. But, it has almost become predictable what will happen even before the tribunal concludes its sitting. It is only expected that when two bodies are in conflict, and they seek a way out, but the way chosen is not recognised by one of the groups, is bound to lose out in the end. It is moreso, in the case of the Katsina trial. It is a case in which the defendants do not recognise the law under which they are being tried.

Isa Gambo Bature, one of the prosecution counsels summed it all up when he said that the accused persons "derived the legitimacy for their action from Islamic laws

the defendants Malam Nuhu Yahaya opened his own defence thus: "we are only giving evidence in consultation with the Holy Qur'an. That is to say, whatever we say is according to Allah's injunction". And that is the focal point of all the defendants. Furthermore, they believe that since the society has deviated from Allah's ways and since the Prophet Muhammed (S.A.W.) says the one with wisdom is he who does what will save him in the hereafter "we insist on being obedient and respectful to Allah's wishes".

Time after time, the trial followed the same scenario. The defendants, who rejected any attempt to label them as Shiites, but Muslim Brothers, are divided into six groups, each consisting of between

A leader of one of the groups, Nuhu Yahaya, on July 9, told the tribunal that "we would have chosen not to appear, since our colleagues have done so. We are all one and bound by the same course, common purpose and singleness of belief". That was after several groups had appeared before the tribunal.

"Exceptionally brilliant". That was the view of a lawyer of the defendants' handling of cross-examination — usually a lawyers job. He however added that the defendants were operating from a different legal framework, the whole process is certain to count against them. That also informs some persons' argument that this brings to the fore the relevance of Sharia. This is because whatever verdict the tribunal may announce will never be accepted by them. However, some headway is being made from the submissions of the prosecution witnesses, mostly police and the cross-examination by the defendants.

Monday, July 8, was like any day for the tribunal. The only difference was that the group appearing first was the one headed by the April 19, procession leader, Malam Yakubu Yahaya. As expected, the sitting was eventful. Malam Yakubu started with a threat that they would boycott the sitting of the tribunal if nothing was done to improve the poor condition of the cells they were being kept in. The power and justification for that threat was Malam Yahaya's faultless logic that "if the tribunal does not redress our plight, then it amounts to meaning that it has already decided our case and as such our continual attendance of the trial



The two Yahaya's: the Governor of Katsina State and the arraigned muslim leader

(but since) Nigeria is not yet governed by such laws, it is therefore a criminal conspiracy". Apparently in response to this statement, one of

17 and 22 persons. Turning down the services of lawyers, they defended themselves, usually with one of them as the main spokesman.

is baseless". He cited instances of a certain cell at the G.R.A. police station that is meant for two or three persons, but which 25 of the suspects are being held in. Observers would also see that most of the suspects looked weary and emaciated. Some could not even stand in the dock. One, belonging to the Nuhu Yahaya group was also unable to walk; his left leg looked seriously infected and he was said to be partially deaf. The chairman of the tribunal Mr. Justice Rabiu D. Mohammed responded favourably. He said that "the tribunal has noted your complaints and everything will be done to correct the situation".

When it came down to the basic question of who or what actually caused the violent demonstration, the police and the suspects had conflicting claims, expectedly. For instance, ASP Manir Ibrahim of the



Chief Justice of the Federation Bello

Quick Intervention Unit, told the tribunal that the suspects were advised against the April 19 procession, and they "blindly refused" to heed in which case "we had no choice but to disperse them using teargas; and they hauled stones at us".

Nuhu Yahaya said that "DPP

Aliyu Garba Bakori was on duty the day of the demonstration, that it was a peaceful procession. But not "quite two minutes after we started, the police threw teargas at us". Malam Yakubu Yahaya's cross-examining of SP Akilu Bakori only brought to the fore the divergent sources that informed their submissions. Malam Yahaya queried, "what right have you (policeman) to search my house without my consent?" He reasoned that "by packing my things, the police have infringed on my freedom of worship". He further explained that under the sharia no one is allowed into another's house without the other's express permission. Of course, SP Akilu Bakori disagreed, insisting that the police has been empowered by the law of the country to search the premises of suspects and since Malam Yahaya and his followers were such, he was only exercising his constitutional duty. One other suspect, Abdul Rasheed Salisu argued that by arresting them for shouting Allahu Akbar. i.e Allah is Great, "the police should go to mosques and arrest anyone who proclaims Allahu Akbar." To this, A.S.P Mohammed Garba said, "I am not a madman to go to the Mosque and make an arrest. I only arrest to keep law and order. On the 19 of April, you and your followers were not orderly."

The suspects' contentions boiled down to the issue of how one could seek redress under a law that seemed unprotective of the religious rights of individuals. We have, said the suspects, waited for the government to act since 1978 when the person of the Prophet has been persistently abused. Nothing was done. They listed insults heaped on the person of the Prophet that included one that he was epileptic; that he married a prostitute and that Dauda, a character in the comic magazine, *Lolly* was encouraged by the Prophet to be promiscuous. They concluded by noting that in Sharia, anyone, who disregarded the Prophet is liable to be killed,

adding that "If congregating to do what the Prophet preaches is our offence, then we have no regrets, we'll continue to do such."

The suspects also explained that in Nigeria a man who abused the Hausas and the person of the Sardauna was removed as a governor and later dismissed from the army and where a tribe, the Birom where empowered by the authority to kill whoever called them Shau Shau, a name they regard as derogatory, but the Prophet of Allah was called all sorts of names even in the newspapers with impunity, then we are only being told that we have to do what we can to defend our beliefs. "Inactivity, in the face of such blatant provocation," they said, "tantamounted to disassociating ourselves from the Prophet".

It came to a point where even the suspects', names turned into the subject of a heated polemic. The leader of the group insisted that they are not Shiites, "We are Muslim Brothers," he said. But SP Stephen Tiiza countered that, "I learnt you are called Shiites; may be I am ignorant". The suspects also ensured that copies of *Lolly*, *Fun Times* and *Weekend Concord* magazines were tendered as exhibits. These publications published articles that blasphemed person of the Prophet.

The police claimed that, under the law of the land, the procession that led to the April 19, rioting was illegal and that it constituted public disturbances. The suspects said they were on a peaceful demonstration, which is not illegal since even Governor Madaki has said that they have the right to demonstrate even inside his bedroom. In that case, it degenerated only because police were interested in bringing "our name into disrepute." As to the issue of putting houses ablaze, one of the suspects asked, "Between stones and explosives, which is more likely to cause a fire"? The answer is pretty obvious.

By Rabiu Barde in Katsina

Ogbemudia Resigns after a fashion

Was he really threatened by a gun-wielding staff?

Remi Itie of the *New Nigerian* had the inside track on the story. Long before any other reporter, she broke the news of Samuel Ogbemudia's anticipated resignation from the Nigerian Railways Corporation, NRC, on July 13. But there was a new twist to the exit. According to the paper "his resignation followed an attempt on his life by a senior officer of the Corporation who is now detained in a railway police cell." Miss Itie added that Railway Police Commissioner, Johnson Ighonere, was not around to confirm her story, but "according to a source, Dr. Ogbemudia left immediately his assailant was taken away and wrote a letter of resignation copies of which he later submitted to the

ministry of transport and the secretary to the federal government".

It took another three days before an official confirmation came. Other newspapers carried the story of Ogbemudia's resignation on July 16, with one claiming that he took the decision out of "concern for his personal safety," an allusion to the alleged assassination attempt. Esemie Essien, press secretary to the Minister of Transport told *Citizen* that the former sole administrator sent his resignation letter to the minister on July 11 and it was immediately accepted. He declined to state the reasons Ogbemudia gave for relinquishing his post saying "only the minister (who was out of the country) can answer that question; all I know is that he has tendered his resignation letter."

After interviewing several people including the public relations officer NRC, Ighonere, secretary of Nigerian Union of Railwaymen (NUR) and the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Nuhu Aliyu, our investigation shows the assassination saga was more of a farce than a potential tragedy.

The suspect, Aminu Sada, a Principal Commercial Officer with the NRC, has drinking problem. Narrating the story, NRC PRO, David

Ndakotsu said: "the previous night to the incidence, he was seen at the (Railway) club drinking in the company of some friends; he was there up to 5 am. The following day, when he retired to his house within the corporation. He came to the office around 8 am and he immediately phoned the sole administrator's office that he wanted to see him, but he was told that he was not available. He then phoned the director of administration but he was told that he too was yet to come to the office." Aminu then decided to come to the DA's office and wait. Shortly after that, he saw Ogbemudia coming up the stairs that only he and the DA use and he jumped to follow him to his office.

