

10
PICKING KATSINA'S PIECES

APRIL 29 - MAY 6 1991 VOL 2 NO. 18

Citizen

BAUCHI

Deaths over an abattoir

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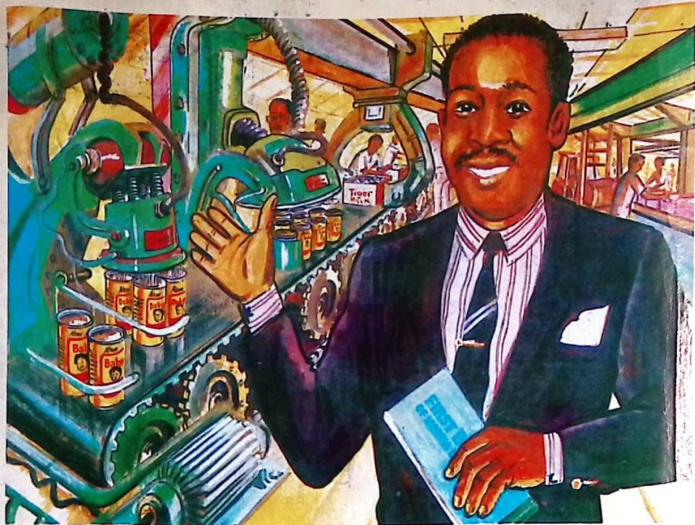
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0 8 MAY 1991 Page

LEGAL DEPOSIT SECTION

LETTERS *Altt* 5

LEADERS

The carnage in Bauchi	7
Technology blueprint	8
NBTE's clamp-down on poly's	8
How safe is the haven	9

ADAMU ADAMU 11

NIGERIA 20

BUSINESS/
ECONOMY 21

FORUM 22

AFRICA 25

WORLD 28

KABIRU YUSUF

A carnage, a massacre

Citizen
BAUCHI
Deaths over
an abattoir



Frustrations built up in the last few years on both sides of the religious divide in a predominantly Muslim Bauchi state explodes in to sectarian violence that may yet prove the worst to date, barring Maitatsine.

Page 12

Market fire returns

Squatters provided the fuel that ignited Kano Central Market's second inferno this year, costing traders millions of Naira worth of goods.

Page 20



Who is rocking the boat?



Exiled Dalai Lama, the spiritual head of Tibet, visits White House and gives China cause to worry that the US may be changing its Tibetan policy.

Page 28

Citizen

All the News in Perspective

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PREFACE

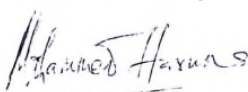
One bright Friday afternoon, anti-riot troops stood at two strategic places at the Sultan Bello Mosque, Kaduna. It was at the peak of the Gulf crisis. Few understood what the fierce-looking men, armed to the teeth, were doing there except by deductions. The same scenario greeted worshippers at the mosque last Friday. The situation was the same at some of the other mosques that held the Friday congregational prayers. Anti-riot policemen had also been posted around some media houses in the state capital.

Last week, Governor Tanko Ayuba of Kaduna State, had appraised newsmen on issues of security. In Gongola State, the government had said that it would take "stern measures" against religious activists attempting to disturb public peace. Similar warnings had been issued in many other states.

What perhaps set off all the security alarm was the violence in Katsina. Before the fires in Katsina had died down, another one was set off in Bauchi and everybody sought to find a linkage. The carnage in Bauchi has been masked by officialdom. The truth is that a lot of lives were lost as a result of police ineptitude and deliberate acts of provocation.

What started the Bauchi riots? On the surface it was a simple matter between a buyer and a seller. A man bought and ate roasted meat, it did not taste like fresh meat and he protested to the seller. What he did not know was that the meat was pork and muslims are forbidden to eat pork. A simple argument over this issue soon developed into a fracas. Before you know it, many persons had lost their lives.

However, Adamu Adamu and Mahmud Jega who were on the spot, on investigation came up with reasons that are far deeper than such a simple matter of buying and selling. In Katsina, Tawey Zakka, reported that all is now calm. Would it hold as the trials open soon?



Citizen (ISSN 1115 2389) is published by Citizen Communications Ltd, G11 Unguwan Kanawa, PMB 2334, Kaduna. Tel. 212165 Fax. 210037 Telex. 71704 Lagos Office: 10A Acme Road, Agidingbi, off Isheri Road, P.M.B. 21742, Ikeja. Enugu Office: 21 Edinburgh Road, Ogui New Layout, Enugu. Copyright Citizen. All rights reserved.

LETTERS

Adamu Adamu's Epitaph for Ba'athism

Sir,

Whether the Gulf war was won by the Allied Forces or lost by Saddam Hussein not all that important compared to the revelation that followed.

It is now clear that the West is nothing but a paper tiger, and they are only "super" through their tactics of disinformation through the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and the Voice of America (VOA). For me, Saddam Hussein remains a hero, in spite of what Adamu Adamu and Kabiru Yusuf wrote in your edition of April 17.

Baqir Al-Hakim and his likes will never rule Iraq because he is a stooge, an American agent for that matter. The Middle East problems have just begun, nobody knows when it will end, and the wild West will lose all its credibility. All the monarchies in the Middle East will go and all unselected leaders in Syria, Egypt, Iran will go down in time.
Ibrahim Abdu Zango
Kano

Fraud in People's Bank

Sir,

I read with interest *NewsWatch's* story titled as above in its edition of April 22, 1991, Volume 13 No. 17. The magazine strove to present a more comprehensive view of the tragedy in the PBN, I however wish to make some clarifications:

Dr. Tai Solarin insinuated that I purchased 18 gleaming Peugeot 505 cars, which I allegedly gave out to my wives and girl friends. This, like other rumours is fiction. We have only six Peugeot 505 cars, which we bought second-hand in line with the amount approved by us for that purpose. These have since been

given to the branches and are reflected in our records at the zonal office, Kano, the branches and even the head office. I have NEVER assigned PBN's cars to any one but the officials concerned.

The *PBN Mirror*, a copy of which I sent to *NewsWatch* was published from adverts, and NOT PBN funding. I wrote so in the foreword. I thought I should be given credit for it.

The probe panel, whose report were read to us and which is now available to *NewsWatch* did NOT find cases of fraud with my zone, even on the two issues being bandied about.



We don't discredit people on the basis of rumours. The panel's report is there.

I expected *NewsWatch* to also highlight the panel's findings on the head office headed by Tai Solarin. A clearer picture of all could have emerged. I refer to the *African Concord* of the same week.

I believe I did remarkably well in PBN. For example, I brought in 345,000.00 Naira in donations from the three state governments in my zone, in addition to many commercialisation schemes whose impact will long be felt in that area.

It is NOT the first time Tai Solarin would make grave accusations on

the basis of rumours, most of them he picked in buses when he used to ride in them. Even our president was NOT spared by Tai Solarin. I take solace in the man's penchant to run to the press to accuse any one.
Abubakar Jilka
Lagos.

America and the rest of the world

Sir,

American policies under which ever premise are always imperialist in nature. American policy makers pursue their goals with inhumanity.

In 1983 Gaddafi described Reagan's administration as one that "divides the world with a pencil, into pro-and anti-America." Allies of America are subject to its protection and influence. Those regarded as anti-America, are subjected to economic blockade and political destabilisation.

Any trouble and subversion in the world have America's hand in it—from Chad to the Gulf. Examples abound and it will take many editions of *Citizen* to state them.

America has no permanent friends, only expedient ones. It is also duplicitous. It can support Duvalier, but bring down the Sandinista in a double game of "democracy."

The sad thing is that America actually regards its shameful tactics and antics as a success.

It protects undemocratic and despotic regimes in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, but see nothing wrong in sustaining Zionism. It is endless. Khomeini was right when he described it as an "innate terrorist state which has set the world ablaze."

Rufai Yahaya Bungudu
Lagos.

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

Carnage in Bauchi

Last week news from Bauchi State indicated that a religious crisis had erupted in the state. After a dispute about an abattoir in Tafawa Balewa, Christians went on a rampage killing Muslims and destroying their property. As in the earlier Kafanchan crisis the violence quickly spread to the capital. This is the fourth anniversary of Kafanchan. Are we about to repeat its mistakes after failing to avoid a recurrence of its tragedy? We must all be worried.

Once again it appears that our inability to recognise, accept and respect our differences has plunged us into another whirlpool of preventable intolerance. What does it take to give each person his due? What purpose is served or hindered by the violence of such crisis?

We must ask all the relevant questions and get the right answers. Are some people about to lose privileges which they can avoid by pitting one part of our people against the other? Has the timing got anything to do with upcoming elections? Is it an attempt to sabotage the transition programme or cover up some crime? No stone should be left unturned and no question regarded too outlandish.

We must always wonder where the various arms of the security agencies and their so-called early warning system are. Why do they never show any expertise in detecting and preventing potential eruptions but only come in for the kill after the worst has happened? By now the two cases of Kafanchan and Tafawa Balewa should have convinced the authorities of the danger in deploying soldiers to quell such disturbances. More often than not they only succeed in quelling the people.

In Bauchi last week, armed soldiers deployed to quell the disturbances conducted instead a most outrageous search-and-destroy operation, invading residential quarters and opening machine-gun fire on innocent people, including women and children. Governor Abu Ali himself reportedly shed tears when he saw the carnage perpetrated by soldiers.

In curbing the crisis in Bauchi some personalities have been of immense help. In contrast to Katsina where the pronouncements of Col. John Madaki did not help matters at all, the way and manner Col. Abu Ali handled this crisis deserved praise. His prompt expression of sym-

pathy to bereaved families and those who suffered material loss — at least in Bauchi — greatly helped in restoring normalcy. In particular his prompt withdrawal of soldiers from the city after the peaceful demonstration averted a worse crisis than the original clash.

Col. Abubakar Dangiwa Umar, the commandant of the Nigerian Army School of Armour deserves special mention for the tireless effort he personally put and the constantly reassuring presence of his men and materials. He was reported to have intervened to defuse potentially dangerous situations.

Last but not the least, the Emir of Bauchi His Royal Highness Alhaji Suleiman Adamu must be commended for consenting to lead his people during those tense moments when many a traditional ruler, fearful of incurring the wrath of authority, would have found a thousand excuses. What he did was indeed exemplary. And we hope the peaceful demonstration that he led would replace the recurring incidents of violence as a method of protest in the muslim community.

On the whole, however, there have been some charges of slow response on the part of the authorities. There may be some truth in this. Despite the unstable situation in Bauchi at the beginning of last week, for instance, it is surprising that up to the time of our going to press neither the governor nor his deputy has visited Tafawa Balewa.

Everything else said, a new, responsible and responsive leadership style is clearly needed by our two religious communities that can and will address the real issues of poverty and ignorance of both world and religion.

The style must be broadminded and confident enough to tell the home truth to its followership and change the fixation of each community on the other. We cannot afford any more crisis like this; we simply do not have any human lives or property to spare.

And by the way, paying compensation may be good politics but it is certainly not the best solution to this type of crisis. A better strategy would be to dig deep into the crises themselves and find the root causes and solve them. We must understand that we do not have forever to do this.

Technology blueprint†

The minister of science and technology, Professor Gordian Ezekwe has put most of our development and socio-economic problems on the door-steps of the absence of "appropriate engineering infrastructure." He was quoted last week as having said that if we have such infrastructure in place, "the level of poverty and unemployment would fall every year. The urge to smuggle would be less because the economy would be more buoyant. In fact, everything we are complaining about: backwardness, slow development are traceable to this."

What is the minister's panacea for getting us out of this very dark tunnel? A blueprint containing a comprehensive engineering infrastructure network for the country that would take 15 years to complete. The minister said Nigerians should not be alarmed at the length of time-frame because it took India, Indonesia, Brazil and Malaysia 25-35 years to develop their infrastructure.

Secondly, the minister said a list of Nigerian "experts" in the various scientific and technological fields at home and abroad is being compiled. At the end of all this, the ministry would be the proud possessors of a "statistical inventory of experts and local talents."

In 1988, chairman of the Presidential Committee on Brain Drain, (what happened to the panel and its report?), Professor Awele Maduemezia, suggested that government compels multinationals and big business to contribute to the National Technology Fund to create sufficient funds to promote and finance relevant scientific researches. He apparently believed that our problem had been funding.

A look at all these would lead to the inescapable conclusion that lack of funds and ideas are not the problem. The problems are implementation, relevance and commitment. A look at

the history of project implementation would show that those well thought out and well funded were not necessarily the most well executed. If funding and ideas alone are sufficient, today our steel sector, communications, energy and river basins would have been great success stories.

The other is relevance. There is the need to keep this in mind. Having identified the problem as the lack of "engineering infrastructure," there is the need to always keep it on track and find basic, simple ways of ensuring that it is kept relevant and away from bureaucratisation. We don't want to be told later that all the scientific and technological experts the ministry is compiling would be needed to work out the "engineering infrastructure." A National School of Engineering Infrastructure to carry out this idea may sound far-fetched in other lands, but hardly a novelty in Nigeria. And there is no merit in researching needless aspects of "engineering infrastructure."

We also require men of commitment to carry out our desires as quickly as possible, not those, as is the tradition, who would prolong it to between 50 to 100 years. We should put individuals who are sufficiently motivated to take charge. For too long we have wasted time and money by relying on so-called experts and superficial approach to serious issues.

If the minister's proposals on "engineering infrastructure" can honestly and truly take us into the 21st Century, everyone should give it the necessary backing it deserves so that this one is not added to all the other blueprints hanging about. We need things that would make for practical application to our needs. Under the illusion of technology transfer, we have wasted enough resources. It is time we start on our own.

NBTE's clamp-down on poly's

The nation's 30 odd polytechnics and colleges of technology were called to Lagos last week to show off their "latest

innovations". Their glee was palpable but it was shortlived. Even before "Poly Expo 91" had got off the ground, National Board for

Technical Education's executive secretary, Dr. Adamu Yabani took their breath away with his announcement that NBTE has stopped accreditation of new academic programmes. In not so many words, he was telling polytechnics which were contemplating new courses to simply drop the idea.

