

**BAUCHI CRISIS:**  
What next?

**NIGER STATE WELCOMES  
BABANGIDA**

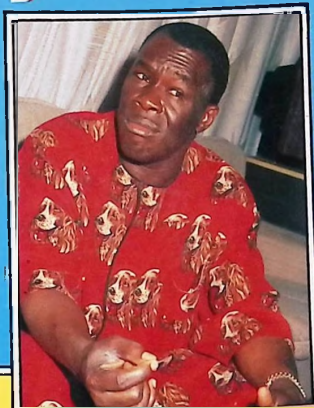
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May 20-27 1991 Vol 2 No 21

# Citizen

## OPEN BALLOT

## Honey or Poison?



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Lt. Col. M.B. Marwa  
Borno State Military Governor



Alhaji Baba Duna  
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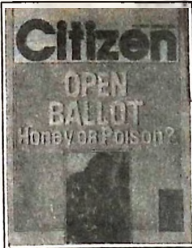
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**Not yet the panacea**

In spite of the choice by the AFRC of the Open Ballot for the remaining elections up to 1992, the debate continues on whether it is indeed the cure-all its supporters say it is. Page 12.



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**Bauchi Crisis: digging the bottomless pit**



As the dust settle following the Bauchi religious killings, maimings and burnings, all sides in the crisis call for a judicious probe that should uncover the culprits and victims alike.

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The trial of Winnie Mandale, widely regarded as political rather than legal, predictably results in her conviction and a 6-year jail term.

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# Citizen

All the News in Perspective

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## PREFACE

President Ibrahim Babangida's announcement in March that the AFRC has decided on the Open Ballot for the conduct of all the remaining elections, would seem to have been the last word on the right electoral method for the country. However, far from ending the controversy, it seemed to have only heightened it.

Those who support the Open Ballot said the last local government election was their vindication. The elections were peaceful and rig-free they said. But, countered its opponents, if it were peaceful, it was the peace of the grave-yard. Many people, they pointed out, simply stayed away and so one could not talk of peaceful elections, when the opportunity to test peace never arose.

As for being rig-free, the outcome of the Election Tribunals suggested that the Open Ballot was hardly rig-proof. Cases seem to have come-up where elections never took place but the National Electoral Commission officials filed results!

As the August date for the primaries of the governorship race draws nearer and as the election tribunals concluded their sittings we thought it was as good a time now as any to take another look at the Open Ballot. Mahmud Jega interviewed lawyers, politicians and academicians alike on the issue. His report, which forms our cover this week, shows that opinion is far from unanimous in support or opposition to the Open Ballot. The only certain thing is that the evidences before the election tribunals, if nothing else, suggests that it is hardly the cure for our election problems it is touted to be.

Mohammed Haruna

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## LETTERS

## Deaths over an Abattoir

Sir,

"And the swine,... it is unclean unto you; ye shall not eat of their flesh, nor touch their dead carcass" — Deuteronomy 14:8.

Except if the Bible in my library in which I found the above quotation is different, I strongly feel that for a Christian to eat the meat of the swine is bad, and for him to insist that he must slaughter it in an abattoir shared with the Muslims is openly asking for trouble.

A. E. Efebeli  
Kaduna

Sir,

The recent clash in some parts of Bauchi State between Muslims and Christians is nothing but the handiwork of some unscrupulous and selfish individuals. This type of religious upheavals is a threat to the lives and property of Nigerians and inimical to the well-planned Transitional Programme.

The federal government should find out the causes of this recent wanton destruction and punish the culprits publicly.

It should also investigate the part played by the security agents with a view to finding out the part they played during the clash.

Christians should respect what is obligatory to the Islamic religion and also the Muslims should do same. None of these religions preaches violence.

Umaru D. Garba Tal  
Zaria

Sir,

Your report on the above subject was fair and objective. Your effort in bringing the facts to the fore is therefore commendable.

The incident in Bauchi is very alarming and may serve as an eye opener to our governments, religious leaders and the entire beloved people of this great country. This shows that some people are up to something worse than that of the

secret societies in our universities.

Mohammed Wabi  
Bauchi.

After reading your account of the Bauchi incident in your magazine issue of April 29th - 6th May, Vol. 2 No. 18, I discovered that your magazine is the most biased of all the media houses that reported on the incident.

It is unfortunate that an upcoming magazine like the *Citizen* can report such a blatant, inciting and malicious falsehood in the name of protecting the interest of Muslims. Your report is not only speculative but destructive journalism.

You did not tell us how many mosques were burnt. You only



acknowledge the fact that at least 10 churches were burnt. Were these churches burnt by Christians? How many Christians were killed? You may not like to report that.

By the way who is the *Cow* and who is the *Pig* that you used as your cover page picture in the said publication? I do not intend to make any prejudicial judgement or apportion blame on any group but I will advise you to adopt a more mature approach to your reporting and leave

your present persecution posture reporting which you have adopted since coming into the news stand.

It is your type of journalism that brings about division and sectarian differences. It is of no help to the cause you are defending and the religion you are portraying.

Maurice N. Eluchie  
Kaduna Deanery.

Sir,

Enough is enough, the culture of violence prevalent in the country must be nipped in the bud.

And I dare say the government must look at the issue of religious tension beyond commissions of inquiry and tribunals. The Christian and Muslim alike should be made to realise that issues sensitive to each other must be respected, as it is a fact that none is ready to concede an inch to the other on a matter of faith.

Kayode Smith  
Lagos

## Technology blueprint

Sir,

I thought I was the only person that recognises the anomalies of too much talking, too much planning less execution that has plagued our dear country for 31 years.

Having read these shortcomings by your widely read magazine, I believe that a lesson has been taught and the authority should take note.

This is due to the fact that all the countries that are technologically advanced did not spend much time in planning before the realisation of their dream. India, and Japan, for example, within a very short time of determination, hit the mark of being recognised as technologically advanced.

A word is enough for the wise. The procedure of realising our dream of technology should be changed and accelerated.

E. Atanusi  
Lagos

# MAGAMA LOCAL GOVERNMENT GREETS THE PRESIDENT

The Chairman, Council and people of Magama Local Government in Niger State sends warmest greetings to President Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida on his visit to Niger State.



**PRESIDENT IBRAHIM BABANGIDA**



**ALH. MOH'D B. SANJIR  
CHAIRMAN  
MAGAMA LOCAL GOVT**



**LT. COL. LAWAN GWADABE  
GOVERNOR OF NIGER STATE**



**GARBA DANLADI AUNA  
SECRETARY  
MAGAMA LOCAL GOVT**

We wish His Excellency and his entourage a happy stay in Niger State.

**GARBA DANLADI AUNA  
SECRETARY  
MAGAMA LOCAL GOVERNMENT**

## LEADERS

# Close the open ballot

The announcement by President Ibrahim Babangida on 27th March, this year, that the Armed Forces Ruling Council has adopted the open ballot system for subsequent elections during the transition period was supposed to be the last word on the matter. General Babangida said in reaching its decision, the AFRC had the benefit of a report submitted to it by NEC. NEC itself had the benefit, if it was one, of the proceedings of the controversial Bagauda conference, a majority of whose participants recommended the open ballot.

However, judging from the issues that have arisen before election tribunals all over the country, and from opinions still being expressed by some knowledgeable Nigerians, we strongly believe that this matter needs urgent reconsideration. We cannot but sympathise with the desire of the Federal Government to prevent election rigging; as many people have said, rigging is the bane of our electoral system and of our search for a democratic political order. However, to abandon secret ballot as a solution to rigging is to cut off the head in order to cure a headache; as others have said, it is akin to throwing away the baby with the birth water.

In trying to rescue democracy from the hands of riggers, we have abandoned the democratic principle altogether. There can be no democratic substitute for the secret ballot; it is the mode of democratic choice all over the world, including in boards of corporations and commissions, wherever sensitive issues

are involved. No doubt, the issues involved in electing governors and a president for Nigeria are sensitive, so sensitive as to make enemies-for-life out of a neighbour or a good friend, to wreck a marriage, or to invite reprisals from an employer, a landlord or a patron. As people have noted, government is far too central in our daily lives for the choice of its leaders to be of passing interest. For better for worse, that is the situation, and it may not change for another generation or two.

To argue, as some have, that everyone still retains the right to vote under the open ballot system is disingenuous. This is similar to one's right to jump off the Jebba bridge; some rights cannot be easily exercised. Nor is it enough to say that those who feel intimidated are the elitist few. Unofficial projections were that 90% of all voters stayed away from the polls; these are neither elite nor few. The danger to personal safety and well-being is a real one and must be addressed.

We strongly urge the AFRC to reconsider the matter urgently. Already, some useful suggestions have been made by some groups; one of the most sensible ones calls for open accreditation of voters, secret balloting, and then public counting and tallying of votes. This appears to us to be the best formula presently available. Let us give it a try. Let us discard open ballot, which is archaic, undemocratic, unsafe, potentially chaotic and disenfranchising.

## Watch out!

The news from Abuja last week was good but it could have been better, still. An investment promotion forum organised by the Federal Government and the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation, UNIDO, brought together Nigerian entrepreneurs and foreigners seeking investment outlets in Nigeria. UNIDO placed before them "283 project

ideas" to consider for joint-financing. By the time they rose from the meeting "95 letters of intent" had been signed. The Indians, we understand, took the lead, committing themselves to two projects.

Again, we are told, by the time all the projects are taken up — if they will be at all — Nigeria should be holding up a package of \$1.5 billion (15 billion) in investment. Such a

handsome sum, no doubt, would buoy up our foreign exchange position, and promise many new jobs. That is the good news.

Now, the bad news. First, the prospective foreign investors who came to Abuja turned out to be no more than salesmen, more interested in selling machinery than in the projects "put on parade" by UNIDO. To them Nigeria is still the dumping-ground for disused manufactures which they have always known.

Second, our "guests" complained aloud about an unfavourable investment climate. The Asians, in particular, were unhappy that the investment protection agreements which Nigeria has with Britain and France do not as yet cover them. Apparently, they were not placated by the assurance given by the government that more of these agreements would be signed in due course.

The other complaint was about inadequate data. At the forum the visitors sought fuller information about the 283 projects. Ordinarily, Nigerian entrepreneurs should oblige them. But then, our experience has not been palatable. In the past such investors were only too glad to grab the information and run off with it, to our chagrin. They also complained about the

external value of the naira and the size of our external debt, which they considered too big.

If Nigerian entrepreneurs must needs be told the message their guests were sending out from Abuja, it is that they have come to take and not give. In other words, they were not here to do business. Otherwise, how does one explain their complaint about an unfavourable investment climate? The structural adjustment programme, SAP, which Nigeria undertook since 1986 has been meant to create just the kind of climate that would attract foreign investors.

The economy has been sufficiently deregulated, freeing it from governmental control and giving rein to market forces. Foreigners now can float businesses in certain sectors of the economy without Nigerian participation and the process of registering such businesses has been eased. How much further must we go to have this elusive "favourable climate?"

May be the dilly-dallying of the visitors is part of the game. The negotiations are expected to be carried out in over 2,000 meetings. Forum officials are hopeful. But 2,000 meetings mean an awful long wait. If we must wait, let's also watch out!

## Much ado about coins

Coins to replace paper equivalents of one Naira and fifty Kobo together with new one Kobo and twenty-five Kobo came into circulation Monday last week. Simultaneously, half Kobo and five Kobo coins are to be phased out.

The Central Bank of Nigeria, CBN, said the old coins would circulate along with the new ones until May 3, 1992 when they would cease to be legal tender. The CBN wants the public to be calm about the transition since it would spread over a 12-month period.

This is not the first time our currency units have been changed or altered. During the civil war, the government of General Gowon effected a minor change that made it impossible for money trapped inside the dead Biafra to be used in Nigeria and in 1973, the whole currency system was changed from the imperial to the metric.

In 1984, the government of Buhari

switched the colour of some currencies to free money that had possibly been hidden by dubious Nigerians.

The conversion of some currency notes to coins, the CBN said, is part of a comprehensive currency reform programme designed to "put in place an optimal currency structure that is efficient, cost effective and responsive to the changing needs of the economy."

The other more visible reason for the change is the increasing short life-span of the currency notes. This is indicated by the media campaign for Nigerians to show a little more respect to our currency notes that preceded the introduction of the new coins.

Whatever economic benefit the nation stands to gain from the use of coins instead of notes, the public seems unhappy about it. Reports in the media suggest that it has not been well received. Most argued that the

new coins would economically and literally, rip new holes in the frail garments of ordinary folks that have already been weakened by structural adjustment. Imagine carrying one hundred Naira in coins in your pocket!

There are some practical reasons why government should have taken care in introducing the coins. Not long ago, there were widespread reports that unscrupulous Nigerians were melting the coins, ironically to make more money. We assume that government has not only tightened laws to deal with such offences, but has taken practical steps to see that it does not continue

to happen.

It is perhaps understandable that some Nigerians felt that way about the changes, if for nothing else but for the fact that the purchasing power of the Naira has continued to decline. If it can not be shown clearly that the change is to the greater benefit of citizens now and in the future, the veil of skepticism would not be easy to lift.

Be that as it may, we urge that the coins be accepted and our currency notes be respected not the least because of national pride. It will also stem abuse and it is indeed cost effective in the long term.

## Salute to Winnie's defiance

"We love you, Winnie", the crowd shouted as Mrs Mandela, wife of ANC's deputy president emerged from a South African Supreme Court which had just sentenced her to six years in jail, having convicted her a day earlier on a charge of kidnapping and being an accessory to assault.

The case arose following the death of a young activist, Stompie Seipei, who, the prosecution alleged, was abducted along with the three of his friends and assaulted by Mrs Madela's body guards on her instructions. In her defence, Mrs Mandela claimed that she was 118 miles away from her Soweto home on the day the offence was allegedly committed. But her alibi did not cut any ice with Judge Michael Stegmann.

He not only found her guilty of "a serious crime" but also ran on unpalatable commentary about Mrs Mandela's character. She was an "unbashful liar", "remorseless" and "fundamentally misunderstood her responsibility as a leader". He also accused her of using her position of leadership to "play fast and loose with the liberties of others".

Though the judge allowed Mrs Mandela to go home on bail, he knew he had not impressed anybody with his bravado. It is clear that Mrs Mandela is just another victim of the injustice built into apartheid against the majority black population. But this is not to excuse her entirely from the misdemeanour of the so-called Mandela United Football Club, which is only a cover for a notorious

gang which killed and maimed fellow blacks on a mere suspicion of collaborating with the South African authorities. For not condemning the bad behaviour of her body guards she easily played into the hands of her black detractors and the white enemy.

But she is taking it in her stride, living up to her sobriquet, "Mother of the nation". To be sure, Mrs Mandela, a political leader in her own right, who managed to come out of the shadow of her husband while he was put away on Robben Island for 27 years, enjoys tremendous support among the radical black youths of the townships. It is feared that her sentence could become a new call to the armed struggle. If that happens it will jeopardise the upcoming talks between the ANC and the government about South Africa's future.

Her husband, however, provided a diffuser almost immediately. He said that what had happened would not affect the talks. As deputy president of the ANC, those words of his carried weight. Desmond Tutu, the influential archbishop of Cape Town made assurance double sure when he said that he believed ANC would not be forced to resume the armed struggle. It shouldn't do anything now, he said, to make "people fearful of what is going to happen in the post-apartheid South Africa".

