

TRADE FAIR TAKES OFF

AKUBUEZE'S ARREST

NDLEA'S UNENDING DILEMMA

AS THE KADUNA

TRADE FAIR TAKES OFF  
1994. VOL. 5 NO. 5

JAN. 31 - FEB. 6

# WIZON

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## BRIEFLY

The emir of Kazaure, Alhaji Ibrahim Adamu is dead. He died last Thursday at the Marhaba Specialist Hospital, Kano, after a protracted illness. Born 74 years ago, the late emir ascended the throne of the Kazaure in December 1968.

Highly respected for his honesty and frankness, the late emir, who was also a reputable farmer, had his elementary education in Kazaure, and also attended the institute of administration, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.

He had served as a senior official of the Native Authority and the district head of Roni before his ascension to the throne. He is survived by his wives and several children.

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## FROM THE EDITOR

Precepts are easy to coin; it is example that is difficult to put into practice. This is the uncomfortable truth that Nigeria's vocal more-democratic-than-thou Campaign for Democracy is finding out. It preaches democracy, it fights for it, it is even dying for it but it will not do it. And probably it doesn't even believe in it.

At least there is little doubt that its leadership doesn't. Crucial decisions are taken unilaterally, without the knowledge of the proper structures or consulting the followership at large; accountability for funds donated by local sources or received from abroad remains suspect, while the base of support for the campaign remains narrow and almost ethnic. Clearly these are serious handicaps for a group that pretends to promote democracy in the country.

It tells a lot about the leadership of the campaign that it doesn't seem to recognise the mortal danger lurking in all this for its existence or success. And predictably this

has led to a crisis. The leadership, dissidents assert, have questions to answer. They do; and the questions are many. If democracy is so desirable why are they running the campaign as a feudal dictatorship? The public — and foreign sources no less — deserve to know how their Naira is being spent — or misspent.

Some of the leaders are still thinking in terms of village of origin which shows what a long way they are away from creating an organisation that can speak for the nation. The misgivings expressed by affiliates and other dissatisfied insiders of the drama and give us a small glimpse of the drama and paradox going on in the so-called vanguards of democracy.

Their story, written by Bolaji Adeblyi, captures some of the disdain and outright suspicion with which much of the public regards the fight for democracy in Nigeria today.

*Bolaji Adeblyi*

## LETTERS

### Open letter to Abacha

Sir,

It is my contention that no serious nation leaves its currency solely to the vagaries of market forces. Western nations who sponsor the Bretton Woods Institutions, 'World Bank and International Monetary Fund' (IMF), allow their reserve banks to intervene from time to time to shore up the value of their national currencies. Their hostility to the budget policy thrusts should therefore be recognised for what it is — ill will.

The specific area of interest which has prompted this letter and which I feel will make a profound impact on your popularity concerns the external debt management. It was reported that Britain under Margaret Thatcher refused to grant Nigeria debt relief because from her knowledge of their wealth abroad, some prominent Nigerian citizens could easily settle what was outstanding. She was quoted to have threatened to make a list of these endowed Nigerians public, if the government persisted in pressing for the relief. Then more recently, the Swiss government was reported to be willing to cooperate with any nation desirous of repatriating their funds stashed in the country's vaults. I humbly recommend that you should take steps to make the best of these challenges.

These "endowed" Nigerians should then be taken into confidence at the highest possible level in government and persuaded to willingly part with half of what they have abroad, to salvage the nation. Offers of national awards could be thrown in and if entreaties fail, some other lawful methods could then be adopted where feasible. For example, it should not be too difficult to make those presently or previously in government to cooperate with threats of a probe and exposures. Their gestures would then be good examples for others to follow.

The exemplary gesture by the erstwhile head of state late General Murtala Muhammed of blessed memory comes to mind. Thus the bluff of the creditors would be called.

Ayo Makinde  
Festac Town, Lagos

### Still on SAP

Sir,

That majority of Nigerians are definitely not happy with the situation concerning their well-being I believe is not lost on the head of Provisional Ruling Council and his team. For the last eight years majority of Nigerians have lived under the worst economic conditions this century, all because of a jaundiced economic policy hinged on a senseless structural adjustment programme which has been highly manipulated by its operators to enrich themselves. Education, health, decent food and provision of basic amenities were all beyond the reach of the majority. Nigeria, with the exception of a very few, is classified among the poorest nations of the world. Also report after report indicate the mistakes in the operation of SAP to no avail.

The tasks to be tackled are enormous, and with honesty, they can be accomplished. The right people should be in the right places and the leadership should lead by example.

Magaji Garba  
ABU, Zaria

### Re: The press and its double standards

Sir,

In a subtle way, Mohammed Haruna said it all (*Citizen* December 20, 1993-January 3, 1994) on how the mass media abuses its powers. Attention must be paid to the press and the so-called civil liberties outfits here at home.

There is no gain-saying the fact that the much press freedom that the media enjoy is not being utilised to promote national as opposed to sec-

tional interests or to champion freedom for individual citizens as opposed to using it as a weapon against individuals who are disadvantaged and possibly defenceless.

It is for these reasons that the government has to ensure that the press serves to promote national unity and not subvert it. In the same vein the government must guarantee the individual's right to seek redress from a press that continuously victimise innocent citizens who for personal or political reasons, are continuously subjected to ridicule and slander.

Nasiru U. Usman  
NCAC Zonal Liaison office  
Kano

### Re: Computer centre burnt

Sir,

Please refer to your write up titled as above in your edition of January 24-30, 1994 Vol. 5 No. 4 on page 26.

Please allow me to correct the report on two aspects. Our computer centre is not burnt. It could be called a near fire outbreak. It was true the fuse box and some wires consequently got melted. The in-built fire preventive system gave the warning and necessary steps were taken to replace the fuse box and the melted wires. Electrical fault in a set-up like our computer centre, one of the biggest in the country, is not abnormal. It is a fault which the system had anticipated, detected and corrected.

It is true we approached the government for funds to complete processing the data, but no money has been released up to date. It is therefore untrue for you to write that money had been released at the tail end of last year. Let me use this opportunity to allay the fears of Nigerians that final census figures would be released within the next few months.

Ahmad Hameed  
Public Affairs Department,  
NPC

Letters to *Citizen*, carrying names, signatures and addresses, should be brief and to the point. They should be typed double space and addressed to Letters Page, *Citizen*, G 11 Unguwar Kanawa, P.M.B 2334, Kaduna. The Editor reserves the right to edit, publish or reject all letters.

## The task ahead of CD

**O**n February 12, 1994 the National General Meeting, NGM, of the Campaign for Democracy is expected to hold in Ibadan, the capital of Oyo State. The meeting, which is the supreme organ of the pro-democracy body, is coming against the background of the return of the military to governance and a leadership split within the organisation. This background is significant in many respects.

The re-entry of the military into the nation's political scene means that the campaign for democratic rule needs reinvigoration particularly in view of the collaboration of a section of the political class with the military to perpetuate dictatorship in the land. Unfortunately, however, the leadership crisis in the CD will, if unresolved, inhibit its efficacy in the inevitable confrontation between the forces of dictatorship and democracy.

The crisis is serious to the extent that the bone of contention is a section of the leadership's resistance to the democratisation of the structures of the organisation. The complaint is that the chairman, in league with his trusted aides, is dictatorial, arbitrary and unaccountable to the rest of the executive members. This means that the CD, which was at the vanguard of the civil resistance to President Ibrahim Babangida's military regime and has been mobilising the public for democratic rule, is not leading by example. It is also clear from recent events that its activities have been restricted to a section of the

country. The moral as well as political implication of this is clear. Dictators and their apologists will definitely see in these symptoms of undemocratic practices an opportunity to blackmail, not only the democracy groups, but the restive civil populace that is genuinely tired of the military's misrule and plundering of the nation's human and economic resources.

The fortunate and commendable thing, however, is that there are agitations from within questioning the basis of this paradox and asking for rectification. Leaders of democracy must read no meaning, other than genuine, into these agitations and go right ahead to yield to the legitimate quest for strict adherence to all democratic principles enunciated in the May 2, 1992 programme of CD. Democrats must be democrats in words and in deeds. Pro-democracy leaders must therefore do a soul searching and remove all impediments in the way of internal democratisation.

Our urge is that the NGM should ensure that henceforth issues are discussed at all required levels of the organisation; frontiers of activities and agitation for democracy expanded by all practical means, to include the rest of Nigeria, and that the principle of accountability are scrupulously adhered to. Anything short of this will only portray CD as an organisation of physicians incapable of healing themselves; and cannot, therefore, be entrusted with the lives of others.

## Sardauna's big shoes

**S**o often in the last 28 years since his violent death on January 15, 1966, northern Nigerians in particular and Nigerians as a whole have had occasions to speak on the life and times and the legacy of Alhaji Ahmadu Bello, *Sardaunan Sokoto* and premier of the defunct northern region. On almost every occasion, his contemporaries and present-day leaders have showered encomiums on the great

man and have told again and again stories of his vision, generosity of spirit, his hard-work, and his exemplary attitude to public service and nation-building.

The latest such occasion was at the First Annual Memorial Lecture in honour of the late premier organised by Arewa House, Kaduna, on January 22, 1994. The remarks made at the occasion by Lieutenant-General Oladipo Diya, the chief of

general staff, aptly summarised the awe with which modern Nigerian leaders hold the *Sardauna* and other great leaders of the independence era. General Diya said, for example, that *Sardauna* "devoted his life and energy to the service of his people and his fatherland." General Diya also held up the *Sardauna* as "an astute politician" who "succeeded in overcoming many obstacles which had prevented other leaders of multi-cultural societies from ascending the heights he assumed." The CGS also pointed to the late premier's "policy of integration and development," and to his "hardwork, accountability, honesty, devotion to duty, selfless service to his people, religious tolerance, foresight and vision." And as if that wasn't enough, Diya observed that the *Sardauna* "died and left no personal wealth, no mansions or estates."

Certainly, for these and many other qualities of great and saintly leadership, this generation of Nigerians and all others to follow owe a debt of gratitude to the *Sardauna* and the many other leaders of his times and his calibre. But while they are being so often and deservedly remembered and honoured, the question must be asked, whatever happened to national leadership since the great man died?

Take, for example, the issue of "selfless and dedicated service" to the people. A

former head of the federal civil service, Alhaji Adamu *Wazirin Fika*, recently said that people today join the service thinking only of what they can get out of it. Take, for another example, the issue of "overcoming obstacles" to the unity of "multi-cultural societies" that General Diya spoke of. Today, the north is hardly more than a "geographical expression," all the great work of binding cultures accomplished by the *Sardauna* having gone down the drain. Who speaks, today, of "hard work, accountability, honesty and dedication" in leadership, to say nothing of "selfless service, religious tolerance, foresight and vision?"

Nigerians must seek to find the answer to whatever it is in our society that produced greatness of the *Sardauna's* kind and has not done so again since then. It is no longer satisfactory only to gather every year to remember the great men. Something must be done about it, and fast. There is no reason that whatever it is they accomplished cannot be done again. It is arguable if the upcoming constitutional conference can restore the spirit of selfless service and accountability, not if its main concern is rotating power between different wings of the elite.

What we need is a restoration of the glories of the past, not just annual talks about them.

## Double standards

The on-going trade dispute between the United States and Japan is one more reminder to the world of the double standards that the developed countries apply in their relations with the developing world. Only last week, inspectors from the International Monetary Fund, IMF, came to Nigeria to protest the federal government's 1994 budget, in particular, the retreat from total deregulation of currency value and trade.

The IMF should go tell that to the government of Japan. The Americans say they are "frustrated" by lack of progress in their drive to get the Japanese to reduce their huge trade surplus with the US. The Americans find no easy way to break into

the Japanese market for automobiles, auto parts, banking and insurance, among others. Even the rice market in Japan was only opened to imports last December after a protracted struggle. Last week, US treasury secretary Lloyd Bentsen said unless the Japanese allow progress to be made on the trade issue, the US will allow the yen to appreciate against the dollar. This means, clearly, that with a world trade surplus of some 150 billion dollars, the Japanese yen is still artificially managed in order to help the country's export drive.

In which case, everyone else should be free to do his own thing. There shouldn't be one rule for the poor and another rule for the rich and strong.



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## All are invited

(Signed)  
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## ADAMU ADAMU

the accounting officer knows not how to account. If he does any counting, it is to count his blessings.

The service itself suffers from a new culture of surfeit and overkill. Different units of the service often find themselves going at cross purposes — cancelling each other out or engaging in ineffectual duplications. The sheer number, variety and sometimes meaninglessness of the bureaucracies is enough to drown

Often because he himself does not.

The best way out is to restore the powers of accountability to the permanent secretary who will also enforce discipline all in a unified service. Civil Service Rules and the Financial Instructions will not easily go out of date: they can check graft any day. And it is much easier to catch culprits and punish them while the rules and instructions are in force.

While today even the zeal to in-

# More matters arising

**W**hile some matters are just arising, it appears some have already arisen. And even if General Sani Abacha is able to properly probe the past; or, if not, and this seems more likely, he is able only to curb corruption, from today and not since yesterday, more matters will still arise. Those arising must of course be addressed, while those matters that have arisen must be redressed, if only to avoid chaos and possible asphyxiation of the system.

No doubt sanity will return the moment it becomes clear that there is genuine determination to conquer corruption. But the conquest — whether of past or future corruption — does not by itself prove anything; and is no guarantee that henceforth things will automatically be in order or go well.

Even where things want to go well a myriad of obstacles stand in the way. The rare individual who wishes to play by the rules quickly discovers that he is an odd one out; he will fail to get teammates, a referee or even enthusiastic spectators. Because the environment is corruption-friendly.

In addition, the restraining influence of the time-tested regulations and procedure of public service are gone — perhaps for good. No one checks you — indeed, no one wishes to check you. To make matters worse,

any good intentions, if any, in establishing some of them.

Thus, instead of funding and strengthening the ministry of agriculture the government created the directorates of employment (NDE) and that of food, roads and rural infrastructure (DFRRI) with extraministerial bureaucracies to do some aspects of the ministry's work. Instead of the ministry of information the government created an agency for mass mobilisation (MAMSER). Colossa amounts went down the drain. We shut our eyes to the reality of what was happening and we began believing our own lies. Creating a bureaucracy became the solution; and it was elevated to high art by including all of them in the constitution.

But even before these we removed from the constitution by the impending Constitutional Conference it is necessary to recreate a new civil service and engender a new ethos for public service. Whether or not we agree the Civil Service Reform of 1988 ended the role of the civil service as custodian of procedure and enforces of accountability. It replaced the permanent secretary with the permanent secret — a political appointee often untried, untested and untutored who is given enormous powers, grave responsibilities and very little check — and one will never know what he is doing

sist on honesty or excellence is no longer there, it is precisely because the unified service has been killed that no one feels responsible for anything that happens. The child and the washman were thrown out with the bathwater — along with the bath tub.

