

RAILWAYS: Recovery Of The Giant

ISSN 0794 - 8634



'THE GREATEST WEAPON IS TRUTH' - SARDAUNA 1966

# Hotline

NIGERIA'S INTERNATIONAL NEWSMAGAZINE  
NO. 63 \* DECEMBER 31, 1989 \* JIMADATH THANIAH 3, 1410 A.H. \* N 5.00

## MILITARY SINNERS OR SAINTS?

(The *Newbreed*  
version)

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# Hotline

NIGERIA'S INTERNATIONAL NEWS MAGAZINE

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## FROM THE EDITORIAL DESK

### Why We Defend...

Of recent, people seem to get the impression, and often voice it, that *Hotline* is no longer hot. Perhaps, it is because our appearance is no longer as regular as it used to be. To others again, what used to be regarded as a medium of incisive and courageous analysis of events and news presentation is now going down as a ghost of its former self, basking in the pride of the past. Could it be that we have been bought over by forces stronger than us who believe that journalism should be practised with meekness and fear? Or could it be that we started so well, danced ourselves out within the early hours of our breakthrough, and are now left, when the dance is still highly needed, panting in exhaustion and unable to do what we ought to be doing? Interestingly enough, *Hotline* is not new to accusations. Words like 'extremist', 'controversial', 'sectional', 'religious', 'scandalous', etc., etc. have been so often used to describe us that if such terms were lethal weapons, we could have long been out of existence. It is not our wish to abuse a collective perception of our admirers, but we believe that in as much as people can hold opinions for or against an institution as unique as ours, it is also equally possible that we are a greatly misunderstood voice. Or better still, our drive, our principles and indeed the role and manner of journalism, our profession, may not have been fully understood by some of our critics. Firstly, it is a fact incontrovertible, that of recent, our outing has not been regular. But that is not without a reason. We are an organisation that believes in the realities of the time. Come out we shall, but when the means are available. We shall not steal. We shall not beg. We shall not blackmail. And we shall not feign buoyancy when the contrary is the case, simply because we have to come out. And we take pride in saying that the true realities of any given time determine our regularity on the streets or otherwise. We have also not fallen from being 'HOT' to being 'COLD', because our understanding of being 'HOT', in this concept, is our burning desire, which we often translate into reality, to project truth against falsehood, justice against injustice, and to offer an acceptable voice to the underprivileged. This desire has never melted, neither has our ability to translate such desires into realities.

To those who think we are defending the privileged and even the mighty, which may be compromising our celebrated goals of speaking for the 'masses', the truth is we have always been guided by the principles of justice and fairness. Justice demands that even the devil should be given his due. The day morality or public opinion metes out justice only to the few, then that day the seed of injustice would begin to germinate. A New Year is breaking out, and by the grace of Allah, the goodwill of our readers, and the aura of truth, *Hotline*, shall not only survive, but shall In-sha-Allah be a new pride to all those that cherish *A beautiful Legacy*. We will criticise the military, if there is justification. But we will also defend the military, or any institution or personality, if such is wrongly and unjustifiably accused. This is our stand.

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 Bashir Bello Akko,  
 Editor.  
 Serials Dept  
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# MARIGA LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA



## CONGRATULATIONS

The Sole Administrator, Staff and the entire people of Mariga Local Government Area of Niger State wish to congratulate our **Military Governor, Lt. Col. Lawan Gwadabe** On the occasion of his **Second Year Anniversary** in office.



Alhaji Musa Mahmud  
Sole Administrator, Mariga  
L.G.A.



Lt. Col. Lawan Gwadabe  
Governor of Niger State



Alhaji Abdullahi Sheshi  
Secretary, Mariga L.G.A.

Your presence in the state has brought the Government of Niger State closer to the people while your dynamic and purposeful Rural Development Programme has brought joy and succour to the rural folks.

Your able leadership has also manifested in the high level progression recorded within the last two years, particularly the government efforts towards uplifting the living standards of our people.

Long live Niger State!  
Long live the Federal Republic of Nigeria!!

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G.T. Gwajime; S.B. Abubakar.



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*Haba, Sketch: fortunate boo owned by Kaa after the foot least, sketch a. ers?*

## NOTI

**Alhaji Abdulsalami Zubairu,** formerly an Advertisement Manager with **Limited, Kaduna,** is no longer an employee of this company.

With this notice, we are informing general public, especially our readers customers, that they should not transact any business with him on our behalf. who does so after this notice is doing so at his/her own risk.

— **MANAGEMENT.**

Waiting' did a serious  
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 der how workable the  
 going to be. So in the  
 uncertainty, the only  
 to watch and wait and  
 that a stable political  
 is substantiated.

Furmi Shobande,  
 G.R.A., Kaduna.

## Defence Of

# The Untruth

Abubakar Ghide on  
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 but I can assure you  
 his emotional attach-  
 vision of reason. It  
 are certain abnor-  
 there in our educa-  
 especially in areas of  
 that is not to say that  
 the country is abso-  
 this offence. It is  
 become part and  
 existence. And it is  
 of us who are con-  
 and cure this terrible  
 whipping up unrec-  
 essary emotions.

Omolulu Pedro,  
 Mokola, Ibadan.

## Very Timely

Your write up on 'Why Kaduna  
 State should have its own Television',  
 came at a time when the State govern-  
 ment needed to be reminded of the  
 people's dissatisfaction with NTA,  
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 ures would be taken to accomplish it.

David Audu,  
 Kafanchan.

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 must be brief and precise,  
 should be sent to Hotline Let-  
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 Letters are subject to editing.

## Full Text of Prime People's Interview With Alhaji Hassan Sani Kontagora (Magajin Raft)

Several of our readers have written to ask me to respond to the slanted article about me that appeared in the *Prime People*: publication of September 15th—21st, 1989, Vol. 4, No 16. Normally, because I have this medium to accurately portray my views, and since I tend to express myself better in written English than in spoken English, I choose to rejoin the more mischievous attempts to misrepresent me in this column. In this case, however, I sent transcriptions of the interview to several Southern-based media houses, hoping that they would print even without editing what I exactly said. This of course did not happen. I will therefore reproduce that interview in this edition and let the reader decide for himself.

I have said what I have said in this interview without apology to anybody and will wish to place it on record that *Prime People* did not do justice to that interview. However, in due course, I will more appropriately respond to their apparent mischief. For this edition, I devote my corner only to the full text, unedited version of the interview to you the reader:

**Prime People:** During the sitting of the Constituent Assembly, you as a person, and another honourable member in the person of Isekure were shooting the most vocal. At one time they were saying, you were shooting yourself to prominence and even bringing politics to the floor of the house there. Whereas the ban had not been lifted. I know you reacted to the accusation that time. But probably you will try to remember that time and...

**Kontagora:** You are correct. I have never denied whatever I said. During the time you met me, even before you met me, I was in politics. Since I was born, I've always been in politics. And right now I am in politics and I will die in politics. It depends, on the kind of definition you Nigerian Press give politics. But if politics means talking about people, saying things about people, interpreting things, you understand, and giving suggestions, solutions, highlighting problems, no human being can tell me he is not a politician. No army can tell me he is not a politician, no policeman can tell me he is not a politician, no labourer, no doctor, even if he is a journalist. Are you trying to tell me Abiola is not doing politics with *Concord*, are you trying to tell me Hassan Sani is not doing politics with *Hotline*, are you trying to tell me the Federal Government is not doing politics with *New Nigerian* or *Daily Times*, or are you trying to tell me Felix Ibru or Michael Ibru is not doing politics with *Guardian*? Or is the Awolowo family not doing politics with the *Tribune*? It's politics. But What kind of politics is the question. The politics you are talking about is partisan politics, isn't it? I said I am not doing partisan politics but I am doing politics because I am a human being. I am supposed to identify something and say what I feel about it and its politics. But for me to do politics to be paid, for me to do politics for a position, for me to do politics to look for governorship, for me to do politics to be president, I said I am not doing that. But I will do politics for the people and I am going to be a commentator of the politicians. Of which I have to be a politician for me to

comment on another person.

**Prime People:** That means you don't have an ambition for any elective post now?

**Kontagora:** That is not good for me to talk because if I do that, I am making a blasphemy. I am Moslem in, out, left, right and centre. I don't predict. I allow God to do what He wants to do. So, if you want me to tell you that because tomorrow can only be known by God. Right now, this minute Hassan Sani is talking, I said I am not doing partisan politics. But for tomorrow, anything can happen because I don't even know whether I can reach tomorrow.

**Prime People:** It was widely speculated that you are a staunch supporter of one particular political party. Considering the radical posture with which you approach national issues, especially at the debate in the assembly then, they were whispering that you might team up with Balarabe Musa and his politics.

**Kontagora:** Let me tell you, I am going to support any party that is going to protect my interests.

**Prime People:** And what are your interests?

**Kontagora:** My interest is the North, I mean the North should be given its own right, that's all. And let the westerner also find his own interest. I have no apology for that. I can only protect my interests, and allow you to protect your interests. That's the only time we can have tranquility, peace. But if you want me to protect your interest, and you are not protecting my interests, I think you are looking for trouble. My people have interests and I will protect it come rain, come shine. So if I go to the Constituent Assembly and I defend Sharia for example, I am defending it because it is my interest and I expect anybody to give it to me at the same time I expect also to give a Christian the same rights I am looking for myself. What's wrong with that?

**Prime People:** North is underdog in the scope of things in Nigeria?

**Kontagora:** So you are trying to tell me now that North is underdog? When the Southern chiefs met and talked about the universities shut in the South, they were talking about Southern universities, it was South that time. Now there is no North. I don't like this pretence. When people were shouting that these are there on the pages of newspapers. It's not something to pretend about my friend. There was East, West, North and South. It is in history, you can't wipe it out. The only thing is for all of us to understand that we can only be together and try to understand that we can only be together and try to protect each other always, and not to be selfish. But I am not the kind of a person that can hide when .. are you trying to tell me that *Tribune* is not protecting the interest of the Yorubas? Is what you are saying? Are you trying to tell me that *The Guardian* is not protecting the interest of the Ibrus? Are you trying to tell me Champion is not protecting the interest of the Iwuanyanwus? What are you talking?