Ndakotsu said "the sole administrator even passed by him, so he had the opportunity of killing ... rather he was trailing him to his office and when he got to the entrance, the sole administrator entered his office, but the policeman, prevented him (Aminu) from entering, and it was now that He started abusing the policeman. He brought out a gun..." and started brandishing it about.

Joseph Chucks Nwajei, general secretary of NUR, said he came to know Aminu only on the day of the incidence. "I went to Ebute Metta on that date, to know whether he was a member (of the union) or not. I saw the man on the floor drunk and when I questioned him I found out that he was not a member of our union. He is a senior staff on Grade level 12... He was dead drunk when I saw him on the day of the incident



Ogbemudia: concerned for his safety

at around 830 am".

Police Commissioner Igbonereno said the gun held by Aminu is Perfecta Model G3, with serial number PTB 165. In the confusion, Aminu threw the gun away before it was retrieved by other workers. Asked about the nature of the gun and Aminu's motive for approaching the sole administrator's office with it, the commissioner said "We sent the case to force C.I.D., Alagbon. It is they who will analyse the weapon. We don't know his (Aminu's motive). But Ogbemudia's life was not under threat.... He (Aminu) didn't go to Ogbemudia's office with a gun as such. It is not correct

employees of the corporation are being held in connection with the purported attempt —the secretary to the Director of Administration and one Aliyu.

"Aminu joined the NRC in March 1990 on transfer from the Katsina State Water Board. He schooled variously at Kaduna Polytechnic, University of Technology, St. Etienne France and Chelsea College of Aeronautical and Automobile Engineering Shoreham, United Kingdom.

On Thursday morning when the incident happened, it was common knowledge among senior management staff of the NRC that Dr. Ogbemudia had resigned.

After interviewing several people including the public relations officer NRC, Igbonereno, secretary of Nigerian Union of Railwaymen (NUR) and the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Nuhu Aliyu, our investigation shows the assassination saga was more of a farce than a potential tragedy.

to say that somebody went to the administrator's office and threatened him with gun. It was a small weapon and it had no bullets in it."

At the office of the Deputy Inspector General of Police Alagbon, Nuhu Aliyu asked one of his officers deputy Commissioner (General Investigations) Prince Amen E. Ogakhire to give us full brief on the case.

According to him: Muhammed Aminu Sada is a 38 year old Principal Traffic and Commercial Officer with the Nigerian Railway Corporation (NRC). He is being held in connection with the incident of Thursday July 11, 1991 when an attempt was allegedly made on Dr. Ogbemudia's life. Two other

Aminu saw the sole administrator walking to his office and attempted to follow him.

Ogbemudia's orderly, Niyi Falodun, a police corporal refused him passage on the ground that his boss had yet to settle down in his office. Aminu insisted on the ground that he as a senior officer ought to have unfettered access to the sole administrator. There was a shouting march during which the secretary to Ogbemudia came out of her office. Aminu told her "I wanted to see him but that stupid police officer has refused me permission. Just give me permission I'll find time to deal with the stupid man".

"At that juncture, the secretary to the (SA) noticed that Sada had a gun and courteously asked him to see the assistant director (personnel) instead. With the

secretary signalling to the police orderly to keep his distance, they both checked the assistant director (personnel) who was yet to report to the office. They went over to the protocol officer's office. He too was not around. By this time, the secretary to the director of administration who saw Aminu with the gun warned the suspect of the danger inherent in his brandishing the gun about.

"Aminu responded by flinging the gun at him. He told the man to keep it for him meanwhile. The apprehensive secretary later handed it over to one Aliyu who kept it for a while before returning it to him (the secretary). It was the secretary who later handed over the gun to the police.

"The "gun" is a Perfecta Pistol Model G3 Caliber 6mm. It is German made. It was discovered however that the gun not only had no ammunition, but is a malfunctioning one. We suspect that though the same man was not on a mission to kill. If that were so the gun would be a serviceable one. One that would make no mistake. What he has done now is tantamount to self-destruction. You cannot use a gun without ammunition. He did not even have dummy ammunition".

Aminu said in his statement that "I picked it up on the streets two months ago". On the question of why he wanted to see Ogbemudia however he has not been consistent. First he said he was going to send off Ogbemudia with it. Later he said his intention was give it to Ogbemudia for onward transmission to the police.

Charges

The suspect is to be arraigned before the Robbery and Firearms Tribunal for unlawful possession of a prohibited weapon. Penalty for contravention of Decree No.5 under which he is being charged is 10/11 years in jail without option of fine.

By Kabiru Yusuf, with Yinka Tella and Samson Ojo



NIGERIAN RAILWAY CORPORATION

The Nigerian Railway Corporation has introduced Passenger/Freight Insurance Scheme for its Passengers and corporate clients.

The Insurance Scheme is against risks resulting from train mishap, including derailment or fire, train piracy or other similar mishap between the period of embarkation and disembarkation.

Regarding Passenger cover,

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------|
| (1) Insurance benefits at death | - ₦50,000.00 |
| (2) Permanent disablement | - ₦50,000.00 |
| (3) Medical Expenses | - ₦20,000.00 |

Freight Insurance is specifically for corporate clients of the Nigerian Railway Corporation only. The risk insured is similar loss from train derailment, etc, and cover period is from point of loading to the point of off-loading.

The objective of the Insurance Scheme include:

- (1) To protect lives and properties of passengers and clients.
- (2) To make travelling by train inviting and more secured.
- (3) To raise standard of railway service in Nigeria.

The Insurance Scheme commenced on August 1, 1990.

Use rail services and enjoy the new Passenger/Freight
Insurance Scheme



Lagos State SDP

Dosunmu muddles the waters

As crisis between the Lagos State SDP and its national secretariat deepens....



Dosunmu: Salvage mission?

The crisis of confidence between the National Secretariat of the Social Democratic Party, SDP, and its Lagos State executive council deepened last week as the latter in defiance of the former's directive, held congress elections in ten wards of the state. But the party's national deputy chairman Augustus Babalola, responded with an immediate nullification of the elections insisting that the agreement between the state executive council and the national secretariat was that, the elections would be suspended indefinitely until the primaries complaint committee set up to look into protests against the June 13 and 23 congresses submit its report.

As far as Babalola was concerned, that committee was yet to do so. Consequently, any election held without clearance from the national secretariat would be void. A day later, the state chairman, Alhaji Muniru Baruwa, gathered political correspondents at the party secretariat in Ikeja, and told them that he took exception to the meddlesomeness of the national secretariat in the affairs of the party in the state. He described the cancellation of the July 14 congress as high-handed and accused the national chairman, Babagana Kingibe of complicity in the unfolding crisis in the state. Baruwa insisted that the national executive council of the party had approved the results of the June 13 and 23 congress on June 25 and 26 and did not see what business the national chairman had interfering in what they were doing in the state.

Ambassador Kingibe was said to be out of Lagos when *Citizen* called at his Adewola Street, Ikoyi

office, last week. But a reliable source at the party secretariat told *Citizen* that the nullification of the congress elections was effective and that as soon as both secretariats reach an agreement on the report of the primaries complaint committee, which was expected last week, a new date would be announced for fresh elections.

Following protestations from at least five of the seven governorship aspirants against procedural defects and electoral malpractice during the June congress, the state executive council set up a primaries complaint committee, made up of 11 members, to examine their complaints and make recommendations to the council. The Committee was headed by Alex Oni, the party's resident electoral officer.

When the committee first met in the first week of July, its deliberations were rowdy with two opposing groups emerging. By the time it adjourned on July 12, it was clear that the committee could not arrive at an unanimous decision. Specifically the committee was polarised into two, one for Professor Femi Agbalajobi while the other consisted of supporters of the other six candidates who by now joined in a marriage of convenience against their common foe — Professor Femi Agbalajobi. When eventually, the committee submitted its interim report on July 13, to the state secretariat, it was riddled with accusations and counter accusations. Nine out of the eleven member committee led by its secretary Ola Oluwa, said that the elections were marred by procedural irregularities and incidence of double voting and favoured an outright cancellation of

the results in all the wards of the state. The other group which include Alex Oni, its chairman, favoured re-election in only 51 wards. Oni's group won the day.

The SDP Lagos crisis dates back to early January this year, when the state executive council was said to have, at the prompting of Alhaji Lateef Jakande, former civilian governor of the state, nominated Professor Agbalajobi as the party's flag bearer in the impending December governorship elections. Since then, the other candidates particularly his closest rivals, Dapo, Sarumi and Yomi Edu, have viewed every action of the executive council with suspicion.