But the choice is not only for the ANC to make. The government of Mr de Klerk also has a duty to ensure that Mrs Mandela's appeal is not only heard but justice is clearly seen to be done to her. Herein is located the source of both peace and trouble.

# MARIGA LOCAL GOVERNMENT WELCOMES THE PRESIDENT

The Chairman of Mariga Local Government, Niger State, on behalf of himself, the government, council and the people of the Mariga Local Government Area, is pleased to welcome the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria **GENERAL IBRAHIM BADAMASI BABANGIDA** to Niger State.



**PRESIDENT IBRAHIM BABANGIDA**



**GOVERNOR LAWAN GWADABE psc, fsg**



**Alhaji Yusufu Moh'd Tanko  
CHAIRMAN  
MARIGA LOCAL GOVERNMENT**

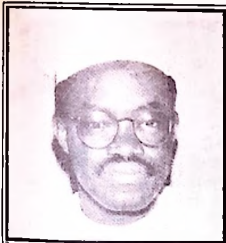
**YOU HAVE  
MADE US  
PROUD IN  
OUR STATE  
— WITH  
YOUR PER-  
FORMANCES**



**Alhaji Mika Anache  
SECRETARY  
MARIGA LOCAL GOVERNMENT**

**We wish you a successful visit and God Protection.**

**ALH. MIKA ANACHE  
SECRETARY  
MARIGA LOCAL GOVERNMENT**



## MOHAMMED HARUNA

remember that even General Gowon, for all his much touted simplicity, could not resist the temptation to hang on in there. Second, he (Obasanjo) struck a blow against apartheid by banishing British Petroleum from our shores when it became public knowledge that the

World. On the first issue, I suspect Obasanjo is in the end not quite acceptable to the veto-powers, never mind his personal friendship with several Western statesmen. Remember Obasanjo banished BP from our shores, and these Westerners have a long memory even when you retrace your steps as we have only just recently done with BP. Its ban apart, more recently the general sat on the fence in the wake of Operation Desert Storm in the Gulf, when the West wanted unequivocal support.

# Soyinka, Obasanjo and the UN top job

**N**obel laureate Wole Soyinka may no longer be everybody's hero but I think his recent criticism of government's choice of General Obasanjo as our candidate for the next UN scribe deserved better than the very short shrift that it got. For in truth Obasanjo's chances, perhaps for reasons different from Soyinka's, are not as bright as is clearly assumed from the all-out effort the Federal Government is making to get him the U.N. job.

Soyinka argues that we should not promote Obasanjo simply because he is from Nigeria and we are Africa's leading nation. He says in effect that it is more honourable and sensible to promote other Africans with better democratic credentials. He says all this and we all scoff at him, except for a few including understandably the *Sunday Tribune* (12/5/91) (remember there is still no love lost between the Awo clan and Obasanjo), which preferred even not-so-well known Bolaji Akinyemi our one time External Affairs Minister.

At first glance it seems justified to scoff at Soyinka. First, so far only Obasanjo has voluntarily surrendered power to an elected government in Nigeria as indeed in much of Africa. Those who take this achievement for granted should

company was doing business with Pretoria. Third, since retiring to his chicken-farm, Obasanjo has instituted a long-running dialogue — the last one, last month, was the 16th since it started over two years or so ago — on the democratization of the continent which demonstrates his concern for the development of Africa.

With all these credentials and more, it seems silly that anyone should dispute Obasanjo's fitness for the United Nation's top job. Still, I would have thought government would have proceeded in canvassing for the job with far greater caution than it has demonstrated. In canvassing for the job, we seem to have ignored the fact that in the end the choice of the UN scribe is made by the five veto powers and not the General Assembly. This much was pointed out to us by Salim Salim, the OAU scribe on a recent visit to President Babangida. Salim should know because he ran for the job four years ago and he was as qualified as any candidate.

Because the veto powers decide who gets the job in the end, the more relevant issues here is (1) Obasanjo's acceptability to them rather than his qualifications and (2) what difference Obasanjo's General-Secretaryship would make to Africa and the Third

World. On the second — and more important — issue, it should be obvious that one black man on top of the heap won't make any difference in the way the veto powers want the world body to conduct its own businesses and to supervise the world. The general stood a chance when all the UN needed for a scribe was to use the *London Economist's* (April 27) words, "a harassed waiter." What the new world order coming out of the womb of the Gulf War now needs says the magazine, is a "master chef." Hardly can any candidate from a poor Third World country, least of all an African country, fit this bill, no matter his credentials.

Does that mean Africa should never aim for the job? That is a difficult question to answer categorically one way or the other. All one can say right now is that our canvassing on behalf of Obasanjo is a futile exercise. More importantly, it even violates our own laws. The Code of Conduct Decree No. 1 of 1989, forbids any ex-President or ex-Vice-President, ex-Governor or ex-Deputy-Governor, to seek and accept appointments abroad. Could it be that we are prepared to ignore our own laws in our zeal for a diplomatic victory abroad which is of dubious value?

## Open ballot

## Not yet the panacea

The AFRC has retained open ballot, to the chagrin of many Nigerians

**A**s far as the Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC) could determine, the open ballot system used in the local government council elections of December 8,

was exultant as he announced to reporters, after a one-day meeting of the AFRC on Wednesday, March 27, 1991 that the open ballot system will be used for the remaining elections in 1990 and 1991. "Our problem in the past," the president said "had

calmly dismissed suggestions of possible intimidation in an open balloting. "I want a situation in my house," he said, "where we will have two different views. The present administration is determined to instil in Nigerians the



*Queuing to vote: archaic and undemocratic?*

1990 is good for all seasons; it was safe, orderly, cheap and largely rig-proof. President Ibrahim Babangida

been the ballot box and the ballot paper, and this is what we are trying to take care of." General Babangida

culture of tolerance as far as political opinions are concerned." The president insisted that "a man

should not be ashamed to be identified with certain political feelings because, constitutionally, nothing stops him from voting." In one of the first ironies of the open ballot debate, however, President Babangida at once charged that "it is only the elite who feel disenfranchised by open ballot," and then announced that he himself will not vote "due to the nature of the society in which we live and due to the transition programme."

**S**haky though the arguments for the adoption of open ballot may seem, the AFRC's decision on it was widely anticipated. Soon after the December 8 council elections, government officials at all levels, including the chairman of the National Electoral Commission (NEC), Professor Humphrey Nwosu and practically all military governors had pronounced the open ballot system to be a huge success. The two registered political

parties, the National Republican Convention (NRC) and the Social Democratic Party (SDP), had also declared the conduct of the elections to be a success, as did the security agencies and MAMSER. The pronouncements of leading NEC officials early in the year suggested that the commission favoured the retention of open ballot for future elections. In March, this year, NEC organised a conference at the Bagauda holiday resort in Kano state, where the majority of participants recommended the retention of open ballot. The components of this majority were NEC itself, the Police, State Security Service, the chairman of the defunct FEDECO Justice Victor Ovie-Whiskey and one of the registered parties, the SDP. "It was a rigged majority," an enraged academic told *Citizen*. "I indicated to a state director of NEC that I want to deliver a paper at the workshop. He told me that participation was not open." One of the two political

parties, the NRC, was the only participant known to have argued against the open ballot at Bagauda. The conference therefore proceeded to recommend the open ballot, which the AFRC adopted on March 27th.

In announcing its decision, the Federal Military Government indicated that it was bowing to the opinion of the "majority of Nigerians." The *New Nigerian* newspaper quickly objected to this claim; in its editorial comment of April 3, 1991, it pointed out that "in the absence of a free and fair national referendum, it is wrong to equate public opinion with the vociferous section of the Nigerian elite with access to the print media and television."

Even as the last council elections were underway, observers all over the country reported that voter turn-out was much lower than in any previous election in Nigeria. Although each polling station has 500 potential voters, there were



Nwosu: was the Bagauda conference rigged?



Aliko: open ballot isn't very nice

reports that as few as three people turned up at some polling stations. Infact, the highest recorded turn-outs at any station were no more than one hundred, or one-fifth of registered voters. Voter turn-out was demonstrably poorest in low-density residential areas, leading to charges that the elite were boycotting the polls. Today, six months after the elections, NEC has refused to disclose figures of actual

elections took place. Weeks later, indictments of open ballot multiplied as election tribunals swung into action all over the country. The tribunals were initially ordered to complete their work by April 6, 1991. As of that date, the *Punch* reported that 38 chairmanship elections in 10 states had been reversed by the tribunals; 20 of the affected chairmen belong to the NRC while 18 were SDP

residency in the ward for twelve months prior to the elections, and late resignations from public service positions. A notable exception was Sakaba-Wasagu, in Sokoto State, where the tribunal held that votes had been wrongly tallied. One of the most notorious issues that arose at the tribunals was residency, it claimed the largest number of victims. The *New Nigerian* editorialised on March 25th that "we strongly oppose the trend whereby candidates defeated by landslide popular votes eventually secure the chairmanship through technical or trifle legal points upheld by the election tribunals. The tribunal cannot be a perfect substitute to a popular mandate." Ahmed Bello Mahmud, a private legal practitioner in Sokoto, told *Citizen* that "this issue of residency is not democratic. A candidate who is very popular with the electorate is disqualified by the decree because he has not lived in the area for twelve months. It is not fair at all." The *New Nigerian* also observed on April 2, that "residency is a highly fluid matter. The pangs of everyday living necessitate that people maintain several places of residence other than their permanent domicile. It is unfair to impose a rejected candidate on purely technical grounds."

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voter turn-out.

Despite the allegations of low turn-out and disenfranchisement, NEC proceeded to collate and announce the results of the elections in all the 453 local councils in the country, except Isokan, where no

members. In six other councils, the tribunals ordered fresh elections to be held. Dozens of councillorship elections in almost all the states were also nullified by the tribunals as of April 6. Still, the government was forced to extend their deadline for another one month, since there were still hundreds of cases waiting to be heard. Matters were further compounded by the fact that most of the tribunals' rulings had been appealed at the high courts. Six months after the elections, therefore, the political situation in many local councils is thoroughly muddled.

Many of the problems that have arisen at the tribunals are not directly attributable to open ballot. Indeed, most of the cases where chairmanship elections were reversed rested upon a technical point, such as tax evasion, non-

**A**lhaji Muhammadu Bello Alkali, chairman of the NRC in Sokoto State, also faulted the residency law. "It is highly fluid," he said. "Many people maintain dual domiciliary. For instance, I live in Sokoto, but I also have a wife, my mother and several relatives in my house at Argungu".

Several other issues that surfaced at the tribunals were direct indictments of the open ballot system. For one, there were widespread allegations of intimidation of voters by employers, parents, in-laws and even traditional rulers. In Gusau, Sokoto State for instance, there were



**Babangida: won't vote**

reports that a leading stalwart of the SDP turned away from the polling station when he saw his father-in-law queuing up for the NRC. The SDP leader's departure angered his supporters, who also melted away, leaving the party to suffer a heavy defeat in the ward. There were also reports from Gongola State that a father-in-law took away his daughter after her husband voted for the NRC. In Kafanchan, Kaduna State, some voters were caught impersonating others using their cards. There were also charges in many states that election results had been wrongly tallied; at Sakaba-Wasagu, in Sokoto State, it led to a reversal of the declared election results.

Soon after the elections, *Citizen* learnt that the chairman of the SDP in Sokoto State, Alhaji Abubakar Koko, petitioned the state's governor, Col. Bashir Magashi, alleging that some traditional rulers and top civil servants in the state had intimidated voters to queue up for the NRC. A village head was said to have sat at a polling station and forced everyone to support one of the parties. There were still more reports that at Gwadabawa, the electoral officer accredited some voters well after the 11 am deadline, allegedly because he knew the party they would vote for.

Things are not helped by allegations that some members of the election tribunals have been bribed by politicians to rig the results. In Gongola State, the allegations were so serious that the state's chief judge, Justice Buba Ardo, dissolved one of the tribunals and ordered its members to be investigated. The chairman of the NRC in Sokoto state, Alhaji Muhamadu Bello Alkali, told *Citizen*, "We have evidence that one of the tribunal chairmen was bribed." *Citizen* learnt that the said tribunal chairman, a senior official of the state judiciary, has been reported to the state governor by the NRC. All

the charges and counter charges have together cast a shroud over open ballot as the panacea to the nation's election woes.

The experience of the tribunals does not appear to have shaken the government's determination to retain open balloting for future elections. In a recent interview with the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigerian (FRCN) Kaduna, President Ibrahim Babangida went to considerable lengths to justify the decision. Asked by the radio interviewer if the AFRC was worried by disenfranchisement, the president said, "I think the whole process of democracy is attitudinal. I see nothing wrong if I should queue up with the ordinary people to be counted. We expect people to have conviction, to know what they

that is required in any election." The president further argued that during the last council elections, "open ballot was peaceful and it worked, so we thought we will go by the general consensus that it is workable."

But is there such a consensus? To be sure, some lawyers who worked with the tribunals support the open ballot. Ahmed Bello Mahmud of Umaru Shinkafi's legal chambers in Sokoto, who represented NRC candidates at the tribunals, told *Citizen* that "I support open ballot as a last resort. Experience has shown that rigging is part and parcel of the secret ballot. I believe that open ballot affords fewer opportunities for rigging, although it has its own problems. It is said that open ballot will

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**"Records show that an average 35-40% of Nigerians voted in past elections, but last December, less than 10% may have voted. This means that 65-75% of habitual voters abstained in clear repudiation of open ballot, among them members of the AFRC, ministers, governors, top soldiers, policemen, and bureaucrats, traditional rulers and spiritual leaders".**

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want, and they shouldn't be shy (to express it)." This position is dented somewhat by the fact that neither the president nor any member of the AFRC, minister or governor voted in the last local government elections. None of them, for that matter, is likely to vote in the remaining elections.

General Babangida also told FRCN Kaduna that "the whole problem is that of the ballot box and the ballot paper that have continued to create problems. When you are moving boxes from point A to point B, a lot of things happen. As for ballot papers, a lot of irregularities are connected with them, so if we try to erase this aspect, that is, the ballot box and the ballot paper, I think it will give us the desired credibility

disenfranchise some people, but rigging disenfranchises almost everybody. As a last resort, open ballot is all right".

Some activists of the SDP hailed the AFRC's adoption of open ballot as a vindication of their own position. Alhaji Ali Ruwa, the energetic leader of the SDP's youth wing in Katsina, told *Citizen* that "nothing is more democratic than a system that disenables rigging. Rigging was the bane of democracy in all our electoral experience. You saw at the Bagauda Conference that only the NRC wants secret ballot, so that they can rig the elections. Why wouldn't the NRC try for once to persuade people to vote for it, instead of seeking avenues to rig?"

Officials of the NRC remain



*Alzika: open ballot primitive*

sober in light of the AFRC's rejection of their position. Alhaji Muhammadu Bello Alkali, told *Citizen* that "some categories of people, such as traditional rulers, senior civil servants, judges and army officers do not feel confident enough to vote in an open ballot. They do not want to jeopardise their careers. We want some protection instituted into the system by way of some secrecy. This group of people normally support a party of the Right, so the NRC expects to suffer if they are disenfranchised".