**Prime People:** Seriously speaking, this is an interview and I don't have any room to voice my opinion. But ...

**Kontagora:** You have.

## Much Law, Little Justice

You touched me greatly in your cover story on Law and Justice. It is a sad thing to note that the legal system in our country is in such a "perpetual state of inertia". One wonders therefore what use the law courts are to the common man if he cannot find 'justice' there. I wish the AFRC would take up your recommendations to actually remedy the anomalies in our legal system.

M.B. Bawa,  
Kaduna.

## Justice Only for the Privileged

Your story on 'Much Law, Little Justice' really brought to light the hypocrisy in our legal system. Of what use really are the so many laws we have in the land when all of them protect only the interests of the privileged few? While the majority are left at the mercy of those on whose behalf the laws were made? It is such a pity that after about three decades of independence, the country does not have a legal system to measure up to the standard of a civilised country.

Gbolahan Ibrahim,  
Ilorin.

## Dele Giwa:

## The Unanswered Questions

Your story on Dele Giwa uncovered all the 'buts' and contradictory accounts given by those who were closer to the man at his moment of death. This shows that the circumstances that surrounded the man's death were and are still shrouded in mystery which only God can unravel.

Rashidai Bawa,  
Kaduna.

## Dele Giwa's Murder

Since the death of Dele Giwa in October, 1986, *Hotline* more than any other news media, have relentlessly been running series of vital theoretical clues aimed at helping the police in their investigation towards apprehending the yet unknown killers.

Unless stronger evidence emerges over this issue, Giwa's murder will remain as one of the many unsolved murder cases.

Gambo Muhammadu Zango,  
Katsina.

## Salute to Arch- bishop Okogie

Your attention may have been drawn to the recent statements made by the Catholic Archbishop of Lagos and current president of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), Rt. Rev. Dr. Olujobi Okogie during the 'turning of the sod' ceremony of the Ecumenical Centre at Abuja.

In his speech as reported in the November 20 issue of *The Democrat*, he stated clearly that the determination of CAN was to ensure a united Nigeria where no man will be oppressed, where unity will be our hallmark and



where love will bind us all.

I therefore write to express my appreciation to the Archbishop for this warm, inspiring declaration. I do hope other religious leaders will join him not only in expressing such admirable sentiments but also work towards the building of a united Nigeria — eschewing religious and ethnocentric bigotry. Our attitude to such a sensitive issue as religion should be that of unity in diversity.

Iffy Richards,  
Makurdi.

## The Watchword

Your cover story on politics:

'Watching and Waiting' did a serious analytical job on our new political structure as contained in the October 7, 1989 speech of the President. The title is really appropriate for the 'declaration' as many Nigerians are beginning to wonder how workable the new structure is going to be. So in the midst of the uncertainty, the only possible thing is to watch and wait and perhaps hope that a stable political future is guaranteed.

Funmi Shobande,  
G.R.A., Kaduna.

## The Defence Of Untruth

The write up of Abubakar Ghide on Unity Schools is anything but objective. I do not know where he got his statistics from, but I can assure you that he allowed his emotional attachments becloud his vision of reason. It is true that there are certain abnormalities here and there in our educational system especially in areas of admission. But that is not to say that one section of the country is absolutely guilty of this offence. It is something that has become part and parcel of our daily existence. And it is only left for those of us who are conscious of it to try and cure this terrible disease instead of whipping up unnecessary emotions.

Omolulu Pedro,  
Mokola, Ibadan.

## Very Timely

Your write up on 'Why Kaduna State should have its own Television', came at a time when the State government needed to be reminded of the people's dissatisfaction with NTA, and their yearnings for a change of view. I do not know why it is taking the state so long to realise the importance of such a venture. But I hope that now that it has been reminded of its responsibility, some urgent measures would be taken to accomplish it.

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**Kontagora:** You have.

## PUBLISHER'S CORNER

**Prime People:** No Sir, Professionally, I don't have any room Sir. Professionally, I am not permitted.

**Kontagora:** Okay. But quote exactly what I said. If anybody has anything, let him say it.

**Prime People:** Talking about the North being an underdog—

**Kontagora:** You are saying that it is an underdog. But as far as we are concerned, North is not underdog.

**Prime People:** You asserted earlier on that the North is your interest, and you are demanding that something which is your right should be given to you...

**Kontagora:** I have just told you in my last edition. In the *Tribune*, somebody coming out to say "why should the nomads be given education?" Because it doesn't touch him. He is talking about fishermen. He should have said, "look, now that the nomads are given education, the fishermen should also be given education if they are not given."

**Prime People:** No, there is something there. When you talk of nomadic education, you are talking of primary education?

**Kontagora:** Because they are citizens of this country.

**Prime People:** It is not obtainable in the South.

**Kontagora:** What?

**Prime People:** Nomadic style of reading?

**Kontagora:** But you eat the meat in the South

**Prime People:** Okay lets put that one aside...

**Kontagora:** No lets continue. You eat the meat in the South.

**Prime People:** I think you are bringing us to the region of dichotomy now.

**Kontagora:** I don't care. What I am saying is that it exists.

**Prime People:** It does not.

**Kontagora:** Then why do you people always write it.

**Prime People:** I believe there is no dichotomy...

**Kontagora:** Then you go and bring *Tribune*, go and bring any paper in the South and I will show you well. They portray it.

**Prime People:** You said something about the Sharia issue. Now the debate has already been shut on that. Lets say eventually we don't have Sharia at national level. What do you think will be the reaction of the Muslim fundamentalists?

**Kontagora:** Then there will be no Nigeria. If there is no Sharia in this country, there will be no Nigeria. I am a Muslim, I am a citizen of this country, I have my right to Sharia and everybody who has the right to something should be given. And if the constitution of this country guarantees freedom, nobody, nobody on this earth, whoever he is, whether he is wearing khaki or agbada can stop Sharia. Nobody.

**Prime People:** There are denominations in Islam as there are in Christianity. Of what denomination are you.

**Kontagora:** You are wrong there. There is something in Islam... once you believe, there is no God but God, Muhammad is His messenger, the question of denomination is finished.

**Prime People:** Like the Christians always preach...

**Kontagora:** Well, the Christians, you can ask the Protestants and the Catholics the definitions of the two. But as long as I believe, any Muslim in this world... the only differences you are going to find is where the Sunnah

exists. That is the do's and don'ts of Prophet Muhammad. But once you are talking about the Qur'an, there is only one Qur'an in the whole world and nobody can change it.

**Prime People:** Some people do ascribe to you that you argue, when it comes to Islamic issues, like a fundamentalist. Do you agree?

**Kontagora:** That, I leave to the people to interpret and whatever they think I am, I am.

**Prime People:** Are you not a fundamentalist?

**Kontagora:** I say let the people interpret me. Whatever they think I am, I am and I have no apology for that.

**Prime People:** You've said unequivocally that you are out to defend Islam and the North.

**Kontagora:** Yes, until I die. I always want to defend the North—within the context of one Nigeria. I believe that, that Christian brother has, also, a duty to allow me to also practice mine. And these I will never concede. And that is why you find even in my organisation, about 45% of them are Christians. Therefore, if I don't like them, or if I don't believe in what they believe I would not even allow them to come near me. So if I believe in natural justice, I believe we are all human beings, I believe we are just born accidentally into different religious families. But you should not take people on the basis of their own religion, you should take people on the basis of their own characters. Then, religion is personal. It is between you and your God. Somebody can tell you he is a Muslim, right down inside his heart, he may not be. The same thing with a Christian. So what I am saying is that when it comes to matter of religion, we should try to do justice. I should be allowed to defend my religion to the core. The same way the other person should be allowed to defend his religion to the core. And we should give everybody his own right.

**Prime People:** So much on Sharia and...

**Kontagora:** Why are you so particular about Sharia? Sharia is my right. It must be given. Nobody can stop it, so why are you worried?

**Prime People:** No I am not worried...

**Kontagora:** Then forget about it. It is something which has to go in this country. As long as Nigeria is going to exist with the Muslims and Christians, you have to have Sharia, you have to have Sharia as long as Hassan Sani is a citizen of this country, because it is my right and no one can change it either it is military or civilian.

**Prime People:** What will you do if...

**Kontagora:** I say he cannot. Unless the country is no more good. The day it is not going to be there, the country will not be there anymore.

**Prime People:** What steps will you take. You have gone to...

**Kontagora:** Well, I went to the Constituent Assembly, I said Sharia should be there and it is there. So what would you have done. But it is there. It is in the constitution nobody can remove it.

**Prime People:** Who told you it is in the Constitution?

**Kontagora:** Who told you it is not there?

**Prime People:** When the debate was suspended.?

**Kontagora:** Who took you to the Constituent Assembly? Did you take yourself there? Is it not the same Army that asked people to vote you in? Did you have a constitution of your own? Did you have a part of your own? You are just elected. They took your name to Lagos, they disqualified

some people and allowed you to go there. So are you saying that what the army did was illegal? Because that means it an illegal government that made people to elect you to go to the Constituent Assembly was also illegal. So, you, yourself, you are an illegal member.

**Prime People:** But the debate has already been suspended?

**Kontagora:** Suspended in the interest of what? It is part of the ingredients of this country, the existence of this country. That was why it had to be suspended and allowed to go. Because if you remove it, you are disintegrating the whole country.

**Prime People:** Hotline.....

**Kontagora:** Well, if there is anybody that has shares inside, let him talk.

**Prime People:** You say you are indispensable in Hotline.

**Kontagora:** Yes. I say I am the only indispensable person in Hotline. If you don't know it you better know it. If I want it to go today, it will go. If I don't want it to go today, it will stop, it will stop, because I own it.

**Prime People:** It seems like you did not establish this paper in order to make money per se but in order to make points to fight for your intrinsic beliefs in some particular things. What have.....

