

DEC. 16 - 23, 1991 VOL. 2 NO. 5

# Citizen

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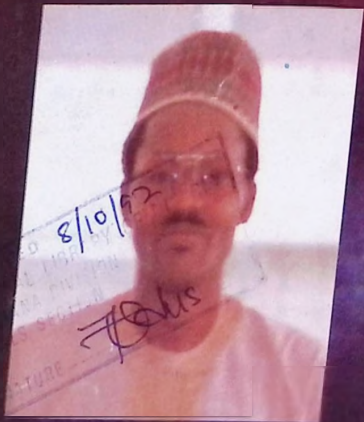
N10

## BATTLE OVER KATSINA FUND

# Madaki vs. Buhari



Col. Madaki



Gen. Buhari

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FCA ZONE.....700CF

ETHIOPIA.....E84  
GHANA.....C300  
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President Babangida makes history by moving the federal capital from Lagos to Abuja

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Madaki and Buhari

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## PREFACE

Easily the story of the past week was the movement of the federal capital from Lagos to Abuja. For over 10 years the Federal Government prevaricated over the move as it was postponed several times. Even when the movement seemed certain a fortnight ago, it was delayed by a week. When, at long last, the capital finally moved, it naturally made the headlines in the media. However, this was less on account of the delays than on account of the controversy that eventually surrounded Abuja. When it all started back in 1975, there was national consensus that the move was necessary. Soon, however, the usual ethnic and religious divisions came in and with it a sustained campaign by a section of the media to scuttle the change.

To cover the historical movement, Tawey Zakka, was on hand in Abuja. Zakka is an old hand in reporting from the city having worked there for some years as a staff of *New Nigerian*.

For cover however, we passed over Abuja and decided to examine the attack on a former head of state Major-General Muhammadu Buhari as chairman of the Board of Trustees of *Gidanngiyar Jihar Katsina* (Katsina State Foundation) by Colonel John Yahaya Madaki, the Katsina State Governor. A few weeks back, Madaki threatened to sack Buhari if he (Buhari) did not release 20,000,000 Naira from the fund for the completion of certain projects. Buhari did not and last week Madaki kept his word — he sacked the entire board and appointed a Sole Administrator for the fund. Some contributors took the matter to the court and got injunctions stopping the administrator from operating the fund. The substantive case querying Madaki's powers to sack the board is not due for hearing until January 16 — long after Madaki would have moved to his new post as Commander of Brigade of Guards. Meantime controversy is raging on Madaki's words and deeds and Buhari's studious silence. Mohammed Bomo, Bilikisu Yusuf and Mohammed Haruna handled the story. Mum seemed to be the word with most people involved that we talked to. In the few instances where they talked most insisted on anonymity. Still you couldn't find a more definitive story on the controversy anywhere.

Mohammed Haruna

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## LETTERS

## Will diarchy work?

Sir,

Your leader of November 18th—24th completely ignored how resolute Nigerians can be when it comes to collective actions especially against the military rule.

You once raised the same issues regard the squabbles that may ensue between civilian governors and their military overlords.

For democracy to endure in the Third Republic, the president must, if not already retired, be a civilian, and be surrounded with all the paraphernalia of civilian administration.

U.T. Shua  
Bauchi



Sir,

I quite agree with Jigah who thinks yearning to be democratically ruled in Nigeria is a dream what with our past experiences where all forms of government have failed because of the inordinate ambition of a few to lord over the weak.

Even if the transitional diarchy succeeds and the military finally hands over to the civilians, they will always use force and veto power to get their way in again. Diarchy or no diarchy the military has found a home.

Abiola Maronfeye  
Kaduna

Sir,

Why should there be a transitional diarchy and why should the military hold unto the reins of power until such a time it decides to quit when we are capable of electing those we want to govern us?

As is traditional, the military will always dictate no matter the given circumstance. But we as citizens of this country deserve a say in how our lives should be governed

As much as we know that Babangida's transitional diarchy is going to be an unequal partnership, which is not diarchy in the real sense of the word we must demand an end to military dictatorship!

Sijuade Oyinloye  
Lagos

Sir,

For the simple reason that the governorship candidates were given provisional clearance and not a final one, (*Citizen* November 18 1991), is enough proof that the Babangida diarchy would work come 1992.

All democratically elected governors must either play ball or be ready to receive the boot.

In this new dispensation all civilian governors would not help but be subordinates. Bassey Ekpo Bassey-chairman Calabar Municipal Council will readily testify to this. So come what may Babangida's diarchy has come to stay.

Abdulkadir Sirajo  
Funtua

Sir,

Segun Osoba may as well be the first casualty of the Babangida diarchy if he thinks that the military cannot remove a governor at will.

Where was Osoba when a civilian local government chairman was

removed for daring to challenge a military governor of his state?

Aisha Magaji  
Bakori

## Professional betrayal?

Sir,

I, on behalf of the entire families and friends of M. Hamza Aminu and Abubakar G.Sule (both members of your union) wish to express our denunciation of your glaring betrayal as regards the arrest and subsequent detention of these members of your union.

Lest we forget, the two gentlemen were whisked off from their families some forty or so days ago, and the disappointed world is yet to hear you write out in protest or inquiry regarding their fates.

Is it not the same NUJ that shouted and keeps barking "WHO KILLED DELE GIWA"? Yet not an eyebrow has been raised in protest for the arrest and detention of your colleagues from *Amana*. Not even a single plea on their behalf, talk less of a protest of some sort.

Doesn't the NUJ realize that we feel the same pains as was felt by the relations of the *Guardian* editors when they were separated from them? We advise you not to let our fears that you are after all a faceless; double-crossing and cowardly organisation to be founded.

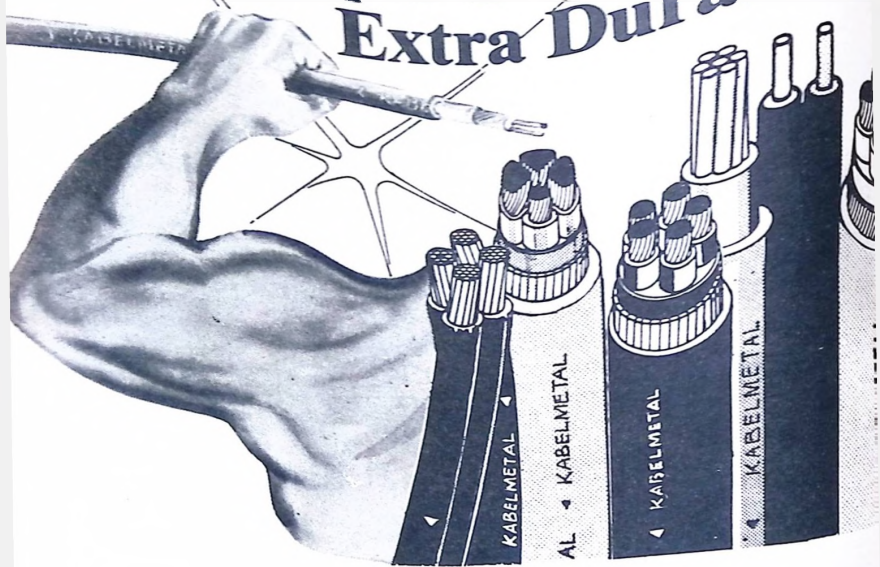
Finally, we want to know where are M. Hamza Aminu and Abubakar G.Sule? What fate has befallen them? We would all be better off detained along with them than left out here in suspense. We are not expecting any belated response from you. Your responses can as well be reserved for the benefit of your more privileged and more favoured and dearer colleagues.

Abdul-Azeez Sulciman  
Zaria

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

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SILVER AWARD WINNER

# Madaki and Katsina Foundation

Colonel John Yahaya Madaki said his hobby is barefoot wild adventure and jungle warfare. For a soldier who will be called upon to take command in war to protect lives and property such brashness can be an asset. The trouble with Colonel Madaki is that he is too impatient to wait for war, and so he treats his deployment to Katsina as governor as a wild adventure, and every civil servant or contractor as a combatant in jungle warfare. This is unlikely to take him anywhere except to grief.

There have been talk of his escapades with contractors, his threat to summarily execute a muslim leader, and the very sour relationships between him and his subordinates. There have been indications of remorse and retraction of some of these by the governor, but that doesn't mean he will not repeat exactly the same thing faced with the same situation.

And that is why it must worry all of us. Recently he took on General Muhammad Buhari. The general heads the Katsina Foundation which is supposed to collect and administer funds on behalf of the people of Katsina State. The foundation is a trusteeship duly registered in law with its own separate legal existence apart from the government.

The governor wanted to get and spend

money from the coffers of the foundation which totalled 50 million Naira. This clearly was the duty of the trustees comprising a group of very eminent citizens from the state. Each of them, needless to say, is as eminent a personality as any in the county. No one, except perhaps Governor Madaki, would think of embarrassing any of them.

The recent pronouncements by Madaki about his encounters with General Buhari with regard to the foundation's money were singularly unfortunate. Even if the governor had the authority to ask for that money and we believe he hadn't, the words he used on the person of the general, who was once Madaki's commander-in-chief and a former head of state, were ill advised.

The governor, instead of tarnishing the general's image, has only tarnished his own, and embarrassed the eminent members of the foundation. He has no *locus standi* to ask for those monies which the people, and not the government, entrusted to the foundation. We think Madaki has over done his hobby again.

It is sad because Katsina citizens see Madaki as an achiever. But he is probably unaware that he is dealing with people who value their self-respect above the little government can do.

## Abuja: a bold move

What started as a rather ambitious dream 15 years ago became a reality last week when the seat of the federal government finally moved from Lagos to Abuja. It was in fulfilment of the aspirations of the founders—late General Murtala Muhammed proclaimed Abuja the nation's capital in February 1976.

Before then, we have had to contend with the congested business city of Lagos, thus putting immense strain on its infrastructure. The construction of the maze of flyovers did not ease the traffic congestion nor did the land reclamation policy satisfy the expanding

city's land requirement. The option was clear—a new capital city in a central location with abundant land.

Today, the Federal Capital Territory FCT, which covers an area of 8,000 square kilometres is twice the size of Lagos. It remains the biggest project in sub-Saharan Africa.

While one can not fault the master plan which provides for a phased development of the FCT, the snail speed with which office and residential accommodations are being constructed has slowed the pace of movement to the capital. This is why we commend the president's decision to move to Abuja being as

it were a commitment to the time set by the founders for the relocation. We expect it to hasten the pace of development, motivate entrepreneurs and strengthen the faith of all in its unifying role. It is indeed a historic event. While other ministries and parastatals that are yet to move are now expected to follow suit reality tells us to temper such optimism with caution. Abuja is not ready for them.

The capital city has already acquired the reputation of the country's most expensive city due to the pressure on available accommodation in what still remains a wilderness. This is an unwholesome development in a place that will be

populated mainly by civil servants who must now stretch a pay packet to meet additional cost of living.

While it is true that housing has not matched demand, the transportation requirement of the burgeoning city must be promptly addressed. If it looks like footdragging, the private sector must shoulder part of the blame since the government cannot, as has been emphasised, be expected to develop the city alone.

If the capital must satisfy the rush that the presidential move is bound to trigger, the development of this city, the focus of unity cannot be delayed any longer.

## USSR: The end

**E**recting a structure is more difficult to effect than demolishing it. This is as true in architecture as it is in nation-building. Take the case of the former Soviet Union. It took millions of people more than 70 years — years of unprecedented bloodshed, human suffering on a scale unknown in modern times and the sinking of inestimable quantities of resources — to build. Now it has taken one man — Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev — just a mere six years to destroy it.

The journey downhill had recognisable steps. It began in earnest with the attempted coup by Russian generals under Gennadi Yanayev in August. This led to the dissolution of the Soviet Communist Party and with it the fear that bound the Soviet Empire together.

With Gorbachev off the scene as the coup lasted the republics took the initiative. And they have not looked back ever since. The Baltic states were the first to declare their independence — for the second time. When they first did, Gorbachev, who then had some residual power, resisted as he resisted the attempts by the Muslim Central Asian Republics.

There are 15 republics in the Soviet Union and perhaps there are no two states that wish to stay together as one country voluntarily. The Baltic states were gobbled up during and after the world wars. The central Asian and the Caucasus state turned to Russia for help against external oppressors. It helped them — and then became the new oppressor. It is therefore not surprising that all of them

are making a bolt for freedom. They have been dehumanised by communism, the ideology that must today be recognised as the biggest man made disaster in modern history.

Already a commonwealth of independent Soviet states exists and all the independent states have indicated their desire to sign up. Those who haven't done are in the process of doing so or putting finishing touches in regional get together. They should all be encouraged along that road. We believe a voluntary commonwealth is the most appropriate type of association for them, what they need is the loosest type of confederation as each grapples to chart its own future.

Clearly a wind of change is blowing throughout the world and all peoples must be free — from domestic dictatorships or external superpower interference — to reorder their lives according to their beliefs. There are dangers that this may be resisted, especially with respect to the muslim people of the Soviet Union and other lands. The West has gone all over the world instigating people in the name of democracy to take up their affairs in their hands. Yet when muslims do that it suddenly becomes a thing of worry.

As it cheers the dissolution of its former enemy, the West must do all it can to avoid creating and antagonising an enemy that will never give up.

We wish the peoples of the former Soviet Union all the best as they re-order their new systems.



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## NATIONAL POPULATION COMMISSION



### CENSUS '91 - POST ENUMERATION SURVEY

The National Population Commission will carry out a Post Enumeration Survey (PES) throughout the country on 17th, 18th and 19th December, 1991. The survey will serve as a check on data collected during November 1991 Census.

It will also generate more demographic data needed for socio-economic planning. Therefore, respondents to the survey will be requested to answer additional questions on migration, births, deaths and educational qualification.

Only 5 per cent of the population has been selected for this survey. The lists of enumeration areas and localities affected already compiled are available for public notice at respective Local Government headquarters.

Please co-operate with the enumerators if your area is selected for this survey.

*Chairman*

NATIONAL POPULATION COMMISSION

TRANSITION PROGRAMME

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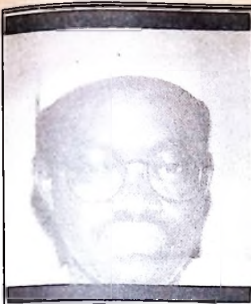


YOU MUST COOPERATE.



ABDUL  
UMAR  
91

## MOHAMMED HARUNA



expensive to remain our capital. Muhammad then set up the Akinola Aguda panel to search for a new capital. The panel eventually settled for a virgin(?) territory near the old Abuja which historically was a large settlement of exiles from Zaria. For the new capital's name, the government settled for Abuja and persuaded the old Abuja to change its name to Suleja, after the reigning

have been sufficient for cancelling the movement to Abuja; corruption was not peculiar to the project and Lagos continued to surpass Abuja on the federal government's expense account, if only for the flyovers that continued to be built.

Other objections were either plain stupid or mischievous. Among the stupid ones was that Abuja was being turned into an Islamic city. The evidence? Bus stops with domes and minaret like projections, refusal of plots for building churches, appointment of a Grand Khadi for the city etc. The first was simply silly because the Basilica in Rome has perhaps the biggest dome I know. The second turned out to be false when the ministry of Abuja published a full list of its land allocation. The third arose from the silly notion that Abuja was no man's land that was discovered, *ala* Mungo Park, by Aguda and Company. The reality of course, was that there were indigenes there, both muslims and christians and the muslims had a right to be judged under sharia.

The plainly mischievous reasons were first that Abuja Airport was unsafe because it was surrounded by rocks - you were tempted to ask why Switzerland bothered to have a national airline - and second that Abuja was infested with river blindness! The tragedy of these stupid and mischievous reasonings was that they were also made by highly respectable people in society, some of them with international reputations to protect.

Which is why we must salute the courage of President Babangida in moving the capital. The national consensus on moving to Abuja may have broken down, but no one can say the reasons for the movement have vanished. What has been lacking was the will to move in and confront the problems that willy-nilly accompany every pioneering effort. It is for summoning that courage that we must salute Babangida.

## The road to Abuja

**D**ecember 12, 1991, the day President Babangida moved the country's capital from Lagos to Abuja, will go down in our history as one of its most important milestones. Of course this is not the first time we will be moving our federal capital. The first time was way back early in the century when Lord Lugard, then the Governor-General of a newly amalgamated Nigeria, moved the headquarters from Lokoja, the confluence of Niger and Benue rivers to Zungeru in Niger State. The headquarters moved briefly to Kaduna and finally to Lagos where it remained until last Thursday.

Although our capital has moved around, this is the first time that we ourselves would do it, instead of our colonial masters. In a way, the context was similar. Colonial and military rule are both dictatorships, so the rulers could take public opinion for granted in moving our capital around. This time there was a difference; when the idea of moving the capital started over 15 years ago, the military regime at the time - General Murtala Muhammed's - didn't take public opinion for granted. There was fulsome debate at whose end emerged the national consensus that Lagos was, among other things too filthy, congested, crime-ridden, too strategically exposed to outside attack and too

emir, Alhaji Suleiman Barau.

The national consensus on moving the capital to Abuja was a most welcome development in a country whose people had a predilection for divisiveness along regional, ethnic and religious lines. Unfortunately the consensus was shortlived. Soon enough - starting from 1979/80 - divisions reared their ugly heads to the extent that even Mr justice Aguda himself and fellow panelists like Tai Solarin, started questioning the wisdom to moving out of Lagos. It was difficult to see why. Between the submission of the panel's report and the breakdown of the national consensus, no one could claim that Lagos had become less filthy, less congested, less crime-ridden, more strategically defensible or less expensive. There were, of course, other arguments. There was the one about Abuja becoming a severe drain on our meagre resources. At first glance this looked like a sound argument, especially as such presumably disinterested parties as the World Bank, added their voice to it. It could also not be denied that the Abuja project was massively riddled with corruption and waste as witnessed by the disparity between the billions government spent and the quantity and quality of goods and services it received in return.

In spite of all this, however, the bottomless pit argument could not

## Katsina Foundation

# The 20 million Naira story

What started out as an exemplary self help-project threatens to turn into a political crisis with implications far beyond Katsina



Buhari: "deserves respect"

Colonel John Yahaya Madaki, the third Governor of Katsina State, is, by his own admission, a "jungle expert," a bare-footed adventurer, a man who takes great delight in walking stealthily in the dead of the night, a predator who watches, listens, stalks and acts decisively. As a matter of fact, come Wednesday, December 18, a book titled "Jungle Expert" dedicated to his exploits both as an administrator and a soldier, will be launched in Katsina.

The launching of the book, written by his chief press secretary, Abubakar Yar'adua, is to be attended, according to repeated promotions on Katsina television last Wednesday, by a star cast in the persons of Chief Arthur Eze, Major General Hassan Usman Katsina (rtd), *Ciroman* Katsina, the Chairman of Julius Berger, *Santurakin* Katsina, Alhaji M.T.Usman, a former chief of defence staff, Lt-General Muhammadu Inuwa Wushishi, the President's in law, Chief Sonny Okogwu, a former secretary of the disbanded Federal Electoral Commission, Alhaji Ahmadu Kurfi, a

former minister of trade and agriculture, Alhaji Ismaila Mamman, the Governor of Niger State, Colonel Lawan Gwadabe, *Darmananin* Kano, Alhaji Yusuf Maitama Sule, the emirs of Katsina, and Daura Alhaji Muhammadu Kabir Usman and Alhaji Muhammadu Bashar, among others.

The parade of such eminent personalities underscores the great importance the people of Katsina attach to the tremendous achievements the governor has recorded in his short stay in the young state. Because of his close rapport with the authorities in Lagos he got a lot of resources for the physical development of the state. As a matter of fact, most residents of Katsina State, indigenes and non-indigenes alike, in all walks of life, seem to be unanimous in extolling the great strides the state has made in his time. A new, glitzy road straddling the ancient city has just been named after him.

Recently, however, he seemed to have dropped in his popularity rating. On December 3, the governor, some say not uncharacteristically, held a press conference in the course of which he not only announced the sacking of the 17-member board of trustees of the Katsina State Foundation, known legally as *Gidauniyar Jihar Katsina*, and poured unrestrained invectives on the person of the former head of state, Major General Muhammadu Buhari (rtd).

He specifically said, "In a nutshell,

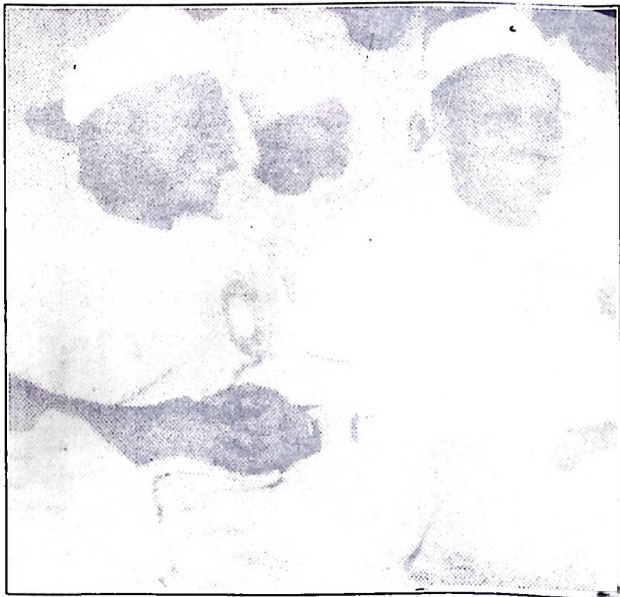
I called him 11 times and he came 11 times and told me lies." What is the issue that had led the governor to publicly call his former commander-in-chief a liar? A *Citizen* investigation in Kaduna, Katsina and Lagos revealed a world that may well go beyond the issue of the Katsina Foundation.