While the face-off between the national and state secretariat of the party showed no sign of a thaw, last week Tokunbo Awolowo Dosunmu, announced her intention to contest the governorship of the state. This late entry put paid to speculations that she was considering a vice presidential ticket in a Kingibe presidential platform. In announcing her intention last week, Dosunmu said she had come to perform a salvaging mission in the SDP.

There is no doubt that the party needs a saviour. If the current crisis persists, it may jeopardise SDP's chances at the December polls.

It was not clear as at last week, how the impasse would be resolved but seven local government chairmen of the party in the state have announced their support for the position of the national secretariat.

By Bolaji Adebisi



When it comes to
prompt and
high quality service,
Savannah Bank
has so much
to offer.

**We treat you
like a person..
not just a number.**



Savannah Bank of Nigeria PLC

62/66 Broad Street, P.O. Box 2317, Lagos. Tel. 600470-9 (10 lines), 600970 (10 lines)
Branches throughout Nigeria

— the Personal Service Bank

Naira

Keeping it clean

CBN intensifies campaign to keep the Naira crisp and clean

The Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), the custodian of the nation's currency is highly worried about the mishandling of Naira notes. It said the "unstatefully" condition of the Naira is because of improper handling. To check further abuse of the Naira, the CBN has since May this year, embarked on a nation-wide public enlightenment programme to educate the public on proper handling of the Naira.

There are two or perhaps three reasons the CBN is disturbed about, according to C. J. Egwuonwu, the CBN Branch Controller, Kaduna. First, the currency-in-circulation rose from modest 151.5 million Naira in 1959 to over 16 billion Naira in 1990. These notes have to be "serviced" and kept in "good condition." It has become increasingly costly to keep these notes clean considering the rate at which they are re-cycled. This situation has led to the short life span of the naira which on the average is 2 years, but last less than that here.

Second, a nation's currency is a symbol of its sovereignty and pride. Usually, they carry portraits of individuals who played significant roles in a nation's economic, political or cultural development. Dirty and torn notes in circulation mirror the image of the country. It does not "speak well of us as people to mishandle our nation's currency."

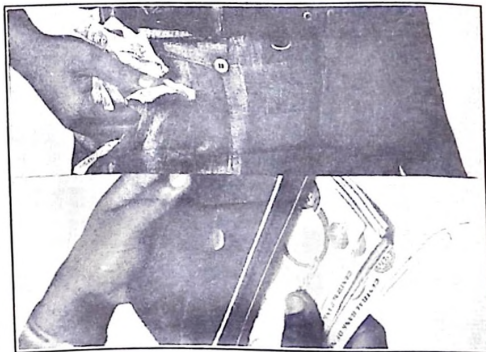
Lastly, there is the security to consider. Counterfeit detection is easier with clean notes than with poor quality ones.

The question is can the CBN

effect positive change in view of the fact the bad habit cuts across all strata of the society? Perhaps, it is in recognition of this obstacle, the CBN has decided not to go it alone. It has solicited for assistance from the state and local governments and so far, it does seem to have gained a lot



CBN Governor: Ahmed



The how to handle Naira poster

of such support from the states as Egwuonwu revealed a fortnight ago at Kaduna during the launching of the state chapter of the Campaign Against the Abuse of the Naira.

At a well attended launching ceremony, Governor Tanko Ayuba who was represented by his deputy Mrs. Pamela Sadauki announced that the state government has already set up a publicity committee to compliment the effort of the CBN.

The committee which is headed by the state Commissioner for Information and Culture, Alhaji Khalifa Baba Ahmed and representatives of the CBN and state Ministry of Information has five weeks to embark on enlightenment campaign tour of all parts of the state.

The governor also used the occasion to enjoin all traditional rulers, chairmen of the local councils and the people of the state to co-

operate with the committee.

According to the governor, beside being the medium of exchange of good and services, a nation's currency is a symbol of its "political independence and economic prowess." It is also used to record "posterity." He noted that today the nation's currencies carry Nigerians who are outstanding in our recent history, adding that this is the more reason why Naira

should be handled with care.

Governor Tanko Ayuba who decried the ways Nigerians treat our currency and the consequent prohibitive cost of replacement, however commended the CBN for rising to the task of stopping the damage.

Mrs. C. O. Damazio who demonstrated the ways Naira is abused recommend the use of wallets or envelopes for ladies/men and taxi drivers, while meat sellers and

market women are advised to use bags worn around the waists.

But as most observers at the occasion suggest and this opinion is also shared by Mrs. Damazio, effective solution for continued circulation of clean notes is to discourage cash carrying culture among Nigerians by introducing confidence in the use of cheques and banks.

By Abu Momoh

BUSINESS BRIEFS

Accord unit trusts priority — Olashore

The Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) has been advised to evolve a deliberate policy and framework which would accord unit trust schemes some priority in the allotment of all public issues especially the privatised companies.

The advice was given by Chief Oladele Olashore, the chairman/chief executive of Lead Merchant Bank Limited at the launching of Lead

Unit Trust Scheme (LUTS). He suggested that the commission should consider favourably the request of any bank that acts as manager of a unit trust scheme to invest such funds in an in-house investment instrument.

He also counselled that unit trust incomes should be exempted from withholding tax in addition to other tax incentives as envisaged in the 1991 budget in order to make

investments in unit trust schemes more attractive to the investing public, particularly the low-income earners to whom the scheme is targeted.

Alhaji Aliyu Mohammed, the Secretary to the Federal Government, who doubled as chairman and launcher, advised Lead Merchant Bank Limited to focus its publicity and enlightenment campaign on rural dwellers and other low income earners to ensure that the scheme achieves its objectives of reaching the grassroot investors.

Mohammed urged



Olashore

the general public, investment and pension and fund managers, corporate treasurers and other fund managers to take full advantage of the opportunities offered by the scheme.

Ultimate out with BMW 3 series

Ultimate Motors, the sole representative of Bavarian Motor Works (BMW) Germany in Nigeria, has unveiled the 1991 models of BMW 3 series. The 1991 series are 316i, 318i, 320i and 325i respectively.

The new series are approximately 11 centimetres (4.33") longer, over 5 centimetres (1.96") wider and more than 1 centimetres (0.40") higher

than its predecessors. They pack either an automatic transmission gear box or a manual shift transmission.

Power is provided by the modern four and six cylinder engines introduced into the white-and-blue range in the course of the last three years. Featuring electronic engine management, all units excel through their outstanding environmental care (with a three-way

catalytic converter controlled by oxygen sensor naturally being standard on all models and superior power and performance. The speed limit ranges from 220 to a cruising 260km per hour.

According to the General Manager of Ultimate motors, Aris Alexandrou, one of the unique feature of BMWs is that they are tropicalised especially on the radiator to avoid overheat.

The series has a built-in air conditioning unit, strong shock absorbers, a quartz clock and seat belts for the driver and three passengers. The first series design is expected to last for the next five years before the introduction of another series into the market.

First service falls due at 10,000 kilometres. However, with a price tag of 300,000 Naira for the least of the series (318i) the BMW 3 may only be a wish for many.

By Tola Sunday

Banks

What capital base?

CBN's directive on capital base for banks comes under scrutiny

In Nigeria, the minimum paid up capital requirement for banks has been regularly reviewed over the years. As prescribed by the Banking Decree of 1969, the minimum paid-up capital requirement is 600,000 Naira for commercial banks not directly or indirectly controlled from abroad, 1.5 million Naira for commercial banks directly or indirectly controlled from abroad and 2 million for merchant banks.



NDIC's Ehadoghe

However, these minimal bases were set taking the strength of the Naira into account. According to the 1988 CBN report, the capital base was increased to 10 million Naira for commercial banks and 6 million Naira for merchant banks; in 1989, it was 20 million Naira for commercial banks and 12 million Naira for merchant banks while the last review in November 1990 raised the minimum paid up capital of commercial and merchant banks to 50 million Naira and 40 million Naira respectively.

The latest review, which is contained in the 1990 CBN prudential Citizen. July 22, 1991

guidelines for licensed banks gives the banks up to February 14, 1992 to meet the new requirement. *Citizen* gathered last week that the latest worry of bank chief executives is how to meet the stipulated equity base. To address the issue, the Banking and Finance Houses Trade Group of the Lagos Chamber of Commerce and Industry (LCCI) last week held a symposium, to examine the effects of the recent government directive on the banking industry.

Supporting the increase in the capital base of banks in the country, the chairman of the Trade Group, F.A. Mabadaje, argued that "with the depreciation of the Naira, and the need to ensure correspondence in our banking institutions, it has become necessary to convert into hard currencies from time to time the value of our capital base and in turn our bank balance sheet drawn up in local currency so as to enable a fair comparison to be made."

Bankers whom *Citizen* spoke with last week were however concerned, not so much with the recent directive but how to meet the requirements of the CBN prudential guideline.

