

Human rights: Activists want military probed

B3

# Citizen

APRIL 11 - 17, 1992 VOL. 3 No. 19

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# CIROMA : The man to beat

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**Adamu Ciroma**

His entry in to the presidential race brought shivers to his opponents making him the "only" candidate to beat

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## FROM THE EDITOR

Before the ban on old breed politicians was lifted Malam Adamu Ciroma gave the picture of a wounded lion, kept away from its prey by a strong iron cage. But he bore the pains stoically, though from time to time he would give vent to scathing criticisms of the policy. And when the ban was finally lifted in December last year, almost everyone on the political landscape held his breath. Will he or won't he? That was the question everybody's lips as people waited and kept guessing what Nigeria's man of the moment would do.

And for almost two months after the ban was lifted, the former Central Bank governor, former minister and the first editor of Nigeria's most influential newspaper kept mute. And for as long, his silence counted for more than the declarations by the other aspirants.

It is not for nothing. Malam Adamu has been an achiever, with a long and varied experience. He is viewed as the big boss of the Kaduna mafia by many who also believe the mafia can make and unmake governments. Of course those reputed to be in it deny its existence, while those without swear it does.

But Ciroma's name is not the result of an intangible technicality as such. It has more to do with his reputation as an honest public servant who preferred to remain poor in the face of the temptations of ministerial appointments and residence in the corridors of power. This, more than anything, is the most intriguing aspect of the man — and the most promising. Can he make a change in a country slowly being eaten up by corruption? And will he be given the chance?

His story and the background to the man make the cover choice this week. After reading it you will know why he is the man to beat. It was written by Mohammed Bomei with help from Bilkiisu Yusuf, Kabiru Yusuf, Bolaji Adebiyi, Yinka Tella with Aluko Akinyele.

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## LETTERS

**The president we want**

Sir,

Everybody seems to speak with one voice in the search of a president who is detrialised and who has the guts to make his own decisions based on the opinions of the general populace, a committed leader who places the interests of Nigeria before himself or the people who elected him into office.

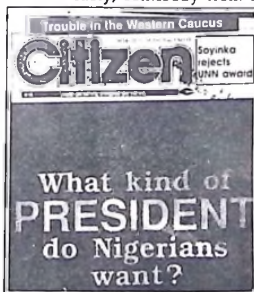
I am of the opinion that the newbreed politicians should be given a chance. Retired generals and ex-servicemen should give way to the newbreed with fresh (probably better) ideas on how to revive our flagging economy and lift our beloved country back to its former glory.

Amina Ahmad  
Moremi Hall, OAU,  
Ile-Ife

Sir,

The kind of president Nigerians want is a tough, God-fearing and patriotic citizen. He or she must be somebody who believes in what he or she does and must stand by his convictions.

Preferably, somebody from a



poor background with full knowledge that most Nigerians are poor. The president must be somebody who can provide education, basic health, water and electricity for the poor.

We pray for this kind of president from any part of the country.

M. B. Garba  
Port-Harcourt

Sir,

It is my candid opinion that there are very few among the candidates who fits the description, most of them are just out for what they can get out of it.

But one man comes readily to mind with the qualities required for an ideal president. He is Datti Ahmed, the Kano based medical practitioner. He has the qualities to lead this country out of the misery it has been plunged into and raise it back to its former glory and to even greater heights.

Unfortunately, there are still many Nigerians who place emphasis on monetary strength instead of a person's integrity. Therefore those who deserve the post find it difficult to get there.

Mukhtar Ibrahim  
Ibadan

**Gowon's second coming**

Sir,

I hope the pious general as you rightly said, would not yield to the need of the same Nigerians who cooperated in the humiliation of him out of the office. They are just deceiving him to come and shoulder the multifaced battered economy, religious wars and ethnic rivalries.

As a christian, the former head of state has a duty to guard his religion and remain an adviser where he fits honourably. The north in my opinion has had enough of the coveted hot seat and should allow it rotate, it is I believe, the chance of the south to produce the next president.

I further hold the opinion that whoever aspires to succeed the incumbent president, General Babangida, must hold a first degree,

in economics et al, with experience in the Nigerian governance especially at the centre and not as enforcer but implementer this time around.

Daring John Abdu  
Bauchi

**Re - 'Coast of leaving'**

Sir,

Congratulation on your feat as the winner of the Media Review award for political reporting. You deserve it.

But what the award committee did not reflect upon, was 'frank journalism' and had it done so, *Citizen* would have bagged another medal.

For instance, Mohammed Haruna mentioned severally, his relation with Mr. President and all what the relationship earned him. But he was not deterred by such things from giving sound advice to Mr. President to honour his promise and hand over the mantle of leadership to a democratically elected government come 1992. *Citizen* has also written a lot on the controversial hidden agenda, and on each occasion gave honest and frank advice.

On the article which makes the heading of this write up, every Nigerian should violate the corporate facade of *Citizen* magazine and confer on Adamu Adamu a medal. Frankly speaking, since the time Mr. President was reported to have advised Nigerians to resist any price increase by businessmen on their goods, and the statement of his economic advisers that Nigerians should shun such goods, I was driven mad. I was wondering where we are heading to, if no paper or any magazine could retort back, until I read the article. Surely a home-truth was completely driven into the ears of Mr. President if they are sensitive to it and are open.

M.S Al-Kafawy  
ABU, Zaria

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

## A disaster without let (II)

**L**ast week Monday, the chequered history of Nigeria/Israeli relations came full circle. It all started in 1963 when Nigeria established ties with Israel under Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, whose party leader, Sir Ahmadu Bello, the premier of Northern Nigeria was implacably opposed to the state of Israel. "To my mind" Sir Ahmadu once said "it (Israel) does not exist." As a result, the most populous section of the country refused to have anything to do with Israel.

What took off on a dubious start in 1963 finally broke down in 1973, when Nigeria under General Yakubu Gowon, broke off the ties in the wake of the 1973 Middle East war in which Israel occupied Arab land, including Egypt's, which is a member of the Organisation of African Unity. Then Camp David happened in 1978, in which the United States brokered a bilateral peace between Egypt and Israel. As a result, Israel returned part of the Egyptian land it captured in the 1973 war. Most Arabs and indeed most Egyptians saw this accord as a betrayal of the Arab cause.

For some people in Africa, however, the accord provided an opportunity to end the isolation of Israel. Their reasoning was simple. The ties were broken by Africa because Egyptian, and by extension, African land had been occupied. Since the land had been returned there was no reason to continue the boycott.

The trouble with this argument was that it defined Africa's and Nigeria's interest too narrowly. It was, in any case, an increasingly immoral argument to make as Israel became increasingly arrogant, brutal and racist towards Palestinians whose land it occupied. And the Palestinians, it must be remembered, have always demonstrated solidarity with the African cause especially in ending apartheid.

It is against this background that we should consider Monday's renewal of ties with Israel. Speaking for Nigeria, Major-General Ike Nwachukwu, the minister of foreign affairs said, "We must not, as a people, deal with sentiments but face the realities of the mo-

ment." Nwachukwu's allusion is pretty obvious. Those opposed to the renewal — and this magazine is absolutely opposed to it so long as Israel remains the racist, Zionist state that it is — are being sentimental and refusing to face the realities of the moment.

With due respect, it is Nwachukwu and those who support the renewal of ties that are being sentimental.

The trouble with Nwachukwu's reality, however, is that it does not see beyond Nigeria's nose, so to speak. It can indeed, be said that it does not even see the nose. True, Israelis have been doing business in Nigeria all these years and their partners include some of the most powerful traditional rulers in the largely muslim north. And as Olubunmi Okogie, the Archbishop of Lagos and perhaps Israeli's best friend in Nigeria said, the other day, Israeli ties with our intelligence is an open secret.

Still, it is wrong-headed, to put it mildly, to say that these realities dictate the renewal of ties. If the argument is that simple, the United States would have since renewed its ties with Angola, where American companies have been doing brisk business in the oil sector. It should have been the same for us also. As we said in August last year when Nwachukwu sneaked to Israel and announced that the ties would soon be renewed, Israel is a Zionist, aggressive, and stubborn state. We have no business dealing with a state which simply refuses to recognise the right of other peoples.

Of course, man does not live by morality alone. But then even the economic argument for renewing the ties is basically flawed. Israel, to put it bluntly, is a totally bankrupt nation which exists only by the grace of the United States which in turn seems at the mercy of the Jewish lobby. In the end, therefore, Israel is not in much of a position to help itself economically, much less help any one else. The renewal of the ties, to repeat what we said on August 12, last year, "is a disaster without let".

## Beyond May Day

One thing made this year's ceremonies different from those that preceded it almost half a decade ago. If not, it would have been the same old ritual of demonstrations and parades.

For the first time in five years, government decided to get involved again in the May Day festivities. The government returned, determined to dazzle the worker with big carrots.

At the ceremony in Abuja, President Ibrahim Babangida did not ask workers and their leaders to read his lips; he showed them his hand. And what was in it.

Pledges. A pay packet of sorts. The government, he announced, was getting up straightway a price monitoring agency to stop spiralling prices of consummables that have been gnawing away at the worker's already takehome pay. Lagos and Abuja, will have their collapsed public transport services reinvigorated with 30 and 10 buses respectively and the newly inaugurated labour transport company.

On paper, all these look quite a hand-

some dole. As expected, workers and their leaders clapped and danced for joy as each pledge was read out. In their excitement they easily would have failed to see the trap.

Usually, trade unions have worked themselves into a frenzy over how to share the "booty". In the scramble, they put aside the main thing. There is a deep seated suspicion of the leadership by the rank and file of labour, arising from differences in lifestyles. More often than not the leaders behave like errand boys of government.

NLC is negotiating a new wage increase of 20 per cent across board; government says an increase will nose up inflation which is already too high. On May 1, President Babangida said the "dialogue" should be concluded within two weeks and he expected the resolutions to be "mutually satisfactory".

The present NLC leadership simply cannot be counted on to get a better deal for workers now or in the near future. For a long time yet, they should count more on the charity of government than on the power and skills of their leaders, because they just do not have them.

## Los Angeles

The riots in Los Angeles have come as the most eloquent reminder yet that the United States continues to be the home of the worst socially-institutionalised racism in the world. Until recently, South Africa helped to mask the rotten American example because the former was courageous enough to provide for racial discrimination in its status books. The Americans did no such thing, but enshrined racial discrimination into every social and political institution by an unwritten code. Now that the South African diversion is disappearing, the American (racist) way of life is coming into full view.

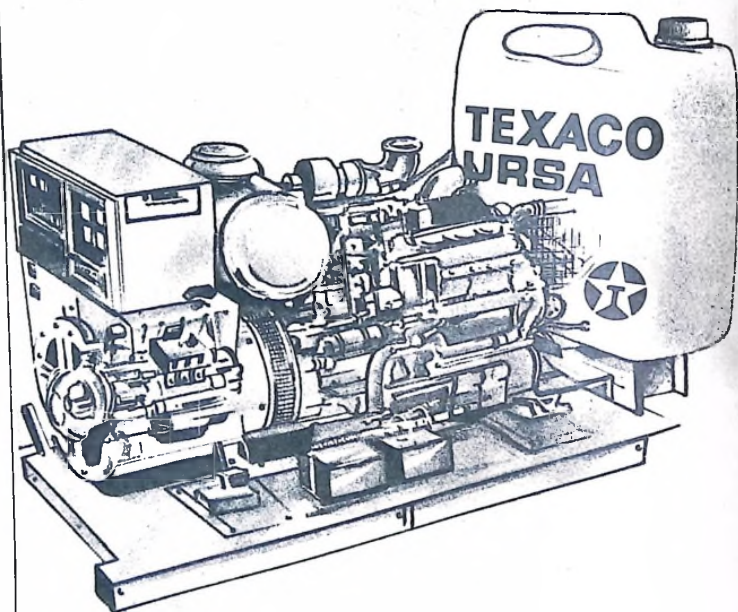
Several lessons can be learnt from the whole sordid episode. One is that, where racial issues are concerned, the American justice system can simply not be trusted, despite all propaganda claims. The Arabs have already pointed out that the two Libyan suspects wanted for trial in the US over the 1988 bombing of the Pan Am plane cannot expect justice in an American

court, not when an American citizen cannot. Even President Bush said he was "astounded" by the verdict of the no-black Simi Valley jury.

Astounded? George Bush did not prove that before, during or after the foul King verdict. The Republican president has no record of standing up for civil rights. In the midst of the crisis he played entirely to a white gallery with his notorious claim that "the court system has worked" and his threat to "use all force necessary to restore law and order".

If Mr. Bush and his predecessors had promoted a concerted policy to dismantle the ghettos and integrate blacks into mainstream society, he would have found no need to resort to any use of force. Besides, force does not solve racial problems. Ask the Boers.

The US must begin to put its act together on the race question, or else it has no moral right to lecture anyone about democracy and all that. The whole world should now force the US to act on this matter. The world helped to end apartheid in South Africa. This case is no different.



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## ADAMU ADAMU

arithmetic — referendums 99% and the great leader a modest 98.9% in presidential elections.

According to King Fahd, democracy will not be allowed in Saudi Arabia because it is not compatible with Islam. The truth, however, is that monarchy is the least compatible of all the methods of rule and the one furthest from the spirit of Islam. There is only one thing objectionable in democ-

nooks and corners of the kingdom.

More ominously, the cassette has frontally attacked Saudi *ulama* challenging them to state whether their brief was the protection of Islam or the survival of the pro-Western, anti-Islamic regime in control of muslim holy places.

The corruption — moral and financial — of members of the Saudi royal family which has become legion and is the subject of uncountable embarrassing tales in Western capitals, came up for special mention. No wonder the authorities in Riyadh are worried. Already a reward of 300,000 dollars has been given for the head of culprit who produced the video.

To get outside sympathy there is talk that the so called custodian of the two holy places has waived or reduced many charges that the pilgrims used to pay in a territory that, according to the *Shariah*, belongs to them.

And in order to help the Saudis bolster up their image, the United States descended on them in a rare public condemnation. They accused the Saudi government of having illegally transferred American arms to Bangladesh and Iraq. These Americans learn fast; they have already discovered that all it takes to make the Muslim world accept something is for them to oppose it. It may be too late because it can hardly stop the video from circulating.

Though after the Persian Gulf war, Saddam has continued with his massacre of Sunnis in the north and Shiites in the south and some of his recalcitrant generals in the centre, no one should try to deprive him of his greatest feat yet in the whole sordid drama. He it was who brought a revolution of sorts in lands where you dared not think of it before. Big Brother was simply not watching, you almost felt him reading your thoughts. Now, of course, the fortress has begun to crumble.

Though there will be no democracy (persh the world), there are indication of a new willingness to share (share?) power with the people. And that may be the beginning — or the end.

## Saddam's revolutions

**S**addam Hussein al-Takriti is a master of the art of the ruthless deal in the revolutions in which he participated. And they were many. Less than four decades after Winston Churchill created Iraq at the Cairo Conference in 1921, a military government took over in 1958. Five years later, Saddam and his colleagues moved in and foisted Ba'athism over the Iraqi people in the great nationalist revolution.

Fifteen years later — in the great palace revolution — Saddam moved against the then absolute ruler General Hassan al Bakry. And in "the great pursuit" revolution, Saddam dispatched assassins to make sure his rival Hardan al-Takriti, his townsman and a contender to Baley's throne, did not return from a visit to Kuwait. Next and finally was the mother of all revolutions in September 1979 when Saddam murdered all his colleagues in the Revolutionary Command Council. That made way for al-Takriti to take over.

But the revolution in which Saddam came of age and registered his greatest victory was in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. While not a democrat himself he has, by virtue of the Persian Gulf war which he caused and saw through, advanced the cause of democracy in the kingdom.

The Arab world is the one of most undemocratic societies — without even the exception that proves the rule. Opposition is not tolerated, elections are not held or when they are held, they obeyed Anwar Sadat's political

racy and that is its vesting sovereignty in the people — this clearly belongs to God. Those who don't believe in Him, of course, can do what they like.

The American presence in the Arabian peninsula has posed challenges to the regime it is supposed to be protecting. If for instance, emboldened — directly or indirectly it is difficult to tell — some women to challenge an age-old discriminatory, and clearly un-Islamic, law forbidding them from driving motor vehicles.

That protest ride was only the tip of the iceberg, which even the Arabian desert heat will not melt. Nor will the normal palliative being offered to the people now and then — including the massive and unprecedented "gifts" announced by King Fahd recently. Now, utilities like telephone, water and other charges are free or cost next to nothing.

That apparently is the official method of trying to redistribute the kingdom's wealth which used to be fabulous (Last September, the kingdom borrowed 4.5 billion dollars from the international financial markets). The bonanza is seen by everyone as a panicky reaction to a clandestine video cassette making the rounds in the kingdom's underground.

Patterned after *The Clan*, an earlier and, largely successful examination that sought to expose the kingdom's commitment to Islam, this new cassette is said to be more damaging. While *The Clan* was distributed worldwide and was clearly the handiwork of outsiders, the new cassette is said to be the work of Saudi Islamic underground and has penetrated to all

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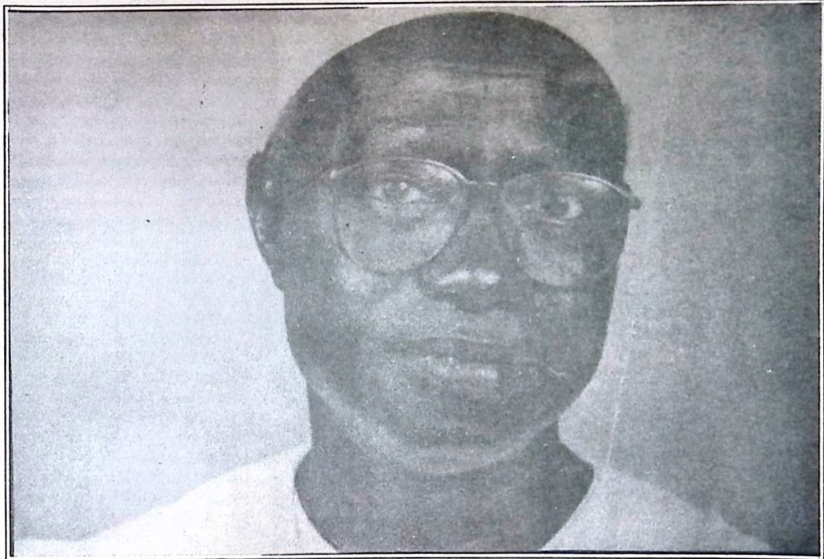
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Ciroma: I have good record

## COVER STORY

Adamu Ciroma

# The man to beat

His entry into the presidential race sent sock waves, making him the candidate to beat.