His reason? NBTE wants existing programmes developed to ensure that the standard of technical education is kept high. This action, coming as it does at this time, when NBTE's accreditation reports "highlight inadequacy of facilities" in most of the polytechnics, especially state-owned ones, is welcome. The poor state of support structures in the polytechnics, surprisingly even in federal polytechnics, call into question the quality of their graduates. Back in 1986 an NBTE visitation panel's report on the federal polytechnic in Mubi, Gongola state, decried glaring "inadequacies" in key academic programmes, particularly the engineering and electronics. They ranged from poorly equipped laboratories to poor staffing and choked classrooms.

That this headache afflicts more the start-off programme, the ordinary national diploma, OND is intolerable. Polytechnic authorities, at the end of each session take out expensive newspaper advertisements which run out names of hundreds of students referred in cer-

tain courses. For some polytechnics this had become matter-of-course, and the resultant embarrassment has forced a stop to such adverts. But the list of referrals still run, long on noticeboards.

Therefore NBTE's concern to "produce students with practical ability" should be shared by all. The ban on new programmes should give polytechnics most afflicted by "inadequacy of facilities" time to put things to right. President Ibrahim Babangida's assurance given last Monday that government would continue to give polytechnics money with which to buy "necessary equipment, tools and other facilities", no doubt, is a heart-warmer.

However, it must be pointed out that the across-the-board ban is unfair to the few polytechnics which the relative excellence of their programmes has qualified them to be called centres of excellence. Asking them to tarry awhile for the sick babies of technical education to get well and catch up with them does not seem right. Wouldn't it be better, may be fairer, to give them the go-ahead on any new programmes they are contemplating if the NBTE is convinced that the level of excellence already attached in existing programmes will be sustained? Let NBTE give this question some thought.

How safe is the haven?

British prime minister John Major and US President George Bush, may be too quick in claiming credit for the creation of a secure enclave to resettle between 2-3 million Kurdish Refugees massed on Iraq's border with Iran and Turkey. The "safe haven" around the northern Iraqi town of Zakho may not be safe after all. Reports say hundreds of armed Iraqi Soldiers and Policemen are still patrolling Zakho, with Saddam Hussein insisting on maintaining a show of sovereignty over every inch of his territory. In response the western allies have brought in troop reinforcements last Wednesday. A convoy of 25 US armoured personnel carriers, jeeps and trucks rolled across the harbour border bridge towards Zakho. This was followed by a 10-vehicle convoy of French Paratroopers.

In addition US, Britain and France on Thursday gave Iraq up to the end of the week to

withdraw its forces in and around Zakho. The said failure to do so would result in their taking the necessary steps to make the area safe. It is not clear how this dangerous diplomatic game will play out. The same week Saddam mollified the Kurds by reaching an accord with their leaders which promises greater autonomy. But the brinkmanship around Zakho, where Saddam had also sent troop reinforcement, cannot reassure the Kurds to come down from the mountains.

The Iraqi News Agency claimed last week that 193,000 Kurds had already returned home encouraged by the return to "normalcy" in the region. This figure, even if it were correct represents only a small percentage of the refugees. It may require more than an accord in Baghdad and a Western ultimatum to convince majority of the Kurds to return to their towns and villages.

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What is the minister's panacea for getting us out of this very dark tunnel? A blueprint containing a comprehensive engineering infrastructure network for the country that would take 15 years to complete. The minister said Nigerians should not be alarmed at the length of time-frame because it took India, Indonesia, Brazil and Malaysia 25-35 years to develop their infrastructure.

Secondly, the minister said a list of Nigerian "experts" in the various scientific and technological fields at home and abroad is being compiled. At the end of all this, the ministry would be the proud possessors of a "statistical inventory of experts and local talents."

In 1988, chairman of the Presidential Committee on Brain Drain, (what happened to the panel and its report?), Professor Awele Maduemezia, suggested that government compels multinationals and big business to contribute to the National Technology Fund to create sufficient funds to promote and finance relevant scientific researches. He apparently believed that our problem had been funding.

A look at all these would lead to the inescapable conclusion that lack of funds and ideas are not the problem. The problems are implementation, relevance and commitment. A look at

the history of project implementation would show that those well thought out and well funded were not necessarily the most well executed. If funding and ideas alone are sufficient, today our steel sector, communications, energy and river basins would have been great success stories.

The other is relevance. There is the need to keep this in mind. Having identified the problem as the lack of "engineering infrastructure," there is the need to always keep it on track and find basic, simple ways of ensuring that it is kept relevant and away from bureaucratisation. We don't want to be told later that all the scientific and technological experts the ministry is compiling would be needed to work out the "engineering infrastructure." A National School of Engineering Infrastructure to carry out this idea may sound far-fetched in other lands, but hardly a novelty in Nigeria. And there is no merit in researching needless aspects of "engineering infrastructure."

We also require men of commitment to carry out our desires as quickly as possible, not those, as is the tradition, who would prolong it to between 50 to 100 years. We should put individuals who are sufficiently motivated to take charge. For too long we have wasted time and money by relying on so-called experts and superficial approach to serious issues.

If the minister's proposals on "engineering infrastructure" can honestly and truly take us into the 21st Century, everyone should give it the necessary backing it deserves so that this one is not added to all the other blueprints hanging about. We need things that would make for practical application to our needs. Under the illusion of technology transfer, we have wasted enough resources. It is time we start on our own.

NBTE's clamp-down on poly's

The nation's 30 odd polytechnics and colleges of technology were called to Lagos last week to show off their "latest

innovations". Their glee was palpable but it was shortlived. Even before "Poly Expo 91" had got off the ground, National Board for

Technical Education's executive secretary, Dr. Adamu Yabani took their breath away with his announcement that NBTE has stopped accreditation of new academic programmes. In not so many words, he was telling polytechnics which were contemplating new courses to simply drop the idea.

His reason? NBTE wants existing programmes developed to ensure that the standard of technical education is kept high. This action, coming as it does at this time, when NBTE's accreditation reports "highlight inadequacy of facilities" in most of the polytechnics, especially state-owned ones, is welcome. The poor state of support structures in the polytechnics, surprisingly even in federal polytechnics, call into question the quality of their graduates. Back in 1986 an NBTE visitation panel's report on the federal polytechnic in Mubi, Gongola state, decried glaring "inadequacies" in key academic programmes, particularly the engineering and electronics. They ranged from poorly equipped laboratories to poor staffing and choked classrooms.

That this headache afflicts more the start-off programme, the ordinary national diploma, OND is intolerable. Polytechnic authorities, at the end of each session take out expensive newspaper advertisements which run out names of hundreds of students referred in cer-

tain courses. For some polytechnics this had become matter-of-course, and the resultant embarrassment has forced a stop to such adverts. But the list of referrals still run, long on noticeboards.

Therefore NBTE's concern to "produce students with practical ability" should be shared by all. The ban on new programmes should give polytechnics most afflicted by "inadequacy of facilities" time to put things to right. President Ibrahim Babangida's assurance given last Monday that government would continue to give polytechnics money with which to buy "necessary equipment, tools and other facilities", no doubt, is a heart-warmer.

However, it must be pointed out that the across-the-board ban is unfair to the few polytechnics which the relative excellence of their programmes has qualified them to be called centres of excellence. Asking them to tarry awhile for the sick babies of technical education to get well and catch up with them does not seem right. Wouldn't it be better, may be fairer, to give them the go-ahead on any new programmes they are contemplating if the NBTE is convinced that the level of excellence already attached in existing programmes will be sustained? Let NBTE give this question some thought.

How safe is the haven?

British prime minister John Major and US President George Bush, may be too quick in claiming credit for the creation of a secure enclave to resettle between 2-3 million Kurdish Refugees massed on Iraq's border with Iran and Turkey. The "safe haven" around the northern Iraqi town of Zakho may not be safe after all. Reporters say hundreds of armed Iraqi Soldiers and Policemen are still patrolling Zakho, with Saddam Hussein insisting on maintaining a show of sovereignty over every inch of his territory. In response the western allies have brought in troop reinforcements last Wednesday. A convoy of 25 US armoured personnel carriers, jeeps and trucks rolled across the harbour border bridge towards Zakho. This was followed by a 10-vehicle convoy of French Paratroopers.

In addition US, Britain and France on Thursday gave Iraq up to the end of the week to

withdraw its forces in and around Zakho. The said failure to do so would result in their taking the necessary steps to make the area safe. It is not clear how this dangerous diplomatic game will play out. The same week Saddam mollified the Kurds by reaching an accord with their leaders which promises greater autonomy. But the brinkmanship around Zakho, where Saddam had also sent troop reinforcement, cannot reassure the Kurds to come down from the mountains.

The Iraqi News Agency claimed last week that 193,000 Kurds had already returned home encouraged by the return to "normalcy" in the region. This figure, even if it were correct represents only a small percentage of the refugees. It may require more than an accord in Baghdad and a Western ultimatum to convince majority of the Kurds to return to their towns and villages.

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ADAMU ADAMU

uncle's house when three mighty, bright explosions caught my attention. They sent red flames spewing heavenward. So the burning was true, I thought. Better find out exactly what was happening. The reporting instinct could very effectively be killed, not by fear but by darkness. My plan was to reach my friend's house

society is bad enough but worse is the use to which people with more dastardly motives put the situation.

There was looting, there was arson and loss of lives. Those who vented their justified anger at the Muslim lives lost in Tafawa Balewa would have done better to pressure the government to bring the murderers to book. Instead more Muslim lives were lost, but it was the churches that got the headlines. And why not?

Even in the heat of a true and proper Jihad in which Muslims fight to ward off oppression, the Holy Prophet has commanded that the sanctity of churches and those devotees living in them must be held absolute. Muslims must obey the prophet whatever the degree of provocation. Or else they are no better than anyone.

To date, many still seethe with anger at Kafanchan. Muslims were provoked, they recall, they were killed and subsequently jailed. If they felt unprotected by government it would not be totally unjustified. Many leading legal authorities had described the Karibi-Whyte tribunal that jailed the Muslims as the greatest travesty of justice.

In the aftermath of Kafanchan, soldiers instituted what amounted to a reign of terror in Kaduna. There were loud protestations at the manner in which soldiers broke into innocent people's homes as well as mosques and shot many to death. Many had decided to confront the soldiers if matters continued but Col. Abubakar D. Umar then governor of Kaduna State wisely lifted the curfew just in the nick of time. The same thing happened in Bauchi. Only this time it was the people who took the initiative.

Next time it will probably not be so neat. It is either you go on to the past or you go back to the future.

On to the past

I had just picked my camera and bid bye to my brother in preparation for my early morning trip to Muyel, a village about 40 kilometres from Tafawa Balewa. A guy there had taken residence on a tree for the past five years and I thought I should make him tell us why. On my way someone had told me of the "200 bodies of Muslim casualties" brought from Tafawa Balewa. "It isn't safe to go there", he advised. I simply saw a bigger story. As I drove out, an NRC bus going in the opposite direction called out, "Hey stop!" The tone was so empty of decorum I thought of driving on but the urgency in the voice persuaded me to obey. I reversed, and when I was by the bus side, the driver said, "If you are going into town forget about it. Shiites are there burning cars, buildings, people and everything in sight." I didn't believe him but the mad speed and number of cars hitting the road to Jos convinced me that something that needed running away from was happening.

I went back to warn my brother whom I had left preparing to come out to drop a friend. "Stay at home near the telephone. I'll advise if it is safe to come out". I subsequently went on a number of such advice trips. I was coming out of my

make sure his wife and children were safe. In between me and the house were two kilometres of violence. Going by car was out of the question, on foot impossible. I phoned preliminary instruction to the wife.

I phoned a senior police officer to find out the situation. "Too bad. It is safe to stay where you are." Safe. What does safety mean? I asked myself. I don't know, I answered myself. But I know it doesn't consist in burning churches— or burning

Many leading legal authorities had described the Karibi-Whyte tribunal that jailed the Muslims as the greatest travesty of justice.

anything at all.

We all have passion for what we love and adore but we never truly love with words alone; we never truly love with words indeed. We love with deeds. Let's have passion for Islam, for the Prophet and what he stood, fought and died for which was justice. We must live all these things or they leave us behind. Unilateral revenge in civilised

Bauchi

A carnage, a massacre

A seemingly innocuous quarrel over *tsire* and an abattoir leads to what may yet prove the worst sectarian violence since Maitatsine

It all began on the evening of Friday 19, at Tafawa Balewa market. A Fulani townsman had called a person hawking *tsire* (the roasted meat incorrectly called *suya*) and bought some quantity. After tasting it, the man complained that it didn't taste like good fresh meat.

"You should have asked", someone cautioned him. "This man is a non-Muslim. His meat is either not legally slaughtered or pork. None of these will taste right to you."

When the Fulani man protested that he should have been told what he was buying it led to name-calling and this eventually led to skirmishes between market-men, market-women and passers-by along religious lines. That such a minor incident between a buyer and seller would lead to the bloodshed witnessed last week in Bauchi might sound surprising. But not when one knew the background.

There are three abattoirs in Tafawa Balewa about 80 kilometres south of Bauchi, and it is interesting knowing how they came about. Sometime ago a Muslim group calling itself *ahl Sunna* broke away from the rest of Muslims and insisted on doing their things separate from the

others. They built their own slaughter place. Next the Christians, who were basking in the shadow of two

successive Christian governors, demanded their own. They had just asked for a Christian Pilgrims Board



Destruction everywhere, remains of veh

and got it — and now they wanted the abattoir. They got it like the *ahl Sunna*.

"But on Saturday April 20," Muhammad S. (not his real name) said, "they decided that since the Muslim abattoir is public property they must be allowed to slaughter their pigs and dogs there. The Muslims resisted and the killing started. Since Friday it was clear something was being prepared."

Muhammad spirited his family and sent them to Bauchi. He was lucky. Those who didn't have the hunch became victims of the organised slaughter the following day. According to Muhammad and other eye-witnesses — mostly government workers in Tafawa Balewa who wouldn't want to be identified — reinforcements were invited from all outlying Christian-populated villages.

By Saturday, more Christians came into Tafawa Balewa than the entire population of the town. The orgy of killing and destruction began after a meeting in a church in the town on Sunday. Those in attendance included the Tafawa Balewa local government chairman. Eye witnesses spoke of threats to whoever came out by 6 p.m. One of the refugees in Bauchi, another government employee, who spoke to *Citizen* recounted his experiences.