In January this year, the Katsina Development Fund was launched, in essence to complement government's efforts in the spheres of health, education, water supply and to promote whatever other aspects that would be identified as necessary to the welfare and upliftment of the standard of life of the people of the state.

**V**arious sources in Kaduna and Katsina confirmed that the moving spirit behind

the fund was the state government which also donated 30 million Naira at the launching of the fund and general assembly in February at which the indigenes, in their hundreds re-affirmed their trust in the 17 members of the board of trustees which had earlier been constituted by a committee that canvassed for funds for the foundation. The board, indeed, is eminent. It has General Buhari as chairman.

Members are Major General Shehu Musa Yar'adua, *Tafidan* Katsina, Major General Hassan Usman Katsina, *Ciroman* Katsina, Alhaji Hamza Zayyad, chairman of the Technical Committee on Privatisation and commercialisation; Ambassador Tanimu Saulawa; the Chief Justice of the Federation, Mr Justice Muhammadu Bello; the President of the Federal Court of



Madaki, Buhari and Gwadabe at sports award day in Katsina

Appeal, Mr Justice Mamman Nasir, Alhaji Garba Ja Abdulkadir, Alhaji Isa Kaita, Wazirin Katsina, Chairman of Julius Berger, Alhaji M.T. Usman Santurakin Katsina, Fada Babban Daura, Alhaji Haruna, Alhaji Sani Buhari Daura, Alhaji Abdu Fari, Haja Hassu Iro Inko, Alhaji Lawal Kaita, Alhaji Umaru Mutallab and the Alhaji Dauda Daura Durbin Katsina.

**B**etween 50 and 60 million Naira was raised at the launching in cash and pledges, and although the state government initiated the committee, it did not appoint a chairman for the board of trustees. Buhari, the youngest of the 17-member board was unanimously elected. The board in turn established four committees dealing with education, health, basic amenities and projects and appointed a director general, Dr Sabo Sodangi, to run the secretariat. The *Gidauniya* lodged the monies collected in 11 banks - Allied Bank of Nigeria, Bank of the North, United Bank for Africa, Union Bank, First Bank, Nigeria Universal Bank, International Merchant Bank, Nigeria Merchant Bank, Continental Merchant Bank, Habib Bank and New Africa Merchant Bank. At the time of the launching on February 22, the former head of state had stated that his mandate and that of the board was prudent expenditure of the fund. "The board will never be a party to misappropriation or misallocation," he had said

The committees were to look into areas of needs of all the local communities, accept ideas from local

governments, the state government and from any individual with good ideas and submit them to a 15-member advisory council which in turn would scrutinise the proposals and recommend them to the board of trustees.

Reliable sources told *Citizen* that after the first meeting of the board in Katsina where a firm of chartered accountants was appointed to scrutinise the funds and pledges raised, the board received a letter from the state commissioner for commerce and trade asking the *Gidauniya* to grant a loan of 20-25 million Naira or participate in the completion of Funtua Brick Works and Mani/Katsina flour mills. In reply, the



Hassan: one of the Foundation member

## Madaki took the wrong step —Dangida

**Citizen:** *What is your connection with the Katsina State Foundation?*

**Garba:** I was a committee member. We were the people who went round the local government areas to solicit for funds for the *Gidauniya*, and we took part in the whole process until the board of trustees was appointed, then we handed over everything to it.

It is true that the governor initiated the idea and it is a very good idea for the development of the state. Again there is no denying the fact that Governor Madaki has genuine intentions for the state.

Even enemies of progress can see the evidence all over the state, but dissolving the board of trustees is a wrong step and harsh. It comprised people of unquestionable character, respected eld-

ers and pillars of Katsina State.

If he has a personal quarrel with General Buhari, he should not disgrace or show lack of respect to the other members. We are talking about a general, a former head of state. His utterances show a lack of discipline in the Nigerian military, in the society. Anybody who rules this country, no matter his shortcomings, deserves some respect.

**Citizen:** *Do you think there is political motivation behind it? Is it conceivable that a person of the rank of a Colonel would attack a former head of state?*

**Garba:** If he is being put to it, it is very unfortunate. Every government has its own shortcomings, nobody is perfect. There are the individual differences. Unfortunately we

are bequeathing bad examples to the younger generation. In this era of turbulence and uncertainties if one should not respect a former leader of any society, he too should expect the same treatment.

**Citizen:** *What is the reaction of Katsinawa over this?*

**Garba:** General Buhari uptil now has not replied the governor, he has not taken any step, he has not said anything. He has not spoken to the press. Let them leave him alone, the man has tried, nobody can deny it. Many people have accused him that while in power, he did this, he detained a lot of people, did Buhari do all these alone? It was a collective decision, but he has accepted responsibility as a leader.

**Citizen:** *The ostensible reason for dissolving the*

sources said, the board asked for financial details, technical expertise and feasibility studies. After a lengthy deliberation, it decided that it was unwise to lend money or participate in a project for which a feasibility study was not available. It also informed the government that the board had only then requested for registration.

Mamman Nasir, Generals Buhari and Hassan was appointed to discuss the issues with Governor Madaki. It duly wrote a brief to him and sought for an appointment. The brief contained details on two types of foundations. One, an ad hoc foundation that is set up to raise funds which is usually done away with after the fund raising, and a permanent foundation, one that usually outlives its initiatives with a board of trustees that possessed the authority to spend revenue up to 20% in its first year and later develop its departments. The sources confirmed to *Citizen* that when Buhari and Justice Nasir called on Governor Madaki, he denied both receiving

the Federal Government, *Wazirin Jema'a*, Alhaji Aliyu Mohammed, the governor sent a high government official to go and get a cheque for 20 million Naira from Buhari, but before the official could brief him on whether or not the board had granted the money, Madaki invited members of the Nigerian Guild of Editors to Katsina and the Dutsin-Ma College of Education, and threatened to sack Buhari if he refused to release the money. Madaki also said that a military regime can do practically what it liked since it toppled governments and suspended constitutions. He said, "Buhari was a head of state and he was sacked and nothing happened. I can sack him and nothing will happen."

**C**itizen also learnt that the government wrote another letter to the board requesting it to release 30 million Naira to complete the college of education located at Dutsin Ma and equip a hospital at Malumfashi. A committee made up of Mr Justice

ing the brief and authorising the commissioner to write and request for a loan, but explained formally that he needed the money to complete the college and the hospital before leaving the state. Buhari, immediately accepted the request and promised to table the matter before the board and get back to Governor Madaki. Last October, the governor told media executives that General Buhari was the only person on the board obstructing his request.

However, the sources said, just before the installation of the Secretary to

When the government emissary eventually got in touch with Buhari, the former head of state told him that he had to discuss the request with the board of trustees and promptly scheduled a meeting for the day after the installation of the *Wazirin Jema'a*. At the emergency meeting of the board, *Citizen* gathered, the matter was exhaustively discussed and a decision was reached that the government wanted the 20 million Naira to settle debts owed to contractors. It consequently decided to refer it to the education and health committees. At the same time, another committee had lodged the money in fixed deposits in 11 banks, a situation that made it almost impossible to withdraw the required 20 million Naira.

The committees of the board had meanwhile set December 7 for a meeting to write a report to the *Gidauniya*. That deadline could not be met and another date, December 21, was set. It was at this point that the state secretary to the government, Alhaji Bello Kofar Bai, issued a statement on December 3, not only dissolving the board, but freeing the accounts of the *Gidauniya*. The statement which came after a meeting of the state executive council, directed banks in which the funds are being kept to report to the commissioner

*board of trustees is that it had refused to release funds for the building of a college of education (technical) Are there other reasons why the board was dissolved?*

Garba: I am not in a position to know this. What I feel may not be the way you feel. I was a member of the *Gidauniya* committee, it was Madaki who said I should be a member. He is a friend. I always admire his style of leadership, I am not happy over this. When we were going round the local government areas campaigning for the *Gidauniya*, we made it clear to the people that the government would have no hand in it, that after the launching the government would not control the money, it would be under the control of the board of trustees. We entered a list of the board of

trustees. These are people of impeccable character. They have contributed to the development of the nation, not even Katsina State. We have confidence in them, so do the people. It is true that the money is meant to take care of the state, to supplement government's effort. I am happy that out of patriotism and good intention for the state, Madaki's government contributed 30 million Naira. But asking for 20 million Naira out of it, this board of trustees is not just one or two or three people. They are 17 members spread all over the country. You cannot expect 20 million Naira to be taken from the fund and given to the government, the people would not keep quiet. The people are now current.

By Mohammad Bomo

for finance, Alhaji Ibrahim Yusuf, for "briefing." The commissioner for works Alhaji Muhammadu Bello was appointed the sole administrator of the fund.

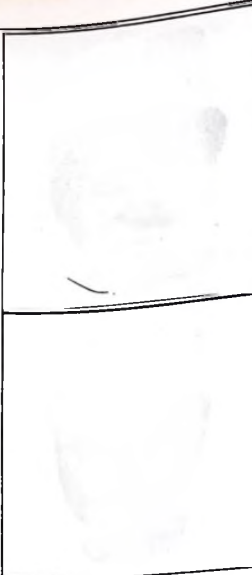
**A**t a press conference in Katsina on Wednesday, December 4, the governor explained that he took the action because the government had lost confidence in the leadership of the board. He said in essence that Buhari was insincere in his dealings with the government. Madaki said that he had a responsibility to the people of Katsina State and that members of the *Gidauniya* had constituted themselves into a stumbling block in the realisation of government objectives.

He specifically said that the state government had requested for the 20 million Naira to complete work on the Dutsin Ma College of Education on which 30 million Naira had already been spent and a children's health clinic in Malumfashi and accused Buhari of being responsible for the negative response of the board of trustees.

He said that it was this negative attitude that drove him to sack the board, but emphasised that he had no problem with the other members of the board. He did not mention the numerous correspondences with the board nor did he take any action against the commissioner whom he claimed had written a letter to the board requesting for funds without his authority.

Before the dust settled on the governor's action, two donors, Sulaiman and Alti, went to Mr Justice Adebayo Desalu, of the Lagos High Court, on December 9, asking for an injunction restraining Governor Madaki, the board of trustees and the 11 banks from taking out any money from the *Gidauniya*. The judge obliged and set January 30, as the date for hearing a fresh suit instituted by the two.

The orders they sought were that all the parties be restrained from



finance and works commissioners, Yusuf and Bello

honouring any cheques, money orders or other instructions of whatever nature to pay out or to disburse the *Gidauniya's* funds.

Mr Justice Desalu also granted the requests of Alhaji Alti and Alhaji Sulaiman for an order restraining the banks from recognising or acting on the instructions of any person, not authorised by the trustees in the administration of the funds among others.

In Katsina city, *Citizen* learnt from reliable sources in the banking industry that short of pointing guns at their heads, there was no way the concerned banks would have complied with the governor's orders. For one, the government did not lodge the money with the banks and for another, lawyers pointed to the Companies and Allied Matters Decree of 1990 and its subsequent

amendments which combined to invalidate the governor's orders. One legal practitioner went as far as to suggest that, *prima facie*, all laws made by the governor are illegal because the state has only a solicitor-general, Hajija Binta Remawa, not an attorney general.

Reactions to Madaki's pronouncements have been fast and thick. Among the first was a member of the advisory committee, Alhaji Mu'azu Isa. He described the *Gidauniya* as the best thing that has happened to Katsina State, which has brought about a much needed unity among the elites and the mass of the people. He took a pot-shot at Madaki by suggesting that Katsina people have been very patient with him "otherwise he would have been taken to court for his incessant dismissals and retrenchment of public servants" and said that the governor's action was "inimical to the progress and unity" of Katsina State.

Kabir Yahaya Abdullahi, a politician in the ranks of the NRC, asked for Madaki's outright dismissal and the resignation of Bello Bello.

The Katsina State Students Union, in a statement on December 10 signed by the president and secretary general advised the governor to withdraw his unflattering remarks, and apologise to each of the members of the board of trustees, apologise, on television and radio to the people of Katsina State. It also called on the federal government to distance itself from the governor's actions "to stop escalation of tension in the state resulting from the governor's pronouncements."

The union said it still recognised the board of trustees and urged Katsina indigenes to "declare their loyalty to the board" and ignore the governor's pronouncements. It said that going by our culture and tradition of respect for our elders and seniors and those that God had put in exalted positions of influence, what Madaki did was extremely distasteful and disrespectful, not

just to Buhari as a retired military officer, but to all the members of the board.

**W**hat is to be noted is that when a former governor of Lagos State, Mike Akhigbe, publicly upbraided a former head of state, General Olusegun Obasanjo, the press in the south did not make any noise over it. In fact, it was the *New Nigerian* that raised the issue to a public debate. Now Buhari's person is being abused and the press is gloating over it, said Abubakar Inuwa Sani, a private dispenser in Katsina.

He said such instances are becoming too widespread recalling that in the second republic in the 70s, Chuba Okadigbo and Ukpabi Asika insulted the person of Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe. "This is denting our image, eroding our values and demeaning our leaders," said Sani.

Alhaji Garba Dangida, publisher of *Katsina* Newsweek, a member of the organising committee that canvassed the rural areas

for funds, told *Citizen* that "You cannot take 20 million Naira and expect the people to keep quiet about it. They are no longer that ignorant." He also said that the people of Katsina who approved of the appointment of the trustees had confidence in them, adding "you cannot suddenly sack them."

Alhaji Garba who said Madaki was a friend who personally made him a member of the committee,

said that he really admired the governor's style of leadership, but that in this matter, he has gone too far. In October, Alhaji Garba wrote an open letter to Buhari in the *Katsina* Newsweek in which said that if Buhari half as much applied the principles and steadfastness in running the *Gidauniya* as he did in government, his esteem with Katsina people would be much higher.

The governor himself was on his

## Madaki was legally wrong

—Barrister Festus Okoye

**Citizen:** *What do you make of the dissolution of the board of trustees of the Katsina foundation?*

**Okoye:** He is not vested with the power to dissolve any company either limited by guarantee whether it is a public or private company. The law on this is contained in the Companies and Allied Decree of 1990 which is a federal legislation which no state government possesses the power to act upon. A governor can dissolve the board of a state parastatal set up under an edict, that will be within his competence. For bodies such as the *Gidauniya*, there are certain procedures to be followed. If a public company is not solvent, the person the company is owing can apply to the corporate affairs section of the federal registry in Abuja or any federal high court to wind up the company because it is no longer in a position to carry out its functions any more.

If the reasons for setting

up the *Gidauniya* is no more there, the members that set it up resolve collectively that it is no more in their interest to carry out the operations, they will follow the provisions of the decree and dissolve it. No single individual, not to talk of a person who is not a member of the foundation can dissolve it. It is not within his competence.

**Citizen:** *The governor set up the foundation.*

**Okoye:** He did not. It was a creation of status. Even if the governor participated in nominating the members of the board of trustees, that does not mean that he set up the board. May be the *Katsina* State government contributed money to the foundation, but the moment it is set up and registered in accordance with the provisions of the decree, it ceases to have any direct dealing with the foundation.

**Citizen:** *What is the fate of the board of the Gidauniya?*

**Okoye:** The purported dissolution is a nullity. The governor has no powers in dissolving the board. Of course, he can use military might to block the trustees from entering

*Katsina*, but that does not mean that he can dip his hands into the fund. Any bank that gives access to withdraw funds is acting illegally. Before anyone can act on the accounts of the *Gidauniya* in the banks, the trustees must be removed in accordance with the law.

**Citizen:** *Was the dissolution a personal attack on General Buhari?*

**Okoye:** I think they are shadow-chasing. Buhari is not the trustees. The board is made up of eminent persons. He cannot manipulate the Chief Justice of the Federation and the President of the Federal Court of Appeal who are also trustees of the *Gidauniya*. If the governor wanted money from a voluntary organisation to finance development projects, it is left to that body to meet as a board and deliberate on his request. Moreover, in this particular matter, he has less than three weeks to go, what does he want the money for?

way to Abuja at the time of *Citizen's* visit on Tuesday, the day the President, Babangida was scheduled to undertake an official visit to the state. The visit was put off, government officials told *Citizen* because of the ceremonies involved in the movement of the seat of the federal government from Lagos to Abuja.

*Citizen's* attempt to seek explanation as to why and what led to the current situation was largely rebuffed by some of the members of the board of trustees available in Katsina. Ambassador Tanimu Saulawa, could only entertain *Citizen* for 30 seconds, enough to say that he would not utter a word in regard to the controversy. Three visits to Hajjiya Hassu Iro Inko were even less welcome. *Citizen* was advised that three members in Daura - Fada Babban Daura, Alhaji Haruna, Sani Buhari Daura and the *Durbin* Daura would not also comment on the matter.

Alhaji Umaru Mutallab told *Citizen* that the matter is before the court and being one of defendant's a member of the board of trustees, he could not possibly make any comments.

Only Alhaji Abdu Fari, a wise, spirited old man, allowed *Citizen* some 15 minutes. He said with a shrug of a man who has seen it all, that he was appointed and he was sacked, no big deal. But he was full of parables. He said that it is an accepted norm of behaviour for the young to accept the authority and judgement of the old. When *Citizen* pressed him further, he said, you people said you have been to the whiteman's school and know everything, why don't you answer all the questions on my behalf?"

Pressed for comments by *Citizen* at his Kaduna residence, Major General Muhammadu Buhari declined to say anything. However, sources close to him said that the former head of state remained unruffled by Colonel Madaki's personal attacks even though he was somewhat per-



Dangida: it is unfortunate

plexed. "Buhari," said the sources, "never wanted the job to start with. He accepted it only to dispel persistent rumours that he was against the creation of Katsina State and because of pressures from Katsina elders."

According to the sources, Buhari and the other members of the trustees accepted their appointments only on condition that they did it free. Not only were they not getting any allowances, said the sources, even their out of pocket expenses were borne by themselves. "There was really no reason for Madaki to behave as if the appointment of Buhari and the others to the board of trustees was a favour", said the sources.

Col. Madaki's anger apparently was aimed particularly at Buhari. Apart from well-publicised personal attacks on the former head of state, *Citizen* gathered, when last week that General Hassan, former chief of army staff and a member of the board of trustees telephoned the governor to express his dismay and embarrassment at the dissolution of the board. Madaki reportedly apologised to the general and said that his target really was Buhari. However, when the former army chief asked Madaki what was Buhari's offence Madaki would not say.

However, speculations are rife that the attacks may have something to do with the fact that relations between Buhari and President Ibrahim Babangida have remained cool since Babangida ousted his former commander-in-chief from power.

Since Buhari's ouster, Babangida has made several overtures to the former head of state, including inviting him to such public functions as the last Organisation of African Unity, summit in Abuja and the recent foundation laying ceremony of the Azikiwe Centre at Zungeru, the birthplace of the ageing nationalist. On one occasion, Buhari was reportedly offered the use of the presidential jet but he declined all such overtures.

The impression a visitor to Katsina would gather is that nothing unusual had been happening, but beneath the calm exterior is a people wounded by a man they loved. There is definitely a groundswell of resentment against the governor's action. But most citizens would rather their names are kept out of print for fear of reprisals in the case of civil servants or blacklisting, in the case of businessmen.

A number of them, including a journalist, told *Citizen* that it was quite reasonable that the presidential visit was deferred in favour of the movement to Abuja, but that did not dispel the notion that security may have had an in-put in arriving at that decision because both the date of the visit and the movement to Abuja had been known and made well in advance.

Majority of those who spoke ranging from a driver, a butcher to a chemist and a barber strongly suggested that it was impossible for Madaki to show such extreme disrespect to Buhari without his being put up to do so while others argued that perhaps the governor thought he would please his bosses in Lagos by embarrassing Buhari in retaliation for Buhari's unexplained absences at public forums where other former heads of state were present. Whatever is the truth, the place of Madaki in the history and minds of the people of Katsina has somehow reduced lower now than what it was a few months back.

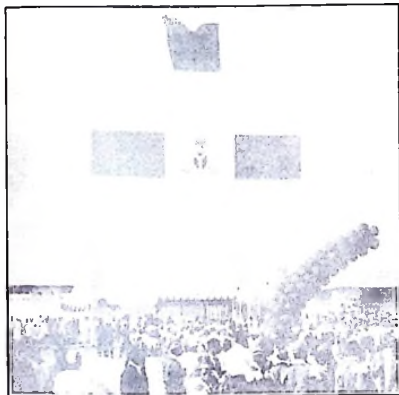
By Mohammad Bomoi,  
Mohammed Haruna  
and Bilkisu Yusuf.

## NIGERIA

## Federal capital

## Abuja upstages Lagos

On December 12, President Ibrahim Babangida sealed Abuja's fate as Nigeria's new capital but sad memories of Lagos may yet haunt it



City-gate: dream fulfilled

"This is the true landlord of Abuja," Major General Mohammed Gado Nasko, (rtd) minister of the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), Abuja said, while introducing the president, General Ibrahim Babangida to Nigerians at Abuja's Airport Road gate on December 12. With that remark, the minister handed over "the master key of the gate of Abuja" to his president, who had announced weeks earlier that on that day, he was coming to Abuja not just to visit but to stay.

General Nasko had introduced President Babangida in nearly the same manner as Peter did Jesus Christ. Indeed, few things separated the Biblical story of the "triumphant" entry of Christ into Jerusa-

lem several hundreds of years ago and General Babangida's "historic" final coming to Abuja. Both were escorted by a coterie of officials and a throng of ordinary citizens. The obvious difference perhaps, is that Christ's entry into Jerusalem was more symbolic of his impending spiritual kingdom on earth

whereas President Babangida had come to make Abuja the seat of political power.