**S**uddenly, the seemingly decided political landscape, especially in the National Republican Convention, NRC, became tense when word went out after the federal government's sudden lifting of the ban it had placed on certain categories of politicians was lifted that, Malam Adamu Ciroma, was holding nationwide consultations on the possibility of his joining the presidential race.

The tense atmosphere arose from the settled situation in the NRC that certain presidential candidates, especially the *Marafa* Sokoto, Alhaji

Umaru Shinkafi, was not only a clear front runner but had also been Malam Adamu's favourite candidate.

This delicate situation put a lot of personalities who are friends and colleagues to both in an enormous dilemma. One such personality is the chairman of the NRC disciplinary committee, Chief Ayo Ogunlade. They were friends and cabinet colleagues with the *Marafa* in the Obasanjo regime. He told *Citizen* that with the lifting of the ban and rife speculations of Malam Adamu's candidature, it became imperative that he had to discuss certain things

with him. "I have soft spot for both of them. Adamu Ciroma told me his side of the story, but both of them know as chairman of the disciplinary committee, I'm not supposed to openly support one candidate at the expense of another."

As it turned out, *Citizen*, authoritatively learnt, the *Marafa* himself telephoned and later met with Malam Adamu. The main topic of the discussion was what to do now that the ban had been lifted. In the main, it was agreed that for both of them, the matter of clinching the NRC presidential ticket was not a matter of life and death.

With this out of the way, Malam Adamu Ciroma, the *Dallatun Fika*, went ahead with his consultations and in due course launched his presidential bid at an impressive ceremony at Damaturu, the Yobe State capital. Since then, Malam Adamu has maintained a very rigorous campaign schedule that has taken him round the whole country.

In Damaturu, he told the crowd that he has learnt his lessons. In 1978/1979, he came behind Alhaji Shehu Shagari, who later became president and the *Dammasanin* Kano, Alhaji Yusuf Maitama Sule, but that this time around, he intends to come first.

The in-road that he has made, *Citizen* learnt, prompted another candidate to wonder loudly just what strategy he is employing and what sort of man he is. Adamu Ciroma himself told *Citizen* that he is a grade one performer. And according to Chief Segun Akpata, who first met him in 1966, "he is one of Nigeria's public service men who understands" our "socio-political malaise and will have viable solutions. He doesn't double-talk."

Chief Ayo Ogunlade said the *Dallatun Fika* had an "amiable disposition and as a public servant, he had distinguished himself in any assignment he was given."

A long-time friend, Alhaji Usman Goji, the *Yeriman Fika*, described him as a man who doesn't suffer fools, whose words are his bonds and an accomplished hard-worker.

Chief Segun Akpata agrees that he is a hardworker. He carried the burden of the NPN electioneering campaign to victory between December 1978 and September 1979, but that he had known him for this way back in 1966. "Along with friends like Chief Ukpabi Asika, Professor Jibril Aminu, B.J. Dudley, S.J. Ekodoh, Professor Ikimi, Femi Okunnu, Sobo Sowemimo and from the federal side, Ahmed Joda, Philip Asiudu and Allison Ayida, we had common outlook on the country's problems during those terrible (civil war) years, in furtherance of the

federal position."

The key issues that stand for or against Malam Adamu depending on what platform you choose to pass judgment are basically three; money, principle and the military. To these,



Shagari: He made Ciroma minister

one may add the Second Republic factor.

On the money score which other candidates flaunt as their only credential, the *Dallatun Fika* told *Citizen* that he doesn't have money to spare. What he is trying to achieve, is to change the face of politics in Nigeria by de-emphasising money. "Everybody, including my colleagues know that I have no money, but it is also my strength. I do not regret that I am the way I am."

Chief Segun Akpata certainly agreed. He described the whole business of politics of money as "cash and carry." He told *Citizen* in Lagos that he has heard comments that 'Adamu Ciroma is alright, but he has no money.' My answer is that if a man buys his office, is he likely to be your servant or your master? I believe, and support that Adamu should come out to challenge money politics as an alternative. It is an iniquitous situation and what we are having in this country will collapse and people like Adamu will become relevant. He is making an important contribution by raising the tone of politics in the country."

In fact, the main thrust of Malam

Adamu's message beside the current national headache — the economy — is the threat to our mo fibre. Addressing a world press conference in Abuja, Malam Adamu gave as one of the reasons for seeking the presidency, the urgent need to stem the moral crisis that has since become pervasive and is threatening to kill our hope for the present, indeed the survival of the nation. It is said that man shall not live by bread alone. This is true. It is truer still that man cannot live at all without bread, speaking metaphorically."

Chief Akpata sees the issue rather differently, but in the same light. He said that the economy is in dire straits and "one is very frightened about its implications. It is like a terrible famine has stricken the land and it is soul-mortifying to think how the masses are coping. There is no attempt to increase production, rather every measure seems to be designed to undermine it. These are issues that will be before any president now and tomorrow. You need people who understand these issues and of course the political ones in the fundamentals. Adamu Ciroma does."

For him therefore, the issue of principle cannot be sacrificed even at the expense of the presidency. Alhaji Usman told *Citizen* that with him there is no question of bending any rules. "He is an achiever, a



Shingafi: A schoolmate and a friend

# Adamu Ciroma A grade-one performer

In an interview with *Citizens* senior editors, Malam Adamu Ciroma stated why he should be president and laid bare track records of achievements. Excerpts:

**Citizen:** As a former governor of CBN and minister of finance, Naira value should be of concern. What are your strategies for steering the economy right?

**Ciroma:** The economy is one of the main reasons why I decided to run for president. Our problems are becoming acute and complicated. They require knowledgeable handling. The value of the Naira is only one problem. I compare the currency in any economy to a fly in the bottle. Whatever affects it, affects the whole body or the volume of the bottle and it would be necessary to find a solution to the devaluation of the Naira vis-a-vis other currencies and to ensure a certain degree of stability in its value. Without that so many undesirable side-effects or consequences can follow. For example, every time the Naira is devalued vis-a-vis other currencies, it means that the prices of things here increase more or less by the same percentage it is devalued. And if the value keeps on falling, the prices of goods keep on rising and the feeling of instability is created. So people on fixed in-

come find that the value of their income is eroded. And human beings adaptable, they soon have to find ways of making up the difference and this we can call bribery and corruption. So there are so many social problems which follow an unstable currency. It induces inflation which again can even be compared to taxation. You can see the effect. Dealing with devaluation of the Naira and ensuring its stability are very impor-



**Ciroma:** problems can be overcome

tant problems which need immediate attention.

The general direction of economic improvement must be to strengthen the productive sectors of the economy—agriculture, industry and mining. And the objective is not only to create more wealth

through these processes, but to create more jobs because we are in a situation of increasing populace and availability of trained manpower — these are assets a nation can ill-afford to waste. Unemployment creates several untoward social consequences which ought not to be. One should create an expanding economy, create the possibility of increasing employment and jobs. Once you maximise the use of your installed industrial capacity, it means you want to procure more tools — again that would

increase the number of jobs that are available. The unit cost of what you produce will then become cheap. That is for industry. For agriculture, you will have to stimulate increased production through the availability of inputs in sufficient quantity and in good time so that it is possible for the peasant farmer used to producing one tonne or less per hectare to produce three, four even five tonnes on the same land area. Through stimulation we should be able to produce more wooden fibre for processing as well as for export. And once the

population is now busy in gainful employment, religious rows which follow deprivation and images of frustration will become less and less. And this package will be able to eradicate the situation we are in.

I must comment on the philosophy of market forces which is now in currency as if it is the panacea for all our problems. I have made references in the past to the fact that whoever is selling you a theory, you must look what his practice is and the Western economists who have sold to us the market economy argument have in fact short-changed us because in their home the market economy argument is not even unalterable. One common example I can give is the price of petroleum. During the Iraq-Kuwait war, when two major petroleum producers were in principle under a war situation, logically, the price of oil was expected to go up. It did when there was a limited war between Iran and Iraq, but in this more or less similar situation with greater effect on the largest producers, the prices went down because America and its allies had released oil from their strategic reserves to force the prices of oil down. Now, they managed the situ-

ation to produce a result that they wanted to ensure that even though the oil-producing areas were involved in a war, this did not produce the foreseeable consequence of a rising oil price like during the Iran-Iraq war. We are talking about efficient management.

**A**nother example is the value of their own currency vis-a-vis the dollar, the Deutschmark, the French francs, or the pound sterling. They are allowed to float within a certain range. There is a floor and there is a ceiling and the value of liquid savings will be between this floor and this ceiling. And if it is going above the ceiling or below the floor they intervene. The Japanese will intervene to protect the dollar, the Germans will intervene to protect the pound and whatever currency was under attack would be saved through concerted action by all the countries that are interested in ensuring that the value of the currencies move within that predetermined range.

Here again, the argument that comes through is that of management not an uncontrolled reign of market forces. When we think that the Naira ought to be left to the vagaries of the market, the result — especially when only one index (availability of foreign exchange) determines the price and in a situation where there is

so much of deficit budgeting, the market forces inexorably cuts downward pressure on the Naira which is what has been happening. What is absent is management which is required to create the stability which the economy needs. These are some of the things which one would like to see; a consistent application of policies and management capacity in dealing with economic problems affecting us today.

*Citizen: People say Ciroma has three problems — money, Shinkafi and the military; which one of these would you consider greater?*

**Ciroma:** I don't see how Shinkafi is a problem. There are a large number of candidates in the NRC preparing for the primaries. So, one's problem is not any other candidate but whether the electorate consider you as being electable. The common problem is who would be acceptable to the electorate in the end. I don't see any problem about the military because they have laid out a programme which worked out the principle of primaries and all candidates are free to present themselves before the electorate. Again this is a question for the electorate to decide.

Money? This is a real problem. Everybody knows — including my colleagues who are running — know that I have no money and I know many of them pity me on that score. But it is also my strength because I am campaigning on the basis

of record of past performance and I have the testimony of my colleagues in the contest that I did not stash away public funds for use on such an occasion. Also, that gives me a certain amount of sympathy in the eyes of the public who believe that it is a good thing that I acted the way I did while holding public office. This support can also be translated into money because many people are prepared to do things for me without expecting any payment for it. This money business is a double-edged sword, but I do not regret that I am the way I am. I am not therefore attempting to take on the money candidates in their own field. In other words, I have not got the weapon with which to fight them in their own areas of choice so I have to find an alternative way of reaching the electorate in a way which minimises the use of money.

*Citizen: You brushed the question of the military. A lot of comments about the*

**The Western economists who have sold to us the market economy argument have in fact short-changed us because in their home the market economy argument is not even unalterable.**

*military's record in government, when taken against the background of this government statement on knowing who would not succeed, it raises the possibility that they would take offence and consider you as one of those people who, if allowed to succeed, might be something of a threat.*

**Ciroma:** Well, I don't know why I, more than any other person, should be considered a threat to the military. I certainly don't see myself that way. In the past few years, whenever I saw something going wrong, especially in terms of government policy, I stood up to say so in the belief that the right thing would be done because this is our country and whatever policies that were implemented affects all of us. I did not wait. I did not keep quiet just perchance waiting for the day, when the ban would be lifted and I would not be considered as one of the people who would be seen as harmless, colourless. My duty to the government and the public is to point out as is happening what authentic policies are available and I have done this in the belief that I was doing my duty and now we are in an era where the decision-makers are the

public and I rely on the public to use their judgement as to whom they think they can trust.

There were past cases during colonial days when people who were imprisoned were elected in spite of what the colonial government wanted. So, once the public is willing to take

a step, I don't think the military will stand against the decision of the public. Really, I don't see the military as a threat.

*Citizen: You ask to be judged by your record, record of one who has performed and often reference is made to your honesty; that you didn't steal money. What would you regard as your major achievements as minister of agriculture, industries and later finance?*

**C**irroma: My past and my promotion — if I may say so, from one function to another was not being based on lobbying or anything of the sort; it was based on performance. As an administrative officer, I have just talked about construction of roads and using money to maintain things and to ensure that the work in hand was efficiently executed. I went to the *New Nigerian* as an administrative officer. I became the editor of the newspaper. I made it the most well-known, the most respected, the most widely sought-after. The best editorials of the *New Nigerian* got published during my tenure. I prepared management succession which took so many years before external action brought about its breakdown. As governor of CBN, I introduced measures to reorganise the bank, to bring about systematic spread of rural banking, the creation of the credit

guarantee scheme. As a national secretary of the NPN, I organised the party to win an election.

At industries, I provided an industrial policy which every subsequent minister just played with a little and called it a new industrial policy, but basically the policy I introduced. And at that time, I ensured that there was spread of industries and they were producing at maximum capacity. The centre of our policy was agriculture. I was sent to agriculture in order to enhance the implementation of government policy and to produce the desired re-

The common problem is who would be acceptable to the electorate in the end. I don't see any problem about the military because they have laid out a programme which worked out the principle of primaries and all candidates are free to present themselves before the electorate.

sult. We provided inputs and fertilizers at the most reasonable prices and I want people to take note — there are many critics of the green revolution because these are people who think that you plant today and harvest tomorrow. Is it not in the nature of agriculture to take steps to build up? And, the success of our policy was that while other African countries were begging for



Ogunlade: He's amiable

food, Nigeria, most populous country in Africa, has not gone out to beg for food and people forget that while Ethiopia and others could not feed themselves, we are still, after our policy, able to feed ourselves. At finance, I proposed the only budget to deal with our economic problems facing the country at the time. That budget, unfortunately was not allowed to operate. So, in terms of performance, I am a grade-one performer.

*Citizen: You are on record/as having said that maybe Nigeria's rejection of the IMF facility was something of a mistake*

and that instead of SAP which has damaged the Naira, we could have taken the IMF facility. Why do you think the IMF package would have benefited Nigeria more than the SAP package? Secondly, with the benefit of hindsight, would you would like to reflect on some of the things that administration did that it should not have done?

Cirroma: The two ques-

tions are unrelated. You could have taken them one by one. One is the use of IMF facility. The problem which arose after 1981 was that the prices of oil fell very sharply and Nigerians were accustomed to having a flow of income based on over 30 dollars per barrel and then it fell to about seven dollars. So, between what you were accustomed to earning and what you later earned, the gap was so large and in economic terms you had to find something to bridge this gap so that you can minimise the suffering that arose. Two, while you were earning that much you had an economic development programme which was based on that outlay but suddenly your income shrunk and you could not carry out all the programmes which you are already implementing. What was needed was something which would tide you over to ensure that you sensibly completed those programmes so that they become useful and productive.

Then, you move gradually to your new income level which was available — and I can compare the effect to something like when you are driving a car at top-speed, suddenly you find a hole across the road and you slow down and try to find a way of going around this hole or you try to put on the brake so that you don't go into the

hole and if you put on the full brake, every occupant in that car is going to be hurt. They will not die but they would get hurt. If you find a way around this it may take longer but you have to try hard and get through with the least amount of harm. The last alternative is for you to jump into the hole and see what would happen. And what sensible people will do is to find a way of slowing down without applying the full brake. And the trick which was used was to make the unwary answer the question. Put on the full brake and the questioner says well whatever is the result of this full brake is your own decision. I don't think this is fear, leadership should not be conducted in that way. This is a highly technical thing. Not even some economists will understand the problems involved. If you go to a market woman to take the decision you are not being fair to her. And that is the kind of situation where the decision was reached. So, what I said at the time was that there were alternative ways of getting out of the problem with the least harm to the people living in this economy. And still believe that if you are going to take any decision you must look at how it affects the people and minimise the harm that decision might cause them.

*Citizen: You might want to reflect, may be*

*there are certain things you didn't quite agree with while in government given your profile.*

Ciroma: Of course, I can always find how we could have avoided some of the problems. I think we should have been sharp in picking the trend of what would happen before it does and taking adequate measure(s) to cushion the people from its effects. I believe that we could have been more circumspect with the import licensing system for which we received lots of criticisms. I would have preferred that we should have been more circumspect as soon as we noticed the drop in income... all these things I think with hindsight one could have done them differently. To that extent, yes.

*Citizen: You will not probe anybody because you believe that it has never done any good. But, the fact still remains that people are aware that certain people stole money from government treasury.*

Ciroma: What I said and I say now is that the type of large-scale, open-ended probes to which we were subjected to which lasted for about four years did not produce the effect which I think its promoters had hoped. This is easy to understand because every government is subjected to allegations of people who have stolen public money. Allegations

and truth are different things altogether. In this country, it is possible for a dignitary to tell you that he is convinced that 2.8 billion Naira had been stolen because he heard of it in a bus. So, you have to



*Daura: The brilliant minds of New Nigerian*

be very circumspect with these allegations. When you start the probe, somebody says "oh! I hope they don't come up with facts to prove that this money was not stolen" so even the facts become unwelcome and to the extent that they have not produced any tangible results for the efforts invested in them, it tells you that it is just sheer waste of time. This is not to say that if anybody makes an allegation he will not be listened to, but there are enough laws that deal with such accusations. And in the religion to which I subscribe there is an injunction against these investigations just to unearth things in retrospect. Of course, if something crops up leaders are obligated to look at these things and to deal with offenders accordingly.

*Citizen: There is this be-*

*lief that election-rigging is the bane of democracy in this country. Do you think it is possible to have a free and fair elections under a civilian government?*

Ciroma: Well, there was Mr. Justice Babalakin enquiry. Have you read the report?

*Citizen: We read excerpts.*

Ciroma: What did I say?

*Citizen: It said in certain areas there were widespread malpractices but the report wasn't very specific.*

Ciroma: In certain areas. When you conduct an election for the whole of Nigeria, if there are reports only says in certain areas I think we can take it by and large that the election was free and that election was conducted under a civilian regime, so what I notice is this utter loss of self-confidence amongst Nigerians. They just don't believe that anything good can be done in this country or that there are no people honest enough to do things honestly. And because of this general skepticism and cynicism and lack of confidence in ourselves, anything which has not been done the way you like it has not been done well and I think this is a terrible thing to happen to people. I consider it necessary that this situation be reversed.