**Kontagora:** You have already answered your own question what else do you want me to say?

**Prime People:** No, let's hear you. You didn't establish it to make money.....

**Kontagora:** What money? Don't talk about money my friend. What is money. You talk legacy. I established Hotline to leave a legacy, to defend my egos. I don't do it because of money. I don't get anything out of Hotline. Money means nothing. It is something that can go today. Like today I don't have a Kobo. But I am still Hassan Sani, the owner of Hotline which I am very proud of. And nobody owns it but me. If there is anybody either in Khaki or agbada who owns it let him talk.

**Prime People:** No wonder. Some people believe that there is much of your opinion in the kind of stories that Hotline carries

**Kontagora:** Everything that you see in Hotline is the kind of stories that I want to go in. Anything that I don't want will not go.

**Prime People:** Do you think that is healthy for journalism?

**Kontagora:** I don't care what you call it. But protecting my interest I don't think is a crime. It is enshrined in the constitution. If I had gone contrary to the rules and regulations of the constitution of this country, I should have been arrested.

**Prime People:** You couldn't have been arrested because there was no time you were dubbed as an extremist.

**Kontagora:** In that case why are you alarmed about what is happening there, naturally, should happen.

**Prime People:** You have now confirmed that Hotline in its journalistic style of writing is highly opinionated.

**Kontagora:** By who? me?

**Prime People:** By you.

**Kontagora:** Don't you think it will be foolhardy of me and even irresponsible on my part to invest my money in things that I don't believe in? I can only put my money on what I want. I can only put my money, to say on what I want to say.

I can only put my money to pay someone to say what I want to say, to my interest.

**Prime People:** There was a time when this your Hotline was highly critical of the Southern eminent persons and the journals as well...

**Kontagora:** So now you agree that there are Southern people as well as Northern people. You said it yourself.

**Prime People:** I never disagreed with you.

**Kontagora:** Very good. So maybe those Southern people were also highly critical of the Northern people.

**Prime People:** You believe so?

**Kontagora:** What do you mean by I believe so? How do you know it exists? You said I was critical, but you never saw anything that was said about me as critical. So all what Gani Fawehinmi, Wole Soyinka, Tai Solarin have been saving...

**Prime People:** Not against your person as your Hotline has been doing.

**Kontagora:** Have you ever read what I said and you found that there was no point?

**Prime People:** I have always read your Hotline until...

**Kontagora:** You want me to be as old as Tai Solarin who will hear something in the bus and go and swear to an affidavit? Is that what you want Hassan Sani to do as old as he is?

**Prime People:** What is bad about that?

**Kontagora:** Are you a journalist my friend? Are you a true journalist? You mean you have never seen, or heard it or read it? The N2.8 million, did he make the point? The question of the Ebony story about the President, did he make the point? I am asking.

**Prime People:** Why this this issue come into this interview now?

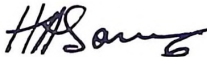
**Kontagora:** You said I was critical of the Southern people - Gani Fawehinmi, Wole Soyinka.

**Prime People:** And Ray Ekpu too

**Kontagora:** Whoever. I didn't ask him to go and plagiarise. Did I?

**Prime People:** There was a time your paper was said to be having newsprint problem. Do you see that as a deliberate attempt to shut it down for a while?

**Kontagora:** Nobody is trying to give me newsprint. I just had no money to print and so I went on recess and when I had money I continued and there is nothing about that. I am not ashamed about telling you I have no money. I am not a millionaire. I didn't steal anybody's money. I am not a retired contractor, I am not a retired general. So when I don't have money, I tell you I don't have money. What is wrong about that? How many papers are going down the drain everyday? But what I am going to tell you, Hotline can only go to sleep. It can never die. Whoever is praying for it to die, he will die first.



Alhaji Hassan Sani Kontagora (Magajin Rafi).

# Adieu 1989: A Year Of No Paradise, No Dungeon

Would it be depicting undue pessimism to suggest that being witnesses to the end of the year call for some form of celebration? This, no doubt, is debatable, yet, what else is there to do but to express profound gratitude to God for seeing Nigerians through another year of hardship as an independent, *dependent* entity? For one thing, a large segment of the Nigerian populace, over the years, perhaps, more recently, has been compelled by events to keep watch for January. It is the month in which the nation must hear how best it has been deemed beneficial to share the national cake. Ignore those pessimists who insist the 'cake' has long been completely devoured, that is not exactly true, or is it? Against all odds, year in, year out, it is patent what is famously described as 'budget speech' had been cooked and is ready for distribution.

So did 1989 begin with high expectations on what shape the year's budget was most likely to assume. Did we really know what to expect? We didn't seem left with anything but to question the great possibility of being handed a budget to send us one of two different ways - to some 'little' paradise or to dungeon. What, with previous year's removal of the subsidy on fuel and subsequent rumours of an urgent intent to withdraw the very last kobo provided as subsidy on fuel come 1989? No, it is not falsehood to assert that many, perhaps most of us saw in our dreams a hellish 1989.

The fire in those disturbing 'patriotic dreams' on hopes for our future was envisaged to first set ablaze food items, as traders, even the most petty of them, can hardly want to see the nation's president on the screen, or hear him over the radio, or better still, be told by fellow traders about the year's budget before the prices for essential food stuffs are inflated. And the budget did come. Neither paradise nor dungeon was ostensibly spelt out. Many yawned with indifference, some grumbled their way on to living, as they did before the budget, still, quite a number of opportunists capitalised on nothing and hiked the prices of goods.

Nigeria must survive, it is incontestable. Nonetheless, one thing the budget has consistently reminded us of is the fact that there is a colossal amount of debt to be serviced. But it has become such a part and parcel of the 'January speech' that many of

us have not found it a pressing need to observe the difference between what we owed the year before and what we do owe now. Besides, hasn't there been various rendezvous on rescheduling that debt? Nigeria, however, did not give up the foreign exchange biddings, and the naira fluctuated as usual in value. The fluctuations were not worth any jubilation. And Nigerians went on living. The craze to import foreign currencies, the dollar and the pound sterling precisely, assumed crazier proportions. There grew an increasing need to fetch the pound in particular, as it bought more naira in the black market. Government's exchange rate has been described as a drag to business.

In union with the booming black market for the buying and selling of the naira was the increasing waste of the nation's human resources. All efforts geared towards the minimization of 'brain drain' came almost to naught as more intellectuals/professionals sought *greener pastures* beyond the borders of the country. The Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) bit harder. It was tolerated till March when some students, as was alleged, thought they had had their fill of the structural adjustment programme and violently took to the streets in a wild protest that saw the loss of property and life of many innocent citizens. It was a most unsavoury incident, perhaps, the most violent in recent times. Primary and tertiary institutions in different parts of the country were shut down following sundry anti-SAP demonstrations. The military administration demonstrated some sensitivity to the plight of the majority of the people and relief measures to ease the burden of SAP were soon provided. But how effectively these measures have been implemented is questionable.

We are not oblivious, however, to the duty imposed on the National Directorate of Employment (NDE) to make available employment for thousands of jobless Nigerians - school leavers in particular. We vividly remember too, among others, the directive given on the immediate sale to the public, of grains stored in state governments warehouses. What we cannot answer satisfactorily is whether or not such grains arrived at their targeted destinations. And where it is assumed they did, how fairly such grains were distributed. Still, we are aware of the rece

timely 'order' to implementors of the SAP - relief measures to give account of the job they have done. This administration did score a point on its human rights posture which has extensively been defined as ambiguous. Many of the schools closed down at the wake of the protests were reopened a little less than seven weeks after the incident. Those initially marked out to bear the greater brunt of the sad event, being instigators of the riots, have also been shown mighty compassion and are back to school.

Meanwhile, the likes of Tai Solarin and Gani Fawehinmi were made to 'chat' in diverse ways with government as security agencies 'malefactors' in the anti-SAP protests. Tai could not have enjoyed that abjecting 'television query' if it may be so called on his role in the demonstrations. Gani's experience too in Gashua prison for a similar accusation is one he may find necessary to document as an interesting contribution to an auto-biography. Nigerians now needed to remind themselves and were loyally reminded by television and radio jingles composed for SAP of the importance to seek no economic salvation outside SAP. If you seek our opinion, we would candidly say unborn babies were blessed with SAP sermons and songs of praise at this period. The structural adjustment programme was given its fiercest projection like no other ideological tool of past regimes had. The desperate need to maintain the status quo was almost overbearing.

DFRRI and MAMSER unflinchingly served the people the best way they have always done. That is for instance, with more administrators uncovering the fantastic tales of success of DFRRI. Nothing was new about the way DFRRI and MAMSER played their parts as agents of national development. Given the unfortunate incident of November 3rd this year, when the press went on a nation-wide broadcast about the demise of the nation's first civilian president Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, who ironically, is still very much alive and was, the day the preposterous announcement was made, it is especially doubtful if MAMSER is effectively gaining grounds. However, that one incident clearly reflected our level of development where the press lacks adequate enlightenment and professional etiquette to pursue their course meticulously as over seer and as an inevitable instrument of socio-political growth. Be that as it may, informed opinions have suggested that the press was not entirely to be blamed, in the light of the circumstances of the whole unfortunate affair. On development, women were once again brought to the lime light on the 6th of November, 1989 with the opening of the centre for women development in Abuja by the wife of the president, Mrs. Maryam Babangida. It is hoped the centre would integrate the women further

in national development through instilling in them a consciousness to contribute meaningfully to the nation's growth.

Quite a number of events did appear trivial this year but the degree of their triviality is disputable. The decision to change the country's international passport, crucially for security reasons is certainly among the list. It became essential as many of our fellow African, West African brethren in particular, resorted to impersonation in multiple escapades that have done nothing but bring shame to our international image. Whether or not this change of passport would reasonably curtail impersonation is an entirely different story.

It was also publicised on air that fake ten naira notes are being circulated by unscrupulous Nigerians. It wasn't exactly a strange phenomenon, but it was interesting to note that the serial number of this note was given. That was what was amazing about it all. Such pains had not been notably taken in the past to alert Nigerians.