"With effect from this morning" (Tuesday, December 12), intoned the president, "Lagos ceased to be the capital of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. In its place, we now have Abuja, which shall from today assume its full status as the seat of government." There and then the president gave his ruling the backing of law through "Decree 51 of December 12, 1991." This "sentence" pronounced on Lagos whose "crime" is its "debilitating strains and stresses," was greeted with a long applause by the crowd—an applause that gave a hint of the new capital's acceptability as "a land of peace and unity."

General Babangida said Nigeria was one of "very few countries" which have succeeded in moving the seat of government in peace time and he attributed Nigeria's success to "the overwhelming national consensus that attended both the decision to move the capital to Abuja and the mechanism for effecting that decision". There are people, who will say the president was right but only to a point. There was a "consensus," yes, on the peculiar headaches of Lagos but there was also considerable opposition to a change of capital. This opposition was spearheaded by late Chief Obafemi Awolowo, who tried unsuccessfully to abort the Abuja project. His death in 1987 only diminished the strength of the opposition but it did not die down altogether.

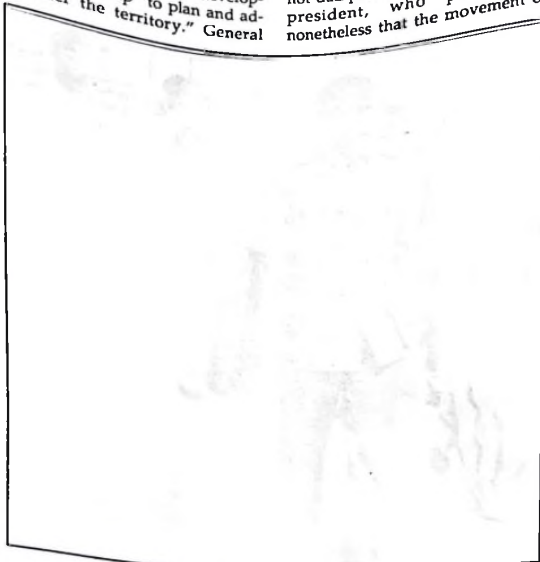
Interestingly, it was his own tribesman, a Yoruba, Dr. Akinola Aguda, who as Chief Judge of the old Western state headed the panel on the relocation of the federal capital. It recommended to a joint meeting in 1976 of the then Supreme Military Council and National Council of State, both headed by head of state, General Muritala Mohammed that "the nation's capital should move out of Lagos to a federal territory of about 8,000 square kilometres" that was central.

It then suggested Abuja for its "centrality, good and tolerable climate, land availability, low population density, physical planning convenience, security, accessibility and adequate water supply." All those were pluses which Lagos lacked. But perhaps, what influenced the choice of Abuja more than any other factor was the panel's belief, shared by the government, that "the area is not within the control of any of the major ethnic groups in the country". General Muritala, then went on air on February 3, 1976 to tell the nation that his government had accepted the choice of Abuja as the symbol of the "oneness and unity of all Nigerians."

It promulgated Decree 6 of 1976, creating the FCT and vesting all land in the territory in the federal government "to avoid land speculation". A federal capital development was set up "to plan and administer the territory." General

med.

That the realisation of the "nation's long cherished dream" was coming "slightly over" 15 years did not dampen the elation felt by the president, who proclaimed, nonetheless that the movement of



#### Generals Nasko, Babangida: the historic entry

Mohammed envisaged that Abuja would be ready in 15 years to take over from Lagos as the seat of government.

He did not live to see this happen, having been killed by an assassin's bullet, 10 days after he made that "prophetic projection." The honour of making the "dream" come true was to be President Ibrahim Babangida's, the fourth Nigerian leader after him. At the city-gate where he collected Abuja's master key, President Babangida paid glowing tribute to his predecessor of many years. "A great Nigerian patriot and visionary," was how he described General Muham-

med. The realisation of the "nation's long cherished dream" was coming "slightly over" 15 years did not dampen the elation felt by the president, who proclaimed, nonetheless that the movement of

the presidency "is an event of epochal dimension in the life of our dear nation, a highly uplifting realisation of the dream conceived in Decree 6 of 1976." This dream was of a place, in the words of President Babangida, that would "make the business of government less strenuous and more relaxed... a territory which all Nigerians, irrespective of their ethnic origins, class affiliation or religious persuasion, can call their home."

Critics are however quick to point out that, contrary to official expectation, the business of government is not proving any "less strenuous and more relaxed" in

Abuja than in Lagos. They argue that to date only 7.5 ministries out of the bloated federal bureaucracy have moved to Abuja. They are ministries of trade, agriculture and natural resources, water resources, internal affairs, industries and that of the federal capital territory itself. The other half is the office of the minister of state for external affairs. Those ministries, few as they are, according to the critics are overstretching the infrastructure on the ground. Office and residential accommodation is inadequate; private sector workers, like those of banks and industry, who were living in government quarters have had to be pushed out to make room for new arrivals from Lagos.

**N**ow, the FCDA has said its laying off building houses, neither is the private sector ready to take off where FCDA has left. It is feared that under the circumstance, the "business of government" will be anything but "relaxed."

Similar skepticism has been expressed over the expectation of Abuja as a home for all Nigerians, irrespective of their diverse backgrounds. This expectation has, without doubt been based on the erroneous belief that Abuja, was a virgin land. That "mistake," according to the December 12-17 edition of the local *Abuja Newsday* weekly, specially timed for the movement of the presidency, created unexpected problems that threaten to make nonsense that concept of Abuja as a home for all Nigerians. According to the paper, Abuja, with an "indigenous" population of 388,000 is not by any stretch of the imagination, "a no man's land." Commenting on "the capital Murtala promised....," Martins Oloja, *Abuja Newsday's* associate editor, warned that the shift in position by the government of former President Shehu Shagari in 1982 over the resettlement of that indigenous population "is today threatening the existence of the federal capital territory." Those of them

# NIGERIA



Shagari, Gowon: both have hands in the pie

who were resettled outside the areas in the early stage of the exercise, he said, are returning.

"In Abuja today," said Oloja, "local administration... is controlled by the original inhabitants. Even the recent electioneering for the mayor in the FCT is with the original inhabitants who cash in on the constitutional protection for their numerical rights and, of course, their political strength. According to him, the four area councils of Abaji, Kuje, Gwagwalada and municipal are in the hands of their original inhabitants and "the two candidates for the mayoralty are sons of the soil".

Oloja concludes that what all that means is that "in Abuja today, children of residents who come from say Abia or Bauchi State still have to go back to their fathers' states of origin before citizenship forms can be endorsed for them." The likes of Oloja are likely to take with a pinch of salt the president's assurance on December 12 that the movement to Abuja is not a gain for any sector and a loss to other. It was "a patriotic move," he said, adding that "the profit is to the nation as a whole since we would be benefiting im-

mensely from having a capital in which officers of state and machinery of government are not held hostage to the debilitating strains and stresses associated with urban explosion.

If the critics and doubting Thomases needed any further assurance they got it in ample measure in the number and size of contingents all the 30 states sent to the one-day festivity marking Abuja's new status as the nation's seat of government. Apart from Yobe State, which perhaps wanted to show that it may be young and brings up the rear of the nation's 30-state structure, it is by no means, the least enterprising, all the southern states sent larger contingents than the other northern states put together. No member of any contingent showed signs of insecurity. Nigeria's colours of white and green were the cord that bound them together as "a people unshakable in their resolve to live together as one people in one nation and in one destiny under God's continuing guidance."

Then, nobody who watched the ceremony could have failed to notice the ingenious way the leaders of the nation's three major ethnic groups took their seats in one of the two stands constructed for city-gate ceremony. Oba Lamidi Adeyemi II,

the Alaafin of Oyo, sat to the left of Oloja, Obi of Onitsha to the right and sitting prim in the middle was Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki Sultan of Sokoto, who rushed back home from the meeting of the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) in Dakar, Senegal in time for the ceremony. The sitting arrangement might have been mainly symbolic, some would say, but it captured the mood of the nation on that day.

Hundreds of thousands of Nigerians, high and low, rich and poor, old and young, were in Abuja. As the master of ceremony said, "the whole of Nigeria is enveloping into Abuja today. The nation is in a festive mood". The role of former Nigerians, whom President Babangida amiably called co-architects of the Abuja project, was regrettably short on this day. It did not reflect the geopolitical structure of the country either. Of the four living former heads of state and presidents who had anything to do with Abuja, only General Yakubu Gowon (1969-75) and former president Shehu Shagari (1979-83) were present at the ceremony. Both are northerners. Gowon went with his wife, Victoria and Shagari was alone.

The two former leaders, driven in official black Mercedes Benz cars received a standing ovation from the crowd. It was a pleasant reminder of the good old days when they led and Nigerians followed. "Generals Olusegun Obasanjo (1976-79) and Muhammadu Buhari (1983-85) were absent. It, therefore, was not quite a successful meeting of "the present and the past."

But all the same, President Babangida was full of praise for those past architects of Abuja, both present and absent, who "have worked with varying degrees of success to realise the dream that is Abuja." He said "the result of their assiduous exertions is what we are witnessing today..." However, some of them came in for little criticism for what the president said was



**Oba Lamidi, Sultan Dasuki and Obi Okagbue: no tongue, nor tribe will do us part**

"the precipitate manner some of the earlier efforts to move to Abuja were executed," errors which he said "have already cost us much." The present regime he said did not "have the luxury of making the same mistake".

**A**s though replying to critics who say that Abuja is not yet ready for the movement from Lagos, the President agreed much remained to be done but the work should not be rushed. The old saying that "Rome was not built in a day," came rather handy. "This is not the end of the Abuja story," he said, but "the beginning of another phase. We do not expect that Abuja can be built overnight."

However, General Nasko, who called himself Abuja's "caretaker," wished that things would be hastened up a little. "I believe," he said, "that the physical development of the city and the territory as a whole will proceed at a much faster pace" since the movement of the seat of government is bound to spur both

the public and the private sectors to increase (their) activities in the capital. So far the role of the private sector has been anything but impressive. Sometime last year, leaders of the National Association of Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Mines and Agriculture (NAC-CIMA) and authorities of the FCT openly traded accusations over who was not doing what.

Another area of public anxiety is what now becomes of Lagos. The President both in Lagos and Abuja has spoken reassuringly on the old capital. In Abuja, he called Lagos "that wonderful city" that "has served Nigeria well and faithfully." Its role as a federal capital for nearly a century, he said, had been "colourful and most dramatic." It was the gate through which colonialism infiltrated Nigeria, and where it was ended in 1960 with the replacement of the Union Jack by "our national flag." It was also there that "the war of national unity was waged and won," the president said.

Moreso, Lagos, he said, has been the hub of the national econ-

omy, "a veritable melting pot of Nigeria." A place like that cannot but "remain central in our scheme of things." But the greater attention must go to Abuja, which Nigerians should join hand with government to build into a capital of which "we and posterity can be justifiably proud."

At the close of the ceremony, many Nigerians were sure about one thing though. It is that the president, his wife, Maryam, have for themselves a "proper" place — the presidential villa — to stay. What they were not quite sure of was whether his second in command, Admiral Augustus Aikhomu who arrived Abuja with his wife, Rebecca, would stay. There is as yet no official quarters in the new capital for the vice president, and rumours making the round of the country last week, said that Admiral Aikhomu would have "temporary accommodation" in Abuja but his wife would be away from him in Lagos. *Citizen* could not confirm these reports though.

**By Tawey Zakka in Abuja**



## NIGERIAN GAS COMPANY:

# DEVELOPING NIGERIA'S NATURAL GAS

Natural gas is one of the world's major sources of energy and Nigeria is blessed with at least twice more of gas than crude oil.

In fact Nigeria is billed to have the 12th largest natural gas reserve in the world with an estimated proven reserve of 140 trillion cubic feet - enough to last at least 100 years.

With such huge natural gas reserve it was, therefore, logical that when the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) was commercialised and reorganised in 1988 a company was set



**GENERAL IBARHIM BABANGIDA, CFR, fss, mni.**  
President Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces,  
Federal Republic of Nigeria

up as a subsidiary of the corporation and charged with the specific task of developing and harnessing for the use of those abundant

natural gas reserves.

That company, known as the Nigerian Gas Company (NGC) began opera-

# NIGERIAN GAS COMPANY: DEVELOPING NIGERIA'S NATURAL GAS

tions soon after it was set up and has since then striven to effectively carry out the assignment which it was charged.

## BUSINESS MISSION

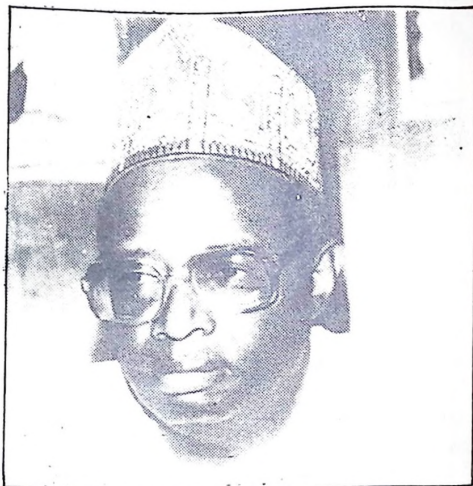
The primary responsibility of NGC is to develop and promote the utilization of the abundant natural gas resources in the domestic market and neighbouring West African countries.

This is reflected in the Business Mission of the Company which is:

" TO PROFITABLY GATHER, TREAT AND MARKET NIGERIA'S NATURAL GAS AND ITS DERIVATIVES TO MAJOR INDUSTRIAL AND UTILITY DISTRIBUTION COMPANIES IN NIGERIA AND NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES".

## OBJECTIVES

In line with fulfilling that business mission



PROFESSOR JIBRIL AMINU  
Hon. Minister of Petroleum Resources

the NGC has five major objectives as follows:

***"NGC has to profitably gather, treat and market Nigeria's Natural Gas and its derivatives to major industrial and utility distribution companies in Nigeria and neighbouring countries".***

(i) To profitably market Nigeria's gas resources locally and

establish presence in the gas market of neighbouring countries.

(ii) To improve manpower productivity, operational efficiency and financial performance to enhance the profitability of the Nigerian Gas Company Limited.

(iii) Process and market derivatives from Natural Gas.

(iv) To explore and establish profitable joint ventures with lo-

## NIGERIAN GAS COMPANY: DEVELOPING NIGERIA'S NATURAL GAS

cal and international investors on gas based downstream ventures.

(v) To ensure that necessary guidelines, procedures, standards and regulations for the development of the domestic gas business are in place.

### NGC DEPARTMENTS AND FUNCTIONS

In order to achieve its objectives the NGC has three major operational offices located in the Western Operations Area with main office at Ughelli, Bendel State, Eastern Operations Area with main office at Port-Harcourt, Rivers

State, and Lagos Operations Area with main office at Egbin near Ikorodu, Lagos State. The Company's head office is located in Ekpan, near Warri in Bendel State.

All the nine Departments of the NGC except the three Operations Departments are based in Ekpan near Warri.

Also, NGC will soon open a commercial office at Ikeja, Lagos State to create necessary awareness about natural gas in the private sector and encourage that sector to invest in the gas business.

Similarly, a Commercial office is also being proposed for Kaduna which is expected to be operational before the end of the year.

### GAS PROJECTS

Since the establishment of the Nigerian Gas Company Limited the company has executed many gas projects. Some other projects are still under construction while studies and discussions are going on



**DR. THOMAS M. JOHN**  
*Group Managing Director, NNPC.*

# NIGERIAN GAS COMPANY: DEVELOPING NIGERIA'S NATURAL GAS

others whose projects construction is yet to begin. The ultimate goal in embarking on these projects is to boost natural gas utilization in the country.

In its efforts to develop an integrated pipeline network all over the country, NGC now has in place more than 1000km of pipelines with seven gas systems, 14 compressor stations and a total capacity that is in excess of 2 billion SCFD to ensure steady gas supply to various industries in the country.

These facilities which represent an investment of more than N3 billion are as follow:

## 1. Sapele Pipeline System

This system supplies gas to NEPA Power Station at Sapele and it is designed to supply 200 MMSCFD. The system comprises a pipeline, a compressor station and a Metering Station.

## 2. Oben-Ajaokuta Pipeline System

This system comprises gathering, treating and transmitting of gas from Oben Compressor Station and the LTX Gas Plant to Ajaokuta Steel Plant. The 198 km long

*In its efforts to develop an integrated pipeline network all over the country, NGC has now has in place more than 1000 km of pipelines with seven gas systems 14 compressor stations and a total capacity that is in excess of 2 billion SCFD to ensure steady gas supply to various industries in the country.*

pipeline is designed to handle 200 MMSCFD.

## 3. Aladja Gas Pipeline System

The system consists of six Compressor Stations with Treatment Plants and a Metering

station. It is designed to supply 65 MMSCFD to the Delta Steel Plant at Aladja.

## 4. Obigbo North-afam Pipeline System

This system supplies gas from the LTX Gas Plant at Obigbo North to NEPA Power Station at Afam. It comprises a pipeline and a Metering Station. The system has a design capacity of 138 MMSCFD.

## 5. Imo River-Aba Pipeline System

The system comprises a Compressor Station, Treatment, Pipeline and Metering facilities. It supplies gas to the industries in Aba and is designed to handle 35 MMSCFD.

## 6. Alakiri-Onne Pipeline System

This system has a designed capacity of 138 MMSCFD and a pipeline length of 17km. It supplies natural gas which is used as feedstock to produce fertilizer by the National

# NIGERIAN GAS COMPANY: DEVELOPING NIGERIA'S NATURAL GAS

Fertilizer Company of Nigeria (NAFCON) at Onne, Rivers State. The system comprises

**The extension of the Escravos/Lagos main trunkline popularly known as the ECOWAS LINE will be used in future to establish NGC presence in the energy market of the West African Sub-region to serve their power and industrial sectors.**

treatment and Metering facilities.

## **7. Escravos- Lagos Pipeline Project**

This project which was designed, constructed and commissioned by the NGC has installed capacity of 1100 MMSCFD and pipeline length of 514km. The primary objective of the project is to supply natural gas to the NEPA Thermal Plant at Egbin, Lagos State, NEPA IV Thermal Station, Ughelli, Warri Refinery

as well as other local industries that can be economically served from the ELP.

The extension of the Escravos /Lagos main trunkline popularly known as the ECOWAS LINE will be used in future

Sub-region to serve their power and industrial sectors.

All the four segments of the Escravos- Lagos gas pipeline projects viz: the Western Gathering System and the Warri Complex Contract "A";



**DR. F. BADEMOSI**  
M.D. Nigeria Gas Co.

to establish NGC presence in the energy market of the West African the Southern Gathering System and Utorogu- Warri pipeline

## NIGERIAN GAS COMPANY: DEVELOPING NIGERIA'S NATURAL GAS

(Contract B); the main transmission pipeline (Warri - Lagos) Contract 'C' and the Telecommunication, Telemetry and the Supervisory Control and Data Acquisition System (SCADA), contract 'D' have been completed. The four projects were embarked upon to optimise the use of natural gas and generate more revenues for the nation.

The completion of the Escravos- Lagos pipeline (ELP) Contract 'A' consisting of the Western Gathering System and the Warri Complex has contributed to reducing the incidence of gas flaring by 70 MMSCFD and more importantly conserving the nonassociated gas.

### ONGOING PROJECTS

At present the Nigerian Gas Company is engaged in two gas projects. The first one concerns the extension of the ELP to Alagbado and construction of Spurlines to the

Shagamu and Ewekoro Cement Plants of West African Portland Cement PLC. The second project is the Natural Gas Utilization study whose contract was signed with BEICIP of France on 8th July, 1990. The study which is being financed by the

***In many developed parts of the World today natural gas is used in operating motor vehicles in the form of compressed natural gas (CNG). This practice carries with it many advantages which include reduced operation costs and decreased environmental pollution.***

World Bank is to evolve a comprehensive strategy for profitable exploitation of Nigeria's Natural gas resources.

### COMPRESSED NATURAL GAS

In many developed

parts of the World today natural gas is used in operating motor vehicles in the form of compressed natural gas (CNG). This practice carries with it many advantages which include reduced operating costs and decreased environmental pollution.

Nigeria is well placed to take advantage of this development of operating vehicles with CNG and the NGC is poised to practicalise and popularise it in the country.

In order to market the natural gas in CNG form and encourage private sector's participation in this new business area, NGC has converted two of its operational Peugeot 504 saloon cars and one diesel truck to run on CNG. Also converted to run on CNG is one Peugeot 504 Saloon car of the Natural Union of Road Transport workers (NURTW) Warri Branch. This is with their vehicles on CNG. One remarkable achievement recorded by NGC in this area is

## NIGERIAN GAS COMPANY: DEVELOPING NIGERIA'S NATURAL GAS

the the fact that the conversion of its operational vehicles and that of the NURTW was carried out by NGC Engineers under the supervision of Engineers from New Zealand.

NGC also recently completed and commissioned two CNG filling stations on pilot scheme at Egbin and Ekpan near Warri where our vehicles converted to run on CNG could refill.

In its efforts to demonstrate the viability of using natural gas in Nigerian homes, NGC has commenced use of natural gas for cooking in its staff canteen in Ekpan.

### FUTURE PROJECTS

The immediate plans of NGC include supply of natural gas to the following industries in the country viz: Aluminum Smelting Plant, Ikot-Abasi, Superbru Brewery at Agbara- Otor, Bendel State Okpella Cement Plant Bendel State;Iwopin Paper Mill, Ogun State; Oluwa Glass Factory, Ondo

State; NAFCON II, NEPA, Ajaokuta and Oredo Pipeline Project.

By so doing, NGC expects to increase its sales of natural gas

**Also on the drawing board of NGC is a plan to extend its present gas net-work to the Northern States of Nigeria to transmit/distribute gas to homes and industries.**

from 96 bscf sold in 1990 to 463 bscf by the year 1991. The company is confident that the prospects for the development and utilization of natural gas in the 90's and beyond are very bright.