What the pre-1988 service needed was a little shake up, and not a death blow. As things stand today, in the name of professionalising the service, the profession itself was lost. It must be resurrected.

When this is done the government will find the Code of Conduct Bureau very useful and the Code of Conduct Tribunal indispensable for the future. This is why the current probes being mounted to investigate some national institutions are important — and must continue. But we should be clear what we are looking for. Already they are looking like investigations for investigation's sake because of this lack of proper focus. The attempt to cleanse the system must go on. The threat of punishment possesses surprising effectiveness in making people honest.

Few people remember God in what they do officially but many will not easily forget punishment imposed in this world under their very eyes. Therefore the Code of Conduct must be enforced until it changes people's attitude and approach to public trust.

## COVER STORY

**P**ious christians are familiar with the Biblical injunction: *Physician heal thyself*. Teachers of the faith tell their students that the injunction preaches the virtue of honesty and reproaches hypocrisy. That examples should be by precepts and that those who seek to remove the speck in the eyes of others must first remove theirs. Organisers of a recent conference on human rights and democracy must have had this in mind when they

### Pro-Democracy

# Physicians heal

Increasing agitations within the rank and file of human rights and pro-democracy groups is forcing them to democratise their structures

gathered together with various human rights and pro-democracy groups to discuss the important issue of the problems of democratisation in Africa. At the conference put together by the France-based Council for the Development of Democracy, CODESTRA, held mid-December last year at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, NIIA, Victoria Island, Lagos the issue of internal democratisation of the human rights and pro-democracy groups in Nigeria came under scrutiny. The irony that emerged was that pro-democracy leaders were themselves resisting agitation for democratisation of their structures at a time the groups were vanguarding agitations for an end to military rule. In fact, the rift within the leadership of Campaign for Democracy, CD an umbrella body of pro-democracy groups, first became evident at the conference. All the warriors were there. Leading the protagonists of the democratisation

of the pro-democracy groups structures was Chom Bagu, vice chairman of CD and an assistant national secretary of the Nigerian Union of Journalists, NUJ, who revealed to a startled audience that several of the human rights and pro-democracy leaders share similar dictatorial traits with the military dictators that have been their object of attack in recent months. Bagu spoke of his experience within the CD, how he had to insist that his leader submit to the democratic principles of con-

match to democracy. Bagu was supported by Emma Ezeazu, former national secretary of the Civil Liberties Organisation, CLO. "Our view," he said "is that if civil society is to ascend the mantle of leadership, then its leaders must show a better understanding for and greater willingness to accept the principles of democracy." For him, the failure of democracy and human rights groups to yield to agitation for internal democratisation is a major discredit to the struggle of Nigerians for democ-

racy. The response from the "defence" was typical — a strong refusal of the alleged resistance to democratisa-



Beke: a dictator?

sultation and discourse: how his effort in this regard had met with little success and how to his chagrin, his leader had collaborated with coupists to abort the nation's



Bagu: worse than military

tion. Rather, their antagonists were accused of an insufficient understanding of tactics and strategies of political struggles. The position was pushed that times come in the his-

tory of every political struggle when strict adherence to time honoured principles are abandoned for expediency. This doctrine of expediency they explained, was responsible for what now appears to the other side as a "resistance to internal democratisation." But the protagonists persisted in their accusations alleging further that the leadership's dictatorial tendencies have actually affected the expansion of the struggle beyond traditional centres of agitation. To this, an angry Femi Falana, president of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers, NADL, replied: "Those who are saying that the CD is not democratic and national enough should go and form

tures of the organisation before decisions were taken by the chairman. Examples of this included the manner in which the CD entered the controversy over June 12 and prosecuted the struggle for its de-annulment. He thought the approach was not organisational enough. There was also the controversy over Boko's involvement with General Sani Abacha which was felt was at cross-purposes with the programme of CD that abhors and condemns military rule. Thirdly, it was felt that the chairman was not rendering proper accounts of the group, a thing said to be contrary to the campaign's position on accountability. All these would have been avoided, Bagu,

# thyselves

their own organisation in their villages and towns." The conference did not degenerate into chair throwing and the advocates of democratisation won the day when it was agreed that "vanguards" of democracy must abide by its principles and practices.

The conclusion of the elite gathering could not have been better crafted for the facts on the ground showed that human rights and pro-democracy groups were under pressure from their rank and file to reorganise their structures along democratic lines. Weeks before the conference, a leadership crisis which was to blow open early in the new year was brewing. The crisis which pitted most of the officers of the campaign against its chairman, Dr. Boko Ransome-Kuti was over the breakdown of the structures of the organisation. Chom Bagu, its vice chairman who had on his side, Chima Ubani, national secretary and Gloria Kilanko, national treasurer, complained that the chairman's leadership style was becoming unbearably dictatorial and unaccountable. Proper references, he said were not being made to appropriate struc-

submitted, if the appropriate structures of the organisation had been allowed to work.

On paper, CD has three organs through which its activities are organised. The supreme organ is the National General Meeting, NGM, made up of delegates from state branches of CD and all members of the participating organisations/groups in CD. It meets once a year to elect its officers and formulate policy guidelines for the campaign. Its decisions are binding on all its members. Policies and programmes formulated by this meeting are implemented through the National Implementation Committee, NIC, consisting of national officers of the CD. The national officers include the chairman, deputy chairman, six zonal chairmen, general secretary and deputy general secretary. Others are a full time administrative secretary, treasurer, internal auditor and three ex-officio members. The activities of the NIC were to be reviewed every three months by the National Coordinating Council, NCC, comprising the NIC, leaders or representatives of all composite organisations/groups and chairmen



Aka-Bashorun: dined with the "devil"

of state branches of CD. The NCC in addition to its coordinating role has responsibility on all matters of funding for the CD and for convening the annual national general meeting. It is clear that in terms of conception the CD was to be a democratic organisation. But from the complaint emerging from key officers, these structures appear to have broken down allowing the chairman to dominate not only the NIC but also the NCC. How did this happen?



Ezeazu: we need change

The problem dates back to the first general meeting on May 2, 1992 in Jos where the protem chairman and general secretary, Alao Akai-Bashorun and Yima Sen, were schemed out of their positions because their activities preceding the conference had made them a liability to the campaign. Akai-Bashorun, who was on a CD assignment to Chief MKO Abiola, had been asked to a dinner party organised by the then president General Ibrahim Babangida for visiting apartheid enclave president Frederick de Klerk. Akai-Bashorun was seen on network television during and winning with General Babangida. CD leaders thought that although Akai-Bashorun's personality had brought much clout and credibility to the nascent organisation his dinner with Babangida and De-Klerk would be difficult to explain to the reserve pub-

lic particularly at a time the military had turned the heat on the press.



Sen: regionalist

Sen's problem was his secretary-generalship of the regional pressure group, Middle Belt Forum. It was argued that CD being a national coordinating group of all pro-democracy groups should not be seen to be championing regional sentiments. It was either Sen dropped his position and visibility in MBF or forgo the general secretaryship of CD. Both lost out in the Jos conference, and as an observer said, CD lost the clear which these tested politicians and activists brought to its formation. Boko and Ubani that succeeded them were less charismatic and experienced. More importantly, both are of different ideological persuasion. While the chairman is backgrounded in instinctive radicalism picked up in his days as the Nigerian vice-president of the Nigeria Medical Association, Ubani is a more consistent critic and convinced

## Beko reneged on our ideals

Chima Ubani, secretary-general of the Campaign for Democracy spoke on the background to the crisis within the group

**I**t all started in September last year shortly after Boko, Falana and Gani were released from Kuje Prison. Abacha on the order of Chief Ernest Shonekan, Beko came with a strange proposal for dialogue between the CD and Shonekan's Interim National Government. The proposal was not only rejected but most of us expressed disappointment that Dr. Boko could make such a proposal when Shonekan's government had already been declared illegal by a law court.

Unknown to most of us, Dr. Boko again went into secret dialogue with the military. This was in November last year. He started the move first by holding secret meetings with Lt. General Diya, then chief of defence staff. The agenda, we later gathered, was that the military should intervene in the political debacle to install Chief Abiola and then organise a sovereign national conference. Diya later introduced Beko to General Abacha, then minister for defence. And the dialogue continued albeit secretly.

However, we first got a hint of the secret meetings early November when discussions assumed the stage of official written correspondence with Dr. Boko now using the letter headed paper of CD. This went on until November 17 when Shonekan's government was ousted by the military. Unfortunately, the unfolding event did not meet supposed terms of agreement between Dr. Boko and the military. Instead of installing Abiola, Abacha emerged the new leader while constitutional

conference was promised instead of a sovereign national conference.

Of course, some of us were not surprised at the unrealised expectation of Dr. Boko. All along, we had maintained the principled position of CD that a military dictator cannot install a popular democracy



in this country, and secondly, we have never advocated a national conference to be hosted under military dictatorship. So, we anticipated that Boko would be disappointed. But cleverly enough, the military appointed his close friend, Onagoruwa as justice minister and attorney-general of the federation. This was where a battle line was drawn between the pro-military officers within CD hierarchy and those of us who are opposed on principle

## COVER STORY

radical of the left. Ubani was a student activist at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka where he was the students union secretary-general in the strong years of Babangida's onslaught on radical opposition. Beko's deputy, Bagu, is also of the same persuasion and background with Ubani, a student activist and leftist.

It was clear from day one, that in matters of implementation and strategies requiring deep ideological thoughts and steadfast adherence to principles there would be divergence of opinion within the CD leadership and it would require the experience and maturity of the chairman to weather the storm. The present crisis, has shown very clearly that this is lacking. Secondly, given the composition of the structure it was discovered that most of the members of the NIC and NCC were



Falana: go to your villages

outside Lagos, the base of the secretariat. To strengthen the secretariat therefore, the idea of an expanded



Jega: a likely successor?

secretariat was mooted in which committed members of the composite groups were nominated to work

to any form of military dictatorship regardless of its democratic sloganeering.

Dr. Beko began to manifest his betrayal of democratic struggle when, following the November 17 coup, he opted for a kind of wait and see attitude to the military regime. More so, when Onagoruwa was appointed justice minister, he began to canvass for support for his friend and the proposed constitutional conference. Thus, he failed to realise the gulf of difference between the principled democratic objectives which CD stands for and the selfish interest in his friendship with the new attorney-general.

In fact, our point of departure is that we don't support a government simply because CD member is in the government. And besides, Dr. Onagoruwa is not representing the CD in the military regime. He became close to CD simply by virtue of his being the secretary-general of the Movement for National Reformation, MNR, which is an affiliate of CD.

Matters became worse when Dr. Beko resorted to undue intimidation of those who were opposed to his dangerous drift from the principled position of CD to the side of military dictatorship. We had waited this long in honest believe that we could iron out things internally by using the necessary internal mechanisms. But Dr. Beko did not seem to realise that he was betraying the struggling. Hence the need to bring the issue into the court of public opinion. I agree *intoto* with the observations made by Chom Bagu. His allegations against Dr. Beko are factual.

For instance, Dr. Beko has refused the state branches the right to attend the CD annual meeting so that he

could maintain his grip on the top hierarchy. And instead, he has also resorted to hand-picking people who are privy to his game plan to attend executive meetings. His calculation was that if the branches are prevented he could then neutralise oppositions from within the top executive members. The NGM comes up in Ibadan on February 12. But I don't pray that we would be faced with the kind of stalemate that thwarted the Port Harcourt NBA conference.

#### Finance

I don't think any officer except Dr. Beko knows how much CD has in its account. So, he is the one in-charge, both as financial secretary and treasurer. We are supposed to have a bank account but I learnt CD's money is being put in two other bank accounts. In fact, a lot of expenditures are carried out without the knowledge of the executive. For instance, it is a fact that Dr. Beko owns seven other secretariat facilities in the building. But then, while many thought these facilities were being given free of charge, Dr. Beko was however deducting house rent at will and at any rate he wishes because he controls CD's money.

Is there no constitution to guide him?

Yes, there was no written constitution to direct the conduct of CD activities and its executive. And the reason was that CD was founded on mutual understanding and the expectation that all officers and members would act in good faith along the principles set out for CD. We did not expect that an officer would betray the democratic struggle.

By Moyo Akoshile

with the secretariat. They include Kabira Yusuf, Citizen executive editor (South), Labaran Maku, ex-publisher of *Champion*, Lanre Ogunfẹ́, features editor of *CNN*, Owei Lakemfa, Femi Falana and Alao Aka-Bashorun. This composition weighed heavily against Boko because with the exception of the last three themselves leftists but whose radical dispositions have been tempered by age, the others are young erstwhile student activists whose history of agitation and confrontation with dictatorship either at school or at the national level is fresh.

Invariably, the expanded secretariat was divided along these two groups and it was clear that when the chips would have their way. The option open to Boko therefore would not be democracy but maximum use of his enormous powers as the chairman who has responsibility for coordinating not only the NIC but also for speaking for CD.

It was against this background that the leadership crisis erupted. Conscious of his numerical and intellectual weakness, the chairman appeared unwilling to bring matters capable of generating controversy but all the same requiring wide ranging consultation to the expanded secretariat or other organs

of CD for discussion. This perhaps explains why, as Ezeazu puts it, "he stampeded CD into unorganised intervention in the June 12 crisis and committed the organisation into the unprincipled complication in the General Abacha's coup."

The ideological limitation of Boko's group would appear responsible for its unrestrained contribution on the national conference debate, its financial dealings with some heavyweight politicians and response to the Abacha regime's policy fumbblings. Ezeazu complained last week that Boko was shifting the original focus of CD's position on the national conference from a discussion of all national problems within the context of one Nigeria to a secessionist agenda. For Bagu, the unwillingness of Boko to confront this regime over wide ranging issues like the national conference, demolition of democratic structures and glaring policy inconsistencies showed very clearly that the chairman has lost focus and as Ezeazu added, "may actually no longer be acting out the CD agenda."

But equally serious is the alleged unprincipled financial transactions with some politicians. In the wee hours of the political crisis, some politicians were said to have donated huge sums to CD. They include a former defunct Social Democratic Party power broker, who



Alabi: we don't know what goes on chipped in 100,000 Naira; another SDP presidential candidate, Moshood Bashorun Abiola gave over 350,000 Naira over a period and Mrs. Alao Aka-Bashorun, wife of the former chairman was said to have contributed sums in the neighbourhood of half a million Naira. The way this account has been kept is also a bone of contention. Gloria Kilanko, the treasurer, appears in the dark as to the state of the organisation's finances. Boko in an interview refused to bulge on this issue when *Citizen* made inquiries. Although by CD programmes it could obtain donations from individuals and corporate organisations, some officers argued that it could be unprincipled to collect money from those known to be working at cross purpose with CD's goals.