A leading presidential candidate in the NRC, Alhaji Lema Jibrilu, told *Citizen* that he regretted that despite everything said, the government has not only adopted open ballot but is adopting other rules that will further worsen the problem of disenfranchisement. "There is no use crying over spilt milk", Alhaji Lema said. "We have already said all there is to say regarding open ballot. Voter turn out last December was only about 15%, although NEC has refused to release official figures. At that level, the electorate was totally unrepresentative of the total population. I fear that some new regulations adopted by NEC may reduce voter turn out in

subsequent elections even further. This rule, that a party member must have paid a monthly subscription of fifty Kobo, as and when due, effective from last September, before he can vote in the primaries, will disenfranchise most people. How many people have the five Naira to pay the arrears? Most people cannot afford to go to the party office every month to pay the subscription fee. This is a serious threat to the transition programme. This rule must be revised. There are reasons why people do not register early with a political party. Maybe they only became interested in a party after recent enlightenment campaigns. If you insist on this rule, in the end no one will vote".

Elements of the modern elite have made it clear that they will not vote under the open ballot. Alhaji Aliko Mohammed, Dan Iyan Misau, told *Citizen* he did not vote last December. "If I had openly supported a political party, that is different", he said, "otherwise one feels uncomfortable standing on one side with your househelp standing in the other line, particularly if yours is not in the majority. It won't be very nice, really." Although he won't vote, Alhaji Aliko supports the open ballot. "I don't think my own vote matters, after all the election has been decided. The secret ballot system in Nigeria was never successful because in many cases the ballot boxes were already full by the time people came to vote. Open ballot was a change and would have been something if people had turned out."

Academicians who spoke to *Citizen* condemned the open ballot. Dr Abdulrahman Umar, head of education at the Usman Danfodio University, Sokoto, told *Citizen*, "Open Ballot is undemocratic, if we understand democracy to mean that one votes without fear of intimidation. Under the open ballot, individuals and groups may well feel intimidated. Some say



*Jibrillu: few if any will vote*

open ballot is cheap, but at what price? Are we going for cheapness or for giving people the freedom to choose whom they want? Don't forget, the price here is democracy itself. People vote under open ballot according to what intimidates them the most. We know that even under secret ballot, some people paid the price for voting for the losing party; it will be worse under the open ballot. Remember also the centrality of government in our daily lives. It is all over us, so no one can afford a mistake". Dr Umar charged that "the AFRC is chasing shadows. They should confront the problem of rigging under the secret ballot. Who rigs? What happened to those who rigged before? By the way, why do people rig elections? So long as there is no reordering of the electoral machinery to eliminate rigging, there will be a problem. People who once rigged elections are now in positions of power in or outside government. We must create a situation where no one rigs elections and gets away with it".

**D**r Bello Aliyu, political scientist at the Usman Danfodio University, said in regards to rigging, "Why is politics here a matter of life and death? The pervasiveness of the state in the economy and social life is a key reason. In some countries, it does not affect your livelihood at all who wins an election, but here, it does, so politics becomes a matter of life and death. Politicians go to extra lengths to win an election, and rigging is one handy tool. It has been very destructive to Nigeria because it questions our ability to mount a democratic election. It also questions the legitimacy of the state, since those in control of it do not come to power by fair means. Rigging may be described as the bane of our electoral process". Still, Dr Bello Aliyu opposes the open ballot. "Some things may commend it", he said, "but it also disregards certain peculiarities of our cultural setting. Certain social classes are

effectively disenfranchised by the open ballot".

Mr Moshood Oredola of Veracity Law Chambers, Kaduna, who handled several election cases, also argued against open ballot. "It has disenfranchised many Nigerians", he said. "Many people do not have the patience to queue up for many hours and vote. I know from experience at the tribunals that open ballot is not the solution to rigging; it only changes the character of rigging. At Zaria and Kafanchan, there were many cases of impersonation, for once a man has a voter's card, there is no way an electoral officer can detect him. We heard that some people actually migrated across borders to come and queue up behind some candidates, once they are supplied with voter's cards. Open ballot saves only the cost of printing the ballot paper, nothing more. It is archaic. I don't think it is done anywhere else in the world. We should be able to perfect the secret ballot system. I should be able to vote and still keep to myself, for in Nigeria, politics is a winner takes all. It is war! It is big business investment! I read in the papers that some people are already selling their property to go into politics, so you can see the problem that lies ahead. We



Ngangah: "its a ploy to perpetuate military rule"



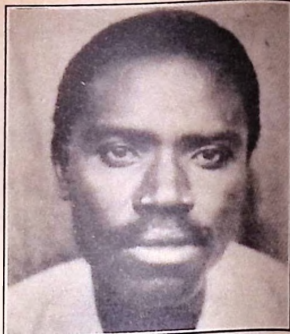
Oredola: "politics here is war"

should have a rethink on open ballot".

The experience of lawyers such as Mr Credola may have added up to swing their national union against the open ballot. At the end of a workshop on human rights in Jos last weekend, the Nigeria Bar Association (NBA) condemned open ballot as "oppressive, coercive and intimidating", and urged the Federal Government to reconsider it. The NBA's position however offended some lawyers. Mr Stephen Lar, legal adviser to the SDP in Plateau State, has accused the NBA of partisanship, since its stance coincides with that of the NRC. Mr Lar dismissed charges of possible disenfranchisement under the open ballot, saying, "This is a personal issue, because your fundamental human right to vote is there, though you may decide not to use it for personal reasons".

**O**pposition to open ballot has come from unusual quarters. Alhaji Muhammadu Arzika, who lost in his bid to become the SDP's national chairman last year, has abandoned his party's position to mount a vociferous campaign against open

Arzika said "colonialists used open ballot, but our early nationalists, especially NEPU, campaigned against it. Democracy cannot be realised with intimidation pervading the air. A family coming to queue behind different lines cannot be a united household. Any party member who joins the opposite line can be expelled for anti-party activity. Democracy requires not only popular election but broad support. Records show that an average 35-40% of Nigerians voted in past elections, but last December, less than 10% may have voted. This means that 65-75% of habitual voters abstained in clear repudiation of open ballot, among them members of the AFRC, ministers, governors, top soldiers, policemen, and bureaucrats, traditional rulers and spiritual leaders. If less than 10% vote again in December 1991, the legitimacy base of the next civilian regime will be narrower than that of the



Umar: "AFRC is chasing shadows"

coarsed by the environment. Look at our society; people don't want to create enmities with their neighbours. We should encourage our people to face the issues, and they are more likely to do this when they vote in secret because the pressure is less. Open ballot is supposed to be rig-proof, that is, to prevent one overcounting, under counting or not counting at all. Well, you can do all of this under open ballot, and whereas under secret ballot you can go back and recount the ballot paper, you cannot do so under open ballot for the people are gone. I wonder why government thinks that anyone who cannot count ballot papers can successfully count human heads, which are more emotive. The President said Nigerians should be courageous enough to make a choice and reject intimidation, but I ask, how many times have we heard an AFRC member publicly dissenting after a meeting? The courage that the military lacked, they are now asking civilians to show. I think that open ballot is a ploy by the military to create confusion to enable it to remain in power beyond 1992."

By Mahmud Jega in Sokoto,  
Zaria, Katsina and Yola.

**Several other issues that surfaced at the tribunals were direct indictments of the open ballot system. For one, there were widespread allegations of intimidation of voters by employers, parents, in-laws and even traditional rulers.**

ballot. In a lengthy press release in Kaduna three weeks ago, Alhaji Muhammadu charged that open ballot, said to be time saving, cheap, cost effective and labour saving, however damages the quest for a truly democratic system. "What is cheap and easy", he said, "is almost always not the best. Open ballot is primitive; it was used 3,500 years ago by the Greeks, and even they resorted to secret ballot to elect generals and senate leaders".

military. NEC demonstrated clear incompetence in the planning and logistics of the December 1987 elections and was looking for an easy way out".

Mr Chidi Ngangah, political columnist and deputy editor of *Today* newspaper, also opposes open ballot. "It will create chaos", he told *Citizen*. "It is too naked for democratic choice. When you have to stand behind a candidate, with everybody looking, you will be

## NIGERIA

## Bauchi Crisis

Digging a bottomless pit?

As the dust settles, more questions are emerging over the cause of the crisis

As the search for the causes of the present crisis in Bauchi gets underway, a new debate is threatening to obscure what little there is to see. The question now being asked — and being answered — is not what caused the religious crisis but whether it is a religious crisis at all.

"As far as I am concerned", said Rt. Rev. Emmanuel Chukwumah, chairman of the Bauchi State chapter of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) "the initial assessment of the situation will appear tribal, and not religious". To Reverend Chukwumah the issue is one of the imposition of leadership. "I am not an indigene of this place," he continued, "but I look into histories and trace things. Whenever they want to get a leader (in Tafawa Balewa) they impose a leader on them who is not a native of the place".

"It is basically tribal — between the Hausa-Fulani and Sayawa", Chukwumah said. It has been on and has accumulated grudge. When a leader is being imposed on the people you have to trace the crisis back to that. The issue of meat or no meat has got attachment to the sentiment that has been on before, especially now that the tribe of the indigenes is trying to overshadow the other, the Reverend said.

The indigenes, meanwhile, have a different explanation and they may have enthusiastic supporters in high places. One of them, Habila Bako Lumana, the chairman of Tafawa Balewa local government was emphasising his explanation on the afternoon of May



The cause of the crisis, entrance to Tafawa Balewa abattoir

8 when visiting Vice President Admiral Augustus Aikhomu took the microphone from his hand.

That's the message we want you to tell the world, the vice president said, not without visible excitement. The explanation was very convenient — for the Federal Government, anxious to contain the crisis, and equally convenient for Tafawa Balewa local government that can not otherwise shake off culpability for the hundreds of lives lost.

What Lumana said was that the dispute that led to the loss of so many Muslim lives in Tafawa Balewa was not religious. It was political, Lumana insisted. The day before, Masoyi Hankuri Lwarim, secretary to the local government, had told *Citizen* much the same story. "From the information



Rev. Chukwumah: imposition of leaders is the cause

## Establish the truth

Since the violence in Katsina and Bauchi states, the leadership at various levels have come out to appeal for peace. Last week, the Sultan of Sokoto, Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki, challenged the universal practice of glossing over serious matters that ought to be tackled at the roots. He told the general assembly of the Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs, NSCIA, that frequently, the provocative beginnings of incidents that spark off mass misery are "ignored or played down. On some occasions, the opposite picture of what happened is painted."

Blaming governments for provoking communal and religious unrest by their refusal to tackle issues at the root, the Sultan urged that this time, government should thoroughly investigate the occurrences in Bauchi and Katsina states to flush out "agents of disunity behind these incredible and dastardly acts could be exposed and dealt with" and appealed to Nigerians not to resort to violence under the guise of religion.

The Sultan and the Vice President, Augustus Aikhomu and Archbishop Olunmi Okogie had all visited Bauchi after the riots.

Aikhomu had promised after the visit that the federal government would not hesitate in apportioning blame and taking drastic action against all those found to be involved in the lawlessness in Tafawa Balewa, Bauchi and Ningi. Right now, he said, "judicial reports" on the incidents are being collated which "would form the basis for further action on the tragedy."

On the other hand, the Islamic council feels that nothing short of a judicial probe into the whole issue would suffice. A communique at the end of the council's meeting which ended at Abeokuta Sunday said that a public probe had become necessary because the Christian Association of Nigeria, CAN, had been trying to capitalise on the issue to blackmail muslims. Specifically, it said that the federal government should not accept, *prima facie*, findings by the Bauchi

authorities, "otherwise we will have a repetition of tragedy where muslims had triple jeopardy."

It said that during the Kafanchan riot, 19 muslims were murdered, but that to date, no individual has been prosecuted for it. The council's secretary-general, Dr. Lateef Adegbite, said reports from eye-witnesses confirmed that media coverage of the violence "has been replete with distortion and disinformation. The actual events in Bauchi were a reprisal for an earlier one in Tafawa Balewa. It was precipitated by the actions of Sayawa indigenes."

Dr. Adegbite also said that of those who took refuge in the house of the District Head of Tafawa Balewa from the Sayawa, 275 were murdered. Wealthy muslims identified by the rioters were executed. The council, he said, wants an unbiased identification of those who lost their lives and a comprehensive compensation package for those who lost their lives and property.

The council's communique dwelt on the Sharia, important



Dasuki: irked

Islamic days, and, Haji, the Sharia, the council urged for the setting up of Sharia courts in the south not recognised by the constitution. On Haji, the council said it was shocked that government did not consult it in disbanding the National Pilgrims Board, NPC, and called for a new one in which it should have a big say. It also said a way be found to maintain uniformity in the observance of important dates in Islam.

The meeting was one of the most well-attended by jurists, traditional rulers, scholars, diplomats, business leaders and public officers including three deputy governors and chief imams from over 200 towns across Nigeria.

By Mohammad Bomo

available to us, the matter would seem to be a political, rather than a religious, crisis", Lwarim said.

According to him, the crisis is the handiwork of the National Republican Convention, NRC, and its feudal sympathisers who can not stand the victory of the Social Democratic Party, SDP, in Tafawa Balewa.

"Their wish", he said, "is to destabilise Tafawa Balewa local government and destroy the little achievement we have made. The whole thing is purely political". The secretary didn't say which information was available to him to support such a conclusion. Not many people will agree with this assessment in any case. "It is a lie," Garkuwan Tafawa Balewa said.

"This crisis is a religious crisis, no doubt about it". He should know — The Garkuwa is an SDP stalwart who is widely credited with single-handedly ensuring an SDP victory in the last local government elections in Tafawa Balewa.

According to him if this crisis were a political one, he at least should have been spared. "I am in SDP," he bitterly recalled, "but they



Wunti, deputy governor of Bauchi State

came and killed my son while he had his SSS gun on. They killed my brother and burnt my house". His uncles Malam Talle and Danlami Kusur were both in SDP and both had been killed, he said.

"Alhaji Naduni, SDP campaign strategist, is now lying critically ill in hospital, his house burnt to ashes", the Garkuwa said. "Sayawa in both NRC and SDP united against Muslims, while all Sayawa Muslims — including those in SDP — had been killed. I saw both chairmen of Tafawa Balewa ward NRC and SDP — Bisu and Bala Bor — killing us. I saw Zakka — he's in NRC — going together with the son of SDP chairman shooting at Muslims with guns. There is nothing political in the crisis that took place".

If there must be anything political about the crisis, it will probably be because in Tafawa Balewa politics is seen as running along the religious divide. NRC for Muslims, SDP for Christians. Many Sayawa Muslims living outside Tafawa Balewa, who talked to *Citizen*, spoke about receiving a mysterious invitation to some wedding ceremony taking place that fateful April 20 weekend.

"They planned to eliminate those of us who are Muslims", said Alhaji Hamza (not his real name). I got some premonition especially after repeated reminders and insistence that I must attend".

This wedding is probably the same one that Masoyi Lwarim, the local government secretary, used to explain the presence of several hundreds of strangers in Tafawa Balewa when the disturbance broke out. The Muslims insisted that these people were invited specifically to come and do what they did. "But since they held their meeting in a church", Alhaji Hamza said, "it shows that they themselves see

On Saturday, April 20 when the crisis engulfed Tafawa Balewa market, Garkuwa, the SDP stalwart, was the first at the police station to report what was happening. As he lodged his complaint, the local government chairman came in and confirmed that disturbances had broken out. Since there was no vehicle at the police station, Garkuwa suggested that the chairman should give the police his car, which he did.