The use of natural gas in homes for cooking and water heating is a market that NGC intends to penetrate in the near future, and to concretise this need and demonstrate the feasibility of this programme, NGC intends to embark on a pilot distribution of gas

to NNPC Housing Estate and the neighbouring Shell Estate at Edjeba, Warri. NGC has also been carrying out enlightenment programme through exhibition of natural gas fired cookers at both local and international trade fairs to ginger public interest in this area of gas business.

In the long term NGC plans to fully and profitably market the abundant Natural gas reserves not only in the domestic market but also for export to the ECOWAS subregion through a network of pipelines.

To achieve this aim, the company has been discussing with third parties, private investors/companies towards the development and implementation of gas-based industries to provide further markets for the utilisation of Nigerian's natural gas resources. In particular, NGC's present focus is on the establishment of the methanol

# NIGERIAN GAS COMPANY: DEVELOPING NIGERIA'S NATURAL GAS

plants and Natural Gas Liquids (NGL's) production plants. Along these lines, NGC would, therefore, assist private sector of the Nigerian economy to realise the benefits of natural gas use, identify gas sources for gas based projects, supply gas to meet customer requirements and provide data about gas to interested parties.

Also on drawing board of NGC is a plan to extend its present gas network to the Northern States of Nigeria to transmit/distribute gas to homes and industries.

A remarkable achievement recorded by the company is in the area of transfer of technology in gas operations. Today, all NGC project management activities including the operation and maintenance of all its gas facilities are being undertaken by Nigerians. The Company is happy to have been able to develop this core of highly trained and competent individuals

who are well placed to be able to manage the future expansion being envisaged by the company.

## NATURAL GAS AND ITS USES: NGC'S ROLE

Natural gas could be put into various uses. These include among others:-

### a) Power Generation

At present over 70% of the total natural gas utilised in the country is consumed by NEPA for Power generation at Afam, Ughelli, Sapele and Egbin power stations. NEPA is making a substantial saving of about 40% on fuel costs alone in addition to reduced maintenance and operating costs by running these stations on natural gas instead of fuel oil.

### b) Industrial Fuel

Natural gas is the most beneficial industrial fuel. Many industries in Nigeria are currently

using natural gas as industrial fuel. These include PZ Industries Aba; International Glass Company, Aba; NGL Aba and Delta Glass Company, Ughelli. Other industries such as WAPCO Cement Factories at Shagamu and Ewekoro; the Iwopin Paper Mill in Ogun State and the Oluwa Glass Company in Ondo State will soon convert their facilities to take advantage of the unique qualities of natural gas.

### c) Chemicals

Natural Gas can be used as feedstock to produce intermediate and finished chemicals such as Acetylene, Ammonia, Urea, Methanol, Carbon Black, Oxo-Alcohols, Hydrogen-Cyanide. These chemicals have wide downstream applications in vital industries like fertilizers, Pharmaceuticals, Rubbers, Plastics and Paints.

### d) Metallurgical

Natural gas is used by steel makers to reduce

# NIGERIAN GAS COMPANY: DEVELOPING NIGERIA'S NATURAL GAS

Iron ore e.g. Delta Steel Company, Aladja, and for re-heating billets at Ajaokuta Steel Company.

## e) Agricultural Food Processing

Nigeria will benefit greatly from the use of natural gas as raw material for producing Nitrogenous fertilizers. At present, NGC supplies natural gas to NAFCON for the production of fertilizers at Onne, Rivers State. NAFCON is making efforts to expand its present facilities to increase consumption of natural gas. Natural gas could also be used in food processing for drying of crops and in storage facilities through gas refrigeration, etc.

## f) Domestic

In many advanced countries, natural gas is used for cooking and heating. NGC is making efforts to encourage natural gas usage in homes in Nigeria by embarking on natural gas distribution on pi-

lot schemes to some well-planned housing estates.

## g) Automotive

The use of Compressed Natural Gas (CNG) as an alternative automotive fuel is increasingly gaining recognition due

*One remarkable achievement recorded by NGC in this area is the fact that the conversion of its operational vehicles and that of the NURTW was carried out by M&E Engineers under the supervision of Engineers from New Zealand.*

to the rising costs of refinery products and increasing concern

conversion of some of the operational vehicles of the company and one of the National Union of Road Transport Workers (NURTW) Warri branch. The Company has also commissioned two CNG pilot filling stations at

Egbin near Ikorodu, Lagos State and Ekpan near Warri, Bendel State where vehicles converted to run on CNG can be refilled with gas. Among the advantages derivable from the use of CNG in cars include:-

- Lower operating and maintenance costs;
- Pollution-free emissions and
- Improved resources utilisation. Moreover, CNG as automotive fuel gives good value for money and its supply is reliable.

## ADVANTAGES OF USING NATURAL GAS

Many advantages could be derived from the use of natural gas over other sources of energy like liquid fuel. These advantages include:-

### a) Abundance

Natural gas is more abundant in Nigeria than crude oil in energy terms. Its reserves are more than two times the crude oil reserves in the country.

# NIGERIAN GAS COMPANY: DEVELOPING NIGERIA'S NATURAL GAS

## **b) Cheaper Source of Energy**

Natural gas is cheaper than its major competitor, oil. The present natural gas price is just about 36% of the prevailing fuel oil price.

## **c) Cleanliness**

Natural gas is a cleaner fuel. It burns without formation of soot and without emission of toxic and hazardous effluents into the atmosphere and therefore does not contribute to environmental pollution.

## **d) Reliability**

It offers a more reliable source of energy since it is continuously available to the consumer.

## **e) Requires no storage facilities**

Natural gas does not require storage facilities to be provided by the users since it is supplied through pipelines directly to the users. Thus financial and other resources that would have been com-

mitted to providing storage facilities can be used for other purposes.

## **f) Safety**

Natural gas is very safe to use contrary to uninformed opinions.

## **INVESTMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE GAS INDUSTRY IN NIGERIA**

Many business opportunities are available to interested Nigerian and foreign investors in the gas industry in Nigeria. These include among others:-

1) Establishment of utility companies to distribute natural gas from designated "City gates" to industrial and commercial consumers in major urban centres.

2) Setting up of commercial enterprises with back-up technical services to market specific gas fired equipment e.g Industrial/Commercial gas burners; boiler packages etc

3) Polyethylene pipe production for low/

medium pressure gas distribution.

4) Establishment of Engineering Services Companies that would be involved in Engineering re-design or modification of existing liquid fired equipment.

5) Establishment of small/medium and tonnage plants to manufacture chemicals, solvents etc from natural gas.

6) Extraction and marketing of natural gas liquids (NGL) in bulk form or as LPG/Gasoline fraction.

With Nigeria's good fortune of having abundant gas reserves and the determination of the NGC to profitably exploit those reserves, there is no doubt that the country can look forward to consistently being self sufficient in energy, which is a major ingredient for industrial development. This is heartening news for Nigeria's growing industrial base.

## SUPPLEMENT ON KOGI STATE

# Big strides in a land of promise

**W**hen on August 27th, 1991, Kogi State was created along with eight other states, a long dream was fulfilled in a land blessed with abundant human and material resources but bereft of any meaningful development owing to its long history of neglect. The hope for self-determination, a new life and better days was rekindled among a group of people who had become socially and politically cohesive as a result of many decades of peaceful association.

The state, which lies to the east and west of River Niger with

its capital at Lokoja, at the confluence of the Niger and Benue rivers, has played significant commercial and political role in the history of Nigeria. In the pre-colonial days, river-side towns such as Koto, Garfe, Gbobe, Lokoja and Idah were great centres of commerce for traders from the north and south. To the European merchants who explored the inland of the west coast, Lokoja was an attractive trade post where the Royal Niger Company established its first trading centre. It was in Lokoja therefore that the European colonisers established their first major settlement in Nigeria and it was also in this town that the chain of liberty was installed in 1980 to mark the end of slave trade.

Also, it was here Lugard assembled first administered Northern Protectorate in 1900. The town could therefore be regarded as the first capital of a constituted colonial authority in Northern Nigeria. With this background, the areas was naturally bound for greatness. However, events later changed. The centre of administration was moved by Lord Lugard further North to Zungeru and commercial activities gradually declined.

In the old regional government structure, the area was known as Kabba province with its headquarters at Lokoja. Following the creation of state in 1967, the area was merged with Ilorin province to become Kwara State with the capital at Ilorin. In 1976, during another state creation exercise, the Igala area was excised and merged with the Benue province to form Benue State. With this history of merger and excision, the area was weakened politically and economically and a great decline in development set in.

Today, the new state has nothing of worth to show except the relics of its history and its untapped human and material resources. However, when on September 2, the military administrator of the new state, Colonel Danladi Muhammad Zakari, arrived Lokoja to establish the state, a new chapter was opened.

The 41-year-old Colonel hails from Adamawa state and was before his appointment the executive secretary of the Armed Forces

Schools Management Board. Apart from his military training, Colonel Zakari holds a bachelor and master's degree in engineering. He is also working on a doctoral degree programme. This background has put him in good stead to meet the challenges of piloting the affairs of the state so eager for development.

Recounted Col. Zakari, "my training and my experience has prepared me for this challenge. My desire is to satisfy the aspiration of the people of an area that has for a long time thirsted for growth. The anxiety of the people is very high. They want to see things

happening around and I noticed this from the first day. As we were setting up the machinery of government, we had to satisfy the aspiration of the people for physical development within our limited time."

### The prime mandate

The first requirement of a new state is a basic machinery of administration. This was why the President, General Ibrahim Babangida, directed the administrators of the new states to give the matter top priority. Within the first week the military administrator resumed, so much effort was made in this direction.

Soon after the civic reception organised for him on his arrival at the state capital, he performed his first official function by swearing in the sole administrators for the newly created local governments of Adavi, Ajaokuta, Okene and Okéhi. On September 3, the military administrator undertook an inspection tour of Lokoja, identifying government buildings for office and residential use.

"At the end of that tour, I was convinced that there were enough facilities with which to begin. The old colonial structures of the Lord Lugard era, the provincial buildings and Kogi Local Government buildings were earmarked for renovation and use," the military administrator said.

Within the same day, Col. Zakari had approved the appointments of Mr. Andrew Aileku as the secretary to the state government and six special advisers to head the newly created ministries. The ministries are justice, headed by Mrs. Rekiya Okpanachi, works, Malam Aliyu Ova, health, Dr. Inda Ali, agriculture, Mr. Augustine Akpala, education, Rev. Titus Adebayo, and finance, Alhaji Musa Ahmadu. Within the same week, directors general were appointed and posted to various ministries and departments and thus skeletal administrative services commenced.

The military administrator's residence, the council chambers of Kogi local government and hotel rooms taken-over by key

**Contd on page 37**



# SIEMENS - A World Leader

The general awareness of the scope, capabilities and full range of SIEMENS operations in Nigeria is limited to telecommunications projects and equipment for which the company has been associated with in the country over the last two decades. This public perception has therefore positioned SIEMENS in the minds of the Nigerian public as a predominantly telecommunications company.

Whereas SIEMENS is a telecommunications giant, it is equally strong and reputable worldwide in some other areas of high technology development.

## THE COMPANY

SIEMENS AG, with headquarters in Munich, Germany, is one of the world's largest multi-national organisations engaged in the fields of electrical engineering and electronics. With an international network of companies and representatives in more than 130 countries, SIEMENS products, technological developments and services are always within easy reach of its customers.

SIEMENS main technological capabilities, worldwide and in Nigeria, cover the following areas:-

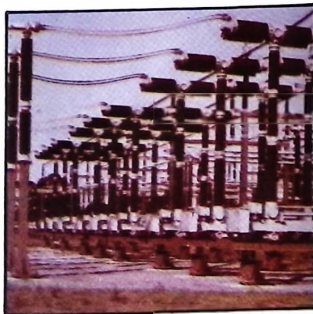
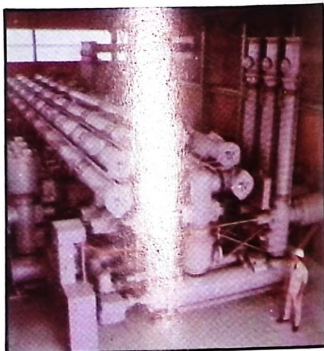
- Communications and Information
- Safety and Security
- Energy
- Production Engineering
- Automotive Engineering
- Health — Medical Equipment

The corporate activities of the company encompass all major fields of electrical engineering and electronics: ranging from the tiniest electronic chips to the magnetic resonance imager, simple relays to complex process-control systems, and electric motors to full scale power stations. SIEMENS is ultimately involved in all sectors of high technology — micro electronics and communications, information processing, automation and power engineering. Complete systems and installations are SIEMENS particular strength; but it also offers a wide range of services.

Continuous innovation through large scale Research and Development activities has sustained the position of SIEMENS in the world as, one of the leading companies in its areas of involvement during the past decade. With an R & D workforce of over 40,000 around the world, and future proof investment of DM 25 million (about N125 million) everyday, Research and Development are the technological cornerstones of SIEMENS activities.

## SIEMENS AND POWER ENGINEERING

When it comes to the conversion and distribution of energy, electricity has decisive advantages. With modern technology, electrical energy can easily be applied in the right amount at the right time; it is simple to transport (transmit) over long distances and can be converted most efficiently into any



# in Power Engineering

form of useful energy. SIEMENS has historically been involved in a wide range of products and services in the field of power engineering. This is in recognition of the great influence which energy and information have on industrial performance and quality of life.

As a world leader, the scope of SIEMENS operations in power engineering include the manufacture and installation of Transformers, Substations, Transmission Lines, Switchgear, Powerline Carrier Systems and Area Control systems. The great reliability of SIEMENS equipment and systems coupled with powerful computer systems in the control centres, ensure maximum reliability for the economical generation and distribution of electrical energy to meet actual requirements.

As an innovator, SIEMENS produces high-voltage switchgear of high standard through intensive research and continuing development. This excellent technology also means cost effectiveness, safety, reliability, environmental acceptability and user-friendliness. This future oriented concept and wealth of experience have justified SIEMENS position as a world leader in metal-enclosed-insulated switchgear.

Turnkey, which is the totality of a project from conception through production and installation to handing over, constitutes one of the SIEMENS greatest strength. SIEMENS supplies switchgear of gas-insulated or air-insulated design, covering voltage from 72.5 KV to 800 KV. Since 1968, SIEMENS has supplied 700 high-voltage installations, making up more than 5,000 gas-insulated bays. The company has thus utilised the experience gained in 40,000 bay operating years to attain an excellent level of safety and reliability.

## SIEMENS IN NIGERIA

SIEMENS has actively participated in Nigeria's power engineering sector since early 1970s. In close cooperation with the Nigeria Electric Power Authority (NEPA), some State Government and business organisations, SIEMENS has executed many important projects to provide electricity to several parts of the country.



SIEMENS has established a permanent presence in Nigeria with the execution of some vital and strategic power engineering projects such as Substations, Powerline Carrier Systems, Transformers, Switchgear, and computer supported Data Acquisition and Transmission System (Area Control Centres) in different parts of the country.

The company has in recent times

extended high tech power engineering to Nigeria with the installation of the Shiroro Area Control Centre.

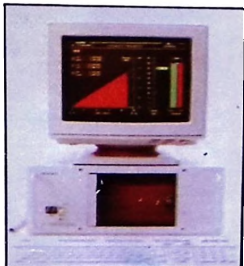
SIEMENS has capability and resources for planning and executing high technology small, medium and large scale projects in Nigeria.

SIEMENS is represented in Nigeria by Electro Technologies Nigeria Limited — ELTEC. The company has facilities in Lagos for manufacture and assembly of some of its vital components and products. SIEMENS worldwide acclaimed high quality standards are equally ensured in the company's products and services.

For enquiries and further details about SIEMENS power engineering capabilities and other products and services, please contact the company at the following address:

### ELECTRO TECHNOLOGIES NIGERIA LIMITED (ELTEC)

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## SUPPLEMENT ON KOGI STATE

# "My vision, my mission"

—Col. Zakari Yakubu, Sole Administrator Kogi State

"Despite the limitation of time and resources, I feel a government without a sound economic base is worth nothing. My vision is that Kogi state should be given a foundation that will make it able to sustain itself. Government should as a matter of urgency create an environment that will encourage investment. There should be less government and more private initiative"

### Introduction:

**K**ogi State is one of the nine newly created states in the country with Lokoja as its headquarters. It is the most centrally located of all the states of the federation. It comprises of the Igalala, Ebira, Kabba and Kogi divisions of the former Kabba province. It shares common boundaries with Niger, Plateau and federal capital territory to the north. To the east, the state is bordered by Benue state, and to the south and west by Enugu, Edo, Ondo and Kwara states.

The new state was carved out of the former Kwara and Benue states on the 27th of August, 1991. The creation of the new state was a significant event as it brought about a happy re-union of a people who had lived together for well over three quarters of a century, and had to be separated during the 1976 state creation exercise which excised the Igalala area from Kwara state. When the new state was created, the President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida, announced the appointment of a young military officer, Colonel Danladi Mohammed Zakari, as the first Military Administrator to pilot the affairs of the new state.

### The Man Colonel Zakari

Colonel Zakari was born in Katsina on December 30, 1951 and hails from Adamawa state. He attended Government College, Kaduna and was commissioned in the Nigerian Defence Academy and was commissioned in 1971.

Since commissioning, Colonel Zakari has had a very brilliant military career within and outside Nigeria. Among the positions he has held are Staff Officer, Training and Doctrine Command; Colonel General Staff, Headquarters, Third Armoured Division, Jos; and Commander 21 Armoured Brigade, Maiduguri.

Others are, Commandant, Nigerian Army Armoured School,

Bauchi and Commander, United Nations Observer Group in Iraq/Iran.

Colonel Zakari also attended George Washington University in the United States where he obtained a bachelor degree in Engineering and a master's degree in System Engineering. The 41 year old colonel was the Chief Executive of the Armed Forces Schools Management Board before his appointment as Military Administrator. He is married to Hajja Nimotai Bode Zakari with four children.

What is the mission and vision of this young military officer who has made history by becoming the first Chief Executive of one of the most endowed State? What are his experiences so far? On what path has he set the young state and what are his wishes for Kogi State?

Colonel Zakari's answers to these questions are thought-provoking and they touch on a wide range of issues. They form the first part of this publication. The second part is a report on the activities of the pioneer of Kogi State.

### Reaction to Appointment as Military Administrator:

I did not expect my appointment as the Military Administrator of Kogi State. The announcement took me by surprise, because I never knew I would be called upon. Since the federal government recognised that I can serve in this capacity, I had to answer the call. I had no option. I also really felt very happy because it was an indication that the government had some confidence in me.

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officers of the state served as beehive of administrative activities for the remaining part of the week.

The take-off was so swift that by the first day of the third week of the arrival of the military administrator, some key ministries were already operating from the premises allocated to them as offices. The ministries are finance, works, agriculture and education. The ministry of health also started operation from the premises of the Lokoja general hospital. Simultaneously, the military administrator conducted a tour of the whole state to familiarise himself with the problems on the ground.

Other crucial government departments were instantly constituted and started operation. Such agencies are the teaching service board, the Local Government Service Commission, the Judiciary, the Muslim Pilgrims Welfare Board, Women Commission, Directorate of Food, Road and Rural Infrastructures and the State Environmental Sanitation Agency.

### Radio and Television services

The military administrator gave a special attention to the information machinery of the state. For adequate dissemination of information, he approved the immediate reactivation of the radio booster stations at Ayigba and Otiye. By the middle of October, the booster stations went on air with some staff deployed from Radio Benue and Radio Kwara to man the stations. Kogi State thus became the first of the nine newly created states to begin radio broadcast services. On the eve of the 1991 census, the military administrator made his maiden broadcast which covered about 65 per cent of the area of the new state. The Nigeria Television Authority stations at Makurdi, Benue State, and Ilorin, Kwara State are not received in the areas that now constitute the new state of Kogi. The state government offered assistance to NTA Ilorin to reactivate the booster station at Oshokoshoko, about 70 kilometres from Lokoja, which plans we also make to assist NTA Makurdi to refurbish the booster station at Ayigba which has transmission facilities.

### Tackling accommodation problem

One of the immediate problems that confronted the state administration as it settled down was the provision of office and residential accommodation for workers. A task force was set up on the office of the military administrator to tackle this problem. The committee within two weeks located over 40 abandoned buildings in Lokoja which by the colonial administration of Lord Lugard and

the provincial government. Also some buildings were acquired from Kogi Local Government and the Inland Waterways Department of the Federal Ministry of Transport. In addition to these, some landlords in Lokoja and the satellite town of Okene donated their houses to the state government.

These buildings were immediately renovated and furnished for use. Presently, all special advisers, directors-general, heads of commissions, boards and extra-ministerial departments are quartered.

The task force on project implementation which handles accommodation has continued the search for more places to facilitate the process of settling down. The task force which is headed by Major Femi Mepaiyeda, the military assistant to the administrator, seats more than twice a day.

The committee has so far acquired about 130 houses for residential purpose. Efforts are on to acquire some buildings in the satellite towns of Okene, Itakpe, Osara, Kabba and Koton Karfe. In anticipation of the success of this effort, shuttle buses have been arranged between these towns and Lokoja.

According to Col. Zakari, accommodation for workers is a priority but requires careful planning and executive for a more beneficial effect especially to the workers. As a more lasting solution, government has already embarked on the construction of 30 units of the three and four bedroom flats and work is to commence soon on a 50 unit junior staff quarters under the newly formed property development company.

It is the plan of government that workers should eventually own their own houses instead of being tenants. The scheme is being fully developed by the state property development company. We are making efforts to make accommodation available to workers. We have appealed to landlords to peg rents and we are also encouraging property developers.

