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# Citizen

Politics, Economics, Culture

Vol. 1 No. 2 Aug. 27-Sept 3, 1990

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17 AUG 1990

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Today marks the fifth year of President Ibrahim Babangida in office. Five years is like the bat of an eyelid in the life of a nation, but in those five years President Babangida has attempted to change the face of this country in a way that no Nigerian leader before him had dared. The main instruments he has adopted or fashioned for this are SAP and the transition programme.

Opinions differ a good deal about the efficiency of these instruments in making Nigeria a better place than the president found it. What is not in doubt is that after him things will not be the same again. If nothing else his years will be long remembered for his leadership style, for which he has been nick-named Maradona, the famous Argentine dribbler. Even with two more years to go, his Maradonic style has seen him into and out of more troubles than any other leader of this country.


Our team of Adamu Adamu, Executive Editor (North), Bilkiu Yusuf, Deputy Editor-in-Chief and Mohammed Haruna, Editor-in-Chief, talked to people and combed some literature on the Babangida administration for an assessment of his five years. Their story anchored by Adamu leads this edition.

\* \* \*

The launching of our maiden edition last Monday by Col. Abdullahi Sarki Mukhtar, the military governor of Kaduna State, could not have been more successful. The cream of Kaduna society was in attendance at the historic Lugard Hall. The speeches by Colonel Mukhtar and Alhaji Aliko, excerpts of which we carry elsewhere in this edition, had the hallmarks of sound intellect and excellent delivery.

If the launching had any flaws, it was the magazine itself which, as *The Reporter* said in reporting the launching, contained irritating and avoidable misspellings and grammar. We are doing all we can to eliminate these.

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## Changes at NNN

Sir,

I wish to enlighten your many readers *briefly* on some aspects of your instructive piece on 'change of baton at NNN' (August 20, 1990).

The aspects I shall comment on here concern the editorial policy guidelines at NNN Ltd as authorized by the board as well as the role of a proprietor of a newspaper in Nigeria. In doing so, I shall also seek to clarify the role of the board as guided by the time-honoured logic of collective responsibility.

The board of directors, during the period of my stewardship, 1984-89, regularly ensured that all NNN staff strictly obeyed the approved editorial policy guidelines. These sought to preserve ascertained vital national interests (including those of the reading public throughout the federal republic).

In doing so, the board also considered the often repeated media objections to any overt or covert *interference* by non-journalists in professional matters as well as the requirements of sound management policy. The board, therefore, delegated to every managing director, as chief executive of NNN Ltd the clear and necessary responsibility of implementing not only the *letter* but also the *spirit* of the agreed editorial policy guidelines.

Furthermore, in every known case of in-house disagreement or misunderstanding over this key issue, the board of directors supported to the hilt every managing director between June 1984 and July 1989. But, the extent of the consistent support so given did *not* breach recognised concepts of due process of law, and basic considerations of fairness and justice, particularly, where appropriate disciplinary action would require suspension, retirement or dismissal.

In every known case in the history of the newspaper industry in Nigeria, the proprietor's interest has been paramount. Accordingly, the proprietor of NNN Ltd, between 1984 and 1989,

chose every managing director, its chief executive. The board of directors, *not* consulted in these matters, merely regularized every such appointment made as revealed to the public by other official representatives of the same proprietor.

It would, therefore, be reasonable to expect that, before such selections were made, the proprietor would have scrupulously examined the professional credentials, relevant work-experience, and character of every managing director so elevated to a post of considerable public interest. The board of directors, *not* invited by the proprietor to offer advice in such appointments, would, therefore, be unable to ascertain whether or not the appointees were, formally or informally, helped by the relevant authorities to know, before acceptance, the precise nature of their mission at NNN Ltd. Neither would the board of directors be able to discover whether or not there were understandings or tacit undertakings between the proprietor and a new chief executive at NNN Ltd as a necessary condition of such appointment.

Moreover, for the 1984-89 period, the proprietor duly exercised the right to appoint or review the appointment of members of the board of directors, NNN Ltd. In the process, the proprietor reflected cultural, political, intellectual, and other desired interests and voices it wanted represented and heard on the board.

In these circumstances, the board's chairman, if he genuinely believes in team-spirit, as I sincerely do, would earnestly attempt to honour the time-tested principle of *collective responsibility*. He would, therefore, endeavour to carry out board decisions arrived at after careful deliberation, despite his own personal considerations on any controversial issue.

However, till July 1989, board deliberations did *not* include any financial impropriety by any NNN executive because there was no such allegation before it. Besides, the company's *strict financial instructions*, as reviewed and

approved by the same board, were then already in place.

In conclusion, it is also useful for the public to know that the board of directors, of which I was once chairman, ceased to function in late July 1989. Its members, when duly informed, instantly obeyed the proprietor's directive to dissolve the board then. Hence, the same board could *not* be held liable for all the complaints and allegations made in your article as these events occurred in a *different era*.

Professor Tekena Tamuno  
Nigerian Defence Academy,  
Kaduna

## Congratulations

Sir,

I shall like to be identified among your numerous well wishers and I rejoice with you and your staff on the first publication of your *Citizen* magazine which I have gone through and it is indeed very interesting.

I wish you keep it up. I know your worth when I was privileged to work with you at the Board of African Petroleum.

Yours sincerely,

Aliyu Salman (SAN),  
Saraa Chambers, Ilorin.

Sir,

Congratulations for an excellent beginning. What I have read in the previous edition, promises the birth of a remarkable and positive departure from conventional "trash journalism" in Nigeria. The touch of professionalism is clear. The news analyses are presented lucidly; they are quite enlightening and with a delectably humorous touch. The reporting is also balanced and principled. There are mistakes, grammatical errors etc, but these are few and only marginally affected the total picture presented by the maiden edition of your

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

## LEADERS

## Four years of SAP

It all began four years ago. Yet the Structural Adjustment Programme, SAP, looked like it had been around for all of our lifetime. It has intruded into every aspect of our lives, changed our habits for good and bad, deprived us of luxuries or necessities, and sent several to the market — of unemployment or foreign exchange. It seems to have no end to what it can do or undo, or how long it is here to stay. Perhaps there ought to be no end to either.

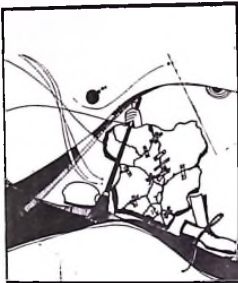
The Structural Adjustment Programme, SAP, is indeed the last in a long line of remedies that Nigeria is to try in order to manage its economy well and ensure growth. We must assume therefore that SAP is nothing more than past national development plans with the benefit of hindsight. But since the programme is not a period budget its prescriptions approximate the fiscal, monetary and even legal measures of those plans only. This time after the damage has been done. Over the years the damage to the economy accumulated, and when it proved too much to bear, it visited the children with economic sins of past generations.

Like most neocolonial economies, the Nigerian economy was tuned to a frequency somewhere in Europe. The attempt, if there was any, to attune it to the needs of its roots after independence didn't go far enough. It simply kept producing enough to eat and keep the industries of Europe going. Later, oil assumed great importance in Nigeria's trade outside but nothing else changed. Oil simply replaced the agricultural inputs Nigeria used to export to them. Developments in the oil market during the 1970s raised the price of that commodity very high over a short period.

Nigeria suddenly became one of the top earners of foreign exchange for reasons other than good and efficient economic management. The earning capacity kept rising and absorptive capacity couldn't keep pace. The reserves built up, and a feeling swept the country that it was rich and oil could solve all its problems. The nation thereafter got ready to depend exclusively on it. That's where the tragedy began.

Nigerian leaders during the days of the oil boom were reported to have boasted that their problem was not how to make, but how to spend, money. It became clear that no one could save the country from his delusion. The leadership then began a spree of mindless spending that tended to portray investment and the holding of reserves as mortal sins.

Even before the oil boom, the country lacked a well-thought-out policy for industrialisation. During the boom, the hell with it, who needed a policy. Spending and the implementation of development plans which were nothing more than fixing the things bought during the spending



spree, both became matters of trial and error. A singular lack of continuity or a mechanism for coordinating between measures planned or adopted at different periods hampered the attainment of any goals.

Meanwhile it seemed to matter little to the nation what happened to agriculture. Whatever might have theoretically happened to it, agricultural production in reality fell. A nation that once fed itself and sustained industries in other lands with its rudimentary subsistence agriculture suddenly became unable to feed itself in spite of the possession of machinery. What looked like strenuous effort by succeeding governments failed

to reverse the trend of misfortune befalling the inhabitants of rural Nigeria. The World Bank came in and established Agricultural Development Projects with the government. They failed like their predecessor Obasanjo's Operation Feed the Nation and their successor, Shagari's Green Revolution.

Manufacturing didn't so much as offer help. Unlike agriculture it grew but compared to what it consumed it was really a drain on the economy. It consumed more than  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the nation's wealth but contributes only  $\frac{1}{10}$  of its output.

Along the way what looked like remedies had been tried but with little result. Initially the nation suspected foreigners — it therefore indigenised a major part of the economy. That didn't help. When Obasanjo, the architect of indigenisation was leaving the scene, he found it necessary to take a foreign loan. From his time to date, the nation is on its way to joining the big debtors. It owes \$32.8 billion. When Shagari came, the pressure finally forced him to slap a regime of austerity measures on the economy. He didn't stay long enough to see the result. Buhari continued with austerity and threw in a few other measures — countertrade for instance — and results began to show, but neither did he stay long enough to count them. Babangida came along with the structural adjustment programme — a more comprehensive but more painful remedy.

Four years after, the achievements of SAP fall short of its own claim. No doubt it has been a bold experiment from which many governments have shied away. But it is clear that the certainty of its proponents as to its efficacy in curing the wide range of ailments afflicting the Nigerian economy is not borne out by the results it has achieved in four years.

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SAP will seem to have failed in arresting unemployment and inflation. In the area of foreign debt too, we like to think that the wrong opinion that we are under-borrowed is the guide to official conduct. Though new opinion seems to suggest that the decline in the value of the dollar may explain the increase in our indebtedness, the reality is that many more loans have been contracted during the structural adjustment. We must know when enough is enough.

If it is true that we have contractually agreed with our creditors not to make all the funds in the Stabilisation Fund available at our foreign exchange market, it will be wise to give the contract a second look — and rescind it. While we favour a quick payback for our foreign debts, we believe a realistic value of our Naira is equally as, if not more, important.

The government seemed to have finally recognised the need for a human face to the adjustment process. Admittedly, there was no painless way out of the economic doldrums in which our past profligacy has landed us. But the severe effects of SAP on the standard of living heightened social dislocations. So glaring were they — inflation, unemployment, and stark naked poverty — that government had to cushion their effects or face the wrath of a restive and discontented population.

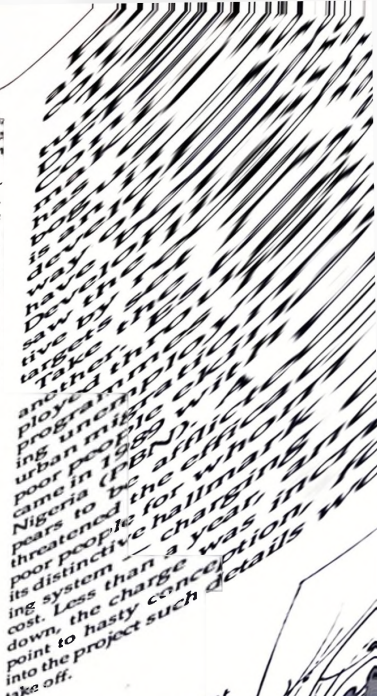
## Democracy: making it stick

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Even then since its inception three years ago the programme has been characterised by so many changes in the rules, that many have wondered if indeed it had been thoroughly thought out. Many more have also wondered if it had to be as long-drawn as it was. The loudest voice in this respect was that of former head-of-state General Olusegun Obasanjo, who read in the programme a thinly veiled criticism of his government's rather short transition to the disastrous Second Republic. In unveiling his transition

programme, President Babangida had said his government was persuaded that the Second Republic came to grief so quickly because it was ushered in too quickly. Naturally General Obasanjo, who is not known to suffer criticisms lightly, took umbrage. His own retort was that the Babangida transition programme was merely motivated by a desire to remain in power, if not forever, certainly for an unduly long time.

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Fortunately, the SAP relief measures came, to relieve aches and to redress wounds. But they came in trickles, hastily conceived and poorly implemented.

Take the Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI) for instance. Since its take-off, the mode of DFRRI's operation has been shrouded in controversy. Considered as a drain pipe by many, DFRRI is notorious for making exaggerated claims about the kilometres of roads it has constructed, poor quality of feeder roads and even bogus claims for land clearing. That is not however to say it is an irrelevant agency. No organisation set up to speed up development of the rural areas can be overlooked. But one way of achieving this with minimum overhead cost would have been to provide increased funding for States Rural Development Agencies, which existed long before DFRRI saw the light of day. However they were rendered ineffective by red-tapism in disbursement of funds for ambitious targets set at inception.

Take the National Directorate of Employment NDE for another. Established in 1986 to create jobs for the unemployed through skill acquisition and loan disbursement, its programmes have made little impact in combating galloping unemployment and even less in stemming the rural urban migration. Another response to relieve cash strapped poor people eking out a living in the rural and urban areas came in 1989 with the establishment of the People's Bank of Nigeria (PBN). A well received programme, the PBN appears to be afflicted with the underfunding plague that threatened the efficacy of other welfare programmes. The poor people for whom it was solely conceived hailed it for its distinctive hallmark — a departure from the usual banking system — charging only 5 per cent as administrative cost. Less than a year, and even before the accolade died down, the charge was increased to 15 per cent. All these point to hasty conception, for had greater attention gone into the project such details would have been settled before take off.

## Democracy: making it stick

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Even then since its inception three years ago the programme has been characterised by so many changes in the rules, that many have wondered if indeed it had been thoroughly thought out. Many more have also wondered if it had to be as long-drawn as it was. The loudest voice in this respect was that of former head-of-state General Olusegun Obasanjo, who read in the programme a thinly veiled criticism of his government's rather short transition to the disastrous Second Republic. In unveiling his transition

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Until the transition got truly on the way with last month's elections to party offices, the balance of public opinion tended to agree with Obasanjo. The evidence in his favour



were rather over-whelming. First, in October 1987 the president shifted the date of handing over to an elected government by two years. The rationale was that there was so much to do. Second a creeping ban on "old politicians" was imposed until, in what looked like a series of afterthoughts, the ban became total. Apart from being unfair and unjust many saw it as a ploy by government to neutralise the more experienced section of the civilian political class.

Then government lifted the ban on politics on May 3, 1988 and asked politicians to form parties. They did so by the dozens. In the end about three probably viable ones emerged along with nearly half-a-score not-so-viable ones. At first government said the electoral commission had the mandate to chose and register the ones that can contest elections. Then it changed its mind and shifted the mandate to the AFRC, the nation's supreme law-making body.

Finally, in what had looked like the conclusive evidence of President Babangida's intention to stay put, the president, in what was perhaps his longest and the most thorough-going speech to date, announced the ban of all the six parties that Professor Humphrey Nwosu's National Electoral Commission had short-listed. In their place two parties, one the SDP, "a little to the left" and the other the NRC "a little to the right", were announced. Politicians, or rather what was left of them after the ban on "old politicians" were then asked to pick their choice.

At first it looked like there was general indifference. With time, however, this seeming indifference gradually turned into widespread enthusiasm until the elections into the national offices of the parties took place in Abuja last month, where it became apparent that politicians, "oldbreed" and "newbreed" alike, as well as their supporters, were once again back in their elements.

The most glaring aspect of the Abuja elections, by government's own admission, was that "moneybags", who mostly were the "old politicians" still dictated the pace. Not

only that, ethnicity regionalism and religion, far from declining all these years, seemed to have taken a more frightening dimension in dictating the outcome of the elections. The good news, however, was that the elections were seen to be free and fair and without violence.

The problem with the transition programme was not so much that the blanket ban of "old politicians" was indiscriminate and predictably futile. The problem was that it focussed on faces rather than principles, foremost the principle that people in public trust must be left in no doubt that they will be held accountable for that trust. Old or new, so long as politicians see that they can abuse public trust and get away with it, they will do so.

Belated as it may seem, the authorities now seem to have woken up to this simple fact even though some equivocation still remains. Now we hear an anti-corruption decree is on the way. Not only that some military governors whose conduct in office have been far from defensible have not only lost their public offices, they have also lost their commissions. Skeptics may say these losses are nothing compared to the officers' alleged misdemeanours. Cynics may even dismiss the punishments as mere scapegoatism. The fact, however, is that they at least indicate an awareness of the magnitude of the problem of corruption in the polity and of the need, if not the iron-will, to deal with it.