"Later I went to the guest house to find out what the chairman had done", Garkuwa said. "I found him talking with an SSS officer. I suggested that it would be better if he reported this incident to Bauchi, and he agreed".

Garkuwa could not confirm whether the chairman did leave for Bauchi.

Seeing the situation in Tafawa Balewa, Garkuwa decided to report the matter himself. When he reached Bauchi, he tried to report to Alhaji Shehu Wunti, the deputy governor but found he was to see the governor at that instance. "So I went off to the police command in Bauchi", he said. "I met one ASP called Kaduna who took me to the assistant commissioner of police". The ACP provided a truck and 39 policemen. They arrived Tafawa Balewa around 10



Refugee leaders in Dass

what they were doing as religious. Why didn't they hold it in the SDP headquarters?"

While the debates and explanations may never end, the search for the real cause, the culprits who perpetrated the killings, the arson and the looting must press on nevertheless. Police sources say already some arrests have been made of people who were at the Sunday meeting in Tafawa Balewa.

But many more questions will have to be answered before a proper grasp can be had of the issues involved.

p.m., and met one inspector who told them all was well.

"Early morning on Monday Sayawa began general killing", Garkuwa said. "I ran to the chairman but his watchman told me that he evacuated his family at 5 a.m. "I ran back to the police wondering whether the chairman knew what was coming".

The killing went on, and the corpses piled up. At a stage someone decided to transport the bodies to Bauchi. Clearly in the situation the bodies were and with the tension all over it was a very



Bunu: pierced by an arrow from ear to ear

insensitive thing to do. The question now is: who ordered the transfer of the bodies? When *Citizen* tried to find out, neither Steven A. Audu, the divisional police officer in charge of Tafawa Balewa, nor Bukar Dikwa the assistant commissioner of police in charge of the operation would talk. When pressed, the ACP stood up, looked east and began to pray.

This callous transfer — advertisement — of the dead bodies and the reaction this elicited in Bauchi must be investigated according to most observers.

The identity of the culprits may help determine the wider motive behind the disturbance.

Ultimately it is inescapable that parallels between this crisis and the one year-old attempted coup d'etat by Major Gideon Orkar will be drawn. They are exactly a year apart — to the day. Is April 22 going to hang over the nation as a religious Sword of Damocles?

"Looking at the situation in the country now, "one retired civil servant active in the transition programme

said, "it is easy to see that a person interested in tearing the nation apart will use religion. Perhaps some misguided Orkar sympathizers

wish to keep the date fresh in the nation's memory".

The crisis in Tafawa Balewa may have its roots in the struggle for the control of the land there, according to most observers.

Originally, a Fulani settlement, Tafawa Balewa had seen its demography drastically altered within the last 25 years when educated rural Sayawa folk gravitated towards the only urban setting in the

area. Today the Sayawa regard Tafawa Balewa as their town even though they are a minority in it.

"There was not a single Basayi living in Tafawa Balewa 25 years ago", Garkuwa said. "It was from the Fulani that they began buying houses and farmland in the early 70's. Even now they are a minority". According to him they were only able to kill so many of the Muslims because the Muslims were taken unawares. The district head had appealed to them while the local government chairman had assured them of their safety, and several hundreds of Sayawa from surrounding villages were invited in.

But other factors may have worked the way of the Sayawa. One of such was the tolerance and sense of accommodation shown by the Muslims toward the Christian newcomers, according to Umaru Musa, a businessman in Tafawa Balewa.

"We are in the majority and we could have elected anyone we wanted", he said. "Instead we decided to elect one of their member in the interest of peace and as a result of our experience".

What he didn't mention was the rise of the Sayawa to prominence because of the influence of western education and their consequent "impact" on local and state civil service. Or at least their promotion to that status by previous governors of the state.

But such accommodation may not be totally altruistic. A good reason for the apparent support a Basayi Christian enjoys by being elected chairman of the local government may be the effective split of the "Muslim vote" by the emergence of the Izala movement. With the coming of the Izala, Muslims have been unable to unite — or argue on issues.

However neither the Muslims nor the Christians appear ready to face the reality of the situation



A burnt down police car



Street scene at Tafawa Balewa after the crisis

Muslims may try to attribute this "loss" to their accommodation and turn a blind eye at the cancer of disunity tearing away at the spiritual fabric of their community while Christians attribute their victory to their "superior members".

But how will the crisis be resolved? As the search for solution to the crisis and lasting peace trudges on, all eyes are on the Federal Government. Along the way some unhelpful developments take place. Most people in Bauchi and Kaduna who spoke to *Citizen* found the comments by the minister of information, Chief Alex Akinyele at the Catholic Secretariat in Lagos deeply insulting.

He was reported to have given an account of his effort with CAN leader Archbishop Olubunmi Okogie "to see that no reprisal came from Christians".

"So after killing these hundreds of Muslims", U.M. Baba, a businessman in Bauchi asked, "they wanted to do some reprisals? It is unfortunate that a minister can make such an illogical statement on behalf of the Federal Government. Many believe it is capable of starting a fresh crisis".

Meanwhile, the arrest of suspects continues as well as the vast paper work. Will it all end up in a satisfactory resolution of the crisis?

All parties involved seemed to put their hope in the setting up of a judicial commission of inquiry. The anglican bishop of Bauchi and chairman of CAN Emmanuel Chukwumah said only a judicial commission of inquiry can solve the problem.

"What I feel is and what many of us are waiting for is that there should be a judicial commission of inquiry to investigate, detect the culprits and punish them", he said. "Otherwise the case may not end like that".

Yet both parties are sceptical about the possibility of such a commission being set up.

"Yesterday (8/5/91) we were in a meeting with the vice president and (he) has not said categorically that the judicial commission of inquiry will be set up," the CAN chief said. "He said they are still looking into the issue".

**T**he Supreme Council of Islamic Affairs has also called on the Federal Government to set up a full judicial inquiry into the crisis. Even before it, the Council of Ulama of Nigeria has stated that nothing less would be acceptable. While the calls were being made, most of the victims sounded sceptical.

Malam Umaru Musa, a petty trader and local politician in Tafawa Balewa, and now a refugee in Dass, headquarters of the adjoining Dass local government, said "Sayawa have been killing Muslims since 1965. If for all these years nothing happened to them, nothing will happen to them today. And it will

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"Looking at the situation in the country now, "one retired civil servant active in the transition programme said, "it is easy to see that a person interested in tearing the nation apart will use religion. Perhaps some misguided Orkar sympathizers wish to keep the date fresh in the nation's memory".

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therefore not be surprising if they repeat it".

Sheikh Adamu Musa, the Chief Imam of Tafawa Balewa who miraculously escaped the general massacre at the palace of the District Head on Monday April 22, took pains to detail past incidences and noted how the failure of the authorities to do anything might have helped in encouraging Sayawa insulence.

During the First Republic, said Sheikh Adamu, they launched a three-day attack on Tafawa Balewa. At the end, 40 of the victims were imprisoned, the invaders were left to go. During the Civil War, six people believed to be soldiers, attempted to murder the District Head. He was saved by the intervention of people.

At the end of the war, he said, a compromise was worked out and a member of the minority Sayawa was appointed Dallatu — Aliyu Wulumba Dadi — but had to be removed because of incompetence. Sarkin Malamai Bakari Dukku was appointed to act. The Sayawa rioted. Later the area was divided by the Bauchi state government and Malam Bawa, Sarkin Lere, was promoted District Head as *Sarkin Fadan* Bauchi in 1977. Three months later he was killed.

Finally the matter of the District Head was democratised. Appointments into all headships used to be made by the Bauchi Emirate Council but exception was made for these people in order to appease them for the sake of peace.

An election was therefore held between Farki Sarah, the Basayi candidate and Muhammadu Lulu, from the Hausa-Fulani majority. Muhammadu Lulu was elected and became District Head with the title

of Barde. These people rioted. Nothing happened. Now they have killed these unprecedented number of people. We are now waiting to see what will happen to them, the Sheikh said.

"As far as I am concerned the security of this nation must be intensified", Rev. Chukwumah said. "It must be tight, and there must not be selective negligence. The causes of this problem in the Sayawa area, whether Fulani, Muslim or Christian must be punished. Otherwise other people will rise up and cause their own problem".

For once the Sheikh and the bishop are in agreement. Lets hope that is the sign and shape of relations to come.

By Adamu Adamu

## NEC Vs NLC

## Break that romance

NEC warns the Nigerian Labour Congress to stop flirting with the SDP, but labour officials say their romance 'holy' one

**T**he transition to Civil Rule Decree 27 of 1989 explicitly forbids organisations and individuals to declare group support for any of the two grassroots political parties. Last week, Tonnie Iredia, Chief spokesman of the National Electoral Commission (NEC) called a press conference and declared the ongoing alliance between the Nigeria Labour Congress and the SDP illegal and a breach of Decree 27. According to Iredia, the NLC is not a political party and therefore its officials risked a fine of 100,000 Naira or three years imprisonment or both should they persist in seeing themselves as a labour wing of any of the two parties.

Observers see Tonnie Iredia's warning last week as an attempt to clip NLC's fast-growing "political wing". In his address to workers last May Day, Paschal Bafyau, NLC president openly urged workers to vote for the SDP in the forthcoming governorship and House of Assembly elections. Bafyau's address was as it were, an open confirmation of the NLC's intention to cast its lot with the SDP. Nor has organised labour ever bothered to make its political ambitions secret. The NLC was one of the political associations which applied to be registered as political parties in 1989 under the name of the Nigeria Labour Party. Although the thirteen political associations were subsequently proscribed by the Babangida government, the NLC was still, nevertheless determined to make its presence felt in the nation's political arena. It found an opportunity during the national

convention of the two political parties last July. At the convention, Paschal Bafyau openly canvassed for support for NLC — sponsored candidates who were running for national offices in the SDP.

Informed sources at NEC headquarters in Onikan, Lagos told *Citizen* last week that NEC was constrained to call the NLC to order following a top-secret meeting between high-ranking NLC and SDP officials where strategies for mobilising workers for the governorship and House of Assembly elections were fine-tuned. According to our sources, labour had submitted a list of aspirants to SDP officials and insisted that they be allowed to run for political office on the party's platform. In return for this favour, the NLC would on its part, mobilise Nigerian workers to vote for SDP candidates all over the country.

Reacting to NEC's warning to treat labour officials as violators of the transition to Civil Rule Decree, Paschal Bafyau told *Citizen* last week that contrary to Iredia's allegations, "none of the provisions



**Iornem:** Iredia's allegations baseless



**Bafyau:** openly solicited votes for the SDP

# NIGER STATE WELCOMES MR PRESIDENT

## INTRODUCTION

**N**IGER State, the state where the sun never sets, has come a long fulfilling way since its birth was midwived by the regime of General Murtala Muhammed fourteen years ago.

Not only has this high-flying state seen the coming and going these seasons of diverse political leadership which includes seasoned pilots such as Murtala Nyako, Commodore Babangida, Ukiwe, Ola Oni, Awal Ibrahim and David Marko, but greater epic performances were to be recorded by Lawan G wadabe.

While Niger State enjoys the contributions of these great men of vision, we today salute the great leadership of General Ibrahim Babangida who beside being the son of the soil, has in his historic way enhanced the development of all young agricultural farming states like ours.

## AGRICULTURE

### Sowing seeds of prosperity

The Ministry of Agriculture has true to its nature sowed the seeds of an agrarian revolution. This is demonstrated by the strategic carving out of five major departments to provide the much-needed fillip for the agricultural take off of the state.

The five units which have been detailed to provide food for human consumption and raw materials for the nation's agro-allied industries are Agricultural Services, Irrigation Services, Produce, Forestry Services and Livestock Services.

A semi-autonomous organisation was also created to execute the World Bank-assisted Agricultural

Development Project to boost the delivery of input and other agricultural services to farmers in the state.

In addition, a school of agriculture was established at Mokwa, complemented by two farm institutes at Nasko and Tegna to train middle and lower-level manpower to stimulate the agricultural programmes of the administration.

## AGRICULTURAL SERVICES DEPARTMENT

The department is strategically placed to serve as the veritable change agent in the agro-revolution of the state. It is responsible for the promotion of improved agricultural techniques to farmers in towns and villages in Niger State. The department also handles the provision of specialist services such as, improved seedlings, fishing inputs and credit facilities to farmers at subsidised rate.

The impetus for a well-heeled agrarian revolution has been provided with the establishment of a boat building factory in Minna. This was ferried into being as a strategy to aid fish farming activities in the state. To give the project the much desired indigenous slant, some Nigerlites have been trained and duly employed in the factory.

The tractor Hiring and Land Clearing Programme of the department has revived to a magnificent start. About 100 new tractors and implements were procured at a cost of 23 million Naira and subsequently distributed to the ten local government areas of the state.

The department has also demonstrated that it should be excluded from organisations paying lip service to the



The President, General Ibrahim Babangida



Col. Lawan Gwadabe, Niger State Governor

## NIGER STATE WELCOMES MR PRESIDENT

principle of maintenance culture. It flawlessly carried out the refurbishing of 34 broken down tractors at a cost of 2 million Naira and these were sold on a loan basis to farmers and cooperative groups to help improve agricultural production.

Under the Farm Institute Programme, 400 students have mastered modern techniques of agricultural production at both the Tegna and Nasko Farm Institutes. Furthermore, the Kuta Farm Institute has been renovated at a cost of 467,648.50 Naira.

### PRODUCE DEPARTMENT

The department keeps an eagle eye on quality control and grading of crops in the state. In addition, it is in charge of the procurement, storage and distribution of agricultural inputs as well as chemicals.

The department oversaw the reactivation and commissioning of the 4,000 tonne Badegi grain silo. It also awarded contracts for the construction of three silo complexes of 2,000 capacity each at Pandogari, Saika and

Kungiat at the cost of 2.3 million Naira.

The silos at Pandogari are nearing completion and should have been unveiled in December, 1990.

The department continues to show a remarkable zest for results. It procured a total of 20,267.50 of insecticides, 25,275.5 litres of herbicides, 2,508 kilograms of storage chemicals

at the cost of 4 million Naira. These were sold to farmers at affordable prices.

Pest control activities is another major plank of the department's focus, were stepped up.

### IRRIGATION SERVICES DEPARTMENT

This department recorded a plus with wheat farming which came home to boost as a result of ruinous importation of wheat for the production of staple bread, was given a fillip with the procurement of irrigation pumps estimated at 2.64 million Naira during the 1988-89 farming season and sold to farmers on loan basis.

The department also established pilot dry season farming schemes at Katsina (30 hectares) for tomato cultivation, at Chanchaga (10 hectares) for vegetable production and at Agala (10 hectares) for both rice and vegetable production.

### FORESTRY SERVICES DEPARTMENT

Within three years 2,320 million seedlings were planted in addition to 1.6 million seedlings provided under

the drought and desert control programme. Most of these seedlings were distributed to members of the public for planting, while some were officially used to boost the tree planting campaign.