So, what has been happening to you uncle Tony? Letters to countrymen have appeared suddenly scarce. In spite of the not too interesting information those letters often disseminated, let us say that just seeing them neatly spread out on the pages of newspapers was pleasurable. Those who once doubted your proficiency in letters even as the General Manager of Times Publication in Agidingbi have ceased to be doubting Thomases. It did look insignificant indeed, yet that short-lived humiliation given this country by Britain in tagging their anti-drug campaign 'anti-Lagos' was not in good taste. It flooded back unpalatable memories of Koko waste scandal and has led us to question time and again why the name Lagos was conceived 'best' for such national campaign. It is relieving to know however, that what appeared like nothing was not allowed to put some strain on our diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom.

All in all, it has been a 1989 full of experiences—treasurable and regrettable experiences. For one thing, Nigerians now seem ever more willing to look inwards, to use talents bestowed upon them even cultivated, to help themselves and fashion decent lives. SAP may not be offering its best, but surely, the essence of self-reliance is one fact Nigerian's have been compelled to appreciate. How inspiring it was to watch an indigenously manufactured auto-mobile exhibited on television! The going is tough, that is true, still, we do have a lot to be thankful for. We have rain, we have sunshine. All that is needed is an adequate mobilisation of the nation's human and natural resources and the sky is the limit. This is hoping 1990 brings good tidings.

## Namibia: *Victoria Acerta*

Most Africans are not unaware of the grim socio-political realities of the black man in parts of Southern Africa today and indeed since the white man first set his feet on the soil of the people of Southern Africa. This contact has had a considerably debilitating effect on the social and political life of the blacks in that part of Africa. But in case some of us need reminding what these circumstances are - it would be pertinent to explain that in southern Africa, the black man is living a restricted, rigidly controlled and oppressed life; the likes of which are not known anywhere else in the world. He is shifted from one place to another in accordance with the labour needs of the whites; he pays more tax than is reasonable and still remains with virtually no parliamentary representation or any meaningful political rights. This means he cannot vote or be voted for. He does all the menial and strenuous jobs but has no right to embark on any industrial action to improve his living standard. In sum, he exists as a chattel to serve the domestic and industrial needs of the White minority.

This is what the Namibian people have had to contend with for several decades now. The White minority in Namibia have grievously sinned against the black man since the 1919 Versailles Peace treaty which later gave birth to the League of Nations. The treaty was signed between the victorious allied powers and defeated Germany, mandating the control of Namibia to South Africa under the supervision of a Permanent Mandates Commission (PMC). It was since this period 1919-20 that Pretoria began to rule Namibia as a satellite of South Africa. Because the South African government had remained undaunted by criticisms of its obnoxious rule, SWAPO under Nujoma in exile took recourse to armed struggle.

Because Pretoria tried to undermine this gesture of the League of Nations by introducing and subjecting the black Namibians to the most inhibitive form of government, it incurred the wrath of the people and hence the bloody mass revolt of December

1959. Consequently, this revolt led to the Ovamboland People's Organisation (OPO) which later became the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) in 1964, under the distinguished leadership of Sam Nujoma. This organisation became the platform and mouthpiece of the people of Namibia in their struggle towards emancipation from the clutches of South Africa.

The happenings in Namibia soon became a cause for concern to the international community and all lovers of justice and fairplay. This was evident in the adoption of Resolution 309 by the Security Council of the United Nations in 1972. This Resolution called for dialogue between south Africa and some other concerned parties in the Namibian issue. Further more, in 1978, the then Secretary General of the United Nations, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, held talks with Pretoria which resulted in the famous Resolution 435.

Concerned opinions have shown that the liberation of Namibia is a question of time and intensified efforts. The time has come when all sentiments of colour, race and creed should be thrown over board so that all human races could live in harmony; that Black Namibians deserve their independence to break from the shackles of apartheid.

The Namibian dream of independent nationhood, through concerned efforts, became a reality on November 7-11 1989, in Windhoek when for the first time, elections into the country's constituent assembly was conducted and supervised by the United Nations. This, in essence, means the former South African satellite is now on the path of becoming an independent entity with election of a Constituent Assembly representatives to work out the country's constitution. The South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO), emerged the eventual winner of what initially was a close race between it and the Dirk Mudge led Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA). SWAPO emerged with 57 percent of the 670,000 votes cast, which gave it a



By Danjuma Bawa

majority of 41 seats to DTA's 21 seats. By this victory, SWAPO has clearly shown that you cannot perpetually deprive a people of what is theirs, sooner or later they come to reclaim their birthright.

Now that SWAPO has won the pre-independence election, there are grounds one would expect SWAPO to tread softly upon, while there are others it must stamp its presence upon for consolidation. Being the leader of the leading political party in Namibia, Sam Nujoma must take care that there should be no politics of intimidation and vendetta in spite of the fact that he has always regarded Dirk Mudge as a "wolf in sheep's clothing". Everyone should be given equal opportunity to contribute as native Namibians. The economy of Namibia, should be liberated from the grip of South Africa by making very vigorous economic recovery plans to enable Namibia determine the course of her economy. This way, the country will discontinue to live under the shadow of South Africa.

To realise this goal, Sam Nujoma must seek the support of other parties where it is necessary in order to facilitate harmony and peaceful co-existence. For "a house divided against itself cannot stand". So, all hands must be on deck no matter what party one belongs to. A goal communally achieved is a goal communally shared and enjoyed. Sam Nujoma needs all the caution that has sustained him and his organisation thus far. This is a very tasking moment for him and he should play his cards right if total 'uhuru' must be achieved. This is the dawn of Namibian Independence and the spirit that has seen them to this stage will surely see them through.

*Aluta Continua, Victoria Acerta!*

# Nigerian Armed Forces: Taking What We Get!

By Adamu Isa Mohammed

Perhaps without even *Newbreed's* publisher, Mr. Chris Okolic, himself knowing it, the presence of *Newbreed* on the streets today is not merely due to the determination of that publishing house to pursue the practice of its own brand of journalism, but as much to the willingness of government, a military one at that, to tolerate a relative free flow and exchange of ideas.

The lifting of the ban on *Newbreed* was no doubt a "good faith gesture" on the part of government and no doubt a calculated risk given the propensity of the nation's press to sometimes blur the fine line between responsible journalism and irresponsible journalism. It is rather unfortunate that after eleven years in the cooler (four of them under a civilian regime), ample time to rethink its journalistic practice and perhaps evolve an approach to responsibly report, investigate and comment on issues of regional and national import without provoking the coercive arm of government to act against them, *Newbreed* unabashedly attempted to "beard the lion" in a recent edition. (See *Newbreed*, December 3, 1989: *Nigerian Armed Forces to be Restructured, Probed*).

In the recent 'Abuja Declaration' broadcast nationwide, President Babangida re-affirmed that "our thirst for new ideas remains insatiable", and intimated that his administration believes with Lord Beveridge that "we have to keep open channels for new ideas of unknown men to reach the holders of power." As members of the so-called "fourth estate", it is the duty of media organisations, particularly print media houses, to be the agency through which such a state of affairs is established and in fact thrives.

Perhaps it was the intent of *Newbreed* in its December 3, 1989 edition to do just this. Unfortunately, it seems that motives other than the "quest for truth" entered in to distort the reportage. The very title of the article is misleading, and once discovering this fact, the seri-

ous reader will be able to ascertain the inherent intellectual bankruptcy of the reportage as well as its obvious regional or geopolitical slant. To put the record straight, there is no evidence in the article or elsewhere that the Nigerian Army is being "restructured or probed."

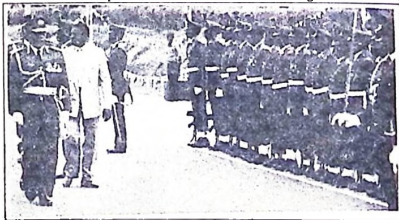
Let us examine briefly some of the other sweeping generalisations and deliberate distortions made in the article, and perhaps counter them with a slightly different point of view, supported by facts that *Newbreed* conveniently chose to ignore.

*Newbreed*: "The Nigerian Army is an elite class of its own, living in wealth, opulence and power."

There is no denying the fact that some members of the armed forces, especially among the top echelons do constitute a group of power elites who have amassed wealth and power. But these elitist officers more often than not are already members of society's elite social strata, whose promotion into the political ranks e.g. Lieutenant Colonel and above, is as much effected by the perquisites of social privilege brought to bear upon the military as superior military performance and seniority. It is certainly not true that the whole of the Armed Forces is an elite class, "living in wealth, opulence and power."

The conditions of non-commissioned officer corps of the Nigerian Armed Forces stand out in sharp contrast to that

of the officer corps, especially the so-called political officers. These members of the armed forces, the NCO's, display the appearance and deportment of those employed at the lowest level of pay. Their needs are not significantly different from their civilian counterparts. Their barracks are invariably slums, their children are often hungry, they suffer from the same exigencies of a society deficit in goods and services. What constitutes their elitism? The fact that they eat and drink subsidised pepper soup and beer at "bukas" in the "mummy markets" (often owned or provisioned by the wives of officers) or NCO clubs on their bases and cantonments? Their accommodations may in fact be free, but are they safe, hygienic, structurally sound? Do they have water and constant light? Can the large families of NCO's really be "accommodated" by the hovels stylistically called barracks with their one and two bedroom flats? Their medic are maybe free, but they, like the rest of us, have to pay for drugs and medical supplies which are in chronic short supply. Nor are their educational opportunities any better or worse than those of civilians. They too face a chronic shortage of qualified teachers, books, facilities and equipment. The children of non-commissioned officers do not perform significantly better on their primary school leaving certificates, West African School Leaving Certificates or the



President Babangida: reviewing an Independence parade... will he march them out of power finally?

## COVER STORY/MILITARY



*Governor Lawrence Onoja of Katsina State operating an electric switch-board ... Are the military inept meddlers?*

like. The truth is that the lot of the rank and file in the armed forces is not much better (if at all), even with their so-called amenities than the majority of their non-military country men.

*Newbreed*: "Those calling for the establishment of a more purposeful military, point to the fact that the Nigerian military, as it is presently constituted, is colonial both in concept and orientation."