As at press time last week, there was little evidence that the crisis of leadership was thawing. The NCC was billed to meet last week Saturday in Lagos to prepare the agenda for the February 12 NGM in Ifadan. Indications are that the Ifadan meet may be akin to the August 1992 Port Harcourt conference of the Nigeria Bar Association. Already there is an open disagreement over attendance and voting at the meeting. While Boko is said to have a list of 50 affiliates, Ulsam is in possession of a different list. While the young radicals



Abiola, Boko and Falana: whose agenda?

are insisting on the affiliates holding pre-conference delegate conferences to elect their delegates, Beko's group is said to be opposed to this.

*Citizen*, however, gathered that the race for the chairmanship is on. On the shortlist of the young radicals are Alao Aka-Bashorun, favoured because of his political savvy, experience and clout. Aka-Bashorun is however, said to be still bitter over his 1992 Jos experience. Also being considered are Attahiru Jega, a political science lecturer and immediate past president of the Academic Staff Union of Nigerian Universities, ASUU; Omotayo Olorode, a professor of botanical sciences at the Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife; and Frederick Fasheun, a former presidential candidate of SDP. For the young radicals, whichever of them emerges will suit their fancy since all of them harbour tested leftist credentials.

The crisis in CD reopened public concern over the activities and internal workings of its composite groups. The main groups in CD include the Civil Liberties Organisation, CLO; Committee for the Defence of Human Rights, CDHR; National Association of Democratic Lawyers, NADL; Movement for National Reformation, MNR; Community Action for Popular Participation, CAPP; Constitutional Rights Project and Universal Defenders of Democracy, UDD. All except CAPP which is based in Abuja, are based in Lagos but claim to have branches all over the federation. While CLO claims to have 18 branches nationwide, CDHR lays claim to 13 branches. Clement Nwankwo of CRP confesses to his organisation being practically Lagos based but claims to have associate members outside Lagos. Not a few people want to dismiss the national spread claim of the human rights groups as a figment of their imagination. Ebenezer Obeya, a Kaduna based lawyer contended last week that while the goals and conception of the groups might have been national, they have been largely micro and sectional in the discharge of their activities charging that their



Yakasai: too much ethnicity

impact have been felt only a little outside Lagos particularly in the north. For Ahmed Rufai Adamu, an Abuja based lawyer, human rights agitators lack the moral basis to pose for democracy because their structures and operations are largely at variance with the principles of democracy.

A veteran politician, Alhaji Tanko Yakasai, said in a recent interview that he was once a member of the Beko group, but his problem is that their activities are restricted to certain areas. He said "If you are sincere with this human rights thing you do it in such a way that if the fisherman in Argungu or the Ogoni is being cheated, you intervene. Our situation is that noise is only made when a Yoruba man is involved; the whole of these organisations are based in Lagos."

He remarked that one can't stay in Lagos and claim that he's working for Nigeria with a couple of friends, "I was right there when the first human rights group was formed with Alao Aka-Bashorun. I was one of the people who sued the federal government when it aborted our scheduled national conference in Lagos. Our group included Adamu Ciroma, Abubakar Rimi and Balarabe Musa. In fact, our own group started from the north. I nominated Aka-Bashorun, Beko and



Olagunju: going our way

Baba Omojola."

Beko betrayed their trust by turning a campaign for civil and human rights and freedom into a tribal fight.

Like CD, most of the human rights groups are conceived with clearly laid down democratic structures. Generally, they have board of governors that formulate policies, management or secretariat that implement these policies and a general meeting made up of their members that is supposed to be the supreme policy formulating and decision making organ. What *Citizen's* investigations revealed everywhere is that these structures hardly work and where they do, it's in fits and starts.

The CLO, easily the largest of these groups provides a good example of the internal agitation for the democratisation of the structures of these groups. Formed in 1987 by Olisa Agbakoba and Clement Nwankwo and Mike Ozekhome all lawyers, it had other non-lawyer professionals like Abdul Oroh, Richard Akinola, and Amma Ogan all journalists. It was conceived as a mass based organisation that will be non-political, non-governmental and voluntary. It was to monitor and promote the protection of human rights in Nigeria. It has had a board of governors made up of its

founders' goals, it had to expand its membership and erect a bureaucracy to manage its affairs. With the enlargement of its membership, a secretariat emerged with a full complement of staff. It followed that the secretariat had to have clear functions separate from the board. In the fullness of time, it became compelling for the board to devolve some of its powers and functions to the secretariat. Secretariat staff discovered that the board was unwilling to do this. Eventually however, increased agitation from the secretariat forced the board to let go some of its functions. Membership expansion also led to creation of state branches. This meant that the branches too would chip off some of the powers of the board and the secretariat. As was in the case of the board, so was it in the secretariat. The latter too was averse to relinquishing some of its powers. Meanwhile, the constitution of the organisation had to reflect the new realities providing for a board that will incorporate state branch chairmen and representatives of the secretariat. A triangular tussle for power among the board, secretariat and branches blew open in 1992 when the national secretary, Emma Ezeazu had to resign in protest against what he called resistance of the board to greater democratisation of the CLO structures. Although the elective prin-



**Nwankwo: no national spread**

ciple was introduced into the appointment of the officers of the organisation at its 1992 general meeting, many branches still complain of neglect and lack of consultation by the national secretariat. Said Ladi Alabi, chairman of the Kaduna branch of CLO, "The branch is not really kept informed about what is going on at the national headquarters. We have had to fend for ourselves," noting that although as a board member she was supposed to attend board meetings and annual general meetings, she could not remember any of such meetings



**Fasheun: for the chair**

holding in recent memory. This feeling of neglect has made some members of the branch to float two other groups. The first launched last year, is Human Rights Watch under the leadership of Festus Okoverstwhile chairman of the branch. The second which is on the drawing board, is Solidarity for Peoples Rights being led by Jide Olagunju, erstwhile director of legal services of the branch.

As with other similar organisations, there are also grumblings about financial unaccountability. A citizen learnt for instance that a leader of CLO not long ago moved house from the medium density Surulere to the posh Ikoyi apparently on the account of the CLO.

Abdul Oroh, executive director of CLO, however, explained recently that the organisation has since 1992 been evolving democratic process of selecting its leaders. Agbakoba, the present president's term he said, would end in 1995 having been reelected in 1992. To buttress his claim that the group is rooted in democratic practices, he cited the cases of Amma Ogan, Lewis Of and May Ellen-Ezekiel-Damij whose tenure on the board of governors lapsed because they neglected to recontest. "We are democratic the core, there is no dictatorship



*At the visit of de Klerk, Aka-Bashorun was there as a guest*

# On all issues, no comment — Beko

For an hour or so, our man Moyo Akoshile sought the views of the CD chairman on issues ranging from accountability, foreign aid and anti-democratic traits, but met a stone wall. Excerpts



**Citizen:** Recently, your style of leadership of CD came under criticism from within for what Chom Bagu called your dictatorial tendencies. Is this allegation correct?

**RansomeKuti:** (Long pause) No comment.

**Citizen:** No doctor, this is a serious allegation.

**RansomeKuti:** To you.

**Citizen:** I mean to the public who have been watching the activities of CD. Many people would readily credit the CD for the termination of General Babangida's regime. But don't you think your attitude to this allegation could cast serious doubt on the pro-democracy credential of CD, and moreso, its recent demand that public officers should declare their assets publicly.

**RansomeKuti:** (Long pause) I am ready to make a public declaration of my assets. But on this matter of Chom Bagu's views, no comment.

**Citizen:** Do you mean Chom Bagu's allegation is false?

**RansomeKuti:** No comment.

**Citizen:** Is it true that after you were released from Kuje prison in September last year, you pushed other CD officers for the recognition of Chief Shonekan's Interim National Government?

**RansomeKuti:** (Long pause) I am not going to discuss Chom Bagu with you.

**Citizen:** This is outside Bagu's allegation. Of course, he did not mention anything to that effect.

**RansomeKuti:** So, you are speculating.

**Citizen:** I am not speculating. I was authoritatively informed but I want to hear your explanation for it. I know you will have your reason for it.

**RansomeKuti:** No comment.

**Citizen:** Before the change of government on November 17, I learnt you had entered into negotiations with the military on June 12. What objectives did you intend to achieve with that dialogue?

**RansomeKuti:** You are rubbing your chin (laughs). No comment.

**Citizen:** But other officers of CD must have felt slighted that you did not consult with them.

**RansomeKuti:** Some members of CD may be annoyed that I am even talking to you.

**Citizen:** They should not.

**RansomeKuti:** Okay thank God for that. So, the answer to your question is no comment.

**Citizen:** What is the financial position of CD as of now?

**RansomeKuti:** CD needs all financial and material help that it can get. Those who feel they can do something would be very welcomed.

**Citizen:** What is the statement of account like?

**RansomeKuti:** What is the statement of account of Citizen like?

**Citizen:** I am not in a position to know. But any of the senior editors would know. I am not an editor but you are the chairman of CD.

**RansomeKuti:** You go and get that of Citizen for me.

**Citizen:** I could if it were necessary.

**RansomeKuti:** After you have got it. I am telling you we need money. But to disclose that, you may now say some of our people may be upset for disclosing that they are poor to you.

**Citizen:** But if you need money and you want people to sympathise with you, would it not be justifiable...

**RansomeKuti:** (Cuts in) But I have told you that CD has no money and we want assistance. Any assistance would be very welcomed.

**Citizen:** How far is it true that CD has a balance of about 15 Naira in its account as at October last year?

**RansomeKuti:** No comment.

**Citizen:** The building being used by CD as its national secretariat is owned by you just as virtually every secretariat facilities are provided by you. Does it mean you have provided these things free of charge?

**RansomeKuti:** No comment.

**Citizen:** Does it mean you don't even collect rent on the building?

**RansomeKuti:** All these are internal matters.

**Citizen:** But they are subject of public interest. CD is a popular human rights group that has done well in trying

to expose the lies in government circles. Now if you believe that the public has no right to know about the state's hidden agenda.

**RansomeKuti:** There can be no other speculation than the ones I have told you.

**Citizen:** RansomeKuti, I have heard that you deduct office rent from CD women, and that the amount to be deducted is solely determined by you.

**RansomeKuti:** You publish that, stand then we would see. We will then know how much Citizen has in its group of funds.

**Citizen:** But if otherwise, have made efforts to seek your name on the current position.

**RansomeKuti:** Yes, if you come to me and ask whether I am a true name and I say no comment.

**Citizen:** Then you give room for speculation.

**RansomeKuti:** Okay, go ahead and speculate.

**Citizen:** We don't speculate. If we had wanted to we would not have made effort to seek your views. We

believe in balanced reporting.

**RansomeKuti:** I have told you no comment at all. **Citizen:** Towards the end of last letter, you wrote to foreign human rights agencies to request for grant. What was the response so far?

**RansomeKuti:** No comment. It is if you want to give us money, give us money if your term is unless we disclose certain information to you you would not give us, then we decide whether to disclose to you or not.

**Citizen:** Is there any particular agency that demanded that certain conditions be met before grant is given to CD and what conditions are these?

**RansomeKuti:** No comment.

**Citizen:** Are we to believe that a photo copier received from the British Embassy in Lagos was the only grant received so far?

**RansomeKuti:** That is true, we got a photocopier. It is important that you acknowledge that publicly.

**Citizen:** It is also important that you deny or confirm certain issues I raised with you.

**RansomeKuti:** I will decide what is important to me and you will decide what is important to you.

Even up to the issues we raise at national level, they are thoroughly discussed and items put across by individual members." Orobinsisted. Few other organisations can lay claim to Orob's assertion.

One issue that has made a major rumour into public discourse is the source of funding of these groups and the management of those funds. Last year, the Ibrahim Babangida regime accused them of obtaining funds from foreign sources to destabilise the government. Few people took government serious for at the time its credibility was at its lowest ebb. But in the light of the dangerous dimension the debate over the national conference has reached, critics are suspecting that the groups may be unwittingly playing into the hands of foreign powers who may be intent on sabotaging the emergence of Nigeria as a continental power by breaking it up. Orob says this is a mere attempt to discredit the groups saying their records show that "we are motivated by the best patriotic instinct." Orob contended that their books are open for whoever is interested to have a look. Clement Nwankwo, while admitting foreign funding of his organisation retorted that there is nothing strange in this, since government and its agencies

also get funds from similar organisations and foundations. The issue, however, appears to be the extent of foreign funding and why in spite of these groups claim to large membership a large chunk of their funds comes from abroad. For instance last year, three human rights groups and the Nigerian Labour Congress got a total of 56,000 dollars from the United States government. This aside from funds given them by other non-governmental organisations in the US and Europe. The beneficiaries according to Kay Webb Mayfield, the press officer at the United States Information Service, include CRP, 24,000 dollars to organise an interactive human rights legal training seminar; Legal Research and Resource Development Centre (LRRDC), 17,000 dollars to provide legal assistance to market women; and CLO 10,000 dollars to revise and reprint: Behind the Wall, a book documenting Nigerian prison conditions. The NIC also got 8,000 dollars to provide materials on workers' rights for the NIC library.

The worry, according to a source, is not about open declaration of accounts or donations from foreign sources; it is about secret donations these foreign sources make in order to pursue one interest or another,

but usually one that is ultimately detrimental to Nigeria's well-being. Another source close to the CD alleged that a number of Western employed in Lagos "donate" money bossing in Lagos "democracy" bodies regularly to pro-democracy bodies and journalists. "Almost always," he said, "the amount would depend on the aggressiveness of the recipient; the more aggressive and vocal, the bigger the funding. These can never be accounted for."

The concern in several quarters is whether these funds will not compromise the organisations given the fact that these aids are not usually without strings attached. Other area of concern is accountability — whether the funds are not being subjected to personal abuses. Although most of the groups have always claimed that they render full accounts to their sponsors, many Nigerians are still sceptical of this claim. How can the doubting Thomases have their doubts cleared? May be the groups should publish their annual statement of accounts publicly.

By Bolaji Adebisi with additional reports from: Akinyele Ajuko, Moyo Akoshile, Yabagi Kolo, Showebi Abayomi and Saleh Bello

## NIGERIA

It was to be the first of a series of annual lectures to be organised by Arewa House in memory of the late Premier of the North, Sir Ahmadu Bello *Sardauna Sokoto*. Lt. General Oladipo Diya, the chief of general staff, was the special guest at the occasion. Malam Liman Ciroma, *Ciroman Fika* and former secretary to the federal military government, was the guest speaker. Also present at the State House, Kawo, Kaduna, venue of the lecture that Saturday, January 25, were former ministers and legislators of the defunct Northern Region and the federal government as well as emirs and chiefs.

The chief of general Staff, Lt. General Oladipo O. Diya said at the occasion that the late *Sardauna* possessed outstanding qualities which earned him interminable respect by his admirers and opponents alike. Such qualities like hardwork, accountability, honesty, devotion to duty, selfless service to his people, religious tolerance, foresight and vision endeared the great leader to his people. "He was a leader who served his nation with all sincerity of purpose, with all his strength and committed sense of mission. A hero

Ahmadu Bello

## A Worthy hero

Arewa House commemorates the late premier with an exciting lecture

who lived for people, worked selflessly for the people and died without leaving behind any wealth or mansions for his immediate family. How many of our leaders can boast of these qualities today?" he asked.