Under the Gmelina Plantation Development Programme, a total of 255 hectares have been established, while 85 hectares came on stream under the Timber and Poles Production Programme. The Jebba Paper Mills, sucked the raw materials production activities of the Forestry Department. A total of 27,622 metric tonnes of Gmelina Pulp wood was extracted from various plantations and sold to it for paper production.

### LIVESTOCK SERVICES DEPARTMENT

Services provided bubble all areas of animal health, animal production, and grain storage activities. It is therefore, no surprise that it was the course of Governor Gwadabe's administration that the department undertook the construction of a modern veterinary clinic in Minna at a cost of 220,000 Naira. This facility enables the department

to carry out major surgical and clinical operations on livestock. More clinics have also been built at Bangi and Kuta among others at a total cost of 287,320 Naira.

The department is always seeking new pathways to touch the heart of its clientele. To this end, efforts were increased towards developing lush grazing reserves, thus providing permanent settlement for

nomadic cattle rearers, thereby stimulating those who have the knack to adopt modern husbandry techniques as against time-worn cultural migratory tendencies.

### SCHOOL OF AGRICULTURE

Sited in Mokwa in 1987, the School of Agriculture has produced 415 qualified agricultural personnel in date and adequate infrastructural facilities have been provided. These included classroom blocks, hostels, library and laboratory complexes.

With an unclouded vision of the many great heights to be reached by the college, a back-slapping sum of 1.8 billion Naira was made available by the Gwadabe administration for the implementation of various capital projects.

In words, deeds and gestures, agriculture in Niger State is not couched in only soil-scrubbing pronouncements at state functions, neither is it a matter of food for thought alone. It is the soul of the people, providing food for the stomach animating energies and providing raw materials for the industries to keep the windmill of the economy rolling.



Badegi rice farm

## NIGER STATE WELCOMES MR PRESIDENT



Fertilizer plant

### MINISTRY WORKS

#### Putting state on a good life

One of the main duties of the ministry is overseeing the major construction that are profoundly reshaping the landscape of Niger State today.

The past of which the ministry has worked since the advent of the Gwadabe administration has been as dizzy as it has been fulfilling, as its activities have touched on virtually all facets of daily living of the people.

Typically, the task of adding value to life has steered it into such wide-ranging activities as the beautification of the environments construction of houses, offices and water tanks, beefing up the transition to civil rule programme, by putting in place political party offices and the like.

In order to bring the political transition programme into fruition, a good sum of money was spent on the construction of offices for the two grassroots political parties in each of the 10 local government areas of the state. It has also helped water the seeds of justice and liberty by providing offices and homes for judges, magistrates and military personnel.

Other landmarks of the ministry include the commitment of N76,628,209 for construction of drainages in some major towns. This gesture which was spurred by the urgent need to expedite the development of the state soon spread to the remote areas, some of which now enjoy the presence of good road network.

Some of the major towns that benefited from the provision of good road network and drainages, include the state capital, Minna, Bida, Suleja and Kontagora.

The perennial flood problems that had in the past destroyed invaluable lives and properties in many parts of the state is now a thing of the past. A visit to the four major towns of the state namely, Minna, Bida, Suleja and Kontagora a couple of years back must have witnessed massive drainage work in progress, but all these have since been completed, while major roads within the town have also been resurfaced and tarred with traffic lights provided.

Contract for the construction of inland roads were also awarded at a cost of 10.3 million Naira. Some of these projects which cover 17 different township roads of Minna including Chanchaga, Tunga, Bosso, Unguwar Daji and

Maitumbi have also been completed, while others are nearing completion.

Contract agreement has since been concluded for the construction of Zungeru-Minna-Lambatta road and work on these are in progress.

The contract for the construction of Kontagora-Kotonkoro-Bangi Road which would link the state with Sokoto State was awarded at a cost of 35 million Naira.

Lt. Col. Gwadabe did not stop at these laudable efforts geared towards opening up the state to facilitate the influx of investors as well as provide access roads to farmers in the rural areas. He awarded more than 5.6 million Naira contract in April, 1988 to rehabilitate the Suleja-Gwari Road. Work on this project has since been completed.

The Jima-Doko Road contract which was awarded at a cost of over 1.5 million Naira was completed in June, 1988. Also, contract for the rehabilitation of the 105km Metachebo-Kaffin-Koro Road commenced in the same year and has since been completed.

### YOUTH AND SPORTS

#### Ministry of Social Development, Youth and Sports

From youth, through the disabled, down to the disoriented, and back to the sound at heart and mind, no segment had been left out in the social welfare agenda of the Gwadabe administration.

The disabled, which in some quarters, have been left to pine away, have been turned into an effective agent of purposeful living by the administration.

Beyond the expression of compassion, the state provides a lead to follow in the area of the implementation of the Federal Government sanctioned social security system, from which about 728 disabled persons have drawn disability allowances.

Since the social security net was unwrapped in Niger State about two years ago, over N1,035,840.00 has been disbursed. The aim of this programme is to steer this class of people, away from the roads where they go a-begging to areas where they could lead productive lives.

In a similar vein, about 32 Blind men were trained at Bida Blind Centre and the Ikeja Farmcraft Centre for the Blind in Lagos as part of the government's enthusiasm to provide functional education to this class of people.

In order to supplement the contributions of voluntary organisations in the state, about N120,000 has so far been spent by the ministry.

As the instrument for promoting intra and inter-family harmony, the ministry received 8,978 cases of matrimonial crises, of which 8,330 were satisfactorily disposed of.

Similarly, out of the 8,060 juvenile cases routed to it, 5,498 have so far been disposed of and a figure of 4,550 admitted at the Remand Home, 4,040 were treated and discharged.

The ministry is also forging ahead to make an impact in its reparation services. Designed to assist the stranded travellers, accident victims and indigent patients, 672

## NIGER STATE WELCOMES MR PRESIDENT



*Sewage waterways*

patients including travellers, have been repatriated within the last three years.

The state government has spent 2.5 million Naira on construction of centres for the disabled located throughout the state community development programme has been on the move, as the state has energised this sector with a healthy sum of 15 million Naira to help animate about 80 self help projects that crowd for urgent attention.

These projects include rural health clinics, hospital wards, dispensaries and staff quarters as well as feeder roads, bridges, culverts and drainages. The list is further beefed up by the projects on classrooms, television-viewing centres and town halls.

Women In Development (WIN) has gone beyond rhetoric into concrete reality, as the ministry continue to set up women programme centres, imparting priceless skills on knitting, saving, handcraft, child care, baking and cookery, to women.

**Nurturing the endurance of the people:**

Although it has been operating since 1976 immediately the state was carved out from the defunct North Western State, its stories of success have been so sparse.

Subsequent administrations have however intensified efforts aimed at consolidating the gains achieved after the sports council was revitalised. The council since undergoing structural reforms, has recorded sterling performances.

The state has captured many sporting laurels as exemplified by Niger Tornadoes' appearance at the Challenge Cup finals in the mid-80s, and the winning of the National Intermediate Basketball trophy by the state team.

Apart from participating and acquitting herself creditably in various competitions outside the state, Niger State has hosted the rest of the country at various competitions, which include the Ramat Cup Finals, late

Brigadier Bako Cup (Hockey Competition) and the 29th National Volleyball Club's Competition among others.

In all these competitions, the state reigned supreme, beating all other contenders in the race for the best prizes. To confirm that her winning streak was no fluke, Niger State hosted and won the 3rd Commonwealth Youth Handball Championship.

On the basketball circuit, Niger State has through her teams named Niger Potters and Niger United have earned the rights at various times to bear the nation's banner in African basketball club championships. The state's performance in handball is even more eye-catching. The state flew Nigeria's flag at the World Under-15 handball Championship in Italy, and the Under-18 Handball Championship in India.

In the field of club soccer, the Tornadoes Football Club is currently playing in the Division One of the national amateur league. Plans have however been concluded to get the club into the professional league for the 1991 soccer season.

All considered, it is safe to assert that Niger State now has the world of sports at her feet; thanks largely to Gwadabe's enlightened administration.



*Sports development in Niger State*



*U. K. Bello modern theatre*

of the relevant decrees on transition to civil rule have been contravened by NLC officials". Agreeing with Bafyau, Abdulkadir Abdulsalam, a member of the NLC's Political Commission explained that the electoral commission had taken a biased position on the issue of organised labour involvement in politics. Abdulsalam told *Citizen*, "in any civilised society, labour identifies with social democracy in politics. According to him, labour's alliance with the SDP is only a reflection of the Nigerian reality where workers instinctively seek to ally with movements they identify as likely to further their social and economic interests. Abdulsalam also reaffirmed labour's support for the SDP.

**N**ot unexpectedly, the SDP and NRC have reacted differently to NEC's warning. Professor David Iornem, national publicity secretary of the SDP told *Citizen* in the party's liaison office that Tonnie Iredia's allegations were without

however. In the view of Dr. Chris Adighije, national treasurer of the NRC, NEC's order on the labour congress is belated "because the NLC had for long breached the transition decree by canvassing open support for SDP." But did the NLC really breach decree 27 of 1989 by openly allying itself with the SDP? Olisa Agbajoba, president of the Civil Liberties Organisation, a Lagos based human rights group said no. According to Agbakoba, there is no legal basis for NEC's threat to prosecute NLC officials since labour has neither sponsored any candidate nor contribute funds to any of the parties. Added the CLO



*Iredia: the romance violates Decree 27*

**Although the thirteen political associations were subsequently proscribed by the Babangida government, the NLC was still, nevertheless determined to make its presence felt in the nation's political arena. It found an opportunity during the national convention of the two political parties last July. At the convention, Paschal Bafyau openly canvassed for support for NLC — sponsored candidates who were running for national offices in the SDP.**

foundation. In his own words, "NLC members in our fold have been declaring on individual basis so no law has been contravened." In Iornem's view, people who have come together on the basis of shared ideals and political and economic programmes could not be dismembered by "a mere statement."

The NRC thinks different

president, "more significantly, we are unable to conceive of any meaningful political activity during this transition period if organised and democratic components of the civil society like the NLC, are marginalised by statutory fiat."

On its part, the political commission of the NLC came out with its own reply to NEC's warning. S. O. Z. Ejiofor, secretary

of the Commission told reporters last week that "NEC could have investigated most of the points it raised in the press statement instead of depending on media reports," adding, "we support the SDP as the vehicle for the enthronement of social democracy in Nigeria. We are committed to ensuring that the SDP unambiguously pursues the ideals of social democracy in its widest interpretation which the interests of the working class, urban and rural poor would be adequately catered for and their roles expanded beyond that of being mere voters."

The NLC has consistently made the point that it is not a political party and therefore cannot sponsor any candidate to contest elections on the platform of any of the two political parties. Paschal Bafyau has also, on several occasions told political reporters that while the NLC is not an affiliate of the SDP, Nigerian workers have the right to vote for any candidate or party of their choice.

By Ike Okonta



Nwodo

**T**heir promises are as intriguing as their numbers. If they are to be taken seriously, then the five eastern states (Cross River, Akwa Ibom, Rivers, Imo and Anambra) popularly known as CARIA states, will not need to wait till the magic year 2000 before they become a region of pleasure where suffering will be a rare phenomenon.

As the busy hands of the political transition clock tick towards the August 24 governorship primaries, the focus in the CARIA states has shifted from the number of those who want to rule, to how they will rule. These days the announcement by one or more ambitious a man or woman that he or she has joined the governorship race does not make much news. A very predictable development, really, considering the

## Harvest in CARIA

56 Newbreeds in Anambra, 31 in Imo, 23 in Akwa Ibom, 22 in Rivers and 14 in Cross River slug it out in the race to Government House

ridiculously high number of people from the five states whose destinations are the five Government Houses.

It may never be fully appreciated why towns and villages east of the Niger have become filled with fantastic manifestoes unless an insight is given into the size of those on their marks. As of now, the governorship race has expanded well enough to accommodate 146 people, with more late comers apparently still sure to demand admittance.

From the very beginning of the struggle to produce Third Republic governors, Anambra has been the clear leader over the four other eastern states.

Last year when others had their attention glued to the local government elections held throughout the country in December, Enugu, the Anambra State capital, was already bustling with campaigns by some aspirants. With the local government elections over, the race for the Government House assumed new dimensions. One after the other, intellectual and business heavyweights, as well as retired civil servants, hurried to town with declarations that they had joined the bandwagon. By mid-February the aspirants that have signified their interest in occupying the Government House had stabilised at 56, 30 on the ticket of the SDP. Some of the declarants have, however proved to be unserious. For an instance, of the 26 people who declared their intention to run on the National Republican Convention (NRC) platform, only 21 were on the official list released by the party secretariat on February 28. Among them is Rev (Dr.) Hyde Onuaguluchi, the "father" of NRC

in Anambra and overwhelming favourite for the governorship ticket, who later pulled out to try his luck with the presidency. His causal leave from the scene has turned into a blessing for Ifeanyichukwu Okonkwo, a flamboyant US trained scientist and astute businessman, and Dr. Joe Nwodo, an acclaimed orator and an NRC power broker, both of whom have now emerged as the best possibilities in the forthcoming primaries.

The SDP, which needs a lot of time to recover from the trauma of the controversy generated by the governorship ambitions of embattled state chairman, Dr. Okechukwu Oduzue, has Dr. Chukwemeka Ezeife, Ken Emechebe and Chief Ebenezer Ikeyinna as frontrunners. All three are early starters. Dr. Ezeife, a Harvard-trained economist and former federal permanent secretary, is promising to "sincerely" pursue the "economic transformation of Anambra State modelled after Hong Kong and Taiwan."

Among the pillars on which Dr. Nwodo is building his chances at the governorship primaries is a promise to create small and medium scale farms all over the state so to boost the Anambra State economy.

On his part, Emechebe will not forget, among other things, to provide Anambra women the "opportunity to get to where there is desired socio-economic and political fields", once he settles down in the Government House. Ben Okwor, another SDP aspirant has a similar plan "because when women are comfortable, the whole society is comfortable". Across the line, in the NRC, there is equally no shortage of

boasts and sweet promises. A sampler: businessman Ifeanyi Chukwu Okonkwo has sworn "to give Anambra (citizens) a sense of belonging." He claims to be in the race mainly because he has seen no better candidate. Another 31 persons have indicated their interest in the Imo State Government House, Owerri. NRC account for 17, the rest SDP. So alluring is the State government House that the Imo SDP chairman Dr. C.I.C. Ogbuokiri and two of his deputies (Gerson Maduako and Chief Hills Oghueze) have, since mid-February forsaken their coveted party posts to launch their gubernatorial campaigns. Dr. Ogbuokiri, resigning his party post said his original ambition had been the governorship.

**H**e explained that he was merely a compromise chairman who was moved by patriotism to accept the post and save the SDP in Imo State from a bleak future. "I am the most qualified in the party for the (gubernatorial) post", declared Dr. Ezekiel Izuogu, an SDP hopeful. "I have trained at the feet of the elders, those who have played politics for five to 40 years. Looking through the list of those who want to become governors in Imo State, I don't know anybody who has a clearer vision as far as this is concerned than myself, because I am the only person who can deliver indigenous technology on a platter of gold". To Dr. Remi Chukwu, a Second Republic legislator and a campaigner on the SDP platform, those words have no weight at all. Says he: "I regard myself as the only honest citizen in the state to be the governor". As the great campaign goes on, Augustine Alaribe, another strong contender for the Imo governorship, has already declared himself the people's choice. The veteran broadcaster told *Citizen* in Owerri: "Weighed in the balance of performance and acceptability, I believe I am the people's choice. Having lived and worked in Imo since its creation, I

have developed a perception to provide leadership that will guarantee those basic ingredients which will help the people.