"At the abattoir I found Muslims sitting around and reluctant to slaughter any animal. Most of them were apprehensive about what happened the previous day and were unsure what to do. I persuaded them to get to work which they did. On my way home I was waved down by a friend. As he spoke to me, another 'close friend' came out from behind. The club he was carrying landed on my right shoulder. I turned to see him. 'What

have I done to deserve this from you?" I asked him. The club then landed on my left shoulder. It quickly became clear to me that my safety lay in fleeing than in pleading with my friend. Luckily, the engine of my motorcycle was running and I engaged gear and rode off.

"On the way, I ran through so many ambushes. I evaded some but not all. From the way things were going I knew I couldn't reach home, so I made to the nearest house of a Muslim friend. A group of Sayawa — the local tribe — pursued me and I had to abandon the motorcycle and race through my friend's compound. It was deserted and I could easily guess why. My friend and his family must have been butchered. I went over the wall and tried to find my way home as stealthily as I could. I reached it from the back. When I went round my heart sank. My former friends had gathered with petrol and matches. In a few minutes my house and all my belongings were up in smoke. I ran into the bush.

"The following day I made my way to the police station for my own protection. Many lucky ones were there before me with tales of slaughtered dear ones. I learnt that while I was in the bush all the notables — the government workers, the Sarki the Imam and the ulama were all slaughtered. Those who escaped trooped to the house of the district head. There, I was told, the Sayawa fell on them and butchered more than 50 refugees. The district head himself barely escaped. His car was not so lucky; it took the matchet cut aimed at his head.

"Because of the many children and women, everyday, the police would select ten strong males to go into town and fetch water. On the way the police would signal the local people and they would fall on them, and kill them. The policemen would return to say the situation was beyond their control. This happened many times in a day. On Monday April 22, as they heaped the corpses of our dead, I waited for



littering the streets of Bauchi and Tafawa Balewa

my moment. When no one was looking I buried myself among the dead. That was how I reached Bauchi safely. Those who tried to join the truck carrying the injured ended up dead before they are half way to Bauchi. I was lucky. On Wednesday, April 23 people began converging in front of the Emir's Palace in Bauchi by early afternoon. Earlier in the day housewives had taken refuge inside the palace to escape the indiscriminate and totally uncalculated killings going on. Soldiers were apparently on the rampage and going from door to door in broad day light — killing innocent people. The town of Bauchi was rife with rumours and speculations about what might possibly be happening".

Were the soldiers acting under orders? Whose orders? were they taking side? While answers to these questions could be difficult to get with any precision, an incident during one of the operations would illustrate the dissatisfaction of some members of the armed forces themselves. A soldier "arrested" for overdoing it by other soldiers near the Yankari Express terminus in the old city was found to have more than 50 bullets. Officially the soldier had only signed for ten.

Another law enforcement agent whose name people in Gwallaga Quarters mention with trepidation is called simply Habila. Said by people to be a mobile police officer, Habila came very often to accompany four soldiers in a 505. Apparently, Habila was used to identify some targets. When he and his soldiers were done with more than 24 people had been killed in Gwallaga alone. Ibrahim Bashir, a nursing tutor at the Specialist Hospital recounted his experience in the hands of Habila. Five of them were laid in a row and he shot them shouting "In the name of Jesus." Four died instantly. The bullet in Bashir's shoulder has still not been extracted.

By the afternoon of Wednesday April 23, 42 people had died from unprovoked fire by soldiers. It was

at this point that many people simply decided enough was enough and they trooped to the Emir's palace. By 3 o'clock in the afternoon an estimated 15,000 people stood before the palace shouting religious slogans of defiance and glorification. Chants of "Allahu Akbar" (God is great) filled the air, and the Emir came out and was driven to the Government House with a large section of the multitude after him.

He met and discussed with the governor, and when the procession reached Government House, the governor acknowledged the difficulty facing people and promised to withdraw soldiers from the city.

Exactly 30 minutes after the governor gave his undertaking soldiers opened fire on the section of the procession that sought to return to the palace via the police barracks where detainees were kept. They passed along Dass Road and at the State Hotel roundabout they crossed Abubakar Tafawa Belewa Way and took Adamu Jumba Road towards the old Post Office. As they approached the roundabout a voice gave the command to soldiers waiting for them. "Fire!" he shouted. Almost immediately another voice countermanded the first.

Meanwhile Yalwaji Jumba, an able young man who had done a lot to keep order among the demonstrators as they approached and left the government house, was there at the head steering the column of people away from the dissection Yandoka Road. As the column bent the order rang out, "Fire!" The column was bisected as fire was opened. Yalwaji Jumba was among the first to fall. He was lucky. He

got only a shattered leg. When the fire died down 12 dead bodies fell around the roundabout; many more escaped with bullet wounds.

At Yalwa and Gwallaga, police and soldiers were seen going from house to house forcing people out. Nobody would confirm whether those removed were killed or detained. A staff of one of the television houses reported the forced abduction of the ten persons in his household. Attempts to get facts ended in a fiasco, like this:

I rang the police commissioner and a female voice instantly answered, "Yes, Sir."

"Is he in?" I asked.

"Yes, sir", she said.

"Let me speak to him".

"Who should I say called"

I identified myself.

A few seconds later the same voice replied. "He's out sir."

"Thank you."

There is evidence that detained people are being tortured. On Wednesday four people were brought to the mortuary dead. Earlier, relatives had received the bodies of their kin at the CID section.

Even hospitals were not spared. A group of armed mobile police went to the Specialist Hospital



Gov Ali: openly wept

around 9.30 am on Wednesday. Shots rang out at the Casualty Department. A JNI aid was shot dead and dropped outside the dispensary. He was part of the volunteer groups who went to help when a Christian staff nurse instructed Christian nurses to withdraw their services. A little later another JNI aid along with two innocent townspeople were shot dead. Thereafter the mobile police locked the hospital gate and refused to allow anyone in or out.

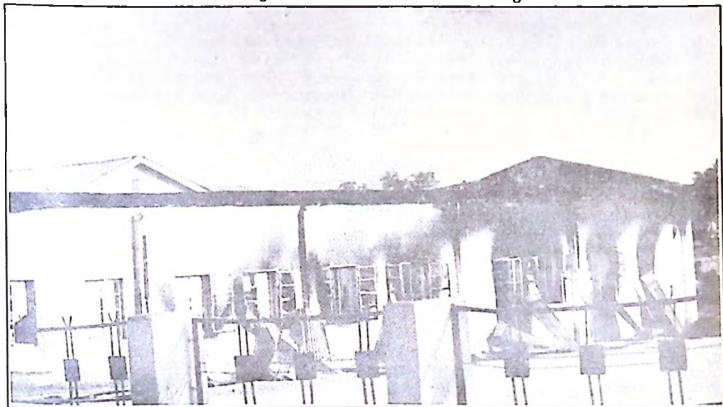
of hand. The report indicted the Christians but no white paper has been released. A very well placed government source told *Citizen* that Colonel Abu Ali decided to sit on the report in the interest of peace. Despite this good gesture at the expense of the Muslim majority, Christians in the state were said to be dissatisfied.

Security agencies in the state are said to be in possession of a secret memo of the meetings of a religious organisation in which it resolved to

are at work.

People point to those who may have lost some privileges and those likely, to lose everything if, as seems likely, Col. Abu Ali adopts the new anti-corruption crusade and investigates the finances of the previous administrations in the state.

With the well-cultivated image of Bauchi as a peaceful state, a ministry of works top notcher said, a series of religious and ethnic crises is all a



A Church lay in ruins

When the hospital's Sole Administrator, Dr. Mahmud Umar came to work, he was subjected to horrifying indignities. When it became unbearable the staff withdrew their service but returned the following day.

As religious tension rose in the country, Bauchi State has had its fair share of crisis but these were mostly confined to educational institutions. Two incidents in particular, one in Tafawa Balewa and Darazo were serious enough to warrant a high powered government inquiry into the origins of the crises because things were threatening to run out

suggest that the state be termed the "Islamic State of Bauchi State."

Considering the overwhelming proportion of Muslims in the state, this may not be such an unfair suggestion, but observers in the state believe it may indeed be a prelude to an orchestrated campaign to embarrass the new governor.

Many among civil servants spoken to point out that while there might have been remote and immediate causes to the eruptions of violence in Billiri-Kaltungo area in November last year and Tafawa Balewa now, it will not be far fetched to assume some saboteurs

detractor will need.

Christians constitute less than 10% of the population of Bauchi State. When President Babangida appointed the first Christian governor for the state in 1985, Christian elites in the state who have developed a persecution complex saw their "chance." They ganged together and virtually took over the state. "My main problem," Col. Chris Garba the military governor, told the *New Nigerian* in 1985 "is that I am not a Muslim." When he was replaced by Col. Joshua Madaki, the struggle continued. He would often complain and heap all

the blame on his SMG Gambo Magaji. Resentment ran high but the era of the conscientious civil servants was over. But Chris Garuba and Joshua Madaki were misadvised by the leadership of the civil service that made common cause with CAN to settle other scores. They polarised the state along religious and sectional lines. They marginalised large sections of the state and sought to establish some incongruent equality between the christian 10% and the Muslim 90%.

Though no investigations have been carried out, many believe that the last five years have witnessed the period of the most brazen looting of public resources in the state.

People from Tafawa Balewa local government have been busy and quite, influential in Chris Garuba's and Madaki's governments.

Tafawa Balewa (Fulani for

black rock), a Fulani settlement situated in South Western part of Bauchi State, is the capital of the local government bearing the same name. Over the years it has attracted the cream of the Sayawa elite from Bogoro, that ethnic capital and out-laying area. But it is only after last week's massacre that Sayawa got close to the dominance that they have always claimed over a purely Fulani-Muslim settlement. Unofficial sources put the casualty transported to Bauchi at more than 300. Hospital and government sources admit 84.

Whatever the actual number it was not what led to the outbreak of violence on Monday night. It was the manner the bodies were transported to Bauchi — in open trucks. Was it calculated to elicit the desired reaction — seeking for revenge? Hardly.

Hospital staffers said mistakes were no doubt made in transporting the dead bodies in open trucks but it

was the slit throats of the dead bodies that really enraged people. "Before we knew it," one of them said, "news" about the dead bodies had gone round town. To add insult to injury, the policemen who accompanied the corpses — who were Sayawa — taunted people with a 'you ain't seen nothing' yet," according to the nurses who took the bodies. All these combined to make the hospital a centre of pilgrimage throughout Monday afternoon.

I had just been dropped by someone at Gombe Gate and as I tried to make my way along the laterite path leading to Abubakar Tafawa Balewa Estate where I live. I suddenly realised I was the only one going in that direction. The rest of the human traffic was going opposite, was excited and was either running away from something or pursuing something. Since I couldn't find out I decided running away when I had time was safer. Finally we arrived at the meeting



Fleeing for dear life residents of both Bauchi and Tafawa Balewa at the onset

round near the mosque. We were there when the body of a young boy allegedly killed by Sayawa in Railway Quarters was brought and put on display. The news of the bodies that arrived earlier in the day and the immediacy of danger represented by the boy's body apparently combined to whip up a desire for revenge.

Just then as the assembly broke up mobile police charged dropping canisters of teargas. As the dust cleared a second boy was found shot dead. I went into the Emir's palace along with many others and took refuge until morning.

Fire was set to Bayan Gari perhaps to protest the beer and brothels concentrated there. Two people were trapped in one of the parlours. Both were burnt to death. At the other end of the town the rampaging crowd called at the houses of two prominent sons of Tafawa Balewa.

One of them, Dr. Bukata Adamu, was an influential member of the kitchen cabinets of the two predecessor administrations in Bauchi state. He was found guilty,

along with member of his family after he had shot two of the demonstrators. Apart from those killed, many churches were burnt or destroyed. *Citizen* counted a no less than ten churches that were burnt.

According to radio reports the Christian Association Nigeria (CAN) has said 100 of its members had been killed. No indication was given as to where these members were. It was not clear whether they were in Tafawa Balewa where the casualties were almost exclusively Muslims or in Bauchi where security forces did the bulk of the killing. The head of the Bauchi branch of CAN was said to have travelled out of town while efforts to speak to his deputy proved abortive.

During the crisis Ibo, for the umpteenth time, became casualties in a war they knew nothing about. Their shops were burnt and property looted. Those able to escape with moveables were promised safe haven in the army barracks. And so off they went.



Adamu: accompanied the governor on the tour of the site of destruction in Bauchi

"They now hawk our beer for us", the Iboman said. "A carton sells for N92. A bottle of Rock sells for N12 while Kronenbourg fetches N9 a bottle." He complains apparently because the windfall profit doesn't go to him.

Concern about profit is a good indication that the worst may be over. And it is — but only for Bauchi. Dark clouds are gathering over Ningi as they disperse over Bauchi.

The Divisional Police Officer, DPO, in Ningi, Yakubu Sarah, came to Bauchi Wednesday evening. He was at headquarters to request for reinforcement. Nobody knew what he was up to. There were reports of tension in Ningi but no one would confirm anything. When he went back to his station, he was promised help as soon as the detachment of mobile police expected from Yola arrived. The DPO, it appeared, was in a hurry; he wouldn't wait that long. He was reported to have opened fire killing a boy, and later three other people. A church was reported burnt.

A highly placed traditional authority in Ningi said the DPO probably saw himself first as a Basayi from Tafawa Balewa local government

"Because of the many children and women, everyday, the police would select ten strong males to go into town and fetch water. On the way the police would signal the local people and they would fall on them, and kill them. The policemen would return to say the situation was beyond their control".

in a yet unpublished report, of diverting government funds and property to his private clinic. He was widely believed to have been present at a meeting in a church in Tafawa Balewa on April 21 when the decision to kill Muslims was allegedly taken. His house was burnt and his mother who was said to be in the house at that time killed.

The other, an engineer with the Bauchi State Integrated Rural Development Authority, was killed

Now they are having difficulty coming out. Following assurances by Col. Abu Ali that things have returned to normal and those who left came back, all the 160 traders who tried getting out meet bitter resistance. The reason is simple, according to one Ibo beer seller, it is economic.