"I think we are achieving reasonable results within the time and resources available to us. The task force handling accommodation is directly being supervised by myself and I think steady progress is being made. However, we require the patience and understanding of everybody concerned," said the military administrator.

The ministry of finance has already got approval from the military administrator to embark on a revolving housing loan scheme. The sum of four million naira has been voted for the

## SUPPLEMENT ON KOGI STATE

scheme which is to commence before the end of the year. This scheme is to enable workers own their own houses and government has a lot of interest in the programme; noted the special adviser on finance, Reverend Titus Adeboye.

Over six million naira has so far been committed into the state's deployment welfare package. About 2.8 million naira has been paid out to deployed workers as transport allowance and almost 3 million naira as feeding allowance. Also, about 10 million naira has been spent on the purchase of office and house hold equipment.

All the six ministries of the state government and more than eight government departments have since commenced services in the acquired colonial and provincial government buildings which are also under-going expansion. The military administrator's office is situated in the old provincial secretariat. This complex was renovated and furnished within four weeks and now serves as the heart of government in Lokoja. Additional buildings have been proposed within the complex to ease office congestion while a fence is being built to provide necessary security.

### The economy



While tackling the problem of establishing the machinery of government in the short time available, the military administrator also thought the economy should receive a good attention. He noted: "Despite the limitation of time and resources, I feel a government without a sound economic base is worth nothing. My vision is that Kogi State should be given a foundation that will make it able to sustain itself. Government should as a matter of urgency create an environment that will encourage investment. There should be less government and more private initiative."

One of the first steps taken by the state administration was the setting up of a committee to produce a blue print for economic development. The committee had twenty-two members, all indigenes of Kogi State, drawn from the commanding heights of business and the public sector. The committee had as chairman, Prince Ado Ibrahim. Col. Zakari had charged the committee to identify development projects of high growth potentials, sources of funding and make recommendations on how the state can harness its abundant resources to confront the obvious economic backwardness.

One of the senior staff offices of the Lord Lugard administration in Lokoja was quickly renovated to serve as the committee's

secretariat. The committee members visited many parts of the state and received many memoranda from the citizens of Kogi state all over the country. According to the chairman of the committee, the generous response from Kogi citizens is a demonstration of everybody's concern for state's economic development.

The committee's report which is in two volumes is no doubt an invaluable document and one major achievement for the present government which was able to put together such a formidable team.

The document contains all the basic facts on the resources of Kogi State and the various investment opportunities available. Its recommendations are wide-ranging and not time bound. It is indeed a blue print on which all immediate and future plans for development should be based.

To boost businesses in the new state, government has established an investment company, a finance company, as well as a tourism and hotel company. Also the construction of multi-million naira shopping complex has been embarked upon in the centre of Lokoja. The project is to serve as an economic tonic for the state capital which lacks basic big business facilities.

Necessary arrangements have been made by the ministry of finance, commerce and industry to start the registration of business premises. The ministry is also making arrangements for the effective organisation of the chamber of commerce, export promotion committee as well as check trade malpractices especially in petroleum product marketing.

Apart from the four companies already registered by the state government with a total equity share package of 35 million naira, two other major manufacturing companies are in the pipe line. They are the Wellcrete Building Products, Aiyetoro-Gbedde and the Hydrated Lime Products, Felele-Lokoja.

The building products company is to produce building products such as roofing sheets, flat boards, and profile boards among others. The foundation stone of the project which is to cost 44 million naira was laid on November 13, 1991 by the military administrator. The Hydrated Lime Product Company is to cost 78 million naira. Government is also studying the possibility of embarking on a cement manufacturing company to use the limestone deposit within the state.

### Tapping tourism potential

Of particular interest to the Zakari administration is the devel-

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opment of facilities for tourism. The state capital, Lokoja, which is sandwiched between the mountain of Patti and the Niger-Benue confluence is a scenic beauty. In addition to this are the landmark places in the town which can be rightly said to be the first commercial and political capital of Nigeria.

Col. Zakari has embarked on the development of these historical landmarks to boost tourism. An 11 million naira road is under construction to the top of Mount Patti. The top of the mountain has a flat land of about 15 square kilometers, and it has a very hospitable weather which is a sharp contrast to the condition down the mountain. Work is progressing on the road and the plotting of the mountain top for allocation. Plans are also on to commence work on the beautification of the European cemetery, the cenotaph, and the point the flag of the Royal Niger Company was lowered. Colonel Zakari said of these landmarks: "we are developing the European cemetery because it is right in the heart of the town and has high international appeal. Members of the families of those buried in this cemetery and whose names are inscribed on their tombs may decide to visit if the place is popularised. This will yield money for the state. Visitors will also be attracted to such places as the Niger/Benue confluence, Lord Lugard houses and so on. We have plans to restore to the state its pride of place in the history of Nigeria, Africa and indeed the entire world"

### Transportation

Adequate attention is being given to this section to facilitate the economic take off of the state. A 30 kilometer road is being planned to link Ajakuta with Lokoja. It is hoped that with this road, the Ajakuta industrial area will be linked with the state headquarter for necessary spill-over effect. The state government has already requested the support of the federal government for the construction of the road which is estimated to cost about 28 million Naira.

The state government has also sent a passionate appeal to the federal government for the rehabilitation of its failed road within Kogi. Already, the contract for the rehabilitation of the road between Lokoja and Abaji has been awarded. Others requiring immediate attention to facilitate easy movement within the state are the Shintaku-Ayangba road, Okene-Lokoja road, Ida-Nsukka road and Lokoja-Kabba-Ilorin road.

The state of these roads is slowing down business activities in the new state. To avoid the break down of transportation on Lokoja-Ilorin highway, the state government has embarked on the repair of a failed portion.

### Education

Science based secondary education is a priority. The administration has approved the establishment of special science schools at Oguma, Okaba, Lokoja and Kabba. 9.4 million Naira is being committed into the purchase of the science equipment for these schools while 1.9 million Naira is being expended on their renovation.

Plans are at advance stages for the establishment of agency for adult and non-formal education, scholarship board and a directorate of science and technology.

### Health

Kogi State has a total of thirteen public hospitals are those at Lokoja, Kabba and Obangede.

The Lokoja General Hospital is already undergoing renovation. About 8 million Naira is to be spent on the project. Work is nearing completing. Others are a bore hold for Lokoja General Hospital, construction of medical store, repair of old room, bore hole for Okene General Hospital. Repair of equipment of Iyale, Mopa and Anka and generator sets for Dekina, Kabba, and Ogori. This projects are to cost over 3 million Naira.

The state has commenced its drug revolving fund scheme with grant of 1.5 million Naira. Schools of nursing at Obangede, Egbe and Idah have received financial and material support to ensure their stability.

### Agriculture

Kogi is basically an agrarian state. More than 85 per cent of its people are engaged in subsistence agriculture. The target of govern-



ment is to boost the production of food crops, fish and livestock. To achieve this objective, a state-wide agricultural and rural development authority is being planned. Arrangements are also on for adequate fertilizer supply to the state in the next cropping season. Three limited liability companies have been established to cater for all areas of agricultural investment. These are Kogi Agro-Allied Investment Company, Kogi Land Development Company and Kogi Oil Palm Production Company.

The state government has also commenced the construction of a standard agricultural mechanical workshop for the maintenance of machineries. Also government has started the construction of a modern slaughter house in Lokoja.

The palm plantation in the state which were hitherto abandoned are being rehabilitated. The newly established Kogi Palm Production Company is to manage the various plantations. The Agricultural Training Institute in Ochaja is being renovated and expanded as plans are now to upgrade its programme.

### Justice

The ministry of justice which has the cabinet responsibility has enacted so far twelve edicts. Three of these are laws to enable the judiciary operate fully. The laws are the high court (civil procedure rules edict), the appeal courts edict, the district courts law and the sharia court of appeal law.

In consonance with the objective of having an independent and virile judiciary, the ministry drafted and had enacted the public finance (judiciary provisions) edict which provided for a self-accounting judiciary.

The judiciary has undergone a complete reorganisation and harmonisation of the inherited systems and laws from Benue and Kwara States. Apart from the acting chief judge, there is one resident judge at the state headquarter. High courts with resident judges have taken off at Anka, Idah, Okene, Obangede and Kabba. Others are six upper area courts, 15 magistrate courts and 55 area courts.

In the last three and a half months, what the pioneer administration in Kogi State has done is to lay a foundation for a sound administrative and economic take-off. These projects when fully implemented will make the state an example to many others. The resources that abound within the state indicate that Kogi State holds so much promise for its people and Nigeria as a whole. The challenge ahead is to turn this promise into reality.

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Some of my major concerns when I first came were confidence building between the people from Benue and Kwara and particularly to lay a basic foundation for economic development. My vision is of a purely non-governmental economic system.

I want to ensure that the development of the state in all spheres of life is planned right from the very beginning to serve as foundation for the future. I am pleased that I have had the opportunity to sell this idea and it was found acceptable. The outcome of this was the setting up of a committee to produce a blue print for the economic development of the state. The committee was to work towards economic activities that are independent of government.

For instance, in a concerted effort to ensure the rapid industrialisation and transformation of the state, the state government has floated a number of companies as catalysts for development.

The companies are: the Kogi Investment Company Limited which is to serve as a work house for private investment in viable business. The Confluence Finance Company is to fund the state's commercial and industrial enterprises. The Kogi State Hotel and Tourism company is to boost the rich tourism potentials of the state, and the Kogi state Property Development Company Limited which will later become a mortgage bank, is to offer loans to any Kogi state indigene wishing to build his or her own house.

The Kogi State Hotel and Tourism Company Limited will commence with the initial equity capital of 5 million naira, the other three will take-off with the initial equity capital of 10 million naira each.

The equity participation of the companies are disclosed to stimulate the expected active role of the private sector in the ventures in consonance with the prevailing privatisation policy of the Federal Government. I enjoin all the affluent indigenes of the state to play effective role in the equity financing of the new companies.

#### Economic Blue Print:

The report of the committee is a very relevant document. The recommendations provide a stage by stage programme for the economic emancipation of the state. The first is the short term

programme which focuses on the provision of infrastructure and also the provision of a conducive atmosphere for private investors to come in to the state. It also provides that some infrastructure such as a shopping complex in Lokoja should be built to house offices for business enterprises.

The long term is proper industrialisation. The Ajaokuta Steel complex will be used as a catalyst for most of the industries that would be situated within the state. The programme is being planned such that an industrial layout would stretch from Lokoja to Ajaokuta easy access to the Ajaokuta industrial complex.

#### State of the Roads

The federal government is making concerted efforts to rehabilitate its deplorable roads in the state. Contract has been awarded for the rehabilitation of Lokoja — Koton Karfe portion of the federal highway in the state. The Lokoja — Okene road will soon be awarded according to the Minister of Works and Housing, Retired Major-General Mamman Kontagora. I had discussions with him recently.

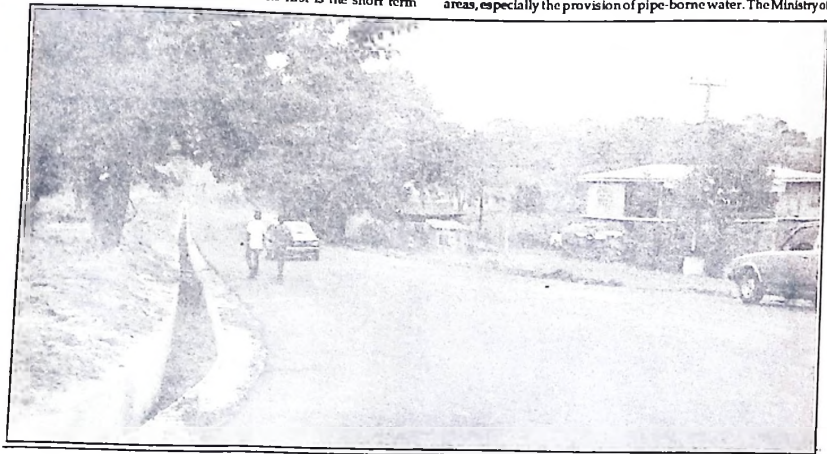
I want to agree with the Minister who said the cost of construction of roads is very high, and that if a high quality road is to be built for a heavy rainfall area like ours, only very few areas in the country will have roads. You see, the rains have been very heavy this year that is why there are problems on the roads. Senior officials of the Works Ministry have been sent to the state to see for themselves the conditions of our roads and they have gone round.

Kogi state government has made funds available to repair some of the federal roads which are seriously in bad shape. One is the sport on Kabba — Okoro Gbede road. Even some local governments are assisting in the roads rehabilitation programme.

#### Rural Development

The Directorate of Food, Road and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI) headquarters under the chairmanship of Air Vice-Marshal Larry Koinya has provided the state with some funds to enable DFRRI programmes to take off.

The state government has a lot of programmes for the rural areas, especially the provision of pipe-borne water. The Ministry of



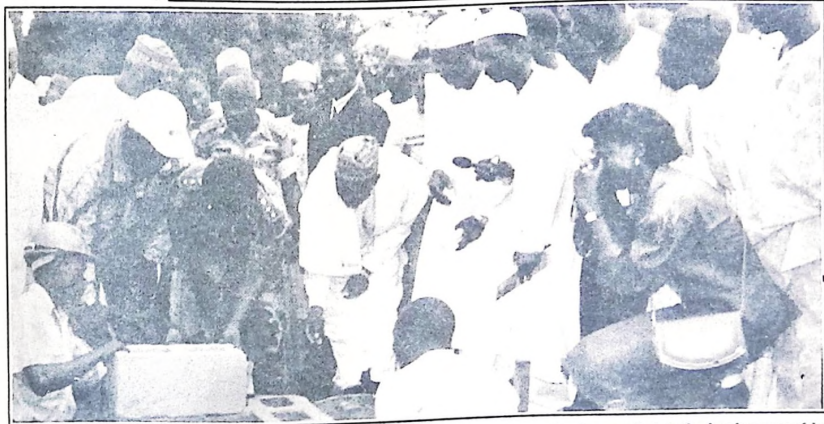
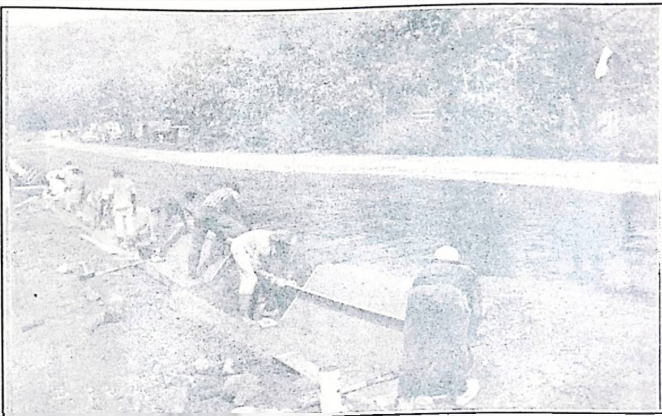
## SUPPLEMENT ON KOGI STATE

AGriculture has had approved the sum of about four million naira to sink boreholes especially in the six local government areas carved out of Benue state which has a perennial problem of inadequate water supply.

The state has got some funding for rural roads from DFRRI and for rural electrification. The government is also mapping out strategies to connect rural communities with the national grid. Four communities in the state are to benefit from the state electrification programme this year.

### Political Violence:

Political violence in Kogi state actually beats my imagination. I believe a new state like this should concentrate on how to develop. Party members should rally



round their leaders, have a low level of rancour, because a crisis ridden environment cannot provide the conducive atmosphere for development.

### Most memorable event:

I find it difficult to say this is my most memorable event. Each day is memorable to me, because each day there are new challenges and there are new factors in development and new experiences. When I came to Lokoja, the joy of state creation overwhelmed me and I decided that if everyone is grateful for the creation of the state and I am appointed the first Chief Executive of the state, why

should I not work very hard to contribute to the development of the state. So, each day that passes is very challenging. We have a lot of activities going on in the state and those activities are unique in a sense, especially when you think that you have to combine many things at the same time.

### Wishes for Kogi State:

My wishes for the state are simply that it should have very minimal government, a boom in the business climate in the sense that the state has the capabilities. The potentials are there in Kogi State.

## El-Zakzaky

# Arms and the man

Government ever suspicious of his motives, the fire-brand mullah had yet another brush with the law

The day was Wednesday, November 20. The scene was the departure lounge of the Aminu Kano International Airport. The time was midnight — check-in time for British Airways flight to London.

Malam Ibrahim leader of the Zaria-based Islamic Movement had been there for about an hour, and it was time to go. He checked his papers; they were all in order. He weighed-in his flight bag and turned to bid farewell to the retinue of followers that turned out to see him off.

He joined the queue to board the plane and was soon through with the procedure. As he waited, the only thing on his mind was the series of talks he expected to deliver in London. Little did he know that the plane would shortly leave without him.

And, instead of the snow and cold in London, for which he was well prepared, it was the humid heat of Lagos that he was to battle in the next few hours.

El-Zakzaky said he didn't miss his flight on purpose. He came to the airport a freeman but left it a detainee.

"I've just finished all the formalities," he said, "and I was waiting to board the plane when I was picked." Initially he was told that he needed to fill some clearance forms required for *ulama* travelling abroad. Instead of getting forms to fill, he said, he was taken to the headquarters of the State Security Services, SSS, in Kano, where he spent the night.

The following morning he was whisked to Lagos where, he said, he was held at the now familiar Inter Centre, the SSS interrogation centre. He said he was not ill-treated though he didn't receive much-needed medical attention.

But why was he held? Sometimes looks can even speak louder than words. This time they were almost expressing incredulity. As el-Zakzaky sat recounting his week-long experience at the hands of men of the SSS one gets a sense of wounded disbelief.

"They said," el-Zakzaky began, "that I am receiving, arms from Libya and Burkina Faso."

If the idea of a Kalashnikov-wielding *mullah* operating a gun-running racket doesn't sound plausible, that doesn't mean the charge will be less troubling when made.

He said he was not worried by being detained but was clearly offended by what he described as the tendency of security men to adopt attitudes below what he considered dignified human intercourse.

"Why didn't they, for instance, come right out at the onset and say Malam this trip is not possible?" he asked, with much pain. Why should they not tell the truth? Or wait till I come to the airport?"

He wanted to know why the



El-Zakzaky: aundaunted

security men didn't attempt to arrest him at home or as he moved about within the country. While that may seem reasonable it appears that el-Zakzaky has forgotten that these people do not take orders from him. Nevertheless, he said he found many of them quite apologetic about most of what they were ordered to question him.

Thought the charge was different this time, the territory covered and the method was familiar enough.

According to el-Zakzaky he is almost used to being detained. This incidence, he said, was the fifth time. The first happened in 1979 when he was a student leader at Ahmadu Bello University. He had led muslim students in protest marches against what they considered unacceptable immoralities on campus. These included the sale and consumption of alcohol on the

campus and the holding of wild parties.

The second, he said, was when he was incarcerated in Sokoto and Enugu prisons for four years on the charge of inciting disaffection against government and preaching without licence. In December 1984, he went back to detention for the third time and stayed nine months in Kirikiri. Two years later he was back, for three years, on a charge of the possession of illegal documents. "These documents," el-Zakzaky said, "were in reality a paper I presented in Funtua in 1980."

The latest which was the fifth time was also the first time he would be charged on suspicion of the possession of arms. According to el-Zakzaky, the SSS alleged that consignment of arms had been despatched to him from the Socialist Peoples Libyan Arab Jamahiriyya and Burkina Faso."

"They said," el-Zakzaky added, not without a hint of irony, "that the arms were delivered to me through Maradi." If true, he said, he must indeed be a powerful and well-connected person to be able to persuade all the guards at Burkinabe post into Niger and then overcome the gendarmerie of Niger Republic on all its borders — with Libya, with Burkina Faso and with Nigeria. "Why then do they wait all this time before they do anything?" el-Zakzaky asked.

Though he said he could understand why a government that took power with arms would worry about someone having arms, he failed to understand what danger he would pose outside if his stay at home didn't constitute a threat.

About the charge of gun-running, he said it was absolutely baseless. He said it shouldn't merit mention.

"In any case why should we need arms?" he asked. "I thought the security people knew us enough. Whoever is even remotely aware of our activities ought to know that our message is directed at people's

hearts," he added. "We are not fighting anyone. We only seek to bring about a revolution in how people think."

He said it is people who will have to change into muslims who are aware and conscious of their duties as muslims. Thereafter, what they do is up to them, he said.

**B**ut if he is not about to fight the government with arms, he is certainly at war — a war of words — with it. He doesn't

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## El-Zakzaky said his visit to the UK was in response to an invitation by some muslim groups. He also said he wanted to seize the opportunity to do a medical examination.

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recognise its sovereignty and will waste no time in inviting others to share his beliefs. He said he and his followers are at Meccan stage of an Islamic struggle, and if the government saw any necessity to attack him it must be due to the potentials of the movement and not because they are up in arms against anyone.

According to el-Zakzaky, his arrest is only a small part of a long-term plan. It is supposed to be part of what he called "Clearance 1992 and Beyond," which he said was the code-name of an operation he believed the security agencies launched earlier in the year.

He said experts were drawn from some Arab countries and they met their Nigerian counterparts in Abuja and devised a strategy to contain the rising influence of the Islamic movement.

Asked how he knew about all this, he said he was in possession of reliable information inadvertently revealed by a prominent traditional authority with suspected Zionist links.

"Actually I expected to be picked up by mid-July, he said. "When this failed, I then knew there must have been changes."

He said according to the plan, while he was in detention, a smear campaign will be launched. This charge of gun-running, he said, was supposed to be part of a campaign to depict members of the Islamic Movement as a danger to the public. This, he said, will prepare the public for whatever follows. Yet el-Zakzaky said his detention was botched by overzealous officials. "They must have caught me at the wrong moment," he said. "Apparently it didn't add up with their plans. That's why they had to release me."