The CBN and the Nigerian Deposit Insurance Corporation (NDIC), the two bodies that supervise the activities of banks in the country are no less concerned. Last week, the managing director of NDIC, John Ehadoghe told *Jour-nalists* in Lagos that the equity base of at least seven state government owned banks is below the minimum requirement. According to the NDIC annual report and statement of accounts for 1989, the seven state governments owned banks whose capital base is below the required 20 million Naira are: Co-operative and

Commerce Bank Limited, in which the Imo and Anambra State governments have 79.83 percent share; Co-operative and Development Bank Limited with a share of 88.67 percent by Akwa Ibom and Cross River; Gamji Bank of Nigeria Limited, owned by Sokoto State government and Inter-city Bank Limited, wholly owned by the Niger State government.

Others are Mercantile Bank in which Cross River and Akwa Ibom have 68 percent; Premier Commercial Bank, 68 percent owned by the Borno State government and Nigeria Universal Bank which is 100 percent owned by the Kaduna State government.

As the 1992 deadline approaches, the NDIC managing director has asked the state governments to shore up the capital base of these weak banks or hand them over to NDIC. Herbert Orji, managing director and chief executive of Progress Bank of Nigeria PLC, however believes that the recent directive would have some negative effects on the economy. These include: mass withdrawal of licenses already given out to banks on the grounds of inability to comply with the increase in minimum capital requirement; reduction of investment in the banking industry and a spate of mergers and acquisitions as a result of the new capital requirement and the reduced returns on capital invested.

While participants at the one day symposium agree that the capital base of banks should be adequate to cater for losses, they appealed to the CBN to extend the February 14, 1992 deadline to enable affected banks scout for additional funds to adjust their capital base.

By Tola Sunday

South Africa

Sanctions: Thatcher wins

The west says sanctions against the racists is history, but the central issue of black enfranchisement remains

The west had always insisted that sanctions against racist South Africa would hurt the black majority more than it would the white rulers. In the forefront was the former British prime minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher. Her obsession with South Africa knew no bounds. She defied everybody and sought to influence America, but for the level-headedness of its legislators.

It was therefore the least surprising that at the first opportunity, the west lifted the sanctions arguing that F.W. de Klerk has not only "reformed" apartheid, but had met all the conditions that warranted the imposition of economic sanctions against South Africa in 1986. However, official US embargo on arms sales and new IMF loans to the racists remain in force.

President Bush of the United States of America, set the pace when in a nation-wide address on July 10, announced that he was satisfied that Pretoria had repealed the legislative pillars of apartheid. His major concern in lifting the sanctions, he said,

was the condition of blacks and accordingly announced a doubling of aid to black South Africans to 80 million dollars.

The U.S government had never subscribed to sanctions in the first place. President Bush himself admitted as much. As vice-president under Ronald Reagan, he had supported the theory of "constructive engagement" which largely encouraged the racists to wage economic and political war with the frontline states and intensify repression at home.

Japan, Britain, the International Olympics Committee and the European Community followed up on America's action by taking various steps to lift sanctions or bans on South Africa. British foreign secretary, Douglas Hurd, ending a visit to the racist enclave, not unnaturally agreed with the Americans. He said that "investment from abroad is necessary in post-apartheid South Africa." US based Multi-national companies though have said that there is no economic benefit in their re-investing in South Africa now.

Reactions to the American action came as swiftly as the announcement of the lifting of the sanctions. Roland Dellums, a congressman from California, said Bush had never been eager about sanctions and that South Africa had repeatedly shown that it could not be trusted. Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress, ANC, described the action as premature. He said that the conditions set in the 1986 Act by the U.S. had not been met because the progress of dismantling apartheid had not

proceeded as far as it should have been.

In Africa, reactions were not as unanimous as was expected. President Kenneth Kaunda, perhaps plagued by mounting opposition to his rule as a result of economic and political decline largely engineered by South Africa, said Africa should look at it more positively. He was quoted as saying that lifting of sanctions is a trend that is "catching up quite fast." However, the Organisation of African Unity, OAU, was unequivocal in its denouncement.

In a widely circulated press statement, the OAU said the lifting of the sanctions "also undermines a shining period of American foreign policy which doggedly represented all that is good in historical and constitutional American abhorrence of man's inhumanity to man" and that Bush's decision is "a most unwelcome development."

Despite the reforms in South Africa which the OAU has noted, the statement said, "South Africa remains a deeply oppressive, unequal and divisive political system" and the action would likely lead to the hardening of positions in the contact between the ANC and the government. The OAU said lifting the sanctions amounted to rewarding the discredited policies of apartheid.

The OAU ad-hoc committee on Southern Africa is to meet July 29 in Abuja to "consider the most appropriate way to support the struggle."

Meanwhile, the group of seven rich nations which met in London last week, ended their meeting with a resolution that the question of sanctions against South Africa should be regarded as dead. The point which the west is deliberately ignoring is the central issue of one-man-one-vote. Until that is achieved, as President Yoweri Museveni, said, all other matters are peripheral.

By Mohammad Bomei
with agency reports.



Thatcher: her wish satisfied

Mauritania

Some are more equal

Mauritanians are being asked to close ranks, but racial tensions encouraged by government policy won't let them

A confident President Maouya Ould Sid'Ahmed Taya, like the proverbial lizard that jumped from an *iroko* tree, could boast of a feat no one else had achieved, after casting his ballot in the July 13 referendum that "approved" a new constitution that would see multiparty elections holding in Mauritania "before the end of the year", the first since independence 21 years ago.

"We have provided full democracy, full democracy", he said. "That's what our people wanted". The government claimed the new constitution, which gives the president a six-year tenure, provides for a bicameral legislature and makes Islam the sole source of law, received a 98 per cent "yes" vote. The turnout was reportedly 85 per cent. If it was indeed so, then it was a big improvement on the 25 per cent for

last December's municipal elections.

But the underground opposition says the government's figures were unrealistic. It reckons that the turn-out could not have been more than 30 per cent. "There were no signs of long queues at polling centres", an opposition spokesman said. It called for a boycott of the referendum because (a) the constitution gives the president "excessive powers", and (b) it fails to represent Mauritania's blacks, who form about a third of the country's population of 1.7 million.

President Taya got the approval vote from the majority northern Arab Moors. The blacks, represented by the *Hal Pulaar*, stayed away. Not even a threat by local authorities to withdraw welfare supplies as punishment for not voting could move their feet towards polling centres. One black activist muttered to himself: "As an African I don't see myself in that constitution. It's for Arabs". And the *haratin*, black former slaves who have been assimilated into the Moorish culture.

With the blacks effectively excluded from main stream Mauritanian politics, the president's fulfilment could turn out to be his undoing. The new constitution does not hold out any hope for an end to the traditional ethnic tension between Arabs and blacks. In 1989 it exploded into violence, in which hundreds of blacks died. That year human rights groups accused the government of torturing and killing hundreds of its black citizens.

Many of them fled into the

country's southern neighbour, Senegal, sparking off a diplomatic row that eventually blossomed into a military skirmish. Today, the two countries, pushed by the Organisation of African Unity, OAU, are trying to sort themselves out of their own mess. Their foreign ministers met in Port Louis, Mauritius July 10

President Taya got the approval vote from the majority northern Arab Moors. The blacks, represented by the *Hal Pulaar*, stayed away. Not even a threat by local authorities to withdraw welfare supplies as punishment for not voting could move their feet towards polling centres.

and were expected to meet again on July 18 in Guinea Bissau.

Mauritania at peace with its own population and neighbours stands a better chance of making a success of its march toward multiparty democracy, putting itself in the same league as other former French colonies like Benin, which disposed of its military dictator earlier in the year in a multi-party election. Then and only then perhaps can it properly call itself the "bridge" between black Africa and the Arab world.



Taya: "we have provided full democracy"

G 7 Summit

Endorses "preventive diplomacy"

A more radical, interventionist role is proposed for the United Nations and Soviet president, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev looking for aid goes home with empty cap

Leaders of the so-called Group of Seven, made up of the United States, Britain, Germany, Italy, France, Japan and Canada, unarguably the world's richest nations ended a three-day summit in the middle of last week in London with an all-embracing 16-point declaration on global political issues. For the first, economics was overshadowed by politics.

The declaration that American secretary of state James Baker announced to the rest of the world on July 17, endorsed a radical transformation of the United Nations, which would make it "a stronger, more effective and efficient" world peace-keeper. The leaders said they were "committed to" turning the world body into an interventionist force, capable of "protecting human rights and maintaining peace and security for all and deterring aggression." A new concept, "preventive diplomacy," is their priority, they said.