Most of the Ibo refugees pay N50 per night, and N50 per trip for anyone who wishes to recover some abandoned items.

and as a police officer only second. It was not surprising, he said, if the man thought he must continue with the carnage his kith and kin were

committing at home. The revenge came soon enough.

Town toughs, on learning about the incident, charged into the

police station demanding the DPO's head. He promptly went into hiding and the toughs went wild. They set fire to the police station and

Katsina Picking-up the pieces

What is the situation like now in Katsina? I asked the motorist who was giving me a ride into old Katsina from the Government Reservation Area, GRA. We had just left behind Kofar Durbi. "Gari lafiya lau", he answered in Hausa, meaning things are fine. Indeed, some peace has returned to the city following the April 19 violent demonstration by followers of an Islamic sect.

There is reduced security presence as anti-riot policemen are virtually out of sight during the day. You find them now in strategic places like mosques, radio and television stations and other public buildings. Traffic flows normally. Shops have re-opened, night life is picking up. Construction workers are back on sites.

Police Public Relations Officer, Lawal Badamasi, told *Citizen* in Katsina on April 24 that "we have the situation well in hand". Their confidence building effort include faster screening of the over 100 random arrests made on April 19. After a week, 122 had been cleared. Those, ASP Badamasi is sure will face the

Reconstituted Civil Disturbances Tribunal, include 103 members of the Shiite sect and its leader, Yakubu Yahaya. Another 53, ten of them women, who joined in from outside "will be made to appear before the same tribunal."

The Karibi-Whyte Tribunal which was disbanded after the March 1987 Kafanchan religious riot was reconstituted last week. It will start work "after police investigation," said ASP Badamasi.

Governor John Madaki, to reassure people of the state, spoke on radio Tuesday of the government's social responsibility to its people. "We owe it a duty to protect you," he said. However, he let it be known that the violence of April 19 "may that be the last we have seen." He said he wept for the state because of the presence of "agents of destruction."

His words were reassuring no doubt, but the soot-stained, roofless offices of the ministry of information and culture that work at the magnificent central mosque just across the street stick out as sad reminders of the sense of insecurity that the violence had brought.

Significantly, the sect

chose to strike on April 19, when the governor was away in Bauchi to watch the opening of the ninth National Sports Festival. Weeks before, the governor had drawn a clear battle line, when he threatened arsonists and those who disturb the peace with the death penalty.

The warning followed a series of fires in key government offices and brazen thefts. On March 29, two incidents happened which really forced the governor's hands. First, as *Citizen* learnt, there was an attempt to scandalise the emir by the Shiite sect, when after the juma'at prayers a member went for the emir's turban, symbol of both his traditional leadership. The emir and his coterie of officials were able to feign off the onslaught but then the message has been sent out, clear and sound.

Following on its heel was the protest march to the office of the *Daily Times* allegedly in answer to an instruction by their national leader, to all



Madaki: "peace has returned"

Shiites to protest against a *Times* publication, *Fun Times* which was contemptuous of the Prophet Muhammad and Jesus Christ. About 2,000 of them, *Citizen* gathered, marched to the office of the newspaper, seized copies of *Times* publications available and burned all copies they could lay their hands on. Having registered their protest they left.

A few days later, Governor Yahaya called a press conference on the activities of the sect, during which he threatened that Yakubu would be hunted down, and shot to

COVER STORY

when the DPO surfaced, they killed him along with four police men.

When the reinforcement arrived from Yola it was sent to Ningi

with dispatch. Arriving there it reportedly manhandled the local government chairman and went to work. By Friday morning 58 people

death if he continued to harass innocent citizens. The sect countered by passing the death sentence on the governor, Citizen gathered. But El-Zakzaky, their leader, has denied this. He said the story was "a fabricated lie against me". But even in his refusal he said governor Madaki committed "atrocities" against Muslims of Katsina.

A lie may be it was, but his followers struck. It was the strong presence of military tanks and armed anti-riot policemen in the streets that angered members of the sect that afternoon of April 19. Yakubu allegedly had said in reply to the governor's threat to have him executed that "I am not afraid of glorious death". On that Friday he led his followers into Katsina mosque at about 12.30 p.m. Yakubu as always, wore his white turban, long bushy beard; his army of young men wore long white robes with Islamic inscriptions on them. They carried all sorts of weapons, ranging from bows and arrows to matchets and knives and even sticks.

Inside the mosque Yakubu allegedly took hold of the microphone and dared the police to stop the "revolution that is about to start". Some worshippers, sensing the tension that was building up scurried away. Among them was the Imam of the mosque himself, Alhaji Lawal. In an interview in

the grounds of the mosque a week afterwards he confirmed to Citizen that he left for his house immediately after the Juma'at prayers and so did not know which side attacked first, the police or the sect, but the fracas started anyway. The missile—throwing against the police was soon turned on public buildings and other property. By about 5 p.m. the police announced the quelling of the "disturbance".

On Monday April 22, they read out the casualty list: no deaths on either side but 29 civilians were injured; police losses included a rifle and 10 rounds of ammunition. Property damaged included the offices of the ministry of Information, partly razed down, the audit section of the state treasury and a nearby library.

It would appear that the government and its security agencies did not anticipate the scale of the sect's planned demonstration. But one person who saw it coming was Alhaji Lawal, Imam of the Katsina central mosque. He told Citizen that he warned the emir and the Katsina local government authorities about the activities of Yakubu and his followers but they failed to take action against him. But could they have been prevented from using the mosque to preach their "revolution"? No, Alhaji

Lawal said, because to do so would have been to deny them their religious freedom.

He said he knew Yakubu very well, for one *shi dan garin ne* (he is a native) and secondly, "he received his Islamic instructions under me for sometime before starting off on his own". He said he did not know how Yakubu came to have such a large followership, made up of "idle youths and women." He used to bring the women into the mosque and stay for long hours, Alhaji Lawal said.

The man said Katsina had never before seen the like of the April 19 disturbances. Asked whether he foresaw another coming, Alhaji Lawal replied that it was a question for the police to answer. But ASP Badamasi would tell Citizen only that "we have the Shilties under surveillance."

By Tawey Zakka



Umar: being stalked by the ghost of Kafanchan?

had been confirmed dead by extremely reliable sources. Government has only tacitly acknowledged the disturbance in Ningi and has not given any figures of casualty.

While the government appears to be doing its level best, there are fears that the fire in Tafawa Balewa local government is far from over. There have been reports of skirmishes in Pancifam where the Harido and Imam were killed. Unconfirmed reports have spoken of disturbances in Bagoro, Bununu and high tension in Dass. Most people are said to have migrated to the predominantly Muslim settlement of Gitai, where the number one problem is the imminent famine that faces the swollen population. There are also unconfirmed deaths in some villages in Gumau local government.

The situation in Bauchi may be back to normal but it is far from stable. Wednesday morning the governor had to cancel plans to visit Tafawa Balewa. He correctly said with Bauchi on fire it would be futile trying to impose normalcy elsewhere. But after a whole week of killings the presence of the governor may be necessary to put a stop to the mindless destruction and to reassure those who have lost loved ones and property.

By Adamu Adamu and Mahmud Jega

NIGERIA

Kano

Market fire returns

Squatters provided the fuel; looters had a field day

It was the second fire in the central market this year and the fourth since 1983. In terms of the extent of damage done the April 18 fire was second only to the 1983 inferno which consumed more than two million Naira in property. This time around estimates of losses were not immediately in hand but the Kano State chief fire officer Idi Bukar said that the losses could run into millions of Naira.

The fire, especially the ease with which it spread, must have surprised the traders who had earlier been lulled into complacency by the aura of security created by former governor Hamza Abdullahi's modernisation of the market in 1985. He built access roads, provided fire hydrants and other support structures. The first major test of the market's resilience against fire came early this year. A "minor" fire broke out but it was quickly brought under control.

But the fire on April 18 was to demolish that sense of security. What started as a spark in a restaurant soon developed into a huge inferno lapping up everything combustible in its path. There was no lack of combustible materials. Between 1985 and the time of the fire "illegal structures" went up in every available space in the market. Access pathways were soon crowded with stalls not sanctioned by the authorities.

This was one of the reasons Alhaji Idi gave for the inability of fire-fighters to get to the source of the fire to douse it. The illegal stalls constructed with dry planks and corrugated iron not only blocked access to the fire but also provided easy fuel, facilitating the spread of the fire. It raged uncontrollably for 12 hours,



Billowing smoke at the beginning



Victims and curious on-lookers among the wreckage

from 7 p.m. on April 18 to the early hours of the next day. Traders watched helplessly as their wares went up in flames.

Their trouble was compounded by daring looters who exploited the confusion to cart away goods of all kinds. Their familiarity with such a situation placed them way ahead of the languid traders. They deftly avoided the lapping tongues of the fire, darting from one stall to an-

other, emerging always with hands full of wares. The police reported over 100 arrests and promised "a thorough investigation".

The state governor, Colonel Idris Garba who visited the market on April 19 to console victims of the fire, quickly set up a committee to

find out the cause of the fire, advise the government on what assistance to give victims and how to prevent any more fire in the market. Meanwhile, he instructed Kano State Environmental Planning and Protection Agency, KASEPPA, to demolish all stalls which were put up illegally in the market. The agency swung into action the following Sunday, April 21.

By Tawey Zakka

NAMB, leader in the making

Barely one year after commencing operation NAMB has a good tale to tell

The New Africa Merchant Bank, NAMB, held its first annual general meeting, April 22, to present a report of its stewardship for the period October 1989 to December 1990. Licenced in July 1988, NAMB simultaneously commenced operations in Lagos and Kaduna in October 1989.

As the only merchant bank headquartered in Kaduna presently, and coming at a time the banking

million Naira, representing 4.3% was derived from foreign exchange activities, an indication of a genuine strive to de-emphasise the Foreign Exchange Market (FEM) as a source of income. Although loans and advances contributed about 20% of its total income, the report revealed, the bank's main thrust of activities in its endeavour to achieve small and medium scale industrial growth lies in credit operations.

were identified as its other area of priority. Staff skill is therefore, improved upon through various training programmes at home and abroad.

With the new minimum capital of 40 million Naira and the aim to further profit its share holders, the NAMB seems set to hit the target. To this end, its directors have recommended a non-cash dividend payment through a bonus issue of



Mutallab Chairman, NAMB



Muhammed, MD, NAMB

sector is under multiple government policies, the NAMB is laudable for remaining one of the banks in the country with the highest initial capital base. In its statement of accounts read by its chairman, Alhaji (Dr) Umaru A. Mutallab, under the authorised share capital of 20 million Naira, the bank's gross earnings within the period under review stood at 49.254 million Naira, with profit after tax at 2.851 million Naira.

Of its total earnings, only 2.14

NAMB has also been involved in various government programmes. Thus, it signed a participating agreement with NERFUND, Export Stimulation Loan Scheme and the Central Bank's refinancing and rediscounting facilities for export credit in 1990. It fully took over the New Nigeria Development Company, NNDC's stockbroking outfit, Newdevco Finance Services Company, on September 14, 1990.

Staff development and training

one share for each 10 held by members as at December 31, 1990. Expressing gratitude to all those who have contributed to the bank's impressive performance to date the chairman assured its clients of the bank's consolidation of its role as a pioneer in the industry.

For a bank barely one year old, NAMB has indeed come a significant way in the banking business.

By Delia Nzekwu

The Qur'an according

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Nigeria's 70 million Muslims have been targeted for an elaborate and sinister deception.

It involves fake Islamic texts, attributed to a scholar and made to appear as if they originated from the Nigerian ministry of health. In reality, however, the documents were created in the United States for distribution in Nigeria, and the "authority" who wrote the document is actually a consultant for the US department of defence who holds an administrative position at the University of Maryland.

The booklet, titled *A Resource Manual on Islam & Family Planning With Special Reference to The Maliki School* was written by Professor Abdel Rahim Omran. Its cover identifies Omran as a "consultant to Ministry of Health, Nigeria".

The Egyptian-born Omran is acting director of the Centre for International Development and Conflict Management (CIDCM) at the University of Maryland in the US, where he has worked since the mid 1980s. Omran also works as an agent of the United Nations Population Fund, carrying out highly specialised missions to implement Western-sponsored birth control schemes among Islamic societies in the Middle East and Africa.

Omran's "Islamic" birth control manual was funded under a complicated network of contracts and subcontracts between the US

government, the Pathfinder Fund and the Futures Group (two major intermediaries for the US population control agenda for Nigeria), as well as the University of North Carolina, the Planned Parenthood Federation of Nigeria (PPFN), and a former official in the Nigerian ministry of health.

A directory of international population activities published by the United Nations lists one programme initiated several years ago in Nigeria to "revise source documents on Islam and family planning for theologians and teachers." The index reveals that the project had a budget of US \$30,209 (about 227,000 Naira) during the year 1988, which included funds for the development of a special plan for the implementation of a national population policy in Nigeria.

An 1986-87 edition of the UN index lists under the Nigerian section another project intended to search Islamic writings for "positive aspects of birth-spacing and family planning." It was funded with US \$24,921 (190,000 Naira).

Both activities were carried out by the Pathfinder Fund, a Boston-based organisation which is currently under a US \$60 million (450 million Naira) contract with USAID for population control activities concentrated heavily in Africa.

USAID records indicate that Omran received from Pathfinder 187,500 Naira for "preparation of documents on Islam and family planning" in 1987 and another 427,500 Naira for conducting Islamic workshops under a 1988

agreement.

A Carolina Population Centre at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, drew up plans for a massive \$100 million (7.5 billion Naira) five-year population programme in Nigeria which began in 1987. That project, the Nigeria Family Health Services programme, is widely credited with having been instrumental in achieving the enactment of the federal



President Bush of US

government population policy of 1988.

The subversion of religious institutions by the US and by US-led multinational forces has been an essential part of its population strategy. A 1989 issue of *Nations and Needs*, the official publication of the Maryland University CIDCM which Omran heads, advises that Omran had then just returned from "a trip to Africa and Asia, where he coordinated and took part in a series

to George Bush

of conferences on family planning in the muslim world."