For the rest of the transition period, this must be the focus of government political programme. The Code of Conduct Bureau and the Tribunal should be given the teeth they need to become effective as checks to abuse of public trust. More practically serving government officials not only should declare their assets and liabilities but they should do so publicly.

It is only when politicians and the general public alike realize that public trust cannot be abused lightly that the transition programme can usher in the type of "Newbreed" politics that can give the Third Republic the long-life this country expects, whether the politicians are "new" or "old".

## On Maradona's pitch

For many Nigerians, the spectre of a president who smiles, laughs and jokes in public came as a welcome departure from the grim and austere looks of both Major-Generals Muhammadu Buhari and Tunde Idiagbon, both of whom equated austerity in looks with seriousness of political purpose. In 1985, the new President Babangida not only smiled and joked, but his regime loudly proclaimed its liberal credentials by espousing respect for human rights as its central objective. Babangida had abrogated the hated Decree No. 4 of 1984 and had released hundreds of detainees. Nigerians were well and truly gratified.

After 5 years in power, already the third longest reign since independence, more political qualities, and liabilities, of President Babangida have become apparent, many of them as a direct result of his extremely challenging socio-economic policy encoded in SAP. Babangida has easily become the most powerful leader Nigeria has ever had. His assump-

tion of the title "president" back in 1985 puzzled Nigerians. The large number of political "commentators" and "analysts" in Nigeria do not like to be taken by surprise, something Babangida is adept at doing. For instance, two extra stars on the plate of his car as he rode to the parade ground in Abuja for the October 1 celebrations in 1987, was what announced his double promotion to a full general.

General Babangida has so much power in his hands, and he uses it abundantly. The 21 states have had an average three governors each these five years. Benue has had five governors in five years, and the new Katsina state, now three years



## LEADERS

Nigeria and other Third World countries.

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The government indeed has holdings in the Nigerian Tobacco Company, (NTC) formerly British American Tobacco Company (BTA), and the International Tobacco Company, (ITC), formerly Philip Morris (Nigeria). But we think this shareholding, if it hasn't been privatised, and government's control over taxation and even legislation, may be an advantage if the government is thinking of eradicating the habit.

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educate youngsters about the real dangers involved in smoking. It looks a bit late to have nothing better doing than warning addicts busy puffing away, certainly oblivious to the writing on the packet or the wall.

But even addicts must be given their due. While theoretically the government ought to have the duty of forcing a person to do what is good for himself, smokers should not be banished from public places without giving them an alternative puffing area. Perhaps in any large public place like airport lounges and large halls a small "smoking area" may need to be reserved.

A section of the smoking decree has prohibited advertising in stadia. A possible reason for this is may be that it will have very wide publicity with strong visual images, and probably be permanently carried on video cassettes and end up influencing youngsters. Even if that is the reason, we think the decree should have gone all the way to ban advertisement altogether. This will go along way in saving those who will be made to try a cigarette, cigar or a pipe by tobacco's hidden persuaders. The experimenter of today is the addict of tomorrow who will be in the grave by week's end.

## Buthelezi betrays

All patriotic Africans must now be worried indeed by the drastically increased level of black-against-black violence in South Africa's townships. For most of this year, the violence was most intense in Natal Province, where it has provided the government an excuse to maintain the state of emergency. But in the past week, the violence has spread alarmingly to major black cities in the Transvaal, including Thokoza, Vostloorus, Kalkheong and Soweto. In those cities, fighting between city residents and immigrant workers, mostly Zulus, who live in worker hostels has left nearly 500 people dead, with another 1,000 injured and whole city sections destroyed. This ugly development threatens to disrupt the dismantling of apartheid and the onset of majority rule, in the country.

Admittedly, there are many factors responsible for the violence. The sheer desperation of people who have lived under apartheid for so long is a major factor. Some observers have also pointed to the uneasy relationship between migrant workers in the hostels and city residents; the former, denied by apartheid the right to bring in their families to live with them, seek alternatives in the evenings in the city, something much despised by the city residents. The ANC has also admitted that some "misguided elements" in its ranks had aided the spread of the violence. But by far the biggest culprit is the Zulu nationalist organisation, Inkatha, and its leader, Mangosuthu Gatscha Buthelezi.

This reactionary Zulu chief has collaborated with apartheid for many decades and has been the chief minister of the Bantustan of Kwazulu since 1961, defying international condemnation of the Group Areas Act, under which the Bantustans were set up. For those 30 years he has instituted tyrannical rule over Kwazulu and has tolerated not the faintest sign of dissent. For example, in 1984, when Chief Buthelezi went in his capacity as chancellor to the convoca-

tion of the University of Kwazulu, students demonstrated against his presence. The chancellor's *impis* then charged the students and speared to death dozens of them. The following year, 24 lecturers of the university petitioned the vice chancellor not to invite Buthelezi in order to avoid a repeat of the 1984 incident. But Buthelezi got wind of the letter, and the *impis* promptly entered the campus and speared the petitioners to death.

The *impis* have established their fearsome reputation for ruthlessness by charging townships with poisoned arrows, shields, axes and *assagai*, and they advance in the battle formation invented by their great 19th century chief, Shaka. Their act however is a betrayal of Shaka, who invented his method for use against Boers encroaching on Zulu land.

Having collaborated with apartheid for so long and with such ruthlessness, Chief Buthelezi and the Inkatha no doubt feel threatened by events in the country. The unbanning of the ANC, the release of its imprisoned leaders, and the two rounds of talks so far held between the government and the ANC, has left Buthelezi out in the cold. He has now found common cause with white right-wingers, also interested in sabotaging the transition to a multi-racial society. The *impis* are now openly allied to right-wingers in the security forces.

Chief Buthelezi is a disgrace to Africa and to his heroic Zulu ancestors. He is engaged in an impossible mission to arrest history. Africa and the rest of the world must sit up and contain Buthelezi's evil deeds.



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MOHAMMED HARUNA

## At the school for democracy

Let me confess that when President Ibrahim Babangida announced the setting up of a Centre for Democratic Studies, I was one of the hundreds of the students of Nigeria's political economy who must have dismissed his idea of a school for democracy as at best dubious. Nearly one year after the announcement, I am not so skeptical any more.

In a way it was ironical that a student of politics should scoff at the idea of a school for democracy. It is elementary political science that there is an ideological imperative for any meaningful action. By ideological here I mean a well-thought out mental compass for guiding one to a clearly identified and worthy goal. Any student of Nigeria's politics would know that its unwholesome nature to date is mainly due to the apparent lack of such a mental compass among most of Nigeria's political actors. People, it would seem, went into politics largely not only to serve self but to do so in a way that even in the short run it was self-destructive. For this reason a good student of politics should be the last to question the wisdom of a school for democracy.

I should explain, however, that my own skepticism was not because I thought the school was irrelevant. I was skeptical for other reasons. First, the choice of its director-general Professor Omo Omoruyi, a not-so-successful politician in the Second Republic, seemed rather strange. Strange less on account of his record as a politician, than on account of what I thought was his unrepentant belief in multi-party democracy. As a reporter covering the transition to the Second Republic, I had interviewed Omoruyi not a few times as a leading NPP member. We often argued a lot

about politics. I clearly remember that he was vehemently and consistently opposed to the idea of limiting the number of parties in a plural society, on the grounds that to do so will contradict the nature of such a society, not to mention the fact that genuine parties were never created by fiat.

It seemed strange to me that a person of such ardent faith in multi-party system would be chosen to teach democracy in the context of a two-party system that was created by fiat. When I raised the issue with the professor, he seemed fazed at first, but he then quickly gathered his wits and came up with what seemed a credible answer. "Scholarship", he said "intimidates me." The Politburo, he argued, had said Nigerians wanted a two-party system, after extensive tour of the country searching for the empirical basis for the politics of the Third Republic. "Since I cannot show evidence to the contrary", he said, "I have to bow before the new evidence before me."

Which sounded plausible, except that it also seemed rather selective since the same Politburo said Nigerians wanted socialism, not mixed-economy, and the professor shared government's argument that it could not impose a new ideology on the country, never mind the fact that it has imposed so many other things.

Besides the choice of Omoruyi there was the question of whether political incompetence rather than corruption was the bane of Nigeria's politics. The fact that some of the biggest crooks around are some of the most competent Nigerians suggest that the latter was by a long stretch Nigeria's greatest problem. Now, it is hardly sensible to accept that people are either born honest or they are born crooks. That would amount to voodoo psychology.

Depending on ones upbringing, among other things, one can be made honest or a crook. However, as the saying goes, you can hardly teach an old dog a new trick.

For Dr. Adesina Sambo, a director in the director-general's office, I seem to have got it all wrong. It was wrong to regard accountability as separate from competence. "We see accountability as being inherent in competence. You simply cannot be competent without being accountable", Sambo argued. It was obvious talking to Sambo that he honestly believed that it was possible to teach competence in the broad sense that subsumed accountability.

Apart from the choice of the school for democracy's principal and the problem of whether you can teach an old dog a new trick, my biggest source of skepticism was the motive of the government in insisting that politicians must be certified competent first by the school before they can practice. As far as I know this was a novelty the world over. And it was a novelty of dubious value. It seemed then to me that it was one more obstacle of the many presumably calculated to intimidate the civilian political class.

Perhaps I was right, perhaps I was wrong. The fact now, however, is that after the Abuja elections of national party officials, few people, least of all me, any longer doubt the sincerity of the military's commitment to return to the barracks in 1992. And so whether or not Omoruyi was the right choice to teach the new politicians democracy, and whether or not democracy, in the sense of public accountability, can be taught to adults anyway, I am not so skeptical about the wisdom of a school for democracy any more.



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President Babangida

### The economy

It is not easy to count the gains of something that pains, but some people will always try the impossible. At the launching of *Citizen*, Alhaji Aliko Mohammed Dan Iyan Misau, past president of the Nigerian Stock Exchange and a very early friend of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), decided it was time to defend his friend. Despite the hardship which he himself admitted, he easily counted off his fingers the "large measure of success" which has been achieved.

"We do not use scarce foreign exchange to import any food into this country, and the country is the better for it", he began counting. "Our industries have started sourcing their raw materials locally instead of relying on imported raw materials which was the case before SAP."

Nowadays it is possible to meet many people who have much praise for aspects of SAP, a far cry from its early days when almost everyone seem more interested in criticising it and condemning every aspect of it outright. Yet even an admirer of Aliko Mohammed's depth could not help noticing the glare of the programme's inhuman face. "The economy is still in a very difficult situation", he said. "We are still saddled with high unemployment, high inflation, and our standard of living is not improving." It is diffi-

cult to believe Dan Iya is talking about the same thing. He is and that just shows how difficult it has been to assess SAP and take rigid positions on its merits or demerits.

Four years ago it was that President Ibrahim Babangida laid down what was to become his regime's most enduring, if unpopular and largely misunderstood policy. There is little doubt that when history comes to judge Babangida, SAP will have a lot, for good or bad, to contribute to the assessment. In enthroning the programme, the president used his famous strategy of letting the people have their say and himself have his way. By the time people realised what was happening it was too late. The choice given sounded genuine but it was clearly limited. Despite the debate that followed the adoption of the structural adjustment programme few knew what they were choosing when they voted for it. The choice pitched "a home-grown solution" against the hated IMF. The conclusion was obvious and Nigerians eagerly jumped to it. They found out that it was hot. Whether intelligently and freely made or not, however, SAP was a choice made by the people, or at least a choice made against the IMF. And it stuck.

The government spelt out its objectives it wanted to:

— restructure and diversify the pro-

ductive base of the economy in order to reduce dependence on the oil sector and on imports

— achieve fiscal and balance of payments viability

— lay the basis for a sustainable non-inflationary or minimal inflationary, and growth

— lessen the dominance of unproductive investment in the public sector; improve its efficiency and intensify the growth potential of the private sector.

The major problems of the Nigerian economy are not many, and they are all rather well known, having been around for quite a long while. Even though it began only in the 1970s the fact of a mono-product economy relying almost entirely on oil for oil earnings is now the most important problem. The next is the failure of the managers of the economy to chart out and stick to the path of sustainable growth. As a result, today's achievements lack any link to yesterday's records and so will probably play no role in trying to achieve tomorrow's goals. This problem is not new and is not likely to go away any time soon — if ever it will. In practical terms therefore nothing permanent seemed to have been built and nothing concrete was ever added to it. The other major problem is corruption — the scourge of both the economy and everything else.

## IBB's FIVE YEARS

# Changing the face of the country

Five years of IBB has witnessed much controversy but little change

## LEAD STORY



**Ahmed Abdulkadir**  
Central Bank Governor

From the management of export earnings to the running of the rest of the economy and government, corruption does its best to vitiate the little that undeterred officials attempt to achieve.

As a result, the industrial base was never laid, manufacturing remained largely rudimentary at the stage of processing raw materials for export. And especially after the indigenisation decree of 1976, government over-protected indigenous entrepreneurship. Instead of helping the economy the measure just robbed the economy of the benefits of competition. Economic nationalism discriminated against and in the end frightened away even genuine and potentially useful foreign investment.

Things stagnated but with the reserves always high it always looked as if the rise of Nigeria to economic heights was simply a matter of time. The time never came. Instead the reserves were slowly but steadily and surely frittered away. At that time Nigeria's leaders believed that the only problem facing the country was how to spend money. Selfless leaders that they were, they applied all of their energy to solving that one problem. In the process, they robbed from the coffers of a future Nigeria.

Whoever robs Peter to pay Paul may count on the support of Paul. But this will not stop both of them from going to jail or the poor house or both. Eventually that's where Nigerians went —

to the poor house of austerity, and now they are in the jail of structural adjustment, with all the harshness, penury, loneliness and pain of prisons.

Four years ago SAP, as the president said, was supposed to be a brief period of painful adjustment. It would quickly remove the distortions in the economy, adjust the value of the Naira, enthrone competitive efficiency, send Nigerian goods out, welcome foreign goods in, and then live happily ever after. It was not to be. As SAP prepares to go into its fifth year, most of the distortions and pain are very much with us. Though much was hoped for, only modest gains had been registered. A great deal remains to be achieved, much more remains to be done.

But if SAP has not been an unqualified success it is not because it is the wrong remedy. Most of its prescriptions are time tested and right. Its messages are simple and straight forward: you can't eat your cake and have it, unless you take someone else's; you must cut your coat according to your size, otherwise it will only fit someone else. Nothing wrong with that. But let's see what exactly it did.

SAP began its outing by outlawing the issuance of import licences and putting a stop to the racketeering corruption that went along with it. It was an adept move and a right one, though of course SAP left the rest of the corruption in the economy intact. The allocation of foreign exchange theoretically left bank counters and came out to the market to allow market forces to fix the correct rate of the Naira. Instead the market itself was largely fixed. But the initial value of the Naira looked right and more realistic than the overvalued are before adjustment. But the artificiality of the new value was difficult to hide; and soon this accumulated to drive down the value to the current ridiculous level of N8 = \$1, up from N10 = \$1 a little under two years ago.

By early 1986, N1 = \$1.32. Even by the current rate, the devaluation had been drastic and the reasons are not hard to find. Since the formation of the Second-tier Foreign Exchange Market in 1986, the supply of funds to the market

had been tightly controlled by the Central Bank of Nigeria. Demand, however, was fierce as banks bid on behalf of their customers.

But if SAP didn't help the value of the Naira it certainly did a lot to check wastage and it forced Nigerians to begin looking inwards. A culture of "make-do-with-what-is-available" became the norm. Though in quite modest proportions, this helped start a diversification of sorts. In the private sector too massive retrenchment became the order of the day as the new environment demanded belt tightening all around. Many businesses that could not stand competition or quickly find local alternatives to the imported inputs folded up unloading their army of retrenched on the unemployment market. Coupled with this unemployment came severe inflation. It struck most severely in the wrong places.

The removal of subsidy from petroleum in the early stages of SAP led to a riot in Jos in which lives were lost. No other place borrowed a leaf then, but two years later a more widespread and violent spate of riotings swept most of the southern parts of the country. It was with great difficulty that the government brought it under control.

In between the two riots, the government had virtually used all that was in its dictionary of economic management to check inflation without much



**Chief Olu Falae**  
Minister of Finance and SAP's  
leading advocate

success. In 1986 President Babangida declared a 15-month economic emergency period and devised a method of mopping up excess liquidity from the system. He extended the wage freeze that had been put in place by previous austerity programmes. All workers were made to pay percentages of their earnings as contributions toward revitalising the economy.

Interest rates were deregulated and the Central Bank tightened money supply, withdrawing a whopping 3 billion Naira in one fell swoop. State governments were given powers to collect levies of all descriptions. The squeeze by the new fiscal and monetary policies at last began to pay off.

One of the original aims of SAP was to try to relieve the debt burden by negotiating a comprehensive rescheduling agreement with Nigeria's creditors. This did not present a problem because the implementation of the other aspect of the programme have so much pleased the World Bank and the IMF that they were not only ready to certify Nigeria clean and eligible for rescheduling of its debts by the London and Paris clubs, they were themselves ready to advance loans to the country. But in Nigeria's precarious situation rescheduling would only make sense if a moratorium on further loans was put in place. Indeed the impression the government gave was that no further loans would be taken. Yet there was no time when this was stopped.