It is agreed that the vestiges of colonialism die hard. Virtually every institution, every facet of national life bears the imprint of our colonial past. Certainly the armed forces have their share of officers and men who have wholeheartedly assimilated the colonial "way" of things. It is spurious, however, to suggest that such attitudes predominate. Obviously, the "learned" writers at *Newbreed* believe that our "colonialisms" should have evaporated on October 1, 1960 when the British standard was lowered and the flag of the new Republic raised. They have perhaps forgotten their history or they would realise that the very nature of transitional societies inexplicably permits contending ideas, attitudes, even social formations to exist in their midsts contiguously. It takes considerable time (sometimes several centuries in the case of antagonistic social formations, the logical outgrowth of seminal social ideas and attitudes) to change collectively held values, attitudes and ways of doing things. Witness Nigeria's persistent ethnic, regional and religious antipathy after thirty years of

independence.

The Nigerian Armed forces, like most institutions in the nation (or anywhere else), have resisted or yielded to the forces of change, progressive or otherwise, in their own interest. Such forces of change perceived by the institution to be inimical or even progressive have been resisted or assimilated according to the dictates of the overriding imperative of the institution's survival instincts.

Much has happened to effect and redefine the role of the armed forces in thirty years of independence, not the least being the transfer of control from colonial and foreign officer corps to an indigenous officer corps, military rule, civil war and endemic economic system dysfunction. Even the most obsequious intellectual pretender would realise that the objectives and the orientation of a colonial constabulary made up of "diverse local forces" and a national military "establishment" which has become an important, even crucial factor in the rulership equation of a sovereign state are, to say the least, different. This point, however, seems lost on the *Newbreed* writers. Further, to naively proclaim that the Nigerian armed forces are "colonial ... in concept and orientation" not only denies the existence of evolutionary and/or progressive forces therein, but is tacitly tunnel-visioned, ill-informed and more than likely dishonest.

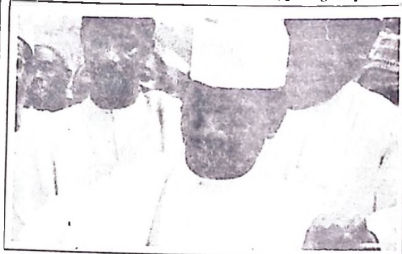
Most informed Nigerians realise that all is not a bed of roses in the Nigerian Army, and that many problems emanate



*Late General Murtala Muhammed ... The noble soldier lost.*

ing from the armed forces and affecting adversely the larger society are beyond the scope of the armed forces to solve. There is certainly room for increased dialogue and the sampling of opinion from people widely representative of the Nigerian population. It is not clear from the article exactly who are "...those calling for the establishment of a more purposeful military", but the sample opinions presented in the *Newbreed* report are certainly skewed and cannot be said to be representative of the larger population of even well-informed Nigerians. What fair, representative national opinion could emerge exclusively from the views of a K.O. Mbadiwe, an Okey Achike, an Akin-Ibidapo Obe, a Mike Ozekhome, a Zimako O. Zimako and a Chuba Okadijibo? Was there no Muhammad or Gidado or Ndagi or Fanna etc. whose views could be incorporated in an assessment of a national military? Or were their opinions even sought?

*Newbreed*: (Quoting Okey Achike)"



*Col. Ahmed Daku: Sokoto State Governor ... Whom the cap fits ...?*

## COVER STORY/MILITARY

the origin of what is today recognised as the Nigerian Army is traceable to the diverse local forces raised in the second half of the 19th century by the British Colonial government. These forces were raised primarily to subjugate local oppositions to British penetration and rule in West Africa, and in addition, to serve as an auxiliary force for augmenting the Imperial forces as a counter against the French during the crucial period of Anglo-French rivalry in Africa"

A well established fact of history, this. One wonders, though, if the book, *Groundwork of Military Rule in Nigeria*, was the only secondary source consulted by the writers on the origins of the Nigerian Armed Forces in the preparation of this article. Mr. Achike, according to the writers, went on to say that the first recruits, forty Hausa men, "were made up of slaves who ran away from their masters and other social miscreants. Because of their inhuman use of brute force (they harassed the populace, commandeering foodstuff, livestock and even women) they were dubbed the "Forty Thieves" by the populace which held them in great contempt." If Mr. Okey in fact said this, and in this way (there are no quotation marks around the passage to attribute the exact words to him), we may have a case of "sandwiching" intellectual pretensions with xenophobia. The fact that the *Newbreed* writers quoted from this and only this reference out of several major academic publications (and scores of available papers) on the subject, suggests that perhaps they were



Following in step, coup after coup after coup. Muritala, Obasanjo and Idiagbon.



Can they lay a solid foundation for 1992?

merely looking for an incendiary quotation to underscore their own endemic bigotry, their regional chauvinism and poor taste.

*Newbreed*: "Newbreed understands that it was Oguhuaja's disclosure (pepper soup etc.) that has brought the question of idleness among our military to a sharp focus; hence the trenchant call for active involvement of the armed forces in farming and other productive ventures."

Are the Nigerian Armed Forces idle? An affirmative answer to this question suggests that the armed forces are not performing the functions necessary for their establishment. What are those functions?

The principal function (as well as the purpose) of any armed forces, traditionally, is the management and the exercise of violence, in the name of an established legal authority, directed against other political societies. The effectiveness of this function can only be measured by how well they do this. This legal violence is exercised in the course of national defence, e.g. protecting the sovereignty of the state from outside aggression and/or territorial expansionist tendencies from hostile political entities. In many developing countries, however, especially those with unstable political climates and cultures, a major function of the armed forces is to maintain order. In most African countries, who were historically underdeveloped by Europeans, whose national boundaries were arbitrarily established by colonial interests and within whose borders many "micronationalities" coexist, important functions of the armed forces have been modernisation and the socialisation of a heterogeneous indigenous population

(national integration). In countries like Nigeria, where civilian politics has been unable to assert its legitimacy, where civilian governments have been judged ineffective against the ideals, hopes and expectations of independence, where the tradition of reserving the exercise of governmental power to political rather than military institutions is either lacking or stillborn, the precedent has been well established for the armed forces to take over government.

The management and carrying out of legal violence whether directed externally or internally, has caused modern armed forces to differentiate organisationally and become so complex as to include not only combat groups but various support and service units whose tasks range from planning to transportation, from the improvement of morale to the cultivation of relations with the larger public. To render an armed force "combat ready", to prosecute a major military action to a successful outcome requires virtually the same logistics and support functions necessary to effectively "run" a coun-



Common pre-occupation of the Third World Military... Capt. Blaise Campaore in Kaduna State with ex-Governor Abubakar Umar.

## COVER STORY/MILITARY

try. In fact, the planning must be more complete, the data and intelligence more accurate, and the personnel better trained and mobilised. (It is interesting to note that in most armed forces in developed countries since the turn of the century, combat forces comprise a significantly smaller percentage than support and service personnel. In the United States of America, for example, no more than 15% of the uniformed ground combat personnel have combat functions). A sad fact of underdevelopment is that in developing societies, the military is one of the few well-organised and technically-equipped modern institutions. It is perhaps for this reason, more than any others, that an estimated Nigerian uniformed force of less than half a million (500,000) can coercively rule a nation of over 100 million people.

If by "idle" *Newbreed* means that the military has too little to do, then the military is definitely not idle! Its responsibilities include not only defending our borders from outside aggression, sending troops to Lebanon, Namibia and elsewhere on military assignments, establishing small and large scale defense related industries, but ruling one hundred million contentious Nigerians — who left, it must be said, their political arena open for the armed forces to participate not on equal footing, but with superior technology and organisation. Whether the military is efficiently and effectively carrying out these responsibilities is perhaps a matter for extensive national debate.

This is not to say that Nigerian military personnel cannot play a larger role than they already have in modern-



Col. Chris Guruba: Bauchi State ex-governor waves to the people  
Portrait of the military in politics.



Soldiers pause between drills ...They need to do more.

ising the country. Precedents have been established for military regimes to put soldiers to work on building roads and bridges, irrigation and land development schemes, even teaching the population to read. This happened in Turkey in the 1920's under the military regime of Kemal Atatürk as well as under the Marxist revolutionary regimes of China and Cuba. The question is, *does the Nigerian military establishment in fact have the personnel and equipment to divert to such projects, whether they are in power or not?* Are the Nigerian Armed forces so comparatively well equipped with and trained in the use of state of the art telecommunication and cybernetic devices, atomic weaponry, airplanes, surface to air or intercontinental ballistic missiles, battlecruisers, submarines and warships, tanks and armour, even the guns and ordnance to render a large standing army a secondary priority? Probably not. The Nigerian Military's most abundant and accessible resources are its human resources. It will, for some time, have to continue to rely on large numbers of combat and non-combat personnel to offset what it lacks in machines and sophisticated weaponry to carry out its principal functions.

Secondly, presuming that the use of the armed forces in a variety of social, cultural or economic tasks is a good idea, what forces can the Nigerian body politic call upon to compel the armed forces to do so other than "trenchant calls" or persuasive appeals to their humanity? Thus far in our nation's short history, the armed forces have done pretty much as they pleased. They have taken over power when they chose to do

so and they have relinquished it on their own schedule. Nothing short of a aroused citizenry who can make good the threat of withdrawing their tax consent to be governed by the armed forces can compel the military to do anything. Nothing short of the same can keep the military in their barracks and out of the political arena. Given the precedents already established in this country, it is probably unrealistic to even consider the possibility of a non-political armed forces.

*Newbreed*: The sectional imbalance in the armed forces dates back to the colonial period... Analysts argue that armed forces so constituted cannot guarantee national unity since the section dominating the military will always exploit the situation to perpetuate their domination of political power."