The visit, says the newsletter, "was carried out under the auspices of Al-Azhar University in Egypt, with support from the United Nations Fund for Population Activities." The article reported that Omran had succeeded in his mission to orchestrate among Muslims abroad "a shift in attitudes from stiff resistance to acceptance of



Health Minister, Kuti

family planning."

The use of covert tactics and falsified documents to influence attitudes toward birth control in Nigeria is not surprising if one considers the history of the US effort to limit population in developing countries. The National Security Council, which is the highest executive body of the US government and is charged with the coordination of its strategic planning, prepared a policy

document on population in 1974 under the direction of then-National Security Adviser, Henry Kissinger.

The 227-page memorandum, which was declassified a little over a year ago, stated that a massive overseas population control programme would be needed to assure US access to "strategic and critical minerals which the United States must import from developing countries, to protect US investments from arbitrary seizure of nationalisation, and to contain the political influence of emerging nations. It proposed a strategy of targeting 13 "key countries" whose growth posed a particular threat to US security and economic interests, including Nigeria, Egypt and Brazil. Nigeria's population, projected to reach 135 million by the end of the century, "suggests a growing political and strategic role for Nigeria, at least in Africa south of the Sahara," the document warned.

Ironically, an independently produced Nigerian publication — "Family Planning: The Islamic Viewpoint" by a former governor of the then North Western State Alhaji Usman Farouk — predicted the current situation with amazing insight and chilling accuracy.

Alhaji Usman warned that the federal government population policy "may lead the entire country into an unpardonable regret" and "create more serious and more complicated damage that will later take us more than a century to correct." He added that he

suspected the family planning programme for Nigeria is "one of the imperialists master plan" against the third world as a whole, and warned that such nations as Egypt and Lebanon were tricked into accepting such programmes "without their knowledge until the situation was too late."

The widespread use of contraceptives, wrote Alhaji Usman, might also lead to sexual perversities like those found in the "debased societies of Europe and America," and to a general impoverishment of the nation as a whole.

"There are already unconfirmed reports that experts from some major powers have estimated that in a 100 years time, the population of Nigeria plus her enormous natural (wealth) and huge deposits of various minerals will give her an automatic controlling influence over all African countries, including even some Arabs and Arabic-speaking countries," the booklet said, referring to predictions similar to those contained in the National Security Council policy document and the department of defence studies.

Because of industrialised nations' fears about Nigeria's rise to power, Alhaji Usman warned, it has become "a matter of international concern if these God-given gifts should come to be harnessed by Nigerians for Nigerians as they are presently constituted for their future growth."

Thus, concluded Alhaji Usman, "one of the measures to halt Nigeria's rise to super power level is through orchestrated family planning and birth control. Every known trick and deceit has been wrapped up in the scheme."

Sallah day tragedy

Lagos-based businessman loses two wives and six children in a gruesome Sallah day accident

The gathering wore a mournful look, betraying a 'just-happened' tragedy. Mournful silence hanged over the air, such that even in homesteads along the street, conversations are held in subdued tones.

Any person who is conversant with the Shuab family home in Ebute Metta, Lagos especially on weekends would hardly believe this was the cheery house he had always known. Gone was the happy and cheerful laughter of the women and children of the house. All was silence.

Alhaji Tom Shuab, a Lagos-based businessman and an indigene of Borno State lost his two wives, six children and a driver in a tragic accident in Lagos last week. They were all wiped out in a gruesome crash on Eko Bridge on Monday, April 15, as other muslims were in festive mood, celebrating Eid-el-Fitri, the Islamic festival which marks the end of Ramadan.

Tom Shuab, a devout muslim, told *Citizen* last week, that on the fateful day, he and his family had woken up in a celebration mood, but all of a sudden the thrills of the

Eid-el-Fitri celebration turned sour when on the evening, while on a social visit to a relation at Surulere, his two wives and six children met their death.

Narrating his ordeal to *Citizen*, Alhaji Shuab explained that he felt sad whenever he remembered that A'ishat, his second wife was particularly reluctant to go out on the fateful day. He said he literally forced A'ishat to accompany other members of the family on a social visit to a relation in Surulere to mark the Eid-el-Fitri celebration. "A'ishat wanted to stay back at home to look

for me and visitors, but I insisted that she should go with the senior wife and the children and A'ishat followed them reluctantly" Alhaji Shuab lamented. As at last week scores of sympathizers from different parts of the country were still thronging the Shuab family home in Ebute Metta.

Alhaji Tom Shuab who appeared to have weathered the initial shock told *Citizen* that he is now left with three children, including Lawal and Bintu who survived the accident as well as Mohammed who did not go with the family. Bintu who had partially recovered from the wounds she sustained told *Citizen* on her sick bed at Junke Hospital, Ebute Metta, that the whole thing happened when their car hit a panel van resulting in both cars summer-saulting and killing nine of its occupants.

Mr. Festus Adio, an eye witness told *Citizen* that Bintu and her brother were rescued from the wreckage by sympathizers and law enforcement agents, who had also cleared the wreckage. Shuab however told *Citizen* that he does not believe in the on-going police investigation on the matter, as according to him "the worst has happened and there is no remedy for the loss".

Mr. Abel Nduka, the State's Police Public Relations Officer however told *Citizen* that the police are investigating the matter. He explained that police reports on the tragic accident would be made known in due course.

Meanwhile, the dead which included Alhaji Shuab's two wives, Kubura and A'ishat and his six children Isa, Adamu, Sanusi, Fatima, Umar, Zara and Shehu have been buried at the Lagos cemetery.

By Samson Ojo



Aishat holding little Shehu

Mohammed (top), one of the two survivors and Sanusi before the crash.

AFRICA

Angola

Peace in the kitty?

Angolan sixteen-year old war may end with a ceasefire agreement

Late there has been strong air of optimism that the ceasefire agreement to formally end the 16-year old Angolan civil war will be signed soon. The indication was given last week by the country's president, Dos Santos. He told the special congress of the ruling MPLA in Luanda, last week that his government had accepted to sign a US-Soviet Union-Portuguese brokered peace accord with the UNITA next month. The special congress was called to consider among others the party's new status in the light of the recent development and to sensitise it for the first multi party elections scheduled for November 1992.

The MPLA/UNITA negotiating team has been meeting for their 7th round of talks in Portugal for the past three weeks. They were recently joined by the American assistant secretary of state for African affairs, Mr. Herman Cohen and the head of African affairs in Soviet foreign ministry, Vladimir Kasimirov. The arrival of the two officials helped to (1) rekindle hope that peace agreement was within reach (2) reinforce the roles of both the US and Soviet Union both backers of UNITA and the MPLA government respectively. Before leaving for Lisbon, both officials had in separate interviews, spoken of high optimism to end the war "in the interest of the Angolan people."

Talks between the UNITA and the Angolan government broke down when they met in Lisbon in February. The deadlock came because of Angolan government's insistence in linking the deadline for ceasefire with the date of multi-



Santos and Savimbi, heading for peace?

party elections. This was opposed by UNITA. In a dramatic move however, UNITA announced its decision to suspend arms hostility. Jonas Savimbi told UNITA congress at its headquarters in Jamba last month that if no date for ceasefire was agreed with the government in this month's talks, UNITA would consider unilateral ceasefire. At the same time, he directed his officials to conclude formal ceasefire agreement when they meet with the government representatives and mediators from the US and Soviet Union at the current talks.

In spite of the trend of progress in the negotiations, renewed fighting broke out between the government and the UNITA forces along the Benguela railway line in the Eastern part of the country. The government said UNITA rebels had sent about seven regular battalions around the town's airport but vowed not to give in any inch of the town to the rebels. The fighting which involved heavy bombardments had recorded high

civilian casualties. It has been difficult to say why UNITA is engaged in the present offensive considering that agreement is rather close. It is however, strongly suspected that UNITA plans to capture more territories to use as a bargaining chip with the government. Secondly, it also wants to be seen and treated not just as a new political grouping but as one of the original founding partners in Angolan political system.

Meanwhile, the MPLA is believed to be working out a "loose alliance" with some of the emerging political parties to beat its rival UNITA at the polls in November 1992 elections. Already, the MPLA - inaugurated peoples assembly has formalised the country's transition to multi partyism. The MPLA government has accepted a number of agreements including integration of the two armies, free market economy and the first multi party elections in November 1992.

By Abu Mommoh

Cameroun

Biya back-pedals

President Paul Biya thinks playing game is sufficient weapon against the belligerent opposition

The outcome of the extraordinary session of the Camerounian national assembly may not be the much sought after elixir after all. The meeting was called by President Paul Biya to discuss Cameroun's political future. That was the government's response to the rioting and demonstration by the people calling for democratic reforms.

The assembly approved that all political prisoners be released and that the post of a prime minister be reintroduced. The appointment is to be made by the president, to the disappointment of the opposition which is hoping for a greater involvement in any political change.

By the two legislations, the government hopes to slow down — or put to rest completely — the opposition's demands for far-reaching political reforms. But, going by the opposition's first reaction, the gov-



Biya, fails to placate the opposition group

ernment still has a lot to do. The opposition is still calling for a conference which would have been an appropriate setting for a discussion. For all they care, the assembly is just a rubber-stamp of the government. President Biya wouldn't hear any-

thing of a national conference that may well produce the same outcome with the one in Republic of Benin.

Perhaps, Biya is still sure of holding out for as long as he wants. Meanwhile, clashes between police and rioters are reported to be continuing. Several people have been killed in the northern town of Egan-dure. And the opposition is not satisfied with the government's response. Yet, the government thinks it can successfully contain the pro-democracy lobby.

With more successful outcome for the opposition in other African countries, Biya's troubles with the opposition may just be beginning. They could be more destructive. In a situation where the opposition — the people, that is — is calling for democracy, bowing to the people's will looks a better alternative for Biya.

Sierra Leone

Nigeria, US troops to the rescue

Routed the first time, Charles Taylor could be in for another tailspin

It looks like another kind of ECOMOG. Nigeria and the United States of America have agreed to send troops and other logistics to help put an end to Charles Taylor's NPFL's raids into Sierra Leonean territory. Guinea is also giving a helping hand.

Chief Alex Akinyele, Minister of information announced that Nigeria would be sending troops to Sierra Leone in response to that country's request, but rejected any comparison between the latest contribu-

tion and the West African peace keeping force, ECOMOG, because in the latest case, Sierra Leone specifically requested for Nigeria's assistance. The US decision was announced by Mr. Herman Cohen, assistant secretary of state for African affairs, when he said a "rapid answer would be given to Sierra Leone's request for military aid".

The positive response is certainly a victory for President Joseph Momoh who hurried to Nigeria at the outset of skirmishes at the east-

ern borders of Sierra Leone. Charles Taylor, apparently made good his threat to attack Sierra Leone for making available its land to serve as the ECOMOG main base for supplies and logistics.

This turn of events should therefore nip in the bud Charles Taylor's or even, one Corporal Fidel Sancko's incursions into Sierra Leone. Moreover, Sierra Leone now has a reason not to regret her significant participation in ECOMOG.

By Rabiou Barde

South Africa

'Sorry Mr. President, we can't meet now'

The ANC rejects government's call for all party conference to end black township violence

When a little over two years ago Frederick W. de Klerk on becoming president promised a new era of "racially free and democratic South Africa", he was greeted with scepticisms.

Fired by his own sense of mission, De Klerk has within the last two years sent out enough signals that he meant business. First, many of the black political prisoners including Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela serving life jail terms in the notorious Robben Island prisons were released. Again to ensure the irreversibility of his "reforms," he initiated a number of legislations. Some of the laws of apartheid abrogated included Group Areas Act, Immorality Act, the Separate Amenities Act and Land Reforms Act. Early this month, the parliament sent a draft proposal to the government to end classification of persons by the colour of their skins which would repeal about ten other laws which would end racial classification by birth.

De Klerk's toughest problem however remains the increasing spate of violence at home. Years of apartheid system has a bred culture of violence that has refused to go away in the light of new changes. First, is the threat from white extremists who feel strongly betrayed that De Klerk is giving away to the blacks much of the "exclusive white privileges" and are therefore hell bent on derailing the process. More worrisome is the unceasing bloodshed between supporters of the African National Congress, (ANC) and Inkatha Movement led by Chief Buthelezi. The ANC leaders have

consistently blamed the government of aiding the rival Inkatha supporters in the maiming and killing of ANC supporters.

Last week, government decided to act on the allegations by proposing an all party conference in an attempt to end townships violence. The conference is scheduled for May 24. The proposal tabled in parliament Tuesday by law and order minister, Adrian Vlok received the president's support who has appealed to everyone involved in ending the fighting to attend. Only



De Klerk

Inkatha had accepted the call.

Expectedly, the ANC rejected the proposal describing it as a ploy to bolster the president's image who would be on a week-long tour of Europe. In any case, the ANC said the government already knew what to do to curb violence in the townships.

It has already given the government an ultimatum to disengage from further negotiations on the

future of South Africa if by May 9, it failed to end bloodshed in the black townships. It demanded the dismissals of law and order minister Vlok and defence minister, Magnus Malan.

Magnus Malan has presided over the so-called Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) widely believed to have carried out a number of abductions and assassinations of blacks. The ANC suspects that the same organisation had been actively involved in fuelling the current violence. The ANC also demanded that parliamentary should initiate a legislation outlawing the carrying of weapons to rallies and demonstrations. Deaths have been traced largely to supporters of Inkatha who were usually accorded the privilege of carrying the so-called traditional weapons.

Both the ANC deputy leader, Nelson Mandela and Chief Buthelezi have met twice this year in an attempt to stop fighting among their supporters to no avail. More than 600 have been killed in the violence.

President De Klerk did not seem to have taken the ANC ultimatum seriously last week before he began his week-long visit to Europe. Emboldened by the recent decision of the European Economic Community foreign ministers meeting to lift sanctions on South Africa, De Klerk could not have asked for more.

Analysts have expressed strong doubts that Dr Nelson Mandela who also arrived in London last Wednesday (a day after De Klerk) may have had a time convincing his English hosts that De Klerk's so-called reforms are a hog-wash.