In the determination of the value of the Naira, which in the early days of SAP caught the attention of the country through the weekly and fortnightly biddings for foreign exchange, the government appeared to have gone to the market already convinced of the value the Naira must have. This had always been lower than market forces would indicate. Some experts said that

with Naira value the government simply exchanged one excess with another. If before SAP the Naira was overvalued, it was also clear that it is now grossly undervalued. A country's currency derives its exchange value from the terms of its trade with the outside world. Yet in the case of the Naira under SAP, effective demand for foreign currency in the economy was not matched to the full extent of its availability.

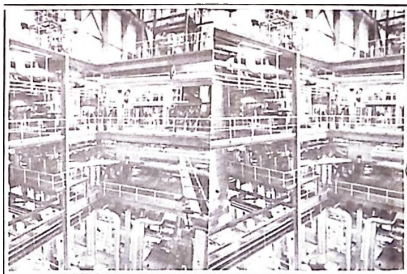
Initially the Naira fell from its 1986 level of N1 = \$1.3 to N4 = \$1. Later it further fell to N8 = \$1 where it stands today. A more realistic value for it,

Naira, it had also had the effect of further discouraging imports and encouraging exports which is not a bad thing at all.

One objectives of the government is the promotion of export oriented trade. It was for this reason that the government established the Export Promotion Council and backed it by a decree. With easy and available foreign exchange and numerous sugar-coated incentives, the export trade boomed but it has not generated enough to constitute the much heralded diversification of the economy's sources of external revenue generation.

#### Social programmes

Always a neglected sector, the cumulativeness of this neglect compounded by the high social cost of SAP, made it impossible to ignore the welfare sector any longer. The effect of further inaction was easy for any one to predict. Discontent was reaching a palpable level. There were fewer jobs to share among the ever expanding army of



A factory: problems of raw materials and spares

taking all things into consideration and applying demand to availability, will hover around N3.5 = \$1. It is not clear why the government is interested in keeping the value of the Naira artificially low.

However, this has had the effect of making more money in the hands of the government domestically. The less the Naira is worth against the dollar, the more Naira the government will have to spend from its barrel of oil. No doubt the government must have found such windfall handy in starting and funding the Directorate of Social Mobilisation (MAMSER), the National Directorate of Employment (NDE), the Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI) and other massive rural development works embarked by it. While it is not clear whether this was the reason for the low value maintained for the

school leavers, inflation was eating into the take home pay of those who had jobs to keep them alive and the rural areas were as underdeveloped as only an underfunded sector could be.

The government had to diffuse the time bomb, stem the tide of discontent and give the social sector the upliftment it so much deserved. The five years of the Babangida regime therefore saw the establishment of the Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure, DFRRI, National Directorate of Employment and People's Bank of Nigeria. Together, these agencies have ministered to the social welfare needs of the people. Each has tackled its assignments with vigour making modest success here and there.

#### DFRRI

Of the three, the DFRRI and PBN seem to have made the greater impact. The first was established in 1986. It was



An NDE beneficiary

charged with development of the rural area by promoting agriculture, road construction, rural water supply and sanitation, livestock development and the procurement and distribution of improved seedlings. It was envisaged that such a programme for provision of amenities to rural areas would stem the tide of rural-urban migration. Under its rural roads construction programme DFRI has concentrated on developing feeder roads that would facilitate movement of produce from the farms to the various sale outlets.

According to its Kaduna State director, Mr. Aboki Galadima, some of the problems faced by the directorate include insufficient funding. "DFRI releases money on time but set targets that states must achieve. The problem arises from the fact that such targets are not based on any survey, or bill of quantities that should provide an estimate of the cost and scope of the projects. In the end the engineers supply a bill of quantities that reveal that the amount released by DFRI can not meet the target set." In addition, pointed out Galadima, DFRI has no construction equipment of its own. "We commission contractors to work on our road projects and on completion when DFRI places its signboards there it is criticised for taking credit for work done by others" People's Bank of Nigeria

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From October to December 1989 PBN operated on a pilot basis and it disbursed a total sum of 5.6 million Naira to 8,007 beneficiaries. The remarkable thing with the beneficiaries of the PBN loan is their commitment to repayment within the pilot scheme period of operation 251,311.30 Naira was repaid with many recipient paying back earlier than the 50 weeks period scheduled for repayment.

During the pilot scheme period the PBN opened 20 branches in eight states and six peripheral centres attached to each branch to provide grassroots services.

From January 1990 the PBN has embarked on full scale operation and 149 branches are expected to be opened nation-wide.

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## LEAD STORY



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The transition programme, as it is

popularly called, spans a total of five years from 1987 to the end of the Babangida administration.

Recently, the view people have of the president and their apprehensions about the genuineness of the transition programme appeared to have altered significantly. Just as in the past the fears were muted so also is the change simply recognised, noted. Whether it has any connection with the abortive coup by Major Gideon Orkar is difficult to say but it became apparent after it. Meanwhile the transition programme largely keeps on course. 1987

It took off in the third quarter of 1987 with the establishment of three important bodies:

1 — Directorate of Social Mobilisation was established to engender a new political culture in the country. It was expected to awaken the consciousness of Nigerians to their rights and obligations, inculcate in them a spirit of patriotism and commitment to social justice and make them fight corruption.

2 — National Electoral Commission, was formed to conduct elections in the country. It was also to play some role in registering and rearing the new political parties. This job, however, was taken away by the Armed Forces Ruling Council when it approved the dissolution of all the recommended applications the commission submitted to it.

3 — Constitution Drafting Committee. The committee was formed to review the constitution adopted by the National Assembly in 1979 and propose amendments to the government.

Thereafter the military conducted a party-less election into local government councils. That rounded up the year. Meanwhile the Directorate of Social Mobilisation, the Electoral Commission and the constitution and

the constitutional committee went to work with varying degrees of success. 1988

The first quarter of 1988 saw the establishment of five other organs.

1 — National Population Commission was formed to undertake a populace census before power is handed over to civilians.

2 — Code of Conduct Bureau was set up to lay the foundations of a new morality in the conduct of government business. It has recently been reconstituted by the president but compulsory declaration of assets as required by the constitution is yet to be enforce.

3 — Code of Conduct Tribunal which



Soldiers: Marching back to the barracks

together with the Code of Conduct Bureau, will function as twin institutions for enforcing compliance with the demands of the new morality.

4 — Constituent Assembly. This was, the body formed to consider the work of the constitutional committee, and approve the constitution in its capacity as a body representing the people.

5 — National Revenue Mobilisation Commission. Its mandate was to identify sources and spearhead the drive for revenue.

The remaining three quarters of 1988 were devoted to the termination and the consolidation of the gains of the regime of Structural Adjustment Programme, SAP, instituted at the end of the national debate in 1986. The third and last quarters were for consolida-

tion of the gains. As it turned out, it was not discontinued; indeed it was laid down as a permanent feature of the Nigerian economy. People saw this as an imposition of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. 1989

The first quarter of 1989 was devoted to the adoption of the "clean copy" of the new constitution and the release of the New Fiscal Arrangements. The new fiscal policy was to lead to the liberalisation of the economy.

During the second quarter of that year the ban on party politics was lifted. Politicians went into action almost immediately.

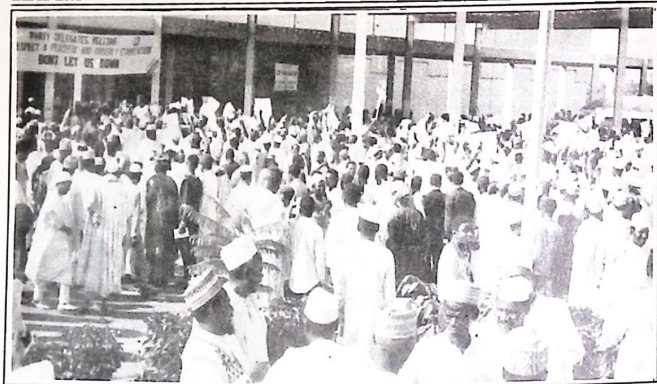
Numerous associations sprang up vying for recognition as political parties. More than sixty of them canvassed for support but less than twenty submitted applications to the National Electoral Commission. Only six applications were forwarded to the Armed Forces Ruling Council for the approval of only two as political parties as recommended by the Political Bureau.

Since the registra-

tion of the new parties, elections of party office holders have taken place. The colour of the party's ideological leaning was bland in both cases. One is "a little to the right, the other a little to the left" as President Babangida termed them perhaps in order to underscore the fact that none of them will unduly be too far away from the centre. When elections are finally conducted into the local governments, the rest of 1990 is expected to see the elections into state legislatures. In the initial programme state legislators and executives were to be sworn in by the end of 1990.

However, with the failure of the original associations that submitted applications to make it, the whole of the transition programme has now

## LEADERS



## At a political rally

been shifted. The elections into the state legislatures now move to 1991. This will be followed by a population census, and hopefully, a second local government election. Election into federal legislatures and the convening of the National Assembly follows thereafter. The last item on the transitions agenda is the final disengagement of the Armed Forces from the scene.

Despite the government's adherence to the transition programme, apathy and then seeming enthusiasm of the people, the transition to civil rule faces some ominous signs. Even though sound reasons have been advanced for the disqualification of the six political associations submitted to the government, this has not meant an automatic embrace for the government-created Social Democratic Party and the National Republican Convention. People still see them as a government imposition and though the "little to the right and a little to the left" variation introduced by government is expected to amount to some discernible difference and offer choices, strange bed fellows have resulted. Many of the politicians themselves have lamented that it never happened that political parties created their members, but it was always the other way round. It there-

fore remained to be seen how the new political alignment will hold under the pressure of *real politik*.

With hope triumphing over experience and maturity over fear, the government expresses confidence that the religious factor will have little or no role to play in partisan politics. But it is clear that there is indeed little more than hope to the declaration. Meanwhile the threat that some religious leaders may introduce religious manipulation, if they have not already begun doing so, remains real enough.

The issue of population census has always been an explosive one in the country's history. The importance of census in a country that regards the national resource as some cake can never diminish. This is further compounded by the so-called "Nigerian Factor" which has a way of rationalising rigging in elections, inflation in census and sectionalism in everything. All previous crises in the country have had their roots in a census or an election.

Yet a more ominous sign on the economic front faces the civilians who will take over power from President Babangida. It is the issue of foreign debt. With all the rescheduling going on, the full blast of the financial burden may prove too heavy for the young

Third Republic to bear. The total foreign debt today stands at \$32.8 billion. With rescheduling, fall in the value of the dollar and further foreign borrowing the figure may well pass the \$40 or \$50 billion mark within the next two years.

While all these are issues for which permanent solutions may be found one stands out different. While the military is being looked upon to hand over the baton in the next two years, it nevertheless remains the most lethal enemy of democracy in Nigeria. A civilian government may be able to pay off all inherited debts but remains powerless in the face of the man with the gun.

While the Chief of General Staff, Vice Admiral Augustus Aikhomu was speaking at the national conference of the electoral commission and the two political parties in Abuja, he called for the cultivation, among other things, of a commitment to the preservation of democracy and the rejection of dictatorship of any form — military or civilian. If this government takes it upon itself to achieve just these two it will have done something more important than the transition programme itself.

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**ECOMOG troops in Liberia** — Nigeria's action in sending troops along with Ghana, Sierra Leone, Guinea and Gambia is not motivated by expansionist desire, President Ibrahim Babangida said Monday in Lagos.

The motive, he said, as the forces group to intervene in the tribal conflict in Liberia, is to assist in the restoration of law and order. He added for good measure that Nigeria has all the land it needs.

The peace-keeping force has been welcomed by President Samuel Doe and one of the rebel leaders, Prince Johnson. The other rebel faction led by Charles Taylor is viewing the effort with suspicion and has threatened to deal with the ECOMOG forces should they spill any Nigerian blood. Meanwhile ten Nigerian journalists have left for Liberia to cover the conflict.

**All imports for inspection** — All licences known as Destination Inspection Licences, DIL, issued to some local importers have been withdrawn by government following widespread abuse against beneficiaries.

The licences are given as concessions to importers to exclude their imports from scrutiny of pre-shipment inspectors until the goods ar-

rive Nigeria, but it has been alleged that most of the beneficiaries divert these goods to private jetties, thus possibly avoiding port procedure of assessing the value, duty and legality of the goods.

That's not all. It was claimed that arms and ammunition might have been sneaked into the country by plotters of the April 22 coup attempt some of whom held the licences.

**Arms cache** — It has been revealed that five containers loaded with military 'arsenals' worth millions of Naira have been imported by security agents at the Nigerian Ports Authority, NPA, container terminal, Apapa.

The containers came from Europe on board a merchant vessel which berthed at the Apapa Port complex. They were full of cartridges for rifles and what officials described as "sensitive wares".

Some importers who have not been identified are now assisting the navy in investigating the cache. They are said to hold original import documents belonging to the cache.

**Minister throws in towel** — Samaila Mamman, Minister of Agriculture, and before that Trade, has resigned from Babangida's cabinet. He explained that he was resigning to de-

vote his time to politics. He also explained that his going into politics was not necessarily for elective or appointive posts but to "ensure that the right persons are elected or appointed into public offices" in the Third Republic.

Samaila Mamman was born in 1945 at Kurfi, Kastina State. A 1972 economics graduate of ABU, Zaria, Mamman was the Economic Planning Commissioner in Kaduna State — 1984-86. One of the longest serving ministers in the cabinet, his departure is seen as a swift move to avoid being dropped in the much talked about cabinet reshuffle. Babangida has accepted his resignation.

**Re-trial ends?** — Retrial of 31 coup plotters ordered by the Armed Forces Ruling Council, AFRC, has ended at the Brigade of Guards headquarters, Kofe Abayomi Street, Victoria Island. Forty-one other coup plotters including the alleged leader Major Gideon Orkar have been shot.

**Held** — Three Nigerian journalist — *Champion's* Tayo Awotunso, *Guardian's* Krees Imodibe and *Concord's* Frank Igwebu by Liberian rebel leader Charles Taylor in Liberia. They went to Liberia to report on the crisis.

## IN BRIEF



**Major Nuhu Bamalli**  
Appointed  
Major Nuhu Bamalli, as ADC to President Babangida. He succeeds Lt-Co. U. K. Bello who was killed in action in the April 22 coup attempt  
Launching

**Memoirs of Abubakar Imam**, an anecdotal biography of Dr. Abubakar Imam compiled by Alhaji Abdurrahman Mora was launched Saturday August 18, 1990 at Durbar Hotel Banquet Hall.

Dr. Imam, journalist, author and man of letters, was the first indigenous editor of *Gaskiya Tafi Kuxabo*. He had written many popular books. The most well known is *Magana Jari Ce*. Others are *Tafiya Mabudin Ilmi* (Travelling, the Key to Knowledge), and *Ruwan Bagaja* (The Elixir of Life).  
Chief launcher at the occasion was Alhaji (Dr.) Aminu Dantata who paid N150,000

for 150 copies of the book.

The gathering was a coming together of all the "Who's who" in the north.

### Retires

Vice-Chancellor, University of Lesotho, Professor Adamu Baikie, retires from the Faculty of Education, ABU Zaria.

### Wedding

Contracted between Awwalu, lawyer and son of Alhaji Bamanga Tukur, former civilian governor of Gongola state, and Aishatu Tukur, daughter of Dr. Mahmud Tukur, former minister in Major-Gen Buhari's cabinet. It was described as "wedding of

the year" in Yola.

### Transition

Died Wednesday, August 22, Hajiya Hadiza Mai Babban Daki, mother of Emir of Kano, Alhaji Ado Bayero, at age 76.

\*Died during the week at a Saudi hospital, Dr. Hassan Gwarzo, (65), Grand Khadi of Kano State.

### Sports

Super Eagles beat the Togolese national side by 3 - 0 in the qualifying rounds of African Nations Cup competition scheduled for Senegal in 1992. The match was played at National Stadium, Surulere.

## AFRICA Encounter with Professor Ibrahim Gambari

Professor Ibrahim Gambari, Nigeria's Permanent Representative at the United Nations breezed into the country recently on an assignment that could pass for diplomatic lecturing. He was a guest lecturer at the faculty of Arts and Social Sciences of the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria public lecture series. The title of the lecture: "The Significance of Changes in Eastern Europe to Nigeria's Foreign Policy" was timely in view of the competing prescriptions on the evolution of a dynamic foreign policy.

However, Citizen took him up on another plane closer home where he discussed the causes and effects, the tempo and impact of changes in South Africa, and his perception of the emerging apartheid Republic.