Nevertheless, General Diya, contended that Nigeria is not a difficult country to govern at all, but all that the citizens want is transparent honesty equitable justice and sincerity on the part of the leadership, as postured by the late *Sardauna* "and surely the people will follow."

The chief of general staff, however, regretted that "33 years after our political independence and after fighting 30 months of persistent bitter civil war to keep the country united, the concept of Nigerian unity continues to excite interest and heated debate" but advised that "we should not despair because nation-



Ciroma: rethink federal system

building is a process that takes time to yield positive results." He also advised that Nigerians must ponder and reflect on why the nation failed.

According to him, the convincing answer to our persistent predicament is still hanging, "Why can't we build on the achievements of our pioneers as the Nigeria of the 50s and 60s was better governed, united and peaceful than the Nigeria of the 90s," adding "I refused to be con-



Diya, extreme left, Ahmed Talib and Col. Isa at the memorial lecture

vinced that we cannot improve on the achievements of our pioneer nationalists, who operated under much severe environment and limitation." He, then said if successive politicians and leaders had emulated the positive leadership qualities of the late *Sardauna* and other credible nationalists and improved on their performances, perhaps our story might have been different today.

The guest speaker at the occasion, Malam Liman Ciroma (*Ciroma Fika*) who delivered lecture on The imperative of national unity and the responsibility of leadership said in his 38 page pamphlet, that for Nigeria to move forward, we have to rethink our federal system. The sense of responsibility at the state and local government levels has to be recreated, moral autonomy has to

be reasserted for individual and community, and also strict accountability must be restored at every levels."

He also pointed out that Nigeria must re-examine the distribution of power, functions and resources available to the different tiers of government, adding that a guiding principle for this exercise should be that each tier of government be allowed those functions and responsibilities that it is best suited to perform.

On the economic and political well being of the nation, Malam Liman stressed that we have to continue to operate a revenue allocation formula that balances both derivation and need. "There can be no doubt that those who directly produce wealth and those on whose territory wealth is created, especially

where this results in the dislocation of their lives and damage to their environment, need to be adequately compensated; hence that principle and philosophy of derivation must be applied," he asserted.

He further pointed out that "not that one part of the country is productive, pushful, imaginative and progressive and the other is none of these and idle, nor that one part of the country depends on another for everything and gives nothing in return, but the truth of the matter which we must all agree with and at the same time grasp is the fact that the country is integrated in more than the economic and political senses, but intricately bound together for many more obvious reasons."

By Yabagi Kolo

NNDC

## Knocks for deregulation

New Nigerian Development Company's annual alumni seminar advocates government intervention to save the economy

**W**as the management of the New Nigerian Development Company, NNDC, whipping a dead horse when it made Deregulation and Economic Development in Nigeria the theme of its annual seminar, last week? Not quite, said Alhaji Abdul-lahi Ibrahim (SAN) the company chairman, who told a capacity crowd of distinguished economists and businessmen present at Durbar Hotel, venue of the discourse, that even though the government has in its 1994 budget jettisoned the policy of deregulation, it was still neces-

sary to examine its impact on the economy so as to determine the extent of its effectiveness and why it failed to achieve the desired goal. Such an exercise, he felt, will provide policy makers a useful data base to fashion out a more adequate economic development oriented policies.

Papers presented and discussion on them followed this general theme of looking backwards to fashion out strategies for a better future. Dr. Hamza Zayyad, chairman of the



Abacha: check foreign domination

defunct Technical Committee for Privatisation and Commercialisation (TGPC), set the stage in his contributions on the impact of deregulation of the banking system on the economy. He traced the basis of state control of the economy to the need to check foreign domination of the Nigerian economy. He said government's participation in the banking sector was to enable it regulate the country's fiscal policies.

Deregulation, he said, became imperative when it seemed that

Zayyad traced  
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domination of the  
Nigerian economy

government's participation and regulation was stifling private initiatives. To redress this anomaly, he submitted that government had to introduce in 1986, the policy of deregulation as part of a general economic package — the Structural Adjustment Programme, SAP.



Zayyad: wants govt. intervention



Isa: we want constructive criticisms

Dr Zayyad, recapped SAP's goal: "search for greater economic efficiency and better resource allocation through less government's intervention." His assessment of the policy was that while it created a conducive atmosphere which made service sector highly effective, creat-

ing more jobs with the establishment of more banks, finance houses and mortgage institutions, the productive sector witnessed a sharp decline. This could not but be under a regime of soaring cost of foreign exchange and high lending rates. Despite its fiscal growth, the banks' structural development was hampered.

There were problems of poor quality staff in most banks, illiquidity and undercapitalisation. Banking became the fastest and quickest way to fortune. Zayyad contended that this uneven growth between the service sector and the productive sector was unhealthy for the economy and was therefore a sufficient reason for government's intervention in order to stem the distortions in the economy. Government, he advised, should thus protect depositors' funds, preserve confidence in the banking system, provide assistance towards recovery of debt owed to banks, peg interest and exchange rates and punish fraudulent bank directors and officials. Government itself is to maintain fiscal discipline as a way of promoting healthy economic and social development.

If the banks boomed in the era of deregulation, how did the manufacturing sector perform? Ahmadu Rufa'i Mohammed, an engineer and former president of the Nigerian Association of Chambers of Commerce, Industries, Mines and Agriculture, NACCIMA, thinks their performance was poor. He highlighted the well known defeat of SAP goals: low capacity utilisation arising from high cost of foreign components, factory closures, and high unemployment rate.

The engineer's panacea for revamping the sector agrees largely with some of the measures already included in the 1994 budget. He asks government to stabilise the exchange rate, reduce inflation and lower the cost of production. These measures are to be backed by the revamping of necessary support infrastructures like roads, railways, electricity and

water supply. He further advocates the merger of weak manufacturing companies with stronger ones.

One factor that affected the performance of the manufacturing sector was the poor performance of the development finance institutions under the policy of deregulation. This said, Alhaji S.Y. Kasimu, managing director of Nigerian Industrial Development Bank, NIDB, was caused by the undermining of the capital base of the institutions by government's refusal to intervene on their behalf even in the face of obvious unequal competition for funds. Thus, the institutions set up to finance economic development became incapable of performing their role. To reverse this trend, he canvassed the view that government intervention and complete restructuring of the institutions to ensure less dependence on foreign sources of funds has become necessary.

**I**t was not all hard-knocks for deregulation even as there were open admissions that its implementation has been short on delivery of its intended goals. For the military administrator of Kaduna State, Colonel Lawal Ja'afaru Isa, it was an opportunity to call on Nigerians to generate new ideas and goodwill that would bring solutions to Nigeria's problems. He reiterated federal government's commitment to fostering and maintaining the conducive atmosphere necessary for growth and development, assuring of government determination to maintain peace and stability in the country. Colonel Isa appealed for critical but constructive approaches to national issues as no meaningful development can take place in a chaotic environment. He spoke of his administration's aspiration on development of the state saying he would provide basic infrastructures that will attract domestic and foreign investors into the state.

By Bolaji Adebisi  
with reports by Shoyebi  
Abayomi

## On "mother" of all conferences

**B**efore we take a look at the proposed constitutional or sovereign national conference, let us re-assess and review our major assumptions on the Abacha regime and solutions to Nigeria's in-crescing political problems. We will also review and assess the various assumptions and presumptions that underline the agitations for the national conference. Since every Nigerian has interest on the issue, we must confess our interest: We are speaking from the perspective of the much-maligned, but silent suffering Nigerians living in the northern parts of this country.

Our first presumption when Abacha took over and spoke of a constitutional conference was that General Sani Abacha very well knew the difference between a constitutional conference, a national conference and a sovereign national conference before November 17. We also assumed that General Abacha very well knew the implications and consequences of each of these conferences. We thought General Abacha deliberately, wisely and cautiously chose his words: constitutional conference.

Arising from these assumptions were the feelings that General Abacha cannot be stamped into a sovereign national conference, which we presumed he was not interested in. We also felt that General Abacha is not here to pursue any sectional agenda, and he is neither an Orkar nor Nzeogwu. We therefore feel it was not necessary to discuss the mode of membership of the conference or even its agenda as it was obvious to us that the sovereignty of Nigeria is not part of that agenda.

To support our contention, both General Abacha and his deputy General Oladipo Diya publicly declared some no-go areas in the proposed debate, one of which is the continued unity of Nigeria. Subsequent developments especially the statements of Dr. Olu Onagorua,

By  
Abubakar Jika

countering most of these assumptions necessitate a review of our assumptions.

Dr. Olu Onagorua is a well-known Lagos-based social critic. One of a growing army of Yoruba lawyers who see in each Nigeria's problem, the hands of the north-principally the Hausa-Fulani. It has become their pastime (Yorubas) to reign invectives and abuse on leaders of northern origin, which are easily lapped up by their Lagos-Ibadan press axis. Masquerading as "human rights crusaders" these elements pursue a clearly sectional agenda: Rabid Yoruba irredemism. These elements do not have even a hold on the masses of their own people. Many reasonable Nigerians dismiss them as unavoidable irritants, who should not be taken seriously when we are talking of Nigeria. However, since his appointment into the sensitive office of attorney-general and minister of justice, as part of General Abacha's "cabinet of big political names," many of us look on with horror and growing disbelief as the political agenda of the largely inconsequential Movement for National Reformation of which Onagorua was its secretary-general, is being gradually foisted on us: A sovereign national conference, with powers to redraw the federal map of Nigeria to at best confederal states.

In the Saturday Punch of January 8, 1994, Dr. Onagorua, contrary to the assurances of Generals Abacha and Diya, his bosses insisted that the forth-coming conference would not only be allowed to discuss "anything under the sun," but will have sovereign powers. He gave examples of issues to be discussed as those of June 12 election annulment, "power marginalisation," "some people insisting on ruling by force," "ethnic hatred among the citizens" etc. As at the time of writing this piece, no counter-reaction came from those

who appointed Onagorua, since this is the last position that emanated from the Abacha regime, we will assume it to be the final for now.

This development has therefore jettisoned our previous assumptions on the position of the Abacha regime on the proposed conference. While we still believe that the Abacha intervention was necessary and patriotic, and we credit him with lowering the tension in the county, we can no longer assume that the issues have been resolved.

Indeed, since the Onagorua inflammatory statements, tension is gradually remounting as those who felt that peace has finally arrived are now beginning to feel that the "show-down" was only postponed.

Closely linked to this is the discordant tunes coming from the regime on the same topic. While Abacha and Diya, from their statements took the unity of Nigeria for which they and their colleagues laid down their lives as sacrosanct, and the reasons for their intervention, Onagorua and to a lesser extent lorry Gana, both their spokesmen, indicate that the issue is open to debate and negotiation. On this, we can only remind General Abacha that this is his own regime. All others are simply there to help him out in the final count, in both the eyes of the people and history, it is he and he alone who will be held responsible for the actions of the entire team, including Onagorua.

Let us now look at the various assumptions underlining the calls for a sovereign national conference. First, south-western Nigerian intellectuals and journalists are the leading agitators for this conference. Since the 1950s when Chief Awolowo formed the Action Oduduwa and later the Action Group, to the June 12 elections, Yoruba politicians, intellectuals and journalists regard the leadership of Nigeria as a matter of rotational ethnic birth right. They feel unfilled despite their control of the

economy, education and finance unless

their son is the head of state. They view the Hausa-Fulani as the main stumbling block to this ambition.

The Yoruba political class and journalists, through their overwhelming control of the media; feel that the north is (i) afraid of losing political power, (ii) afraid of any conference that will discuss Nigeria's growing problems and (iii) that the north has something to lose if it does not control political power. These assumptions as we will shortly prove are false. First, the north is not afraid of losing political power. During the First Republic, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe was president and Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa prime minister. Balewa's cabinet was politically balanced. Obasanjo, a Yoruba was head of state for three years and the north supported him. If the north can support Obasanjo for three years, we cannot see what fear we will have if another Yoruba face takes over. June 12 is a proof that the north is not afraid of losing power. It is sad and an irony that Abiola, who without northern support could not even have won party primaries, let alone the real elections which he is claiming to have won, should be quoted as having accused northern leaders of wanting to deny him the chance to lead. The annulment of the June 12 election was a decision of the Babangida regime, just as the November 1992 annulment of the party primaries. The Yoruba press which consistently supported Babangida when he was seen as ruining northern chance to hold onto power, as they are now supporting Abacha, quickly reversed their stand after June 23.

We the ordinary northerners cannot accept the responsibility of a northerner regime simply because a northerner is heading it unless we are convinced that the actions of the regime favours us. Abiola appears to forget the support of General Shehu Musa Yar'adua, Mohammed Abubakar Rimi, Sola Saraki and Sule Lamido

to his presidential ambitions. He also appears to forget the votes of the Fulani cattle rearer in Yola, and the Hausa traders in Kano. Indeed, he appears to have forgotten Malam Adamu Ciroma, Umaru Shinkafi, Rimi, and Yar'adua's calls that the results be released. The purpose of this lengthy recall is to prove that the north is not afraid of losing political power.

The north is also not afraid of any conference or debate. It is true we prefer Nigeria to remain one for obvious advantage to everyone. We also believe that as developed nations come together, we stand a better chance if we remain together as one country. But it should not be seen that, we are parasites, who are hanging on the rest of Nigeria and who offered nothing but bad leadership. History and contemporary reality do not support this assumption.

Historically since the amalgamation of Nigeria in 1914 to the time oil was exported in commercial quantities after the civil war in 1970, the north virtually sustained the Nigerian federation through export of groundnut, cotton, grains, hides and skins etc. Contemporary Nigeria also relies almost exclusively on the north for its food needs: grains, cereals, meat etc. It is true we do not have oil for now. It is also true that the south-west, the most vocal accusers of the north do not have oil as well. In addition, they do not feed the rest of Nigeria.

While we admire the Yorubas for dominating the economy, education and finance, we are realistic that this domination took over 100 years to be perfected through the federal government seat in Lagos. We do not envy them and call on others to insist on re-sharing what is obviously our collective heritage. We are prepared to let things gradually evolve. In any case, the north has as much claim on the oil which comes from the east as the Yorubas. The ordinary northerner therefore gets baffled at his "Bakin Ciki" ("Black Stomach") being exhibited

by our south-western brothers.

It must be stated that in the event government sanctions Onagoruwa's open agenda on the conference the eastern minorities do not have the same agenda as the Yorubas. And the oil comes from them. So if the "fight" is over the oil, we may all realise that the outcome of the fight may not favour the antagonist and agitators.