By Abu Mommoh

Tibet

Who is rocking the boat?

President Bush gives exiled Dalai Lama audience and Beijing gets the jitters

A Nobel peace prize for Tibet's exiled spiritual head, the Dalai Lama in 1989 and a 30-minute audience with American President George Bush in Washington on April 16 were two major events which touched China, which had held onto this tiny mountain nation since 1950, on the raw side. The leadership in Beijing is nervous that Washington is about to change its position of recognising Tibet as part of China.

Indeed, Tibetans are rejoicing over the meeting, which they consider a victory for their cause and "sign of a shift in US policy towards China". To be sure, the Tiananmen square massacre of pro-democracy protesters in June 1989 did great damage to Sino-US relations. Bush who had just taken office then condemned in very strong terms the bloody suppression of the protests but he stopped short of breaking ties with Beijing. Since then the icy

relations have thawed but they have not warmed up to their pre-June 1989 level.

Against that backdrop, the April 16 meeting between Bush and the Dalai Lama was seen by the Chinese as a matter of course. The foreign ministry promptly called up the American ambassador, James Lilley and handed him a protest. Vice foreign minister Liu Huagui told Lilley that the meeting was an act of gross interference in his country's internal affairs and warned it could harm Sino-US relations.

China's worry is that the Dalai Lama is not just a spiritual leader but also "a political exile instigating Tibetan separatism". He did lead an unsuccessful rebellion in 1959. Its failure drove him into exile in India, where he has been living ever since. In September 1987 there were widespread anti-Chinese protests in Lhasa, the province's capital. These again were put down by the Chinese

police, who reported 10 dead but Tibetans themselves claimed as high as 1,000 dead.

Even since then there have been several thousands of arrests. Chinese leaders reported 1,305, out of which 121 were convicted and 807 released. According to US-based human rights group, Asia-watch, many monks and nuns were among those arrested.

China plans a celebration of the 40th anniversary of Tibet's "liberation" next

month (May) and that is the more reason why it was jittery about the Dalai Lama's visit to Washington. But may-be, its anxiety was not really called for. If it wanted an assurance that relations have not changed for the worst between it and America it had an abundance of it in the visit of former President Jimmy Carter, who returned few days before the Bush-Dalai Lama meeting, with not too damning a report about China's human rights record since the Tiananmen square shootings.

Then, following the foreign ministry protest, a White House spokesman explained that President Bush met the Dalai Lama in his capacity as Tibet's spiritual leader and Nobel peace prize winner. An adviser to the religious leader, however, let the cat out of the bag when he disclosed that the two men discussed China's occupation of Tibet and human rights violations there. The Chinese leaders who had tried to abort the Dalai Lama's trip to the United States would be uncomfortable to find out that those indeed were the things President Bush discussed with the visitor. But they may never find out. White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater would only let out this: "We recognise him as a religious leader. We don't have any comment on what he was saying here".

China and Tibet both had been parts of the old Manchu Empire. Tibet broke away in 1911 only to be conquered by the new Chinese republic in 1950. In 1959 Tibetans rose in rebellion against Chinese rule but it was unsuccessful. In 1965, Tibet was given a self-rule status but remained as a territory of China.

By Tawey Zalka



The Dalai Lama

Kohl loses own province

Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany, last week Monday, had cause to worry over his political career and the survival of the ruling Christian Democratic Party (CDP). The CDP, for the first time since the end of the Second World War, lost control of the local parliament following its defeat in Mr. Kohl's own province in elections held over the weekend.

The result of the elections which seemed to have been obvious ever before the official announcement was made proved the downward slide of the CDP in the country's political affairs. Observers pointed out that Kohl's loss of his primary constituency could be a precedence to the CDP's loss of its majority also in the upper house later in the year.

Mr. Kohl may not have been

optimistic about a land slide for the CDP giving the spate of protests that have characterised his leadership since the reunification of Germany, many of which have called outright



Kohl, becoming unpopular

for his resignation. The lot of East Germans has not significantly improved with the merge. Majority of them are still unemployed and wallowing in the aftermath of the collapse of communism.

Although Chancellor Kohl has taken some measures to better their lives in the short and long term, including the creation of more job opportunities, there have been demonstrations against the meagreness of the income derived from many of such labour and thus, their inability still to meet up to the living standard of their western counterparts.

Monday's defeat, therefore, may best be taken by the German leader as a shove to give all Germans a genuine hope to lean on sooner than later.

Kuwait maintains the norm

Even with the destruction wrought on it by the Iraqi invasion, Kuwait won't let go monarchy

In keeping with the pledge to introduce "democracy" this year, the emir of Kuwait, Sheikh Jaber's post Gulf War political formation seems to have begun on a wrong footing. The new cabinet sworn in Sunday, April 21, amidst great resentment from opposition groups is a mere reshuffle of the ruling Sabah family which in the new outfit retains five key positions.

The reshuffle exhibits the internal feuds between the two main parts of the Sabah family with Sheikh Jaber's delegated weak positions while the family of the crown prince holds the invaluable posts. In a joint statement issued by opposition movements, the dismissal of all ministers who served in government before the August 2, Iraqi invasion was called

for and in its place, the creation of a broad-based national body. The existing cabinet before the invasion of Kuwait has been vehemently blamed for the August 2 disaster. It had resigned, March 19, following growing public disillusionment and loud protests against government's failure to restore essential services in the country weeks after the Gulf War.

Issa Shaheen, a US-based businessman and head of the Islamic constitutional movement spoke the minds of the people when he told correspondents he was totally stupefied by the return into government the same people that precipitated the Iraqi invasion. What the people did not expect is a display of insensitivity to their wish for better democracy, for in their



Sheikh Jaber, won't let go

opinion generally, Saturday night's appointment is simply a continuation of what has for decades been the norm.

By Delia Nzekwu



KABIRU YUSUF

for me. On Sunday morning (February 24) the ground war started and it was over by Wednesday, when President Bush broadcast a conditional ceasefire. That day Royal Jordanian again left London without me, with the

Without saying no, the Iranians made sure that only few achieved this aim. Their reason was obvious. The border area between Iran — Iraq is still a 'Military Zone', with soldiers and military installations in the positions they were since the Iran-Iraq war ended in 1988. Khorramshahr, a once beautiful city on the Shattal al-Arab waterway, is located in this danger zone, a mere 20 kilometres from Basra. Within its ruined buildings thousands of Iraqi rebel fighters organise the logistics for the battle against Saddam Hussein.

Those who wished to go to this area (which means virtually all the journalists) have to submit an application to the Ministry of Islamic guidance, and then wait in their hotel rooms, for the call that often never came. With no wine to raise their spirits, I saw many foreign correspondents at Laleh Hotel literally going bananas over the delay tactics. I thought I was lucky, when after waiting for five days I was told that my application to go to Khorramshahr had been approved. That evening, I left Tehran, with a guide, to the provincial capital of Ahwaz which is 830 kilometres away. But we waited for another 4 days at Ahwaz, while local officials sought to deal with Tehran if we really had permission to go to the border. Finally we were told "sorry you can't go", on the strength of a superior order from the office of the Revolutionary Guards. Only then, after waiting for nine days, did I lose my cool. But only for a few seconds! I figured that the Iranians must have good reasons for not wanting us to reach that area. But since the main objective of the trip would be defeated if I did not at least reach Iraq's border, I became equally determined that permission or not, I would go to Khorramshahr.

Dairy of a "War" correspondent (2)

The first thing a friend observed the morning I arrived London was how scantily dressed I was. I told him I did not plan to suffer the cold February winds for more than a day or two. That Friday I called at the Jordanian embassy, reaching there shortly after they closed their offices at 2 p.m. On the strength of an earlier telephone call I was allowed in and was fairly well-received by a consular officer. However the man quickly punctured my euphoria, by saying that nobody had called on my behalf about a visa and as a journalist they had to refer my (fresh) application to "higher authorities" in Amman.

The Royal Jordanian Airline was the only carrier that had flights to Amman during the Gulf War. All other airlines had cancelled theirs. Royal Jordanian operated on Monday, Wednesday and Friday. The earliest I could leave London for the Gulf, therefore, was Monday morning February 25, but when I called the Jordanian embassy first thing Monday, I was told there was no word from Amman about my application. After vague reassurances, I swallowed my disappointment and booked the next flight on Wednesday. Meanwhile events were not waiting

embassy insisting it was still waiting for approval from Amman. After what threatened to degenerate into a shouting match with the counsel, I summoned the help of Mr Dajani, a retired Jordanian banker living in London. But despite this additional pressure the embassy refused to budge.

By Friday, I had spent a week in London, the war was well over, I was down with a terrible cold and was faced with a reporter's dilemma: Since I could not report on the war, should I return home, or press on to cover the aftermath of the war? That weekend I spent alone, tossing and turning in a London hotel room. By Monday morning I had made my decision. The papers were full of stories about the Shiite uprising in Southern Iraq. One reporter said he made it to Basra, the centre of the rebellion and Iraq's second largest city by boat, through the Iranian port-city of Khorramshahr. Since I had an Iranian visa, I took the next Iran Air flight bound for Tehran. Getting to Khorramshahr from the Iranian capital became an equally frustrating endeavour. Dozens of journalists had descended on the Islamic Republic from all over the world with the aim of covering the war in Southern Iraq.

SOCIETY

	Page		
CITIZENSHIP	32	BOOK REVIEW	37
PRIVATE EYE	33	SPORTS	39
RECIPE CORNER	34	DEFINITIONS IN HUMOUR	42
POETS' NEST	35		
ARTS	36		



Anatsul poses with one of his works Page 36



What's up?

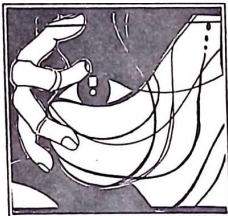
The ministry of truth now has two full offices, all in West Africa. One is in Abidjan run by the very able Elizabeth Blunt and the other in Lagos to be run by a Mr. David Bamford. According to Mr. Mark Doyle, the fellow who set up the office after a six-month "experiment," the British Broadcasting Corporation, BBC, has suddenly discovered that "there are enough stories here to justify having a full-time Lagos correspondent." He enthused: "The high point for me is when I hear stories about Nigeria on the world service where they belong. Nigerian stories are important."

Are they really? Why suddenly are Nigerian stories important? Why was Mr. Doyle, in his own words, "sensitive" to criticisms that the Western media take delight only in reporting the dirty aspect of events in Africa?

As far as I can remember, and I am older than the 31-year old Doyle, there have always been news about Nigeria on the BBC. They have varied with the times, but always about crop failures, famine, coups, counter-coups, hunger and

starvation, mass deaths that are supposed to result from AIDS, an alleged disease which first manifested in drug-riddled America, but is now found only in Monkeys in Africa and is fast de-populating Africa, but at the same time America is selling condoms to African leaders because, according to America, we are over-populated!

Of recent, the emphasis has been on issues that have to do with violence, acrimony, tension and, especially religion. Increasingly,



reports from Nigeria have centred on issues of security, not ours, but theirs. Remember the time when Britain and America again partitioned Nigeria by asking its citizens in the country of Northern Nigeria to leave because it is muslim

dominated and therefore unsafe for the pure Christian westerners?

If you also remember, Britain has been a safe heaven for fugitives from Nigerian laws. At the time General Murtala was murdered and General Gowon was thought to have been part of the plan, a British minister told us on our soil in Lagos that Britain would not allow for his return under any circumstances. Not much has changed. Akinloye is still there. So is Lt-Colonel Nyam and several others.

I remember that a few years ago, the BBC refused to open an office in Nigeria, preferring Abidjan for two basic reasons; that Lagos is not the simplest or the healthiest of places to live in and besides, it was listed among the most expensive places on earth. That was before the economy even got this bad. The other reason was the extremely poor communication system in Nigeria. So, have these changed for the better that the Beeb has now opened an office in Lagos? Does the Beeb know something we don't? Perhaps the crowd of "eminent journalists" that feted Doyle's replacement, Mr. Bamford, with such relish can provide the answers. They seem to know these things.

The Barons

After the adoption of resolution 1, the meeting of the strategic committee continues.

Baron Nanene: How do we divide the north into operational zones? We must avoid dividing the north, which the Sardauna bequeathed to us. There mustn't also be reference to far north, middle belt — that cancer that nearly split the north during the Tiv riots of the early 1960's.

Baron Nagogo: I suggest the following groupings of states for operational purposes. Group 1 — Kwara, Sokoto, Niger and Abuja. Group 2 — Plateau, Kaduna and

Katsina. Group 3 — Benue and Kano. Group 4 — Borno, Bauchi and Gongola.

Baron Nababa: I support the last speaker but it appears that groups 1 and 4 are too large. It will be difficult to traverse these areas within the time available to us. You know the soldiers can spring up a surprise and invite us to form political associations. I suggest that Bauchi State be transferred to group 3, while Katsina should be merged with group 1 and Niger and Abuja should go to group 2.

Chairman: Any further suggestions? None? We adopt the original proposal as amended. The proposal was adopted as resolution No. 2.

Baron Nababa: Should allocation of territorial responsibilities, that is

fiefdoms, be done by drawing lots, personal choice or otherwise?

Baron Nakawu: I prefer to be given Group 1 as amended.

Baron Nababa: Group 4 will do for me.

Baron Nagogo: I opt for group three.

Chairman: I have to be content with Group 2 which incidentally includes the strategic Kaduna and also the future federal capital. Best suited for your chairman, *ko?* We should now visit our fiefdoms, make necessary contacts and consultations and report our findings to our bosses — the super barons at Kaduna! Someone should say the closing prayers. I suggest Na'ibin Maiyasin (deputy to Baron Maiyasin) leads us in prayers. Baron Nagogo complied and the meeting rose.

Rice dishes

Tuwon shinkafa

Ingredients	Metric
Rice	400 g
Water	1.3 l
Salt	3 g

Put the rice, water and salt in a pan. Cover and cook until the rice is very soft. Mix with a wooden spoon or the back of a cooking spoon, mashing it into a firm mass. Cool partially to allow it to stiffen. It should be eaten with the fingers, accompanied by any stew, preferably one with a leafy green vegetable.