On the causes of the changes in South Africa, Gambari traces them to the increasing isolation the racist regime has been subjected to through sanctions imposed by many countries and the sustained resistance of the oppressed blacks to the racist regimes obnoxious ideology. The violence and unabating blood letting made it clear that the cost of maintaining apartheid machinery in tact was getting too prohibitive both in terms of lives lost in demonstrations and the whopping defence budget. De Klerk therefore had no option but to yield to these pressures to initiate change, lift the ban on the African National Congress, (ANC) release Nelson Mandela and begin a process of negotiation.

These reassuring developments have elicited varying responses world wide: the distinctly premature response from Britain was to consider lifting sanctions while several others have reaffirmed their support for the continued imposition of sanctions until apartheid is completely dismantled. "Any lifting of sanctions now will hinder the process of negotiations for an apartheid-free South Africa because a constitutional void currently exists. All we have heard is talks about talks but the absence of a constitutional framework is an obstacle to the emergence of an acceptable political dispensation."

To comment on the foreseen ob-

stacles to the emergence of a constitutional framework, Gambari had this to say. "De Klerk has appointed a Law Review Commission which is currently touring different parts of the world to study the varying dimensions of federalism but the issue does not begin and end there. For there to be lasting peace representatives of the people must participate in drawing up a new constitution. In short you must have a constituent assembly. De Klerk knows he can not sell a constitution to the whites if it does not ensure the preservation of white privileges and the blacks are defining democracy as one person, one vote. These are all



**Professor Gambari**  
issues that must be resolved."

On the problems of schisms within the black community and the Zulu Inkatha factor, Gambari is vehement in his condemnation of all anti-ANC intrigues and tribal adventurism. He believes that no good will come out of allowing Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the leader of Zulu Inkatha and his men to have a field day. De Klerk and his apartheid cohorts would prefer to arrange a shabby, sandy foundation for the post-apartheid South Africa by grooming a puppet successor like Chief Buthelezi. He is acceptable to them because he's a puppet, conserva-

tive and tribal based, whereas the authentic leader of blacks is Nelson Mandela. However, De Klerk has no option now but to negotiate with Nelson Mandela, the recognised leader of the ANC. Buthelezi is someone to watch because the apartheid regime will continue to use him to create problems, delay the peace process and buy time.

"Post apartheid South Africa will be a strong economic and military power, the only African country with nuclear power. With the lifting of sanctions, the economy will recapture its buoyancy and dominate intra-African trade. With its superb infrastructure, communication and high quality of its consumer products it will also attract the bulk of the trade and investment from the western countries. Obviously Nigeria has a powerful competitor to reckon with. Nigeria must focus on developing strong ties with it and the role she played in the Namibian Independence process should give it a foothold in the south African sub-region." Gambari also advocates the strengthening of the Economic Commission of West African States (ECOWAS) to enable members-countries enhance trade within their region and with other sub-regions. How is this to be achieved? "We must put economic growth and development at the apex of our priority pyramid, and deemphasise defence. There is the need to identify who the enemy is and what threat he poses in order to check colossal revenue that would otherwise be spent on defence when no real threat exists.

"Worldwide there is declining significance of military stature as an index of a country's status, rather economic power is being translated into political power in the International arena. The case of Japan amply underscores this." Nigeria's role as a foremost anti-apartheid crusader has enhanced its status as black Africa's leading country. With the emergence of a post apartheid South Africa such energy should be channelled to developing ECOWAS as the priority foreign policy pursuit, he said.

Bilkisu Yusuf

## SUPPLEMENT ON NIGER STATE

### Bio-Data of Governor Gwadabe

Lieutenant Colonel Lawan Gwadabe hails from Kano but was born and bred in Jos on 21st November, 1949. He had his primary education at the Nigerian Army Primary School Jos from 1956 — 1963, after which he attended the Government Secondary School, Jos.

His military career began with his enrolment at the Nigerian Defence Academy in 1970. He passed and obtained the Nigerian Defence Academy Certificate of Education (NDACE) in 1972. Thereafter he was commissioned into Nigerian Army in the same year as 2/Lt (in full).

He later attended the following courses: Young Officers Course (YOC) at the Nigerian Army School of Infantry, Jaji in 1973; Battalion Support Weapons Course (Oftrs). The Infantry School, MHOW-India from February to July 1976; Oklahoma State University Stilwater Oklahoma USA from 1977 to 1981; Command and Staff College, Jaji from 1981 to 1982; Staff Intelligence Course, MAIC Training School in 1983 and Armour Officers advance Course in Fort Knox, Kentucky, USA from 1984 to 1985.

His Professional and Academic qualifications include the following:- psc 1981, BA Military History, MA Political Science — specializing in International Relations and MA History.

Governor Gwadabe rose from the rank of Second Lieutenant to Lieutenant in 1973. Lieutenant to Captain in



**Lt-Colonel Lawan Gwadabe**

1977. Captain to Major in 1979, then to his present rank Lt. Colonel in 1986.

He was ADC to General Officer Commanding 4 Infantry Division between 1974-1975; SCQ 4 Division, Lagos 1975-1976; and Special Assistant FESTAC in 1977.

From 1976-1977, he was the ADMS 14 AHQ — MS Bonny Camp. Thereafter he became the Academy Adjutant NDA from 1981-1983 and Commanding Officer 245 Recce Brigade Ikeja, Lagos 1983-1984.

In 1985 Governor Gwadabe became Staff Officer 1 SD/Plans, Directorate of Armour Bonny Camp. Later in 1986, he was appointed Managing Director of Nigerian National Shipping Line — the post he held until his present appointment as the Military Governor of Niger State in December, 1987.



# EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

## NIGER STATE OF NIGERIA



**DR. SHEM ZEGBANI MBU**  
Commissioner for Health



**ALHAJI USMAN YAHAYA**  
Commissioner for Works and Housing



**ALHAJI NUHU KUSO**  
Commissioner for Justice



**ALHAJI MUSA ISA**  
Commissioner of Police



**LT COL. NANKOUR DUDA**  
Military Commissioner



**ALHAJI ABDULAYE USMAN**  
Commissioner for Finance



**ALHAJI MAHMUD MUHAMMAD**  
Secretary to the Military Government



**ALHAJI YUSUF SULAMAN**  
Commissioner for Information and Culture



**LT COL. LAWAN GWADANI**  
Military Commissioner of Niger State and Kaduna



**ALHAJI UMAR GARBA**  
Commissioner for Agriculture and Natural Resources



**HAJIRA ZAHAR GADO ALI**  
Commissioner for Social Development  
Youth and Sports



**ALHAJI M. NUSA**  
Commissioner for Education



**DR. IDRIS ABUBAKAR PANTY**  
Commissioner for Commerce and Industry

### FACTS ABOUT NIGER STATE

Niger State took off as an autonomous State in the Federal Republic of Nigeria on April 1, 1976, assuming full responsibility for its welfare.

The State lies between latitudes 8° and 9° North and longitudes 8° and 10° North. Boundary Kaduna and Plateau States on the East and South East respectively, and by Sokoto State to the North. The River Niger to the South demarcates the boundary between it and Kwara State.

Niger State covers a land area of about 24,246 Sq. kms, with a population of 2.2m (1964 Estimates). Flat and undulating with ranges of granite hills, the southern parts of the State are low and swampy, forming the Niger River Basin.

The Principal languages spoken in the State are: Hausa, Gwari, Mende, Kambari and Kamboko.

The State is made up of ten Local Government areas (L.G.s).

### Local Gov. Areas

1. Agui
2. Chikhege
3. Chikhe
4. Gaji
5. Lambe
6. Moga
7. Moga
8. Rafi
9. S. Rafi
10. Shere

### Headquarters

- Agui
- Mesa
- Bila
- Loko
- Khege
- Moga
- Kontagora
- Kape
- Kape
- Kape

# *felicitation*

I Lt. Col. Lawan Gwadabe psc, fss, on behalf of the people and government of Niger State warmly join the teeming millions of Nigerians at home and abroad in congratulating our First Citizen and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria General Ibrahim B. Babangida, CFR, fss, mni,



President Ibrahim Babangida



Governor Lawan Gwadabe

on the occasion of the fifth year anniversary of his leadership today August 27th, 1990.

May Allah continue to bestow you with abundant wisdom, courage and determination to rule Nigeria positively.

*Long Live Niger State*

*Long Live the Federal Republic of Nigeria*

**Signed**

**Lt. Col. Lawan Gwadabe**

**Military Governor of Niger State.**

# MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE AND NATURAL RESOURCES

To inject a new lease of life into the production of crops and livestock through the small and large scale holders, the ministry has been organised into five functional divisions namely: Agricultural Services, Irrigation, Produce, Forestry and Livestock. These divisions perform specific tasks and duties aimed at achieving set targets in the agricultural and livestock sectors.

## AGRICULTURAL SERVICES:

Under the agricultural services sector the State Buffer Stock Programme which is aimed at ensuring adequate storage of grains and stabilizing the prices of foodstuff, a 4,000 metric tonnes capacity grain silos was reactivated at Badeggi, at a cost of N800,000. It has since been commissioned while contracts worth N8.3 million have been awarded for the construction of three capacity each of 2,000 tonnes each at Pandogari, Salka and Kutigi. Also two silos of 1,000 tonnes capacity each would be constructed in Suleja and Wushahi at the cost of N6.8 million.

During the period under review, the division was able to construct 116 temporary cotton markets, purchased 1,980 seed mats and 276 tonnes of cotton seed while 10,625 tonnes of cotton crops produced by farmers all over the state were inspected.

Also, a total of 18,451 litres of insecticide, 21,618 litres of herbicide and 2,430 kilograms of storage facilities worth N4 million were purchased and sold to farmers in subsidized prices.

In order to reduce drudgery on farm operations and to facilitate increase in total land area under cultivation, the ministry embarked on both tractor and land clearing services. In this direction, 35 tractors and 19 bulldozers were recruited at the cost of N6m.

The sum of N20 million was spent on the purchase of 100 (m/flat) tractors. The recent exorbitant prices of tractors and other farm implements has compelled the ministry to shift emphasis to animal drawn (ox-drawn) implements and 2-wheel tractors for land clearing. Contract worth N2 million has been awarded for the supply of 60 units of two wheel tractors with implements and N400,000 for the supply of ox-drawn ploughs.

## IRRIGATION:

The division has gradually moved from the establishment of large exper-



Governor Gwadabab at the wheel in a wheat farm

sive, formal irrigation schemes for supplementary irrigation along the Niger valleys, to the development of small scale projects and provision of pumps so as to encourage dry season farming. 30 hectares of pilot dry season farming for the cultivation of tomatoes at Kateregi, 40 hectares vegetable production at Chanchaga, and 40 hectares at Agiae for both vegetables and rice production has been established.

Also, arrangements have been completed for the establishment of a 100 hectare pilot wheat projection farm in Mariga and Rafi local government areas. The division purchased 400 units of 2" irrigation pumps at the cost of N2.64 million and distributed to farmers at reasonable prices.

## FISHERIES:

In an effort to harness the abundant resource in fisheries available in the state, the construction of a modern fish hatchery with complete facilities has reached an advanced stage of completion at Tagwa, while various fishing inputs have been procured and distributed to farmers. These items include 451 bundles of fishing net, 651 pounds of nylon twine, and 966 packets of fishing hooks of various sizes in addition to 3 patrol boats with 15 HP outboard engines. These have been distributed to beneficiaries. Order has already been placed for the purchase of 50 fibre glass boats and 50 HP out board engines.

## LIVESTOCK SERVICES:

ABOUT the same period, Governor

Lawan Gwadabab awarded a contract for the construction of a modern abattoir and commissioned an ultra-modern veterinary clinic in Minna. Over N85,000 worth of drugs and vaccines were procured for the general improvement of livestock health.

In the area of grazing reserves, the sum of N32,000 was spent on a five hectare land for pastoral development and four hectares for fodder seeds multiplication.

## FORESTRY:

WITH the present administration's commitment to arresting desertification in the state, the forestry subsector has encompassed the development of forest resources, wild life, and game reserves, pulpwood plantation and raising of assorted seedlings for distribution to the general public.

To this end, about 1.5 million tree seedlings were distributed to members of the public free of charge. The Jebba paper mills obtain a substantial part of its raw materials (Gmalina pulpwood) from the 50 hectare forest plantation in Kudu village.

## NATIONAL DIRECTORATE OF EMPLOYMENT (NDE) AGRICULTURAL PROGRAMME

UNDER this programme, a total of 160 school leavers, benefited from the agricultural loan scheme and were given theoretical and practical training at Tagina and Naako institutes. The beneficiaries were given implements and agro-chemicals in addition to

## SUPPLEMENT ON NIGER STATE

the sum of N1,400 and N2,000 each for school leavers and graduate/non-graduate respectively.

THE first measure taken with regards to the state's industrial development was the creation of industrial estates/ layouts in all the local government areas of the state. This project cost the state the sum of N687,878.00 in the forms of land compensation and NEPA distribution.

On his assumption of office in 1987, Lt. Col. Lawan Gwadabe, reorganized the Niger state small-scale credit scheme and backed it up with an edict. He then went ahead to appoint a ten member loan management committee.

The state government also released the sum of N336,000 through the scheme for 25 participants, whose projects had been approved by the Nigeria Bank for Commerce and Industry (NBC). While some of the companies embarking on the projects have already received their cheques, others have signed their loan agreements and are now awaiting the loans.

Furthermore, the governor approved the release of the sum of N200,0000 through the scheme, to bail out some participants who had not been able to master the required working capital, before enjoying the loans. This sum is now an additional loan granted to them.

Mr. Governor further directed that the loan management committee get loans from commercial and development banks, to further boost the industrial drive of the state. Already budgetary allocations has increased from N3 million to N6 million, and it is envisaged that very soon, the budgetary allocations would be able to take care of the 425 applications, whose projects total N6 million.

Lt. Col. Gwadabe also awarded a contract to Messrs Ceraco Company of Enugu for the construction, installation, and commissioning of a mechanised pottery plant at the Dr. Ladi Kwall Pottery Centre in Suleja. The project is estimated to cost N500,000.00. It is aimed at introducing a new method of production known as "Jigger and Jolley" which is to complement the existing system of "throwing wheel". This is expected to boost the productive capacity by 400%, and already the government has made an advance payment of N140,000.00. A committee has also been set up to look into the problems of the centre with a view to finding solutions to them.

The Niger Agro-Industrial farming

and starch/glucose production project has also received government attention. The project, which will be executed in one phase will consist of the farm service centre, silo plant, starch/glucose factory and ancillary facilities which will be located at the agro-industrial estate.

The project is expected to cost about N164 million. Already 2,500 hectares of land, required for the cultivation of cassava and maize has been acquired. The project will be incorporated as a limited liability company with the Niger state government holding 25% of the

the Niger Sack Company located in Kontagora. The factory initially intended to have a capacity of 13 million sacks per annum was later scaled down to 7 million sacks per annum, to cope with the dwindling finances of the state. This scaling down of the productive capacity has also scaled down the cost from N52 million of N16 million. After being abandoned for years, the technical partners have been remobilized and the project is expected to take-off soon.

The Chanchaga Clay Products Limited is another problem project located in the



Lt-Colonel Lawan Gwadabe tastes water from a borehole at Magama after commissioning ceremony

equity structure while private investors and technical partners hold 35% and 30% respectively.

The Sunli sugar company which is a joint venture between the state and federal governments currently produces sugar cane on a 500 hectares farm and the products are sent to Bacita sugar company for procession. The company intends expanding its farm to produce 200 hectares more of sugar cane.

Another proposed sugar venture is the "Role Agro mini sugar" which is to be jointly floated by the state government and the N.N.D.C. The project is estimated to cost N34 million and would be located around Sunli. On completion it is expected to produce after 20,000 tonnes of granulated sugar annually.

One project that has suffered from the perennial lack of funds in the state, is

state. Of recent the factory has been bedevilled by a number of problems that include the deteriorating conditions of its machines. In an effort to sustain the company, the state government advanced a soft loan of 100,000 Naira to it, to purchase spare-parts. a committee has been set-up, to look further into the problems of the company. The NIDB is also undertaking a similar study. The shareholders have agreed to put in more funds for the rehabilitation of the company. It is expected that the drying chambers of the factory would be remodelled, while the machines would be overhauled and two compressors would be produced. When all these are put in place, it is expected that the factory would run at full capacity.

Another factory receiving serious attention from this administration is the

# SUPPLEMENT ON NIGER STATE

Minna Pharmaceutical and Surgical Company Limited. The state government released the sum of 625,200.00 as part payment for its shares. Other shareholders have contributed while the NIDB is processing loan facilities with the Union Bank in Minna.

Other private projects where the state government has interests, but whose cause of dwindling finances are Tomilayo Ltd, GIC and Associates are Tomilayo Ltd, Gwadabe ordered the payment of 207,000 Naira, 130,000 Naira respectively representing government shares in the company. With these payments it is expected that these companies would accelerate the completion of their projects.