Concerning the visit he was to make to UK, el-Zakzaky said was in response to an invitation by some muslim groups. He also said he wanted to seize the opportunity to have a medical check-up. He said he had undergone a medical examination at Ahmadu Bello University Teaching Hospital. Though the result was inconclusive, there were indications, he said, that he had contracted tuberculosis in Port Harcourt prison where he was last held.

He is still hopeful that he will make the trip. Though his ticket has still not been recovered from British Airways, he said, he will go at a later date. Following his release after a week, the security withheld his passport and remaining ticket. These were released to him when he returned on November 27.

Asked by a BBC correspondent after his release whether he planned to take the government to court over his detention, he replied, "We do not recognise any court, and therefore we have nowhere to take our case other than the Court of Allah."

By Adamu Adamu

## AFRICA

## OIC

# Not in disarray

Did the Arab leaders shun Dakar conference to snub Africa?

Sharp differences over the Gulf war which splittled the ranks of the Arab world last January re-echoed last week in Dakar, Senegal venue of the sixth summit of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC). Notable Arab leaders failed to turn up at the summit. King Fahd of Saudi Arabia only sent his crown prince while other prominent absentees at the two day meeting included President Assad of Syria, Hosni Mubarak of Egypt and Libyan leader, Colonel Muamur Gaddafi.

However, the Senegalese hosts, honoured to stage the first OIC summit in Africa South of the Sahara tried to play down the incidence when the Senegalese foreign minister, Diibo Ka told anxious reporters that the significance of the conference for Senegal was that it had succeeded in hosting the *ummah* who together account for one-fifth of the world population and 50 per cent of its resources.

At the opening ceremony of the summit, the Senegalese President Abdou Diouf called on the Islamic world to show greater solidarity among its members. He said however that required support and assistance should be strictly done within the international law which precludes interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state adding that the OIC does not have a predicative or evangelism vocation.

Iraq which had boycotted the summit altogether because of the draft resolution condemning its action both during and after the Gulf war did not go unscathed. The secretary general of the organisation,

Dr. Hamid Al-Gabad in an address to delegates called for the application of all the UN resolutions on the Gulf crisis. Al-Gabad condemned the August 2, 1990 invasion of Kuwait by Iraq and called for setting up an appropriate mechanism to save the Islamic community from such a situation in future.

Perhaps, what the summit lost in the absence of key Arab leaders it had gained in the new membership. The Senegalese foreign minister announced on Sunday the membership of Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan while Albania was granted an observer status. Nigeria's delegation to the conference was led by the Sultan of Sokoto, Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki who surfaced as the conference got underway and returned before the summit closed last Thursday.



Diouf: a benevolent host

For the first time however, the summit shifted attention from the Middle East, a development believed to have pleased the African and Asian members. For instance the draft resolution on the condition of the African child sponsored by Senegal, Iran and Bangladesh was adopted at the summit. The resolution called on member nations to double their efforts to reduce high rates of infant mortality. The supporting document produced by the secretariat, stated that of all the 76 countries having the highest rate of child mortality among children below five years, 32 are from the Islamic community.

The summit also took a critical look at the political development in member states including Mali and Somalia. While endorsing multi party pluralism in these countries, it urged members states not to give recognition to the separatist movements in Somalia. Beleaguered Libya also received some words of solidarity. This came in a cautiously worded motion of support for Libya in its conflict with the US, Britain and France over its alleged support for terrorism.

It was not altogether a dull affair. Saudi Arabia in an announcement which coincided with the end of the summit, cancelled debts owed it by seven poor members of the organisation which include Mali and Mauritania.

Also at the close of curtains last Thursday, a mild drama ensued when the PLO leader, Yasser Arafat stormed out objecting to non-inclusion of the word Jihad or holy war in the draft resolution describing the struggle for Palestinian homeland with Israeli authorities. It took the intervention of Gabonese leader, Omar Bongo to bring him back to the conference hall.

Ironically, Dakar summit accidentally opened on the fourth anniversary of the Palestinian uprising in Israeli occupied territories.

By Abu Mommoh  
with agency reports

## Burkina Faso

## Bomb for the opposition

Who ordered the attack on key opposition figures?

The African political scene continues to be a study in outrageous disasters. The latest in this ugly event took place last week Monday in Burkina Faso. Two leading opposition figures were attacked with one losing his life and the other wounded. Mr. Clement Omarou Ouedraogo, a former ally of president Blaise Compaore was killed when a bomb was thrown at his car by unknown persons riding on a motor bike. Until his death he was the Secretary General of Labour Party. Mr. Tall Moctar, the leader of the group of Revolutionary Democrats was luckier, as he escaped with gun shot wounds.

This somewhat hi-tech murder came barely a week after the presidential elections boycotted by the opposition and three quarters of the populace. Since the outcome of the sham elections, the opposition has continued its call for a political conference that will discuss the future of the country. Both Omarou Ouedraogo and Moctar are key members of the opposition coalition,



Compaore: hi-tech political calculations?

Coordination of Democratic Forces. And it was only last year that Omorou Ouedraogo decamped from president Compaore's to join the Labour Party.

The bombing and shooting incidence introduced a new turn to the uncertain atmosphere in Ouagadougou since the elections. Last week the opposition rejected the results of the polls and took the matter to the supreme court. In a surprise ruling, the court declared

## Algeria

## Back to battle field

17 persons killed in renewed violence

With most Islamic leaders in detention, Algeria has been quiet until last weekend when violence erupted in the northern part of the country. In what is apparently the government's continued crackdown on persons branded Islamic fundamentalists, 17 people including 3 security agents lost their lives.

Reports say violence erupted when persons known to be either members or sympathisers of the main opposition party Islamic Salvation Front protested a raid by police. The police were said to have gone in search of people alleged to have carried out an attack on a border post last month. The area is the strong hold of the Tayeb El-Afghani group, which came out of the face of heavily bruised. The 14 dead persons are believed to be members of the group.

This latest clampdown, coming close to the elections scheduled for early next year, has the smack of the government's continued effort at

that about 74.88 per cent of the people did not participate, adding that the 86.19 per cent vote Compaore got was from the one quarter of the population that voted. The court just stopped short of ordering re-elections.

This latest move that seems to have government's blessing has elicited a uniform reaction from the international community hence bringing pressure to bear on president Compaore. The opposition is also getting united, stronger and with such a landmark ruling as the supreme Court's Compaore could be chewing too much.

putting out the fire from Islamic groups, who pose the greatest challenge to its leadership. The main opposition party, the Islam Fundamentalist Party which is favourite to win any elections has been in coma since the arrest of all its top leaders by the government, is seen as still having the sympathy of most Algerians. The government would therefore like to stem its growing influence.

Since the reported attack on border post last month, Defence Minister Khaleed Nezzar has ordered a vigorous man hunt which would stop only when the suspect group is annihilated. Perhaps, the government has succeeded, for the EL-Afghani group is reported to have lost everything during the attack. The suspicion here is that the group is not only known to be linked with an Afghan Islamic group, but also the Islamic Fundamentalist Salvation.

By Rabiou Barm  
with Agency Rep

USSR

# Empire disintegrate

Wednesday, December 12 will remain in history as the day Union of the Soviet Sovereign Republics, USSR disintegrated

**L**ike deciding the exact moment of the onset of sleep, the time of the decline and fall of an empire can never be with any degree of accuracy. The case of the Soviet Empire, which is disintegrating before our eyes, may be an exception.

With the help of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and his impromptu revolution, determining just when the downward slide of the Soviet Union began can be less imprecise.

The former Soviet Union, the largest country in the world, was composed of 15 republics many of which themselves comprised of several autonomous regions. It was a boiling pot of differing nationalities, ethnicities and religions. Obviously little melting had taken place in the pot: it was as classical an empire as ever had been. It began falling apart in 1985 and effectively ended precisely on Thursday, December 12, 1991. That was the day the Central Asian Republics concluded that there was no central government in the Soviet Union to remain with, because with nine out of 15 republics in the commonwealth, it is clear that Mikhail Gorbachev, the reformer, had reformed himself out of his job.

"The main task of my life has been accomplished, declared the bewildered leader after a last unsuccessful effort to avoid becoming what he himself called "a guest at somebody else's wedding". He said his role was to initiate reform and he said he was successful in his struggles against the Communist Party, the Soviet military-industrial complex and now "my friends", a reference to Boris Yeltsin and other

republic presidents whose idea of reform was different from his. Upto Wednesday December 12,



Gorbachev: out in the cold

Gorbachev was hopeful that the bewildering speed with which reformers were moving would leave him with some meaningful federal arrangement to cling to. His hopes were dashed as Boris Yeltsin, the Russian president, declared that "the old union no longer exists".

With decision of the Central Asian Republics many gave a sigh of relief as Kazakhstan, the only nuclear-republic in the periphery, now belongs in the commonwealth. Military leaders also gave their support when they were assured of a unified military command covering nuclear weapons.

The remaining areas that are

expected to come into the new commonwealth are the Baltic and the Caucasus republics. But even before the formal dissolution of the

union hopes that it would survive were really slim. While the Baltics have welcomed Western ambassadors, Ukraine is already a member of the United Nations. Azerbaijan attended the Dakar meeting of the Organisation of Islamic Conference.

Many therefore see the creation of the commonwealth as a neat, violence

—proof method of burying an imperial past and accepting a reality already on the ground. Some of the republics, Russia included, expect to become members of the International Monetary Fund, IMF, shortly.

So far, the dissolution appears to be what everybody wants. The republics themselves, their neighbours, the European Community and the United States have all welcomed it.

Indeed, US Secretary of State James Baker as if rousing from a sleep, has announced that the US will host an international conference to bring together the advanced industrial countries, members of the Western

(Gulf) coalition and international financiers. The time to share out markets and opportunities is near at hand.

The current fate of the Soviet Union has had many causes but some recent happenings may be to blame.

Many believe the decision by Leonid Breznev in 1979 to intervene, with the tacit agreement of the West, in Afghanistan to prevent a victory by the rag-tag army put up by the Mujahideen was a tactical mistake. Their fear of the possibility of an Iran-style Islamic government in Afghanistan is well-founded and may therefore be understandable. Their defeat and eventual withdrawal sapped the morale of the soldiers and citizens as much as the intervention itself wrecked the economy. Its standing in the world also suffered as its former allies among the non-communists in the Third World began to see it as another conquering imperialist exploiter.

**The final phase of the decline started in 1985 with the selection of Mikhail Gorbachev as secretary-general of the Soviet Communist Party. Gorbachev's rise in Soviet bureaucracy for someone hitherto virtually unknown outside the USSR was phenomenal, as was his adroit manipulation of the party *apparatchik*.**

From then on there was no stopping downward trend.

The final phase of the decline started in 1985 with the selection of Mikhail Gorbachev as secretary-general of the Soviet Communist Party. Gorbachev's rise in Soviet bureaucracy for someone hitherto virtually unknown outside the USSR was phenomenal, as was his adroit manipulation of the party *apparatchik*. Within a short time of

becoming secretary-general he had concentrated almost all the executive and ceremonial powers within his hand. And then he began what must now seem like a careless experiment.

Weighed down by the burden of deband a giant of an economic in shambles Gorbachev sought to inject a measure of efficiency into the economic system. He did this by loosening the controls put in place by central planners. He called that policy *perestroika*, Russian for restructuring.

He realised that freedom for the economy can hardly succeed without freedom for the people. *Perestroika*, therefore, went hand in hand with *glasnost*, the policy of openness, which allowed the Soviet people for the first time to question how they are governed.

Naturally this wind of freedom blew all over the place — including Eastern Europe, which the Soviet Union held in a vice-like grip since

neighbours.

Riots broke out in a number of republics and some especially those in Muslim areas, were put down with heavy loss of lives. These gave rise to feeling of nationalism and desire for separatism.

Though many republics indicated the desire to go their own way, it was the Baltic republics of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia that first formally attempted to break away. Gorbachev, yet unready to grant the right voluntarily that the republics would wrest anyway, sent in the Red Army. This only served to solidify the resolve of the Balts and others waiting to see how the situation would be resolved.

**A**nd one thing leading to another, no republic was spared this Soviet-style pro-democracy movement until everything finally collapsed. So far so good but things can still get out of hand. Already clashes have been reported between Moldavian police and ethnic Russians in Moldavia. NATO officials meeting in Brussels said this was the time when the peoples of the former Soviet Union would require help. If the west failed it would have lost its last opportunity to do anything.

But the west has not been sitting idle. The Americans, beside the conference they would be holding soon, intend to get in to help market forces. Secretary Baker, getting ready to visit Moscow, said all US help would be in assisting market forces, ensuring a definite end to the cold war and teaching democracy.

Already the US has sounded a note of warning to Azerbaijan. Secretary Baker said the republic was getting ready to attack some unnamed enemy. He warned of direct consequences.

If anything happens to Azerbaijan many will believe it is because it is a Muslim republic. Perhaps for them a second *glasnost* is on the way.

**By Adamu Adamu**  
with agency reports

EC

# Rougher road to '92

Britain, always the *enfant terrible*, makes it a rough road to United Europe

Even though almost all 12 European leaders, who December 10 ended a two-day summit in the Dutch town of Maastricht, said they were "very satisfied" with its outcome, it is clear who emerged the real winner. Britain's prime minister John Major, it was.

Major, though seen to have ditched the anti-European rhetoric of his predecessor, Margaret Thatcher, and replaced it with his own vision of Britain "at the heart of Europe," went to the summit still as leader of "the old country out." He maintained Britain's "implacable opposition" to several issues, yet succeeded in snatching some key concessions from his colleagues.

First, the British prime minister managed to secure an "opt-out" clause in a treaty committing the European Community to a single currency in 1996. "Opt-out," in *Euro-speak* means "the right to escape from a treaty commitment." With that clause, Britain can defer a decision on whether and when to join the monetary union.

Second, Major got his 11 colleagues to drop the social charter from the treaty on political union, which is meant to give the Community wider jurisdiction over social and employment matters. The charter now is to be issued as a separate document binding only on the other 11 member states. The losers on this point, are certainly the French, who have their countryman, Jacques Delors as president of the European Commission. They want to rid the EC of its *euro-sclerosis* and steer it towards a stronger commitment to welfarism.

Observers say that the differences between Britain and the other

EC members have created "a two-tier community." There now exist "one broad Community," they point out, "including Britain and a much tighter and more cohesive one comprising 11 states." However, the Germans are hopeful that Britain would also join the monetary union and adopt the social charter before long, in 1996 at the earliest.

It was a triumphant Major who said at the end of the summit: "We would have a choice, no let, no hindrance and, no doubt about it, to decide whether it was right for Britain to go in or right for Britain to stay out. What we have done is preserve



Major and Thatcher shift over Europe '92

Britain's options so we can make the right choice for our country when the time comes." He did concede some ground, however, especially on a greater role for the Community in foreign affairs and defence, arguably in response to the developments in the Soviet Union.

Major also endorsed the principle of "qualified majority vote," which allots the same 10 votes to Britain, Germany, France and Italy on any Community decision. Spain, which joined last year has eight. The Netherlands, Belgium, Portugal and Greece have five each, Ireland and Denmark three each, while Luxembourg two. It means that a decision can be invalidated by 23 votes and vice versa. Against the background of the strong anti-Union sentiments of Thatcher, Major's "concessions" are considered "a very considerable shift."

Dutch prime minister Ruud Lubbers, the summit host, has no illusions about the task in hand. Said he: "We are not aiming for a sort of melting pot for Europe. What we do hope is that we can create a Europe in which the variety in cultures, languages and traditions will be considered.... as a source of richness and creativity."

The leaders all agreed on other issues though. For instance, they unanimously condemned the resurgence of racism in member states and elsewhere, expressing revulsion at maltreatment and exploitation of immigrants. They welcomed assurances by Russia, Ukraine and Byelorussia on their existing borders and single control of nuclear weapons.

Africa received a mention, when the leaders agreed to tie the CFA Franc, used by former French colonies, most of them in Africa, to the single European currency unit (ECU). While this will help open the way to the treasury of the West, it also threatens to expose the economies of such countries to more blatant manipulation by the EC.

By Tawey Zakka  
with agency reports

## BUSINESS & ECONOMY

### Finance

# Awaiting the big stick?

As less than 60 finance companies meet the deadline for registration, several others prepare for closure

Unless the Central Bank of Nigeria, CBN, extends its deadline for registration of non-banking finance houses which expires on Thursday, an estimated 400 finance houses may fold up. CBN sources told *Citizen* that only about 60 of an estimated 500 non-banking financial institutions have filed their registration papers.

The registration is in compliance with the "Banks and other Financial Institutions Decree No. 25 of 1991 which made it mandatory for all non-banking financial institutions to register with the CBN within six months of the effective date of the decree in October. Consequently, the CBN issued guidelines for finance companies and asked them to register before December 19.

The guidelines which financial experts believe aimed at bringing sanity into the nation's financial system, request any person seeking a license for a finance company in Nigeria to satisfy certain conditions. These include, a minimum paid up capital from 250,000 Naira to five million Naira, including the 500,000 Naira or 10 per cent adjusted capital to be deposited with the CBN. Besides, the sum of 50,000 Naira licensing fee is required with additional 5,000 Naira payable yearly for renewal of the operators business.

Aside the financial requirements, there is also a management requirement which stipulates the minimum qualifications and experience mandatory for officers who may occupy the top key management positions in the finance company. *Citizen* learnt last week that few companies have been able to comply with these guidelines, especially



One of the finance houses

the five million naira minimum paid up capital expected to be deposited with the CBN. With such a huge financial requirement, Henry Olayemi, manager, Rims Securities opines that the CBN ought to have known that only a few of the existing finance houses would be capable of registering pointing out that the CBN definitely over-estimated the financial solvency of the finance companies.

Meanwhile, *Citizen* investigations, show that some operators of finance houses have embarked on aggressive recruitment of qualified personnel to meet the management requirement of the CBN guidelines. Beside, since the introduction of the guidelines, the cost of fund to finance houses had risen with equal increase on interest rate on loans from finance houses. For instance a

finance house at Allen Avenue which craved for anonymity has argued prior to the introduction of the guidelines charged 10 per cent interest rate on loan has increased it to 12 per cent or 14 per cent in most cases.

A financial consultant who craved for anonymity has argued that the 500,000 Naira mandatory deposit is not relevant. He points out that banks which are supposed to deposit such proportionate amount with their capital base have a way of circumventing it. The financial consultant observes that there are loopholes which the finance houses can explore. These include capitalising on structures as assets purchased from directors' fund, raising the pre-paid expenses and rents to several thousands Naira and submission of "cosmetic" balance sheet tailor-made to the requirement of the CBN.

For the finance houses that would not be able to meet the CBN deadline, Tony Edes said that the CBN would assume that they are not in existence. However, a legal practitioner Clement Bosa believes that any limited liability outfit is a legal entity that can sue and be sued and therefore can perform some of the functions of the finance houses which include financing local purchase orders and invest on any project. However, Adisa Lawal assistant manager with United Bank of Africa, Apapa added that such business outfit cannot go into money market instrument like commercial papers. Mr. Lawal pointed out that



CBN Governor: Ahmed

the difficulties in meeting the required standard may cause some of the finance house to fall by the way side but added that a reasonable number of the finance houses must be allowed to do good and lawful business for the speedy transformation of our economy. If the CBN sticks to its Thursday deadline, any non-banking finance company that fails to meet the deadline and continues to operate, run the risk of being fined 500,000 Naira in accordance with section 57 (6) of the decree. Any person who commits the same offence, is also liable to an imprisonment term not exceeding 10 years.

## BUSINESS BRIEFS

### NEPA's projects hindered

**T**he minister of Mines, Power and Steel, Air Vice Marshal Nura Imam (rtd) has expressed the fear that some of the projects of the National Electric Power Authority (NEPA) might suffer because of financial constraint. In his ministerial press briefing in Lagos last week, AVM Imam identifies some of the new projects as upgrading electricity supply in the nine newly created states, power

supplied in new local government councils and the rejuvenation of the Egbin Power station in Lagos.

According to the minister, Nigeria needs about 3 billion Naira to upgrade electricity supply in the newly created states to enable them meet their challenge as new centres of development. Also, additional 300 million Naira would be needed to upgrade power supplies in the 136 new local government councils and

about 650 million Naira to rejuvenate the Egbin power station.

Meanwhile, over 2.6 billion Naira is being owed the authority by consumers including government agencies and parastatals, as at June 1991. AVM Imam however said that NEPA's tariff structure introduced in 1989 by the government has helped to improve the revenue generation of the authority.



AVM Imam

### NSE Decline in transaction recorded

**T**he total value of NSE transaction in the second quarter of 1991 was 51.7 million Naira.

This was made up of 16.9 million Naira, 3.5 million Naira and 31.3 million Naira of government stock, industrial loans and equities, respectively.

The total value of transactions in the second quarter represented a

decrease of 29.6 per cent when compared with the value of NSE transactions in the first quarter of 1991.

According to the June edition of the Nigeria Deposit Insurance Corporation (NDIC) Quarterly the decline was mainly due to reduced transaction in government stocks in the second quarter.

By Tola Sunday

## FIC

# Out with a bang

**M**anagement of Nigerian-French Insurance Company Limited has added two new products to the company's folio. These are Blue Chip Assurance Plan and Ultimate Personal Pension Plan. At a well attended launching of the products at the Durbar Hotel, Kaduna, recently. E.O. Eleoramo, general manager and chief executive of the company pointed out that the two plans developed as response to the needs of the public by planing a package that provides high financial protection for guaranteeing continuation of life of both the dependents and the breadwinner in case of eventuality.