In Akwa Ibom, no fewer than 14 NRC and nine SDP candidates have said they want to be governor. Of those in the SDP camp, Dr. Archibong Etuk, a lawyer and John Ekong were among those considered as being likely to scale through the primaries. But a 32-member elders committee headed by an in-



Nsan

fluential retired army brigadier has since put a question mark on their ambition. The committee, which screened the nine candidates last month, flashed the greenlight for only three contestants. The lucky fellows are Udo Mbosh, publisher of *The Guide*, a local weekly newspaper; Ekong Etuk; and Dr. Ekanem Ukpogon. For the NRC, Etukudo Ekpo, from Etinan Local Government Area, is a hot favourite to clinch the ticket.

The most outstanding campaign themes in the state are: Ensuring that Akwa Ibom gets its dues as an oil-producing state; exploiting the abundant natural resources and, making the state an industrial showpiece.

Rivers State boasts of at least 22 people who have indicated their interest in occupying the Government House at Port Harcourt. From

the 12 of the SDP, three moneybags have built up what some consider an unassailable lead. They are Sergeant Awuse, ex-Constituent Assembly member; Aminasoam Dikibo; and Bekinbo Soberekon. Their opposite numbers in the NRC are Chief Zebulun Abule, a lawyer and the brain behind Crystal Bank; and another equally respected businessman, Rufus Ade-George. The campaign rhetoric in the state resemble those of Akwa Ibom. Top on the list of what the aspirants are using to gun for nomination are a promise to unite the people of the state — an elusive goal since the Nigerian civil war — and the economic transformation of the state.

The story of Cross River State is one of fewer candidates, but fantastic promises. Of the 14 people known to nurse governorship ambition, the lion share of 10 was for the NRC, with former Constituent Assembly member Clement Ebrri in front. The four names being whispered in SDP circles were Pius Tawo, a businessman; Bassey Ekpo Bassey, journalist and radical politician; Dr. Emmanuel Nsan, former health minister under Buhari and Dr. S. Okpokam, a medical practitioner.

The favourite themes in the state are similar to those in Akwa Ibom and Rivers, with NRC's Wilfred Inah and Dr. Joe Okey brandishing what are apparently the best manifestoes. Inah, who claims to have joined the governorship train due to pressure from several quarters, is pledging to wipe out hunger, accelerate development and make Cross River the best developed state in the country. Dr. Okey a medical practitioner who equally claims to have come out due to pressure from well-meaning people, also has a long list of promises. According to his manifesto, Cross River people are assured of full Medicare, unity, restoration of their dignity as equal participants and beneficiaries of the Nigerian federation.

By Isaac Umunna

# OFU LOCAL GOVERNMENT



**Hon Alexander Yahaya Adah:** *Councillor for Agric & Nat. Resources*

A team of geological experts is needed to visit the area for further exploration.

Limestone and marble are found in commercial quantities at Ugbakoji hill in Itoke district. Exploration work is yet to begin in the sites.

**Forest Resources:** A good part of the Local Government is thickly forested. The area under high forest is along Okura and Mabolo rivers. The rest provides the bulk of industrial wood requirements for both New Nigeria Timber Company Okura and Hippo Nigeria Limited Idah.

**Water Resources:** Ofu Local Government is one of the fortunate Local Government in terms of water resources. The Local Government derives her name from Ofu river which runs through the Local Government Area. Other rivers that flank the length and breadth of



**Hon Zebulun Ocheja Ebone:** *Councillor for Health & Soc. Ser.*

been reactivated by the Local Government. Of recent, the Local Government entered into agreement with the Federal Ministry of Health and UNICEF who have completed the construction of ten hand PUMPS and VIP latrines in various villages of the Local Government Area.

The Local Government has also planned to develop the Omache Spring Water at Agojeju and pump it to Ejule, a distance of about eleven kilometres. The plan when fully executed is expected to relief about six villages in area of water problem.

The Spring Water is naturally clean and tested to be pure for human consumption by Kaduna National Laboratory. The same plan is nursed for Agwale Spring Water in Ugwolawo district. The sample of this Spring Water is displayed in our Pavilion for your observation.

### Infrastructure:

As a young Local government Area, Ofu Local Government is not sparing efforts at providing adequate infrastructural facilities such as road, electricity, telephone, postal services and other recreational facilities.

**Road:** The Local Government has a good network of feeder roads which facilitate the movement of farm



**Hon Inabo Etubi Abdulrahman**  
*Councillor Ofoke Ward*



**Hon Benjamin Idoko** *Ogbonicha ward*

produce to various markets in the Local Government area. I am sure this is a great moral booster to would-be investors.

**Electricity:** Ofu Local Government is one of the beneficiaries of the Benue State Government's rural electrification programme which is being handled by Babcock Electrical Project. Ugwolawo, the Headquarters of the Local Government as well as other neighbouring villages like Ejule and Ofakaga are benefiting from the programme. That of Ugwolawo is only awaiting commissioning. With this development investors are assured of steady power supply



**Hon Drisu Peter Atabo: Councillor  
Ejule/Ala Ward**

by one legendary Prince called Onoja Oboni.

**Health:** Ofu Local Government has taken aggressive measures aimed at realising the health for all by the year 2000 as enunciated by the Federal Government.

Towards concertising this policy implementation, the Local Government has deemed it imperative that community in the area travels not more than five kilometres before receiving medical treatment; thus bringing health facilities to the door steps of every community in the area.

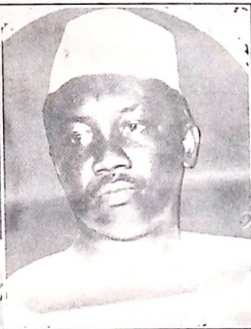
It is worthy of note that the Local Government has completed a good number of health clinics.

Ugwolawo, the headquarters of the Local Government area has a comprehensive health centre and three private clinics. There are other government health centres and private hospitals located at various district Headquarters of the Local Government Area.

**Education:** There are well over one hundred primary schools, twenty post primary institutions and one domestic centre in the Local Government area. Those located at the Local Government Headquarters include Federal Government College and the Community Secondary School, Ugwolawo.



**Mr. Emmanuel A. Ekele:  
Councillor Ugwolawo Ward**



**Abubakar Senu Ndamodu:  
Councillor Itobe/Okokenyi Ward**

in the area.

**Tourism:** Ofu Local Government has great tourist potentials. There are notable hotels like Ofu Palace Inn, concord Hotel Itobe and AP Hotel Ejule. Ofu river from which the local Government derives her name has a big water fall called Ulok'amo at Ofokopi in Ugwolawo district. This powerful fall could be used in generating hydroelectric power for the Local Government Area. Another powerful Water fall is at Egane in Igalogba district on Mabolo river which could be used for the same purpose. The banks of these falls could be used for picnics. There are also two natural bridges in the Local Government Area at Ofakete and Egane believed to have been constructed centuries ago

**Arts and Craft:** Ofu Local Government is rich in the works of art. These art works include carving, blacksmithing, pottery and traditional weaving. Wood carving for instance forms the very important aspect of our culture.

Things like seating materials, farm implements masque heads and food implements such as mortars and pistons are the handiwork of our people.

**Conclusion:** Is my earnest desire to continue counting and naming our blessings for willing investors, but since time is not my friend we would appreciate more if any willing investors care to visit Ofu after this Benue/Plateau Trade fair taking place in Jos.

Thank you and God Bless.

## NEPA Eleven

## Not off the hook

The NEPA eleven cry out for their reinstatement six months after receiving presidential pardon

The news, when it came threw the whole nation into a joyous mood. On Monday November 12, 1990 President Ibrahim Babangida in his usual unpredictable manner threw a life-line to the eleven NEPA trade

unionists who had been jailed for life in 1988 for leading their fellow workers on an unprecedented strike action. Said the president: "In Pursuance of our human rights policy and in appreciation of the constructive role of the Nigeria Labour Congress

men who spoke to *Citizen* narrated their travails. According to them, an appeal was dispatched to the President last February to effect their immediate reinstatement. The officers blame the delay in their reinstatement on the unnecessary

NEPA men back at their jobs. Explaining further, he revealed that the NLC has been handling the issue with all the care and diplomacy it requires. Said he "the issue is sensitive and therefore demands careful handling."



NEPA Eleven after the pardon

*Citizen* learnt that the NLC chose to adopt the cautious and diplomatic approach because of its appreciation of President Babangida's sense of understanding and the way he granted NLC's request for clemency for the NEPA

NLC, I feel the government is going to concede to this request". A few days later, Babangida ordered them released.

However, six whole months after the eleven jailed NEPA men had been let off the hook, they are still battling to get back their jobs, despite the President's directive to Prince Bola Ajibola, minister of justice, and also the chairman of the advisory committee on the prerogative of mercy, that recommended the pardon, to expedite action in processing the release documents and also to facilitate their reinstatement.

Last week, some of the free NEPA

bureaucratic bottlenecks that exist in the Federal Ministry of Justice. The NEPA officials were however grateful for the financial and moral supports given them by the National Union of Electricity and Gas Workers since their ordeal began. All of them however maintained that they still have implicit confidence in President Babangida's human rights policy. Said one of them, who prefers anonymity, "I strongly believe that we will get back our jobs".

Mr. Pascal Bafyau, president of the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) told *Citizen* last week, that the congress is still working round the clock towards getting the eleven

Eleven, and also because of its realisation that the intervention of the President alone can put an end to the present situation of buck-passing and bureaucracy which is presently delaying their reinstatement.

*Citizen's* investigations at the Federal Ministry of Justice revealed that necessary steps are already being taken to speed up the signing of vital statutory instruments to effect their reinstatement. An official of the ministry told *Citizen* that the eleven NEPA men will get back their jobs as soon as all the documents are signed. Mr. Precious Kiri-Kali, the general-secretary of the National Union of Electricity and Gas Workers

told *Citizen* that the union strongly believes that the President will reinstate the NEPA officials. Also expressing the Union's thanks to the president, Kalio described their release as a testimony of the humane character of the president".

Mr. Olisa Agbakoba, the president of the Civil Liberties Organisation, C.L.O. however was not impressed with the way the case of the NEPA Eleven has been handled so far. "The eleven men were deprived of their civil liberties

for two years and worse still after six months of their unconditional release they have not been reinstated". According to Agbakoba, "it is an act of injustice and a total deprivation of individual rights".

The ordeal of the NEPA officials began on December 16, 1988 when they were jailed for life by the Jos Zone of the Miscellaneous Offences Tribunal headed by Justice Mofoye Oyetunde, sitting at Lugard Hall in Kaduna. They had been found guilty of plunging the entire nation into

total darkness for three days.

The names of the officers are M. A. Odedina, president of the Senior Staff Association (SSA) a consultative body; C.N. Okafor, first secretary; J.K. Olatunde; M. O. Igedu publicity secretary, D.A. Olatoke, S.T. Adewumi vice-president; K.G.C. Okoroafor, coordinator of SSA activities, eastern zones D.A. Olaiya; I.T.T. Aliogoba SSA chairman at the Marina headquarters of NEPA, J.N. Olotu and B.B. Oye.

By Samson Ojo

## Ogbemudia where is our N400 million?

### Railway crisis spills to the streets as angry workers block level crossings with coaches

**A**t Yaba, a main artery of the Lagos road network, the first class coach numbered sleeper 10061 stood menacingly and the crossing traffic was at a stand still as motorists who wanted to connect Ojuelegba via Tejuosho market had been cut off while those driving from Western Avenue and Ojuelegba into Yaba were at the other side of the divide. The shining coach carried graffiti that read among other things, "IBB probe Ogbemudia". Are we the only parastatal in Nigeria?", and "where is our 400 million"?

The level crossing at Oyingbo linking Ebute Metta with Apapa road depicted a different picture entirely. As one approached, the sting of tear gas and burning rubber could be felt in the eyes, throat and nose. Two giant bonfires flared on either side of the level crossings. Like camp fires the angry railmen tend the fires with disused Railway slippers. About twelve men bent down under a second class coach number 30068. For about thirty minutes they tampered with the wheels, and when

the stood up, the order was given. The coach was pushed forward, then backward and then there was a crash. A shout of triumph rent the air as the railmen who were carrying sticks and stones burst into songs of "victory". The coach had been derailed. In no time, coach 30127, another second class coach appeared from the Iddo end. It was coupled with coach 30068; the barrier had been formed. Pedestrians were not spared the ordeal of the tense situation as school children, the old and the young were made to raise their hands in surrender to be able to pass through the cordon of angry rail workers. On the Oyingbo side, stones and giant boulders littered the road, a relic of an earlier confrontation with the police which the railmen said claimed five police casualties while there was none on their side. Four almond trees, two on either side of the level crossing were not spared by the scorching heat of the blazing bonfire.

The Wednesday fracas is the gradual culmination of the crisis

between the NRC management and the workers. The idea of extending the battle ground to the level crossing, said one of the striking workers, was mooted last week Monday when it became apparent that the management and government appeared to be taking them for a ride. Said Alhaji A. Raufu, a railway worker, "the public is not directly affected with our work to rule action so far. That is why we are



Ogbemudia: NRC labour leaders wants him probed

taking this action". According to Solomon Isegholi, an ice cream hawker in Yaba, the idea of blocking the level crossing was first tried in Yaba on Tuesday. Said he, "suddenly the level crossing bell started ringing, vehicles and people scampered off



Yaba railway crossing blocked by overturned Coaches

the rails, while the gates were being gradually lowered". However, he said, "we discovered that it was the railway workers who were pushing an old engine towards Yaba". On getting to the level crossing, the engine was abandoned, said Solomon, while they scamped away shouting war slogans. *Citizen* learnt that drivers and commuters on the Yaba-Ojuelegba axis later took the initiative and pushed back the obstructing engine.

By mid-day on Wednesday, the action was already taking its toll on the fragile Lagos traffic network. Buses leaving through Yaba via Tejuosho market to Ojuelegba were

blocked off. This situation made the drivers to pass through Harvey road to join Herbert Maculay before linking Ikorodu road.

But why should the railmen take such an extreme action which will punish innocent commuters, more than the management of the NRC with which they have scores to settle? One of the railmen who wanted to be addressed simply as John told *Citizen*, "nobody is listening to us, because the big men do not travel in trains. We have been left to our fate, to die of hunger while the topmen are riding posh cars". Another railman who did not want his name in print told *Citizen*, "Dr. Ogbemudia

is spending overtime in NRC. Since he was brought in as a **S o l e** Administrator, he is not expected to have spent more than six months in the Corporation". He added, "instead of using the millions of naira given to the NRC to pay workers salary and arrears, the NRC went ahead to acquire 15 Buses which were converted into rail coaches". Unfortunately he said, the "15

engines did not last because of the overuse of the reverse gears over long distances".

At the beginning of the crisis two weeks ago, David Ndakotsu, old *Citizen* that "management had forwarded some urgent demands to the ministry and we are happy that the government is giving us favourable consideration". With the latest development, it seems as if the railway men are yet to feel the effect of any favourable consideration". Their extreme desperation is shown in one of the graffiti which simply says "pay us and sack us"?