## TRADE FAIRS

The state has won merit awards in all the fairs it has attended. The joint domestic trade fair between Sokoto, Kwara and Niger states is another remarkable achievement of Lt. Col. Gwadabe's tenure. The trade fair, further sealed the economic bonds already existing between the three states. It has no doubt been of benefit to entrepreneurs within the state and the state is looking forward to hosting it next.

## NIGER STATE DEVELOPMENT COMPANY

The state government has recorded tremendous achievements especially in the area of establishing small scale and medium scale industrial ventures. During the period under review the former Federal Government owned Nigerian Grains Board at Badeggi was purchased by the state government at the cost of N7.5 million and re-named the Badeggi Rice Processing Mill. The mill was cultivated, provided with a functional bore hole and connected to the national grid which brought the cost of the project to about N10 million. Other small and medium scale projects such as Niger Flour and Feed-mill Limited, J.Y. Wushlahi and Sons Limited and Niger Products Limited have completed all formalities necessary for their establishment.

The projects which would specialise in the production of flour, toilet and laundry soap and vegetable oil would cost the proprietors the sum of N5 million, 950,000 Naira and N5 million respectively.

On assumption of office, Lt. Col. Gwadabe directed that a survey of mineral deposits in the state be undertaken to determine its extent and viability. Over 150,000 Naira was released to that effect and the first phase of that report

showed the existence of gold and talc in commercial quantities.

The State Development Company also offers consultancy services to both the state government, Economic and Social Council of Niger State (ESCON), and Industrial Development Council on industrial projects free of charge. It is also involved in the on-going privatisation and commercialisation exercise of the Federal Government.

It has also completed feasibility reports on the viability of the following projects in the state: soya - milk, detergent, shoes works and tannery, and an agro industrial complex.

The Niger State Supply Company which is a subsidiary of the Development Company completed its shopping/office complex. Two giant warehouses were also completed and commissioned shortly after the assumption of Lt. Col. Lawan Gwadabe. Grains worth more than N10 million were purchased from farmers with the aim of encouraging their productive wastages in grains surplus.

The arrival of Governor Gwadabe also witnessed the establishment of a state owned bank (Inter-City Bank Limited) in 1988 with a share capital of N10 million. The bank which has its headquarters in the state capital also has a branch in Lagos.

## MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

For any society to make meaningful progress in this modern age, there is the need to provide sound and qualitative education. It is with this objective in mind that governor Gwadabe decided to lay a solid foundation for the educational advancement of the state.

Before his coming to the state in 1987, the educational system was in a crisis situation, and only a thorough reorgan-

isation would have made the system vibrant.

For the past two years, there has been tremendous educational and infrastructural development in the state, its low revenue base notwithstanding.

As a result of the deplorable situation in the educational sector, Governor Gwadabe's administration drew up a rationalisation programme and merged schools that fell short of requisite facilities, like staffing and student enrolment. About 38 unviable schools were merged with the more viable ones in order to conserve resources and create a more conducive learning and teaching atmosphere.

In view of the fact that about one hundred post-primary institutions were forced to share premises along with primary schools, a contract worth N77.3 million was awarded to Bouygues Construction Company for the construction of twenty junior secondary schools, 7 new boarding schools and the expansion of ten existing institutions.

Two other contracts were also awarded for the construction of Technical Education, Minna at a cost of N4.4 million and primary school section of the Hill-Top Model School, Minna at a cost of N6 million.

Phase I, of the Hill-Top Model School has been completed and furnished with the most modern educational aids to the tune of N2.7 million while another N1.3 million has been spent on the provision of water, electricity and access roads.

27,000 sets of classroom and 1,111 sets of staff room furnitures purchased at a cost of N4 million have been supplied to institutions that were in dire need of them. The state government has also placed orders for the procurement of 12 electrical generating plants at the cost



At a joint trade fair in Minna.

## SUPPLEMENT ON NIGER STATE

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Other private projects where the state government has interests, but whose factories have not been completed because of dwindling finances are Tomi-sayi Ltd, GIC and Associates, and Bolico Nigeria Ltd. Gwadabe ordered the payment of 207,000 Naira, 130,000 Naira respectively representing government shares in the company. With these payments, it is expected that these companies would accelerate the completion of their projects.

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At a joint trade fair in Minna.

# felicitation

As the whole world congratulates Mr. President, General Ibrahim B. Babangida, CFR fss, mni, on the occasion of the celebration of his 5th anniversary in office, the chairperson of the Niger State Better-Life Committee Mrs Hairatu Gwadabe, wishes to use this occasion to identify herself with the rare courage, absolute loyalty and sincere advice which the first lady has been demonstrating since this administration came into being five years ago.



Mrs Maryam Babangida



Mrs Hairatu Gwadabe

On home front her patriotic counselling has in many ways helped in translating the many laudable policies and objective of this popular administration.

*Long Live Niger State,  
Long Live the Federal Republic of Nigeria:*

Signed  
Mrs Hairatu Gwadabe

N2.5 million for distribution to the various colleges in order to make them more effective.

The Government Secondary School, Washihai has been reprogrammed, reconstructed and converted into a special science college while Government College, Bida has been rehabilitated and converted into an exchange programme to admit students from other parts of the country. To further encourage the learning of science among girls, the Government Science Gulu was fully renovated at a cost of over 800,000 Naira and converted to a Girls Science Secondary School. Over 350 NCE Teachers were employed last year to teach in schools where supply.

In order to arrest poor academic performance by students, text books worth N3 million were purchased and distributed to schools, while laboratories worth N2.8 million of science. Another contract worth N10 million has been awarded for the supply and installation of more science equipment for 32 additional schools.

In its efforts to improve the educational system, Governor Gwadabe has ordered the installation of 20 sets of introductory technology programmes. The equipment arrived in the state in 1985 but had not been installed since then.

Construction work on five of the new secondary schools with boarding facilities located at Ebbo, Jima, Saho Rami, Dukku and the Day Secondary Schools at Minna and Maitumbi as well as the Junior Secondary Schools at Minna, Gaba and Pandogari have been completed.

In-service training of teachers both locally and outside the state have been initiated, to improve the professional competence of serving teachers in the state.

In fact, the commitment of the present administration to educational development has not only motivated students and teachers alike towards school work, but has also re-awakened public interest in education.

The solid educational foundation laid by the administration of Governor Gwadabe has led to marked improvement in the 1987 GCE/WASC results. Niger State which was formerly regarded as backward educationally is now making tremendous headway in the education of its citizens.

## MINISTRY OF HEALTH

Health is wealth. And is in this regard that Lt. Col. Lawan Gwadabe, on assumption of office as the military governor of Niger state, rightly observed that over the years been crippled by the perennial shortage of drugs. Because of this deplorable condition, he immediately placed an order for N7,893 million worth of drugs and surgical necessities.

Similarly a contract worth 274,474.37 Naira for the supply of surgical instruments for all hospitals and rural health centres was awarded to GATCO (NIGERIA) Limited, to ease the problem of shortage of equipment in the health institutions all over the state.

Governor Gwadabe also, approved the purchase of syringes from the Gamji Pharmaceutical company, to the tune of N1.5 million to eradicate the menace of contracting infectious diseases through the constant use of single reusable needles.

Hospital Development and maintenance has received a lot of attention since the coming of governor Gwadabe in 1987. The Minna General Hospital had a modern obstetrics and gynaecology (O & G) clinic constructed and also a pharmacy unit at the cost of 536,474.91 Naira.

New theatres and infusion rooms were also constructed in all the general hospitals in the state. In the same vein, renovation work has been completed at the thirty two basic health clinics in the state, and the school of Health Technology, Tugunguna Magajiya, at a cost of 515, 189.26 Naira, all aimed at enhancing health care delivery at enhanced levels. Renovation works has also been carried out at the Bida and Kontagora general hospitals and the Chanchaga Leprosarium clinic.

The rural hospital at Anna has been commissioned, while that of Tugunguna has been completed. The construction of mini theatres at rural health centres at Lapai, Zungari, and Kuta is part of the effort to uplift these centres to the status of comprehensive health centres. This cost the government 207,000.00 Naira. All these projects are aimed at achieving the desired goal of health for all by the year 2000.

Two hospitals that have attracted a lot of comments from the public are the ones at Mokwa and Kagara. They are now to be reconstructed at a cost of N3.9 million and N230,000 respectively.

Communication network within health institutions is also being improved. To this end government has

granted approval for the installation of modern communication systems in the hospitals and at the headquarters of the Health Services Management Board. A contract has been awarded to Baformen Nigeria Limited for the installation of an intercom network at the Minna general Hospital at a cost of 183,666.00 Naira. The work is currently in progress.

The ministry also purchased 10 ambulances which it shared out to health institutions within the state and also acquired modern and functional mortuary vans which it distributed to all hospitals within the state. Bedsheets costing N76,000 were also purchased for distribution to hospitals and clinics. Similarly, blood banks have been installed in health institutions.

Other activities carried out by the ministry during the period under review, include the purchase of refuse vehicles at a cost of N4.8 million, which was distributed to all the local government areas to improve their sanitary conditions. The extension of the soleja general Hospital is at an advanced stage. It is expected to cost 856,630 Naira. Similarly the construction of basic health clinics at Galadima Kogo and Nasako and two bedroom and would be completed soon, these would cost the government N487,425.27 and N78,663.97 respectively.

Efforts are also being intensified to ensure the comfort of medical personnel in the state. That is why renovation of government quarters for medical personnel is currently going on.

The ministry has also expended funds in the training and retraining of doctors and other health personnel. The school of Health Technology Minna is being improved in this regard and already an administrative block, a laboratory and classrooms have been constructed at a cost of 405,732.00 Naira.

The government has always shown concern on the state of health of its workers. As a further proof of this, civil servants requiring medical leaves are provided the leaves free and only pay for the frames.

Finally, it is the intention of the ministry to continue purchasing drugs for all our hospitals for a healthier society.

## MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS, INFORMATION AND CULTURE

THE ultimate aim of any government is to close up the gap that exists between her and the populace that exists at the grassroot. To achieve this goal, the gov-

## Liberia

## ECOMOG troops move in

The political quagmire in Liberia threatens to worsen, not improve, with the arrival in the country this week of the 3,000-strong ECOWAS monitoring group (ECOMOG). The troops had been cooling their heels in Freetown for the past two weeks, waiting for orders from its Ghanaian commander, Lt General Arnold Quainoo, to move into war-torn Liberia. But the general had been reluctant to issue the order until the three warring factions in the 9-month old civil war accepted a ceasefire, which the ECOMOG will then enforce. The West African force will then set up a transitional administration in the country and organise general elections in which all parties will take part.

It proved impossible, however, to get all parties to agree on a ceasefire. President Samuel Doe's "regime", whose authority does not now extend beyond the fortified grounds of the Executive Mansion, has accepted the ceasefire proposal, as has Prince Johnson, leader of a break-away rebel faction. The most authoritative voice in Liberia

however now seem to belong to Charles Taylor, whose National Patriotic Front rebels control most of the country, and whose forces are by far the strongest of the three faction's armies. Mr. Taylor has not refused to accept an ECOWAS-brokered ceasefire, but he has vowed to fight any ECOMOG troops who set foot in Liberia. His reason for adopting this belligerent position is that the composition of ECOMOG troops has compromised its neutrality in the Liberian conflict. In particular the NPFL does not trust the motives of Nigeria and Guinea, who together contributed about half of the forces. President Babangida of Nigeria has been accused of being a good friend of Samuel Doe and has even funded the Babangida School of Post-graduate Studies in Monrovia, where Doe is a "graduate" student. The Nigerian president and his Guinean counterpart were also alleged by the NPFL to have sent shipments of arms to aid the regime of Samuel Doe during the current civil war.

With its credibility tarnished and its

mission in jeopardy, ECOMOG tried to engage Mr. Taylor in discussions, urging him to travel to Banjul and meet with President Dauda Jawara of the Gambia, current chairman of ECOWAS. Mr. Taylor reluctantly agreed to the meeting, but then failed to turn up in Banjul, claiming he had been injured in a motor accident.

With the NPFL not co-operating, ECOMOG planned to sneak into Monrovia through the city's port, which is controlled by Prince Johnson's forces. There was panic at the ECOMOG camp when Taylor's spokesman Tom Woewiyu announced the death of Prince Johnson in a NLFL ambush. The story turned out to be false, and early this week, ECOMOG troops left their camps in Freetown and boarded ships headed for Liberia. What will happen when they arrive there may yet compound the country's agony at least for a while, unless Taylor joins the other factions in accepting ECOMOG's mediatory role.

Mahmud Jega

## IN BRIEF

**Zambia — no exit date for Kaunda**  
Kenneth Kaunda has been the president of Zambia since independence in 1964 and is one of the longest serving leaders in Africa. He also has no plans to quit. President Kaunda said this week in Lusaka that he will personally campaign against the idea of multi-parties to replace the role of the United National Independence Party in next year's referendum. Mr. Kaunda, who recently survived a coup attempt led by a junior army officer, added that he has no plans to quit the presidency.

**Libya — pulling out of the UN?**  
Libya's revolutionary leader, Muammar Qaddafi threatened this week to pull Libya out of the United Nations unless the world body condemns the US military build-up in the Gulf, which he regards as a violation of the UN charter. "If the UN is incapable of maintaining world peace,"



Bishop Tutu

Colonel Qaddafi said, "then there is no reason to remain a member of it."  
**UK — God on Tutu's side?**

Nobel peace prize-winning Archbishop Desmond Tutu's presence in a South African Airways Boeing 747 jumbo-jet flight from London to Johannesburg may have saved it from a fatal crash. Flight SA 239 hit a flock of geese minutes after it took off from London's Heathrow Airport, and was forced to return to the airport after the jet's tail was scorched. Mr. Phil Unterhorst, regional manager of the South African Airways, told reporters, "I do not know whether it was divine intervention because the Archbishop was on board, but the pilot's reactions were very quick." Archbishop Tutu and 300 other passengers were not hurt in the episode.

## WORLD

### Germany

# Deadlock is broken

COME October 3 the unification of the two Germanys which looked like a pipe dream (even as the Berlin Wall came crashing last year) will be complete. At first the Russians had objected to a united Germany being a member of NATO instead of being neutral. When the obstacle was removed, it was soon replaced by that of the East Germans themselves being divided as to the date for unification. This was finally resolved a few days ago when they voted for October 3 as the date for unification.

The break in the first deadlock came 24 hours before the formal resumption of the "two plus four" talks in Paris on July 16th. Some days before the talks were scheduled to resume, Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany had flown to Moscow for talks with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. The German Chancellor hoped to persuade Mr. Gorbachev to drop Soviet objections to the incorporation of a future united Germany into the western military alliance, NATO. The Soviets had only grudgingly agreed earlier in the year to the idea of the two Germanys reuniting after a forced separation of 45 years. The two plus four talks, involving the two Germanys and the four victorious allies of World War Two, ie the USA, Britain, France and the Soviet Union, were meant to clear all legal, political and military obstacles to the German reunion.

The Soviets, however, citing national security concerns, insisted that a unified Germany must either remain neutral or belong simultaneously to the western and eastern military blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Pact, respectively. Western leaders, however, insisted that a unified Germany be allowed to choose its military alliances, since in all probability it will choose to join NATO. A deadlock thereby resulted at the talks, which Chancellor Kohl set out to break.

After two days of talks in Moscow, the German Chancellor and the Soviet

President evacuated to Stavropol, in Southern Russia, where the talks continued. It is believed that the West Germans offered Moscow generous economic rewards if it dropped its objections. Asked about this possibility, Chancellor Kohl deadpanned, saying it was impolite to suggest that he bribed the Soviets. Whatever the truth of the matter is, Mr. Gorbachev emerged from the talks to declare that the Soviet had dropped their objections. The very next day July 16th Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard

ernment is known to abhor. Mr. Ridley, in a magazine interview, said the single market idea was a "German racket" for the total domination of Europe. When Bonn protested, Mrs. Thatcher said lamely that Mr. Ridley did not speak for her government in the matter. In the end, however, he was forced to resign, from Mrs. Thatcher's cabinet.

Despite Mr. Ridley's exit, there is no doubt he spoke for many Europeans in his antipathy towards the Germans, who are expected to become more powerful than ever after their reunion. West Germany already has the fourth largest economy in the world after the two superpowers and Japan. On July 1, this year, the German economic and currency union went into effect, thus absorbing the second largest COMECON economy, into the west German steamroller. This leaves France and Britain, Germany's main rivals, farther behind than ever. The efficiency of the German Machine goes far beyond economics. The West German national football team, dubbed the Teutonic Tanks' by awed spectators, recently won the coveted World Cup on the strength of just this efficiency. The East Germans, of course, are the regular "gold miners" of Olympic Games.