It must be made obvious that the north is not afraid of debating "everything under the sun", but is it in the interest of Nigeria? When Gorbachev allowed "everything under the sun" to be debated in the Soviet Union, the result was disintegration. Some former pieces of Soviet Union such as Georgia are still fighting ethnic wars. A similar situation was re-enacted in former Yugoslavia. "Ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia still offers horror news to the world. Somalia after Said Barre is a closer example here in Africa. After the fall of Barre when Somalis decided to discuss "everything under the sun" the result is still there which does not require elaborations. Before proceeding on northern perspective on this conference we reiterate that the Abacha regime should call Onagoruwa to order. Onagoruwa told the world that "discussing everything under the sun", was the price the Abacha regime agreed to pay in the deal to get him to join them. We are now saying that if that was true, this is too much a price to pay. Nigeria deserves a better deal.

We do not accept the Onagoruwa agenda. Our parents gave us a united Nigeria with all its imperfections. We are committed to handing this down to our children. The choice before Abacha is therefore obvious. To either please Onagoruwa, whose agenda is ethnic or stand by the side of Nigeria, for which he staked his life for the past 30 years. This is the prelude to the "mother" of all conferences.

Abubakar Jika writes from FOM-INA, P.M.B. 3527, Kano

## Crime

# Talking tough, acting soft?

As more Nigerians join the lucrative but deadly business, fears are raised whether government may have put its harsh measures in the cooler



Akubueze: a first catch?

In his maiden address to the nation on Thursday, November 18, head of state General Sani Abacha, told Nigerians: "Drug trafficking and other economic crimes such as '419' must be tackled and eliminated." The commander-in-chief did not stop at that. The issue again reared its head at that Monday November 10 budget speech. Said General Abacha. "Drug trafficking has become monumental national embarrassment and a cancerous malaise which is a great source of concern for this administration." He added, "henceforth, government will deal ruthlessly with drug traffickers and their agents, and will not tolerate the damage drug trafficking and other anti-social behaviours have done to Nigeria's image." As if for the purpose of emphasis the nation's leader added that "government is determined to ensure stricter supervision and the enforcement of stiffer penalties on offenders and as such, no efforts will be spared to track down traffickers and their agents."

With the increasing consumption of the deadly drugs by Nigerians, the nonchalant manner in which teenagers hawk the "powder of death" with bicycles around Lagos island, the general's fears and consequent tough talks cannot but be said to be inadequate. Added to the above is the opening of the relatively loose sea and air routes to peddlers of the hard drugs.

Between January 1 and 17, nineteen arrests were made at the Murtala Mohammed International Airport, Ikeja Lagos. A total of 12,886 kilograms of the contraband was seized in the process.

Highly indicted was a South American airline described as the worst culprit in terms of bringing traffickers and their illicit wares into Nigeria. Eleven of the 19 suspects came on board the airline. Also, an East African airline, and a North African airline with seven and one suspect respectively were indicted.

The above came on the heels of the celebrated arrest of one Mr. Joe Brown Akubueze described as a suspected drug baron. Sensational as the arrest was and as revealing as it promised to be, the indication is that those in the business are not deterred. The suspect last week continued to buy time. Last Monday, Emefo Etudo, leading five other lawyers for Akubueze, submitted that the director of public prosecution, Mrs. Wonu Folami has no right to prosecute the accused since she is not a staff of the NDLEA as stipulated by Act 253, laws of the federation under which his client was charged. The defence counsel also dwell on the ambiguity of the word "wrap" used to describe the drugs and also the question of the original weight of the substance. However, in a dramatic move, Etudo told the

miscellaneous offences tribunal last Tuesday, barely 12 hours after he made the earlier plea that he and the five others are withdrawing from the case stating that they were no longer "organised" to discharge the "brief."

Citizen learnt last week that the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency, NDLEA is struggling hard to cleanse itself of the stigma of the past four years. The agency, Citizen learnt, is waiting for government's stiffer penalty for those involved in the obnoxious trade. Recalling the Buhari regime which introduced the death sentence the official contended that "unless things go in this direction we may be fighting a war we cannot win, while the nation will see us as being capable of conniving with drug barons."

There may however be another way out for the nation if the United States extends its proposed help to Nigeria. According to Mr. Lee Brown, US director of the office of national drug control policy, "We want in particular to assist countries that have the political will to fight the drug trade." The US drug control official stated further that "our specific programmes with these countries are aimed at strengthening their judicial systems and law enforcement and penal institutions and their control of money laundering and precursor and essential chemicals." Warning further that key sources and transit nations that refuse to cooperate will surely face serious economic and other sanctions.

Going for examples, by the call last year by the Federation of Muslim Women Association of Nigeria, FOMWAN, Kwara State branch, that the death penalty for drugs and related offences should be reintroduced, a call which was supported by other eminent Nigerians, the question now is, will the firing squads return to save the nation from the scourge of hard drugs or the government is just talking tough while acting soft.

By Aluko Akinyele

Kaduna

# Books for few

Kaduna hosts its third Book Fair at a time when standard of education is falling

The Yakubu Gowon Way premises of Kaduna State Library Board was agog last week as it played host to book fairs who thronged its fair grounds to keep abreast of the latest publications in the publishing industry. Coming against the background of the not-too-cheerful economic situation in the country, the organisers must have been surprised at the impressive turn-out at the third Book Fair. School children, educationists and other patrons of books, who spared their time to be part of the event were hosted by an array of book publishers from all the nook and crannies of the country, who put on display a variety of books ranging from nursery to tertiary texts.

In the stands were the Library Board of Kaduna State book depot, Evans Brothers (Nigeria) Publishers Limited, Spectrum Books Limited, the Northern Nigeria Publishing Company Limited, Ade Babs Books Company from Ibadan and Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council (NERDC). Others were Hybrid Publishers Limited, National Library of Nigeria Bookshop, Nigerian Film Corporation and Igwegbe International Bookshop Limited. Abiola Bookshop Limited, University Press Plc, Alkansas Printing and Publishing Company Limited, the British Council, Macmillan, Longmans, Africana Fep Publishers Limited and International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA) also participated.

For most visitors like Omowonunta Oria, a secondary school student, the joy as in the Olympics games, was or participating not necessarily in "winning" medals, as many could not go home with their choice books because of

their high price tags. With books going an average of between 200 and 600 Naira, stand owners themselves could only do small business.

To Henry A. Yohanna, distribution officer representing The International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA) based at Ibadan, the high prices notwithstanding, the fair achieved the purpose for which it was organised. Yohanna believes



Maigari: team up with government

that companies do not under normal circumstances realise whether they made profits or not until after the fair might have been rounded up. "Though we have been selling much, more people have been coming to make enquiries on where to get us and to place orders on our products," he told *Citizen*. It was business throughout for Raphael Eze of Igwegbe International Bookshops

Limited. Said he, "I am very grateful as far as this Book Fair is concerned because we are making a lot of sales here than in any other place, and I attribute this to the Book Fair."

Business to I.J. Oluoha, area representative of Africana Fep Publishers Limited, was so dull as compared to what he used to experience in the previous years. He blamed it on the economic doldrums and the timing.

This year's edition of the Kaduna Book Fair had as its theme **Education and Information For Nation building**. The theme captured the prevailing situation of wholesome decline in the country's educational sector. The general appeal was for all well-meaning Nigerians and non-governmental organisations to team-up with the government to revamp the educational sector. The director-general in the Kaduna state ministry of education, Alhaji Salisu Haladu in an address read on behalf of the state military administrator led this call as he assured the state of the government's determination to raise the level and standard of education in the state.

Colonel L.J. Isa also promised to extend the services of the State Library Board through the establishment of branches in the remaining 12 local government areas of the state. The State Library Board had only six of its branches located at Ikara, Saminaka, Birnin Gwari, Kachia and

Kafanchan.

Educational materials of various kinds such as stationery, office and training equipment, library furniture and reference books were on display at the Book Fair. Wide range of publications and books on languages, religion, traditional and modern medicine, engineering, law, journalism were also on display.

By Saleh Bello

## Our selective orientation

In spite of the gaudy dressing of falsehood in moments of national traumas by some vociferous elements, history has a way of filtering out accuracies. It is against this backdrop that the significance of the recent efforts by T.O.S. Benson in the *Hotline* edition of January 10, 1994 over the disgraceful performance of Dr. Olu Onagoruwa can be viewed. It is, indeed, pleasing to the ear to hear a clear note coming from discordant tunes. It takes great courage to differ in such situation. True elders of thought do not recoil into their cocoon in moment of needs leaving miscreants to have a field day.

Such frank views are necessary especially now in our attempt to rediscover ourselves. It comes down as a healing process in our attempt to clear a serious national embarrassment. We appear to have lost all sense of decency by trying to dress up falsehood before the whole world. It should not be so.

Part of the unfolding events now are not new in the early period of any regime when hopes are raised for better things to come. But digression sets in as soon as the cloud of confusion begins to clear. As it happens disquieting events are already threatening such beginnings as is the issue now in a clear case of a breach of professional ethics by Onagoruwa and which the government is seemingly enjoying romancing in the full public glare. A case which tastes badly enough to ridicule our judiciary and badly seered national conscience. It helps a self-professed corruption crusader government in particular and a country in general to be seen as untainted by the folly of its officials. That will also correct the impression of vendetta in other areas of its endeavour. That is what sustains credibility.

With things as they are now there is no doubt that our moral sensibility has been battered. The least de-

By  
Aboky Suleiman Muhammad

cecy demands is for government to ease him out since he may not be morally equipped to do so himself. A culture of glorifying mischief in an attempt to crave acceptance is far from what this nation needs and truly deserves.

Asking an undesirable public figure to step aside gives way for a powerful disinfectant to have a solitary effect in a national cleansing.

This is a very critical period in the life of this nation to allow a thing of a moral decadence to continue to haunt our beloved nation. We become a laughing stock internationally any time we attempt to advertise our modesty with a bastard tag strapped beside.

People are often reduced to a pitiful level in their efforts to escape charges of bias, pro-government, ethnocentrism or even lack of objectivity thereby over-stretching their wits. The government should take note of this. Or perhaps could it be asking too much from a government that is over 40 per cent Second Republic. But it should be remembered that previously as a result of our actions or inactions we have unwittingly allowed situations to slip away in crucial periods thereby adding to national predicament.

T.O.S. Benson's views, if properly harnessed and channelled can bring an about-turn to undue advantages. It is capable of setting a nice tone and wooing honest Nigerians for the proposed constitutional conference. This is assuming also that the title of the conference itself is slightly corrected. Accepting the title as a constitutional conference not only takes us 30 years back along the path of history, it misses the point just as calling it national conference is courting the concern of the rabble rousers only. Appropriately, it can be called the Nigerian confer-

ence, to go beyond the usual superficial debates.

The country today is besicged by 419, titles seekers, armed robbers, corrupt officials and drug pushers in their continuous struggle for ascendency. That is why instead of surprise we found ourselves celebrating the apprehension of an all time dar Jovil importer of a 28 billion Naira worth of hard drugs.

Why has not the NDLEA been able to do this since until the arrival of this 'time saver'? It all boils down, I think, to our selective orientation. For example, fuel scarcity, armed robbery and corruption never showed any signs of depreciation. It must be pointed out too that addressing these issues is a million times better than hankering over a constitution which is a harmless document anyway.

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**We are tired of  
picking one confu-  
sion at the exhaust-  
ible end of another  
as a standard logic  
of some people's  
past-times**

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Current efforts to redeem the credibility of the government will be quite epoch-making only if it does not develop cold-feet as soon as it comes to critical areas. For long we have seen regimes after regimes going the wrong way. This reminder is essential if we must break away from what has become a canning dancing of a fuddled lunatic. We are tired of picking one confusion at the exhaustible end of another as a standard logic of some people's past-times

## SUPPLEMENT ON PACIFIC MERCHANT BANK

### Pacific Merchant Bank: New heights in excellence

**I**ntroduction: Pacific Merchant Bank commenced banking operations on October 12, 1992. Since then, hardwork, dedication, goal commitment and proper customer motivation have seen the bank to its present status which it enjoys in the industry. This is inspite of increasing system unpredictability which the bank's

chairman, Dr. Adedeji Adeleke describes as "excruciating."

The bank with headquarters in Lagos has a strong office in Kano. Plans are being made to open Abuja and Aba branches this year.

#### Products:

Pacific Merchant Bank is engaged in treasury services and money market operations, investment banking, project finance, NERFUND/SME facilities, debt issues and loan syndication, public issues and private placement, leasing, export services, foreign exchange dealings, financial advisory services, privatisation and commercialisation as well as domestic and international debt management.

Each of these is packaged to suit the peculiar needs of various clients. For example, its money market instru-



Alh N.A. Ipaye: General manager/acting CEO

ment known as "COUPAD" was introduced in 1990 to immune customers against interest rate movement, negotiate upfront payment of interests and source collateral for other facilities. The bank has as

## SUPPLEMENT ON PACIFIC MERCHANT BANK

one of its key areas **Agricultural lending** and is in league with NER-FUND and Central Bank in assisting **small and medium enterprises**. Its leasing package is one of the most attractive in the industry. Among others, the bank also assists import-arrangement and also in sourcing foreign exchange as well as managing letters of credit for foreign-exchange transactions.

### Management team:

Ibrahim Sidi Bamali, senior manager, Kano. A banker's banker, Ibrahim Sidi Bamali, who is the senior manager in charge of Kano office, started his banking career in 1984 with United Bank for Africa (UBA) after his first and second de-

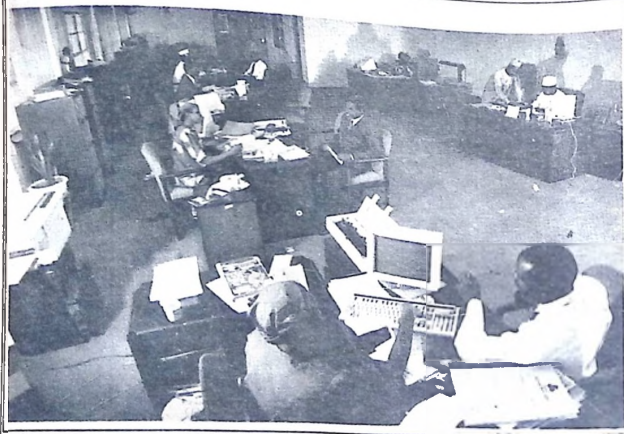
grees which he obtained at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. In 1989, he moved to International Merchant Bank (IMB).

Hardwork, honesty and dedication eventually saw him to the top of the treasury unit of the bank.

Alhaji Bamali moved to Pacific Merchant Bank as a manager in 1991 and immediately rose to the position of a senior manager. Alhaji Bamali has attended several courses, chief of which are bank branch management workshop, strategic treasury management and corporate finance.



Ibrahim Sidi Bamali: *Sen. manager (Kano Branch)*



Banking Hall, Kano area office

## BUSINESS &amp; ECONOMY

## Kaduna Trade Fair

## A dusty affair

Chamber battles to live up to expectation as foreign companies kick the dust off their feet

**D**etermined to hold this year's International Trade Fair at the permanent site, the Arewa Hotels office of the Kaduna Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture was in a hectic mood with officials working against time as if to prove skeptics wrong. Previous plans to hold the fair at the site were postponed because the organiser, the Kaduna Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture could not prepare the ground.