*Citizen: There is this new development, candidates emerging with an eye on being the president in the north. While*

*one could say that this is in response to the democratic ideals of society, another school of thought believes that it is a mark of loss of confidence, that there is a crack somewhere.*

Ciroma: Well, it depends on who is looking at the matter. I will recall that in 1978 when we agreed, through the zoning process that the candidate should come from the North, there were more or less one candidate or more from every state. Of course, there were some states that did not nominate candidates but others fielded two or more, so I think averagely it was one per state and it was a 19-state structure. The only difference between then and now is that at that time the people who chose the candidate were limited in number and possibly limited in time so we didn't have the feeling that there were many candidates because they didn't have to run around the country making declarations — the kind which we have to do now — because at that time we did not have primaries. It was an in-house electoral college. Now every candidate has to try to seek for attention and the process is a bit noisy so you get the feeling of discord and disharmony. But the fact is that there are as many candidates in the SDP as in the NRC. I think the genesis of this is that over time, as military regimes are tasting power, civilian

leadership and its coherence had given way because what holds things together is exercise of power and the emergence of people through the system. This has been interrupted and people are dealing with each other less and less based on knowledge of each other. They don't know each other anymore. National figures are disappearing.



Turi: Uphold the tradition of NN

They are being substituted by people who only know their own state or even town. So, this human integration in political setting had been subjected to imbalance and therefore the process of rot or disintegration. This is the fundamental thing in the explanation for why nobody feels that this one is my leader. If I have got the money to spend, I jump up and vie and it is also one of the serious things that have happened to this country. Everybody agrees that there are too many but there is no machinery for really clipping the number down except through the system laid down i.e. to say the primaries.

*Citizen: For Someone in your position who has not held any government appointment since 1983, how does one survive in an honest way in Nigeria. Secondly with all the things you have said about the way the government should manage the economy, would you consider yourself a humanist, a welfareist or some version of a capitalist?*

Ciroma: How an honest man survives in this country; I believe that millions of honest people are surviving and there are not even a limited number of ways of doing so. And, you know, for some it is enforced honesty anyway but the tested honesty is when you see the temptation and you refuse to give in.

**C**itizen: There is this deep cynicism in the country — people simply don't believe it is possible that a former minister could leave office and go and sit somewhere without using his connections to make money.

Ciroma: Well, I think you are extending your question too much because I think the objectionable thing is making money through your position as a public officer. If in your position in public officer you get to know a lot of people, a lot of things, this is an asset which remains with you and if you are the money-making type, you can use connection to

make money and I don't think there is anything wrong with that. But in all, the one thing which I keep telling people is that I have found honesty to be very much more profitable than you would think. In fact, you find that you are an attractive person for business people to deal with. They know you have to work hard because you have no alternative. So, being honest is not as bad as people think. It's just that people are afraid of practising it when there is so much dishonesty around them and it looks more attractive and easier. But, I believe that there is nothing more profitable than being honest... What is the other question.

*Citizen: Your philosophical underpinning — a humanist, welfareist or capitalist?*

Ciroma: Ah! these tags! I don't believe that they are really sufficient description of other people. The inventors of the terms might feel that it is alright in their own countries against the background of their political development, but I find them unsatisfactory labels. There are a lot of people in this country who are guided by their own religion. Those preaching welfare and so on have left religion far behind and we are not in that category. I think a lot of us are guided by the moral context of our own religion or I think may be that would provide a more satisfactory description.

builder of firm foundations that has no place for mediocrity."

**S**tories are told of how the late *Sardaunan Sokoto*, Alhaji Ahmadu Bello, came to terms with his straight character. One of them is that at *New Nigerian*, a messenger used to wait everyday at the entrance hall to take his briefcase to the office. Each time the offer was made, Ciroma would reject it. One day, an exasperated Ciroma told the messenger that if he didn't have a job he had better leave. The other is that in writing speeches for the late premier, he would infuse so much of radical thinking. *The Sardauna* would accept and read them in public without comment until one day he quietly told Malam Adamu that he was aware of the tone of the speeches, but that he did not mind because someday, it would be his turn to serve the public.

This sense of honesty, purpose and civic responsibility saved him from public disgrace. In private business, he had helped to sell Scania buses to the government. After taking his commission, he promptly paid the taxman his dues. Scandal broke over the buses and the government was compelled to institute a probe panel. Adamu Ciroma testified before the panel and proved that he is a man of integrity when, to the astonishment of all, he produced his tax receipts. The panel and the government commended this single-minded sense of duty.

As for the military, he told *Citizen* that he doesn't know why he, more than any other person, should be considered a threat. To him, the issue is clear. It is not who or what is in government, but whether or not what government is doing is right, arguing that "this is our country, policies that are implemented affects us all. One therefore has a duty to speak out when public policy is wrong and what authentic policies are available."

*The Marafan Sokoto*, Alhaji Umaru Shinkafi, when asked to respond to whether or not the statement cred-

ited to the government that it "knows who will not succeed us" referred to people like Malam Adamu, he said that he didn't see it in terms of individuals. The *Dallatun Fika* also dismissed this citing the example of people being elected by popular choice even while in prison. "I certainly don't see the military as a threat."

A civil servant colleague of Malam Adamu from the middle belt, in



**Ciroma: one must speak out**

discussing the military, told *Citizen* that he feared that Adamu Ciroma's entry might make the military to change its mind.

Why not leave it for someone from the minority? he wondered. The point is that Adamu Ciroma is Bolewa, a less than minority tribe even in his native Nangere Local Government.

The other factor that challenges the Ciroma candidacy is his participation in the second republic and association with elements of the defunct National Party of Nigeria, NPN. Chief Ayo Ogunlade told *Citizen* that his biggest problem is his identification with former NPN colleagues. He said that he ought to de-emphasise it because the SDP used it as a campaign weapon to show people that NRC was a continuation of NPN whereas SDP was not another face of UPN.

Chief Akpata, in a different tone, when asked about Adamu Ciroma's

link with the "discredited" Second Republic, asked; "Which regime is 'credited' in Nigeria? What are the indices of a credited regime. In 1966, when Balewa was overthrown, students came out with placards 'goodbye to tyranny.' In retrospect, if you look at the 1960-66 regime and its successors, we can now infer how 'tyrannical' it was. It is too early to start tagging the Shagari government as 'discredited.' In another ten years we may sing a different tune."

Adamu Ciroma told *Citizen* in response to his participation in the Shagari government that when one is driving a car and is confronted with a hole, one had several options - slow down, stop or drive head on. The effect can be measured in the varying degrees of the option one had chosen.

So, what are Adamu Ciroma's strengths and weaknesses? Chief Akpata, said that as a politician, what I find as his weakness is he is forthright and outspoken, may be to a fault, and I do not think that he suffers fools gladly, but I am beginning to feel for the country now - much as you need an astute politician, you need someone with prodigious management skills of men and matter."

*Citizen* learnt that Adamu Ciroma doesn't have some of the problems with the establishment as does some of his colleagues. In fact, one source said that in the court of kings, he is accepted without question. Whether this will be translated into votes remains to be seen. One presidential aspirant, *Citizen* also learnt, visited Ciroma's campaign headquarters in Kaduna and was heard to complain that despite straddling the length and breadth of this country, Ciroma was far more acceptable in his state.

Whether Adamu Ciroma, will win the moral battle in a country full of so much decay remains to be seen. What is certain is that his convictions will remain with the man.

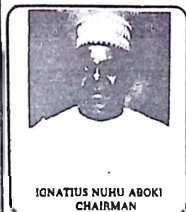
By Mohammad Bomoji with  
Bilkisu Yusuf, Kabiru Yusuf, Bola  
laji Adebiji, Yinka Tella and  
Aluko Akinyele



# BANK OF THE NORTH LIMITED

HEAD OFFICE, KANO.

## CHAIRMAN'S REPORT



IGNATIUS NUHU ABOKI  
CHAIRMAN

### 32ND ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING HEAD OFFICE, KANO-30TH APRIL, 1991

#### INTRODUCTION

Distinguished ladies and gentlemen, I have the honour to welcome you again to Bank of the North Ltd's 32nd Annual General Meeting and to present to you the Annual Report and Accounts for the financial year ended 31st December 1991. I wish, however, first to review the general economic situation of the Country, particularly the banking environment in which the Bank operated in 1991.

#### 1. THE ECONOMY

Major government economic policies for the financial year 1991 were predicated on the 1991-1193 Rolling Plan aimed at consolidating the achievements that have been made since the inception of the Structural Adjustment Programme in 1986. Essentially, attention was therefore focused on the attainment of self sufficiency in production of food and agricultural raw materials, laying a solid foundation for a self-reliant industrial development, creating ample employment opportunities and enhancing the level of socio-political awareness of the people.

In this regard the activities of agencies like DFRRI, MAMSER, Better Life for Rural Women, Agricultural Development Projects etc, were given necessary encouragement by way of adequate funding, and moral support. Other Socio-Economic Programmes pursued include the conduct of the population census, completion of projects in the areas of health, education, urban and rural water supply, environmental protection, a bold frontal attack of mass unemployment through the Directorate of Employment; and Privatisation and Commercialisation of Government Parastatals.

For various reasons, attributable and peculiar to various sectors, the overall performance of the economy as measured by some indicators, was below expectations. The real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) grew by 4.3 per cent only in contrast to 8.2 per cent recorded in 1990. There were indications of worsening trend in the rate of inflation and the depreciation of the exchange rate of the Naira.

Also, there were clear evidences of rising number of the unemployed. However, because of good weather conditions which prevailed throughout the growing season last year and improved supply and distribution of fertilisers, the agricultural sector recorded a

growth rate of about 5 per cent, as against 4.3 per cent in the previous year. On the other hand, the manufacturing sector had in contention with depreciation of the exchange rate of the Naira, stiffer competition from imports, high interest rate, tight monetary policies, inadequate credit facilities and shortage of even the locally sourced raw materials.

#### 2. THE BANK INDUSTRY

The banking sub-sector, an integral part of the economy suffered no less than the other sectors. While the banks were trying to cope with the provisions of the 1991 monetary and policy guidelines, in June, 1991 the Federal Government came up with "Banks and Other Financial Institutions Decree 1991 (L.O. No. 25)". The requirements, restrictions and prohibitions in respect of banking activities are detailed out in this decree. Suffice it to say that the entire management and members of the Board of Directors of a Bank are now responsible for compliance with the requirements of the decree.

The banking sector operated under very tight liquidity conditions, tight credit limit and increased competition, thanks to the coming in of several new banks into the industry. The high interest rates which prevailed in the previous year were curtailed, as in 1991, reference was to be made to "Actual Cost of Fund" to justify interest rates. The various measures employed by the monetary authorities to mop up the liquidity had a crippling effect on the banking operations.

#### 3. OPENING RESULTS

In spite of the difficult conditions in which we operated, I am pleased to report that Bank of the North recorded Gross Earnings of N443,553m., giving a growth rate of 11% over the 1990 earnings. This gives a profit before Tax and Provisions of N59,78m. However, a loan loss of N51,78 centred inward as provision under the prudential guideline and the deduction of costs leave us with a profit before Taxation of N7,974m.

The results also show that Total Deposits rose by 4% from N2,070 billion in 1990 to N2,155 billion in 1991, while loans and advances recorded a modest growth of 0.01% i.e. rising from N1,082 billion in 1990 to N1,093 billion in 1991. Shareholders Fund however fell slightly from N163,935m. in 1990 to N157,537 in 1991.

#### 4. STAFF MATTERS

The bank continues to give priority attention to staff welfare in order to enhance their productivity. As highlighted in the Director's Report, the bank provides subsidy to all employees for medical, transportation and housing. I am happy to report also that we have had no strikes or lockouts or any kind of disturbances throughout the year 1991.

#### 5. BRANCH EXPANSION

Our expansion policy was pursued with vigour in 1991 with particular emphasis in States we are least represented. I am happy to say that our branches in Uyo, Abuja, and Onitsha in Akwa Ibom

and Anambra States respectively are now fully operational. We also made our presence felt by participating in most of the Trade Fairs organised in the Eastern States. We opened only one more rural branch at Paiko, Niger State to answer the request of our major customers there who had to travel to Minna for banking services.

#### 6. BOARD CHANGES

Mezara I. Shahu, A.O. Odibe, I. M. Kawa, M.M. Gusau, J.P. Machofo V.A. Bappa, B. Ahmad, I.A. Amodu, V.A. Bana, M.K. Dapchi, B.B. Faruq, J.A. Oga, H.A. Tambuwal, Sada Katsina, Babi Salah were appointed directors while M.M. Karyya, U. Ahmad, Ahmad O. Kamal, A.H. Muballa, G.O. Ando, I. Kawa, M. Jibia resigned from the board since the last Annual General Meeting. May I, on your behalf welcome all the new members to the board and hope that they will offer their wealth of experiences for the benefit of the bank.

On the other hand, I acknowledge the invaluable contribution and dedication of the former directors and wish them success in their new places of work.

#### 7. THE FUTURE

Recent developments in the banking industry have tempted both those within and outside the system, to speculate, pessimistically, about the future of some of the banks.

The various regulatory measures in respect of lending and liquidity, have generated intense competition amongst the banks. We, in Bank of the North, feel these measures and reiterate that they will, in time, settle the distortions and lapses in our financial system.

We are not, however, unaware of some of the unfavourable consequences of some of these measures. For instance, the hike in interest rates, thanks to the cut-throat competition amongst banks, only encourages savings, and thwarts investment in production, for obvious reasons, and unless it is checked, the situation, coupled with increased difficulties in bringing in machinery and spare parts, will retard growth in manufacturing/productive sectors.

We also propose that the imposition and waiver of penalties under the stabilisation securities be reviewed. Banks are penalised for excess liquidity as soon as the situation is noticed by the CBN, and the penalty remains imposed even if the situation is normalised before the maturity date. We strongly feel that penalty should be waived with similar zeal as soon as the offending bank mends its position.

In conclusion, on behalf of myself, my colleagues on the Board, Management and Staff of Bank of the North Ltd., I assure our numerous customers of our best services and attention. As ever, we Earn Your Confidence.

I thank you very much for your attention.

Thursday, 10th April, 1992

IGNATIUS NUHU ABOKI  
CHAIRMAN.



# BANK OF THE NORTH LIMITED

## RESULTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST DECEMBER, 1991

### BALANCE SHEET - 31ST DECEMBER, 1991

ASSETS	1991 N'000	1990 N'000
Cash and Short Term Funds	720,133	342,631
Due From Other Banks	427,871	472,446
Due Institutions	84,343	532,323
Investments on Call	10,077	7,384
Loans and Advances	1,082,880	1,082,843
Other Assets	80,937	218,332
<b>Total Assets</b>	<b>2,588,221</b>	<b>2,859,559</b>
<b>TOTAL ASSETS</b>	<b>2,588,221</b>	<b>2,784,637</b>
<b>LIABILITIES</b>		
Deposits & Current Accounts	2,188,081	2,070,818
Due to Other Banks	170,300	138,243
Provision Payable	11,213	10,482
Unsettled Payable	100	80
Other Liabilities	441,004	388,138
12% Loan Stock 1989/1993	18,000	18,000
	2,783,198	2,600,702
<b>SHAREHOLDERS' FUND</b>		
<b>Share Capital</b>		
Authorized		
Ordinary Shares of N1.00 each	88,500	88,500
Preference Shares of N1.00 each	500	500
	100,000	100,000
<b>Reserves and Other Funds</b>		
Ordinary Shares of N1.00 each	87,431	49,876
Preference Shares of N1.00 each	500	500
Total Paid Up Shares	87,931	50,376
Statutory Reserves	70,381	88,500
General Reserve	18,488	33,110
Loan Stock Redemption Fund	12,780	11,250
	2,880,873	2,784,637
Acceptances, Guarantees and Other Obligations for Account of Customers (and Customers' Liability thereof)	216,384	229,843
<b>IGNATIUS NUKU ABOKI</b> - Chairman <b>MANSLAR SODANZI</b> - Managing Director and Chief Executive		

### PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST DECEMBER, 1991

	1991 N'000	1990 N'000
<b>GROSS INCOME FOR THE PERIOD</b>	<b>443,858</b>	<b>898,488</b>
<b>DEDUCT: Interest Expenses</b>	<b>(172,878)</b>	<b>(148,008)</b>
Operating Expenses (including Depreciation and Provisional)	<b>(100,000)</b>	<b>(100,000)</b>
<b>PROFIT BEFORE TAXATION TAXATION</b>	<b>7,974</b>	<b>28,487</b>
	<b>(5,181)</b>	<b>(16,331)</b>
<b>PROFIT AFTER TAXATION TRANSFER TO STATUTORY RESERVE</b>	<b>8,793</b>	<b>28,156</b>
	<b>(889)</b>	<b>14,808</b>
<b>TRANSFER TO LOAN STOCK REDEMPTION ACCOUNT</b>	<b>(1,800)</b>	<b>(1,800)</b>
<b>PROPOSED PREFERENCE DIVIDEND</b>	<b>(50)</b>	<b>(50)</b>
<b>RETAINED PROFIT FOR THE YEAR TRANSFERRED TO GENERAL RESERVE</b>	<b>3373</b>	<b>18,556</b>

### REPORT OF THE JOINT AUDITORS TO MEMBERS OF BANK OF THE NORTH LIMITED

We have examined the above balance sheet and profit and loss account and have obtained all the information and explanations which to the best of our knowledge and belief, were necessary for the purpose of our audit.

Proper books of accounts have been kept in accordance with generally accepted accounting principles and the financial statements which are in agreement therewith comply with the requirements of the Banks and other financial Institutions Decree 1991; the relevant circulars issued by the Central Bank of Nigeria, the Companies and Allied Matters Decree 1990 and Statements of Accounts Standards issued by the Nigerian Accounting Standards Board.

The assets have been properly valued and adequate provisions have been made for any losses or diminution in the value thereof.

During the period the bank did not contravene any section of the Banking and Other Financial Institutions Decree 1991.

To the best of our knowledge and belief, the bank complied with the guidelines of the Productivity, Prices and Incomes Board during the year ended 31st December, 1991.

In our opinion and based on the information and explanations given to us, the financial statements give a true and fair view of the state of the bank's financial affairs as at 31st December, 1991 and of its profit, and source and application of funds for the year ended on that date.

## NIGERIA

## Probes Still on the agenda

Chief of Army Staff's statement rekindles the debate on the merit of probing the military

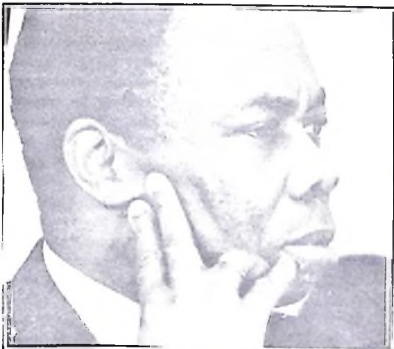


Ibrahim: "You can't probe us"

**L**ieutenant General Salihu Ibrahim, chief of army staff's May-Day statement that civilian governors cannot probe their military predecessor drew sharp reactions from public commentators last week with many contending that the army chief's pronouncement is symptomatic of the military's unwillingness to subordinate itself to civil society. Although Ibrahim's claim was predicated on the fact that an internal audit of the erstwhile public officers had been carried out and those found guilty had been weeded out of the system, many political analysts still believe that such audit may not have been thorough enough having regards to some "notorious cases" which remain unattended to. Even the army chief's claim that a monitoring department

that keeps tab on the activities of military officers holding political office exist in the office of the vice-president has not abated the mounting tide of probe the military call. Their reason is that the vice president himself had been accused of corruption in the past.