Like many of the "salient" points raised in the *Newbreed* article, this one too has been compromised by poor or "selective" research and "telescoped" to reflect a chronic and retrogressive geopolitical point of view. Again quoting Achike, the *Newbreed* writers go back to the colonial period to cite that "the bulk of the Nigerian soldiers were recruited from the then Northern region." They cite statistics gleaned from the years 1946 through 1958 to show that "62.25% of the soldiers came from the north while the rest of the country including the Camerouns, contribute the remaining 37.75%." They make the case that from 1960 to 1966 "the majority of the senior officers and tradesmen were easterners (mostly Igbos) and the Ika-Igbos of the Mid-Western region" citing the disparities in western educa-

## COVER STORY/MILITARY

tion between the north and south as the reason why most of the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers were northerners ("hardly educated people") and 62-65% of the officer corps were easterners ("with very high literacy rate"). "But with the programs (sic) of 1966 and the civil war that saw many officers from the Eastern part either killed or demobilised, *that part has continued to be terribly disadvantaged both in the officers' cadre and the other ranks*" (our emphasis)

That the tragic reprisals against Ibo people in 1966 and the civil war clearly affected the fortunes of Easterners, particular the Ibos, in armed forces is a well established fact of Nigerian history. In spite of General Gowon's "no victor, no vanquished" posture, the processes of post war reconstruction and total reconstruction have been rather slow. The wounds created by the civil war are yet to completely heal.

It is thus only natural that the Ibo may see himself under-represented in the armed forces. He certainly is under-represented in the ranks of Brigadier and above for the very reasons cited above. And since the Nigerian Armed Forces rigidly observe a seniority system (with perhaps more emphasis on the date of commissioning than real military talent and ability), Ibo officers in the armed forces are yet to replenish their numbers in the top ranks and will be unable to do so until those officers, senior to them, die, retire or are removed. The same can be said for the Yoruba officers, who, with the notable exceptions of Obasanjo, Ademulegun, Adekunle, Akinrinade and others, entered the armed forces rather late compared to the Eastern and Northern officers. We find the quotation attributed to Oyodaji Oluokuju, a historian from the University of Lagos, that "it is unfortunate that 29 (sic) years after the war, there is only one Major General (Ike Nwachukwu) from both Imo and Anambra..." (has he forgotten about Rear Admiral Ndubuisi Kanu, member of the AFRC) characteristic of the careless, sentiment-laden, regional bias that went into the preparation of the entire article. *Twenty-nine years after the civil war, indeed!* ) Although, the exact

numbers of the personnel in the armed forces in this country is a matter of state security, an enterprising journalist can without too much dexterity get hold of a copy of the National Defence Academy yearbook to get an idea of who and what state of origin came the officers who have matriculated through that institution, and what group in fact dominates the officer corps. It takes no great effort to check the enrolment of the military secondary schools throughout the country to find similar information. More importantly, it is not even true today that the north really dominates the ranks of non-commissioned officers. Since the first military intervention into politics and government, young Nigerian men and women all over the country have seen that because of its organisation and comparative technological superiority over other segments of society and because it is a dominant factor in the political equation of the country, the Nigerian military offers what may be perceived as the best chances for advancement and social position e.g. the good life. Hence, enlistment in the armed forces seems a more attractive alternative for improving the quality of one's life than even post-secondary education. We may be closer today to having a "truly national" armed forces than ever before because of its perceived (rightly or wrongly) socioeconomic advantages.

Perhaps *Newbreed* will do well to equally probe the ethnic composition of other Federal Government agencies and parastatals, like National Electric Power Authority (NEPA), Nigerian Telecommunications (NITEL), Nigerian Airways Authority (NAA), Nigerian Railway Corporation (NRC) and National Sports Commission (NSC). *Newbreed* fails (or refuses) to realise the Nigerian Armed forces must be examined in a truly national context. The Armed Forces are an integral part of Nigerian society and the forces that impact upon it are the same as those which impact on society as a whole. The ills of Nigerian society as a whole will of course be reflected in the Armed Forces and as society needs reform so do the armed forces. But such reforms must be consonant with the stated or

implicit ideological thrust of Nigerian society and reflect the aspirations of all Nigerians.

Secondly, conceptions about the functions of the armed forces which inform the thinking of *Newbreed* writers (as well as Nigerians in general) need to be reexamined. It is erroneous to think that Nigeria's military establishment has the same objectives and orientation of the British or the American Army. Nor can the Nigerian Armed Forces be simplistically styled "colonial" in concept and orientation. We have to look critically at the behaviour of the armed forces against all of the events and forces that have shaped our independent republic to get a real idea of the armed forces are and what their role has been and should be in national development.

All in the *Newbreed* report was not geopolitically biased or ill-informed. Among the relevant themes the report dwelt upon is the recurring phenomena of military (civilian clashes, cataloguing some of the grotesque examples that are now becoming a part of our lives. The *Newbreed* is not alone in the condemnation of this kind of behaviour. (see Hotline No. 33 March 1988) etc. The report's focus on the growing cleavage between military and civil society is also contemporaneous. Commentators have almost unanimously proclaimed as unfortunate, the *Soja* magazine editorial "Now we know" and President Babangida's near-admission of a raging war between civilians and the military.

We would only suggest that in the future, if *Newbreed* wishes to take on a such an important topic, they do so honestly and thoroughly and without the poor editorial judgment or geopolitical skewness that characterises so much of what they present to the larger Nigerian society. They are in truth practising "high risk" journalism - the kind that antagonises the sensibilities of quite a few Nigerians and the kind that could get them banned again without attendant moral or ethical justification of their efforts.

*With additional coverage by  
Mohammed Hassan-Tom*



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*General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida  
President and Commander-in-Chief of the  
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*On the occasion of the New Year.*

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*Long Live NRC! Long Live Nigeria!!*

**MANAGEMENT.**

## COVER STORY/BAUCHI

### Bauchi State: A Rhyme Of Symmetry And Symphony

There is nothing about Bauchi State that is similar to what you see in Western movies. No skyscrapers adorn its streets. No conspicuous neon-light signposts exist to direct or remind visitors of their ways about town. No constellation of industrial plants or estates are there to give the faintest suggestion of a town bubbling with commercial activities. In fact there are no illusions of assumed greatness.

However, inspite of these apparent deficiencies in social amenities, Bauchi State is great in its own way; in a subtle, artistic, unobtrusive way. It does not require fly-overs and go-slows, living on a fast lane and all the usual gaudiness and hurly-burly that characterise township life to register this impression firmly on the mind of any visitor. Bauchi State, nevertheless, does have a fair share of urban sophistication.

The very bright and colourful street lights which are very beautiful to behold at night, the well planned and well-tarred road networks, the magnificent edifices sprouting up all over the state capital, Bauchi, the functional public telephone booths, are all indications that Bauchi State is also responsive to the wind of development and social dynamics. While being very much part of the present, Bauchi State is undeniably a state for the future.

Indeed, a silent revolution in developmental terms is going on in Bauchi state. A lot of funds are being committed to the development of certain vital sectors of our socio-economic life. A lot of meticulous planning and brainstorming is being dedicated to certain projects. A lot of benefits are consequently beginning to accrue. All of



Yankari Museum: Relics of Yankari Game

these combine to create a rhyme of symmetry and symphony that gives Bauchi town and state something of a futuristic expression. Everything, in fact, appears to be in its proper place.

Perhaps one area where this revolution is being seriously felt is in the development and harnessing of existing potentials. And these potentials abound in the form of natural resources. According to a Ministry of Commerce and Industry publication of February, 1987, signed by then Commerce and Industry Commissioner, Alhaji Umaru Maigari, Bauchi state is "blessed with abundant land area for cultivation." About sixty-five per cent of the total land area, said the publication, is cultivable, though "only forty per cent of it is currently engaged."

That this assertion is true, there can be no doubt. It does not require a trained eye to observe the sprawling mass of land that could be seen stretching over hundreds of kilometres all over Bauchi State. With a clement weather and a vegetation that is predominantly of the guinea savannah type, Bauchi State has an agreeable agricultural environment, with a natural fertility of soil that is certain to guarantee a bumper harvest or success in food production.

But even so, Bauchi State has actually not yet been able to register its impact as a major source of food production in the country. This unfortunate situation said the 1987 Ministry of Commerce and Industry publication is due probably to the fact that "the potentials of the state have not been properly revealed to potential investors while there were no enough incentives to assure them of support."

How much these potentials have been revealed and how far these incentives have been provided are questions that cannot be answered in any definitive terms. In any case, *Hotline* investigations indicate that right now, the old trend is being gradually reversed. Rather than wait for potential investors, Bauchi State government is assiduously looking inwards, trying to grapple with the enormity of the situation, trying to take very concrete and positive steps to develop some of these potentials.

That the government is gradually succeeding is a fact which is clear for everybody to see. The tourism industry for instance, remains a major landmark which successive administrations in Bauchi State have made and reinforced. And there is no indication that the present administration intends to relent efforts in this direction. If anything, more funds are currently being committed to this venture. No doubt therefore that a modest success is beginning to materialise.

A senior tourism official attached to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Bauchi, who does not wish to be identified said in an interview with *Hotline* that some of these modest achievements are beginning to manifest in form of employment opportunities for deserving citizens, good access roads, the reactivation of local crafts which is in high demand especially by foreign tourists, including a newly arranged contract deal with the Bauchi Television for the filming of a 45 minutes, 16 millimetre colour film of all the tourist attraction centres in the state.

Indeed, it would not be an overstatement to state that Bauchi State proba-



Dr. Gambo Laraba Abdullahi  
Commissioner, Commerce &  
Industries.

## COVER STORY/BAUCHI

bly has more tourist attraction centres than all the others states in the Federation put together. The popular Yankari Game Reserve in Alkali Local Government area of the state is, of course, not only the first among equals both in Bauchi State and in the whole of the country, but is also reputed to be the foremost game reserve in the entire West African sub region. Other tourist attraction centres in Bauchi State include Lame-Burra Game Reserve, Wikki Warm Spring in Yankari, Kanawa Plantation, Gubi Dam, Pansharu Hills, Bima Hills, Rock Paintings in Geji, Shadawanka Cave, Tafawa Balewa Black Stones, First Mining Beacons, the Late Prime Minister's Tomb and a state owned museum just to mention a few.