At the permanent site some five kilometres along Kaduna-Zaria Road bordering the National Educational Technology Centre (NETC), it was a beehive of activities as construction work continued unabated, with businessmen and artisans negotiating here and there. In spite of efforts by the organiser, however, it appeared last week customers and traders would have to make do with few facilities at least for now. Though water supply was almost completed, the points were few and located wide apart. The toilets were receiving finishing touches and the security light round the complex was already on. Plans were underway to connect the stands with light as NEPA staff were seen busy on the poles.

Other vital facilities like the telephone and the police post were still under construction. When completed a NITEL staff at the site said "it cost only 6,000 Naira to have a line for the period of the fair." The police post was being constructed near the border gate adjacent to NEPA main transformer.

Most spaces allocated were still under construction but Alhaji Kabir Umar, the director general of the chamber claimed they will all be

ready soon. He said the federal government has already sunk about 65 million Naira into the project in addition to 'free land given to the

ing other western nations to boycott the fair as a measure to show its displeasure over the recent political situation in Nigeria. Israel and Britain were also to follow suit while Japan was reported to have agreed in principle to do so.

Only representatives of five countries are present at the moment — Poland, Germany, Algeria, Egypt and Argentina out of the 20 countries that were earlier invited.

Complaints coming from the participants at the site indicated they



One of the stands that will grace this year's fair

chamber.

The ground itself is an ambitious project with its prestigious gate still under construction. The main problem now it appears is the heaps of dust the chamber will have to find way to reduce. The roads are not tarred and daily watering is not enough. Umar admitted it was a minus on their part, even though he tried to blame the nation's economic situation for the Chamber's shortcomings. Highlighting further, the director-general said the delay in preparation was caused by the recent political impasse and the prevailing economic crises.

Evidence of this started coming soon enough when the chamber started receiving letters of withdrawal from some foreign companies led by the USA. The American government is reported to be woo-

were troubled by the dust. Mr. Goddy O. Okonkwo of ANAMMCO said, "there is dust everywhere and no infrastructure." There are some facilities available that may not be noticed by the people.

The theme of this year's fair is "Co-ordinating international and local efforts in financing and sustaining economic development." The relevance of this according to Umar was "promoting economic growth locally and internationally and to improve on the diplomatic relationship between Nigeria and the world." The president of the chambers Alhaji Sani Aminu stated that only disbursement of 75,000,000 Naira out of the 100 million Naira promised by the federal government has been received.

As at now the trade fair was divided as companies could not take

all the spaces. Notable stands already erected include John Holt, Congoni, PAN and Mercedes-Benz. It was expected that the allocated spaces would be taken up soon.

One silent point perhaps is that trade fair is just one out of the numerous activities of the chamber. When the chamber was formed in January 1983, it has among other objectives organising trade fairs, organising trade missions to overseas, familiarising its members on the activities of the Nigerian Stock

Exchange and trade survey of the state in collaboration with the state ministry of commerce and industry.

The first trade fair was organised in 1976 and restricted to Nigerian enterprises. It was not until 1979 that it went international. The trade fair committee is saddled with the responsibility of allocating stands to participating companies on the basis of their needs for a fee per stand. But the individual companies erect stands on their own. Most spaces allocated this year were not yet paid

for. Umar said this was usual. Payments were usually made after the erection of stands. Free spaces are given to some organisations on essential services like the radio, television, police, NEPA and NITEL. Kaduna Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture has come a long way, according to Umar. A lot still needs to be done though if it must maintain its claim of serving as a model for others.

Suleiman  
By Abokoye  
Mohammad and Yakubu B. Bityong

## Budget '94

# The ball in their courts

Bankers and accountants meet in Lagos to jaw-jaw on budget '94, but analysts ask; will they play their parts well?

**B**ankers and accountants did their usual "critical examination" of the budget a fortnight ago with normal "so-so" talks of the expected: exchange rates, interest rates, revenue generation, the real sectors and implementation.

The forum was the annual symposium in the budget jointly organised by the Chartered Institute of Bankers of Nigeria (CIBN) and the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Nigeria (ICAN). As the voices droned on, past efforts of the two bodies and their consequent contributions or misdemeanours raise posers on the continued significance of the talk sessions to the general health of the economy.

For even as professionals of the bodies were identifying possible pitfalls in the implementation of the core aspects of the budget — exchange rate, interest rate and revenue generation — practical evidence of economic monsters believed to have been nurtured, if not created, by them and which were held to be largely responsible for budget failures abound.

For the CIBN, its corporate members, the banks, are still struggling to shrug off the accusation that they turned the black market to the virtu-

ally invincible cankerworm it is now. This accusation would appear not unfounded. The advent of the Structural Adjustment Programme in 1986 saw the introduction of an official market for foreign exchange. By the system, banks bid for foreign exchange allocation on the market for onward sales to their needy customers.



Osayemeh: how guilty?

But the banks defined their own spectrum of customers. While the parallel markets always had foreign currencies to sell at their own dictates, the vital sectors of manufacturing, industry and agriculture always complained of scarcity of the

essential commodity to import raw materials, equipment and machinery. The resultant negative effect for the industries saw them producing at low capacity or winding up completely. In its pre-budget '94 memorandum to government, the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (MAN) lamented that over 200 members in its fold have shut shop over the last few years because of lack of foreign exchange to import necessities.

Conversely, it was a pleasant story for the banks. The juicy appeal of the official foreign exchange market, with realisation that it provided easy access to cheap funds resulted in a frenzy proliferation of banks. By last year, their number has risen to over 100 from 45 in 1985. To showcase their affluence, banks became synonymous with jumbo salaries, posh cars and architectural edifices as offices, even though some of them did and still do not have more than a branch nationwide.

The banks are still being accused of contributing to the collapse of the industrial sector. In the heydays of the foreign exchange biddings, banks, it is said bought foreign currencies on the floor of the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) only to sell them behind the counter to their black market agents at exorbitant rates. Neater still, they would divert them to their bureau-de-change contacts where they are alleged to have interests. Consequently, industrialists were starved of their foreign exchange needs at official rates and were forced to resort to the parallel

market when pressed desperately. This action of the banks could not but have multiplier effects as the value of the Naira fell drastically as dictated by the parallel market rates; industries were choked, production became cost-intensive and inflation soared.

As if the alleged sabotage of the foreign exchange policy was not enough, bank interest rates on lending became prohibitive. By last year, range was as high as 50 per cent. Three years ago government decided to regulate the rate in the budget, pegging it all at 21 Naira. But that intention was defeated by the banks which still fixed their rates beyond the official ceiling. Government had to deregulate the rates once again.

In many cases anyway, the banks would not give loans to applicant industries and agricultural projects because of the long-term nature of such ventures. Last year, Malam Abubakar Bello, chief executive, Gamp Bank of Nigeria Plc, admitted in a chat with *Citizen* that short-term loans were the fashion in banks. Unfortunately, this form of loan does not directly contribute to real growth as it is used mainly to finance local purchase orders, LPO and importation of goods.

**T**his year, bankers have once again called on government to flex its muscles and implement the new policies enunciated in the budget. The policies do not exactly appear to favour banks a return to foreign exchange regulation and a peg on interest rates. But two bank chief executives did not seem perturbed by its implications. Mr. Esan Ogunleye, managing director, Triumph Merchant Bank Limited and his counterpart at Great Merchant Bank, Dr. M.O. Odaro hailed the objectives of the policies although they expressed fears on the vague method of their application.

What is however clear so far is that banks will be playing more roles in the allocation of foreign exchange. The two bank chiefs hinted of the

sector's sincerity to play the game by the rules this time. Government has also put certain documentation processes in place to check abuse. But considering possible desperate moves by some banks to stay afloat, would there not be a recourse to sharp practice? Already, two of them, Financial Merchant Bank and Capital Merchant Bank, have been wound-up by the CBN as the noose on the distressed ones tightened. Mr. Sunday Uche, an ICAN member-participant believed banks which decide to circumvent government's intentions in the budget would be taking a risk. To him, the decisive action on the two dead banks was a pointer to government's resolve on a crackdown.

CBN's fellow traveller in the annual talkshop, the ICAN, is also believed to be as guilty in the misfortunes of past budgets. ICAN's crime would appear to be the accusation constantly levelled against its members in the questionable returns of their clients in the Company Income Tax (CIT) for quite some time, external auditors conniving with their clients to shortchange government in its revenue collection drive.

Surprisingly, Mr. Babalola Okele, an ICAN fellow did not dwell exhaustively on why official expectations on the CIT always fell short in the paper he presented on introducing the Value Added Tax, VAT to broaden the revenue base. He, however, admitted that tax evasion in Nigeria "is the order of the day." Critics insist that tax evasion is only possible in earnings that are not taxed from sources, like the pay-as-you-earn system of taxing salaried workers. By implication, company accounts and other huge businesses are the transactions left to the auditors to determine how much should be paid to government as tax. And this is where ICAN members, many of them auditors to several firms are under attack.

In 1988, former justice minister of the federation, Prince Bola Ajibola indicted ICAN members of cheating government by preparing multiple returns for inspection. Mr. Muviwa



Ogwuma: what role?

Sosanya, president of the newly recognised Association of National Accountants of Nigeria (ANAN) told *Citizen* that government is not realising up to 10 per cent of the CIT because of the dubious activities of external auditors.

It is believed that when ICAN members turn a new leaf in their auditing assignments, realising the objectives of the budget would become easier. Beyond increasing revenue due to government, company accounts when accurately prepared would always give warning signals to shareholders, depositors or government itself to take necessary action before it is too late. Sosanya said the fortunes of the National Bank of Nigeria would probably not have nosedived, and the deposits of its customers trapped if its external auditors had given a timely warning. Incidentally, auditors to the embattled bank were the firm of Akinola Williams & Company Limited, established by Chief Akinola Williams, a founding member of ICAN.

The consensus is that mere jaw-jaw sessions by ICAN and the CIBN are not enough to contribute to budget implementation. The two bodies, it is contended, are too much involved practically in the document's policies not to show transparent honesty in their professional assignments.

By Tayo Odunlami

## AFRICA

## Lesotho

# Rumblings in the army

## Pay rise splits Lesotho army

**F**or two weeks, tiny Lesotho was thrown into pandemonium as army factions within the Royal Lesotho Defence Forces fought it out over pay rise for the army.

Trouble erupted when a faction of the 2,000 strong army asked for 100 per cent pay rise for its members, while another faction opposed the move. In the subsequent military confrontation, five soldiers were killed and some civilians wounded.

However, this seemingly pay disputes, took frightening dimension and sinister connotations, as there were speculations of a military coup. About 750 troops based in Makinyana barracks also fought with other troops based in Maseru the capital. There was the allegation that a faction in the army based at Makinyana barracks was staging a coup, this was based on the grounds that the party they supported, the Lesotho National Party (LNP) lost in the country's first democratic elections since independence.

Lesotho, completely surrounded by South Africa was coup-prone, as one military dictatorship had succeeded one another since the country's independence from Britain in 1966.

The problems in Lesotho are generally economic, the country is affected by the general recession in the South African economy. South Africa was the single outlet and source of Lesotho's foreign earnings. Lesotho people who went to South African mines remitted the bulk of their earnings to sustain their country but this source is drying up.

Makinyana barracks housed mainly junior officers who certainly wanted a betterment of their lots, while their officers based in Maseru

seemed contented with the perks. There were also some tribal sentiments at play too.

Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle, the prime minister of Lesotho and a member of the ruling Basutoland Congress Party (BCP) has called on South Africa to intervene and help quell



Salim: OAU scribe

the crisis. However, the foreign minister of South Africa, Mr. Pik Botha, said his country would only intervene if the OAU and the UN agreed to it. Botha, however, came out bluntly that South Africa would not permit or allow a military government in Lesotho. According to Lesotho government spokesman, Seliso Serutla, the warring military factions have agreed to a parley. He said the OAU and the Commonwealth are to send observers to these talks.

Meanwhile, British foreign and commonwealth office have asked foreigners to stay indoors and move about cautiously.

The situation however, seems under control as the warring factions have agreed on the modalities for settlement.



Botha: no to military rule

The Lesotho government had also denied allegations that it was inviting South Africa to bring troops to stop the fighting even though it considered the option. Spokesman Serutla quoted Prime Minister Mokhehle as saying "What we have said this was one of alternatives but as yet they (Lesotho) haven't done

**Lesotho completely surrounded by South Africa was coup-prone, as one military dictatorship had succeeded one another since the country's independence from Britain in 1966**

so."

South Africa had suggested "international mediation" as a viable option in resolving the crisis. "Pretoria was looking at the situation very closely" foreign ministry spokesman Awre Marcus said.

By Abayomi Shoyebi  
with agency reports

## Kenya

# A titan is gone

Former vice president and long-time *uhuru* apostle  
Oginga Odinga dies at 82

**O**n Thursday, January 19, the Kenyan opposition party FORD-Kenya announced the death earlier that morning of its founder and chairman, the great African nationalist and hero of the *uhuru* struggle, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga.

Oginga Odinga was born in 1912 at Sakwa in Kenya's Nyanza province, home of the country's second largest ethnic group, the Luo. Odinga failed to obtain a scholarship from the British colonial authorities and instead went to Makerere University in Uganda, after which he became a teacher. In the 1940's, he quit teaching and became active in the independence struggle. During the epic *Mau Mau* guerrilla struggle of the early 1950's, which was waged mostly by Kenya's largest ethnic group, the Kikuyu, the colonial authorities made spirited efforts to incite the Luo against the Kikuyu, something Odinga worked strenuously to prevent.

In 1957, when the first seven Africans entered the Legislative Council in Nairobi, Odinga was one of them and was elected their chairman. In that capacity, he soon became the leader of the independence movement in the legislative council, but the overall leader of the movement remained Jomo Kenyatta, who was then in prison. In 1960, Odinga was a member of the committee that drafted the constitution of the Kenya Africa National Union, KANU, and was elected the party's vice president. He was elected to the House of Representatives in 1963 and, following Kenya's independence in December, he became, first, home affairs minister and later the vice president.

But Oginga Odinga soon fell out

with Kenyatta because the former saw independence only as a first step towards national liberation. Odinga was also opposed to KANU being the sole legal political party in Kenya. In 1966, he resigned as vice president and from KANU and formed his own party, the Kenya People's Union, KPU, which was banned. In 1967, Odinga wrote his famous autobiography, *Not Yet Uhuru*, which set out the grounds for



Odinga: apostle of *uhuru*

his disagreements with Kenyatta. From 1969 to 1971, Kenyatta jailed his former vice president, and after Kenyatta's death in 1978, his successor President Daniel Arap Moi also jailed Odinga for three years. After the 1982 abortive airforce coup against Moi, he again placed Odinga under house arrest for two years.