By Aluko Akinyele

## BUSINESS AND ECONOMY

### Ashaka Cem

## Brighter days ahead

At 16 Ashaka Cement PLC is waxing stronger

**W**hen in 1990 the Technical Committee on Privatization and Commercialisation (TCPC) in line

with the Federal Government privatisation policy offered for sale 32,500,000 shares owned in Ashaka Cement company, the public

response was highly astounding as it was oversubscribed by more than 50%. The result was addition of 37,000 new share holders.

Perhaps it is in recognition of the diversity of its ownership that the company shifted this year's annual general meeting to Abuja a fortnight ago. Addressing the share holders, the chairman of the company, Alhaji Shehu Awak announced an after tax profit of 90.4

million Naira for the 1990 financial year. This is 51% higher than 59.9 million it posted in 1989.

The chairman disclosed that profit before tax rose from 103.4 million Naira in 1989 to 141.2 million Naira in 1990 or 36%. Accordingly the board has recommended a dividend increase from 13 kobo to 19 kobo, or 46% increase over the previous year.

He said the impressive performance was due to operational efficiency of both the staff and management. The chairman stated that in spite of price hike, demand for cement was encouraging, thereby realising clinker production of 808, 478 tonnes, the best ever achieved since the inception of the company.

Speaking at the occasion, the managing director of the company, Engineer Grema Mustapha said the company required about 1 billion naira to increase its production capacity by 50%. He said the money would be used to rehabilitate the



Ashaka Cem Chairman Awak

company's existing infrastructure and acquisition of new ones.

Ashaka Cement PLC was incorporated in 1974. The factory completed in 1979 at a cost of 146 million naira, is at present jointly



Managing Director, Mustapha

owned by the governments of Gongola, Bauchi and Borno and various Nigerian financial houses with the Blue circle of U.K as its technical partners.

By Abu Momoh

## BUSINESS BRIEFS

### Anambra gets guide

**T**he first ever Anambra State Investment Guide (incorporating a who is who in Commerce, Industry and Trade) will soon hit the market. The guide, to be Messrs Ofa Heritage Limited, a communications company had got the official approval of the Anambra state government. When produced, the investment guide will be standard hands-on reference and resource book for prospective investors in the economy of the state.

According to the publisher of the investment guide, Ego Alowes Njimanze, the guide would include, general business survey of Anambra State, housing and real estate development and the financial and credit industry.

Others are advertorials and supplements on each local

government area, whizz-kid entrepreneurs and Transport Industry.

Copies of the Investment Guide are to be launched and marketed in Nigeria, Eastern and Western Europe, USA and other parts of the world.

### More pepsi for less

**S**even-up Bottling Co. PLC makers of Seven-up, Crush and Pepsi soft drinks has introduced a new Pepsi 35 cl bigger bottle to the market. A release from the corporate affairs department of the company said that the Pepsi 35 cl which is now available in Lagos State markets is of the same price with

Pepsi 29 cl. It said that the company is exchanging the 24 bottle crates of 29 cl to the new 24 bottle crates of 35 cl on free of charge basis.

The company has also announced its preparedness to sponsor the 1991/92 "MISS NIGERIA BEAUTY CONTEST." According to a statement from the company's headquarters in Lagos, three zones have been carved out for the contest. These are Kaduna, Port-Harcourt and either Ibadan or Abeokuta.

The winner of the contest at the grand finale to be held at the Banquet Hall of L'Hotel Eko Meridien on Saturday, 27th July, 1991 will go home with DAEWOO RACER car.

By Tola Sunday

## South Africa

# Winnie Jailed

But she makes it clear that it will take more than six years in jail to cow her fiery anti-apartheid spirit



Winnie and husband during their visit to Nigeria

**W**innie Mandela is not just African National Congress vice-president Nelson's wife; "she is an anti-apartheid leader in her own right", observed one radio commentator shortly after a South African supreme court judge convicted her on a four-count charge of kidnapping and being an accessory to assault and sentenced her to six years in jail. Mrs. Mandela did not disappoint as "an important role player", even at that moment of her greatest distress.

The guilty verdict returned by Judge M.S. Stegmann May 14 stunned her, but only briefly. She quickly collected herself and the initial shock gave way to a broad smile. Outside the court, the air of defiance was very much evident in her bearing. Raising a clenched fist, she shouted slogans praising the ANC's military wing. Mrs. Mandela told her supporters that she had been found guilty, not by the court but by

the media. She thanked them for not having been influenced by the media's "misleading reports" about her. "We love you Winnie", the crowd shouted back.

From the court she headed for her Soweto home thanks to an \$85 bail. Her lawyers asked for leave to appeal and got it. The case had arisen following the death of a young activist 'Stompie' Seipel and activities of the Mandela United

Football Club in 1985. In that case, Mrs. Mandela was alleged to have abducted Stompie and three of his friends from a church. In her testimony she said she wanted to stop what she believed was a homosexual abuse in the community. The prosecution said she presided over a Kangaroo court in a shed next to her house, which 'tried' black youths suspected of collaborating with the South African authorities.

In her testimony she claimed that she was some 118 miles away from Soweto when the crime was allegedly committed. Both prosecution and defence lawyers argued at length about the strength of her alibi. On May 13, after three months, Judge Stegmann found her not guilty of murder but of kidnapping and being an accessory to assault. He rubbed the verdict in with a mouthful of caustic commentary about Mrs. Mandela.

He called her an "unbashful liar", "remorseless" and saying that she fundamentally misunderstood her responsibilities as a leader of the black community". She was accused of using her position of leadership "to play fast and loose with the liberties of other people". His verdict Mrs. Mandela was "guilty of a serious crime".

Guilty of the offence or not some observers believe the prison sentence has greatly damaged her reputation. They say that some of her supporters who had been prepared to live down her conviction, comforting themselves with the knowledge that she was only human and could make mistakes would now find it difficult to live with the fact of a prison sentence. Again, they point out that coming as it did barely a month after Mrs. Mandela lost the presidency of the ANC's Women league, her conviction and subsequent jailing must be a terrible blow to her!

But be that as it may, there can be no doubt that she enjoys considerable support among the more radical young blacks of the townships. This was evident in the reception she got both outside the court on May 13 and in her home the next day. This support for her is so strong that the question is being asked in South Africa whether her sentence "will rally ANC members around its radical wing and put talks with the government in jeopardy".

But her husband, Nelson, thinks it will not. Speaking 1,500 kilometres away from the court he said he was confident his wife's name would be cleared with time.

By Tawey Zakka

# RAFI LOCAL GOVERNMENT WISHES THE PRESIDENT A HAPPY STAY

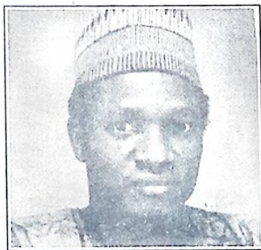
The Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary, Councillors, and the entire people of RAFI LOCAL GOVERNMENT heartily welcome the **PRESIDENT GENERAL IBRAHIM BABANGIDA** to Niger State.



**PRESIDENT IBRAHIM BABANGIDA**



**GOVERNOR LAWAN GWADABE psc, fss**



**Alhaji Abubakar Giwa  
SECRETARY  
RAFI LOCAL GOVERNMENT**



**Alh. Abdullahi Abubakar Ushama  
CHAIRMAN  
RAFI LOCAL GOVERNMENT**

Long Live the Federal Republic of Nigeria!  
Long Live Niger State!!  
Long Live Rafi Local Government !!!

## Middle East

## We aren't buddies

The U.S-Soviet Union Middle-East peace initiative has fallen flat on the face

**I** am optimistic enough to think there may be somewhere that we can resolve the differences," said the American secretary of state, James Baker after his talks with President Mubarak of Egypt and the Soviet foreign minister, Alexander Besmertkh in Cairo

last Monday. Apparently what Mr James Baker have in mind is the seeming inflexible attitudes of Syria and Israel towards the regional peace talks. Yet, Baker who returned to the region for the 4th time in the last 2 months discovered after several rounds of talks that neither Israel nor the Arabs are prepared for any major concessions to put the peace talks on course.

Two major issues are involved. One is what role the UN would play in the conference and two whether the conference will hold once or on continuing basis. The Israeli prime minister, Yitzhak Shamir had during the previous meetings endorsed in principle a regional conference to be jointly hosted by the United State and the soviet Union. However he had refused to commit Israel to a extended peace conference. Shamir wanted only one-time meeting which would be followed by direct talks between Israel and her Arab

neighbours. It was believed that Israel's refusal to Participate in continuing conference was based on the suspicion that the superpowers would try to impose on an unacceptable conditions on her.

Syria on the other hand was favourably disposed to direct participation of the united nations in the peace conference. This has been the position favoured by the key Arab leaders.

Though these have been the point of disagreement between the two parties, the knotty problem, remain: the Palestinian representation. Principal Arab states such as Syria, Jordan, and Egypt wanted not only their inclusion, but a guarantee; a condition Israel rejected. It is true that since the end of the gulf crisis the PLO leadership has been sidelined, everyone agrees that peace settlement in the Middle East without the authentic PLO leaders will come to nought.

Surprisingly, the Americans believe they can get around the problem by co-opting the so-called moderate Palestinian Arabs in the occupied land. The only exception so far has been the Soviet Union foreign minister who demonstrated his readiness to meet the PLO when he met Mr Yassar Arafat in Geneva last week.

There are no signs that the Israeli government is prepared for any peace talks with its Arab neighbours yet as its prime minister, Yitzhak Shamir continued to insist on the Biblical belief of "geater" Israel.

In defiance of the US-Soviet calls for land for-peace-exchange, Shamir was quoted by the Israeli News Agency as saying that Israel would never give up any portion of the land. The speech was made to a group of Jewish emigrants to mark the capture of East Jerusalem from Jordan in 1967 war. Observers say the restatement of Shamir's views at this point in time would complicate peace process.

By Abu Mommoh



Baker: hopeful



Mubarak, wants PLO in and Shamir, wants them out

## Nepal

## Electoral shock for Congress

The elections were free and fair, yet problems loom

**M**ay 12 general elections in Nepal, the country's first free polls in 32 years, so far, holds a humiliating defeat for the Nepali Congress Party (The Congress), the main party at the centre expected to emerge as the single largest party in the country. Only a major reversal in the current trend where the United Marxist-Leninist Party (The Communists) runs even with the Congress, diplomats opined, would halt a continuation of what obtained in the intricate interim government formed last year by a coalition of the communist and congress parties. Both parties differ ideologically.

The Congress' heavy defeat in the hands of the Communists came in the capital—Kathmandu. Here, where the interim prime minister and two other prominent Congress candidates lost their seats,

the party won only one seat and the others went to the Communists. In places where Congress was reported to have performed well, it was not absolute, for even small parties like the Goodwill Party which is pro-India won seats there. Congress' loss in the capital is plaintive, and a big set back. Having successfully led the mass protest which got king Birendra Bir Bikram Shah to give up absolute power last year, they hoped the elections would accord them credit for being the vanguard against the king, and for democracy.

Three reasons have been given for their shocking performance. First, they were "very over confident" a journalist said, "making a lot of (silly) mistakes," particularly in Kathmandu where they put out

both the wife and son of the supreme leader of the party, thereby advertising an inclination to nepotism. Both wife and son lost the contests. Secondly, the party did not strive hard enough to rival the organisation of the communists who, although were an integral part of the interim administration, planted the blame for the price rises that severely hit the capital during the period of a

ened after all. They have every reason to be enthusiastic about an election conducted with the barest minimum friction. Peaceful elections are not exactly Nepal's forte. Its first attempt at democracy lasted for about 17 months.

Sunday's voting seemed a near miraculous deviation from the past, with a 60% turn out and re-polling ordered in only 21 of the country's

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**The Congress' heavy defeat in the hands of the communists came in the capital—Kathmandu. Here, where the interim prime minister and two other prominent congress candidates lost their seats, the party won only one seat and the others went to the communists.**

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temporary government on the Congress. Finally, said the general secretary of the party, among others, the prime minister made a grave mistake in moving "voting age" to below 18 years. The "young votes," he said, had largely gone to the Communists.

In the plains, the Congress party's position was strengthened by the success of its general secretary who contested in that region and whose intention to bid for the leadership of the Congress is greatly feared. His success is bound to be problematic for a coalition government that may become necessary. He has been described as a well known obdurate opponent of communism. Nepalis themselves are worried democracy may be threat-

15,000 voting centres. Government's painstaking security measures were not a waste of time either. They included sealing off the border with India, its neighbour to the south. India, government reasoned, has a standing reputation for electoral malpractices and the apprehension that its indigenes may cross the border to disrupt the elections could not be

underestimated. Other problems that had to do with logistics, illiteracy of voters (reports say that 7 out of every 10 Nepalis cannot read or write), and the provision of electoral materials to the very remote mountainous areas seemed to have been well managed.

Although by Thursday results showed The Congress in the lead by an insignificant margin, it was hoped that results from the remote areas, particularly the west, would further push The Communists backward. Nepalis seem clearly in for a complex regime if two conflicting parties, the Congress and Communists, are compelled to lead the government.

By Delia Nzekwu

# Citizen

All the news in perspective

## SOCIETY

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*Jebba and Nwankwo celebrating a goal. Page 48*

**AMANDLA!  
AMANDLA!**



**AMANDLA! AMANDLA!**



**AMANDLA!**



AND WHAT ARE YOU  
CELEBRATING?...  
THIS INJUSTICE?

LOOK HERE! ITS  
NOT JUST HOLDING  
WE LIKE  
THAT!



# Jennifer Blues...

Things are really taking unexpected turns since shocked Nigerians came to learn that the man government appointed on their behalf to put a lid on the activities of drug barons, couriers, bent cops/customs/immigration officials, handlers of snifer dogs, had become entangled with a lady in an unwholesome way.

It started, like most things scandalous, innocuously enough. Before long, enhanced scud affidavits and counter-affidavits had started flying about, ranging from government reluctance to even hear any of it, to later forcing announcers at gun-point to say the boss had been suspended.

There are so many stories hurtling about that even the court, where everybody, of course except the boss, have converged, is being subjected to such theatrics that the whole matter is tending towards *sine die*.

A birdie informed me that a senior official of the NDLEA right now goes about with glazed eyes. He is not a mental case. It is just that he was the one who recommended the

detention of you-know-who that resulted in the money-for-hand-bail-for ground palaver. He is dazed because the guy is not only free, but cannot even be found!

Now, another turn. The star-filled defence of Jennifer's has cast a shadow of doubt over the judge handling the case by alleging specifically that he "erred in law and acted contrary to the hierarchical structures of our courts as provided for in the 1979 constitution when he proceeded to order a stay of proceedings in the lower court in the charge until June 17 in total disregard of the order of the court of appeal staying the proceedings until the determination of the appeal."! To ordinary folks, this exhibitionist gibberish simply means that the judge is a dunderhead who should have waited until the court of appeal rules on whether or not he had any right in law to have suspended hearing in the numerous charges against Jennifer before taking action of that sort!

For all that, the defence is asking the case to be transferred to another more level-headed judge. After all, one



can't fact "contrary to the hierarchical structures of our courts" and get away with it, especially when so many small men with big wigs are arrayed against him.