Last week, the Civil Liberties Organisation, CLO, which had been in the forefront of the "probe-the-military" campaign replied Ibrahim. It argued that since the military itself always probed deposed civilian governments there is no reason why they too should not be probed especially given the fact that



Aikhomu: accused of corruption in the past

"the military has exhibited even more corruption, economic mismanagement, abuse of office, human rights violation and executive lawlessness". Incidentally, Ibrahim's statement came a week after a CLO public forum aimed at winning public support for its campaign.

At the forum, which attracted journalists, lawyers, students, workers and representatives of market women, the issue was thoroughly debated. The organisation also released a publication entitled "Probing the military as an agenda for the Third Republic." In it, the CLO listed a number of financial indiscretion of military officers who had held public office and requested for a full scale open probe of the officers.

One significant resolution of the forum was the call on the two political parties, the Social Democratic Party and the National Republican Convention, to make a categorical statement on the issue. But long ago, the two parties said they will not bother themselves with probing anybody because they would be preoccupied with the more important issue of implementing their programmes. A host of presidential aspirants too have echoed the parties' position. Even Malam Adamu Ciroma, who has elevated military bashing to the status of a campaign issue has said repeatedly that prob-

ing the military would be a past time for which he does not intend to indulge in. Political analysts, are however of the view that the parties and politicians may have taken this stand in order not to antagonise the military. "If they are haunted by the fear of a probe, they may refuse to go" Adebola Tunde, a gradu-

ate, motor driver reasoned last week. Not so for Chom Bagu, an assistant secretary of the Nigerian Union of Journalists, NUJ, who argued that no matter what the military thinks, it must be probed and made to face the full consequences of its past in-

iquities. For him, probing the military will expose their corrupt tendencies and give lie to their messianic posture. On the issue of pacification of the military and the need not to humiliate them out of power, Bagu said that the cause of democ-

racy will be better served if the military is in fact humiliated out of power. That way, he said, the military will be dymstified and will no longer be able to hold democracy ransom.

By Bolaji Adebly

## NLC Patching up

For the federal government, the 1992 May Day celebrations, was an opportunity to meet labour halfway, but the NLC, often suspected of playing the lapdog to government, is keen on playing the Oliver Twist

**W**hen President Ibrahim Babangida stepped, Friday, May 1, into the Abuja parade ground, not a few "comrades" thought it was all a mirage. If the labour aristocrats bore bleakly looks of surprise, they obviously had good enough cause. Since August 1985, when Babangida, a four-star general became president in a palace coup, he had avoided May Day celebrations like a plague. The highest level of governmental representation at the customary yearly celebration of workers day ever conceded to the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) in the seventh Babangida years had been ministerial. Often-times, government had in fact intervened decisively to scale down the level of commemoration accorded the May Day celebration after Ike Nwachukwu, a retired two-star general and the then labour minister, got stoned in 1988 by angry workers protesting the adverse consequence of government's de-regulatory policies on their lifestyles. Government then viewed the workers' action as disdainful and took steps to undermine subsequent May Day celebrations.

Friday, May 1, which marked the



Bafyau: playing the lapdog?

106th anniversary of May Day universally, was, however obviously seen by the presidency as a day to forgive and forget, the president, clad in simple *Kaftan*, showed up-toothly smiles and all — waving what was unmistakably an olive branch.

His presidential address, christened "Salute to the Nigerian workers" was apparently tailored to assuage the frayed nerves of labour. Applauding what he called the "cumulative and collective contributions of workers to Nigeria's development," the president laid the foundation stone of the NLC national secretariat complex in the new federal capital city and ordered the release of a 50 million Naira grant to facilitate its completion. But on a day when the president was determined to effect a thaw in worker-government war of attrition, that was just a tip of the iceberg. President Babangida announced, the renaming of the Nigerian Institute of Labour Studies, NILS, Ilorin, after "labour leader number one", Chief Michael Imoudu, who is widely regarded in labour circles as a committed fighter for workers' rights, as well as the release of 87.5 million

Naira balance of a 100 million Naira soft loan allocated to the trade unions in the 1990 budget for the purpose of establishing a transportation company to ease workers' problem of mobility. The president's action in that regard was significant as the issue of whether the loan should be disbursed directly to labour or not, had generated considerable bad-blood between the NLC and the Federal Urban Mass Transit Agency, FUMTA.

Also included in the president's pacification package, was the allocation of 10 per cent shares, fully paid-up by the federal government, in the newly established 800 million Naira Urban Development Bank; donation of 30 passenger buses to municipal transport authorities in Lagos and 10 others for Abuja and the granting of 100 per cent capital allowances in the first year for mass transit coaches used for urban transportation. A similar concession was granted in respect of new machinery and equipment for use in the production of clay-bricks, tiles and mini-cement plants in what observers regard government's own way of showing that it was aware of the worsening transportation and housing crises in Nigeria's urban centres.

To combat unemployment, President Babangida waved before the workers a new scheme to ensure that road maintenance projects are executed by direct labour with matching grants of up to 50,000 Naira to each of the 589 council areas jointly administered by the NLC, the National Planning Commission, NPC, and the ministries of finance, works and labour.

Expectedly, labour officials were happy at the president's conciliatory posture last week. Salisu Mohammed, head of the industrial relations department of the Nigeria Labour

Congress, NLC, told *Citizen*: "I would consider the last May Day the best outing for the labour movement in the sense that we have had an occasion to lay a solid foundation for the entire movement in terms of getting the necessary resources that would be able to get labour stabilised and pursue programmes directed consciously at improving the welfare of our members."

Even as workers reacted warmly to the president's initiative, several



**Babangida: a truce with labour unions?**

knotty issues remained unresolved last week. Prominent among these is the issue of escalating cost of living, which labour, in a memorandum sent to the president, April 13, said had become more acute with the March 5 deregulation of the foreign exchange market, FEM. According to the NLC memo: "The extent of poverty has now become more acute and widespread and has created a situation of near-destitution, social illusion and a loss of faith in the ability of the on-going economic reform measures to achieve their objectives".

Consequently, the central working committee of the congress had demanded that government go back to the pre-March 5 status quo and effect a 100 per cent increase in the salary and wage level of workers. "In the alternative", Mohammed told *Citizen* last week, "If government, for its own reasons, refuses to go back, then we are saying that because of the rate of inflation which is

prevalent in the economy, government should pay 200 per cent across the board increase in wages, pensions and benefits of workers."

**T**he workers did not stop at that. In order to address the problem of the economy which they say is "drifting towards primitive subsistence", they want rents frozen; the Central Bank overhauled and modernised to "cope with an economy in crisis as well as the introduction of the two-tier exchange system, granting preferential rates to genuine manufacturers and producers and for the importation of basic essentials" explained Mohammed, "80 per cent of the total revenue generated by government in foreign exchange should be devoted to factories, manufacturing concerns and owners of industry to boost employment generation and the productive sector of the economy".

Faced with the NLC's long list of demands, President Babangida directed in his May Day address that the process of negotiations should be concluded by next week, but cautioned that labour should "resist extraneous pressures for general wage increases" but explore "lasting remedies" for alleviating the suffering of workers without fuelling inflation. By last week Wednesday, the NLC negotiating team led by Comrade Adams Oshimole, the congress, deputy national president, met at the Yaba headquarters of the movement to deliberate on strategies for wringing major concessions from government. *Citizen* also gathered that the federal government team would consist of officials from the labour and finance ministries, the national planning commission as well as the presidential economic advisory council.

Even as the machinery for negotiation was being oiled last week, labour pundits were unanimous that the resuscitation of the price monitoring board which was also announced by the president may not have any salutary effects on the negotiations. In 1970, the Gowon

administration had introduced a similar arrangement through the Price Control Board (PCB) Decree of May 26 of that year. The PCB headed by the permanent secretary in the then federal ministry of trade and industries, however, fell into bad weather due to its perceived high-handedness. The Murtala Mohammed administration later showed it



**Musa: better days?**

the way out. Dr. Mashud Fashola a University of Lagos economics teacher, however told *Citizen* that it is important that government controls "unwarranted inflation" especially with regards to what he called commodities with "inelastic supply-demand curve".

Said Fashola "where supply cannot respond to increases in price, then, it is not reasonable to allow prices to be galloping. It would not solve the problem of scarcity. So there is need for price regulation in such instances."

But NLC's Mohammed does not even see the president's kite-flying on the issue of price control as worthy of serious consideration. He told *Citizen*: "I am very oblivious of its chances of succeeding judging from our previous experiences. If the then price control board did not succeed when there was no structural adjustment programme, then its chances of succeeding now are too slim to be given any serious attention." That may be a matter of personal opinion, but millions of Nigerian workers are anxiously waiting on the sidelines as government jaws with labour this week.

By Yinka Tella

# Bull by the horn

As the book crisis turns full circle, the National Book Foundation throws in a challenge

**I**t began as one man's idea. But the former registrar of WAEC, former chancellor of the University of Benin and author of such highly rated novels as *Toads for Supper*, *Expo '77*, *The Bottled Leopard* amongst others, Professor Vincent Chukwuemeka Ike, knew the problem was too gargantuan for just an individual to handle. Stated Professor Segun Adesina, director, Nigerian Educational Research and Development Centre (NERDC) in his report to the federal government in 1988: "The book crisis in Nigeria has two major dimensions. The first is the non-availability of books that are in high demand while the second is the high cost of the books that are available which makes these books virtually inaccessible to users". He put the cost of book requirement a year at all levels of education at 3.1 billion Naira. And in another research commissioned by the Federal Ministry of Education funded by the World Bank and the British Overseas Development Administration (BODA), it was revealed that there is just one book to fifty pupils in Nigeria!

Says Ike, "In many developed countries, school textbooks account for not more than 25 per cent of the total annual output of books. In Nigeria, they currently constitute about 90-95 per cent of the annual output. If we are to avert this lopsidedness in favour of general books, including creative writing, the country would need hundreds of millions of copies of general books annually, in addition to the hundreds of millions of copies required for formal education..."

It is not as if attempts to meet such a target have not been done in the past. There was the Federal Book Aid Programme meant for primary and post primary institutions in

which 220 million Naira was sunk, the World Bank loan of 120 million dollars for the universities book and equipment needs and NERDC's Book Development Centre which was to concern itself with developing and distributing textbooks to schools. But the effect on the book industry has remained salutary.

So in May 1990, Professor Chukwuemeka Ike, convinced that the only way out of the quagmire would be an interdisciplinary approach which called for the establishment of a central planning coordinating agency bringing together major professional groups in the book industry and the relevant government ministry and agencies, convened a meeting of writers, publishers, and representatives of various professional groups in the book industry in Ibadan. Between June 1990 and June 1991, the forum which elected a task force, held nine meetings and was granted four hearings

by the Presidential Advisory Committee. On 16th July 1991, the task force opted for a non-governmental non-profit foundation status, and thus emerged the Nigerian Book Foundation with the aims of "promoting the development of an indigenous book industry by monitoring and facilitating development in the key areas of authorship, publishing, printing, distribution, reading culture and research documentation".

Made up of representatives of the Association of Nigerian authors,

Nigerian Publishers association Association of Nigerian Printers Nigerian Libraries Association and nominees of the federal ministry of Education, and the federal ministry of Information and Culture, with Professor Ike as chairman, the foundation launched on April 28, 1992: 100 million Naira endowment fund in Lagos to enable it face the challenges ahead. With the ministry of Education promising "seed money" that of Petroleum and Natural Resources "ready to assist in getting it on its feet" and the Culture and Information ministry "in full support,



Ike: hopeful

the foundation may well be set for business even though private sector participation remains shaky as most of the "money bags" invited for the launching, never bothered to show up and the "feather weights" present could only get together less than 30,000 Naira on the spot. But maintains Prof. Ike, "the foundation's 100 million Naira endowment fund is not a one shot affair. The fund remains open at all times". Such stoicism. Over to you book lovers.

By Oji Onok...

# Human Rights Not Yet Uhuru

CDHR's 1991 annual report points sordid picture of the human rights situation in Nigeria as CLO, its sister organisation, holds a public forum to decry lack of probity in public life

If anything, the select audience of informally dressed journalists, lawyers students and university lecturers who clustered into one of the seminar rooms of the Nigerian Labour Congress, NLC, April 18, knew they were in for launching of a different kind. Apart from numerous speeches drenched in fury, fists clenched in protest and faces laden with hope for a better tomorrow, not much return was expected in terms of Naira and kobo.

Top on the agenda was the launching of the 1991 annual report of the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights (CDHR). Directing affairs from the raised dais was Mr. Kanmi Isola Osobu, lawyer to maverick musician, Fela Anikulapo Kuti, who held brief for some time for Mr. Alao Aka Basorun, a past chairman of the Nigerian Bar Association: He had company in Dr. Beko Ransome Kuti, CDHR's national president, Mr. S. O. Wey, the first secretary to the federal government, Mr. Femi Falana, chairman of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers



Falana: "all sorts of complaints"

(NADL) and Mr. Clement Nwankwo, president of Constitutional Rights Project (CRP).

"My clients are a funny lot," began Kanmi Isola Osobu as he grabbed the microphone to announce his donation of 1,000 Naira". Mirth, laced with prolonged applause, greeted what was expected to be the major donation of the day. But that was before the arrival of the substantive chairman of the occasion, Mr. Alao Aka-Bashorun. Basorun, donated 2,000 Naira, to bring total receipts, a little closer to 5,000 Naira.

Titled "Human Rights situation in Nigeria", the 1991 annual report of the CDHR, treated matters relating to the abuse of human rights under separate chapters dealing with death penalty and the right to life; torture, press freedom and freedom of expression, arbitrary detentions, extra judicial killings, prison conditions and harassment of human rights activists and critics. Also addressed in the 44-page document are issues pertaining to abuse of the rule of law, political repressions, as well as progress recorded in the year under reference in the promotion of the social, economic and cultural rights of Nigerians.

In a foreword signed by Dr. Beko Ransome Kuti, CDHR said it found that human rights "are still in chains" added Beko: "Those decrees e.g. Decree 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 13, and 17 of 1984 that have put human rights in abeyance are still intact. Infact elected governors are... operating such undemocratic decrees" According to the CDHR, not less than 40 decrees that oust the operations of regular courts were effectively in



Kuti: "obnoxious decrees still intact"

operation as at December last year.

The CDHR report had a gory story to tell about the conditions of prison inmates, 60 per cent of whom it said, are awaiting trial. It noted that last year, an outbreak of tuberculosis, diarrhoea and skin rashes at Makurdi prisons which houses 800 inmates although it is designed to accommodate only 250, claimed nine lives. Also reflected in the CDHR report is what it regards as the acquiescence of certain elements in the judiciary to abuse the rule of law by the executive arm of government.

Arguing that the present administration's pledge to tackle "corruption from its roots, revitalize the economy and protect human rights" has been no more than mere words, the CLO forum said it was "of absolute importance to subordinate the military as an institution to civil society and open up all hidden crimes committed against the popular will". Although the arguments of those who argued that since "the military itself always probed deposed civilian governments... they too should be probed since they have exhibited even more corruption, economic mismanagement, abuse of office, human rights violations and executive lawlessness" was defeated, it was obvious from the mood of participants at the forum that for a long while to come, there can be no love lost between the human rights bodies and the country's military rulers.

By Yinka Tella

# DISCOURSE

## Census '91 and Niger State

**W**hen the Babangida administration announced its transition to civil rule programme it included the conduct of a national census as one of the items on its agenda. Because previous census exercises have generated so much controversies and heat, to the extent of threatening the corporate existence of this country, many people thought the inclusion of the census exercise in the transition programme was unwise. The government, however, ignored the reservations expressed by such people and doggedly stuck to its decision to conduct the census, promising that this time around it would produce acceptable results. In line with its determination it established the National Population Commission and appointed Alhaji (Dr) Shehu A. Musa, *Makaman Nupe*, as its chairman.

The commission, soon after its inauguration embarked on very elaborate arrangement and prepara-

By Babakpotun Shaba Emi Kafa,  
*Loncita Bida*

tion for the conduct of the exercise. Computers and other high-tech equipment were brought into the country, all in an effort to assure the nation that this time around, the exercise will be carried out thoroughly and acceptable result produced with the aid of these computers and high-tech equipment.

The census was conducted in the latter part of 1991 and the result was released by the president himself after confirmation by the Armed Forces Ruling Council. The president and the Armed Forces Ruling Council naturally expressed their satisfaction with the conduct of the census and confirmed the national population to be 88, 514, 501. Happily for the nation, the government was gracious enough to allow detailed release of the figures for each state and even more gracious was the release of the figures for each

local government area within the state.

It is pertinent, at this stage, to state that the employment of computers and high-tech equipment in the conduct of the exercise cannot be taken as guaranteeing an accurate and acceptable census exercise. Computers are merely machines that depend on human beings to feed them with information for processing and as the saying goes "if you feed in garbage you get garbage out".