The Germans often misapply their national efficiency, as testified to by the Prussian wars, the Kaiser's war, and the Nazi's war. The Poles are particularly anxious over the re-emergence of German power. After some initial disagreements, Polish Foreign Minister Christou Stubweicki and West German Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher finally agreed in Paris on a formula to settle their dispute. The Germans now promise to sign a treaty with Poland confirming existing political boundaries soon after they reunite. The formal reunion is now all but certain to take place in December.

Mahmud Jega



West German Chancellor  
Helmut Kohl

Shevadenze flew into Paris directly from Stavropol and formally dropped the Soviet objections.

Even as the Germans won this one, there were further clouds on the horizon when the British Secretary of state for Trade and Industry, Nicholas Ridley, launched a blistering attack against the west Germans, accusing them of seeking to dominate Europe through the proposed European single market which the British gov-

## Poisonous animals and plants

Poisonous animals and plants have gained notoriety in popular proverbs, tables and legend. Local songs are cynically composed in their praise. Legend all too often exaggerates the danger posed to humans by some plants and animals by way of poisonous secretions, but it is true that many more potentially dangerous ones go unrecognised and may be responsible for many more illnesses and deaths than is realised. Poisons produced by these organisms, if ingested, injected, absorbed or applied to the body of a human, even in small quantities, may cause damage to a body structure, impair function, or cause death. These biotoxins, as they are called, are very diverse in chemical nature and effect.

The best known poisonous animals are usually those that inflict a sting or a bite. Snakes are well known and much feared for this, although many species of them are harmless. The most poisonous ones in Nigeria are the adders *Bitis*, the green Mamba *Dendroaspis*, the Egyptian cobra, *Naja* and the Viper *Echis*. Snake poisons variously coagulate the blood, destroy tissues, cause haemorrhages, cardiac failure, respiratory problems and, so often, death. Equally notorious are the scorpions, whose stings are sharp and painful. They inject into their victims various neurotoxins, cardiotoxins and hemolytic poisons which cause sweating, swelling, muscular twitching, and convulsions. Some North African scorpions are known to sting humans to death.

Another notorious group are some insects. The Honeybee *Apis* injects into its victim several neurotoxins and hemolytic poisons which cause acute local pain, itching and swelling. It is calculated that 500 bee stings over a short time period will provide the lethal dosage for a human, and can happen if one is attacked by a swarm of bees. Some wasps, hornets, ants and the bumblebee *Bombus* are also venomous and inflict sharp burning pain. Some spiders are also dangerous; the

black widow spider *Hatroeductus* produces a neurotoxin which can cause localised swelling, cramping pain, nausea and sweating. The largest of all spiders, the tarantula of Mexico, is very venomous.

Coming to the higher animals, the only venomous lizard in the world is the Gila monster of America, whose bite can result in cardiac failure and death. In the sea, some octopuses secrete cephalotoxin, a neuromuscular poison which, when injected, causes sharp pain, difficulty of speech, and paralysis. One of the most venomous animals in the sea is the sea wasp *Chironomex*; a human diver stung by it may suffer circulatory difficulties and may die.

Crinotoxic animals are those animals that do not have a stinging apparatus, but instead release their poisons through pores in the body. Millipedes, for example, squirt distasteful fluid, and tick bites may cause swells, pain and muscle cramps. Some toads, such as the local species *Bufo*, produce a skin secretion which causes skin irritation if handled by a human, or nausea and vomiting if swallowed. The most dangerous frogs however are the dart-poison frogs *Dendrobates* of central America, whose skin secretion is used by the Indians to poison their arrows. In Nigeria, blister beetles are well known, for they secrete through pores in the body a chemical known as cantharidin. No pain is immediately felt upon contact with a blister beetle, but after 8 to 10 hours, large blisters develop on the victim's skin. Swallowing a blister beetle may cause gastroenteritis and kidney damage.

Among animals dangerous to eat are many shore crabs, some sharks, and fishes such as the moray eel, the triggerfish *Balistes* and the puffer *Tetraodon*. Leatherback and hawksbill turtles, if eaten, cause nausea, vomiting, and diarrhoea. Many whelks, snakes, clams and mussels, when eaten, also cause nausea, vomiting, diarrhoea and impaired vision. The marine dinoflagellates *Gonyaulax* and

*Gymnodinium*, which cause "red tides" in the sea when they are blooming, also secrete saxitoxin. This poisons shellfish that feed on them, and humans feeding on the shellfish will suffer dizziness, hypersalivation and intense thirst.

Biotoxins are also produced by many species of bacteria, algae, fungi and protozoans. For example, the bacterium *Clostridium tetani*, causative germ of tetanus, secretes tetanospasmin, a dangerous protein. The causative germ of bacillary dysentery, *shigella dysenteriae*, secretes a neurotoxin, as does *Vibrio Cholerae*, the germ that causes cholera.

Some types of fungi are used by humans to make soup, but many species of mushrooms and toadstools are poisonous. The ergot *claviceps*, for example, causes ergot poisoning when eaten, while *Aspergillus* may cause aspergilliosis. The poison muscarin produced by some mushrooms may cause severe stomach upsets.

Also to be avoided are the blue-green algae such as *Microcystis*, which ever so often overtake ponds and discolour the water blueish-green. They secrete a toxin which kills fish, causes convulsions in cattle that drink the water, and also causes inflammation of intestinal tissues in humans.

Why do animals and plants produce so many poisons? One of the principal reasons is for acquiring food; snakes, for instance, strike their prey to death and then swallow them. Another reason is for defence; when a beehive is disturbed, the bees will respond with all the stings at their disposal. Also, some poisons are released in pursuit of competition in the environment. The secretions by blue-green algae in a pond of stagnant water is directed against other algae in competition with it. And lastly, some of these poisons in fact play vital roles in the bodily function of their producers, but are poisons to others who may eat them. The lesson, then, is to avoid them all.

By Mahmud Jega

## MEDIAWATCH

### Citizen is born

Nigeria's newest weekly news-magazine, *Citizen*, published by Kaduna based Citizen Communications Limited, was formally launched in the morning of Monday, August 20th, at the Lugard Hall in Kaduna by the Military Governor of Kaduna State, Colonel Abdullahi Sarki Mukhtar. The magazine will also be launched in Lagos on August 31st. The chairman at the occasion was retired Major-General Hassan Usman, Ciroma Katsina. The guest speaker was Alhaji Aliko Mohammed, Dan Iyan Misau.

Dignitaries from all walks of life graced the occasion. They included Alhaji Shehu Musa, Makaman Nupe, chairman of the National Population Commission; Alhaji Usman Farouk, former Military Governor of the defunct North Western State; Alhaji Awwal Ibrahim, former governor of Niger State; Alhaji Abba Musa Rimi, former governor of Kaduna State, Alhaji Tukur Othman, the newly appointed sole administrator of NNN and Alhaji Yakubu Abdulazeez, the newly appointed editor of the *New Nigerian*. Other dignitaries present were Malam Liman Ciroma and Alhaji Adamu Fika, both former heads of the federal civil service, Lt-General (rtd) Garba Wushishi, Alhaji Halilu Dan-toro, Alhaji Ismaila Isa and Alhaji Hassan Sani Kontagora, publishers of *Democrat* and *Hotline*. The Katsina State government was represented at the occasion by its Commissioner for Information, Alhaji Lawal Yusuf Saulawa, while the Sokoto State government was represented by Alhaji Shehu Aliyu Ka'oje, director-general in the Ministry of Information.

The 10 members of the Citizen Communication's Board of Directors were all present with the exception of Alhaji Maigari Yusuf, former Inspector-General of Police, who was unavoidably absent.

The guest speaker, Alhaji Aliko Mohammed, delivered a paper on the "National Debt and Economic Viability of the Third Republic". Alhaji Aliko noted in his 22-page paper that



Kaduna state governor Col. A. S. Mukhtar launching the magazine

Nigeria's external debt, currently estimated to be \$32.8 billion, may attain \$40 billion by the end of military rule in 1992 and will thereafter preoccupy the leaders of the Third Republic. He said Nigeria's problems in discharging its debt burden have been badly compounded by the country's lack of credibility among foreign financiers. Nigeria's credibility as a nation was not helped, to put it mildly, when former President Shehu Shagari was advised to suspend letters of credit in response to developing economic crisis in 1982. Neither has Nigeria's image been aided by foreigners' sure knowledge of the huge wealth held by individual Nigerians abroad, rumoured to be the tune of \$33 billion. Alhaji Aliko, who had earlier condemned the option of debt repudiation as "irresponsible" and impractical, suggested instead that Nigerians act patriotically and sell their properties abroad, hand over the foreign currency proceeds to the Federal Government for the purpose of clearing debt, and be repaid in naira. The Dan Iyan Misau also praised SAP, although he admitted the difficulties it has caused to Nigerians. But he condemned calls by many Nigerians for the scrapping of SAP, rhetorically asking, "How can you scrap the foundation of a building?"

Colonel Abdullahi Sarki Mukhtar, in his own speech before he launched the

magazine, noted with regret that even while Nigerians near-universally condemn the proliferation of "junk" magazines, they continue to patronise and read them avidly, thereby promoting their success. As for the more serious magazines and newspapers, Colonel Mukhtar noted that intense competition among them drives them to "fish in troubled waters" and report as "scoops" what are actually "bankrupt" stories dressed in fine prose.

After the magazine was launched, Alhaji Lawal Yusuf Saulawa bought 50 copies for N25,000 on behalf of the Katsina state government. Colonel Sarki Mukhtar, who had not bought any copies at the time he launched the magazine, explained that he was waiting to follow Katsina's example, in line with the assets sharing formula between the two states handed down by the presidency upon their separation in 1987. He then bought 25 copies for N25,000. Several other dignitaries on behalf of themselves and their organisations also purchased copies of the first regular edition of *Citizen*.

The magazine will again be launched in Lagos on Friday, August 31st at the Federal Palace hotel. The chief launcher is Bashorun MKO Abiola chairman of Concord Press, while Alhaji Lateef Jakande will be the guest speaker. The chairman of the occasion is Chief Mobolaji Bank Anthony. Mahmud Jega

## National Debt and the Third Republic

*Being excerpts of a speech by Alhaji Aliko Mohammed, OFR, Dan Iyan Misaou on National debt and economic viability of the Third Republic (1992 and Beyond) at the launching of Citizen*

We have examined in some detail, the Nigerian debt situation and the position of the debt as at now. We have assumed that as a result of the weakness of the dollar, Nigeria's debt will perhaps be around \$40 billion by 1992 when the civilians take over. It is quite clear therefore that this country will require large resources not only to service the debts but also to keep up with the repayment already agreed. If we are to go by the present policy, the country will need over \$2 billion to service our debts. May be about the same figure will be required for capital repayment of our various loans, leaving about 50 for other purposes. You must agree that what is left will be considerably short for our needs.

Many people here in Nigeria have talked about repudiation of our debts as a possible solution to the debt problem. In the first place, it is irresponsible to repudiate a commitment unilaterally. Some argue that there was a lot of abuse in obtaining these large loans, and in some cases, it is proved that there were abuses, but that could never be a reason for repudiation. These loans were contracted by legitimate governments and the lender cannot be held responsible if he deals with such a government and he complies with the agreements duly executed. It is about time we should start accepting responsibility for the actions of our duly constituted governments when they deal with outsiders. We should not be looking for scapegoats in them. I also believe repudiation of these loans will do more harm than good in the long run.

The incoming government must start with the culture that any new government is an extension of the one it succeeded. Nigeria has lost billions of Naira simply because an incoming government thinks it has no responsibility to complete projects that were started by its predecessor. When these

projects are abandoned, usually they are restarted again at much higher figure than originally planned. We must also do away with the suspicion that whenever a project is started, there is another beneficiary other than the country. This is very important to us as a people and country.

I said earlier that we must be realistic and accept that the economy is still in a very difficult situation. We are still saddled with high unemployment, high inflation, and our standard of living is not improving. But we must accept that this situation is not going to be changed overnight. We should avoid making unrealistic promises. There are difficulties with our health care, with education at all levels for example. But we must avoid the temptation of promising the impossible, simply to capture votes. This will amount to deceiving the people which in the long run will be counter-productive.

Our debt problem will not go away simply by wishing it. Our leaders in 1992 must continue with the economic measures that have been put in place by this government and find ways to improve upon them. They must remember that we Nigerians are very good at spending money, but very difficult in generating money.

I was very surprised the other day when the Chief of General Staff told the nation that some state Government spend about 80 of their budgeted revenue on re-current expenditure. This means that such states have only 20 for capital and other development purposes. It will be hard to see how such states can survive on that 20 and make any reasonable development.

For such states to be viable, they must at least have 50% of their revenue available for capital and development expenditure. This they can do only by cutting down their overheads, and drastically improving their revenue generation.

Without doubt, the economy will dominate the thinking and actions of our rulers in the Third Republic and I would like to suggest that they should

avoid the culture of the spoils system that has previously been practiced in this country by politicians. By this I mean, situations where only people who belong to the party in power to the exclusion of anyone else. Whoever finds himself leading this country, should remember that he is the leader of the whole country and no part or section of the country should be left out or feel left out. If we are going to have the American Constitution which we have now, we should also copy their system of politics.

Nigerians must resolve to work hard and together to revive the economy. It should be a collective responsibility for all, leaders and the governed alike. I have avoided giving any recommendation in this paper. I have confined myself to discussing the subject matter. What I really would hope to achieve is that Nigerians will be aware of the enormous difficulties that lie ahead of us and to provoke debates amongst us in the hope there will be a better understanding of our economic situation on the part of those who aspire to lead us come 1992.

I believe everyone in this country will continue to hope and pray for a leadership that will accept the challenge of our economic problems, and work tirelessly to make it a success.



Alhaji Aliko Mohammed

## the rest of us

relates to the tendency of some seemingly serious news-magazines to fish in troubled waters in order to stay afloat. I use the term 'troubled waters' to refer to the deliberate choice of issues and topics that are pregnant with passionate controversies, or are known to ridicule authority, or pitch one section of society against another. Certainly newspapers and news-magazines have no other business than to unearth news, and analyse it, whether it is controversial or not. That is the classic defence of journalists. And it would suffice anywhere, but only where journalists raise themselves above the level of society, and define their interest exclusively. But journalists, editors and publishers are part of the larger society and cannot be allowed the luxury of behaving as if society, law and order, and indeed all accepted norms of behaviour is at their disposal to respect or abuse.

There is so much type in the news-magazine market of today. That is doubtless a reflection of the intensity of the competition. But even this cannot be dismissed with that excuse. Flashy covers attract readers who surrender their hard-earned monies, only to find that the inside pages are literary bankrupt and not worthy of the consideration so offered.

Beyond this issue is the more serious one: namely the tendency to dig into and publish materials that have serious implications for national security, law and order. Often these supposedly exclusive scoops are conjectures, assumptions and gossips written in good prose and given the stamp of complete confidentiality. The gullible and the less-informed are led to believe what they read, while the material becomes an ammunition in the hands of mischief-makers.

What is rather unfortunate is the loud howls of protest that emanates every time something is done to curb the excesses of some of these publications. People tend to overlook the hundreds of newspapers and magazines who have operated for years without any problem, and complain instead when some attempt is made to control the

activities of those who think that the security of our nation can become a mere tool in a competitive market.

Let me also speak briefly on the position of the media at this critical state of the Transition Programme. I have no doubt in my mind that even the most cynical critics of the present administration are now convinced of its sincerity in handing over to a democratically elected government in 1992. Furthermore, the wisdom that has informed the many elements of the programme has now become manifestly clear. The media was, you have to admit, among the more informed cynics at the beginning, and therefore were cautions in their assessment of, for instance the setting-up of the Political Bureau, the decision to exclude the participation of a certain category of Nigerians in elective politics, the Constituent Assembly. But as the programme unfolds, so has the cynism of the more serious section of the media melted. We are now at a stage where the media is fully cognisant of the intention and objectives of this administration, and we on our part feel reasonably comfortable in our relation with the media.

The way forward needs not be difficult. A sychophantic media is a liability both to itself and to those it chooses to pander to. A media's credibility, is determined not by the powers - that be but by its reading public, and whatever it seeks to achieve is defeated to the extent that the public does not believe it.

But the credibility of the media, by the same token, is not necessarily enhanced by a posture that portrays it as confrontational. The judging public is law-abiding, and will not easily applaud an organ that unnecessarily breaches what they cherish. They can also distinguish between serious criticism of government and outright blackmail. I urge of you to beware of the extremes, so as to sustain not only the creditability of your magazine but the high professional and moral respect each and everyone of you enjoys of the reading public.



BILKISU YUSUF

## ECOMOG Log

Boredom has a way of making people quarrelsome and restless. Some of these ways that boredom introduces are bad and unethical but others compliment the already laid out programmes for the betterment of our society. The ECOWAS monitoring group currently engaged in a peace-keeping operation in Liberia belongs to the latter. How did I arrive at such a conclusion? Well, for about eight months, Liberia, a member of the ECOWAS has been engulfed in a fratricidal, no-winner-no-loser civil war. As a signatory to the ECOWAS defence pact born at the 6th summit of the community, why shouldn't it benefit from the goodies of the pact, which was meant to assist member states when threatened by internal or external conflicts. That, surely, does not amount to a violation of the OAU clause of "non interference in the internal affairs of member states?"