In arguing for a stronger UN, the G7 leaders, no doubt, were drawing a lesson from the end of the cold war between West and East and the role the world body played in the more recent Gulf war.

On the Gulf, the G7 resolved not to lift sanctions against Iraq until it has fulfilled "all relevant UN Security Council resolutions and the people of Iraq and their neighbours could live without fear of intimidation, repression or attack." Significantly, they recognised the right of the Iraqis to "democratically choose" their leaders, rather than they being imposed from outside.

Their position on the Middle East was to support the American peace

initiative, which calls for a stop to Israeli settlements in occupied Arab lands, an end to Arab boycott of Israel and the beginning of "parallel and direct" peace talks between Israel and Palestinian representatives and between Israel and its Arab neighbours. On South Africa, the G7 leaders urged new economic investment in that minority white-ruled



Host leader Major of Britain

country and "other policies to restore access to all foreign borrowing." They argued that "an economic crisis will make political reform more difficult."

But the excitement of the summit was the presence of the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. He came looking for, not money, he said, but the West's appreciation of his reform programme at home and the problems he is facing. The appreciation he got in the form of a six-point assistance strategy—a package of measures meant to integrate the Soviet Union into the world economy.

The plan includes associate membership of the International Mone-

etary Fund, IMF and the World Bank, but no prospect of immediate access to loans; an offer of financial advice and technical assistance to "reconstruct key sectors" of the Soviet economy. The leaders of the seven industrialised countries refrained from offering Mr. Gorbachev any cash, until there emerges "a clear, settled economic position between the centre and republics."

Back home the thinking is that the Soviet leader did not get a firm commitment to hand out money because "he was not bold." Moscovites fear that their leaders have compromised too much over the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, (START). Mr. Gorbachev and President George Bush reached an agreement on broad outlines of the treaty during the G7 London summit and the American leader will be going to Moscow July 30 — 31, for further talks that are expected to lead to the signing of the treaty. It seeks a 30 per cent reduction of long range nuclear weapons on both sides.

A newspaper editor in Moscow said that the Soviet people thought a nuclear war was still distant and considered START only a bargaining chip for economic help from the West. "Now they have START, but we have no help," he lamented. Another critic called Mr. Gorbachev "a blackmailer who did not come back with the ransom." But in the eyes of the west, Mr. Gorbachev "is a proud man," who has come to tell the G7 leaders that he has got big problems and wanted their help and understanding.

By Tawey Zakka, with agency reports.



KABIRU YUSUF

claim that his son has become a Christian evangelist. Another "gaunt man", from the way the magazine described his circumstances, the so-called son of the Sultan gave his name as Ahmed Dan Musa. His story was that he became a Christian in 1977; an attempt was made on his life by his relatives, so he fled down south, first to Ilorin, then to Ibadan where

ground? The magazine did something smarter. It went back to Ibadan and interrogated Ahmed Dan-Musa more thoroughly. It published this second encounter on July 15, with the more cautious headline: "Ahmed Dan Musa: Is he the Sultan's son?" Here's a brief but revealing excerpt from the interview.

Classique: You don't know your number among the late Sultan's children.

Musa: Right from beginning, there had been dispute about my paternity. Right? But, I know my source, I know where I come from. Why they are all doing this is because I am a Christian.

Classique: When did the dispute (over your paternity) start?

Musa: Right from childbirth. I was born in 1955. I was born and bred in Gusau at the Gusau General Hospital.

Classique: Why was there a quarrel over your paternity? (He asked me to switch off the tape at this point. I did, but insisted that I want all his responses on tape so as to clear the issue. He asked me to switch the tape on).

Musa: I grew up in Lagos. As an outcast who had no one to take care of me, I grew up in Lagos.

Classique: Was there any time you were living in the Sultan's household?

Musa: No, no. I never lived there".

Now, was Ahmed Dan Musa "born and bred in Gusau" or did he "grew up in Lagos"? Either way the magazine should have made an attempt to corroborate his story and also check it for internal consistency. A man, half-demented by hard times, "wobbles" in with some cock and bull story. Next he is on the cover of some magazine. In this era of hard-sell it is very tempting to buy such stories. With "scoops" like these who needs real news!

With "scoops" like these...

Last week, Lagos-based magazines were almost unanimous that they had caught out one of their own—*Newswatch*—swallowing a "dummy scoop", hook, line and sinker. The magazine had splashed "the confessions of a coup plotter" on its cover of Monday July 7. Ray Ekpu must have been stunned that the first reaction to the story was not from the SSS, but other journalists, who said, in effect, that the confessions were counterfeit. Sounding like an embattled general under cross-fire, Ekpu stood his ground: "we stand by our story, absolutely".

But Dele Momodu, editor of soft-sale magazine *Classique*, who claimed the same "gaunt man" had tried to sell him the story on June 24, said that when he looked at *Newswatch* cover for the week, "I did not have to look twice before recognising his face..... And I was so sure he had sold somebody a dummy". He, however, added that in a situation of cut-throat competition, "anybody could have bought the story". Momodu should know; he has also published something that looks like a "dummy" two weeks earlier.

On June 24, *Classique* had the venerable visage of late Sultan Abubakar III on its cover, with the

he now lives. Sounding like a preacher whose "promised land" was not further than Ikenne, he enthused: "Please, listen to me. I said I am an Hausa-Yoruba man. Take it that way. The time will come when everything will bring itself to the limelight. Time hasn't come when the youths, people like myself, will rise up and touch something and damn the consequences. I am not a politician. God sent me a message to Chief (Mrs) H.I.D. Awolowo and Mrs Faderera Akintola that they should reconcile and pray for the Yoruba people so that the Lord will elevate them."

It sounds like a "scoop", doesn't it? A born-again son of the Sultan of Sokoto, on a God-sent mission to settle the oldest political quarrel in Yorubaland! But soon enough the magazine realised that it had a "dummy" on its hands. The Council of Muslim Organisations of Nigeria, protested that Dan Musa is a "charlatan" who has been advertising himself as the son of the late Sultan in Oyo State since 1988. According to *Classique* another man who said he was the Sultan's son also came to denounce Dan-Musa's claim.

What does an editor do, when he has been conned and in turn conned his readers? Stand⁶ his

Congratulations



Savannah Bank of Nigeria PLC

On behalf of **NETWORK INTERNATIONAL VENTURES LIMITED** I wish to congratulate **SAVANNAH BANK PLC** on being selected the *Banker of the Year* by Nigerian Stock Exchange (NSE).

We are happy to be associated with you.

YahayaAbdullahi Babanangi
MANAGEMENT



NETWORK INTERNATIONAL VENTURES LIMITED

HEAD OFFICE
BCCC ROAD,
P.O. BOX 5,
BIDA
NIGER STATE

BRANCH OFFICE
BREADERO BASE CAMP
SULEJA ROAD
(P.O. BOX 726)
GWARIMPA—ABUJA

CONTENTS

Citizen

July 22—29, 1991

Vol 2 No. 30

SOCIETY

	Page		
CITIZENSHIP	42	HEALTH	45
PRIVATE EYE	43	SPORTS	47
POETS' NEST	45	DEFINITIONS IN HUMOUR	50



A Journal for sports launched. Page 48

AND WHAT'S THIS?...
A DETOUR?
...DON'T ASK ME!...
JUST MOVE STRAIGHT!

WEY
YOUR
PARTICULARS?



HEY YOU THERE!...
BE FAST!



TODAY WILL BE
BETTER I'M SURE!...
...NOW TAKE
POSITION,
CONSTABLE!

I'M NOT A
TRAFFIC WARDEN



BESIDES, YOU DIDN'T GIVE ME
THE FIGURE OF THE NUMBER
OF VEHICLES CHECKED YESTERDAY!



Capital flight

Do you know the mechanism of capital flight? If you think you do, it is perhaps the worn-out case of multinationals taking away their soft or hard-earned profit, or it may be other extra-moral bureaucratic graft, or infact it may turn out to be not a flight of capital but a flight of your fancy.

But there is indeed capital flight taking place. It may be staring you in the face — or in the pocket, depending on which side of indigence you live. Capital flight takes several forms but the one I am about to tell you has official blessing and encouragement.

Just consider the recent minting of various denominations of Nigeria's currencies and coins. In one breath, the measure was good — the old notes were tattered, smelly, mossy and most certainly overdue for change.

On the other hand, for heaven's sake, why mint the one kobo coin? What can you buy with it? Which

beggar will take it? It is not even beautiful enough for a souvenir, so why bother.

If someone decides to dash you 100 Naira in these coins you may need a pocket made of tarpaulin to carry it. When banks get their consignments from Central Bank, they need a powerful roomy truck to transport mere 1000 Naira, which nobody will request for anyway.