*Hotline* investigations reveal that some of these tourist attraction centres are in inchoation stages while others are in the process of being developed. While the Commerce and Industry Commissioner did not find it convenient to grant an interview to our reporter, another Commerce and Industry Ministry official who also wishes to remain anonymous (because "I am not permitted to speak to the press") disclosed that so far, Bauchi state government has been responsive to his ministry's demands and has made a lot of inputs into the tourism industry adding that the Ministry and Tourism Committee officials were currently on an assessment tour of all the tourist attraction centres in the state with a view to making certain recommendations to government. According to him, government's view of this recommendation cannot be anything but positive.

However, at the Yankari Game

Reserve, enough is not being done to ensure that this Reserve maintains its premier position not only within the country but also within the subregion. *Hotline* investigations show that while the Bauchi state government is struggling to save this place from collapsing, Federal government presence is virtually non-existent. Mr. Habila Ramani Dogo, Managing Director of Yankari Game Reserve and Tourism Company Limited while speaking to *Hotline* admitted that as a Limited Liability Company under the auspices of the State Ministry of Commerce and Industry, the state government's concern and efforts towards the upkeep of the place is quite commendable pointing out that representations made to the Federal Government for possible assistance is yet to yield any concrete result.

*Hotline's* visit to the Game Reserve indicated that although the place is far from collapsing, so much more can still be done to make the place a paradise on earth given its enormous potentials. But lack of good access road (the 42 kilometres from the entry point of the Reserve - Gate - is largely a mess of potholes), non-availability of constant power supply (there is no NEPA light) and the absence of telecommunication facilities especially telephone, are problems which according to the Managing Director, help put back the hands of the clock. These problems, he also observed are a big pain in the back and are quite beyond the capacity of the company, or the state government to handle especially in view of the fact that colossal amount of money is required to execute these projects. "Only the President of the country can save us," he emphasised.



Dr. Ibrahim Yakubu Lame  
Commissioner for Sports, Recreation and Tourism

Only recently, *Hotline* gathered management of the Game Reserve was reconstituted in order to add vigour and stimulus to management structure and style while obviating organisational ineptitude that was threatening the former management. For prompt payment of its about 1500 salaries (about N35,000 monthly) improvement in the quality of management and services are what new management has to show for 10 months in office. "But we are capable of doing much more than this", said the Managing Director. "We can only but attract Federal Government support."

The Zarahandah Hotel, the Awala Hotel and the State Hotel Bauchi in Bauchi town including the Lib Guest House and Bima Lodge Gombe, among others, are also major tourist attractions in Bauchi State. Apart from excellent taste in food services, some of these hotels especially the Zarahandah Hotel are designed to conform to international standards. Facilities enjoyable to some of them include fully air-conditioned rooms with coloured television and video services, swimming pool, night club, beauty salon and laundry services, souvenir shop as well as sufficient parking space and a travel agency.

Sports development, administration and/or management is another area where the revolution going on in Bauchi State is beginning to yield immense benefits. Fabulous amount of money have been put into this area as an exercise which according to Ibrahim Y. Lame, State Commissioner for Social Development, Youth and Sports, has been going on a gradual but even keel. He said that this area had always been a



Awalah Hotel: Maintaining a culture in excellent service.

## COVER STORY/BAUCHI



Site of New Bauchi Stadium: A giant leap in Sports development

concern of previous administrations in the state pointing out that "that commitment has always been there."

"Bauchi State," he said, in answer to *Hotline's* question in his office in Bauchi, "sees sports development as an industry since we do not have industries here in Bauchi State." Explaining the top priority that sports has assumed in the scheme of things in Bauchi State, Dr. Lame said that it even became necessary to reorganise the State Sports Council recently because "you cannot invest the amount of money we have invested in sports and leave it on a very very shallow foundation" pointing out that, about N500,000 was made available to the Ministry of Education in the state for the reactivation of school sports. We are also asking the Local Government Areas to pay particular attention to sports, he said, emphasising that the stadium at Gombe is a positive effort in this direction.

Speaking on the state of preparedness of the Tafawa Balewa Stadium in Bauchi to host international football competitions, like the U-20 Junior World Cup Competition coming up in 1991. Commissioner Lame said that the state government had had to do a few refurbish jobs on the stadium, like the installation of floodlights and public address system, building of a physiotherapy unit within the stadium, and the completion of a multi-purpose indoor sports hall, all of these within six months. An electronic score board, the Commissioner observed, is currently in the process of being installed, stating that all these became necessary in order to meet with FIFA standards and specifications. The capacity of the Tafawa

Balewa Stadium, which at the moment is less than 30,000 spectators, Dr. Lame averred, could be improved "since there is space enough to do that."

In his own reaction to *Hotline* in an interview, the Bauchi State Sports Council Director, Captain Emmanuel C. Okaro said that sports was becoming a big boost

to the tourism industry in the state because "invariably the hard currency of those who come to Bauchi State for sports fiestas or jamborees eventually find their ways into the hands of local craftsmen or people in hotel business." Captain Okaro who said he has been having a good time as the Director of Bauchi State Sports Council expresses great satisfaction at the level of commitment of the people and government to sports development and management adding that the hosting of the Junior World Handball Championship and the 1989 Challenge Cup Finals (the first time outside of Lagos - Ibadan axis) among several others, by Bauchi State, is a phenomenal record of achievement.

The Sports Director is visibly proud of the achievements of Bauchi State in sports development and maintained that "Sports is more or less an industry in Bauchi State", disclosing that a over N100,000.00 (one-hundred thousand naira) was realised as gate-takings from the F.A. Cup final in Bauchi, "which I consider great because even bigger stadia don't declare that much," he con-

cluded.

To confirm these claims of accelerated development in sports in Bauchi State, *Hotline* visited and inspected the existing sports facilities within Bauchi town. At the Games Village where according to the Sports Commissioner, the sum of N17 million has been spent so far, requiring an additional input of N2 million for completion of the project, *Hotline* discovered that work on the structures has actually reached an advanced stage, with more than 80 per cent of the job done. The same however, cannot be said of the training pitches for athletes and footballers which are yet to be looked into.

As for the new stadium complex just adjacent to the Games Village, on which about N7 million has been spent, not much work has been done. According to the Sports Commissioner, the new stadium when completed is expected to contain about 40,000 spectators, pointing out that an additional sum of N33 million would be required to see this project through. Meanwhile, work on the stadium has been suspended because "the state government cannot afford to continue now given the prevailing economic circumstances of the country", the Commissioner stated.

At the Open Air Theatre (a Ministry of Information and Culture edifice for promotion of sporting, cultural and social activities) *Hotline's* attempt to take pictures and take a closer look at the place was aborted by security men who explained that a written authorisation was necessary before inspection of the magnificent house was allowed. Even so, *Hotline's* efforts to chat with the Information, Home Affairs and Culture Commissioner



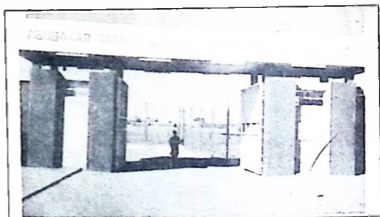
Model Swimming pool, Indoor sports hall, Bauchi

## COVER STORY/BAUCHI

was unsuccessful as the Hon. Commissioner was said to have travelled out of town. However at the Tafawa Balewa Stadium, the medical centre could be located and the floodlights could be sighted even from a few metres outside the stadium. An impressive swimming pool (within the indoor sports hall), just at the back of the Sports Director's office also exist to lend credence to the notion that Bauchi State is fast transforming into Nigeria's number one home of sports.

Although not many people were willing to volunteer information, *Hotline* was able to gather from a few anonymous respondents that sports development, just as the Sports Commissioner indicated, has been a primary concern of every successive administration in the state. A competent source in the sports ministry disclosed that former governors, Sani Sami and Chris Garuba were particularly sports loving and artistic men who initiated certain worthwhile projects pointing out that the Open Air Theatre and the still-under-construction Games Village were initiated under them respectively.

But as Dr. Lame explained to *Hotline*, "what we are doing now is to consolidate on what we have". And quite incontrovertibly, Bauchi State government is doing its utmost to consolidate on past achievements in the field of sports. Although there are no new or fresh projects to announce the present administration's commitment to sports, our investigations reveal that Governor Joshua Madaki is no less a sports enthusiast than his predecessors in office. In point of fact, he has neither abandoned the uncompleted projects inherited by his ad-



Tafawa Balewa Stadium: Transforming into international standards.

ministration nor has he failed to give both moral and financial support to the various sporting competitions and activities taking place in Bauchi State. The fact that the Governor chose to concentrate on the improvement of existing facilities rather than embarking on new projects is a factor, said another sports ministry official, which is accounted for by the Governor's maturity, level headedness and good judgment.

Responding to *Hotline* questions, workers at the Games Village said that they were never starved of funds and maintained that work was going on according to schedule. According to them, "work on the Games Village would soon be over in a few months time." Earlier, while speaking to *Hotline*, Commissioner Lame had described Governor Madaki as a sports-loving man who never hesitated to encourage sports development in the state. He said that the fact that Bauchi State was able to host the World Junior Handball Championship is due largely to the incentive received from the state governor, emphasising that the present administration in the state

has been "able to sustain the interest and the level of enthusiasm of the people in the area of sports."

Whether Governor Madaki has achieved much within the one and a half years he has been at the helm of affairs in Bauchi State, for now, remains an open question. Few may have reason to question this or that or even to disagree with the manner of implementation of some of the developmental programmes of the state. But none can deny the fact that Bauchi State under Joshua Madaki has enjoyed - and will no doubt continue - to enjoy relative peace and tranquility. This situation, said an informed source, is probably because the people of Bauchi State have now come to accept with alacrity the presence of a christian governor in their midst. It was a situation which was fiercely resisted during the tenure of former Governor Chris Garuba, in a state where, according to *Hotline* investigations, muslims constitute the bulk of the population.