It is in the light of this that I find the population growth in some areas of Niger State totally unrealistic and unacceptable, and unless the anomalies are rectified, the result ought to be rejected by all lovers of the state. It seems clear from the breakdown of the figures for the state that there was a deliberate effort to redistribute the population of the state arbitrarily or how else can one explain the following scenario that has emerged:-

### Niger State

Local Govt	1963 Pop.	Local Govt.	1991 Pop	Diff.	% Increase	% Increase P.A.
Agaie	52,153	Agaie	85,280	33,127	23.52%	2.26% p.a.
Chanchaga	286,254	(Chanchaga) (Shiroro) (Bosso) (Paikoro)	569,952	301,698	112.47%	4.02% "
Gbako	196,963	(Gbako) (Bida)	275,172	78,109	39.71%	1.42% "
Lapai Magama	49,783 147,966	(Lapai) (Magama) (Rijau)	88,172	38,388 259,251	77.11% 111.285	2.75% " 75.21% 2.69% "
Lavun	188,130	(Lavun) (Mokwa)	342,197	154,067	81.89%	2.92% "
Mariga	116,411	(Mariga) (Wushishi)	433,430	317,019	272.33%	9.73% "

# DISCOURSE

Rafi	82,888	Rafi	116,160	23,272	28.08%	1.00% "
Suleja	101,959	(Suleja) (Gurara)	171,197	69,238	67.92%	2.43% "

*Note: That by 1991 additional local governments were created out of the local government areas existing in 1963. Thus the local governments shown under column three were carved out of and occupy the same geographical land mass as Chanchaga, Gbako, Magama, Lavun, Mariga and Suleja under column one.*

*Treating the figures on the basis of the former emirates of the state, the picture is as follows:*

Emirate		1963 Pop.	1991 Pop.	Diff.	% Increase	% Increase P.A.
Bida Emirate	Bida) Gbako) Lavun) Mokwa)	385,093	617,369	232,276	60.32%	2.15% "
Kontagora	Mariga) Wushishi) Magama) Rijau)	264,377	692,681	428,304	162.01%	5.79% "
Minna	Chanchaga) Shiroro) Bosso) Paikoro)	268,254	569,952	301,698	112.47%	4.43% "
Suleja	Suleja) Gurara)	101,959	171,197	69,238	67.91%	2.43% "
Rafi		82,888	106,160	23,272	28.08%	1.00% "
Agaie		52,153	85,280	33,127	63.52%	2.26% "
Lapai		49,784	88,172	38,388	77.11%	2.75% "

**W**hether we like to accept it or not, whether the total population figure for 1963 was arrived at through negotiation or otherwise is irrelevant. It was, until the announcement and acceptance of the 1991 figures by this administration, the officially recognised population figure for this country. The primary instrument used to arrive at the 1963 figures was that the same instrument used to arrive at the 1991 figures — that is human enumerators. Computers did not visit our homes to enumerate us. We were enumerated by human beings and it was the information they supplied that were collected and fed into the computers.

If false or wrong information, as is very strongly suggested in the case of Niger State, was supplied and fed into computers then obviously the computers will dutifully supply false or wrong results.

The UN universally accepted annual population growth rate for the West African sub-region of the African continent range between 1.9 per cent and three per cent while the average for the continent as a whole is 2.7 per cent. Thus the population increases awarded to Mariga and Chanchaga local government areas by the 1991 census cannot by any stretch of the imagination be demographically justified and it makes a mockery of whole exercise. One is

equally at a loss to find justification for the unacceptably low growth rate awarded to former Gbako and Rafi local government areas when these areas have not suffered any outbreak of epidemic diseases or other disasters between 1963 and 1991.

It is strongly advised with all sense of responsibility that in the rigorous post - enumeration tests, surveys and checks which has been promised before the final figures are released all these clearly are unnatural and unacceptable anomalies will be rectified otherwise, this census will suffer the same fate of rejection as its predecessors.

## Kabiru Gaya Right wing populist (II)

Governor Kabiru Gaya reveals his hopes for the future of Kano State

**C**itizen: You have just returned from Washington, where you negotiated for a World Bank loan, which in itself has acquired some negative connotation in Third World countries. What is the rationale for the loan. People are worried on whether we can pay all these money back.

Gaya: The reason for people's fear of World Bank loans is usually because those loans received earlier were not utilised for the purpose they were meant for, but I tried to change the impression during my visit. I told the officials of the bank that I will need their staff to stay with us for the period of the execution of these projects and I also requested for the staff of the federal government to come and supervise the project, and I told them that before we request for the disbursement, certain progress would be made from the first disbursement before the next can come in. Secondly, I do things according to priority. Principally the loans are meant to rehabilitate these roads, but I said no I would like to construct at least 40 per cent new roads and 60 per cent rehabilitation. Initially, the agreement is five per cent new roads and 85 per cent rehabilitation and when I got elected I changed this formula. People have been doubting past government's request for loan because it had been wrongly utilised and I agree with them, but I assure everybody this loan will be used effectively.

Citizen: You have several sick state parastatals in Kano State and your party believes in free enterprise. Given the current federal government privatisation and commercialisation efforts, do you want to set up such programme in the state?

Gaya: Well, we certainly do, but you see sometimes the programme of privatisation and commercialisation is good, but if a project is being run by the government that government should continue with it, but any organisation or parastatal that doesn't yield revenue the government will have no option than to privatise it, but with those yielding profits, there is no point privatising them.

Citizen: There are some confusion about assets sharing between Kano and Jigawa, initially there was a white-paper that says 56 and 44, per cent of the asset will be given to each of the two states.

Gaya: The issue is clear, there has never been any controversy. It was some of the newspapers that were trying to mess up things between myself and my colleague in Jigawa State. The issue is clear and that the federal government has set up a committee for asset sharing but I don't know how they come up with these figures, they gave us some criteria for arriving at such

figures, but that is the federal government's decision. We have agreed that we cannot change the federal government's decision. Another decision of the federal government is that any property based in any of the states should belong to that state. Both of us have signed an undertaking that each state should take control of such equipment, located in its area, until such state will



Gaya: "I admire Sardauna"

be able to pay compensation to the other state.

Citizen: That sounds to me as if you will wait until you have money to pay Jigawa its due.

Gaya: Likewise Jigawa, it will pay us back our own due.

Citizen: But I think Kano being the older state, quite clearly is at an advantage.

Gaya: You see, the advantage is not there, you don't think of it that way simply because we have more property, you see we are having a balancing of assets. Jigawa has some property and nothing to maintain but with us we have a lot of things to maintain and that will cost us more. We have a water treatment plant which is costing us over three million Naira monthly to maintain and provide water to Kano metropolitan alone, while Jigawa State does not have any of such water treatment plants, but assuming they want to build a new one, they will build it with modern technology and they will not

spend up to ten per cent of that amount, so you have to weigh things not really the advantages of having more property, but even their maintenance costs. So whatever structure they are putting up they will do it in accordance with the modern technology though it may be small. So that issue of disadvantages or advantages does not arise. Even if the ratio of the two states is 60 to 40, one can even say that the asset sharing is not fair to us.

*Citizen: What is the committee set up to seek for religious harmony doing? Secondly, six months after the October 1991 riot, there are still families which had lost a lot of houses and property and are still displaced. What is your position as regards compensation?*

**G**aya: We are trying to make people understand that we need to co-exist in Kano State in peace, where we will not have any kind of religious crisis. I have met with the *Ulama* and the Christian Association of Nigeria, CAN. They agreed with me that there will be peace and stability in the state. I have also set up a committee to hold talks with the community leaders to enlighten them that Kano belongs to everybody. We need people from other states to come and trade in Kano and now with the federal capital having moved to Abuja, and Kano Airport is the nearest, there will be more business movement and more people from abroad will be coming in and a lot of business will flourish in Kano. We have called on those people who were displaced to return and some have yielded to the calls because Kano is their home. We have started compiling names of those who were affected and as soon as possible we will start disbursement of compensation.

*Citizen: Is it the federal government that will pay them or the Kano government?*

I followed the principle of Malam Aminu, I visited the villages on a house to house campaign, telling them my programmes, asking them about their problems and telling them what I can do and that is how the right side of the party succeeded. Even if one is to consider it, the left have failed all over the world, the mighty Soviet Union has fallen, Germany has merged and so on.

*Gaya: We certainly need the assistance of the federal government.*

*Citizen: Has the federal government committed itself to the payment?*

*Gaya: The federal government is willing to assist, certainly you know the riot is not the making of Kano State, it is a disaster that came. The federal government should be able to assist not only in this situation but where the state demands its assistance.*

*Citizen: Talking about the federal government, the visit of President Babangida to Kano, and your recent trip in company of Mr. President to Germany has started giving the impression that you have special relation*



Sa'ad: "Jigawa has also its advantages"

*with the federal government.*

*Gaya: No, no, you see it is not a kind of special relation. All the governors are equal, we are his little brothers. He took me along with the Osun State governor, simply as an example of democracy in action in Nigeria. For instance, the Osun State governor and myself were both in one car in Germany and this portrayed Nigeria as having a good democratic system, that is why he took us along with him, not because he has any special relationship with me.*

*Citizen: During the Eid-el-fitr prayer, the Emir of Kano called on the federal government to reduce the suffering of the people and the federal government has come up with certain measures which are supposed to bring some relief. Does the Kano State government has its own measures to reduce people's suffering?*

*Gaya: The federal government has started this and I believe it has a package to relieve people's problems, but the state government is also doing its best. Already the state is planning on how to get prices reduced and I will like the federal government too to assist us on this.*

*Citizen: The emir, specifically, mentioned releasing grain from the stores, does the state have any reserve grains in the store to relieve people's hardship?*

*Gaya: We have no grain in reserve, but let's assume we have, the issue is not that alone. Even if you distribute one ton of grains per local government, that will still not solve any problem, the prices of other commodities are also going out of the reach of the common people. The government really has to come up with a better solution. The issue of grain is not the only solution, but it's one of the solution and we intend to work on it.*

By Kabiru Yusuf

## BUSINESS &amp; ECONOMY

## Fuel crisis

## The fire next door

Fuel scarcity resulting in hike in transport fares, started a revolt by commuters in Ogun and Lagos states

**S**ir Micheal A. Otedola, the Lagos State governor, was visibly upset last week as he addressed a press conference in Lagos. He was reacting to the April 30, clash between commuters and conductors that resulted in death, arson and looting of property.

According to eye witness accounts, the crisis started over the non-acceptance of the one Naira notes which according to Central Bank directives would cease to be a legal tender in three days time. This stirred controversy between commuters and *molue* conductors. The voice of a conductor announcing fare increase was the last straw.

A battle line was immediately drawn between commuters on one hand and the drivers and conductors on the other. And within a few hours many buses had been burnt and many lives lost. By the following day May 1, Wale Falope, a staff of Onola Chemical Industries, who lives at Abule Egba was reportedly killed in the fracas. One Daniel Akpan of the Presidential Industry, Iganmu, was at last week still missing. Bottomline of the crisis was fuel. Ganiyu Adelola, secretary of the National Union of Road and Transport Workers, Oshodi branch told *Citizen* last week that some *molue* drivers went as far as Abeokuta in Ogun State to buy diesel, so drivers were not to blame. Said he: "What do you expect from a driver who has suffered and paid so much to get fuel to do"?

According to a source from the Road Transport Employers Association, headquarters, at Oregun, the crisis would not have taken place, if it were not for President Ibrahim

Babangida's call for Nigerians to revolt. Babangida has urged consumers to "rise and resist new prices", but did not indicate what form and method, the resistance should take.

However, considering the authorities' handling of the April 30, incidence, it was apparent there was an attempt to downplay its effect,



Aminu: oily affair

publicity on the incident was scanty and those public officers who spoke were much taciturn and would not confirm the number of deaths. Mr. Womiloju Ona Are, national secretary, Road Transport Employers Association of Nigeria, who put the number of deaths at five, blamed the president for the incidence. According to him, the president had earlier sensitised the people to reject any arbitrary price increase.

Last week's nationwide protests heightened the seriousness of the situation. In Lagos the April 30 incident assumed a more frightening dimension four days later when commuters went on the rampage,

damaging a police post, two Wema Bank buildings, a NITEL building and the secretariat of both the National Republican Convention (NRC) and the Social Democratic Party (SDP) at Agege.

Interestingly enough the rioting took place within the hinterland, of the route on which the first incident occurred and did not spread into the Lagos metropolis. Isaac O. Akinmoyede, the State Police Command public relation officer confirmed to *Citizen* that two persons died, but he refused further comments.

However, a source at the Oke-Odo Pam market, where one of the victims died, revealed to *Citizen* that the man died of bullet wounds. The killing, according to the source, infuriated the mob into burning the Otta Road, Oke Odo police post and other affected buildings. The Lagos fracas was the precursor to protests in some other states in the federation. In Port-Harcourt, the River State capital, students vent their spleen on commercial buses and public buildings, destroying them in protest against a 100 per cent increase in fares. Also in Ogun State, 35 persons were arrested after rioters attacked the Otta council headquarters and the Plaza Hotel, Otta and burnt four vehicles, shops and looted warehouses in the town.

Last week, the federal government set up an eight-man judicial committee headed by Alfa Belgore to examine the causes of fuel shortage nationwide. Already reports speak of apprehension at the Victoria Island headquarters of the Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) over fears that some top officials might be indicted. *Citizen* investigation at the NNPC headquarters last week revealed that there were undertones of edginess on the term of reference spelt out to the panel, especially the one that seeks to identify any person adjudged guilty of dereliction of duty or negligence in production, refilling, importation and distribution

process of petroleum products and suggesting appropriate actions to be taken against such persons. The corporation's senior official in charge of public relation, Mr. Agbah Anozie was not available for comments.

A press statements signed by

Mr. Anozie Ottah, the corporation's director of information, promised to do everything possible to combat the present fuel scarcity. Meanwhile, as Nigerians anxiously wait for the Alfa Belgore Judicial Commission to find things out, the question on

everybody's lips is whether Nigerians have seen the last of fuel scarcities.

By Samson Ojo  
with Tayo Udunlami

BUSINESS BRIEFS

CEMA goes public

**A** Kano based company, Ceramic Manufacturers Nigeria Plc is offering for public subscription 60 million shares of 50 kobo each at 80 kobo per share

The agreement for sales of the shares has been signed between the chairman and chief executive

of the company, Alhaji M. S. Umoru and the managing director of the issuing house, Negotiable Finance Limited, Mr. Samuel B. Olayemi.

The Ceramic Manufacturers Nigeria Plc was incorporated as a private liability company in July 1980 with an authorised share capital of five mil-



Samuel Olayemi of Negotiable Finance signs while Alhaji Umoru of CEMA and others watch

lion Naira.

The company produces ceramic sanitary

wares such as water closets, hand basins, pedestals, bidets, urinals and sinks.

Allied Bank

A step forward

**A**llied Bank Nigeria Plc is shopping for 60 million Naira debenture stock and 100 million ordinary shares of 50 kobo each at 52 kobo per share. This is to enable the bank to adequately capitalise itself in the competitive financial market while the bank, through the floating rate redeemable secured debenture stock issue hopes to re-structure its balance sheet by financing existing borrowings utilised for the construc-



tion of its head office building in Lagos.

The bank intends to raise its share capital to minimum of 50 million Naira for commercial banks prescribed by the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN). The arrangement for the public subscription was concluded last week at the bank's completion board meeting which took place at Eko Le Meridian, Lagos.

The debenture is to float at 4.5 per annum above the Central Bank of

Nigeria Minimum Rediscount Rate (MMR) adjusted from time to time as the MMR changes subject to a minimum of 14 per cent and a maximum of 28 per cent.

Xerox launches copier

**R**ank Xerox, Nigeria's leading marketer of copiers, electronic typewriters, fax machine and plan printers has recently expanded its product range with the launch of Xerox 5088 copier which becomes the biggest range of copiers in Nigeria. The xerox 5088 copier is described as a study, reliable high volume copier that has the ability to handle big and complex tasks quickly and at the same

time almost completely eliminate downtime which is a common feature of less study copiers.

Xerox 5088 copier can make an incredible 92 copiers per minute on plain paper and 46 from continuous computer forms, and has facility for pre-programming of up to 9 complex tasks. It has an on-line and off-line stapling capability with a de-stapler as well as a 30,000 stitch capacity.

Tola Sunday

## National oil launches Hervella

**N**ational Oil and Chemical Marketing Company

Plhas introduced into the market its new multi

purpose agricultural tractor lubricant, the Shell Harvella Oil S 20W/40.

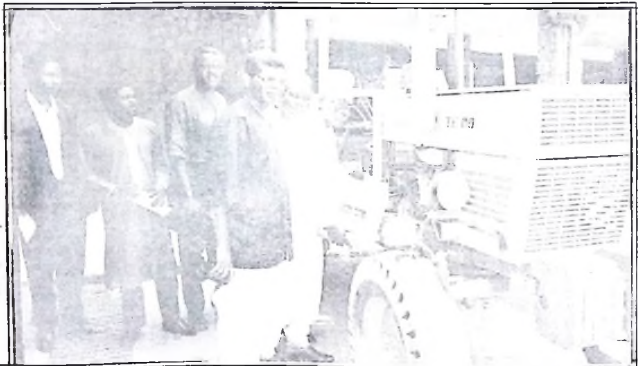
The company's lubricant sales representative

Dauda A. Musa said the launching was to create public awareness and enlighten farmers on the existence of the product adding that Shell Harvella oil is the answer to all the

farmers' lubricant requirements. He said the advantages of the new lubricant include optimum farm yield through functional equipment, increase equipment life span, cost saving and higher efficiency resulting from economy of pack and usage of single oil for all machine parts.

The product which has been prepared to meet the highest international standard is available in economy pack of 20 litres at 450 Naira.

Mr. Stephen Sani, director-general, Kaduna state ministry of agriculture launched the new oil at an impressive ceremony recently at Durbar Hotel, Kaduna.



Director-General, Kaduna State ministry of agriculture, Mr. Stephen Sani, launching the new Shell Harvella oil

By Abu Mommoh

## Abuja Building Society

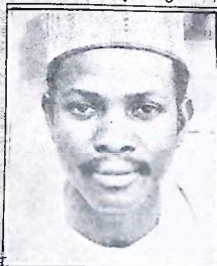
### Mortgage banking comes north

**T**wo months ago, the Abuja Building Society limited opened its glass doors to customers at its headquarters along Ali Akilu road, Kaduna. It was the first such mortgage finance institution to be located in the northern states under the new national housing policy. ABS ultimately intends to relocate its headquarters to Abuja, but is presently rising to the challenges of the large Kaduna market.

Presently, ABS offers a range of services including loans to finance the construction or purchase of commercial and residential buildings, im-

provement and repair of such buildings, and financing employee housing schemes. It also has schemes for general mortgage priority and junior savings.

Since its opening in



Jega: Looking inwards

March, business has been brisk, although there are understandable snags. Alhaji Abbas Jega, general manager of ABS, told *Citizen*, that "people are very keen to know how to own their own houses. Unfortunately, many believe they can just come and get a loan. When you tell them that they have to save in order to qualify for a loan, they become less keen".

Other problems bedevilling the national housing policy, the general manager thinks, include the high cost of building materials, deregulation of interests

rates, and difficulties in obtaining certificates of occupancy. Alhaji Abbas said "with the deregulated interest rate structure, interest rate regimes tend to move upward. This limits the ability of mortgage institutions to attract significant funds to provide affordable housing loans to the people. In other words, the higher the interest rate, the fewer the people who can benefit from housing loans".