So what even if it does? Cynics may say Ecomog is a harder case of good intention to buy since its intervention is coming so late and appears to be a conspiracy to protect dictatorial president Samuel Doe from rebel fire of Charles Taylor and Prince Johnson. An unapologetic Ecomog salesgirl like me has a ready answer even for the most entrenched of cynics.

Africans must avoid a sense of deep isolation from world events, a factor that in the past pushed us to our rather backward status in global politics. In the international arena peace is boring and tedious where war is destructive and challenging but a mixture of both should give the world all the excitement and anxiety it needs to flourish. How else would you explain the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait? I knew the sudden love of peace that saw the thawing of super power cold war was too artificial to last. The world has stockpiled too many fancy arsenals of

destruction to feel at ease with unaccustomed pacifist sentiments. Suddenly, the Gulf region, now associated with cataclysmic politics, internal turmoil and super power intrigues is set ablaze by no less a controversial and dexterous personality than Saddam Hussein, until recently, the blue eyed boy of the west and conservative Arab monarchies. The United States, the self appointed policeman of the world is already there armed to the teeth to defend its beloved Saudi Arabia.

And what are we expected to do? Watch the western cowboys monopolise the excitement of war while we join them in the sing song of Saddam bashing? Now, we must get our share, and what better way of partaking in war drama than creating our own exclusive sub-regional war play ground. Our military boys are bored with the rather mundane peace time pursuits and the least they deserve is a war field where they can test strength, massage their defence ego and stimulate our own local military industrial complex.

Ecomog detractors point at the haphazard and hasty manner the peace-keeping force was assembled. They say it is extremely suicidal to approach fiendish Charles Taylor who has threatened to kill Ghanaians and Nigerians to atone for the loss of Liberian lives. Why should Ecomog expose its troops to such obvious danger? They also want to know why we must spend a whopping 50 million dollars on an unnecessary military adventure when disease, hunger and poverty are still married to our population.

Soldiers are supposed to be on the alert, ever ready to answer the war cry, and the Ecomog soldiers are no exception. There was nothing hasty about the deployment of troops and as a proof of their readiness, Nigeria promptly produced 900 troops, Ghana

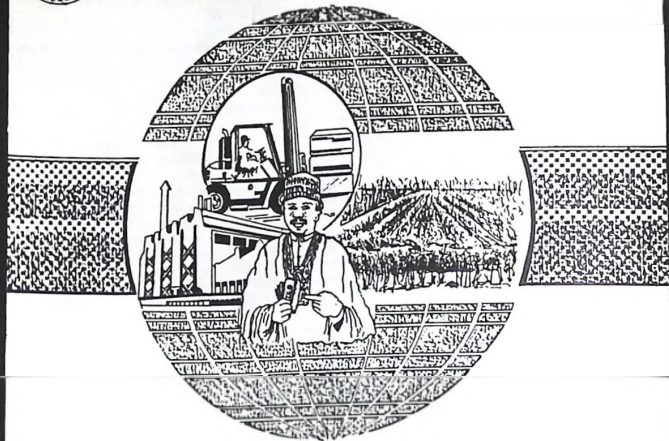
800, Guinea 500, Sierra Leone 300 and Gambia 105. Any way who does not know that soldiering as indeed any other profession has its own occupational hazards? When they don't die fighting wars, they could die plotting coup de etat. Soldiers knew this long before they signed up for service.

Since when, (in a world where higher defence spending makes you a hero nation) did spending only 50 million dollars become headline news? Those who think it's too costly an amount to spend on procuring peace should try using the same amount to buy conflict. Yes, poor we may be, but I see no justification in waiting until we alleviate poverty, illiteracy and disease before we budget for peace. It may be one budget too late.

The flurry of cynics' outcry should not deter us from our commitment. We must pursue the Ecomog project with vigour if only to show the conceited self-acclaimed defenders of democracy worldwide that we too can play their game: defending democracy, bankrupt monarchies and even Gulf dictatorships when it suits us. Who does not know that we have more right being in Liberia than the United State will ever have in the Gulf? After all, nobody can accuse us of indulging some illegal appetite, since unlike Saddam, Ecomog has no plans to annex Liberia. All the more reason why we must defy any form of Taylor-designed threats to exterminate Ecomog troops and just please ourselves. No amount of frenzied world outcry should dampen our enthusiasm to earn a title as the military and moral voice of ECOWAS. We should ask those pretentious pacifists not to ignore the log in their eyes while trying to remove the Ecomog speck in ours.



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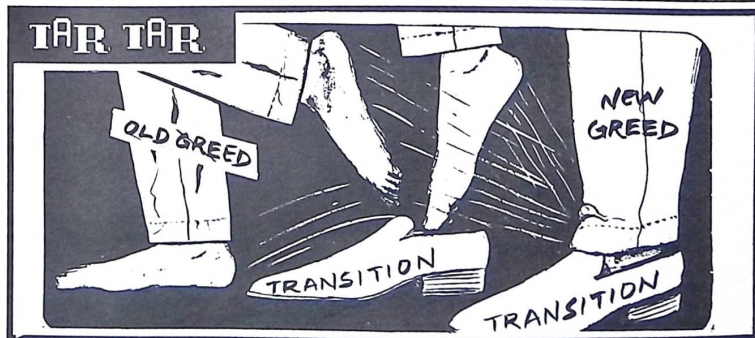
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# Citizen

## SOCIETY

### AT A GLANCE

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ADAMU ADAMU S

DEFINITIONS  
IN HUMOUR

*Today I give my space to a mulla,  
and a minister to keep you busy  
while I rest.*

## Reluctant Preacher

Mulla Nasriddeen was a famous Islamic scholar, preacher and wit. His whole life was the very sparkle of an agitated intimidating intellect. One incident in his life made me think he had an uncanny resemblance to many of us Nigerians. Shirking responsibility was something he had no qualm about doing in his social relations and at times even in dealing with his flock. One night, as usual after each night's prayer, the faithful were gathered in the mosque eagerly waiting for wit. In came the Mulla at last and everyone held his breath.

He mounted the *minbar*. After

praising the lord and invoking blessings on His messenger and progeny, the Mulla asked the congregation, "Do you know what I am going to speak?" "No," they expectantly answered. Thereupon the mullah became angry and asked "Why then have you come to listen?" He climbed down and angrily left the mosque.

The next day he again began with the same question. This time the congregation replied with a thunderous "yes" to his query. The mullah replied, "If you already know what I am going to say, I need not say it." He descended and left.

The third night the congregation gathered armed with its own trick, hoping that Mulla Nasriddeen would come again. He did. And again he began by asking whether they knew what he was going to say. Half the congregation said "yes" and the other half said "No," hoping thereby to compound the Mulla and force him to preach. He surveyed the sea of heads in front of him and said the half that knows should teach the half that doesn't. He smiled, came down and left.

Nigerian Factor in a foreign land.

## Health for Owl

ONCE an agoraphobic (and perhaps he was also an automobilophobic) was desperately trying to cross a very busy thoroughfare in one of the western capitals. He tried and tried and tried but each time he almost succeeded it seemed to him he was about to be run over, and he would back track. Several minutes and gallons of sweat later a passerby offered to help. The following brief conversation was overheard.

Passerby: Hi, there is a zebra-crossing at the end of the street.

Agoraphobic: I hope he is having better luck than I am.

While our agoraphobic continues to hope that the zebra has better luck than him, in Nigeria it is more likely to be an owl that has all the luck.

When talk began about health for all in the year 2000 I made the terrible mistake of assuming that the plan was referring to us humans. Feeling good, I plunged into the complicated task of calculating how

much the government will have to spend to make you and me sneer at, and by pass, the shylock patent medicine store around the corner.

If we are 100 million and an average of one in two falls sick, that will give 50 million sick souls. If each, on average, guzzles tablets, capsules, syrups and takes injections, drips or is operated upon and it all amounted to N10 per person per day the total cost is 50 million X 10X365 = N182.5 billion this works out at around \$25 billion. Now we certainly don't have that kind of money, and if we do it is clearly not available for spending. One can't even imagine the scenario that makes this amount within reach. Unless Saddam can be persuaded to bomb all Mideast oil fields, sea quake and an earth quake simultaneously strike the North Sea and Mexican oil fields, leaving Nigeria alone in the market, there is no way to sell so much oil. Even if that happens anyway, there is no capacity in the country to meet the increased de-

mand. Suppose we miraculously get that money. No one looks to me ready or concerned enough to commit \$25 billion to health care alone.

It was only on the promulgation of Decree 20 of 1990 that banned smoking in public places that I realised my mistake. By the year 2000, ten years today, the Tobacco Decree will have matured; and its effect will have cleared all the decades of smoke that has climbed to the upper reaches of Nigeria's sky from people's cigars, cigarettes and pipes. The night sky will be cleaner and owls will have a field day (fieldnight?) hunting to their heart's content. Well fed, strong and healthy. Owls.

So was that what Minister Ransome-Kuti meant? *Health for Owl* by the year 2000? Oh, Now I understand—perfectly. The target is achievable, or is it?

## The barons

Whilst at school in the 1940's our seniors used to tell us tales from a simplified English series titled the Adventures of Baron Munchausen. The book was based on the anecdotes of a certain Freiherr von Munchausen of Hanover in Germany who lived between 1720 and 1797. This Baron was famous as a raconteur of extraordinary stories of his life as a soldier, hunter and sportsman.

There are several Baron Munchausens in present day Nigeria whose exploits are equally extraordinary in various fields of human endeavour such as hunting, soldiery, sportsmanship and especially in politics who refuse to tell us their tales for the benefit of posterity. This column intends to do it for them — to tell the readers the extra-ordinary feats of these Barons whose wheelings and

dealings in politics are legendary but little is known about them by the general public.

This column will give readers some insight into the exploits of the Barons — in a series of fictions — a combination of facts and fictions — but the real names of the Barons and the Baronets that revolve around them like satellites — will not, for obvious reasons, be exposed. However their main centre of activity is Kaduna though their domains or baronies are scattered all over the Federation. The barons are not members of the famous or infamous mafiosi such as Kaduna, Lantang, Ikenne, Bida, Gindiri, Kuru, etc. But the tentacles of the The Barons extend into these groups and beyond as their influence is pervasive and enormous.

But, who are the Barons? This group of powerful and influential people

comprises three categories — in descending order of importance — namely the Super Barons, Ordinary Barons and the Baronets. The Baronies (chiefdoms) controlled by each category determine the titles ascribed to them. The first class barons (first class chiefs) consist of a coterie of not more than ten extremely powerful individuals whilst the other two classes (2nd and 3rd class chiefs) comprise several and/or many lesser beings who vie for the achievement of higher orders to enhance their status in society. Good luck to them. As the name of a Baron, of whatever category will not be divulged, he will be referred to as Baron Mai (Hausa possessor of) or Baron Na (Hausa of) e.g. Baron Maitumbi (the potbellied) or Baron Nanene (of untie). So keep a date with private eye for the exploits of the Barons.

## Democratic Misjudgment

There is this friend of lawyers, a diplomat by profession who hung his letter of credence during the Second Republic to dabble into the more exciting and greener pastures of politics. He made a wise move as his successful exploits in that field testify. A dyed-in-the-red socialist of no shallow conviction, he used his oratory skills, handsome cherubic looks and a versatile personality to captivate his audience — the masses of the North's most populous city. Wherever he went the masses followed. So enraptured were they by his charm, his redemption tactics, sloganeering and caustic attack on their feudal oppressors that they named him the "Khalifan Changi" — the Caliph of Change.

But Khalifan changi was not too lucky with the various tribunals set up by the military to try the key actors of the Second Republic. Poor Khalifa got nailed, and along with the not-so-handsome and not-so-lucky politicians served a prison term. Then came the big ban slammed on all politicians and our Khalifa became a banned poli-

tician. No cause for alarm. Only cowards cringe under a ban and Khalifa can never be mistaken for one. He came out openly to declare that politics is like the blood that runs in his veins and dared anyone to come and drain it.



Manufacturers of the big ban didn't take his challenge lying low, more so when reports of Khalifa's nocturnal political meetings with his fire-brand socialists reached them regularly. They warned him, he turned a deaf ear, they bribed him he didn't budge, they cajoled, persuaded to no avail. Then they sent spies after him. But

smart guys don't get caught twice with their pants down, so Khalifa metamorphosed overnight into a refined Sheikh.

Whenever he smelt a spy of a rat, he would call his loyalists to an Islamic study group session. The difference, like 7-Up, is very clear. No one, not even Uncle Big Ban, could stop politicians from meeting to study Hadith and Qur'an. So each member at the meeting had the Qur'an open in front of him and the Hadith behind him while discussions on the more earthly, political issues continued.

When the security agents and other brands of spies came they saw not only the Qur'an but also the Khalifa busy with his pretentious act of Islamic scholarship. They were rendered impotent, after all all Nigerians irrespective of the ban have freedom of worship. Check the constitution.

The Islamic study group sessions did pay off because Khalifa's men, have hijacked all the party posts at the ward, local and state government levels in the elections.

LOOK HERE, I DON'T FEEL COMFORTABLE WITH YOU HANGING AROUND.



I HAVEN'T THE SLIGHTEST IDEA OF WHAT YOU MEAN.... I AM JUST STANDING BY!

...NOW, CONVINCE ME! THAT YOU ARE NOT JUST A SPOILSPORT!



...LIKE I SAID, I'M JUST STANDING BY!

LOOK! OGA... I'M A LAW ABIDING CITIZEN... THE QUIET LIFE YOU HAVE ORDERED ME TO LIVE I LOVE... WITH THE PEACE IT BRINGS ALONG!



...ALL I DO NOW IS CARRY MY BAG AROUND AND JUST STAND BY AND LIVE PEACEFULLY AS A MAN WHO BACKFEL A POLITICAL BAN WOULD!



...ANYWAY, I JUST WANT TO WARN YOU TO KEEP OFF. WE DON'T WANT ANY DISTRACTIONS NOR ANY DISTURBANCES....

BESIDES, WE ARE NOW CELEBRATING OUR FIVE YEARS IN JODAN BARRACKS SO GET YOUR BAG AND CLEAR OFF NOW!

WELL AT LEAST I HAVE THE RIGHT TO TAKE MY MONEY BAG WHEREVER I CHOSE! AND I'M NOT COMPLAINING!



WELL, I'M COMPLAINING! THE NEWBREED POLITICIANS ARE MAKING GEESES AT YOUR BAG!



## The miracle of Yoga

Someone read my article in the preview edition of this magazine which gave some suggestions on how to exercise to relieve stress. In it I dwelt at length on the benefits of Transcendental Meditation (TM) the ease with which it could be adopted and its effectiveness in stress relief. However, the reader complained about the difficulty he had while attempting to tune his thoughts to the lowest level and altering his mind to wonder freely, this being the basic anchor for any type of meditation. Indeed, it was an admission on the part of the reader that he could not relax easily. Stress can only be managed when people learn how to relax, sweat out tension and firm their muscles.

You may find that your body is not as easy to move as you would like. And sometimes, no matter how slim you are your body still feels a bit heavy to control, response to stimuli is poor and you are a bit lazy. At other times your body responds to your mind which is bogged down by strains and you're a bundle of nerves.

At such a peak level of body and mind dislocation, the remedy lies in removing the causes of strain first from the mind and later the body. Others prefer to treat a tired and burdened mind and body together.

Both categories will find Yoga extremely useful. While books on Yoga are good for the basic understanding of how yoga works, maximum benefit can only be derived when it is taught by a teacher. Health and fitness clubs and shops stock such books which could be read before registering for yoga. Defined simply, Yoga means to concentrate ones attention, "to bind, yoke or direct." It is adopted from Sanskrit portraying ability to manipulate. In yoga the mind and body are trained, subdued and the latter is taught to obey the former at the advanced stages of the exercise. The perfect method of yoga is based on body movements, discipline and relaxation. It is a gradual journey of self discovery of the ability of the body, and each class gives the participant greater

### THE MIRACLE OF YOGA



Famous Yoga position, sitting crosslegged on the floor

control of the body. In yoga, the body and mind are fused together so that the stimulation of one necessarily affects the other.

Each class is based on carefully selected, time tested postures. According to an acknowledged yoga teacher Mr. B.K Iyengar, "Yoga is the most natural and easily applied method of total relaxation, refreshing body and mind at any time of the day. And since the basic aim is balance, yoga suits every one. Stiff bodies will become supple and supple bodies strong. Yoga is also one of the few disciplines which does not require you to be young, supple or fit!" However, enthusiastic readers who look forward to learning and perfecting yoga from fitness columns in newspapers and magazines will be disappointed because by its very nature, yoga cannot be taught through such a detached method. More than other exercises it requires effective monitoring by the teacher who on being satisfied with the participants progress can give him exercises

to perform with particular reference to the participant's body posture. Below are yoga postures (known as Asanas), how they are spread through the body and what they do.