Was the minting therefore a thoroughly wasteful and useless exercise? Yes. Except if you are into the new variety of capital flight. This is how it goes.

A glance at the schedule of commodities traded in the world market immediately tells you that you can make brisk business buying Nigerian coins. The value of the copper content of the one kobo coin is more than 50K. That for your information shortcharges you 49K each time the dime rolls from the mint.

The wily flyer of capital takes it and melts the damn thing. He keeps



doing this — paying 1K to get 50K. By the time the one millionth coin melts into the export bag and the guy's account is fatter by 500,000 Naira. Remember he has paid only 10,000 Naira for it.

If this is not capital flight, what is it? Last week I heard that the Interpol in Belgium and Germany impounded shiploads of melted NITEL and NEPA cables worth over 100 million Naira shipped out of the country. That is what I call capital swimming. It goes by sea; what goes by air can only be imagined.

The Barons

Baron Nababa is going round the country to brief his fellow barons on their plans to continue to influence the tide of politics. He has visited Sokoto and Yola. And is just arriving in Maiduguri, Borno State

Baron Nababa — Alangubro (Kanuri for Sir)

Baron Jatau — Who is there? Is it Nababa? Where are you from? I have not seen you you all these days. You people in Kaduna tend to forget us and remember us where trouble is brewing. What is on?

Baron Nababa — I have been mandated to brief you on recent political developments in the country and solicit your support for our joint

endeavour.

Baron Jatau — Go on but be brief. You know I do not like *dogon turanci* (long talk). Call a spade a spade not knife or other cutting contrivance.

Baron Nababa (somewhat cowed) — oh yes I know whom I am talking to and will behave accordingly. The message is from your brother Barons who in their collective wisdom, decided that we must participate in the coming politics, albeit indirectly and clandestinely. You are being invited to join the conclave of Barons that will meet in Kaduna later in the year to deliberate on the President's speech of September, 1987 — specifically to meet his challenge to ban all of us — innocent and "guilty" — from participation in Third Republic politics.

Baron Jatau — Hmh. It is only now that you people perceive the sol-

diers as cunning, calculating and bent on destroying the political class. I have always held the view that soldiers are soldiers — Buhari, Idi-agbon, Babangida, Abacha and the rest of them — are the same — they attended same military schools, learnt the same military tactics, commanded the same troops, frequented the same Officers' Messes, attended the same staff colleges. And to cap it all, all the top brass of the military were products of NIPSS (National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies) in Kuru, near Jos. That centre is the crucible from which the elite of the military ruling class emerges. This class constitutes the most powerful mafia — Kuru Maf — more powerful than the so Kaduna, Ikenne, Lantana. The latter have been the monster Mafi.

The professionals

Our poets this week believe that there is dignity in labour. You may be a blue or white collar worker but that should not hamper your determination to contribute to the country's development. From the stockbroker to the junior staff none is indispensable. Who is that person who fails to do well what he knows best?

Stockbroker

Personified; he is an authorised clerk
A dealing member of the stock exchange
Institutionalised; as a firm tradition on securities
All on behalf of investors
For the brokerage commission.

To the NSE, the authorised clerk
On the trading floor, the authorised bargainer
To the investor, an adviser
To the firm hoping for listing
On the exchange, the Messiah
He has the knack of the financial instruments
Educated, trained and selfless
Reliable, respectable and responsible
Imaginative, creative and knowledgeable
Trustworthy, confident and dedicated
An elite of the financial community
The saint among the financial operators.

Power broker

King of the power chess board
Master power rationalizer
Surveyor of the power field
Architect of the power plan
Brick-layer of the power house
Enthroned and dethroned
Crown and un-crown
Transperor and comperor of power
Seasoned power knacker
Renown strategist
Respected organiser

Careful planner
Precision executor
Power broker; breaking leadership!

Insurance broker

Servant of "A" paid by "B"
Agent of the insured paid by the insurer
Insurance expert of professional status
Preamble membrane and middleman
Marketer, canvasser and negotiator
Of the insurance contract
A protector and adviser to the consumer
A representative, to the insurer
Registered and licenced? Yes
But, careful, wise, smart and cunning
The unavoidable, innocent and symbiotic parasite.

Ibrahim Isa Abbas

Money lenders

Money lenders are wizards' monsters
First they attract your attention
Then they activate your emotion
You are to borrow to make correction
You become a prey to the monsters
Roasters they are interested
In all the prospects stated
If you are incapacitated
All the links will be disconnected
You are dismissed or slated

Money lenders are canny hunters
When they sit in the share of linters
And playing the calculators
Or attending to contractors
Customers or money collectors

Since their day the monies became the deity
So many people became crafty
Juggling the figures became a duty



Man-freedom lost to cruelty
And no one could return to safety.

Man-good-sense is eradicated
And his limbs are amputated
But the torso is decorated
With stamps with cheques post-dated
The real is renegated

When will man be resuscitated
And his wisdom rejuvenated
And all his transplanted
When shall man seize being sedated
And stand on two feet erected?
Abdulkadir Babajo

Junior Staff

Each time you meet him
Always say some words of praise
That make him gay;
When you see some hidden struggling trait,
Encourage it and make it great.

Tight-fisted little hands of good
Bloom large because the boss said
They would.
A glad mad music in him sings
His soul sprouts tiny, flaming wings.

His day takes on a brand new zest,
His gift of praising brings him best,
Revive his spirit, fling it high
For God loves praise,
And so do junior staff.

S.A. Jegede

Root canal therapy

The latest tooth-saving techniques

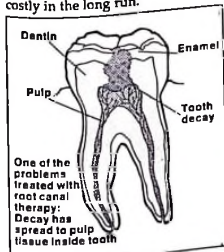
Can a root canal treatment save your tooth? More and more frequently, the answer is "Yes". Consider this example:

You slip and fall down the icy steps in front of your house and smack your jaw against the railing. The blow breaks off a front tooth, (or tooth nerve). You rush to your dentist, expecting him to extract the rest of the tooth, but instead he performs root canal therapy. After a few visits, your reconstructed "tooth" is as good as new.

Root canal (or endodontic) therapy has been around for years, but recent refinements are making it a routine dental treatment for the injured or severely decayed tooth that needs more than just a filling. Here's what you should know about the procedure.

What is root canal therapy?

Root canal therapy is a treatment in which injured or infected pulp tissue inside a tooth is replaced with a filling in order to save the tooth. It's a more extensive procedure than filling a cavity in the outer enamel and dentin layers of the tooth. The usual alternative to root canal therapy—extracting a tooth and replacing it with a bridge—can be much more time-consuming and costly in the long run.



By Dan Kaercher

A tooth injury like that just cited is one dental problem root canal therapy can solve. A decayed tooth also can require root canal treatment when the soft, pulpy inner core of nerves and blood vessels becomes painfully infected or abscessed.



Studies indicate that most tooth pain in adults is related to inflamed or diseased pulp tissue—the kind of problem that root canal therapy often can correct.

Who usually performs root canal work?

An endodontist is a dentist whose specialty is root canal techniques. Sometimes an endodontist works with an oral surgeon to repair fractured jaws and teeth of accident victims. A growing number of dental general practitioners are trained to perform root canal therapy, too.

What happens in root canal treatment?

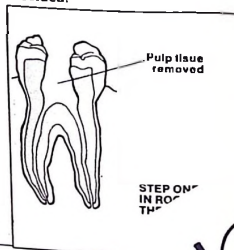
First the dentist removes the diseased nerve tissue from inside the pulp chamber and the root canal(s) of the tooth. (Front teeth have a single root; other teeth are multi-rooted.) The dentist drills through the crown of the tooth to reach the nerve tissues, which are

removed. Then the dentist begins reshaping and cleaning the pulp chamber as shown in the first illustration at the bottom of this page.

When the canal(s) and pulp chamber are infection free, the dentist fills and seals the tooth to prevent bacteria from reentering. Then, depending on how much of the original tooth remains, he may restore the tooth with a silver or plastic filling, a gold inlay, or a crown made from porcelain or gold. The chewing surface of the tooth must be protected by a strong filling material to prevent splitting.

If the tooth crown is badly decayed, the dentist may replace it entirely and anchor the new crown to one or two of the treated roots. This step is usually performed by a family dentist, not an endodontist.

While the entire root canal treatment can take place in just one visit, the preferred sequence is this: On the first visit the dentist removes the diseased pulp tissue, medicates the tooth to reduce pain, and places a temporary filling in the tooth to keep saliva and food from entering the root canal. Then treatment is completed by the endodontist or family dentist in one or two appointments, after the inflammation has subsided.