He said among the special features of the Blue Chip Assurance Plan are a guarantee for the policy holder who survived to the tenth year and each subsequent five years guarantee to withdraw 25 per cent

of the amount in the investment account, or lump sum cash on survival to age of 55 or later age. Under the ultimate personal pension plan the policy holder at age of 55 or a later age can also take the whole of his benefit as a lump sum, or the whole of his benefit as income payable for life with five-year guarantee or annuity which guarantees income for the rest of his life. In addition the policy can be used as collateral or for tax relief on premium.

Eleoramo said though the company was incorporated in 1989 but has through its innovative services witnessed tremendous growth in the volume of business and is today among the first 20 insurance companies in the country with about 5 branches across the country. He justified the choice of Kaduna in launching the products as in recognition of its unique features which

include its central location in the north, the cosmopolitan population and proximity to the new capital, Abuja, all which recommend it as a city with tremendous business potential.

Launching the plans, the deputy president of Kaduna State chamber of commerce, David Dau blamed the public cynicism about insurance and life assurance in particular on ignorance. He added that the misconception is that "once you take a life assurance, it is a premonition of death". While recommending the two plans to the members of the public, Mr. Dau stressed that insurance products are meant to better the lives of the people and cushion what would have amounted to insurmountable vicitudes".

By Abu Mommoh

## First Bank

# First with first cash

**F**irst Bank of Nigeria Plc last week launched a new product First cash into themoney market.

The product is the brand name of the bank's Automated Teller Machine (ATM), a self service equipment capable of dispensing cash to customers during the after banking hours.

It is designed to save the customers valuable man-hours as they can withdraw cash anytime both during and after closing hours. Other services to be introduced by the bank through the ATM include cash and or cheque deposit, statement of account request, funds transfer, cheque

book request and bill payment such as utility bill.

The Bank's managing director, Chief Emmanuel Olisambu, however, said that the initial emphasis will be on easy withdrawal of cash during or after office hours without the need to go into the banking halls for encashment.

The pilot phase of the first cash ATMs are located in six different centres around Lagos.

Notwithstanding, the Chief Executive of the bank explained that all customers of First Bank in Lagos irrespective of the branch can apply for the cards.

## Aminu, new OPEC chairman

**T**he minister of Petroleum Resources, Professor Jubril Aminu was elected at the opening session of the 90th conference of the 13-member organisation which took place in Vienna.

The oil minister of United Arab Emirates, Mr. Yousef Omeir Bin Yousef was also elected alternative president. Until his appointment, Professor Aminu was OPEC alternative president. He is the third Nigerian minister to head the organisation. Others were the late Yahaya Dikko and Alhaji Rilwan Lukman.

Professor Aminu said the conference might roll over OPEC's production ceiling of 23.65 million barrels a day (MBD) for the fourth quarter of this year into the first quarter of next year.

By Tola Sunday



## BILKISU YUSUF

the over pampered newbreed are expected to return from the detention of these banned politicians, it is even more intriguing why government gave the National Electoral Commission, NEC the sweeping powers contained in Decree 49 of 1992. By this decree, NEC can declare any contestant unfit for election if it perceives such a person as engaging in acts inimical to the tran-

slows at council of state meetings are being deliberately weeded out of governorship contests. If that is the motive, democracy has taken its worst bashing.

Accepted, it is a perverse thing, this democracy. Among its costly lessons is that it saddles the polity with popular but not necessarily the most competent of leaders, the sort that merit would not have enthroned. Yet its tenets must be respected, preserved and protected from undue interference. Better by far to let the electorate realise its mistakes and vote out incompetent leaders than to devise policies that derail democracy by stifling the popular will.

Anyway, if election of third rate leaders is one of democracy's shortcomings the same could be said of military regimes. But for their monopoly of the instruments of coercion which enables them to shoot their way to power, some of the military leaders who have presided over our affairs do not merit that privilege and trust. It is indeed an irony that the least democratically inclined crop of leaders have arrogated to themselves the sole prerogative of redefining the concept of democracy to suit their visions and aspirations. NEC is powerful today because a decree has made it so and many more could be promulgated to tinker with the transition programme as it unfolds. But all these show how disturbingly easy it is for a legitimating body to constitute itself into a meddling referee. NEC has indeed become the tin god of the transition period. A commission that cannot be challenged in the courts and one that is undoubtedly the government's blue eyed baby. The honeymoon is likely to continue until the end of the transition programme. In their own interest the politicians should cheerfully applaud NEC until the transition programme do them part.

# The triumphant NEC

**G**rumblers are talking themselves hoarse. They have every reason to talk. Chief Anthony Enahoro is one of the restive lot. A first republic politician, he is miffed at the path the country is treading. Last week in a treatise titled Nigeria in ferment," Enahoro observed that "it is one of the tragedies of the Nigerian situation that in seeking to discredit all those who went before them and downgrade their achievements, their successors leave themselves no inspiration to draw upon." Shouldn't we ask ourselves why it is criminal to draw from the inspiration of the twelve banned politicians who were recently clamped into detention?

The cynics like the Civil Liberties Organisations CLO are also groaning with disbelief. Last Tuesday, at the launching of a journal of Human Rights, law and practice, published by the CLO, Chief Odumegwu Ojukwu, a second republic politician urged government to release the detained banned politicians because the accusation that somebody supported a political candidate cannot be sustained. Here again we must search our minds, even if such charges can be sustained why are we determined to cut the image of the only country that incarcerates its leaders for supporting political aspirants?

While it is baffling what benefits

sition programme, public order, morality, law and order.

If NEC must be just and fair in its application of these powers the actuality rate among the current batch of governorship aspirants must be very high. It will not be an exaggeration to say only 10 percent can be deemed fit to contest. It is obviously naive and simplistic of NEC to imagine that the newbreed can flourish in political isolation from the oldbreed. After all history confirms that the present is a product of the past while the present is destined to shape the future.

The powers conferred on NEC constitute a gross deviation from the tenets of democracy which the government seems so bent on defending. Its defence of democracy cannot but be questioned since its policies have eroded rather than encourage genuine democratic ideals. To cite a few, the blanket ban, the open ballot, imposition of two parties and now the incredible powers given to NEC. By its action, particularly the powers of NEC to determine who qualifies to contest, government is seen to be staunchly determined to keep out some unwanted aspirants. Since a diarchy of military president and civilian governors is a reality of the transition programme perhaps individuals who are perceived as strange bedfel-

# Citizen

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All the news in perspective

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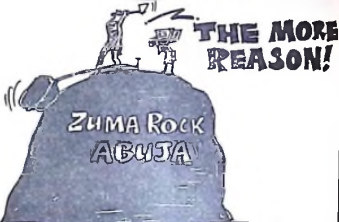
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**Citizenship**

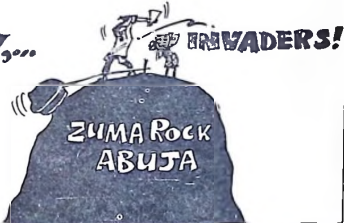
**NO! NO!... NO! YOU CAN'T DO THAT, I'M ONLY MOVING THIS SEAT TO ABUJA!**



**BUT! BUT!... WHAT WRONG HAVE I DONE? I'VE NEVER PREACHED 'SAP'...**



**...AND I'VE NOTHING TO DO WITH OIL SUBSIDY, ... AND I'M NOT THE PRESIDENT, ... AND, ... AND...**



**... OKAY THEN, GO ON, YOU FOOL, THAT'S THE PRESIDENTIAL JET FLYING OVER YOUR ROCKY HEAD!**



## Governor as hostage

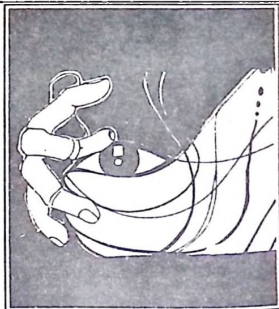
Someone with a military sense of humour said, *once a soldier, always a soldier because old soldiers never die, they only retire even when they are not tired.* The proof of this came a few days back when a batch of old soldiers relived their days on the war front. They evoked memories of those days when men were men and soldiers were ever ready to die twice (assuming that was possible), to earn their name as defenders of the nation. This time around, the old soldiers were fighting a war to defend the territorial integrity of their pockets!

Their battle field was the office of the military governor of Oyo State and the lone enemy of hundreds of the warring ex-servicemen was Governor Abdulkarim Adisa. Chanting war songs and armed with clutches and walking sticks, the old soldiers laid siege on the unsuspecting governor. His crime?

nonpayment of the pension arrears approved by the federal government.

Stunned by the fury of old soldiers who held him hostage, Governor Adisa's security men according to *Vanguard* newspaper, did what they were paid to do — secure his escape into a safe territory through the back door. What a close shave! Stripped of their victory since the enemy bolted into safety, the old soldiers decided to vent their fury on an immigration officer who was in the governor's office on an assignment. He got the bashing of his life.

There's something distasteful about old soldiers behaving like the dregs even should be "bloody civilians." If old soldiers do not die why should discipline die first? That aside, I remember a law that stipulates disarming old soldiers, walking stick and all. So how come these old guys didn't surrender their arms



and ammunition when they disengaged from the forces? If that doesn't work, how about giving that NEC without a neck additional powers to "deal" with military thuggery of old breed soldiers?

As for Governor Adisa someone should nominate him for the award of artful dodger and the ex-servicemen for the "rebel peace prize" and old time thuggery in an election year.

## Oh! my eardrums!

I don't know if you hear what I hear and see what I see, but wherever you live it must be just as tough. The invasion of my eardrum is making life so uncomfortable that I am about to migrate to the top of Mambila plateau. If I were Andrew, I would have migrated and "checked out," to return only when it's all over.

I am of course referring to the monotonous political campaigns of the "two government pickin" the NRC and the SDP. When cars are not speeding by with their loudspeakers blaring praise songs of governorship aspirants, they remain static in front of the houses of their supporters yelling persuasive slogans. They are long on promises of free this, free that,

but short on methodology of how they can perform the miracle with a SAP stricken economy. They do not leave until your eardrum is stretched to its limits and you're rendered temporarily deaf.

When you turn to the newspapers they don't give you a respite because political adverts now outnumber news pages. The adverts are as diverse as can be with NRC telling the electorate that "it's no use flogging a dead horse" because it won't deliver — an obvious reference to the SDP logo. The same NRC in a television jingle also shows you it's chairman, Chief Tom Ikimi sitting in a sleek Mercedes Benz and making tall promises to wretched, poverty stricken masses. Some gim-

mick!

The SDP on its part carries a caricature of a prominent NRC member with a robust look, a glass of bubbling champagne in hand and a huge stick of cigar dangling from his lips. It tells voters to shun the face of ostentation and better life for a few urging them to vote SDP for better life for all. Whichever way you look at it, both parties are making promises we know they can't fulfil.

In the process we suffer noise pollution from super loud public address systems mounted on campaign vehicles that are set to make deaf voters out of us. Oh! there it comes again blaring out loudly. Please help me someone, help! help! help! before I go d-e-a-ff!!

# Earth's Treasures

**T**he earth is what it is because the universe exists. In its wide expanse it swarms with nature's frademark, the oceans, the mountains and climatic changes. Cities as diverse as races and weather give the world community its complexity. From Lagos to Abuja and the mystique of urban life. From Giginya to Funtua the serenity of the village and smaller towns. The earth has all to offer to those who study its features.

## On the earth

Hail, the earth our great planet  
sole jewel of the cosmos  
Daily lightened by great sun  
Illuminated by moonlight in the  
nights  
so swarming with humanity  
circled from antarctic artie  
Tropic of capricorn to cancer  
Equally divided by equator  
So vast in land and oceans  
Atlantic, Indian and mediterranean  
with pacific to crown the jewel  
And sea-life with creatures  
Such climates of great variety  
with the polar and tundra of vast ice  
And the deserts of great sand  
Such huge mountains as the Everest  
Himalayas and Fujiyama  
Kilimanjaro and Rockies in America  
Vast forest with wild life  
Animals of great varieties  
Both domestic and wild one  
All grating on the forest and vegetable  
on the back of this great earth  
Now threaten by science  
with destructive annihilation  
Oh, humanity why the madness.

Umaru Garba ©

## Federal capital

Abuja  
City of hills and mountains  
In Interland core of Nigeria she seats:  
mother of Africa  
Like a desert Oasis

Spring of opportunities flow  
North and South  
East and West  
Like the prowess of a magnet  
The high and low rush forth  
To test the taste of rose  
Its splendour and serene  
Our up-coming empire  
City of gold and golden opportunities  
Silver, Iron and Diamond aplenty  
She is the womb of Africa.

## Lagos

L — Lagos is all life all day  
A — Amorous life-style is food of your sight  
G — Girls and gamblers compete for evils:  
O — Of religious garbs and ostentations  
S — Secret deals serving as way of survival

Nuhu Yar'wa ©

## Funtua

Funtua..  
with your rock thrusting out  
like an immense milkless breast  
being sucked  
by the loitering clouds:  
from above it  
I see, within the sprawling circumference,  
.streaming zinc tops, browned by age,  
sneaking broad lanes upon  
which my kinsfolk, with pained countenances  
(like all the others), trudge empty home  
from the dispersing markets.  
Kilometres away, beyond  
the roaring pulse of the decaying concoction  
and pushing the enclosing forests,  
crouches quaint Kwai  
my village smoking the fag-ends of humanity,  
and groping for the devil's invading



recognised civilisation.

## Nostalgia

So weary of wandering  
From Hilton park to Cross charring,  
I sat by the Thames on a little rock,  
My mind full fo nostalgia:  
The birds on the cold London trees,  
And the hesitant Thamesal breeze  
Against my face all converged to mock  
Me of the faraway "sweet" Nigeria.  
Ibrahim Sheme ©

## Giginya village

You will testify  
they fought.  
Though I was not there  
but the ears  
being older than old age  
long have heard  
you were once  
a bloody scene  
when your people  
reading  
tried to defend  
against the corruption  
of our right.  
You will testify  
they fought.  
But whether still  
you remember  
what weapons used,  
never will you forget  
that flow of human blood  
that spread  
the liquid carpet  
of that red defeat.  
You are a testimony  
to the fact they fought  
to be themselves.

Maikudi Z.S.Z Sambo

Benefit From



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## Theatre

## An afternoon with the folks

An audience breaks theatre tradition by spraying actors on stage

**W**hoever heard of a night in broad day light except for an eclipse? Well, if you haven't, you are welcome to the National Arts Theatre, Iganmu, Lagos. Date, Friday, 25 October, 1991. This is Kats Productions who in "due consultation with the Nigerian Folklore Society," is inviting you to a night of folktale songs, dance, drama and comedy," (quite a load, don't you think?) at 3 pm!

A painted backdrop of trees, forms the background while three huts with live palm leaves atop, stand in a triangular fashion, the stage light is illuminated, five children emerge from the hut, stage left, singing and dancing to an Hausa folksong. They form a circle and a game begins. Simultaneously, from the huts, centre stage and stage right, other children troop out, dancing to Ibo and Yoruba songs, respectively. For a while, itself. Then hell is let loose. They attack one another in a choreographed dance sequence. The appearance of their father (Nigeria?) at that point stops them as they freeze...

The drum beat changes suddenly, rising into a frenzy. The lights flicker. And there he was. In all his ferociousness. Draped in red, a short spear thrust forward in his right hand. Fire emitting from his mouth. Sango. The Yoruba god of thunder; He dances weirdly to the staccato drum beat, swirls and disappears, smoke trailing him...

Then she enters. Kemi Akanni. Cool and collected. Two chorus girls with her. And a full fifteen minutes kept the audience spellbound with her soul searing folksongs. *Kolebaje, Tu werere, da werere* and *Ajaguno,*

*Gbami.* The audience kept clapping and they went from one antic to the other.

It then came the bit in which prayer to the gods was to be offered in the play with each actor presenting his widow's mite and asking for blessing. A member of the audience went up to the stage, dropped a pray for everybody in the hall!

For the predominantly Yoruba audience, such an action is normal. For he sees no difference between the stage and the auditorium. He has a right to the stage as much as the actor. Such a scenario may, of course, horrify the English theatre person. But then, isn't this a folks affair?

Kemi Akanni, the organiser and holder of a diploma in special effects from Penzans Theatre, England, whose interest in folklore started from childhood offers more insight: "Folklore is a share community knowledge. It helps bind people to-



Akanni: on stage

gether." Dedicated to such a form that taps from the communal love, she found in the Nigerian folklore society, a willing partner. "They were the only organisation that believed in my project." She says, there were other individuals, too; Sunny Ade, Ade Love, Lola Fani Kayode, Dolamu Ganiu Akanni, Madam Kofo...

So, what next, "I want to wax my folksongs into an album," she says. And given the kind of response the songs got at the occasion that should not be much of a dream.

By Oji Onoko



In 1990,

4,380 of the deaths on the highways resulted from

**OVERSPEEDING,  
OVERTAKING AND  
OVERLOADING !**

What a shame ?

What future for our children ?

What future for our country ?

**OBEY SPEED LIMIT REGULATIONS NOW Before it is TOO LATE !**



**PUBLIC ENLIGHTENMENT DEPARTMENT,  
FEDERAL ROAD SAFETY COMMISSION**

## The Guardian in the dock

11 months after the announcement of his death, Krees Imodibie's family accuses the *Guardian* of neglect

None would have thought the occasion was opportuned for a frontal attack on the "flagship of the Nigerian press." But for Pius Imodibie, the elder brother of Krees Imodibie, the *Guardian's* political editor slain by Charles Taylor's soldiers during the Liberian civil war, the award night of the Lagos chapter of the Nigerian Union of Journalists, December 7, was just the right place to spill the beans.

In his vote of thanks to his late brother's colleagues, for honouring him (Krees) with a post-humous award, Pius accused the *Guardian* of not fulfilling its obligations to their family. "I appeal to the publisher of the *Guardian* Alex Ibru to expedite action on all pending issues as regards Krees' entitlements and fulfil his promise to his aged mother."

What appeared to be a distress call by Pius took everybody unawares. Until then, it was believed that the *Guardian* has done for Krees' family what the *Champion* newspaper's management did for Tayo Awotunsin who shared Krees' fate in Liberia. Specifically, he referred to the *Guardian's* failure to pay any compensation to the family or redeem its pledge "to pay Krees' aged mother, Madam Awawu Imodibie, 20,000 Naira per annum throughout her life time, effective 1st April 1991." The family is also aggrieved that eleven months after the transition of their son, the *Guardian* is yet to revert to it, Krees' claim on the company's group personal accident insurance. Neither has the company's management thought it fit to visit the family since the demise of the slain journalist. "The lack of personal concern on the part of Felix Ibru and the management can be very painful and humiliating," said

Pius Imodibie.

That was not the first time he would be protesting the *Guardian's* seeming insensitivity to the plight of the family. Sometime in June, he wrote the President of NUJ, Malam Sanni Zorro complaining that two months after he reached an agreement with the *Guardian* on the settlement of Krees' entitlements, the company had done nothing positive. He then appealed to Zorro to intervene. It was not clear last week what Zorro did, as he was not available for comment. What is however clear is that as far back as June, relations between the family and the *Guardian* turned sour over what the latter called "inept" handling of Krees' entitlements. On the 17th of that month, Pius dispatched a courier message to the managing director of the *Guardian* expressing his disappointment that two months after the agreement the company had done nothing. Two days later, the company's administrative manager, A.I Orishani, without reference to Pius' letter, wrote him, enclosing a cheque in the sum of 4,653.68 Naira representing Krees' "terminal entitlements". 4,562.68 Naira of this amount represented Krees' leave earned but was not taken between 1987 and 1991 while 91.00 naira was for "reimbursement of transportation claims". Orishani also informed Pius of the company's board decision to pay Krees' mother 20,000.00 naira per annum for the rest of her life asking her to specify "mode of payment, (whether in) cheque, Bank Draft, etc and term (whether) monthly, quarterly or annually". A copy of this letter was copied to Krees' mother at her Iviukhua resi-



Imodibie: forgotten by the *Guardian*?

dence in Agenebode, Edo State.

Although Pius told *Citizen* last week that his mother never received her copy from the *Guardian*, he however replied the *Guardian* on July 23, attaching his mother's July 19 letter to the company's managing director asking for an annual payment and authorising him to collect the money. On this, there was no word from the *Guardian*. But in the first week of August, he received another letter dated August 2 from Orishani. In it was enclosed another cheque in the sum of 61,695.50 naira representing the total amount of donations by individuals and corporate bodies to the Imodibie family. No mention was made of the *Guardian's* pledge and Krees' insurance claim.

He therefore wrote a strongly worded letter on August 13, indicting the *Guardian* of shirking its responsibility to the family. "We were not after the money. But we are opposed to the idea of the company behaving as if a man who has worked so diligently for its progress and died in its service is not entitled to his dignity even in death".

The *Guardian's* reply of August 27, incidentally the anniversary of the death of Krees according to Lindsay Barrets account, signed by Bolaji D'Almeida, its business manager,

subtly disowned Pius. Said D'Almeida "Your letter of July 23, 1991, says that your mother has authorised you to collect her benefits. You may wish to appreciate the fact that in this circumstance, we have to be satisfied that the beneficiary (i.e. Krees' mother has herself truly authorised you to collect the money on her behalf... (and) as an organisation, however, the right thing is for us to ask our lawyers to handle this aspect..." Stating the company's position further he said the offer of 20,000.00 per annum to Krees' mother is a humanitarian gesture adding that "we have paid his legal entitlements to you (Pius)".

According to Bunmi Oyewole, a lawyer and labour consultant, to whom *Citizen* referred the matter,

the *Guardian* would be right in saying that it had paid Krees' legal entitlements because in a matter like this, parties would be bound by the terms and conditions of service in the contract of employment". More importantly, said Oyewole the law weighs heavily on the side of the *Guardian*. It would appear, said Oyewole, that the company is insisting that there is a chance that Krees' is still alive and in that case, the law says you wait for seven years before you can presume that he (Krees) is dead". Even the insurance company said Oyewole may insist first on a death certificate or in the alternative the provision of the law on the presumption of death. He however admitted that the matter transcends legal arguments and involved a lot

of moral questions.