"Standing poses: strengthening the back and legs, give stamina.

Forward bends: increase spinal flexibility, rest the mind.

Lateral twists: increase lateral flexibility of the spine, increase blood circulation.

Head balance: stimulates proper blood supply to the brain, and is of particular value to the pituitary and pineal glands.

Neck balance: calms the emotional centre and rests and refreshes the whole system.

Back bends: invigorate the whole body and strengthen the back.

Balancing: give strength to arms and shoulders and develop poise."

After learning the postures, participants then proceed to yoga breathing (Pranayama).

By Bilkiou Yusuf.

## Colour and personality

The right colour, the right shape, the right fit, all are steps towards a style that's perfect for you. Is there a "new you" struggling to emerge from your present look? Are you worried about what to wear for a special occasion, for a more important job, or how you can dress to cope with your new figure?

Start with colour! Wearing the right colour is vital to how we look over all, and colour matching is primarily linked to skin tone, not hair, eye colour as is often thought. In recent years the experts have said that as far as colour is concerned we fall into one of two categories — the warm colours (yellow, orange red, usually used for standing out in crowds), and the cool colour (blue, violet, green used to bring out backgrounds, and

compliments). Of course these colour categories can be broadened. Most of us can slip a little way outside these and find colours that most suit us. It's all a matter of experimentation.

Unfortunately the colours we like are not always the ones that do the most for us. Colour could also be used to camouflage figure faults, make you look taller, shorter or change the balance of your figure. Rather than laying emphasis on diet and exercise into an "ideal" body shape (considering those with health problems) the colour, clothes we choose for particular body lines, bone structure and facial shape can help us bring out that "you" in us.

Always think in line with proportion — where are you long or short? Which dress length flatters you most? Which fabric and patterns are best for you?

What sort of collars necklines? What jewellery?

Some of the best tricks are recognising colours and what they portray e.g.

\*White — Peace, purity, wholeness, equilibrium

\*Black — Mourning, bold, determination

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\*Purple — Royalty

\*Brown (Dark) — Strength, Masculine

\*Red — Danger, courage

\*Yellow — Jealousy

\*Gold — Quality

\*Green — Hope, life agriculture

Always keep a wary eye when choosing clothes for a proper fit. Ogala Onazi.

## ATTENTION!!

### Notice for Tender

Graphic Art materials suppliers are hereby requested to tender quotations for equipping an Art Studio with ultra modern standard facilities.

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## SUPPLEMENT ON NIGER STATE

ernment should, of necessity, provide a forum where negotiation and dialogue are held between it and the governed. If this situation exists between the two parties it is better described or explained as a mutual understanding which will bring about development in all its ramifications.

The citizens of this state have constantly been informed of government's goals and objectives and they (citizens) also reciprocate by assisting in pointing out some areas of further emphasis.

Since the inception of this administration, much has been done with regards to making the Information department a model on information dissemination. It was during this regime's tenure that a J.E vehicle equipped with cine-rover projector and video equipment were supplied to the department. Another one is to be supplied before the year runs out. It is also expected that before the year ends, the ministry will start showing films in the remotest areas of the state.

The ministry is to receive very soon two addition cine-rovers for massive dissemination of information at the grassroots. All these are expected to complement the various television viewing centres established in 28 towns and villages. The establishment of additional 26 viewing centres which will make the total number established 53, will help in creating awareness at the grassroots.

It is expected that before the year runs out and with the present transition programme to civilian rule, more information offices will be opened in the remaining local governments so that there will be more enlightenment bodies at the grassroots. These information

offices will be adequately equipped with communication gadgets (telex) so that there will be frequent and instant contact with them from headquarters.

The film unit which lacked facilities before the inception of this administration, can now boast of now sophisticated equipment. The equipment include 3 umatic recording machines; with a set of umatic cameras. Automatic edifying control unit; 2 J.V.C. colour monitors; dubbing machines; Sony battery charger with heavy duty stabiliser as well as ten (10) new video machines with considerable number of cartons of cassettes. This effort by the administration will go a long way to enhance recording of programmes for both viewing centres and other government functions.

Enlightenment of citizens of a state should not only be confined to the print and electronic media but also the efforts made by the government to enable the citizens obtain knowledge at a lesser cost and faster. This is better achieved if there is a library. It is in the light of the above that the state government has commenced the construction of an ultra-modern library which is expected to be completed in March next year. After the construction, the library will give a good opportunity for the less privileged to improve their knowledge at no cost at all.

### BROADCASTING CORPORATION OF NIGER STATE.

In order to effectively mobilize the citizens of the state to participate in the developmental programmes of the government, the present administration has given the radio effective support especially as it is one of the important means of reaching the masses.

Because of its importance as a means of communication, Governor Gwadabe's administration initiated fresh talks over the abandoned Broadcasting Corporation of Niger State complex. The complex had been abandoned since 1982. About 1,045,983 Naira has been paid out to the contractors, Techno Continental Engineers Limited. The architectural, mechanical and electrical work in the studio block is almost completed.

The total cost of completing and equipping the Broadcasting House complex is estimated at twenty two million, six hundred thousand Naira (22,600,000 Naira). The project is to be executed in phases, so that its transmission would cover the entire state.

The state government also awarded a contract worth eight million, six hundred and seventy-five thousand, seven hundred and thirty-five Naira (8,669,735 Naira) in June 1988 to MG Communication System Nigeria Limited for the building and installation of three booster stations at Mokwa, Suleja and Rijau. Work is now at an advanced stage at the three locations.

Building of phase II of the studio complex which will have four large studios, a large drama studio and central apparatus room is expected to be completed next year. When this is done Radio Niger will not only be heard all over the state but also in the neighbouring states.

### NIGER STATE COUNCIL FOR ARTS AND CULTURE (NICAC)

When on the arrival of Governor Lawan Gwadabe in 1987, it was decided that Niger state launch a development appeal fund, the state council for arts and culture actively partook.

The state cultural troupe, the Gwape International performed during Niger cultural nites in Lagos, Kaduna and Minna, in which prominent Nigerites living in the state and outside, along with their friends, were invited. The beautiful performance by the Gwape International was hailed by all, and this in no small measure, accounted for the huge donations made towards our industrial drive.

Activities of the NICAC were not only confined to the cultural troupe. Over the last two years the council has encouraged inter-state cultural exchange programmes with other states of the federation. Also the state government and the council sponsored and organized conferences and seminars. It took part in an International posters conferences held in England. This conference helped in



Opening of Commonwealth Handball Competition last year.

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The state government also awarded a contract worth eight million, six hundred and seventy-nine thousand, seven hundred and thirty-five Naira (8,669,735 Naira) in June 1988 to MG Communication System Nigeria Limited for the building and installation of three booster stations at Mokwa, Suleja and Rijau. Work is now at an advanced stage at the three locations.

Building of phase II of the studio complex which will have four large studios, a large drama studio and central apparatus room is expected to be completed next year. When this is done Radio Niger will not only be heard all over the state but also in the neighbouring states.

### NIGER STATE COUNCIL FOR ARTS AND CULTURE (NICAC)

When on the arrival of Governor Lawan Gwadabe in 1987, it was decided that Niger state launch a development appeal fund, the state council for arts and culture actively partook.

The state cultural troupe, the Gwape International performed during Niger cultural rites in Lagos, Kaduna and Minna, in which prominent Nigerites living in the state and outside, along with their friends, were invited. The beautiful performance by the Gwape International was hailed by all, and this in no small measure, accounted for the huge donations made towards our industrial drive.

Activities of the NICAC were not only confined to the cultural troupe. Over the last two years the council has encouraged inter-state cultural exchange programmes with other states of the federation. Also the state government and the council sponsored and organised conferences and seminars. It took part in an International potters conferences held in England. This conference helped in



Opening of Commonwealth Handball Competition last year.

## SUPPLEMENT ON NIGER STATE

promoting pottery making in the state and led to the establishment of 6 craft centres in each of the local government areas of the state.

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professional advice to the government on land matters as it affects the public and individuals.

Within the period under review, 1180 applications received from both the state and Federal Governments were approved. Also of the 860 applications received for plots at layout, 716 have already been approved. 886 applications were received for conversion of customary right of occupancy to statutory right of occupancy. Of the number 764 have been approved.

Out of 489 applications received by the division for land transaction such as mortgage, sublease, and transfer, 409 were approved by Mr. Governor, while 80 did not meet the requirement. 1328 approved land applications were received by the state government of which 628 were finalised and generated a revenue of 224,540.60 Naira.

### MINISTRY OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, YOUTH AND SPORTS COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Most communities within the state have reacted positively towards the financial predicament of the state, by forming their own development associations. This is because the present dispensation in the state has never hidden the facts of its poor revenue base, thus endearing them to our rural populace.

Over 100 different self-help projects estimated at over N5 million were executed by various communities within the ten local government areas of the state during the period under review. These projects include the building of rural health clinics, classrooms, community halls, television viewing centres, construction of feeder roads, bridges, boreholes, rural electrification, and lots of other projects.

In executing these self-help projects, assistance is received from the federal, state and local governments. For example, the Federal Government recently provided a 250,000 Naira grant for the Ma'ali community, in Lavun local government area, after executing a self-help rural hospital project. The hospital included a laboratory and four quarters for the staff. Similarly the state government has spent about N.8 million in grants and assistance to various community development projects, while the various communities, and their local governments have contributed about N4 million for various projects.

Communities like Ndagbaci in the Gbako local government area, constructed a dispensary, while the Esha

community in the Shiroro local government area constructed a bridge. The Dangana community in the Lajal local government area also built a dispensary. There is also the multi-purpose area in Kagara.

The state government, under the leadership of Lt-Col. Lawan Gwadabe has indeed done a lot of encourage grassroots development through the formation of development associations. To this end over 500 community development associations have been registered to date.

### MINISTRY OF WORKS, TRANSPORT & HOUSING.

GOOD road network are important indices of the state of development in a given society. In other words, there can be no meaningful good network without a corresponding good network of roads. It was for this obvious reason that Governor Lawan Gwadabe, on assumption of office two years ago accorded top priority to the construction of good road networks, to ensure easy movement of people, goods, and vehicles.

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Governor Gwadabe has also done a lot of open up the state, facilitating and encouraging the influx of investors as well as enabling farmers to use the new access roads to the rural areas, to bring their products to the cities. The rehabilitation of the Suleja-Bwari road at N5.6 million, the N1.5 million, Jima-Doko road awarded to SETRACO Nigeria Limited, the Kontagora-Kotonkore-Bangi road put at a cost of N35 million to link the State to Sokoto State and the rehabilitation of the 105-kilometre Metacibo-Kafin Koro road says it all.

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The acquisition of a house therefore, is of prime importance to everyone and this is where the Niger State Housing Corporation comes in.

Niger State Housing Corporation was established to primarily provide improved accommodation to its citizens. This is being pursued with vigour by the Gwadabe administration. At least 65% of the state civil servants are being accommodated in government quarters.

Over the years the state Housing Corporation has embarked upon a lot of ambitious projects, that is not only currently solving the accommodation problems of the state, but is also beautifying it. The magnificent multi-storey block (Progress Court) built at a cost of N1.2 million, commercial complexes 1, 2 and 3 built at 300,000 Naira, 460,000 Naira and N1.5 million respectively are all geared towards reducing our accommodation problems and at the same time improving the aesthetic beauty of the state.

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Niger State Housing Corporation under Lt-Col. Lawan Gwadabe made history when it saw to the completion of the Niger State High Court complex at a cost of N1.3 million, the constructions of the Bida modern market at N3.5 million, the Gwari market in Minna at N2.1 million and the Shiroro local government secretariat at 750,000 Naira.

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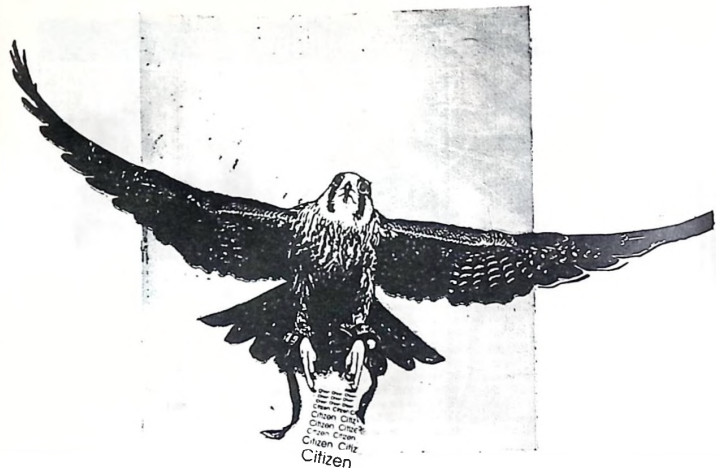
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**Citizen**

# LAUNCHING OF CITIZEN

## *Acknowledgement*

The Board of Directors of Citizen Communications Limited wishes to thank all those who in one way or the other contributed in making the launching of the maiden edition of its magazine *Citizen* on August 20, a successful one.

In particular we would like to thank the following:

1. Major-General Hassan Usman, OFR, Ciroman Katsina, who chaired the occasion.
2. Colonel Abdullahi Sarki Mukhtar, the Military Governor of Kaduna State, who was the chief launcher.
3. Alhaji Aliko Mohammed, CFR, Dan Iyan Misau, who was the Guest Speaker.
4. *Today* newspaper and *Hotline* magazine, especially their Chairman, Alhaji Abidina Commassie and Alhaji Hassan Sani, Magajin Rafin Kontagora, who allowed us to use their facilities gratis for many months.
5. Messers Yakubu Mohammed and Dan Agbese who gave our management every encouragement as well as moral support.
6. The *New Nigerian* newspapers as well as the *Democrat* who allowed us the use of their libraries. In particular we wish to thank Alhaji Ismaila Isa, the managing director of *Democrat*, who through positive coverage and editorials as well as personally, gave us moral and material support.
7. Both Katsina and Kaduna State governments who launched the magazine with 25,000 Naira each.
8. Alhaji Umaru Sanda who led the prayers for opening ceremony. The numerous readers who quietly bought copies for hundreds of Naira.
9. Last but by no means the least, the many important dignitaries who spread time inspite of their busy schedule to attend the launching.

We cannot thank you enough, except to say we shall do our utmost best to meet your expectations and justify your confidence.

*Board of Directors*

The correct diagnosis of an ailment is half the cure. Mohammed Sule 33, is a political doctor of the diabetic Nigeria. His diagnosis and prescriptions are contained in his latest book *The Devil Seat* which focused on the delicate power balance and political manoeuvres of the Second Republic. By writing the book Mohammed hopes to trigger an attitudinal change in the scramble for power.

An avid watcher of the Second Republic, he felt concerned by the impatience of the "gate crashing" politicians who were in so much hurry to catapult themselves into power that ethics got thrown to the wind. Politics, he says "must be subjected to the rules of the game, democracy must be nurtured and

When you're conducting a census of new breed and the not too-new breed politicians, Labaran Tanko, is someone to watch and count. A grassroots man, Labaran made his debut in politics way back in 1976 when he defeated Alhaji Inuwa Wada, a former Defence Minister under the Balewa regime at the first local government elections at the Durimin/Yakasai constituency in Kano.

Since then, there was no stopping him as Labaran soared to win elections twice, 1979 and 1983 into the House of Representatives under the proscribed Peoples Redemption Party (PRP). A businessman, publicist, writer and fighter or an egalitarian society, Labaran is ready "to continue the struggle for a new social order by participating in active politics." He is ed by what he considers



**Mohammed Sule**  
thuggery abolished if the Third Republic must survive."

Mohammed believes the grassroots focus of the present political dispensation is an advantage for those willing to render selfless service and an obstacle for political dictators. So when the time is ripe the new breed politicians may be forced to convert their watchers into activists.



**Labaran Tanko**  
mischievous attempt to tie the two new political parties to the apron strings of the dissolved political associations or proscribed parties of the Second Republic. "All such imaginary carry over of old loyalties smack of deceit. We have brand new parties for a brand new republic."

And Labaran is confident that the Third Republic will certainly usher in a stable and lasting polity. What posts will be contested? Labaran would rather wait for the party to decide.

You're invited!

**Citizen**  
COMMUNICATIONS  
invites you

to the Lagos launching of  
**Citizen Newsmagazine.**

Date: 31st August, 1990  
10 a.m. prompt

Venue: Banquet Hall,  
Federal Palace Hotel,  
Victoria Island, Lagos.

Chairman: Sir Mobolaji Bank Anthony (C.F.R.)

Chief launcher: Bashorun Moshood Abiola  
(Chairman Concord Group of  
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Guest Speaker: Alhaji Lateef Jakande  
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