The general manager of ABS also urged government to "encourage research institutes to find alternatives to imported building materials with a view to making housing development cheaper and affordable to citizens". He also urged the government to "make the process of obtaining title to land less cumbersome".

## AFRICA

# Malawi

## For whom the bell tolls

### Two days of violent demonstrations gave old man Banda a real shaking

**L**ife President Hastings Kamuzu Banda has more than old age to worry about. His official age is 86 but he may be older.

Since last March, the opposition cowed for long time by Mr. Banda's strong hand has been stirring. It began with a pastoral letter published by Malawi's Catholic bishops, in which they criticised Mr. Banda's one-party rule, absence of basic individual freedoms and corruption in high places. They then called for multi-party democracy, which the president and his Malawi People's Congress consider anathema to them.

Government condemned the message from the pulpit as seditious and all the eight bishops who signed the letter were arrested and questioned by the police for several hours before being released. Last month, an Irish parish priest was deported after few hours' notice that he should leave Malawi.

All this time the opposition in exile said nothing until last month when Chakufwa Chihana, secretary-general of the Southern African Trade Unions Coordinating Council (SATUCC), announced in Zambia that he was returning to Malawi to campaign for multi-party democracy.

He said then that he was ready to die in defence of the cause he was fighting because he believed it was

just. The reaction of the government in Lilongwe was to say that anybody who opposed it would be turned into "meat for crocodiles". Mr. Chihana would not be intimidated and he took off for home through South Africa.

He was armed with a prepared speech, which he intended to read out at Lilongwe airport. One report said that he arrived the Malawian capital on the same flight as the South African ambassador to Malawi. No sooner had Mr. Chihana alighted from the plane and begun reading



Banda: moment of decision

his speech than security men accosted him and took him away in a waiting car. He was driven directly into detention, where he has remained incommunicado.

The government turned deaf ears to international pleas for Mr. Chihana's release. But just when it

thought the pressure had eased, a much bigger trouble started. On Wednesday, May 6, Malawian workers took to the streets of Blantyre, the old capital and nearby Timbe, protesting against poor pay.

The protests soon turned ugly, with protesters burning government buildings, vehicles and shops owned by government officials, including those of the Private Trust Company (PTC) believed to be owned by President Banda himself. The looting and destruction continued the following day.

Incidentally, it was that day that a judge in the Chihana case ordered that he be brought to court to hear the charge that the police would bring against him. A big crowd gathered outside the Lilongwe high court to see "the brave man". Mr Chihana's lawyer, Basuko Muhango said the people numbered about 6,000. In the event, Mr Chihana was not in court and the crowd became agitated, chanting and moved into the streets.

According to another report, the crowd directed their frustration at passing motorists, particularly government officials. Police moved in in full show of force. In one instance, they threw teargas into the paediatrics wing of a hospital, killing one new born baby. Unofficial casualty figures were put at 10 killed in Lilongwe and about 30 in Blantyre and hundreds injured.

Expectedly, the government has dismissed the demonstration as the

handiwork of criminals who "had taken advantage of a labour issue". According to spokesman, Tony Mwenta, government does not feel itself under threat. A familiar boasting by all dictatorial governments!

By Tawey Zakka  
with agency reports

## Algeria

# Not free to be

In the courtroom, around the cities, the High Security Council wouldn't let members of FIS live

**T**he military-backed High Security Council in Algeria is fighting from all angles—and dirty too. In what could be regarded as extreme show of abuse of power, the government has turned the haunting and hunting of selective individuals for capital punishment into a pastime. The battered Islamic Salvation Front, FIS still remains the council's main problem and it looks as though the council wants them out of the way before heading to other more fundamental issues.

Last week, the over a year old crackdown on the FIS resumed—some might say entered its final stage. Only that the remnants of FIS that are free have continued to keep faith in the struggle. Members of FIS who were arrested when violence broke out last December started to have their cases dealt with in military tribunals with a verdict that is sure to shock the world. The situation in the country itself is so tense that violence may erupt anytime.

Following the first ruling of the military tribunal in which 13 FIS members were sentenced to death the country was in a sort of mourning mood, forcing the government to send troops into places that are regarded as "fundamentalist areas". Fighting broke out in one of such places rounded by the securitymen; explosion from the outskirts of Algiers was reported, confirming that government is still on the prowl. Various groups, all said to be members of FIS are awaiting trial by the same military tribunal. In one of the reported cases, the prosecution is praying the court to pronounce a death sentence against 15 persons alleged to have taken part in a raid in

a border town last November. Ten people were reported killed in the raid.

The current spate of arrest and conviction of FIS members last week was exactly a week after FIS was outlawed by the Supreme Court. On



Madani: FIS Leader

waiting to complete a comprehensive victory in the second round of the general elections, having recorded a landslide victory in the first round, when the military-backed council took over from former President Chadli Benjedid.

In response to that grand arrangement between the military and the security council which took over government, FIS called for nationwide protest against the government. The protests, which in some cases went violent led to the arrest of all the group's leaders and sympathizers like Imams. Thousands are still in detention.

The climax of the trial comes up next month, when FIS leaders are expected to make an appearance in court. These include its leader Abassi Madani and his deputy, Ali Belhadj along with 5 others. They are to appear before a tribunal in Blida near Algiers on a charge of "armed conspiracy against the state". That is how the government reduced the disturbances that greeted the cancellation of the second round of elections. Yet, trouble is not quite over.

A sign of what will likely dominate the future was given when in an apparent response to the call for protest against the governing council, a bomb blast occurred in the city

## A sign of what will likely dominate the future was given when in an apparent response to the call for protest against the governing council, a bomb blast occurred in the city of Constantine.

April 29, the Supreme Court decided to uphold the verdict of a high court which had earlier adjudged FIS an illegal organisation. The security council had applied that FIS be banned "on the grounds that it contravened the laws on political organisation". Of course, FIS has been contesting for elective offices as a political group since 1990. It was

of Constantine. There has also been intermittent battles between people and security agencies. These pitch battles are likely to escalate into a full blown affair when Madani leads the others to the tribunal. Something akin to both the hunted and the hunter not being free.

By Rabiou Barde  
with agency reports

## WORLD

## United States

## Negroes are angry

## Los Angeles explodes in racial violence, questioning America's moral leadership

**T**he court verdict was the most awaited in America since Mike Tyson's conviction on rape charges, only that this was a much more serious matter. A Yankelovich poll found that 78 per cent of all blacks and 79 per cent of all whites interviewed expected the 12-member jury to return a guilty verdict. Indeed, 62 per cent of whites and 92 per cent of blacks said they, as jurors, would have voted to convict the four accused white police officers. In the event, the jury found them not guilty.

Soon as the verdict was announced, angry blacks outside the Simi Valley court room began chanting, "They are guilty! Guilty! Guilty!". Hundreds of blacks converged at the First African Methodist Episcopal Church in south-central Los Angeles for a protest rally. When the city's black mayor, Tom Bradley, came to the church and appealed for calm, there were jeers of "Uncle Tom! Uncle Tom!" While some prayed, others rioted. The entire ghetto of south-central Los Angeles, 120 square kilometres, black and impoverished, was soon up in flames. Stores were looted and set ablaze; whites were dragged out of their vehicles to be beaten or killed, and their cars were torched. The following day, Thursday, the riots spread further north and west of the city. The sprawling Lee's market was looted and torched, as were hundreds of other stores and apartment blocks. The police, reacting slowly to the riots in the ghetto, allegedly because they saw it as a dog-eat-dog situation, nevertheless cordoned roadways leading to the affluent

suburbs of Hollywood and Beverly Hills.

Governor Pete Wilson of California deployed 2,000 National Guards to quell the riots, but it took



Bush: "the court system has worked"

24 hours to deploy them. They were later joined by California highway patrolmen, and President George Bush on Friday sent 3,000 army and 1,500 marines to help the police. By then, riots had also broken out in San Francisco, Seattle, Atlanta and Pittsburgh. In no time, the affair became the worst racial unrest in the United States since the Watts affair of 1965.

The fuse that ignited the riots was first lighted on March 3, last year. Rodney King, 25, an unemployed black construction worker driving a borrowed Hyundai car, was stopped by the police for exceeding the speed limit. King did not obey the stop order because, as he later explained, he is out on parole after a year in jail for robbing a

supermarket of 200 dollars. To be caught again for an offence meant returning to prison. When the police caught up with King, he was dragged out of his car and repeatedly kicked and beaten with batons and gun butts. As it happened, amateur photographer George Holiday caught 81 seconds of the action on video camera. It showed that King was struck 56 times; he suffered skull fractures, a shattered cheekbone and eye socket, a broken leg, and possible brain damage. That day and in subsequent days and weeks, the film was repeatedly shown on television



King: brutalised blacks have had enough

all over the world.

Still, Los Angeles police chief Darryl Gates refused to resign and tried to stop the case from reaching the courts. He also refused to the very end to start any disciplinary case against the four officers, namely Sergeant Stacey Koon, Timothy Wind, Lawrence Powell and Theodore Briseno. Although the offence was committed in south central Los Angeles, which is predominantly African-American, the case came before a court at Simi Valley, 50 kilometres away, a white suburb where 2,000 policemen live. The ostensible reason for the move was that the accused policemen won't "get a fair trial" in the ghetto.

At Simi Valley, the police told

several lies during the proceedings in court. They testified that King drove his car at 115 kilometres per hour, but engineers found that the car couldn't go beyond 70 kilometres per hour at its fastest. The police said King suffered "minor cuts and bruises" while resisting arrest; in fact, he spent three weeks in intensive care, underwent brain surgery, and is still disfigured. The police said King turned violent, which is contradicted on Holiday's video tape. They said King took the drug "angel dust", but doctors found none in his blood; and the police also said King was drunk, a claim contradicted by a fifth policeman who came upon the scene. The policeman said King only became unsteady on his feet when he was shot twice with a dart from an electronic sten gun by Sergeant Koon.

President George Bush did not at first help matters. Soon after the verdict was delivered, he said, "The court system has worked. What is needed now is calm, respect for the law". On Thursday, Bush forthrightly condemned the on-going riots, but said nothing more of the court verdict. The president said he "will use whatever force is necessary to restore order. I guarantee you that this violence will end". In as much as he did not guarantee an end to racial injustice also, Bush was playing to the all-white gallery. Having shown little concern as president for civil rights or inner cities, the president instead tried to assert the "strong leadership" of the Gulf war instead.

When things worsened, George Bush changed tack. He asked health and human services secretary Louis Sullivan, the token black in Bush's cabinet, to arrange a meeting with black leaders. On Friday, Bush met a delegation including Coretta Scott-King, wife of the late Martin Luther; Benjamin Hooks, leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured Peoples (NAACP); and Joseph Lowery of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, SCLC. Soon afterwards, the White House claimed that Bush was "as

astounded as everybody else in America at the verdict... the disparity between what you see on the tape and the verdict". White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said Bush has ordered a federal investigation into whether the white police violated King's constitutional rights, a measure used by liberal federal authorities to redress racial injustice by local courts. Fitzwater also said Bush has declared Los Angeles a disaster area and approved 600 million dollars in federal grants and loans to promote "urban enterprise zones" and home ownership. Damage from the four-day riot was estimated at 500 million dollars, and Mayor Tom Bradley invited Mr. Pete Ueberroth, chairman of the committee that organised the Los Angeles Olympic Games of 1984, to lead the rebuilding efforts.

While wounds were being licked, South Korea's daily newspaper *Chung Ang* reported that the Korean government was fretting. Koreans had been targeted by the black rioters; two of them were killed, 30 were injured and over 100 Korean shops were looted and burnt. The rioting African-Americans had seized the opportunity to settle an old score with the Koreans. Last year, Korean shop owner Soon Ja Du shot and killed 15-year old black girl Latasha Harlins for allegedly stealing a 1.79 dollars bottle of orange juice from his shop. Although in-store video showed that Soon shot Harlins in the back, he was sentenced to five years' probation.

Black Americans have many more such scores to settle.

By Mahmud Jega  
with agency reports

## Afghanistan

# Not yet peace

As predicted, the ousting of former president Najibullah's government has not brought the expected peace in Afghanistan

**W**hen penultimate week the erstwhile rebel group, Mujahideen entered the city of Kabul to take over power from the ousted Najibullah government, the celebration that greeted them was enormous. Even with a certain cloud of uncertainty, people, who have not known peace for over a decade should be excused for such an elaborate welcome ceremony. Unfortunately, it took only about a week for the same people to realise that the battle is just on a sort of recess.

Perhaps, the people were carried away by the euphoria that they failed to notice that some group of the Mujahideen might actually be starting a battle anew. As it was expected, last week witnessed another round of fighting in Kabul

between the leadership council and the Gulbuddin Hikmatyar-led Hizb-e-Islam group. When the new Mujahideen government of Professor Sibghatullah Muhaqqadi came into Kabul it pounced on some groups that were seen as not sharing the same ideas with the new council. The biggest and strongest of these groups was that of Hikmatyar. The group went underground only to appear few days later with vengeance on their minds.

The Gulbuddin Hikmatyar-led Hizb-e-Islam last week tried to move into the heart of Kabul. This led to the eruption of fighting, which observers say was the heaviest since the Hizb-e-Islam was driven off from the outskirts of Kabul two weeks ago. There were reports of heavy bombing and shelling that could be

heard in central Kabul; looting was also said to be going on. Indeed, Hikmatyar and his group are demanding that Uzbek militia forces should be banished from Kabul. The Uzbek forces are generally seen as the main perpetrators of acts such as looting which the government said was undermining security in the city.

Things took a dramatic turn, when on Wednesday, that was after

two days of heavy fighting, the Hizb-e-Islam and other rebel groups announced that they were observing a ceasefire agreement with the government. Peace momentarily returned to Kabul. The point, however, must have been made that the peace which people in Afghanistan have so much prayed for and which they thought will last, is not yet there. The atmosphere and the belligerence with which

some groups are still fuming with is not likely to end in a little while.

Anyway, the leadership council is still struggling to get a grip on matters of administration while still keeping an eye on the security of people and property and most importantly, the ravaging Hizb-e-Islam group. When the Professor Mujaddadi government came into power, it actually made security a top priority, considering that looting was still taking place. The security issue is still being

accorded that top priority status. But while cases of looting have dropped, there are fears that anytime fighting gets underway, it will be back in force too.

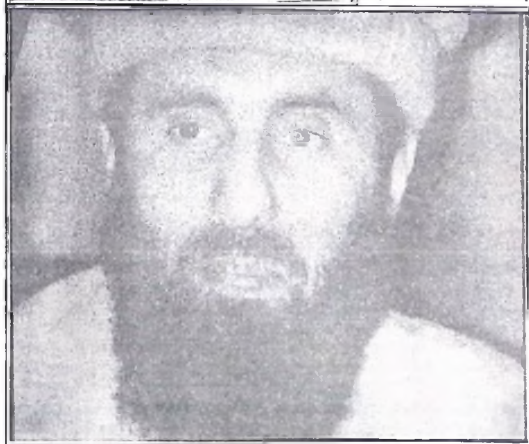
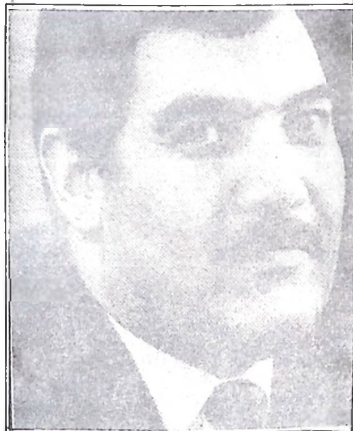
That might have informed the government's decision to set up a special court to try what the government called traitors of the government. It is expected that individuals will be given the opportunity to seek

**The atmosphere and the belligerence with which some groups are still fuming with is not likely to end in a little while.**

redress against people alleged to have committed crime against the people during the tenure of the former government. That sounds more like an avenue for witch-hunting which may not do the government any good.

With various rebel groups still willing to fight the government which they see as more or less the same with the ousted Najibullah group, government's attempt to let people seek redress might be misconceived as an exercise to punish people that are seen as opponents of the government. Meanwhile, the prevailing atmosphere only provokes the question: When will the fighting resume?

By Rabiul Barde with agency reports



Najibullah (top) and the Hikmatyar: fight tooth and nail

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# Freedom, Prosperity and Justice

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Ours is a  
guarantee  
of  
the good life  
for  
Nigerians

Nigeria has always been a land abundantly blessed with human and natural resources. Nature intended that we have the best. Yet we are becoming a people fast losing hope. Even after we struck oil our lot did not improve.

But our land can regain its lost glory. All we need is Freedom, Prosperity and Justice and Nigerians will be able to be what they want to be, to live in prosperity

and without fear.

The land that yielded rubber, timber, groundnut pyramids and ship loads of cocoa and palm produce has not gone barren.

Our people are no less resourceful than they used to be. The best is still possible for Nigeria with a realistic and purposeful leadership.

The NRC will provide that leadership.



**VOTE**

**NRC**

*the party that will guarantee you the good life*



## KABIRU YUSUF

192,883 square kilometre or 21 per cent of the total land-mass has 48 per cent of the population. It says a lot about population density in the south, that with less than one quarter of the land-mass, it contains nearly half the population of the country. It says a lot about the people of the Savannah, that no one

activity is intense, *should* be more thickly populated than more arid and less hospitable climes".

The thing about deliberate bias is that it cannot be erased by good education! Otherwise, if there is one thing the 1991 census figures have shown, it is that the forest regions are more thickly populated than other areas. Four times more densely populated! As for "hospitable climes", it takes monumental arrogance, for a man that lives in Mushin, to regard those living in Mambila Plateau, Anglo-Jos, Kagero hills and Kaduna GRA, as living in "arid and less hospitable climes".

The point about the north, is that it is a vast region that reaches deep into the rain-forest and spreads out to the fringes of the Sahara desert. Its southern borders stretch from Obudu, Cross River State, in the east (which perches on the same Plateau system as Mambila) to Offa, Kwara State, in the south-west (a town deep inside Yorubaland, less than 100 kilometers from Osun State capital, Osogbo).

The north is the Idoma, Tiv, Nupe, Jukun, Angas, Hausa, Kuteb, Kanuri, Fulani and 200 other smaller ethnic groups. The north is the rain-forest and the Savannah, the Sahel and the Sahara. The north is part west, part east, some of the south and all of the north. The north contains the most hospitable parts of Nigeria, Plateaus like Jos and Mambila, and some of the most arid.

I am yet to see concrete facts in support of the rain-forest argument. People assume that is how things should be, because that is how they like them to be. But if we go by the experience of the pygmies in the Congo forest, or the Red-Indians in the Amazon basin, life in the rain-forest is not all banana and berries! Certainly in Congo and Brazil, there is greater concentration of people in the open Plateaus, than in thick forests.