Coconut rice

Coconut rice is prepared in many parts of the world. While some people add spices, tomato paste and other strongly flavoured ingredients, these tend to mask the coconut flavour.

The colour of this coconut rice is nearly white and the coconut flavour is distinct. To give more colour and still retain the flavour, a fresh tomato and/or a fresh red pepper (seeds and membranes removed) can be sliced thinly and added with the onion.

Ingredients	Metric
Rice (long grain, parboiled)	200 g
Coconut	1 kg
Onion	75 g
Salt	1.5 g
Water	580 ml
Tatasai, chopped finely	

Prepare coconut milk, using 2 mg water (see below). Bring the coconut milk to the boil and add the remaining ingredients. When the mixture is boiling, turn to the lowest heat and cook tightly. When all the water has

been absorbed and the grains are still separate, turn well to loosen the grains and remove from the heat. Allow to cool partially before serving. Serve with a meat (try roasted or fried pork) or with a chicken dish and a vegetable for a very special Sunday dinner.

Variations Add 2 tsp. dry, ground crayfish, a pinch of ground cloves or 1 tsp. African black pepper.

Coconut milk

To prepare coconut milk The brown layer outside the white coconut meat may or may not be removed before the coconut meat is grated finely on a grater, in a blender being cut into small pieces with a knife, or on a traditional raspado. Pour one cup of boiling water over the coconut meat. Let it stand for thirty minutes. Strain it through a fine sieve. Pour another cup of boiling water over the grated meat and let it stand another thirty minutes. Strain again. The milk collected from the two strainings can be used with the coconut water as a beverage, preferably chilled, or in cooking.

Steamed ground rice

Ingredients	Metric
Rice	200 g
Superior palm oil	15 ml
Fresh pepper	
Salt	1.5 g
Onion, chopped or ground	75 g
Dry crayfish, ground	20 g
Water	580 ml

Soak the rice for 30 minutes. Drain and leave to dry for 10 minutes. Beat



in a mortar to a fine flour consistency and sift. You may prefer to use commercially pre-prepared rice flour, although the consistency of the final product will be different. Boil the water and add the rice flour slowly, stirring until smooth. Add the other ingredients. If necessary, add water to obtain a thick dropping consistency. Wrap in leaves and steam as for steamed cowpea paste. Cool slightly before removing from leaves. Serve immediately on its own or with a meat containing stew.

Ground rice and stew

Ingredients	Metric
Ground rice	
Groundnut stew	

Prepare ground rice or purchase commercially (see above). Mix with well-flavoured groundnut stew and water to make a thick dropping consistency. Wrap in leaves and steam as for steamed cowpea paste. Serve as steamed ground rice. If meat or fish is included in the stew, cut it into small pieces.

Human anatomy

Anatomy features refreshingly in our nest this week as *Garba Wala* weaves verses around the head, neck, stomach and legs. These components of the complex human body perform such wonderful functions that one is forced to marvel at the impeccable work of our creator.

Head

Ordinary ball of complexities.
First wonder of Heavens and Earth.
Titular of creations.
Titan and tiro of existence.
The head,
Headmaster of the body.

God's best creation.
Shaped as differently and uniquely as the planets.
Holding most complex gadgets ever devised;
The Negus of head:
Brain, mouth, ear, eye, nose;
Reflecting physiognomy, knowledge and ability
The gate of identification
No created beings, appear same

Faces oval or round.
Mouths wide or broad.
Ears large or small.
Noses narrow, pointed or broad.
Brain Saddamed or Bushed.
Uniqueness persists in minor details.
And none appears same.

Stomach

Bag of necessity
for Homo-sapiens.
Tied to the mid-region
like a bloated balloon.
Smoothened with a skin
as fresh as water melon.
Her centre identified with
a fetish brawn.
Her capacity for intake
as varied as the individual's taste.

Within, electronic devices

actively churning out multiple information.
Upper-deck requests
for reflex action
Middle-deck to recipients.
Lower-deck ejects wastes
via congested two-way traffic.
She is the essence for survival.

Mechanisms in the bag
demand and compel
owners to good or bad
Ali must work his hands hard to satisfy her
Dele must use his tongue glibly to satisfy her.
Kande must throw away her virtue to satisfy her
Ozega must cheat to satisfy her.
Baiko must suppress or deny others to satisfy her.

Mankind abandoned
Birth-places, villages, towns
cities, countries etc. in search
of means to satisfy her.

She boasts of compliance
and all must obey.
or who wouldn't?

Neck

He stands like an Iroko trunk;
Strings of flesh inter-woven
Like cables in a tube.
Supported by hollowed bones
Arranged like Itsekiri acrobats.
Vessels, nerves and impulses
cascading as broom-sticks in a tin.
Adamant as the guard is,
Commands life to both ends.

Hercules of the complex machine-head.
Stalactite and stalagmite of
the whole machinery-body
Bridge of survival.
Gate-way to life or death.
Neck!

Neck, necks the movement of head.
Gives direction its proper place.
Allows head rest on a majestic cushion.



ion. Takes delicate messages to and from mouth, ear, eye, brain, skin, skull, hair. Functioning and coordinating of the whole.

He receives and transfers messages faster than light. Or
Takes and sends messages slower than a chameleon
He makes distances shorter than mouth to nose. Or
Longer than North to South pole.
Primate of life
Honourable minister of communications
Neck!!

Legs

Two girders of kind.
Primed with gears for propulsion.
Positioned to organise,
And receive rhythmic fall of the body.
Swathed with flesh and tendons.
Ladden with electrodes of mobility.
For transporting the body easily.

Mind conceives;
Body responds;
Legs obey.
Destination(s) verified;
For journeys of service
Or servitude.
For journeys of good
Or evil.
For journeys of survival
Or death.
Yet, legs obey.

M. Garba Wala

Burnt wood as metaphor

The internationally renowned sculptor, El Anatsui, finds a new school

At the opening ceremony of El Anatsui's latest exhibition of sculptures at the National Museum, Onikan last week, Mr. Bruce Onobrakpeya, the internationally renowned painter and printmaker, announced the birth of a new school in sculpture and named Anatsui its founder. Onobrakpeya's announcement took no one by surprise. Indeed, what the circle of art critics, journalists and commesseurs who had gathered at the Museum that evening found surprising was that it took so long for art watchers to recognise the advent of this new school in sculptural art and accord due honour to its founder.

El Anatsui, has, in the relatively short space of seven years, single-handedly, and with the power-saw and sander as his only companions, taken wood to new artistic heights and in the process revolutionising our conception of sculpture. Anatsui casually picks up a piece of wood with his right hand, retires to his studio and by the time he is through with it with his power-saw, behold, a work of art is born! And the distinctive hallmark of Anatsui's wooden sculptures? Burnt lines that crisscross these wooden panels and in the process, imbue them with a new life of their own.

It is in the completed sculptural piece itself that the full measure of Anatsui's genius as an artist reveals itself. Only art, great art, has the capability to create something out of nothing—and Anatsui displays this rarest of talents. Preparing for the National Museum exhibition entitled "Old and New," he journeyed

to distant villages picking up old and discarded wooden mortars, pestles, axe handles and even the odd log of wood lying in an untidy corner. To the ordinary eye all these thrown into a heap, constitute junk.



The Sculptor, El Anatsui poses with one of his works

But Anatsui's artistic eye saw different. Wood may be old, but it has soul, and it is precisely this soul, trapped within, that the sculptor sought to set free.

The process Anatsui adopts to set this soul free is seemingly simple. He gets his power saw to work on the wood, boring intricate lines, figures, shapes and holes on it, smoothening it in some places with a sander, adding a touch of colour here and there and then, gradually, before your very eyes, the piece of wood gradually undergoes a metamorphosis, shedding its old skin and assuming a new identity.

His latest exhibition, "Old and New" provides a key to unlock the

riddle of the Anatsui magic but does not proffer an answer to the riddle itself. Take this sculpture titled "Spear Bearer" for instance. It could well have been just another piece of wood lying unnoticed in a refuse bin. But then, touch it with the Anatsui magic and a "chemical" reaction occurs. The soul of the wood suddenly asserts itself. The sculpture assumes a life of its own, an autonomy, asserting itself in three dimensional space and calling attention to itself as a profound work of art. Or take another sculpture, "Back of Front" where

Anatsui sends into rhythmic motion, cylindrical pieces of wood joined together to cut a vertical path in space. Encountering this piece, the first impression is akin to encountering the amous Ijele masquerade: the splendour, the intricate calligraphy, the exuberant spirit, the joyous spectacle. You are before a work of art perfectly wrought, and all you feel is a deep humility mixed with a sense of awe.

For a master sculptor who, with a few others has brought modern African art back to international reckoning, this, should indeed be an occasion for a smile.

By Ike Okonta

A primer for leaders

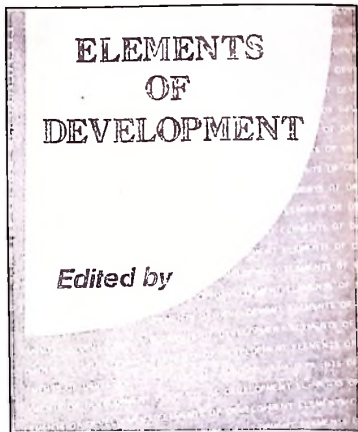
Title: Elements of Development
 Edited by: Olusegun Obasanjo and Akin Mabogunje
 Publishers: A4 Publications
 Price: Not stated
 Reviewer: Stanley Macebuh

Nearly five centuries ago, a young man, even by the definitions of the book under review, sat in his study in the Italian city-state of Florence, and brooded over the travails of his state. He had been a soldier, a politician (some would say statesman), a diplomat, and an adviser to princes. Florence, his state, was in the sixteenth century not only a city with great human and material potential, it had been a strong economic power. Its citizens were adventurous, innovative and full of energy. But the state itself was in disarray. Governments were formed and removed with painful regularity. Powerful citizens sought to bend the purposes of the state to their own capricious will. The rulers, themselves were even more capricious than the citizens, and did what they pleased. Anarchy reigned everywhere, and the foundations of the state, in art, culture, diplomacy and finance, were tottering.

Niccolo Machiavelli contemplated all this, and in 1513 came out with a historic document, in which he outlined the means by which power may be acquired and sustained. It was a very cynical document. Florence was an authoritarian oligarchy, and Machiavelli's document, quite understandably, did not concern itself with the rights of citizens. To put it quite bluntly, he came to the considered judgment, that since the citizens in any state were mean, brutish and dastardly, whoever wished to rule them was obliged, also, to be equally mean, brutish and devious.

That, as I say, was in 1513. By the eighteenth century, an entirely new impulse had quite superseded Machiavelli's exclusive concern with the prerogative of princes. By then, the philosophers in Philadelphia and Paris had substituted compassion for greed, and had discarded the privilege of rulers in favour of the rights of citizens. Marx was in the 19th century, to move this impulse one historic notch further, by turning Machiavelli on his head, and carefully defining the means by which citizens, not rulers, may not only acquire power, but sustain it.

I make these preliminary comments for two main reasons. First, to suggest what may be considered at least an arguable limitation of *Dialogues on Development*, and secondly, to suggest that it may happily be located right at the centre of that modern impulse which,



broadly defined, is a *collective*, rather than an individual attempt, founded in compassion, to define and then seek to resolve the dilemmas of man in an underdeveloped environment such as Nigeria.

The limitation I earlier referred to may in the end be judged insignificant. But the fact needs, nevertheless, to be pointed out that, perhaps because of a resolute impatience with ideological categories, *Dialogues on Development* is trapped in an interesting dilemma. It takes, in my view, the quite correct position that development, no matter how defined, must begin from the bottom up; but it also seems to argue that in an imperfect world such as we live in, it is the state, or to be more exact, government, that must not only initiate, but in fact direct and accomplish the process itself. In this view, then, citizens can at best be described only as participant beneficiaries of the process of development, not its architects, not masters in their own house.

But we may be quibbling, which is in fact the one intellectual sin which General Obasanjo constantly admonishes against in this book. But to the book itself, I do not believe it is my responsibility to analyse, chapter by chapter, what *Dialogues on Development* is about. That I will leave to professional academics. My task, as I define it, is to suggest to this audience why I believe it is an important and compelling book.

Retired heads of state, just like retired generals, do have some obligation to put on record an account of their command or stewardship. We, the citizenry, on our part, do tend to be charitable and indulgent towards such accounts. But nothing can be more irritating, and even vexatious, than the spectacle of a former president or head of state presuming to outline for his successors a far more complex and difficult agenda than he himself was able to prescribe for himself.

But none, to my knowledge, has ever denounced General Obasanjo as a fool. And he has quite certainly shown

no signs of foolishness here. For quite apart from the objective correctness of the method he adopted in preparing this book, it must have occurred to him that working at it alone would have raised irrelevant considerations that would certainly have diverted attention from the substantive seriousness of its contents. As it turned out, what he did was use his own personal resources to assemble at weekends, over a period of more than two years, a number of Nigerians, each of them competent in his or her own field of endeavour, to collectively meditate over our present discontents. I myself had to work for this review from typed manuscripts. I have not seen the book itself. But I do hope that the book carries an appendix listing the names of all those Nigerians who attended these weekend seminars.



Obasanjo: a compelling document

For that would dispel any suspicion that General Obasanjo gathered around him only people of like

Development is not just necessary, it is an absolute condition if we must as citizens live a fulfilled life. Development is not mysterious. It is simply the sum total of what men and women do in a specified environment to harness the energy in nature and in themselves for their own enlightened enjoyment

mind, and prevailed on them to rubber stamp his own often peculiar views. On the contrary, I do know that there were many participants and at these dial radicals, anarchists and fanatics of all causes, whom the General would ordinarily not even sell his eggs or chickens to. But they all had something significant to say about the Nigerian condition, and this book is a brilliantly edited summary of their recommendations.

The scope of concern in the book is exhaustive. It

deals with virtually every aspect of Nigerian life. Under the general subject of development, and the conditions that make it possible, it discusses culture, education, population, health, housing, agriculture, technology, rural development, local government, communications, leadership, and even patterns of marriage. It throws a search light on these matters, and offers practical recommendations on what can and should be done. It is so detailed that it tells you at what age you should marry, what you should eat, what you should learn at school, how many children, and wives, you should have, and by extension, how much should be spent at your funeral. It discusses corruption, avarice, greed, selfishness and special pleading, and denounces them as unethical in themselves, and obstacles to development.