In 1990, when a renewed campaign for multi-party democracy began in Kenya, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga was one of its leading proponents, and together with Kenneth Matiba, formed the Forum for the

Restoration of Democracy, FORD, which, after a protracted campaign, forced President Daniel Arap Moi to agree to hold multi-party elections on December 29, 1992. But in the run-up to the elections, FORD split over the choice of its presidential candidate. Kenneth Matiba became candidate of FORD-Asili and Oginga Odinga became candidate of the FORD-Kenya. Both contested the elections against Moi and, though the "big three" opposition candidates, Odinga, Matiba and former vice president Mwai Kibaki, together polled over three million votes, Moi was able to defeat them with less than two million votes of his own.

A day after Odinga's death, FORD-Kenya announced that Mr. Michael Wamalwa, a lawyer and

**In 1990, when a renewed campaign for multi-party democracy began in Kenya, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga was one of its leading proponents**

member of parliament, will succeed him as acting party chairman. Odinga's funeral was initially scheduled for January 19, but late last week, the organisers moved it to February 5 in order, they said, to allow some of his relatives to return from Europe and the US and also to allow Kenyans more time to view his body. Jaramogi Oginga Odinga will be buried at Nyamira, in western Kenya, 450 kilometres from the capital, Nairobi. A requiem mass was held for him last Wednesday at Uhuru park, in Nairobi.

By Mahmud Jega  
with agency reports

## WORLD

## Bosnia Hercegovina

**"It is insane"**

Six children die from unremitting Serbian aggression as the world wrestles with its conscience

**P**ope John Paul (11) has asked the international community to do everything possible to disarm the aggressor in the conflict. Speaking a day after a Serbian mortar attack killed six children in Sarajevo as they played on sleighs, the Pope said on the Roman Catholic Church's international prayer for peace in the former Yugoslavia that "we cannot be resigned, we must not be resigned."

Despite many efforts, he said, the war has resisted every attempt at peace and "it shocks all of us because of its cruelty and repeated violations of human rights. Appropriate authorities have the responsibility to try everything humanly possible to disarm the aggressor and create conditions for a just and lasting peace, he said. "Sources at the Vatican hinted that the Pope would support a precise, proportionate and perhaps demonstrative military action in Bosnia.

It was against this backdrop that increasing evidence is emerging that Britain and France — the major contributors to the UN peace-keeping mission in Bosnia with 6,000 troops — are contemplating a complete pull out because the conflict is deadlocked. British foreign secretary, Douglas Hurd, is travelling to Washington this week to put the view that after several peace talks have failed to stop the war and provide a solution to the conflict, it was time to pull out. France has also questioned the value of continuing the operation when it seems hopeless.

Predictably, the failure of the talks led to more fighting and the United Nations, which has 12,000 troops

and is technically the only body that authorises air strikes, has not reached a decision. The secretary-general, Boutros Boutros-Ghali had told the security council that air power alone would not be enough, a point which has not found favour with the UN commanders. In fact, it led to a dispute with the overall commander, French general Jean Cot and the commander in Bosnia, Lt-General Francis Briquemont, forcing their early departure. The two generals charged that the peace-keeping operation is in crisis because of the UN's failure to implement its own resolutions which made the job of the military commanders impossible. In leaving office, they said not only is the UN operations in crisis,



**Ghali: air strikes inadequate**  
the fighting in Bosnia has crossed the borders of insanity. They were withdrawn six months ahead of time because they asked for powers to use air strikes, 4,000 more troops and anti-tank weapons.

Briquemont said it was stupid to effect peace-keeping in a country at war. "The politicians are writing

and voting, I do not know how many resolutions mandating peace-keeping in Bosnia, but we have no means to execute them."

The new UN commander, Britain's Michael Ross has resumed duties, but there is widespread opinion that the UN needs a new mandate to stop being mere spectators. Many in the UN mission feel humiliated by their inability to stop ethnic militias molesting and terrorising and besieging each other's territories because UN hierarchy has apparently ignored its commitments. General Ross would run into the same problems unless the UN gives him a clear mission and the equipment to carry it out. He himself expects much the same when on resumption he told journalists that change in policy was unlikely.

Bosnian ambassador to the UN, Mohammed Sacirbey strongly criticised the decision to replace the outspoken commander and accused the UN of wanting to maintain the status quo. "It seems that what certain people within the UN system try to do is always find fresh general not as creative as the previous one. It seems any time a commander in Bosnia finally is convinced that the status quo needs to change, that's when someone decides the commander himself needs to be changed."

Western nations are holding consultations to find new initiative to end the conflict even though President Bill Clinton said he doesn't believe that the fighting would end until all those involved decide they have more to gain by a peace.

Bosnia's president has called for new peace talks to replace the failed Geneva talks in seeking a settlement to the war because the talks there had exhausted its possibilities. He said there is no case in history where appeals and resolutions stopped wars or violence.

By Mohammed Bomol  
with agency reports

## Japan

**Hosokawa's troubles**

After a meteoric rise in the last six months, the prime minister is beset with problems

Quite possibly, Morihiro Hosokawa will not be the prime minister of Japan this week. After a meteoric first six months in office at the head of an eight-party coalition government, the first to exclude the Liberal Democratic Party since 1945, Prime Minister Hosokawa's fragile coalition suddenly exhibited strains last week. On January 21, the Upper House of the Japanese Diet voted, by 130 votes to 118, to reject the election reform bill sent to it by the government.

The rejected bill, earlier approved by the Lower House of the Diet last November 18, was also the key element in Mr. Hosokawa's reform programme, and which won for him the election last July. For two months, the prime minister fought to prevent a rebellion by some members of the Social Democratic Party, the largest of the eight coalition parties. But 17 of its 73 MP's voted against the bill and defeated it.

The rebels belonged to the left wing of the Social Democratic Party and were fearful that the reforms, which will replace the present multi-seat constituencies with 274 single-seat constituencies and another 226 to be filled by proportional representation, will cost them their seats. Other social democrats, who expect to contest the next election under another, new party, do not share these fears.

The prime minister was soon racing against time to save the election reform bill before the Diet session ends this week, especially since he has threatened to "take responsibility," that is, resign, if the bill is not approved. There were two possible ways for Hosokawa to end the deadlock. One way is to summon a special conference of 20 members of

both houses of the Diet and work out a compromise, which must then be approved by both houses. The second, more difficult way is to obtain a two-thirds majority vote in the Lower House to overrule the Upper House.

Early last week, it appeared as if the prime minister will find a compromise formula with the opposition Liberal Democrats to pass the bill. LDP leader Yohei Kono was reportedly undecided, and late last Thursday the LDP rejected the compromise proposal sent to it by the government.

The wrangle over electoral reform was not Hosokawa's only problem. Even though his government unveiled a plan last month for a 63 billion dollars tax cut in order to stimulate the economy, the details were yet to be worked out. In July last year, Japan and the US had agreed to an "economic framework pact" in which Japan agreed to significantly cut its huge trade surplus with the US both by spurring domestic demand and by opening its markets to further imports.

Last September, Prime Minister Hosokawa announced a 58 billion dollars economic stimulus package, in line with the pact, and last month he took the politically tough step of opening up the Japanese rice market to imports.

Still, the US announced itself "frustrated" by the "lack of progress" in the economic framework talks. US treasury secretary Lloyd Bentsen, on an Asian tour, said, "we have seen very little headway made on the framework talks." On Wednesday, January 18, the White House in Washington ordered Bentsen, who was in Beijing, to proceed to Tokyo in order to get the stalled talks moving again. Bentsen



Hosokawa: troubles abound

then went to Tokyo on January 20 and delivered a "strong" message to Hosokawa. Japan, Bentsen said, must either boost its economy and cut its trade surplus or the US will allow the Yen to rise against the dollar, a prospect dreaded by Japanese traders.

**Still, the US announced itself "frustrated" by the "lack of progress" in the economic framework talks**

nese traders.

Specifically, the US wants more access to Japan's 20 billion dollars public sector construction market. A deal was finally reached on "objective criteria to monitor progress" of American penetration into the Japanese automobile, auto parts, medical, technology, banking and insurance markets. Japan's cabinet secretary Masayoshi Takemura said he "welcomed" that agreement, but there was no guarantee last week that it marked the end of Mr. Hosokawa's troubles.

By Mahmud Jega  
with agency reports

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## PRIVATE EYE

## Emirs and contractors

Since November 17, General Sani Abacha and his ministers have been contradicting one another. The finance minister sacked the board of a parastatal which his ministry supervises, but his boss overruled him. The states appear to be catch-as-you-can affair.

How else, do you explain the decision of the Kebbi State's military administrator Colonel Salihu Tunde Bello to give emirs the veto over contracts. After a tour of 100 villages, Bello reasoned that the emirs, as close as they are to the people are better placed to nominate hardworking and honest contractors and supervise their performance.

Bello just displayed the innocence of a child, and for that he may very

well be forgiven. But some of us in this part of the country know that closeness to the people does not equate with knowledge of what they the people need. Moreso, Bello showed how little he understands the working of the traditional institution. Most emirs are contractors by their own right and the rivalry between them and other contractors can be a cut-throat affair. What stops them from recommending themselves or contractors that are fronting for them?

Repetition apart, there is the potential danger of pitching the institution against the bureaucrats who will definitely resent the erosion of their power to shortlist "competent" contractors for government.



The bad blood that the contract business engenders in the civil service in itself is enough headache without spreading the plague to emirs. To royal fathers, we say watch your steps and protect your turbans.

## The crime empire

I stared in disbelief. It was not a scene from the film on the exploits of Lawrence Anini the dare devil robber. It had no link with the Oyenusi saga either. The Nigeria Television Authority, NTA, caught Pius Ede and zoomed its camera on him: I was among NTA's "30 million viewers" who watched the network news penultimate week and there was trail blazer, Pius Ede. The Lagos state police command arrested and charged him for impersonation, stealing and forgery. "Smart" Pius had six Nigerian official passports and 22 Nigerian International Passports! All the passports had his pictures but different names and titles. The documents were discovered in a police raid in his Oko-Oba residence in Lagos.

When curious journalists asked Pius how he came about the passports, he declared that "I got it from those boys at the passport office." And he certainly did. If the price is right, any criminal or illegal alien can get not only a Nigerian passport

but also an official passport!

However, the law abiding Nigerian will have to pay the under the counter price of 2,500 Naira for a passport instead of the official 200

## The NNPC and its scandals (III)

This is the third time straight I'll be talking about the NNPC and its many scandals, I assure you it's worth it. You have heard about the two fires at the Kaduna Refinery where they are still looking for the culprits even though they are so obvious.

The recent NNPC scandal of 41,000,000 dollars, I hear, has gone the way of all scandals in this our great country. You remember the hoopla about sending the suspects, managing director *et al*, to a tribunal? Well, on January 10, the members of the tribunal gathered to be sworn-in, but guess what happened? Our veritable chief law officer, Chief Olu Onagoruwa, virtually told them to buzz off! Didn't I tell Nigenans, he roughly said, that we are through

Naira. While the law breaker gets it for the asking, the law abiding citizen will have to wait for three to four months before booklets are "available". I hope the minister of Internal Affairs, Chief Alex Ibru is not listening.

with tribunals? If the NNPC thinks that it has enough evidence to bring about the conviction of the suspects, it should go to a regular court. Last I heard, NNPC has not been in a hurry to follow up on Onagoruwa's advice.

And so it is that the chap whom investigations had revealed that he has 80,000,000, yes 80,000,000 dollars not 800,000 dollars that I reported a few weeks ago, thanks to the proverbial printer's devil, stashed away abroad, may retire quietly and peacefully to a life even more abundant! Those rooting for him insist that there is nothing wrong in what he did. After all, the oil is extracted from their soil. *Shon of the Sh(oil)* never hurt anyone!

# Matter of the heart

**L**ove knows no barriers. It shoots its way into the heart of the loved one. Cupids super active arrow pierces the heart of the love one and they live happily ever after in a fairy land.

## Love is blind

Love they say is blind  
Love are you blind?  
If you are blind  
How did you get to my soul?  
Love the flowering plant  
Love the alpha and the omega  
Love you are the doctor of sorrow  
In love I met Maryam  
And in love we shall remain.  
In dreams I keep on asking myself  
Why in love?  
I keep saying  
It pays to love yes.  
It is you I am waiting for  
You are the only one to cure me  
You are quite welcome Mr. Love  
I learnt that you cleanse the minds of the wicked.  
You purify the hearts of the heartless  
It is true  
In my memories you made Maryam mine  
And you made me hers  
Love you are wonderful  
Love you have eyes  
Love are you blind?

## I still love her

There is a girl sweet and kind  
I did glance her moving across the street  
She stares at me as she passed  
She waved not as she turned  
And yet I still love her till I die  
So fast she will never be caught at all.  
I never spoke to the sweet and kind girl  
I never saw her smile  
I never saw her dry  
Yet I love her like a fruit  
If all girls were like her  
I will drop dead.  
Yes I remember  
Love grows like tree

Time shall drop its caravan and stay  
On Friday I shall recite my funeral oration  
I shall join the entourage of time.  
If she gives me her smile  
I shall sing and dance with her  
The versatile verse of humour drench-gratis  
Let her infer context for a memorable day  
Avoid query-question jewel of mator.  
Mukhtar S. 'Wakeel

## Togetheress

The sourness in our togetheress  
Should bring no hate or bitterness  
For that'll be pure madness  
And we've enjoyed too much happiness  
To be grieved by such sadness.  
I do not believe we can bear  
The pains and anguish that follow  
A broken intimate affair  
But that's not the case  
As it's something we must face  
With equanimity and grace  
To moderate our pace  
And remain in human race.

## Hearty Kathy

A very beautiful lady  
Really pretty baby  
Is my hearty Kathy  
She's never selfish  
And hides a stronger wish  
The wish to share her life  
To care all the time  
Whoever she holds so very dear  
Have no awful nagging fear  
As she cause the torment disappear  
To be replaced with silent tears  
Of joy and thanks and ecstasy  
That leaves peace and happiness you desire  
For so long many years  
Nature's smile, perfect prosperity  
Exquisite grace, continuous contentment  
May these and more be yours  
Now as never before.

Bello Y. Bida



**Go away disappointment!**  
I have been in love for two years  
It has been so much appreciated  
By my friend and relations  
I have wanted to marry her for love  
I have given all my love to her  
I have given all my pictures to her  
I have given my heart to her  
I have always been thinking about love for her  
I am still in love with her  
But the result is disappointment  
Go away disappointment!  
Abdulmalik Moh'd Shaba

## Transition

Sit down beside me  
On these seated grasses  
Put your arm around me  
The way a lover should  
Rest your fair head  
And flowing soft mass  
Upon my able shoulders  
Let's watch the gold sun  
As it recedes across the river  
And the wearied fishermen  
Returning in their canoes  
Like moving soldier ants  
Stand up, come away, now  
Before it becomes too dark  
And difficult to find our way  
Like a hunter edging through  
An evil forest, let us cut  
A path through this haze  
Now hovering over our heads  
Like a hawk at planting seasons  
Make haste, dawn is waiting  
And the chicks have long  
Gone home to roost.