What I want to know, especially in the light of NDLEA's firing of seven of its officials who had formed a Medellin cartel at the agency, is why is everybody dragging their feet over a matter of simply finding Jennifer guilty or not? I also want to know what is happening to dear Oyakhilome. The assumption is that he was suspended from office to pave way for a thorough investigation of NDLEA, Oyakhilome, Jennifer, the barons and matters arising. Are these taking place or what?

## Marwa should see this

Mohammed Buba Marwa, Governor of Borno State, is "doing" something positive, I hear. After all the needless tree-hacking, footballing; free-wheeling and later free-dealing that culminated in the fine-tuned words that what all happened were mere misappropriations and not embezzlements, his activities, real or really imagined, must have come as a relief to the beleaguered citizens of the state.

I am not talking about the Better Life-DFRRI-Women's Commission angle. Instead of starting fresh ones, he is simply completing the monu-

mental disasters some of his predecessors had abandoned. I refer to substance such as health, education, water and what to do with the creeping desert.

Knowing and accepting that problems exist is the first step to solving them. Look at education. He had the good sense to cancel examination fees to the external relief of poor parents. I once advisedly told a former governor to resist the temptation to engage in theatrics and publicity stunts or listen to some self-serving official but get on with the job for once. Like all great men, he said he knew all the problems and

their solutions. The total package is what Mohammed Marwa is spending sleepless nights coping with.

He should not be complacent. After all the praise-singing about giant strides, he may discover, as I have, that most of it is on paper. If he has not noticed or his officials have not told him, students from the state in some federal government colleges are right now being sent home because their school fees have not been paid. Twelve or 14-year old kids, cannot, like governments, take giant strides to their villages, where their parents, by the governor's own account, do not earn up to 350 Naira a year, eke out a living. Taking a giant stride should include spanning distant places.

## Rural or urban life

The tranquillity of the country side provides the serene atmosphere for the artist.

Familiar village footpaths and friendly ruralites are no match for the noisy, chaotic highways that wind through the cities. Yet those who live in these Islands of urbanisation won't trade it for the serenity of the village.

### Old village's footpath

There is an old winding footpath  
That fills the heart with glee,  
It is a friendly tie that binds  
The likes of you and me.  
It builds the villagers that live so near

Into a wonderful neighbourhood,  
There are smiles and greeting as they pass,

They are always kind and good.  
In every home along the footpath  
These villagers understand,  
If trouble comes at night or day,  
You'll find a helping hand.  
Although they blame, gossip,  
Rumour, murmur and meddle,  
They also give good advice.  
They are near when needed  
With no thought of self or price.

Along this village footpath,  
There is a take and give,  
A word of comfort, a smile of cheer  
'Tis a worthwhile place to live.  
Lights glow from local candles,  
made

Out of palm-oil raw materials.  
In this fine, quiet, trouble-free old village,

It is *one for all, and all for one...*  
That builds this strong, loving old village.

### Village life

I love the freedom of the village,  
The village folk are strong and proud,  
I love the crowing of the cocks  
I love the little village life,

I love the birds that sing at dawn,  
The gluttonous goats on the green field,

The cake-balls that are sold every morning.

I love the little village life,  
They share a friendly bowl of pap  
On a friendly stump, where friends agree,  
Children play about on their donkeys.

I love the little village life  
They have their customs and their style,



And friends that make life worth the while,  
Their hearts are free, their spirits sing  
I love the little village life.

S. A. Jegede

## Transition

Alhaji Muhammadu Yazidu

Alhaji Muhammadu Yazidu, one of the great pioneers of education and public administration in the defunct Northern Region, died in Kaduna on Tuesday, May 7, at the age of 82. Son of the late Wazirin Katsina Muhammadu Zayyana, Alhaji Muhammadu was born into the Zayyad—Yazid family of Rafindadi, Katsina, famous for their depth of Islamic learning, and carried on their tradition until his death.

Alhaji Muhammadu Yazidu was a senior teacher at the legendary Katsina Elementary Training College, and in the 1960's was an administrative assistant of the Adult Literacy campaign, based in Zaria. He was one of the few northern Nigerians who belonged to the rarified echelons of the colonial senior service, along with Dr. R.A.B. Dikko and Alhaji Ahmed Talib. He subsequently became a senior establishments officer in the Federal Civil Service in Lagos

before he retired in the late 1960's. He was chairman of the defunct Kaduna State Public Service Commission until 1981.



Alhaji Muhammadu Yazidu

Among his many children are Alhaji Imrana Yazidu, former chairman of the Operation Feed the Nation campaign, and Alhaji Abidu Yazidu, former secretary to the Kaduna state government and now chairman of Nigeria-Arab Bank.

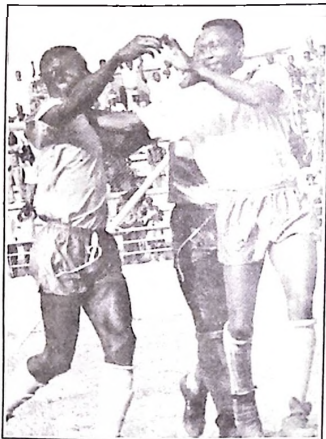
# Lions storm Tripoli for Al-Madina

BCC Lions will dare Al-Madina this weekend in Tripoli to finish the job they started two weeks ago.

Coach Mohammed Sellini of Al-Madina will be dripping with hot sweats this weekend in the chilly weather of Tripoli as he lines out his boys against Cup Winners Cup defending Champions BCC Lions of Nigeria. Coach Sellini, whose boys went down 0-2 to the defending champions in Makurdi on Saturday, May 11, is under heavy pressure to translate his boasting and threats to reality. His biggest trouble will be how to conjure up a magic wand that will rid his boys of their negative football tactics and make them play smooth attacking game so as to make true their promise of scoring four times against BCC Lion—a formidable team that made the Libyans look stupid and untutored in the art of good football a forth-night ago. Still dazed and confused from the two-goal defeat his boys suffered in Makurdi, the coach went into a fit of uncontrollable boasting, and warned that "BCC Lions should not even come for the return match because we will beat them with nothing less than four goals".

But going by their performance in Makurdi, Al-Madina looked too technically and tactically inferior to lay claim to the art of modern good football. Admitted, the Libyans can be good spoilers against an equally timid team, but they will certainly be no match against an adventurous and tactically sound and mobile side like BCC Lions in an all out attacking game. The Libyans

robbed the Makurdi encounter of its anticipated thrills and beauty by their negative style: they wasted precious time of the game by constantly feigning injuries at any slight



Jebba and Nwankwo: celebrating a goal

contact they had with BCC Lions players; they also displayed an irritating attitude of constantly holding up the game through protests. Above all, their rough tackles virtually deprived the continental match of any exciting moment. Al-Madina were so rough in their game plans that BCC Lions had to play hard sometimes to survive their bruising tackles.

The two goals scored in the 23rd minute by Clifford Cassidy and 30th

minute by Lious Igwillo brought out the worst in Al-Madina. But the Togolese referee Ahanou Pindra knew how to use his card generously to keep the game under control. He issued a total of seven yellow cards: four to Al-Madina and three to BCC Lions, and capped it with a marching order to Hassan Dawo for inflicting a vicious and deliberate kick on Humphrey Jebba inside the 18-yard box. The resultant spot kick awarded for that offence a minute to full time was however lost by Toyin Ayinla.

Tripoli will surely boil this Saturday, as the two teams fight it out for the quarter final ticket. Al-Madina who have been unsuccessful in the Cup Winners Cup since they started the campaign in 1978 want to toast with the Mandela Cup this year, no matter what the opposition, according to their outspoken coach. He is banking on the massive support his team enjoys among their fans back home to unseat BCC Lions.

But for BCC Lions' master strategist, coach Shuaibu

Amadu, there is nothing to worry about in the return leg. Al-Madina, he said, would have no place to hide at home because it is going to be an all out war between the two teams.

The Tripoli show down is also going to be a battle of skills and nerves. On skills, the Lions rated far better than the Libyans in Makurdi; and on nerves, playing at home would put a lot of pressure on Al-Madina, more so now that they are playing 2 goals down. Perhaps the

biggest asset that the Nigerians will bank on to win a quarter final ticket at the expense of their visitors is their consistent impressive records whenever they are playing away from home. Last year, when they made a debut in the championship, they survived many elimination threats at their opponents' backyards. That notwithstanding, coach Amodu and his boys must

not underrate the Libyans. They would do well to abandon purely defensive match and build their game plans on mass attack and mass defence strategy.

While BCC Lions are fighting it out in Libya, Nigeria's representatives in the Champion Cup Iwuanyanwu Nationale, will storm Libraville to finish their demolition job against Jeunesse

Athletic Club (JAC) of Gabon. Having romped to 5-0 victory over the Gabonese Club, this is surely a mere formality for the Nigerian club side. But then, one must not assume total victory for Nationale. In football the unexpected happens quite often, and for the Owerri boys to avoid sensational upset, they must be wary of over confidence.

## Foreigners rule Maltonic

Nigerian long distance runners may have to train for longer hours and seek further tips on how the world famous marathoners go about their business, if they hope to overcome the intrusion of the East and North Africans into the Milo Marathon and Matonic Miler. These two long distant races used to be the exclusive preserve of such names like Yohanna Waziri and Abbas Mohammed before, the sponsors, craving for more publicity, threw the entry forms open to international marathoners from Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya,



Waziri: beaten to third place

Togo and Cameroun.

On Saturday, May 11, an Ethiopian group 'B' long distance runner by the name Melkessa Woldessillassie easily dusted

Nigeria best marathoners to win the International Maltonic Miler. He completed the 20 kilometres race which flagged off from Bar Beach and terminated at the National Stadium in 1 hour 7 minutes 38 seconds to pick the top price of 25,000 Naira. It will be recalled that last year's International Milo Marathon was also won by another

Ethiopia Reta Wegaza.

One funny thing about this year's race is that Abbas Mohammed, the defending champion, was pushed to distant 14th po-

sition. Even his closest country rival Yohanna Waziri was beaten to the 3rd position by Fred Adeogun from Ghana. The reason given by Abbas for his dismal outing was because he took part recently in the highly competitive London Marathon where he placed 200th. According to him, he was not supposed to run in the Maltonic race but had to do so under pressure.

In the female category Angela Amajuyo beat pre-race favourite and defending champion Grace Ishaku who also took part in the London race.

By Joe Olajuwon

## Anglos are back

English club, Manchester United, defeated Spanish league Champions, Barcelona to win the European Cup Winners Cup. That must be the right way of announcing the return to the winning ways of English clubs in European competitions.

Over 50,000 spectators were on hand at Rotterdam Holland to witness an evenly contested match of contrasting

styles. Goals waited until the second half before coming. Steve Bruce opened the scores. Newly crowned English league best player, Welshman Mark Hughes made it possible for the English club with a tremendous angler. Ten minutes from time Dutch International attacking defender, Ronald Koeman reduced the tally for the Spanish club which last won the cup in 1989.

Manchester United were winning that cup for the first time (they won the European Clubs Cup 23 years ago). They thus become the first English club to win any title since their return this season from the ban by the Union of European Football Associations, UEFA. Liverpool FC's fans caused the ban by rioting in the 1985 European Cup final match against Italian Club Juventus. 39 people died from the incident.

Before the 1985 ban,

English clubs had been regular winners of the three club championships. Liverpool, Aston Villa, Arsenal, Nottingham Forest and Tottenham Hotspurs have all been winners. Earlier in the year, English representatives for the UEFA cup, Aston Villa were eliminated by the powerful Italian club, Internazionale Milan — who were the favourite to win the cup.

By Rabiu Barde

ADAMU ADAMU S

DEFINITIONS  
IN HUMOUR

"Things Fall Apart".

"Leave the brats alone, sir," the headmaster said. "They could sometimes be mischievous. I promise I will investigate".

The governor left the school. Back

woman without provocation.

"A man who is a product of six generations of good breeding, or one good guess on the stock market (or indeed one good mess in a government department)

\*A man who is first silent in a quarrel.

\*A man who never hurts anyone's feeling unintentionally.

\*A man who always remembers

# Things Fall Apart

**A**minu Baba told me this though he did not claim to have invented it. He said he heard it from one of those lively, boisterous, voluble, witty, anonymous fellow travellers you and I frequently meet — at the airport, in the park or at one of the involuntary stops that societal inefficiency forces us to take. They always have tales to tell (*tales to tell?*) and you always have listening to do. The government, NEPA, NITEL, Nigeria Airways, the water board (*water bored?*), the police, the army (especially) all provide cannon fodder. Here goes the story.

The governor of a certain state on a know-your-state tour visited a secondary school and things fell apart. Literally. He went to a class unaccompanied. He looked around. On the blackboard the governor saw this written. "Things Fall Apart".

Pointing to the writing on the board, he asked a student sitting in the front of the class, "Who wrote it?"

"Me?! Believe me sir, I wasn't the one who wrote it", the student said. He turned to his friend for confirmation. "Femi, weren't we here all the time?" And turning to the governor, he added, "I told you sir, I didn't write it".

Seething with indignation, the governor went out of the class. He called out to the headmaster. "What is wrong with your boys?" he asked, pointing at the blackboard. "None of them can tell me who wrote

at headquarters, he called his chief security officer and told him about the incident.

"Okay, sir", the chief said. "Don't worry. I will go and investigate thoroughly and report the culprit with immediate effect".

"Darling!" he barked as a military man would to his wife when he reached home.

"Today, I went to this secondary school and in one of the classes I saw "Things Fall Apart" on the board. I asked the students 'who wrote it?' but none could tell me. I asked the headmaster. Neither could he. I told my security chief and he left to bring the culprit home. 'And...'"

The missus cut in. "They are saboteurs", she said. "And they will be shamed. Things will not fall apart. Don't worry. God be with you".

Three days later the security chief was still frantically searching. It is certainly not easy to find Chinua Achebe in class two of a secondary school, but who are you to stop soldierman doing what he sets his mind to?

## Now who's gentle?

Who and who are gentle? What does one need to do or leave undone to qualify? No need guessing, here's ready help. From Upper Crest Jokes here are five definitions of a gentleman.

\*A man who never strikes a

woman's birthday but never her age.

## Lossie Mandela

Dost thou know what means "due process"? Well if you don't it means proving a case against or in favour of one of the parties to a dispute after listening to both sides and scrutinising their submissions. Good. That means, assuming of course that the judge deciding has a conscience which he obeys (but this is a risk which civilisation must take), the result of due process is the truth. And nothing but the truth. Or at least it is the least disagreeable falsehood. All this "Long English" verbiage is to show that Winnie Mandela, wife of Nelson Mandela, has been convicted by a court of law. She is guilty and I want to know what all this fuss is about. Drawing parallels between her and her husband' incarceration is ludicrous. The woman is guilty unless cleared by an appeal. The supremacists already calling for the judge's head or de Klerk's legs will do better to call on Nelson to resign.

\*Winnie Mandela — Lossie Mandela, win some, lose all.

\*Nelson Mandela — Knell-san Mandela. Is it the death-knell I hear?

\*Mangosuthu Buthelezi — Mango-soothe Boot lazy. Mango Boot, for short. If you give him sweet mango it will soothe him and his boot is at your service.



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