But if I were obliged to summarise, in one paragraph, the major conclusions of this book, that summary would run thus: Development is not just necessary, it is an absolute condition if we must as citizens live a fulfilled life. Development is not mysterious. It is simply the sum total of what men and women do in a specified environment to harness the energy in nature and in themselves for their own enlightened enjoyment. It is not static, nor should it be measured merely by economic indices. It is a participatory project, involving the governors and the governed. In our own case, it presupposes an open, democratic culture which blends tradition and modern values, while at the same time creating the conditions in which the individual can attain his highest potential both in body and in spirit.

But what I find most attractive about *Dialogues on Development* is that, unlike Marx's *Das Capital*, but more like Machiavelli's *The Prince*, it is the sort of document you can present to the next president of our republic as handover notes, wherein he will find, clearly and simply stated, every policy he may adopt and seek to execute, for everyday of his four-year term. It is a primer not just of development, but indeed of compassionate government.

I do not know what it is they are doing at the Centre for Democratic Studies. But in so far as they are rumoured to be training our future leaders there, I firmly believe that, that Centre can do no greater service to this nation than to make this book absolutely required reading for every would-be leader. Fortunately, it is not a partisan book. And for this reason, it is the sort of document which both the horse and the eagle can be fairly comfortable with.

SPORTS

9th National Sports Festival

Festival of chaos (1)

The ninth National Sports Festival in Bauchi was planned to be a colourful event, but poor preparation and some ugly incidents have killed its glamour

Spontaneous and premeditated negative forces have an inexplicable way of turning a beautiful dream into a disaster.

When President Ibrahim Babangida lit the torch of unity on Wednesday April, 17 for the National Sports Festival (NSF) billed to commence two days later in Bauchi, almost all sports loving citizens of this country regarded the president's symbolic action as the beginning of a glowing success story that would become of the ten-day sports fiesta tagged "Bauchi '91".

That was however not to be. Four days into the biennial sporting event, what was packaged to be the best organised festival in recent time had almost become a nightmare, a shattered dream. It was

as though the organisers and some mysterious forces of evil were locked in a running battle right from April 19 when the contingents started arriving Bauchi over who should control the affairs of the festival.

Luck however deserted the organising committee members and the host state on Monday night, a day after the festival was officially declared open, when vandals and looters, operating under the guise of communal and religious rioting, temporarily sacked Bauchi metropolis. The blood-letting riot which, ac-

ording to investigations, was a spillover from what was described as incessant communal and religious



President Babangida handing the festival torch to Ali

clashes at Tafawa Balewa village, about 80 kilometres from Bauchi, immediately forced a one-day suspension of the festival.

By Tuesday morning, the festival was fast heading for unceremonious and untimely end. The riot enveloped the whole of Bauchi town in a pall of fear the following morning. Festival contingents from the southern part of the country started planning their return journey to their homes. And in fact, athletes and their officials from zone one (Lagos, Oyo and Ogun States), zone two (Bendel,

Ondo and Rivers States) and zone three (Anambra, Akwa-Ibom, Cross River and Imo States) had their buses turned back at the outskirts of Bauchi by some security agents who were drafted there as part of exigent measures hurriedly devised by the state government and the organising committee to save the festival from its worst set back.

This year's sports festival seemed doomed even before it took off. But the irony of the whole drama is that the festival working committee and the state government which were to see it to a successful end somehow lost track of their responsibilities, giving way to chaos.

The first sign that the festival might not be smooth sailing was noticed the moment the bearers of the festival torch left Lagos. The manner the torch carrying team led by Mr. Jimmy Omagbemi (CON), former deputy Director General of the defunct National Sports Commission, carried out its mission was far from satisfactory. The torch that was to be ceremoniously received in all the zonal headquarters on its way to Bauchi was either not received in some zones at all or were received without the expected glamour. This was due largely to the fact that the torch bearers failed to keep the zonal headquarters in the picture of their movements even when officials in the zone were making frantic but fruitless efforts to keep track.

The drama that surrounded the torch reception in Minna, zone seven headquarter was quite shocking. Niger State governor, the Emir of Minna, the zonal coordinator and all top shots from the state stormed

the stadium as early as 1.00 p.m. to receive the torch which was due to arrive Minna from Enugu by 2.00 p.m. The governor and his aides waited till 6.30 p.m. and left when the torch bearer did not show up. Surprisingly, however, Mr Omagbemi and his team who told *Citizen* in Kaduna that they could not arrive Minna on schedule because of mechanical faults on their car, later arrived Minna in the night, slept in rooms booked for them at

the most serious problems on the first, second and the third day of the festival. Although section 3.2 (d) of the festival rules makes it mandatory for the host state to "provide hostel accommodation, complete with board and lodging facilities such as beds and mattresses for the athletes and accompanying official", the game village built for the festival could only accommodate contingents from two zones and it was without beds and mattresses. The

The dragnet of the law enforcement agents failed to pick the scent of the possible spill-over of the trouble in Balewa village to Bauchi town, until after looters and arsonists had ransacked the city, striking terror in the minds of visitors and inhabitants alike.

Shiroro Hotel by the zone seven coordinator, Alhaji Abba Yola, and sneaked out of Minna the following morning without making their presence known to anybody so that the torch could be officially received.

Before the big dent brought to the NSF by the Bauchi riot, a lot of problems had threatened to turn the festival upside down. The festival working committee (FWC) and its various sub-committees were easily overcome by the avalanche of problems the arrival of the contingents brought on its trail. Accommodation of athletes and their officials was one of

scrambling for spaces at the game village became a terrible ordeal when athletes from three other zones who said they could no more bear the suffering of sleeping in open air around Abubakar Tafawa Balewa Stadium stormed the game village where two zones were already quartered.

If the accommodation sub-committee is to blame for its inability to properly organise and coordinate the accommodation of the athletes, some of the athletes also compounded the committee's problem when they (athletes) started rejecting the schools and hostels allocated to them in preference to the game village. A member of the national organising committee, Alhaji Abba Yola, also absolved the state government from blame for its failure to provide mattresses in some of the hostels provided for the athletes. He told *Citizen* that the organising committee resolved some months back that each zone was to come along with mattresses for its contingents. The zones were informed accordingly but some of them came to Bauchi without mattresses, according to Abba Yola.

Accreditation of athletes, officials and pressmen was another matter



Kure: sports minister

that caused serious problem for the organising committee. Athletes and their officials who arrived Bauchi since Thursday April 18, could not complete their accreditation procedure before the opening ceremony on Sunday. Some of the athletes who competed in some events on that Sunday afternoon almost got disqualified for their inability to secure their accreditation cards. Some events had to be delayed to allow some of the participating athletes get accredited. Pressmen were the hardest hit. Some of them who could not secure accreditation cards before the opening ceremony on Sunday were prevented from entering the stadium to cover the event.

The technical sub-committee also threw its job to the wind. The committee which was headed by the Bauchi State director of sports, Alhaji Tanimu Sa'idu failed to ensure that some of the venues marked for competitions were put in usable condition. Football and Badminton pitches at Abubakar Tafawa Balewa University were yet to be marked as at Monday when *Citizen* visited the venue. Athletes who went there to stage their events on Monday morning could not compete. The same situations prevailed at Bauchi Teachers College, venue for golf and cricket, Federal Polytechnic, the venue for football and cricket and School of Basic Studies, venue for volleyball, hockey and football.

If all the hitches enumerated



Col. Ali: Bauchi State Governor

above reflect the general laxity that has been haunting sports administration and sports competitions in this country, the security arrangement to safeguard the lives of the athletes and prevent the festival from being rudely disrupted as the April 22 riot did, is a big indictment on the State government and the apparatus of law enforcing agents in the State.

Nothing could best demonstrate the weakness of security arrangement in the State than the communal and religious skirmishes at Tafawa Balewa. The trouble, according to investigation, started on Friday April 19, between the predominantly Hausa Fulani and their Bassai counter-parts who were said to be



Bajega, Com. for Soc. Welfare Youth and Sports, Bauchi State

mostly Christians, over allocation of spaces at the local government's abattoir. The dragnet of the law enforcement agents failed to pick the scent of the possible spill-over of the trouble in Balewa village to Bauchi town, until after looters and arsonists had ransacked the city, striking terror in the minds of visitors and inhabitants alike.

Although the state governor, Col. Abu Ali responded by imposing a dawn to dusk curfew on the state capital and urged the athletes to go about their normal business, the ugly incidents and other logistic problems have succeeded in robbing the festival of its expected glamour.

By Joe Olajuwon

Boxing

Heroic misadventure

Evander Holyfield keeps his title, but George Foreman gets all the respect



Foreman, respected even in defeat

When is a defeat a victory? When a 42 year old fighter can stand toe-to-toe without falling for the maximum twelve rounds with a 28 year old world undisputed champion in a boxing bout. Or rather, all heroic defeats should qualify as victories. That is the meaning of 28-

year Evander Holyfield's successful defence of his undisputed world heavyweight boxing title against a proud senior citizen, 42-year old George Foreman.

Going into the fight, no one, but, perhaps only himself (Foreman) believed he was a credible opposition to the well-respected Holyfield. That

it turned out not so is somewhat an unpleasant statement on today's heavyweight boxing. Many are rightly thinking so. And here is why.

What would a 28 year old Holyfield do to a 24 year old George Foreman who knocked out Joe Frazier in under two rounds to become world champion in 1974? Or, can a 40 year old Holyfield stand, even for a minute, the attack from a 24 year old Foreman's lethal knuckles? Whatever, the fight shouldn't have been more than a warm-up for Holyfield before his date with Mike Tyson — and a lesson or warning to Foreman and his fellow senior citizens, that they have had their time. Muhammad Ali is now suffering for fighting as late as 1980 when he was 38 (against a *twentyish* Larry Holmes).

George Foreman has proved a lot of points, especially that being 40 is not a licence to suicide. But the most honourable thing is for him to move over. Fortunately, 100 million Naira is big enough pension. For Evander Holyfield, it is back to reality after the business deal that turned out a 160 million Naira dividend: a successful fight with Mike Tyson is his surest and easiest way of joining the "greats." If not, then he belongs to the same class with James 'Buster' Douglas.

By Rabiun Barde

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DEFINITIONS
IN HUMOUR

One bad turn

It has been written and so it must be believed that once, a snake on the run — hotly pursued by predators — couldn't find refuge anywhere. The reptile was on the verge of giving up when he saw an open-mouthed sleeping man. What luck, the snake thought as an animal would think. The sleeping man woke up and agreed to take it in. Down the slippery oesophagus it went and into the stomach it entered. What a warm master bedroom, this spiky ball is (after looking at the stomach wall) and what a rich restaurant too. The refuge seeker is now a permanent resident. When the danger passed, the snake peeped to say nothing on earth would make it come out of so cosy a surrounding. The man cried and cried. He grew lean. He ran helter skelter looking for help.

Suddenly a heron came along and it offered to help the man. Very skeptical of those who offered and those who took help, the man reluctantly agreed.

"Open your mouth," the heron ordered. The man obeyed. Putting its toes together, the heron plunged its now pointed leg down the man's throat. Down, it went and down it went, until grab-grab, the hungry snake, mistaking it for food, swallowed it. As the toes passed the snake's jaw, the heron opened them out. The snake was now as good as dead. The heron drew it out and ate it.

After its meal, the heron arranged its ruffled feathers, scratched its tail

and belched a belch of satisfaction — with itself — for having eaten and having helped.

"Now go get thou a chicken to eat and regain lost weight," the heron advised its patient in magisterial tones. "We'll see what happens afterwards." Afterwards came soon enough. Stooping as if to give

thanks, the man swooped on the heron and caught its leg and wings. The two looked hard at each other. The duals dashed. Pity looked at fury; help eyed ingratitude and selfishness dissolved in a deluge of selfishness.

"What better chicken than you!" the man said as he grabbed the heron, and took the road to his home. "What chicken can have longer legs? Or bigger girth, or longer neck? Or nicer flesh?"

On reaching home, he gave the heron to his wife. "Keep it safe and tomorrow prepare a delicious meal with it for me," he said. The wife took it and put it in a cage. Later when she came to feed it, the heron decided to play on her emotions — feminine, sympathetic and compassionate. The heron burst out crying.

"Life is sweet," the wife thought. "No one wishes to die. The fortitude to bear the loss of your life must indeed be incomprehensible to human minds. The lot of animals and birds must be a sorry lot. Life for them is one long wait for an untimely death." Already pitying the heron, she threw some morsels in its direction.

"Kind woman," the heron began. "Let me tell you my story."

The heron recounted how he found her husband and offered to help him. After the help the man now wanted to eat him. It was a most unkind response. "I came to help him and look how I ended," he cried. "Your husband repaid my kindness thus."

"Oh! I am so sorry," the wife said. "I didn't know. Come and go your way." she opened the cage and the heron stepped out.

As it flew off, the heron plucked out the woman's eye.

Well, well, well. The pit of wickedness must always be shallow and narrow or else it becomes for the digger a grave. But how wide and deep should the pit of benevolence be?

Moral — Everybody suffer because of himself, woman suffers because of man.

Coins — What you get paid with when you change your currency. They are *your own coins* when all you have for others is a bad turn. It always begets another doesn't it?

Life — The period between a man's birth and his waking up. Usually 70, it can be as long as 100 years. What a long sleep!

Death — When the veils are removed from the eyes, the heavy garments of flesh are shed and escape from desire becomes tool. and life begins.

Interview

Getso is a master of the interview technique and superb diction. The president was at his livid best. From sombre to hilarious, from hilarious to squeamish.

At one point Halilu asked the president whether he would indeed handover to civilians in 1992. Many doubt it though not including Halilu as he let that escape.

"If I now go out on the streets and tell people my name is Ibrahim, they will not believe me," said President Ibrahim Babangida.

"You mean they will say your name is Iro or Nagodi?" Halilu asked.

Not just because of the humour this is an interview that the president will like and which Halilu will treasure.

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