Certainly, part of the moral questions would be why the *Guardian* has decided to rely on legal technicalities even when Krees' death is of public knowledge and while the legal issues are being resolved, what happens to his aged mother and dependants? *Citizen's* enquiries at the *Guardian* last week were rebuffed as Mr. Lade Bonuola's aides prevented our reporter from seeing him. The Business manager, to whom *Citizen* was referred to by Bonuola's aides, upon hearing that the enquiries is in respect of Krees matter, told the receptionist to tell the reporter that he was not on seat.

By Bolaji Adebisi

## Democrat newspapers

# In search of excellence

*Democrat* Newspapers' NUJ chapel institute an award to reward excellence in journalism

**T**he Nigerian media is growing daily, with the print sector taking a leading role. Few weeks after the announcement by the Lagos based journal, *Media Review* of the institution of several categories of awards to journalists who excel in their duties, Kaduna-based *Democrat* has come up with its own in-house award. The "Al-Bashir Award" is for reporters who excel while working for New African Holdings Limited, publishers of *The Democrat*.

The Nigeria Union of Journalists, *Democrat* chapel, which is instituting the award is allowing it to grow in the house before making it an all-comers affair. Thus, after three years, from next year, the award will become national to be competed for by journalists all over the federation. These portend nothing but Journalists' commitment to sizing up the growth of the profession. For, the belief is that quantity has to be matched with quality. In essence

this is a reward for excellence. So, as awards spring here and there, the *Democrat* NUJ would always be counted as a contributor to journalism growth in Nigeria.

Malam Abikan Shuaib Abdul-



Al-Bashir: Editor-in-Chief, *Democrat* newspapers

kadir, the chapel's chairman, believes that they did not face any difficulty picking a name for the award. This is because Abdulkarim Al-bashir has paid his dues in journalism, thus young reporters must have him as a role model as they climb the journalism ladder. Al-bashir is the Editor-in-Chief of *Democrat*. He was with Radio Nigeria Kaduna for many years, until he went to the Gongola Press Limited where he was the managing director. He was also a contributing editor to *Hotline* magazine.

At the *Democrat* end of year party penultimate Saturday, the award got a boost courtesy of the special guest, Hajiya Lata Bayi. She said that the "pungent" articles of Al-bashir were responsible for her addiction to the *Democrat*. For that, the winner of the award would also have a golden "Al-bashir Cup" to take home. As for Abdulkarim Al-bashir, all the reporters at *Democrat* are winners, for they have been "hardworking, dedicated and patient". All these have their reward: He pledged that the management of the company would do its best to continue improving the conditions of the staff.

By Rabiou Barde

## BOOK REVIEW

BLP

## Coming of age

Title: **Women on the move: The Better Life Programme — A bibliography Vol. 1**  
 Author: **Mrs. Helena R. Hassan**  
 Publishers: **The Better Life Committee, Women Commission, Kaduna State**  
 Reviewer: **Joseph Maigari**  
 Price: **Not Stated**  
 Pages: **166**  
 Date of Publications: **December 1991**

One of the greatest things of benevolence which has happened to women in this country and indeed the whole of African continent, in the history of all the efforts towards their development is the establishment and development of the Better Life for Rural Women programme. This has been due to the initiative of the first lady, Mrs. Maryam Babangida. So laudable and so successful is this programme that, it is regarded as the greatest gesture of government concern for women development in Nigeria. The establishment of women commissions throughout the country is regarded as a child born out of the success of the programme. So important is the programme of better life that alot have now been said and recorded in different forms like books, newspapers, magazines, audio-visuals etc. Researchers for different purposes some to assess the progress of the programme critically, some to follow the development of the programme, some to look for the achievements of the programme etc. very often storm the women commissions offices, libraries and other appropriate places.

As we are aware, it is already a programme which is internationally upheld and given recognition as part of world struggle and concern for women liberation and develop-

ment in different aspects of life. Indeed it is a programme that is already earning emulation in most African and other developing nations of the world. This bibliographic publication is a list of 12 most important newspapers in Nigeria which cover information about the Better Life Programme (BLP) from inception in September, 1987 when it was launched in Abuja up to June, 1991. It is the volume 1 of this exercises which is expected to continue. The selection of the newspapers is done in such a way that it ensures that as far as possible nothing is reported about BLP in any part of the country that is not recorded in the bibliography. The newspapers are *Triumph, Statesman, Sketch, Herald, Standard, Reporter, New Nigerian, Guardian, Punch, Daily Times, Vanguard and Concord*.

This list of information resources from these newspapers is done first year by year beginning from 1987-1991 and alphabetically title of articles and author in each year. At the end of the bibliography there is an index alphabetically arranged by major subject areas with cross references.

The women on the move a bibliography is the first publication of its kind. It is an information tool for

# Women on the Move

THE BETTER LIFE PROGRAMME



A BIBLIOGRAPHY  
Volume 1

By

Helena R. Hassan (Mrs)

anybody who wishes to read about the Better Life Programme or any aspect of it. It lists the specific sources from which information on various aspects of the programme can be obtained. Although the bibliography does not contain indications of sources of other information on the programme such as books, journals, audio-visuals and the other Nigerian dailies not mentioned here and elsewhere, yet not much about the activities of the BLP is missed from the sources of information listed here.

The bibliography is a source of information for those who want to know the history and the development of the programme. It is a source of information for the assessment of the journey so far at the end of one regime handing over to another regime. It is a useful information source for other countries who emulate or wish to emulate the programme. It is a tool for women in their struggle for liberation and development. It is an important reference tool for libraries and other

## '95 Junior World Cup Where does the buck stop?

Nigeria's bid to host FIFA Under 20 World Cup championship will be for the third time a mere dream because of inadequate facilities

It is now becoming quite clear that Nigeria may not host the 1995 FIFA World Youth Soccer Championship. The country's failure will most likely be due to the inability of our sports authorities and the two independent committees, the Presidential Monitoring Committee PMC, and the Local Organising Committee LOC, set up by the federal government in 1989, to meet the basic conditions made mandatory by FIFA for any country that is to host its competitions.

The recent announcement by the world football governing body that it would send an inspection team to Nigeria early next year before confirming the provisional right given to the country to host 1995 under-20 championship, has revealed that the sports ministry and the two committees charged with the responsibility of providing the necessary facilities have done nothing beyond the verbal promise they made in 1989. The whirlwind of controversy and buck-passing triggered off between the ministry and the two committees by FIFA's recent announcement has given enough credence to that.

The sports minister fired the first salvo when he said that the PMC headed by Chief M.K.O. Abiola and the LOC, chaired by Chief S.B. Williams, were not doing anything to put in place befitting facilities that would meet FIFA's standard when its inspection team arrives the country early next year to inspect our preparation for the 1995 championship. According to the minister, the two bodies were sleeping or inactive, when they should be doing something. General Kure did

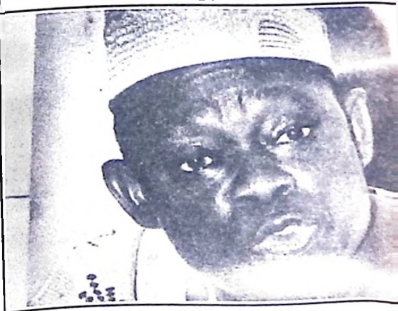
not stop there, the PMC, he disclosed has not been able to do anything with the 120 million Naira given to it by the federal government during its inauguration in 1989. "On paper, they (PMC) have been able to tell us what they want to do but nothing practical has been done so far," the minister said.

But what further revealed that Nigeria may lose out in its bid to host the 1995 under-20 world cup was the statement made by the sports minister that Nigeria would present contract documents signed for the completion of the stadia earmarked for the competition to FIFA delegation. Kure also disclosed that contract for the provision of score board and communication gadgets had been awarded. But, according to him, work would not commence to him, work would not commence until next year because, the 174 million Naira meant for the job had been channelled to other use.

The Presidential Monitoring Committees (PMC) reacted swiftly to deny the allegation of inaction levelled against it by the sports



Kure: nothing practical done



Abiola: PMC could not deliver

minister. According to its chairman Chief M.K.O. Abiola, the committee has decided to channel its efforts to the construction of an Olympic stadium in Abuja. The 120 million Naira allocated to the committee according to Chief Abiola would be used for the Abuja Stadium. To end, according to Chief Abiola, committee members were to le

64  
for Cairo, the Egyptian capital last Thursday to inspect an Olympic-sized stadium there with a view to constructing the same type in Abuja.

It is quite clear from the above buck passing, that both the sports ministry and the PMC are making hollow arguments that will not stand the test of FIFA inspection. General Kure should have known by now that FIFA will not fall to mere contract documents or verbal promise that the facilities will be ready before the competition proper. What assurance does the minister have that when next the money is made available, it would not be diverted for other uses. Moreover, FIFA must by now learn to take whatever we say as regards provision of facilities to meet its standard, with a pinch of salt.

We began our attempt to host the competition in 1987. By then we were bidding to host the 1989 edition, but the championship was awarded to Saudi Arabia because our facilities were not ready.

The 1991 edition was to be our chance. Promises were made that our facilities would be ready in 1989. But when the team of FIFA inspectors came to Nigeria that year, it was appalled by our inability to put the required facilities in place. A member of 1989 FIFA's inspection team who visited Ahmadu Bello Stadium, Kaduna, one of the venues earmarked for hosting the 1991 edition remarked sarcastically that, "so everything is still under construction." Today, Ahmadu Bello Stadium has not changed a bit from what it was when the FIFA man made his remark. How can such a man regard Nigeria as serious to host the competition, if he comes to the country next year and meet the stadium in the same manner he left it three years ago?

Chief Abiola's attempt at debunking Kure's allegation of inaction also sounds hollow and tenuous. The Presidential Monitoring Committee was set up in 1989 with the sole mandate of elevating the

facilities in five stadia earmarked for the championship to FIFA's standard. How come Chief Abiola is now narrowing the PMC function to the constructing of an Olympic sized stadium in Abuja, when Abuja was never earmarked as one of the venues to host the under-20 world cup? And if at all the construction of an Olympic sized stadium in Abuja was part of PMC mandate, was it last week the members had just real-

ised that they had to do something? And if the PMC members are really alive to their responsibility, was it last week they should be going to Egypt to inspect a stadium when most of them were in Cairo for the All-Africa Games? We would have no reason to accuse FIFA of unfair treatment if at the end of its visit next year, it decides to award the competition to another country.

By Joe Olajuwon

## Fives

# The return of Sardauna's sport

Kaduna played host to the annual Fives festival

**F**ives does not compete with any game for a larger following. But it can compete—and win handsomely—for a high class followership. It is the royal game played by the leaders of the society. Most remarkably, it was the game played and made popular by Sir Ahmadu Bello, Sardaunan Sokoto, the late premier of the northern region. This royal game, for four days from 4 to 7 December last week had the 1991 edition of its annual tournament.

Kaduna hosted the tourna-

ment at the Sardauna Court on Rabah Road. And as usual the traditional followers from all over the northern part of the country all showed up: Sokoto, Birnin Kebbi, Gusau, Katsina, Gwandu, Kano and Suleja all sent in teams. And after four days (one final had to be shifted to Sunday morning), despite the complaints from teams over what they termed "poor-arrangements", the sportsmanship spirit took over for the game to get its annual due.

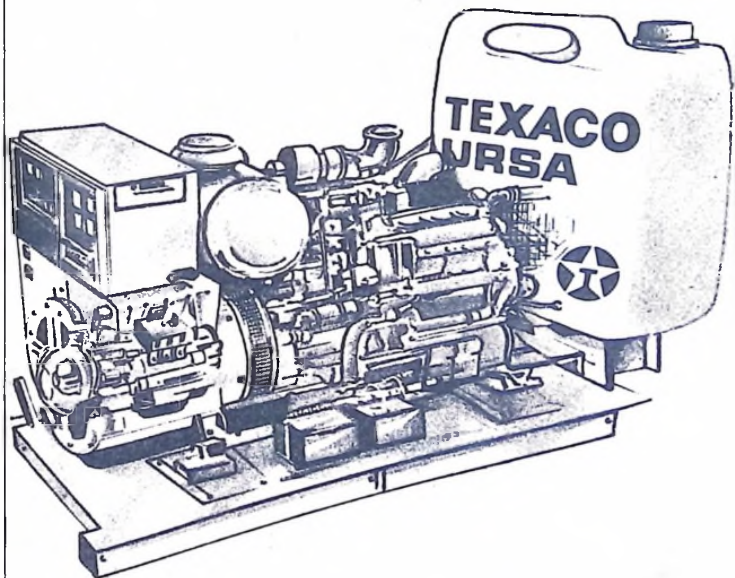
At the end of the competition, Sardauna club of Kaduna captured two of the three titles at stake. They lost to Gwandu in the intermediate category, after taking away the senior and junior categories over Katsina and Gusau respectively.

Perhaps there were fewer entries this year. This may not be unconnected with the non provision of accommodation for participating teams by the host state. That was the arrangement when Sokoto hosted the championships last year. But, of course, any fear as to the future of the championship has no credence, for there will always be that magnetic pull to pay homage to Sardauna's game.

By our reporters



Sardaunan Sokoto: Ahmadu Bello



**Heavy duty**  
**High performance**  
Diesel engine oil

**TEXACO**

Star of the Nigerian Road.



ADAMU ADAMU S  
DEFINITIONS  
IN HUMOUR



## Rule of low

If you award a contract to a contractor (who else?) and he doesn't perform, you can conveniently break his neck. Remember to do a snappy job of it. A karate chop to the lateral portion of the nape will do the trick. Wonderfully.

But hold it. Since you haven't taken the sensible step of revoking the contract, the neck will come in handy. You will need the contractor to finish the job, won't you?

And the thrill of thrills. Who will you cane if the owner of the neck dies? Or do you want to deprive yourself of the sheer pleasure of witnessing the spectacle of a twisted, cracked, tortured human skin as the cow hide whip lands on its target?

It is not often that you get a chance to inflict satisfying pain. What on earth can compare to a pulverised, defeated human figure writhing in pain in the dust in front of you? Nothing on earth or in heaven. Nothing! Except this one thing.

It is to have the chance of single-handedly overpowering a human being and tying him to stakes, taking the backward steps, taking aim, laughing at his helplessness and pulling the trigger. Boom. Oh! wonderful! Especially that moment of impact and entry as the bullet hits its organic target and begins the great art of tearing human tissue. Oh my God. Those who are sensible don't know what they are missing.

And off he goes.

**Contractor** — Our kids need corporal punishment if they are not to become wayward. If they need that, then the elders must have colonel punishment.

**Law and order** — You make your own laws and you order people to obey them.

**Rule of Low** — The principle that postulates the necessity of bringing people low.

**Human Rights** — The only thing human about them is that human beings are supposed to enjoy them. They don't.

**Foundation** — It is good to have a foundation. It is as necessary to human beings as it is to buildings. If you don't grab one at the beginning, you will certainly need one at the end. Retirement is no joke.

## Revisiting dustbin

Mikhail Gorbachev. Famous name. He came, didn't he? He saw, or did he? And he was very conquered — in no time. Pathetic, pitiable figure.

For God's sake, why did he start the revolution if he didn't know what he wanted? If all he simply wanted to do was to become unemployed why didn't he simply resign? Why did he have to involve so many people, end so many lives, and leave as many with nothing but uncertainty? I don't know.

But there he is. Rotund of face, stocky of figure, birthmark in place, far-away-look in eyes, without the slightest idea what to do.

Yesterday he threatened to resign but, as someone observed, he would soon have no job to resign from. That's is it: the temporary nature of power.

Power may grow out of the barrel of a gun; but if it does there is no

guarantee that it may endure, or lead to good result. Just as we are witnessing today.

It all began a little more than a hundred years ago. A German Jew called Karl Marx, for some reason, hated rich men. He wrote a book about this hatred and was able to persuade a sufficient number of men. They banded together to form communist parties and preached hatred for rich men and aversion to profit. They developed dogma for the new faith, and it took root in Russia.

Curiously enough it was other Jews — Lenin and Stalin — who established it firmly. As firmly as a spider's web. And so little wonder then what's been happening. The Brave New World is not brave, it is no longer new, and ha! ha! it is not a world — it has splintered. Let's see those who laboured in vain:

- 1—*Ill-itch Lenin* (Ilyich Lenin)
- 2—*Jaw-safe Stiern-lin* (Josef Stalin)
- 3—*Knee-cutter Crush-shove* (Nikita Krushchev)
- 4—*Leo-need Brazen-Knave* (Leonid Breznev)
- 5—*Constant-tight Cirnaka* (Constantine Cherneko)
- 6—*A lazy Cosy-gin* (Alexi Cosygin)
- 7—*Mao the Dung* (Mao Zedong)
- 8—*Chew an' Lie* (Chou en Lai)

**Marxism** — What is Marxism? It is a phenomenon only possible in heaven, where they don't need it; or in hell, where they have already got it; or in Russia where they will never try it again.

**Glasnost** — *Glass nest*. Whoever lives in a glass nest shouldn't throw stones. If he does, he will let loose the *pressed troika* of ethnic turbulence, religious discontent and separatist tendencies.

**Communism** — What is communism? It is the longest and most painful route from capitalism back to capitalism.

— Polish Joke.



## CITIZENS

**T**o Joseph Sanusi, managing director, United Bank for Africa, the saying that "once a teacher, always a teacher" does not hold water. He started out his career as a teacher, quite alright. In fact, he was a headmaster. First at St. Andrews Junior Primary School, Kabba, Kwara State (1955 — 1959) and later at United School, Ega-Ede. But that was as far as teaching went. With the professional appellation of FCCA, FCA and FCIB, obtained after his tutelage at

South-West London College and Kingston College of Technology, finance and accounting took sway. And he has climbed through the whole rung as executive director, Securities and Exchange Commission; deputy general manager, First Bank; Executive director Central Bank of Nigeria as well as deputy governor, Domestic, Monetary and Banking Policy, Central Bank before his present appointment.



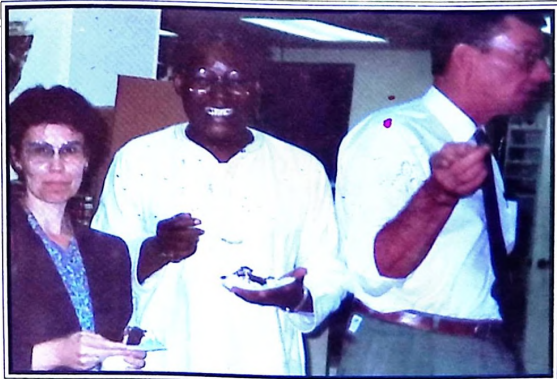
**A**s a co-founder of the Muslim Students Society of Nigeria and current Secretary-General of Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs (NSCIA), he is ready to defend Islam at all times.

Yet, Dr. Isieef Adegbite, 58, the *Sariki of Egbaland*, believes that the various religious groups in Nigeria can live together in harmony.

As a panacea to the religious problems in the country, he says "it is very important that we should show tolerance towards one another and make peaceful co-existence a cornerstone of our social policy"

**T**en years ago he left our shores to work and study in the United States. At the time he was a broadcaster with the Broadcasting Corporation of Niger State (BCNS). Shortly after arriving in "God's own country," He joined the Hausa Service of the Voice of America. Very soon the millions of listeners of the station became familiar with his voice and his easy going style.

Last September, Muhammed Nasiru Maiwada, took leave of the VOA to return home after what he himself describes as a "wonderful" experience. Even though he has put in his resignation letter, he wont return home finally until the end of this month when he plans to rejoin BCNS. "After ten years in this God's own country," he says, "it is not easy to slip away overnight." Not especially when you keep the good company of **Connie Stephens**, former



Hausa Service chief, and Steve Lucas, the new boss, who speaks perfect and account-free Hausa, having been born and bred in Niger Republic.

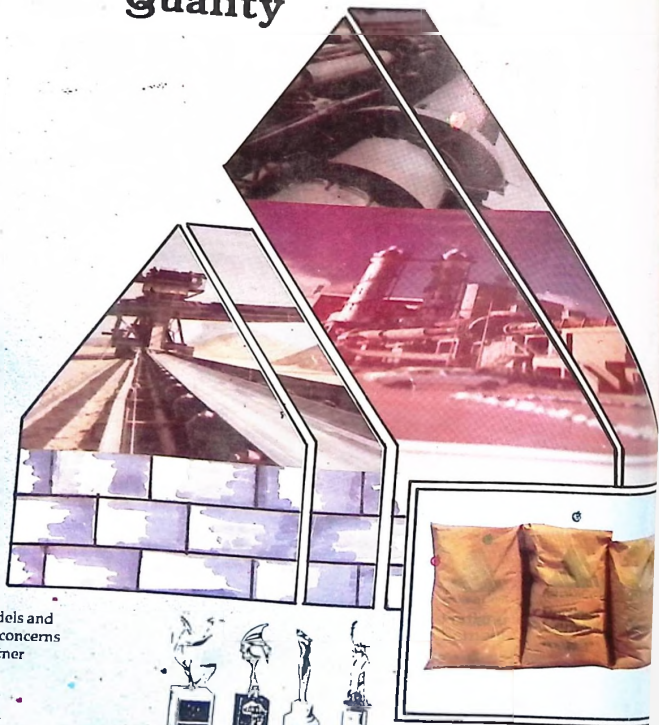
It is heartening that 10 years hence, for Nasiru there was still no place like home.

By **Mohammed Haruna, Tola Sunday and Oji Onoko**



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