## The rain-forest argument

Comments on the 1991 census figures have proved, once again, that when reality collides with expectation, it is the former that suffers. Those that find the census figures difficult to swallow say they base their objections on certain established "truths": that the rain-forest belt usually sustains more people than Savannah and Sahel regions; that women are normally more numerous than men; and that high socio-economic indices, like school enrolment and urbanisation, are indicative of great population concentration.

While many find the distribution between males and females rather odd, few people are unduly worried that there are 7.0 women for every 7.1 men, in a population of 88.5 million. The ratio is close enough for everyone to find his missing rib! As for school enrolment, if Ibadan, has one million pupils in primary school, and Kano has half of that number, does it mean Ibadan has twice more people than Kano, or that Kano has much less pupils in primary school than Ibadan? On the basis of the provisional figures, that argument cannot be pushed too far.

The same cannot be said about the north-south distribution. According to the National Population Commission (NPC), the old Northern Region, which has a total land-mass of 730,885 square kilometres or 79 per cent has only 52 per cent of the population, while the south with

doubted, or publicly protested, that this could indeed be so.

Instead, the protest has come from some southern intellectuals, who say they expect the population of the south to be more than that of the north. Arthur Nwanko, a book publisher from Enugu, said "... only in Nigeria, among the sub-Saharan African countries that the population of inhabitants of the Sahelian and Savannah regions surpasses those living in the rain-forest belt". The "rain-forest argument", not original to Nwanko, has since found many ardent backers.

**I am yet to see concrete facts in support of the rain-forest argument. People assume that is how things should be, because that is how they like them to be.**

Sola Balogun, writing in *Nigerian Tribune* (May 4) said he is stumped by the figures: "These population returns have a lot of wonders. Why are the coastal areas sparsely populated and the Sahel interland (sic) thickly populated?" In a self-serving editorial, only half elevated by language, *The Guardian* also challenged the figures. "If environmental considerations and established patterns are any guide, coastal or forest regions, where economic

...GERROUT!  
I DON'T WANT  
POOR DEBTORS!

...SOMEDAY YOU'LL PAY FOR  
YOUR GREED, LANDLORD!

WA!  
WAA!

MY CHILD IS  
HUNGRY-O!  
WA!  
WAA!  
WAA!

OKAY... OKAY!... I'LL GET  
HIM SOME FOOD, FIRST!...

...AS I WAS SAYING, IT'S A GOOD THING SUFFERING BRINGS  
PEOPLE TOGETHER. NOW YOU MUST WRITE ABOUT ALL I'VE  
TOLD YOU. IT MUST REFLECT OUR PAIN!... AND DON'T  
FAIL TO WRITE A SPECIAL PIECE ON THE  
LANDLORD WHO THREW ME OUT!...

I'LL SURELY DO!... I'LL WRITE AN  
ARTICLE ABOUT HOW HE INCREASED THE RENT BY  
500%; HOW YOU HAD TO TREK 15 MILES  
TO BUY YOUR BABY'S FOOD AT A VERY  
RIDICULOUS PRICE FROM HIS WIFE'S  
SHOP, BECAUSE THE DRIVERS OF ALL  
HIS BUSES HIKED THE FARES!...  
...AND THAT HE'S A COUSIN TO  
THE POLICE CHIEF AND A CLUB  
MEMBER WITH THE CHIEF  
JUSTICE!...

COULD YOU WRITE HIS ADDRESS  
FOR ME WHILE I TALK WITH MY  
PUBLISHER INSIDE?... I'VE  
TO WRITE A FINE PIECE  
ON HOW HE CLEARED HIS  
HOUSE!

## PRIVATE EYE

## Eye opener

About ten years ago abroad, I found myself in an unusual role which was not only a contradiction of some sorts, but for which I was spectacularly unprepared for - that of defending Nigeria's image!

It was unusual because I had never imagined that I would ever find that necessary, somewhat contradictory because as a reporter on a government newspaper which was formerly fiercely independent, most of the time I was in the business of criticising the country myself and unprepared for more or less the same reasons and worse, the people denting my country's image had had some terrible first hand experience.

You see, it happened like this: The host country had prepared a field trip for us, a bunch of third-worlders, which among other things would enable the mish-mash of Arabs and plain black Africans to see first worlders displaying an array of firepower in a joint military manoeuvre. The other objective was to enable us mix with regional correspondents from all over the world with whom we undertook the trip.

On the way to the field at the foot of a famous mountain, we stopped at a road side cafe for snacks. Suddenly, four men and a woman from the host country came over to me. They sat down and before long they were telling me about Nigeria! I wondered aloud how they got to know I was a Nigerian since I had never seen them before, "your name tag, silly," one told me. Oh! that, I sighed. At least they were not spies!

Another soon asked if Lagos was as filthy as he had left it. You see, their country is so neat that all you needed when feeling sleepy was a pillow. You could put it anywhere and immediately go to sleep. I replied that since FESTAC 77, the place had been cleaned up. The woman among them told me that she feared

two things, apart from the thieves, the infernal go-slow, (in fact the woman said she learnt the term in Nigeria) the dirt; seeing corpses and armed robbers.

One of the men, apparently a diplomat, told me that in 1982 he had asked to be transferred to no avail. Thereafter, he put in his resignation. The ministry of external affairs realising how desperate he was, transferred him to Australia. I should have known better than to ask why. Armed robbers. He said he first put four locks on his front door. It didn't deter anybody. He next bought a closed-circuit television. Of what use would that be in deterring a determined robber? He replaced the entire doors and windows in the house with steel made at Alaba. It was comfortable until NEPA struck. He was virtually "heated" out of the house.

Matters came to a head when despite the presence of 12 bolts, nine locks, the combined strength of police and hired security guards, thieves came into the house with a tipper lorry, poured themselves a drink and set about stripping the house of any material presence that he threatened to quit. He had spent the entire night in the ceiling.

This situation was not helped by the fact that when he went to report the matter to the police, he found out that the leader of the gang of eight who had been ordering the rest around his house was the Sergeant on duty at the police station! In the calmness and serene beauty of the environment, he explained to me that it's not that there were no thieves or such elements in his country, but when the police start taking over such activities, it was time to leave.

I explained to him as diplomatically as possible that that kind of situation occurred only once in a while; it could even be in his own



peaceable country. I also explained that as an oil rich country, Nigeria would naturally attract all sorts of crooks. By the time I reminded him that in his country, they had something we didn't have; terrorists, I too was getting depressed. Come to think of it, all were looking at me with some sympathy. He just kept on nodding. I didn't know until later that that kind of nodding meant that I was fibbing.

The woman chipped in to assert that she and her husband shopped only once a month and if their provisions finished ahead of the month, they just sat it out. It was at this point that I told them Lagos was not Nigeria. Before she could start on another harrowing tale, I excused myself.

All these were ten years ago when Nigerians were not being arrested from Iceland to Bangkok for dope smuggling and David Mark had not demanded for the shooting of cable thieves, armed robbers in their home towns and school kids protesting the withdrawal of petroleum subsidies!

It appears things have grown worse. What is this I hear that another diplomat has been murdered by armed robbers? Or that if a diplomat is asked home to his country even for 24 hours, a big celebration is held to mark the occasion?

You know, I did not charge the ministries of external affairs and information for the public relations job I did for the country. Shouldn't they pay me?

# Structural poverty

**A**s the pangs of hunger overwhelm the citizens they cry out against Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP).

As the monsters of hardship, unequal exchange and double digit inflation figure ravage the country, the masses can only whimper in defeat. They want to end this vicious cycle of poverty but where do they begin?

## Six years of SAP

(For Olu and Idika: Proud fathers of SAP)

Look back we must  
 For photostat copies  
 Of forced remedial medicine  
 For hurricane market bargains  
 With once stable, static, strong  
 But now floating river cowrie;  
 Floated. Battered. Floated  
 Flowing from failure's fluctuation  
 from  
 A devil's alternative!  
 O' devil, o' massive death, o' devil  
 Deviling out deaths unlimited  
 Flowing from floating denials of  
 own's  
 Special drawing right Naira, for  
 Six years of SAP  
 With linkless Salary Adjustment Pol-  
 icy.  
 O' SAP! O' Six years, o' of SAP;  
 O' six strangulating years of pains.  
 Obynna Chylekezi

## Beyond fear

The fact that we survive it, compels us  
 to do something about it: the hun-  
 ger-bash  
 hidden by the syrupy communiques  
 of idols of warfare, trade, and

'tricknology'

The fact that we survive the beleaguered slumscapes the sweltering, tattered villages, dragons of biocide afester with rancid commerce, the fact that we survive it compels us to do something about it, to scoff and wag our loaded fingers at the daring ones who go at dusk away from the refuge of air-conditioned nightmares the daring ones who go in mufti into fevered forests to embrace the guerrillas of the poisoned swamps

The fact that we survive it compels us to do something about it to damn the suavity of yellow robots who displace the mangled corpses of men, women and children in salvador as in our own backwoods at Baka- lori with media headbutts to save the world for dollar bills

That fact that we survive it compels us to do something about it something about the tall insults of promises which wipe the sky clean of rain- clouds to create false seasons of drought in people's minds, in hope-drenched wishes

The fact that we survive and can stand before the pillars of the republic in clean cocktail coveralls, clinking small-talk in ever-renewed, freshly laundered ideologies as ancient as peace and prosperity

poets'  
nest



Edited by Bilkisu Yusuf

That fact that we survive the anomic respectabilities compels us to nod in empathy when a whole man dies trying to raise the meaning of joy to lips that have known only curses and the vengeful taste of flaming knives.

Odia Ofeimun

## Guiltiness

Guiltiness rest on their conscience  
 These are the big fish  
 Who always try to eat all the small fish  
 O yes  
 They will do anything to materialise  
 Whenever they wish  
 Woe to the down pressors who eat  
 all the bread set for tomorrow,  
 Oh sad tomorrow  
 They eat all bread set for today and  
 tomorrow.

Bob Marley

## Plebeians

Ill-comforted by our plight  
 Here now we are  
 A gullible lot  
 Frolicking  
 In temporary delight.

Shehu El-Hafiz

## ARTS

## Theatre

# A scoundrel on the loose

National troupe's second outing, an adaptation of Moliere's *That scoundrel Scapin*, fails to impress

**S**omehow, the second outing of the National Troupe of Nigeria since its re-organisation late last year, did not impress. May be it had to do with the choice of the play, a 17th century script written by Moliere, *That scoundrel Scapin*. Or more with the adaptation by Professor Dapo Adelugba, titled *That Scoundrel Suberu*. The original story is straight forward enough. Two young men from bourgeois homes decide to oppose their families in the choice of brides. One goes for an orphan, the other for a gypsy. They are helped by Scapin, a worldly wise servant of one of the families. Naturally, the families are aghast by the brazen disloyalties. But in the end, it is discovered that the ladies are of noble parentage. Moliere's play focused on a comedy of error which at the end is happily resolved.

For the adaptation, the problem begins with the local colouration. Suberu (Meyiwa Abalo) for instance cannot be placed. Is he a servant and for who, Degoke (Oladejo Adegboyega) or Folabi (Patrick Ikwe), the two fathers whose sons disregard their chosen brides? Simbiatu (Edith Okafor) the heartthrob of Wole (Lucky Onwudili) is undoubtedly Hausa. Her attire betrays that. But in the end she is revealed as the daughter of Dagoke. Adore, (Christy Okorugbo) Segun's (Amechi Chinapu) fiancée, is Ibo. Yet Folabi recognises her as her long lost daughter!

The play, however lived up to its billing as a slap-stick comedy. And at the centre of it all is Suberu. He kept playing one character against the other to the delight of all. Unable to face the wrath of his fa-

ther, Segun is tutored on the best demeanour to stave off rebuke. Yet soon as Suberu assumes the father's role, he cringes, shaking all over, voice fattering. By the time the real father appears, he scampers off the



Suberu (Meyiwa Abalo) in another play

stage. It is now left for Suberu to mend fences. He tells the father that the marriage could be annulled but at a cost of 2,000 Naira! The old man nearly falls off his feet. When news

**But more worrisome was the audience turnout. The 678 capacity cinema hall two, venue of the performance that Tuesday, May 5 had less than 50 people in attendance, most non-fee paying.**

comes that Simbiatu is to be taken away from the town unless a certain amount of money is paid, it is to Suberu that Segun and Wole go to far assistance. The same Suberu that drank at the beer in Segun's home, took her watch, claiming that he had lost it and even had the temerity to thrash him (Segun) once, when he was sent on an errand at night, feigning a ghost! Now on their knees, Suberu offers to help and Simbiatu is rescued. Fathers and sons are later re-united as they dance joyously on discovery that both families are now inlaws, albeit unwittingly.

Directed by Martin Adaji, National Troupe assistant director, in charge of drama, the production hardly reflected the cultural milieu in which the adaptation is based save for the accent of the actors and costumes of Folabi, Degoke and Simbiatu. Suberu, dressed in the Shakespearean cross-gather, certainly looked out of place. His acting, though was quite impressive. For Simbiatu, her Ibo accent was so glaring that nobody could believe she is an Hausa girl, a character she is supposed to portray. Acting generally was on the low side with space hardly used judiciously. The imposing castle, home to Adegoke, is never used even though a wide balcony is provided just for that purpose.

But more worrisome was the audience turn out. The 678 capacity cinema hall two, venue of the performance, that Tuesday, May 5 had less than 50 people in attendance, most non-fee paying. It was the same for "Things Fall Apart" the troupe's maiden performance which took place in February.

Really, just what is the National Troupe, the nation's prima donna performing company, coming to?

By Oji Onoko

## Theatre

# Division in the house

NANTAP produces commish Ekiye's play, *The Family* as part of 31st anniversary of the International Theatre Day with an enduring lesson for all families

**S**uspicion. Mistrust. Disloyalty. Even downright betrayal. They are all present in Chief Kori's family. The wife openly suspects the husband of having an affair with the rather desirable housegirl, Mabel. Matters come to a head when a pack of contraceptive tablets is found on her. Without as much as questioning her, she jumps about in joy, daring the husband now to counteract her "hard evidence." Interrogation of Mabel,

on Mabel sitting at table with her to dine, dressing her up in her (Maria's) own clothes and generally adopting her as a respectable member of the family. To the father, she is a failure as she refuses to take to economics rather fouling on acting as a career...

She ignores the advice of her mother when she tells her "actors and actresses end up in alcoholics" in a bid to change her mind and instead brings her play director to plead her case. The father's reaction

unrepentant saying since the boy is unemployed, she would be bringing him to live with them. The father, aghast at the disgrace, such an act would bring to his family, tells her the pregnancy must be terminated, phoning the doctor immediately. She tells her father flatly, that she would not cooperate. She wants to settle down as a mother she adds. Cornered, he appeals to the wife to make her see reason. The ball now in her court, she sets down her condition to be allowed to pursue her career as an actress. The father quickly acquiesces, signing a bond, she just gave him. The doctor takes her in for a test. Result. She is not pregnant! The father sinks in his chair. Mother clasps her hands. Brother, crestfallen. The actress in her takes over as she struts about signing "la la la..."

Directed by Bassey Efiang, recently appointed director, Cross River State Arts Council, the play exhibited the professionalism of the producers, the National Association of Nigerian Theatre Arts Practitioners (NANTAP). The set, designed and constructed by Biodun Abbe was massive and had all the appurtenances of the nouveau-rich, from furnishing to the ornate dining set, to the bar and wall paintings. The duplex actually came alive, almost too real. Costumes, too fit the different characters. But acting had its high and low points. Funsho Alabi as Chief Kori gave a good account of himself. His movements were deliberate, speech calculated and gestures minimal. There was no doubt about the class he portrayed — the bourgeoisie! Nkechi Ezechi as Maria was the happy-go-lucky girl. She seeps into the room, dances to music at random and at times goes past her father without acknowledging him. She was the play-maker. Tunde Euba as Isaac was equally good. But Golda John as wife was hardly believable. She dragged her lines to no end. And Dekker as doctor had no business in the play. He was not only inaudible but was more of a drug peddler than a doctor.

By Oji Onoko



A scene from *The Family*

however, reveals that it is a neighbour, Mr. Peters that should have been watched... But it is Maria, their daughter that is the biggest cause for worry. She is at shouting matches with the brother, Isaac, almost anytime they meet because she insists

is swift. "Maria's choice of career is not negotiable" he tells him, walking him out of the house. Faced with such opposition, Maria devises the greatest ploy of all—feigning a four month pregnancy for a "Boy Alinco." The family is outraged but she is

## BOOK REVIEW

## Borno's worthy legacy

Title: *Scholars and Scholarship in the History of Borno*

Author: Hamsalu Zanna Laminu

Publisher: The Open Press, Zaria, 1992

No of Pages: 147

Price: Not stated

Reviewer: Bilikisu Yusuf

Civilisations are usually complex and massive societies. Kanem Borno was no exception. Being the dominant muslim state in the central Sudan, it became a haven for muslim intelligentsia. The role of these scholars, as the custodians of knowledge, forms the substance of the book. Naturally, the rulers of this centralised kingdom were also scholars who inherited and built on the Saifawa dynasty at the moment of its decline.

Chapter one gives historical insight into the advent of Islam in the seventh century through the trans-Saharan trade, the conversion of the ruling monarch, Mai Hume'ilmi and the building of the first mosque. It ended with the rise to prominence of scholars, jurists, the development of a fully fledged court system, settlement and fiefdom for scholars known as *Isangaya* and *mallanti*. Mention is made of a renowned scholar, Muhammad Ibn Mani, a descendant of Uthman Ibn Affan, the third caliph after the prophet, who is credited with the establishment of Islam as a state religion in Borno.

The inexorable interplay of religion and politics was unmistakably apparent in Borno as it was in all Islamic states. Chapter two is therefore devoted to structures and institutions of the classical caliphate which were reproduced in this emergent state. The monarchy, *majlis* (council of state) the courts and the military were interwoven in an inseparable mosaic of dependence. Particularly enlightening was the disclosure that under the Saifawa dynasty, an ad-hoc army comprising the rulers, ministers, princes and their slaves went out to fight

rather than an organised permanent military unit. The role of scholars receives considerable attention. From those who studied, as was the established tradition, at Al-Azhar in Egypt where cross-fertilisation of ideas with other global intelligentsia shaped their worldview, to those who became close to the monarchs and the independent scholars who were critical of the rulers. Each group wielded power within its enclaves. Of these independent scholars, the *sufist* movements had the worst dose of repressive and ruthless measures directed at its members culminating in the execution by Mai Umar Idris of a scholar, Al Jarmiyu Al-Turiki and the banishment into exile of Sheikh Waladede.