Njoku Austyn C.

# Confetti for the Nwobodos

Guest of timber and calibre gather in Lagos to witness Jim Nwobodo remarry

**F**or Jim Nwobodo, Saturday January 22, 1994 was like the good old days when together with other eight governors of the defunct Nigerian People's Party, NPP, People's Redemption Party PRP, Unity Party of Nigeria, UPN and Great Nigeria Peoples Party, GNPP they charmed the political scene with their gestures and rhetorics, and held the attention of many.

Although the recent event was a wedding and it was held under the stern gaze of a military administra-



A moment of bliss: the Nwobodos

tion that had cautioned politicians, it nevertheless had all the ingredients of a political rally. Of the seven surviving nine Second Republic "Progressive" governors, a quorum was formed with the presence of Chief Sam Mbakwe, Alhaji Mohammadu Abubakar Rimi, Alhaji Lateef Jakande and the groom himself.

The *Ndi Igbo* also came out in its strength to support one of its sons Igbo notables like Odumegu Ojukwu, Alex Ekwueme, Abdulaziz Ude, Emmanuel Iwuanyanwu, Ralph Obioha, Pius Okigbo as well

as the immediate past civilian governors of Imo, Anambra and Enugu states were among a host of other notables. Also present were Chief MKO Abiola, Alhaji Sola Saraki, Chief Gabriel Igbinidion and T.O.S. Benson. For the whole afternoon that the wedding lasted at the Cathedral Church of Christ, Marina Lagos, the Marina Road was blocked as a crowd of admirers kept vigil around the vicinity of the church and cheered their heroes whenever they sighted them. Going by the reception he got from the crowd, Chief Abiola remains a crowd puller any day.

What brought all these big names together however, was the marriage ceremony between Chief Jim Nwobodo, 54 former Second Republic governor of Anambra State and Pat Mgbeyere. This marriage came about after Nwobodo's first marriage of 1968 became a court case in 1978 and was finally dissolved last year by a Lagos High Court.

Chief Nwobodo adorned in a three piece grey coat with black trouser to match was visibly excited as he flashed his trade mark boyish smile throughout the occasion. "Today" he said "is one of my happiest days on earth." His best man Mohammadu Rimi also joined him in describing the day as spectacular. Reminiscent of the Second Republic days when the former Kano State governor decamped to the Nigeria People's Party, NPP, Alhaji Muhammadu Rimi was at Nwobodo's side in a fitting three piece suit, the first time he did so for 20 years — at least in Nigeria.

Visibly overwhelmed, Rimi told the gathering that he was pleased to be part of the celebration as he and the groom have come a long way since 1978. In the midst of the backslapping and general conviviality,

old associates reached out to one another and recounted tales of the good old days. The impending constitutional conference was one issue that must have featured in the animated discussion and whispers that characterised the gathering at the wedding.

One political question in the minds of thousands of people that attended the wedding was "Why the former governor is remarrying now?" There are two things; he told *Citizen*, "my wife is a wonderful woman, whatever things she said to me has always been wonderful. The other was that I realised that if I had a wife while in prison after the collapse of Second Republic, all what is lost would not have been lost after all."

Even after six years of their traditional wedding, Chief Nwobodo revealed that he waited for six years since the traditional wedding was conducted before he could legally marry his second wife. The now remarried chief did not however indicate whether he is also now coming out of the political cold he seemed to have consigned himself for most of the period of the ill-fated Third Republic.

Chief Nwobodo did not spare any expense to ensure that this high profile guests did not go home disappointed. A reception was organised at the exclusive Lagoon Restaurant at Victoria Island, Lagos where the American ambassador was one of the distinguished guests that waited for hours to share the joy and limelight of the former governor.

Whatever the expense sheet might total up to, the man who organised it all gained much from it. If nothing else it confirms that in spite of the low profile he has maintained, Chief Nwobodo is still in reckoning among the movers and shakers of the Nigerian society.

By Mannir Dan-Ali  
and Titiloye Amzat

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## WORLD OF SPORTS

**F**OOTBALL: Draws for the 1996 European championships preliminaries has produced some uncanny and amazing coincidences. The draws made along the World Cup format had Denmark, the current champion, and Spain; Holland and Norway; France and Israel; Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland and Russia and Greece finding themselves in the same groups as they had found themselves in the 1994 World Cup draws. Bobby Charlton, Geoff Hurst, who scored a hat trick in the 1966 England win against West Germany, and his colleague, Martin Peters helped out in picking the countries. A record 47 European countries are to compete in the preliminaries in which eventually 15 teams would qualify, UEFA, Europe's football ruling body having expanded the number of the teams. England by virtue of hosting the championships has already qualified, but Spain, which denied the champions a place in the World Cup, would attempt to do so again. The two are grouped with the unpredictable Belgium, Cyprus, Armenia and Macedonia. Holland and Norway, who have qualified for the World Cup, would continue their rivalry as they are grouped with the Czech Republic, Luxembourg, Belarus and Malta. The Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland have a calmer venue to sort out their sectarian differences. To assist them are Latvia, Austria, Portugal and Liechtenstein. Israel is making a debut but in a tough group. They are to face France, whom they shocked in a world cup qualifying match in Paris, Rumania, Poland, Azerbaijan and Slovakia. Russia and Greece fight again as before and would have Scotland, Finland, San Marino and the Faroes Island to contend with. Italy, three times world champion are to battle it out with Ukraine, Lithuania, Croatia, Slovenia and Estonia.

"The International Football Federation, FIFA, has confirmed that the Under-21 world football tournament would hold in Nigeria March 11-26 in four centres — the Ahmadu Bello Stadium, Kaduna, Nnamdi Azikiwe Stadium, Enugu, Liberty Stadium, Ibadan and the National Stadium, Lagos. The premier stadium would host 10 matches including one semi-final, the third place match and the grand final. Enugu and Ibadan would host seven matches each. ABS would host eight matches including the second semi-final. There would be eight days of resting in between matches. Meanwhile, the Super Eagles technical adviser, Clemens Westerhof, has released the names of players that are likely to feature in the Africa Nations Cup coming up in Tunisia in March. It includes three goalkeepers — Wilfred Agbonivabre, Peter Rufai and Alloy Agu. The defenders are Uche Okechukwu, Austin Eguavon, Stephen Keshi, Chidi Nwanu, Efan Ekoku, Chris Armstrong and Isaac Semitoje. In the attack are Sunday Oliseh, Thompson Oliha, Fintidi George, Rashidi Yekini, Daniel Amokachi, Emmanuel Amunike, Victor Ikpeba. Alternates John Salako and Precious Monye were replaced by Mutiu Adepoju and Edema Fuludu. The Eagles are to play seven international matches in



"Hitman" Yekini

preparation for both the World Cup and the Africa Nations Cup. Nigeria would play Sweden on May 4 and Norway or Finland on May 7.

**TENNIS:** The Kaduna State Lawn Tennis Association has announced plans to revive the Kaduna Clay Court tournament abandoned for years for lack of funds. Towards this, a committee has been organised to raise funds.

**BOXING:** Irishman, Fiamonn Loughran, 23, hung on to his World Boxing Organisation (WBO) welterweight title in Belfast by a unanimous points against Italian Alessandro Duran, 28. World Boxing Council, WBC, heavyweight champion Lennox Lewis of Britain is expected to defend his title against Phil Jackson in May. The fight would be staged on the 6th or 14th and is slated for Atlantic City, New Jersey or Reno, Nevada. Lewis, 28, stopped fellow Briton, Frank Bruno last October in London and was scheduled to fight Tony Tucker. He was awarded the WBC title when the former holder, Riddick Bowe relinquished it in a dispute with the council over whom he chooses to stake the title against.

**GOLF:** Kenyan Peter Njiru has won the African Golf Classics championship in Nairobi with a 285 score, three under par ahead of Zimbabwe's Nick Price and South Africa's Vincent Tshabalala. It was his second consecutive title. Not even Tshabalala's formidable record as the first black to win in the world tour — he claimed the French Open in 1976 — could intimidate Njiru.

**ATHLETICS:** The Nigeria Olympic Committee, NOC, has entered more than 100 athletes for the Commonwealth Games which comes up in Victoria, Canada in August. Athletics attracted 54 and gymnastics five. The NOC registered to participate in the 12 categories in boxing and ten in wrestling, badminton, eight, cycling and shooting six each and swimming, ten.

ADAMU ADAMU S

DEFINITIONS  
IN HUMOUR

## Being Nigerian

**A** Nigerian is generally a very unambitious man. He loves verandahs and the shade of trees — very much. And why not? He spends most of his life in the shade — gossiping, boasting, scheming, cursing and doing everything unproductive. He is also often satisfied with very little — food to eat, clothes to wear, shelter within which to live with family. That of course was the good old days. The days are now too bad.

The Nigerian is said to arrive when he has indeed arrived. He has become a millionaire in pre-SAP Naira or foreign currency and is probably a multimillionaire. He owns a mansion or two — or three, and a stable of sleek cars and a Jeep.

His wardrobe for self and wives (four or more) overflows — Pierre Cardin, Christian Dior, Giorgio Armani, Yves Saint-Laurent, Excelsior *shadda* and voile. The watch collection features Longines, Breitling, Blancpain, Cartier and the rest of the designer lot. Some must regret that there is no designer-wife to buy.

His shoes are made of giraffe skin, moose-head skin or alligator skin, and so are the wives shoes and sling bags. Rings are diamond, necklace, bangles and earrings are 24-carat gold.

He carries his American Express, Visa, Diners and Gold cards in a special corner of his pure leather hold-all, near the cellular compartment. His cheques he will only sign

these he punches the details of his businesses — each of which is an aspect of wheeling and dealing. Oil bunkering, commission agency, speculation, gambling, and four-on-ming.

The Nigerian loves cruising in the sleek — a Taurus, a Lexus, a V-Boot or a BMW — or the new status symbol — a Cheerokee, a Pathfinder, a Cruiser or a Bronco. Which is all very good. What I can't stand is the *swaggeride*, to speed, swerve and swagger as if there are no rules on the road, or if there are, break them all, and disappear like a pot-hole-seeking missile leaving behind nothing but dust and dazed pedestrians. Jealous? Ho! ho!! I have no time to be.

When he pulls up, the Nigerian is impeccable and spotless as he stands by the vehicle — a picture of dignity and purposeful life, enjoying it to the full. A self-proclaimed leader of the black race who finds colonialism ever so detestable and easily launches into polemics against the West — and East.

He detests colonialism yet can't do without its goods. He rises up in defence of an ideal he doesn't know, of a way of life he has forgotten, of a discipline he cannot enforce on himself, of appetites he cannot control nor satisfy without foreign aid.

The Jeep he drives in the evening is an American product; the Lexus he goes to office in is Japanese, just like the *shadda* he wears is Swiss-

with a platinum Sheaffer. Of course he no longer carries a diary; he has the electronic planner and laptop not far away. In

made and the suit the Lagosian shows off is Marks & Spencer.

Even the alligator that adorns his toes is American, and the craftsman who deprived it of its leather is Italian. The watch is of course Swiss — or Japanese.

Even you, Ustaz, the *Jallabiyya* you love so much is Japanese fabric designed by Taiwanese and sold to you by Koreans. The radio you bought by the grand mosque is either Sony or Yaesu and the sandals Italian or Cypriot. So you often wonder how the Nigeria finds time or reason to *swaggeride* when he should be home weeping.

Especially since even at home, the carpet is Chinese or Persian, the fabric for furniture's upholstery, British, the TV Japanese, the video-recorder German. The cellular of course is Fuji.

If you strip a Nigerian of imports, he will be a sight! Don't press matters to the end. If you do then I ask that you must allow him a fig leaf. You must do that even though the fig tree is Lebanese — at least it is made by God.

While the majority toil to make ends meet, some have developed. Their taste is 20th century; their consumption is already in the 21st.

The Nigerian cannot make a car, but he has already thrown away his old faithful donkey. It is left to die out; and from beast of burden, it has become feast of fatten, making us one of the few countries in the world to literally eat up our heritage.

If NITEL doesn't work, the Nigerian doesn't demand engineers to sit up or everyone to do what he is paid to do. The Nigerian rushes off to bring cellular, telephone technology, fibre optics. If NTA is horrible — and it is — the Nigerian makes no demands on indigenous creativity. Off he goes and back comes — with a satellite dish. They have reached the peak, but in their haste (or is it hate?) They have forgotten the country. It is wallowing in its Sand Age (which is my creation and it means an Age only slightly more advanced than the Stone Age).

## CITIZENS

In addition to the 825,000 dollars that goes with it, the African-American teacher and writer, **Toni Morrison**, born *Chloe Anthony Wofford* in 1939, will by her announcement as the Nobel Prize for literature award winner for 1993 attract both increased adulation and critical search-light on her literary output. Although she is the third winner of African descent in the last five years following *Wole Soyinka*, Nigerian (1988) and *Derek Walcott*, West Indian (1992), Morrison is the first African-American to clinch the award.

Of her previous works which include *The Bluest Eyes* (1970), *Sula* (1973), *Song of Solomon* (1977) and *Beloved* (1982), it is the third one that has attracted critical acclaim and financial dividend for the writer. *Song of Solomon* is her only novel with a male hero and it said to be about "the phantasmagoric saga of a black man in mystical pursuit of his past." Generally, her novels contain few autobiographical traces but they constitute intensely imaginative responses

to the specific historical and social pressures she has experienced as a black woman in the USA.

Toni Morrison earned her masters of arts degree in 1955 before she began a teaching career she was to initially combine with her writing. After her divorce from the father of her two children in 1964, she moved to Syracuse, New York where she joined a publishing house editing textbooks and eventually producing writings of her own.



At 45, Dr. **Awokedi Amatokwu** is embattled to defend his dream of championing the cause of the downtrodden. His weapon for this unique struggle is the pen which he wields with out-

standing efficiency.

Wayback in 1986, the renowned mass communications lecturer scored a first with his text *Elementary Mass Communication Principle*. A recent addition to the list is *Waiting Laughter*, a distinguished volume that gives a new dimension to the writer's deep intellectual concern. At the end of the day, even if Dr. Amatokwu fails to win the entire war, he is confident in the battle for joining the list of those who get their thoughts in print.

**Alhaji Yakubu Danladi** recently appointed managing director of Kaduna State-owned *Kada Mortgage Finance Company* is set to uplift the fledgling finance company to greater heights.

A holder of masters degree in business administration, Alhaji Yakubu hopes to bring his wealth of experience in banking and administration to the advantage of his new position. Before his appointment, he has worked variously with the Continental Merchant Bank, (CMB) and New African Merchant Bank. He was also director general special duties in Kaduna State government, and acting managing director, Kaduna Industrial and Finance Company (KIFC). Notwithstanding the proliferation of Mortgage Banks, Alhaji Yakubu sees a silver

lining in the sky. He says given adequate enlightenment and proper management, mortgage banks will soar very high.

By **Yodanis Abdullahi and Manfir Dan-Ali**



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