ISLAM IN AFRICA ORGANIZATION

The Steering Committee of Islam In Africa Organisation is happy to announce the inauguration of the organisation on July 22, 1991 at the National Mosque, Abuja.

Several leading Islamic scholars and personalities from Africa and the Islamic World will, *in sha Allah*, gather in our nation's capital for the historic event which will last three days.

Highlights of the programme of the event include a keynote address on the theme of Africa's political theme by Dr. Hassan El-Turabi, a leading Sudanese scholar and politician, two plenary sessions, Quranic Recitation and a tour of the federal capital.

The rest of the programme is as follows:

Day 1 Monday, July 22

- 9.30 - Guests seated
- 10.10 - Dignitaries seated
- 11.10 - Arrival of President and Commander-In-Chief of the Armed Forces General Ibrahim Babangida
- 11.15 - Reading from the Holy Qur'an
- 11.20 - Introduction of function/convention
- 11.30 - Welcome address by Chairman IAO Steering Committee, Major-General Shehu Musa Yar'adua
- 11.40 - Address by His Eminence, Sultan of Sokoto and President General, Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs, Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki
- 11.55 - President Babangida's address
- 12.55 - Keynote address by Dr. Hassan El-Turabi
- 1.00 - Vote of thanks
- 1.05 - Closing prayers

Evening Session
4.00 - 6.30

- Plenary session

Night Session
8.00 - 10.00

- Committee meetings

Day 2 Tuesday July 23

- 9.30 - 11.30 - Plenary session
- 11.30 - 11.50 - Coffee break
- 12.00 - 1.30 - Committee meeting

Evening Session
4.00 - 4.30

- Committee meeting

Night Session
8.00 - 10.00

- Committee meeting

Day 3 Wednesday, July 24

- 9.30 - 11.30 - Committee meeting
- 11.30 - 11.50 - Coffee break
- 11.50 - 1.30 - Committee Reports

Evening
Tour of Abuja

Night Session
8.00 - 10.00

- Final session.

Members of the public are invited to the opening ceremony and the plenary session.

Aliyu Hayatu
Chairman Publicity Sub-Committee

SPORTS

Nations cup qualifier

Eagles last chance

Eagles reach the climax of their campaign to qualify for the Nations cup, but the outcome of Saturday's match will make or mar their dream

African countries who still fancy their chances of qualifying for the finals of the continent's biggest soccer event, the Nations Cup, will know their fate this weekend. Dreams and hope will give way to harsh reality when the remaining matches in the eight groups that the continent is zoned by the Confederation of African Football (CAF) are decided on Saturday and Sunday. By the time the curtains finally fall on the qualification race, which began in August last year among 33 nations, ten countries are expected to have scaled the hurdle to join cup holders Algeria and host Senegal, for the new 12-team format of the Nations Cup finals slated for January next year.

The tie in group four between Nigeria, 1980 winners and three times runners-up and Burkina Faso, who make their first and only Nations cup appearance in Ghana in 1978, is one epic soccer tussle that will command a lot of interest as the two countries meet at the National Stadium Lagos, on Saturday. The match is crucial for some vital reasons. The outcome will decide who, between Super Eagles of Nigeria and Stallions of Burkina Faso, pick the second slot in the group. The outcome could also see Burkina Faso, who are still being banded among the continent's soccer minnows, to their second Nations Cup finals in eleven years at the expense of Nigeria, one of the continent's giant footballing nation and last years runners-up in Algeria.

Group four of the Nations cup

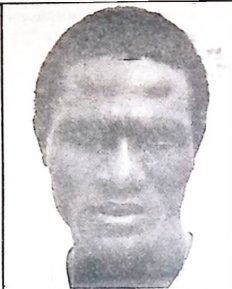


Eagles and Stallions during ECOWAS tournament

qualifying matches has, to say the least, been a theatre of exciting drama for the five countries of Ghana, Nigeria, Burkina Faso, Togo and Benin. Black Stars of Ghana who are making an amazing recovery from their decade of soccer decline, launched their return to the Nations Cup finals in a sensational manner. They won five matches on

the trot and draw one (against Nigeria in Lagos) to earn eleven points that win them a passage to Senegal, even with two more matches at stake.

But the new round-robin tem adopted by CAF to the twelve teams who in Senegal seems to geria unprepared. 5.



Agu and Ekpo: any hope?

pointing results in their group matches against Ghana, Togo, and Burkina Faso actually put the Super Eagles at the edge of elimination, while the Burkinabe Stallions were looking quite promising as the team to win the second slot in the group. Momentary breather came to the Super Eagles however after the initial floppy outings. The relief came in April, 21 in Lome when Togo posed a surprised lone goal defeat against Burkina Faso, and a week later, April 27, Nigeria shot to the second spot on the group table, following Super Eagles' 3 — 0 victory over Benin. That gave Nigeria a two-point lead over Burkina Faso who were edged to the third place with seven points.

The two points lead however turned out to be two slim to assure the Super Eagles the second slot in the group. The Stallions threw the race open and put Nigeria's hope of qualifying for the Nations Cup on the balance again, last week when they faulted book makers by beating the seemingly invincible Black Stars by 2 — 1 in Ougadougou. It was one upset victory that came in the unpredictable tradition of the game. After escaping the angry claws of the Super Eagles in Lagos in April, 13, in a pulsating encounter that ended

goalless, Black stars were expected to run the Senegal race unbeaten by either Burkina Faso or Benin, their two remaining opponents then.

Stallions freakish victory over Ghana has re-awaken a new surge of confidence in the Burkinabes, while highlighting Super Eagles' vulnerability. Both teams now stand equal with nine points each. The Super Eagles' only advantage is their superior goal of plus six against Stallions' plus three. What this means is that Nigeria will go through on Saturday by securing either a draw or an outright victory against Burkina Faso at the National Stadium.

Popular prediction about the match has assumed victory for the Super Eagles. This is based on the fact that they are playing at home. This optimism is derived from the fact that Super Eagles drubbed the Stallions by a 3 — 0 margin at home during ECOWAS soccer tournament.

The trouble is, football does not work by such simple calculation. Surprises and tales of "unusuals" like Cameroun's stunning defeat of defending champions Argentina in the last year's World Cup in Italy or even Argentina's surprise victory over Brazil at the quarter final of the same tournament are few of the attributes that make the game trick.

More over, Burkina Faso have given indications that they are coming to Lagos to fight and win, Coach Antoure Tasse Inbedo who was in charge of the Burkinabe team that participated in the ECOWAS soccer tournament, told the Super Eagles not to get carried away by their 3 — 0 victory against his team. According to him, they came to Lagos with a clubside because they were grooming the Stallions for their crucial matches against Ghana and Nigeria.

As far as Coach Inbedo was concerned, there was nothing to scare the Stallions about the Super Eagles his boys played against in Lagos. His words: "There is nothing in your team. You must bury your pride. We shall surely know who is who when we meet in July in the Nations Cup." Those who dismissed Coach Inbedo's statement as empty boast however became somewhat wary when the Stallions defeated Ghana. Even Clement Westerhof, the national team technical adviser, who countered Inbedo in Lagos by saying that Super Eagles would beat Burkina Faso by 5 — 0 on Saturday may be doubting if he has not open his mouth too wide. The national team have made tour of Europe in a special preparation for this match. As usual, the foreign based players will make their usual flight back home. But victory for the Super Eagles may not come through these measures. Eagles' fate on Saturday will be decided by the ability of the coach to produce players who have sharp football sense, creative instinct, skills, alert minds and commitment to form a good team that could confound the opponents with superior might. Anything short of this may see our Nations Cup dream going the way of our 1990 World Cup.

Group four table

Teams	P	W	DL	GFG	PTS	GD
Ghana	7	5	1	11	11	+9
Nigeria	7	3	3	1	8	+6
B/Faso	7	4	1	2	9	+3
Togo	8	2	2	4	3	-6
Benin	7	—	1	6	2	-12

Journal for sports

The calm atmosphere inside the conference Hall of Murtala Muhammed Square in Kaduna on Friday July 12 considerably belied the significance of the historical event that was unfolding. The occasion was the launching of the first ever sports newsletter of the federal ministry of Youth and Sports, zone six comprising Kaduna, Kano and Katsina.

Those who came to the launching however, hoping to see wealthy personalities throwing money around in hundred of thousands to boost their ego under the guise of book-launching were badly disappointed. Money bags were not there, but there were experienced, bold and intelligent sports administrators whose honest public analyses or constructive criticisms of our sports once in a while have been serving as curative elixir in our ill administered sports development.