The third chapter highlights the activities of the *Ulama* particularly those who held state offices. Their fields of study spanned various disciplines, history, astronomy, jurisprudence, literature, poetry etc. The usage of Kanuri-*Ajami* was widespread and one of the historical accounts *girgani* written in that medium recorded and highlighted the seven year rule of a female regent, Magira Aisha Kilingermaram, who acted before her son Idris Alauma attained adulthood. During that period Magira organised military expeditions and chaired *majlis* (council of state) meeting, a confirmation of the contributions women made to politics and national development in an Islamic society.

The fourth and the last chapter is a case study of the contributions of Muhammad Al-Amin Al-Kanemi, a scholar and a foremost statesman to the history of Borno. As a scholar-politician, Al-Kanemi came to prominence when he dislodged Fulani jihadists of the Sokoto Caliphate from Borno. He later engaged in a long and famous correspondence

with Sultan Muhammed Bello of Sokoto in which he defended Borno stating that as an Islamic state, the shariah made the waging of jihad against it illegal. These correspondence apart from stimulating intellectual activities served as immunity for the state of Borno and enhanced the role of the ruler — the sheikh as a political scholar.

To date Borno has remained the intellectual haven that it had been since the eleventh century when Islam became the state religion. It is indeed significant that the free intellectual profile of the *Isangaya* partly survived the gruelling tests of wars and crushing pressure of secular Western education. The book, as a record of Borno's contribution to scholarship draws attention, albeit in a subtle way, to the fact that although Islamic education in contemporary times is not in the best of shape, it has survived the onslaught of Western education and pervasive Judeo-Christian ethics that colonialism introduced. Such a survival should prove of immense value in Islam's bid to revive and boost the world's faith in the viability and resilience of Islam's robust potentials. Certainly, an education system that is capable of weathering such a strong storm should have no problem overcoming any conceivable challenges which may arise in future. The organising idea of the book is simple: scholars can be either politicians or non political, independent intellectuals who shape the form of politics even from their *Isangaya*. Because the book is about power, scholarship and scholars in robes of diplomats and statesmen, it makes indispensable reading for those who desire detailed understanding of the history and foundations of the emirate system in Borno, Nigeria's pioneer Islamic state.

Useful as it is to historians, the book is not without its flaws, most of which derive from its production. The cover could be improved upon and so should the quality of the typesetting.

## MEDIAWATCH

### "Pen House" plaza

# Towering ambition

## Young Anambra State NUJ stakes its soul on a multi-million Naira secretariat project

Looking at its architectural plan, it shoots into high heavens in a pyramid fashion. It is a flashy tower of glass. Its landscape is the latest state-of-the-art, and it resembles the International Merchant Bank Plaza in Lagos. Observers say it will be the most magnificent showpiece in Awka, capital of Anambra State. It is the "pen house" plaza of the Anambra State branch of the Nigerian Union of Journalists, NUJ.

The development appeal fund launch of the 25 million Naira "Pen house" took place recently at Awka. The Anambra State NUJ executive is just one month old, freshly disengaged from its Enugu State counterpart, which makes its ambition a remarkable one. Said suave, softspoken Ossy Nweke, Chairman, Anambra State NUJ: "We intend to launch this appeal fund in local government areas in the state and beyond".

*Citizen* gathered that Nnewi, the industrial nerve centre of Anambra State, had been slated for another launching of the appeal fund on May 9. Surprisingly, the Anambra State Government did not make any monetary grant to the take-off of the project at the initial launching on April 15, but rather asked the NUJ to approach it for land.

This is the first time any NUJ chapter east of the Niger is engaged in this type of project all by itself. The NUJ House in Enugu State was donated by Chief Ukpabi Asika, former East Central State administrator. Those of Cross River, Imo and Rivers State were also donated by the various state governments.

project, Mr. Nweke hinted: "We have not lost hope. We shall seek audience with the governor in camera to help see to the realisation of the project."

When completed, the three-storey "Pen house" plaza will house the office complex of the Anambra NUJ, guest houses and a conference centre. Also to get accommodated is a sophisticated library stocked with

rare and latest books on all disciplines, a satellite dish and restaurant/bar. Some of the office spaces will be let out to corporate bodies to generate funds for the union, *Citizen* learnt.

As a dream project, it indeed needs an articulate mode of execution to become a reality. Said Mr. Nweke, "The first phase of the project, which will be completed in my tenure will take about nine months, while the second phase will eventually become



Gov. Ezeife of Anambra State

**Disappointed by the attitude of the Anambra State government of Dr. Chukwuemeka Ezeife towards the project, Mr. Nweke hinted: "We have not lost hope. We shall seek audience with the governor in camera to help see to the realisation of the project."**

Disappointed by the attitude of the Anambra State government of Dr. Chukwuemeka Ezeife towards the

pleted after a second edition launching in future".

By Tony Oko in Awka

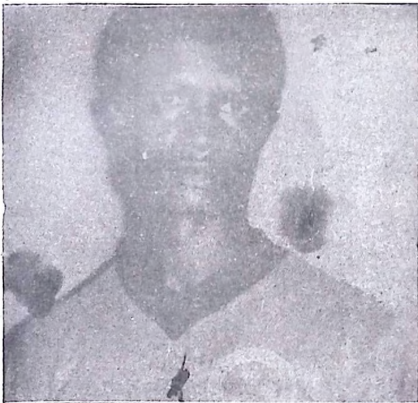
*Citizen*, May 11, 1992

## SPORTS

## Pro-league fracas NFA banishes Ranchers

The unruly behaviours of irate fans have brought severe disciplinary measures on Ranchers Bees

**T**he cruel hands of fate are tightening their grip on Ranchers Bees, and the club's chances of surviving the ongoing Professional League are very slim.



Ishola: Ranchers' captain

Ranchers Bees, a pro-league division one club which has been writhing under the agony of financial and managerial crisis, got a devastating blow from the Nigerian Football Association (NFA) last week

over the fracas that broke out during their week 10 home match against Obanta United of Ijebu Ode.

The disciplinary committee of NFA rose from its meeting last week

Wednesday and announced stringent disciplinary measures against Ranchers Bees as punishment for unruly behaviour of its fans who disrupted the week 10 match against visiting Obanta 2 minutes to the end of the match, and inflicted body injuries on the match officials and one policeman. Ranchers Bees, according

to the disciplinary committee have been banished from playing their next five home matches at

Ahmadu Bello Stadium. The club, currently smarting under severe financial constraints and sloppy management, will move their base to Ilorin until September. In addition, the club will pay 20,000 Naira fine in addition to paying for the hospital bills of the three injured match officials and one policeman. The club will also forfeit the match which produced no score as at the time it was disrupted to the visiting Obanta United.

The problem that landed Ranchers Bees in their current dilemma began five minutes to the end of their week 10 home match against Obanta at Ahmadu Bello Stadium, Kaduna. The match had gone on for 85 minutes without producing any goal. Tension had mounted before the ugly incident as irate fans who believed that the centre referee Tayo Ayodele from Abuja had not been fair to the home team, were already threatening to deal with him. But the referee seemed to have hastened the unruly action of the hooligans when he gave a red card to Ranchers Bees' player Abdullahi Garba for kicking an Obanta player who deliberately elbowed a Ranchers' player. Two minutes after the Ranchers Bees' player was given the red card, some fans started hauling stones into the pitch. Attempts to hold them back by policemen failed

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Iloro: pro league secretary

and they spilled into the pitch chasing the referee and his two linesmen around. By the time the fracas subsided, the three match officials, one policeman and two players of Obanta United sustained injuries and were treated at the stadium's medical centre. The three match officials and the policeman were later admitted and treated at Jinya Hospital, Kaduna.

Pro-league Secretary Alhaji Sani Toro was however forced to come to Kaduna and see things for himself last Tuesday, following a sensational report by a Lagos based newspaper that two people were killed during the fracas. *Citizen* also gathered that, although Alhaji Toro gave an honest account of what happened, some members of the disciplinary committee allowed their judgement to be influenced by sensational and distorted reports of the incident given by the Lagos based newspaper. Toro had earlier told *Citizen* in Kaduna during his on-



Achebe NFA Secretary General

**T**he sanctions imposed on Ranchers Bees are already causing serious rift between the club and the supporters. A member of the club's management who talked to *Citizen* but did not want to be named, said the so-called supporters have never contributed any-

**A member of the club's management who talked to *Citizen* but did not want to be named, said the so-called supporters have never contributed anything but problems for the club. In a furious tone, he explained that they were only interested in what they can get from the club without contributing anything to its progress.**

thing but problems for the club. In a furious tone, he explained that they were only interested in what they can get from the club without contributing anything to its progress. "They (the supporters) always struggle to watch our matches free and all they contribute is to create problem for us. Now they have succeeded in killing the club", he fumed.

The Kaduna State Football Association which was also fined 5,000 Naira by the NFA disciplinary com-

mittee was also not happy with the action of the irate fans. The association met hurriedly the day following the incident and banned one of the club's prominent supporters, Ado Shehu (popularly known as Libba Bees) from entering the stadium during any league matches. Ranchers Bees has also banned him from associating with the club. Ado Shehu was alleged to have started instigating fans to attach the match officials during the ill-fated match.

In order to arrest future occurrence at Ahmadu Bello Stadium, the coordinator of National Sports Commission zone six, Alhaji Abba Yola, has promised to take over the security arrangements during matches from the state FA. He also disclosed that the state FA would be made to comply with certain security arrangements before it uses the stadium for any of its league matches. In addition, the state police command has also issued a release saying that "it has concluded security arrangement" for subsequent matches during the remaining league season. The release which also denied that anybody was killed during the fracas, was signed by Alhaji Abdullahi Lawal, assistant commissioner of police, operations and training.

Ranchers Bees are in for a tough survival struggle. The NFA sanctions are likely to worsen their already bad situation. The club is going to suffer financial losses as a result of dwindling revenue from gate-takings. This is also going to drastically affect the club's performance since the management only depends on revenue from gate-takings to pay the salaries of players and other club officials.

By Joe Olajuwon



Aboh Kaduna FA boss

## Ben Osi Umunna Like a bad dream

It is mourning time for Nigerian soccer as Rangers' former chairman returns to dust.

**"I**t is an irony of fate that it was also his concern for the health of his friend's son that led to his tragic death", said Chief Jim Nwobodo, former chairman of Rangers International and second republic governor of Anambra State.

He was talking about Chief Ben Osi Umunna, immediate past chairman of Rangers, who was buried on Saturday, April 25, in his hometown, Ogbunke, Anambra State. Umunna died in a ghastly motor accident barely for days on his return to the country, which he left four months back. He had headed for his London base last December for a rest after the gubernatorial primaries in which he unsuccessfully sought nomination on the Social Democratic Party platform.

Born in 1941, he was a diminutive man who easily stood out in a crowd with his luxuriant beard and all-white attire. But what he lacked in physique, he made up for in determination and hardwork. He was a man of diverse interests who until his death on Wednesday, April 1, was a highly visible figure in business, sports, philanthropy and the campaign against child abuse and neglect.

It is, however, his exploits as a soccer administrator that many people will easily remember him for. A director of Crystal Palace Football Club of London, Umunna worked his way into the limelight in Nigerian sports circles in 1986. That year, during a visit home from London, he had voluntarily shouldered the financial burden for the construction of a modern squash rackets court at the Enugu Sports Club. The gesture attracted the attention of Air Commodore Eneke Omeruah, a former sports minister

and the Anambra State governor at the time. It was a very trying moment for the famous Rangers International and governor Omeruah was worried about the fate of the club. He talked it over with Chief Umunna, who gladly accepted to rescue the relegation — threatened first division league outfit. But last year when he finally yielded to the



Umunna: a life well used

lure of politics and quit office as boss of Rangers management corporation. Umunna had done everything one could think of in his bid to return the club — one of Africa's all-time greats — to the path of glory. He recruited quality players for the Flying Antelopes and made great personal sacrifices to ensure that they were comfortable and in the right frame of mind to deliver the desired goals. He even went abroad to sign on Dutch soccer strategist, Janusz Kowalik, to groom the darling team of millions of soccer-crazy Nigeri-

ans. And from 1989 he introduced an annual Rangers Award Night, during which he handed out cash and souvenirs to players of the club who had distinguished themselves in the previous soccer season.

Rangers bounced back to reckoning in the Umunna years, reaching the National Challenge Cup final in 1990 — their first time of doing so in eight years. They, however, won no trophies outside Anambra State, a situation which many attributed to hard luck.

"Umunna", according to Esike Nzekwe, a soccer analyst and an authority on Rangers International, "will occupy a comfortable apartment in the history of Rangers as one of the most astute and dutiful chairmen that passed through the club. He brought style and colour to soccer management (with) his mature sense of leadership and selflessness".

A patron of the African Network for the Prevention and Protection Against Child Abuse and Neglect, Umunna campaigned vigorously against all forms of child labour and cruelty. With his sudden death, a big question mark now hangs over his pet project, the International Institute for Child Abuse and Neglect, which he had planned to establish at the Enugu Campus of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

The first deputy president of the Nigerian Professional Football League Board, Umunna was married to a British lady, who bore him a boy and a girl. He died when the Peugeot 505 saloon car in which they were travelling back to Onitsha after visiting his friend's son, who was on admission in hospital, ran into a stationery lorry carrying electric poles. The accident occurred along Owerri-Onitsha Road around 8 o'clock on the night of April 1.

To his numerous admirers in Nigeria and overseas, the late soccer guru and hero of children's rights will always be remembered as a humble, humane and intelligent man who sometimes seemed to love others more than he loved himself.

By Isaac Umunna in Enugu

ADAMU ADAMU S

DEFINITIONS  
IN HUMOUR

## Definitions

**T**his column must be forgiven its bouts — frequent and not indeliberate — of narcissistic advertisement. It is not without its purposes. In the past I had taken time — when I was writing it for the *Sunday New NIGERIAN* — to state how it started. Now I think it is time to begin to state how it should end. Not the ending that stops, but the one that begins.

But how did it begin? As I said then, it was Tony Ikeakanam *Nigerian Observer's* editor, of First Lady picture fame who would come with *New NIGERIA'S* Saturday Extra, which he edited then, and would say, "Malam, please help fill this gap with one of your poems or humour". At that time, as now, I had neither but I would fill it with something — and that became constant and found its way to the *Sunday New NIGERIAN* and now to *Citizen*.

Keeping it has not been all laughter, though. It has cost us a lot. One senior bank executive at the head of one of the country's leading banks once gave orders that *Citizen* should not, must not, be given advertisement. And we were excluded. I had defined his bank in a manner that offended him.

A national institution (always remembering that an institution is where madmen are taken and kept if mentally mad, or if we wish that they become mad in some other way, like for instance financially) recently celebrated something. To cut a long story, *Citizen* was excluded — again. Exclusion was on its to becoming a



custom.

Some people have written telling me pieces of their minds. And if their minds had many pieces they told me the worst ones. One suggested that I ought to be ashamed of myself if I could think of

no occupation more respectable than making people laugh. And I became ashamed of myself but I couldn't understand whether he read and laughed or assumed that since it was something in humour it must be funny business.

One other suggested I must rename the column as *definition in tears*, because to him, it is always too difficult to make out the point. Instead of accusing me of failure to communicate, he accused himself of failure to understand. Whenever I read stuff like this I make a sincere promise to settle down one day to make effort to learn how to write — and be understood. The trouble is that I never get the time.

Here in *Citizen* there is apparently only one person who has the time. Her Majesty (*ma-jesty*, a lady who jests more than is good for her) Empress Bilkisu II. She is the only one who can sneer at deadline because it will never catch her. Of the guilty party I am the worst offender. I turn all my deadlines into *livelines* — live with current, and they all shock me — all at once. It makes schedules stalled, many weekends — including my own — destroyed, and many finer points that could have been made muddled.

And that brings me to the perennial point. It beats me but many think they get the point of the definitions. I must confess that whenever I am forced to read the definitions, I always say (internally of course), "Dear me! What do I mean?"

Yet with all this, many have suggested that I should publish all the past definitions as a book. The most recent suggestion was from Amba-

sador Mahmoud Yahaya, our respected foreign affairs analyst and for most of us, an elder with broad shoulders. He insisted that it must be done.

I am still resisting for a number of reasons.

First, too few people may be interested in buying what they will probably not understand and I will be unable to rewrite — unless I can get a 36-hour day for instance. Second, there is the grave danger of the possibility of becoming rich, in case people decide to buy, any how. And as Malam Adamu Ciroma said, that is a danger that must be resisted. Three, somehow I feel as if the day is not long away when I will begin to write good definitions — the type I would wish to be remembered for. So why the hurry?

### Free press

Whenever people say Nigeria's press is the freest in Africa, I try to watch the corners of their mouths. Are they foaming and moaning or are they warming to state the next great thing? I usually wish to yawn in such circumstances. The question, however, is: Ought they to cry for Africa or clap for Nigeria? I wonder.

But the truth is that the press in Nigeria is free — it is the journalists who are in chains.

**Newspaper** — *Noose* paper, good enough for hangman.

**IRS** — Infernal Revenue Service — those who pay it, burn; those who don't, don't.

**AIDS** — Acquired Inefficiency and Deficiency Syndrome. That's exactly what the bureaucracy is suffering from. And my God! There's no cure for it.

**Success** — All you need in this life is ignorance and confidence, and then success is sure.

— *Twain*  
**Power** — Nearly all men can stand adversity, but if you want to test a man's character, give him power.

— *Lincoln*  
**Labourer** — The bucket stops here.  
**Manager** — Management is the art of getting other people to do all the work — and taking the credit.



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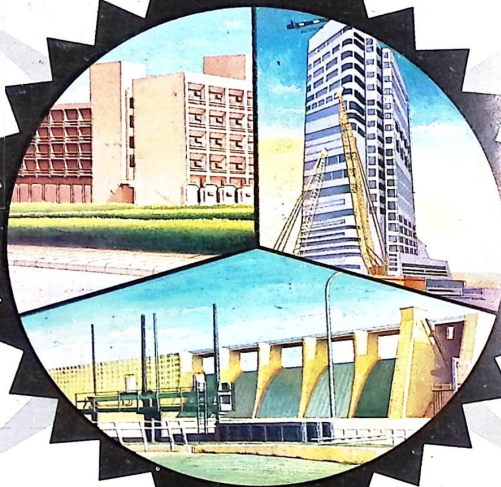
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