One of such men was Alhaji Abdul Abubakar Senior, a veteran sports administrator who has made many invaluable contributions towards sports development in the northern part of the country. After making a comprehensive analysis of the genesis of sports development in Nigeria, Alhaji Abubakar Senior told the gathering that government both at state and federal levels still has a lot of ground to cover before Nigeria can realise her potentials in sports. According to him, the only way Nigeria can effectively develop sports and win laurels in major international competitions is through provision of facilities and technical crew to train sports men and women.

The seasoned sports administrator who is currently the chairman of Nigeria Hotels Limited, described the new approach of developing sports from the grassroots through the zonal system as a welcome development, but warned that the zones will not be able to fulfil

their missions without adequate funding by the federal government. Even within adequate funding the zones, according to the guest speaker, will have to work in close collaboration with the states under them before they can effectively carry out their functions of developing sports from the grassroots. The guest of honour at the launching, Katsina State Commissioner for Social Development, Youth and



Yusuf (top) and Katsina State sports commissioner Indo Mohammed (left) at the ceremony

Sports, Hajiya Indo Mohammed, praised zone six for initiating the venture and said that her state shared with the zone the idea of a disseminating information to the public about its sports development activities.

The newsletter itself was unlike the run-of-the-mill house journal usually stuffed with cheap publicity materials about its organisation. The content of the zone six newsletter, a twelve-page publication, contains comprehensive, analytical and critical information about the activities of the zone. It also attempts to inform the public about the thrust of the new national sports policy and how the zone has been striving to implement it. It also gives fair coverage to

the sporting activities of the three states sports council under the zone, and the recently concluded National Sports festival in Bauchi, among other things.

At the end of the day, the newsletter was formally launched by the chairman of Nigerian Gymnastics Association, Alhaji Ibrahim Baba Dawawo. He bought five copies of the news letter for five thousand Naira. Hajiya Indo Mohammed also bought ten copies for five thousand Naira, Alhaji Abubakar Senior gave out two thousand Naira while Kano state Director of Sports, Alhaji Sagir Garba made a three thousand donation as Kano State's contribution.

By Joe Olajuwon

ADAMU ADAMU S

DEFINITIONS
IN HUMOUR

On your Marx

Did you see the irony last week? I hope to God you did. The Group of 7, gloating and chuckling over their recent victories and gleefully putting finishing touches to the new world order, met in London. They graciously, and gracefully too, invited Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev to the victory party. If he couldn't get to the buffet on time, he could at least help himself to some crumbs. Well, he arrived rather late it seems. In other words, he got nothing except the chuckles of a satisfied fat-catty class — the well satisfied gentry of Europe, the new world and the Meiji stock. In other words, he only got the crumbs, but he was not complaining.

One thing I found funny was the dose of royal humour that was added for good measure to adorn the occasion. Was it an opera! Well his Comradely Eminence was to be treated to the very best, and most apt too — *Cindrella*. Now I know. *Cindrella* was a stocky balding fella with a conspicuous birth mark to the right of his forehead. Unfortunately the end was not that happy. The Muscovite went home empty-handed. He couldn't marry the west, nor the west him.

But I hope you note the real irony. London was where Marx developed all his theories or at least where he had them published if it is true they were crafted in Frankfurt. And London was where his theories were being buried and the undertaker was none other than

Lenin's sixth successor.

Now isn't it time to revise some of Marx's laws? Are you ready? On your Marx! Get Stalin!! Gorb!!!

Law of Opium Eaters

Opium is the religion of opium-eaters.

Law of Political Evolution

Marxism is the opium of intellectuals. Silence now is their devotion and contradiction their prayer.

Law of Economic Evolution

SAP is the opium of the Naira, FEM is its mortuary, and the interbank its graveyard.

Law of Transition

Transition is the opium of pro-democracy instincts. Election its *test* and the hand-over its *taste*.

Law of Campus

Reading is the opium of students; failing is their religion. Examination is their cause of rampage.

Leda bag

The other day an article wrote itself in my mind. Normally, I get my inspiration (in reality it is always *out-spiration*) when I am travelling and it is someone who is doing the driving. And that other day I was doing just that. Before setting out, a friend had asked me to explain a surprising thing he witnessed while standing under a tree one afternoon — he couldn't remember whether there was a gentle breeze or not — he noticed how a polythene bag (I prefer *leda* bag because it sounds more affectionate) became airborne. It rose and rose and rose and rose — until it disappeared.

Sounding as scientific as I could I said the *leda* bag must have gone

through a hole in the ozone layer.

Why?

The hole allowed the magnetic pull of some distant blackhole. When he appeared unconvinced I tried to employ the theories of rarefied and heated airs. And when the funny unconvinced grimace didn't leave his face, I said sometimes it is not impossible for fields — magnetic, electrical, sonic or spiritual — to cancel each other and all energy relations suspended. That must have happened at the place where the *leda* bag was resting. Then up it went.

Why didn't it then go down into the earth if all energy relations were cancelled out? he asked. I gave up.

As we drove, it was the thought of the *leda* bag on my mind. Then the article wrote itself. It called itself. "On the Many Uses of *Leda* Bag".

As a proof of the uses of *leda* bag there is this example that I brought all my writing materials including this very article in a *leda* bag. I can't remember when last I was walking, going to and from office without a *leda* bag. It allows you carry a bewildering assortment of things, conveniences and other *hideables*. Without it you would probably need a box — weighty, bulky and obstructive.

Aminu's goat has a different story about *leda* bag to tell — if it were alive. It is dead — it ate a *leda* bag. I don't know who to blame. Aminu for leaving it hungry, or the *leda* bag for being around?

Ministries

Introducing the ministries, each according to its object of defeat.

Information — Ministry of National Image Abroad.

Finance — Ministry of Deficits and Debts.

Education — Ministry of Primary Schools.

Budget — Ministry of *Keeling* Affairs.

Health — Ministry of Consulting Agriculture — Ministry of Drought.

CITIZENS

Often, it is not known what profession one has been destined for. For Alhaji Dahiru Mohammed, the managing director, New Africa Merchant Bank (NAMB), Kaduna, it is by a twist of fate he found himself steeped in economics and into a profession he has now perfected. For almost 20 years now, beginning from 1972 as a student of economics in ABU, Zaria, through the Bank of the North, Sokoto, and cooperative banking, Kano, his expertise as a banker can hardly be doubted. When he says NAMB has done very well in its one year of existence. So it is.

He is quick to tell how glamorous it is being the managing director of a bank. Yes indeed, the glamorous entails "economic responsibilities, taking decisions to shape policies and the fortunes of the bank, especially giving the Central Bank's new regulations that "tighten the noose on the banks". Although Alhaji Dahiru who loves steak and fresh milk has no regrets being a banker, if he could turn the hands of the clock backwards, he'll get into that profession he once craved for but never even began to study — medicine.



Tijjani Ibrahim can tell there are indeed secretaries with a difference. As the secretary of the National Institute for Water Resources, NIWR, the job means heading the administration and finance of the establishment. It also involves prudently dealing with the academics in particular who provide the researchers on environment to function, he said. But he is into a dual research, one at the office with water, and the other back home with animals where after a long day, he spends time tending "Mandela", "Black Challenger", "Malam Dauda" and other hundreds of sheep and fowls he has each named based on circumstances of birth or physical looks. A BSc and MSc graduate of public administration from ABU, Zaria, Tijjani loves the highly instructive nature of research and training in all aspects of water science as it is in NIWR.

By Delia Nzekwu



**In the stride
towards a developed
Economy we
put our strength
firmly behind the
Nigerian Shipper**

At the Nigerian Shippers' Council our main business is the protection of the Nigerian Shipper. — we provide answers to all his shipping problems. In this way we defend and protect his business and thus contribute our own quota to the continued development of the Nigeria economy especially in these hard times. We have become experts in the negotiation of freight rates with shipowners and ensure that arbitrary rate increases are not imposed on shippers and indirect damage is not done to our national economy.

We have always helped and continue to provide solutions to problems encountered by shippers with Marine Insurance

Underwriters, Shipowners and Agents, Freight Forwarders, Road Haulage Companies and related services.

We are proud to be the Shippers' think tank, carrying out shipping Research, Shipping consultancy, and organising Conferences and Seminars for the shipping industry.

The Nigerian Shippers' Council boasts of experts who advise Importers and Exporters on Cargo Loss Prevention, Cargo Packaging and so many other problems.

Come to the Nigerian Shippers' Council with all your shipping problems.

We are at your service.



**Nigerian Shippers'
Council**

We Protect the interest of Nigerian Shippers

4, Burma Road, Apapa, Lagos. Tel. 803250 — 4,
Telegrams & Cablegrams — SHIPNIGEL 115000