In today's Bauchi, however, *Hotline* did not observe any form of stress on the people, no petitioning and petition writing, no voices of disension here and there, no accusations and recriminations, no ballyhoo. Instead, *Hotline* perceived a sedate, serene environment in which everybody was free to go about his business peacefully and without molestation. There is this "cool" about the place that is palpably infectious. Indeed potential investors will find in the whole of Bauchi State, nothing less than a propitious environment, an environment in which to live comfortably and do business.

Bauchi State may not have the ca-

Continued on Page 24



Captain Emma Okaro,  
Director, Sports Council: A  
phenomenal record in sports



Mohammed Abdulkadir,  
Information Commissioner:  
No loose ends.

## Yankari Game Reserve: Federal Presence Wanted

- Habila Ramani Dogo

By Jude Ifedi

*Being the head of an organisation, any organisation, for that matter, could be very intoxicating. But being the head of a big organisation with international reputation could be even more intoxicating especially where the organisation happens to relate in a special way to the public. To be the head of an organisation is to be in a position to exercise power, influence and authority; power over one's fellow men and the authority to execute or administer justice.*

*Only few men ever hesitate to display their power, influence and authority. A few may stint them, a handful may exercise them cautiously and judiciously but the many would always choose to flaunt them, making the act so obvious that one cannot afford but notice. While many see their respective high offices as an opportunity to enrich themselves as well as indulge in self aggrandisement, a few, a negligible few, see their offices in life as an opportunity to manifest love and make their 'modest' contributions towards the service and benefit of mankind.*

*As the Managing Director of Yankari Game Reserve and Tourism Company Limited, there is no doubt that Habila Ramani Dogo is in a position to exercise power, influence and authority. He hobnobs with commissioners, ministers, governors and other categories of eminent persons who constitute the endless stream of visitors that patronise the popular Yankari Game Reserve in Bauchi State. But if Mr.*

*Dogo is such a powerful and influential person, he appears to be completely oblivious of it. There is nothing in his gait or noble mien that gave the faintest suggestion of a boss who throws his "almighty" weight about. I observed no trapping of office, the usual indication of a romance with power. In fact his office along Maiduguri Road in Bauchi town is as unpretentious as one could imagine.*

*Immediately I walked into the office of this young but dynamic Managing Director, I asked for not more than 10 minutes of his time, but he gave me forty-five. And within this forty-five minutes, Mr. Dogo gave me a piece of his mind. His responses were non-evasive, brilliant, articulate, stimulating, with a certain degree of candour one finds so rare among institutionalized bureaucrats. But then Mr. Dogo is not a bureaucrat.*

*As he explained Yankari's problems and prospects to me, I could see that his gaiety was not forced, that his vivacity was not practised. I could not help feeling that here was a consummate example of a "newbreed", a young man with a fine head on his young shoulders, one who discharges his official obligations with perfect aplomb. At the end of the forty-five minutes, Mr. Dogo invited me to visit Yankari and see things for myself. I graciously accepted. A report on that visit - A Night in Yankari - shall be featured in our next edition.*

*Excerpts from Mr. Dogo's interview below.*

**On public attitude to his establishment:**

Public attitude towards tourism and holiday making generally in this country is not encouraging. At Yankari, the situation is not different being a completely holiday making resort. And I think it is because our people have yet to appreciate tourism as a culture in this country. I believe there is a need for our people, to first of all, develop a holiday making culture. Proper orientation in tourism is of primary importance because unless the people appreciate what we are doing and patronise us, there is no way we can make a success of our ventures. As a matter of fact, if only about one percent of Nigerians patronise us, we would be making fabulous profit which we are not making now.

**On the Reserve's sources of funding:**

The hotel accommodations we provide inside the camp including the small fee we charge from the wild life viewing trips constitute our major source of funding. The state govern-

ment also comes to our assistance from time to time as the need arises. Our major worry however is that there is no Federal Government's presence here at all. We have made certain representations to the Federal Government to come to our aid but nothing has materialised yet. We need Federal Government's presence very seriously and urgently too. I think we should not forget that Yankari Game Reserve is the only international wild life tourist attraction centre we have in this country and should be our collective concern to develop it to be in line with international standards.



Mr. Habila Ramani Dogo,  
M.D., Yankari Game Reserve

**On major constraints:**

Lack of steady power supply is by far our biggest problem. What we use now in the camp is a generator and this is prone to breaking down from time to time. To guarantee a steady and constant power supply, we need to be connected to the national grid (NEPA). Making our telephone lines functional is also our major concern. We have discussed this with the Communications Minister and he promised to come to our aid. We are hoping and waiting. We hope he won't forget. Even the road to the Game Reserve is not exactly in the shape we would have wanted it to be. These are some of the problems we cannot grapple with now, for which we demand Federal Government's attention.

**Achievements over the years:**

The fact that we have been in business for the past twenty-five years and have been able to maintain our premier position in tourism in this country is an achievement we are proud of. We intend to consolidate on this achievement as we are not prepared to relinquish our leadership position.

# Governor Joshua Madaki: Magician Without A Wand

By Bashir Be'lo Akko

The plume danced gracefully, its multi-colours creating the picture of a rainbow, pinned on to a beret, its erectness battling the unsavoury force of the blowing wind. A tailor must have done a nice job, for the Army green khaki seems so well-fitted to the man, his rank, his posting and his profession. The neatly ironed uniform, the shining polished shoes, and the beautifully carved swagger-stick, all add up to announce the presence of Colonel Joshua Mamman Madaki, the military governor of Bauchi State.

It was not the first time we met, not even the second. But in this massive edifice of architectural beauty called the government house, it was the first time we met with this governor. As a journalist, my readers had requested me, on several occasions, that they wanted to read of the governor on our pages. It was my duty, I felt, to link-up the governor with his people through a Hot-line.

So I came to Bauchi, in search of an interview, but met a busy governor. I waited for days, believing that a journalist in search of news is of necessity a patient bird. At his office, the time was simply not there. So I waited again, till on a Saturday which I knew was

not a working day.

I made sure, on this day, that even before the governor had his breakfast, I was at his doorstep. The interview held, in a manner so relaxed, in a tone so sincere, and at a time so convenient.

But from where do you start to take on this soldier from the Brigade of Guards? of course the issues are many and varied. He came to Bauchi when the state was developing a new anthem: controversy. Firstly, protests were loud that Bauchi should not have a 'christian' governor; not at least immediately after Chris Garuba was blackmailed to a near-scandalous state on this issue. Secondly, zonal politics was fast overtaking the motto of a united state.

But Madaki quietly walked into Bauchi, settled on the gubernatorial chair, and silently worked out magic from a better forgotten past. Today, the old rigours of sectional politics, and the wolf-cry of religious divide are fast fading into history; while at the same time, consolidation of developmental projects remains a success clouded in modesty. It was an interview where I too, ended up more educated.

## It Was To Our Unpleasant Surprise...

**Hotline:** Communication is regarded as a good ingredient of an effective administration, especially between the governor and the less privileged, who hardly would have any access to talk to the governor directly, without the intimidating presence of gun-toting escort and the protocol of the presence of top government functionaries. Have you been able to open a meaningful communication-line between the top hierarchy of government, and those citizens at the bottom line?

**Gov. Madaki:** We in the present administration are doing our best to reach the people directly and also allow them reach us, communication wise, directly. For example, we identify interest groups and sometimes invite their able representatives to come here at the Government House and have either lunch or dinner with me so that we can exchange very free and honest opinions on what we rep-

### — Gov. Madaki

resent. Through such relaxed atmosphere and dialogue, we are able to understand their concerns and complaints and also we let them know of our intentions and our limitations. So



Colonel Joshua Madaki  
Unity is our key to greatness.

that along the line, absence or breakdown of communication is highly minimised or even removed. This unadvertised dialogue has been very successful. Of course, out of modesty, it will be inappropriate for me to go public on the list of those we have invited, but anybody who cares to know, can come to us for such information.

**Hotline:** The zonal disharmony, as represented by Katagum, Bauchi and Gombe usually orchestrated by some unpatriotic indigenes, seems to be, happily fading out (during your tenure) to almost a zero point. What is the secret?

**Gov. Madaki:** I honestly have a different impression about this zonal disharmony thing. You may have realised that there are always two sides to a coin, and to the progressive mind, these two sides can represent the good and the ugly. People of Bauchi State can exploit the concept of regionalism

positively and make meaningful progress out of it. What stops people of Katagum, Bauchi or Gombe from using their unique identity to develop their respective areas? Certainly, I agree with you that some misguided indigenes may decide to bring in unhealthy rivalry which can temper with the desired fraternity of the entire indigenes of the state. But again, as I have earlier said, I prefer looking at such zonal issue on more positive basis, which could after all be an important seed of development and greater zonal harmony.

**Hotline:** *What measures of success have you achieved through your policy of direct labour?*

**Gov. Madaki:** It is no good blowing one's trumpet by enumerating what you regard as success. However, for record purposes, I will wish to list just a few areas where we tried the direct labour system and found it to be highly profitable. A good example is the Bahangida Square (Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida Square) where we held the last triangular joint domestic trade fair as well as the 8th National Festival of Arts and Culture. The tower, the stand, the information centre, the administration block, the wall fence with its numerous gates, were all built by direct labour. The advantages we saw there included the phenomenally low cost (than it would have been if it were contracted out), the time factor, since we finished it in record time, a much shorter time than if it were on contract, and our ability to reach the quality we aspired since our men provided the labour from the architectural designing stage up to the final supervision. Another example was when we needed to complete the multi-purpose Sports Hall for hosting the last Junior Ladies World Handball Tournament when we had limited time and inadequate resources. It was the direct labour policy that saw us through the completion because we mobilised our men to work day in day out, seven days a week, twenty four hours a day. We are also constructing drainages in some designated quarters through the direct labour system and we are even trying our hands on minor road construction and repairs. We are happy at the level of our success in these directions that even some of my gubernatorial counterparts, particularly from the northern states,



**SMG Gambo Maga**  
*Leadership for the integrity of the state.*

have commended us and asked us to assist in pushing through on how to imbibe the policy.

**Hotline:** *How would you rate the State in wheat production?*

**Gov. Madaki:** Successful realisation that Bauchi State with abundant arable land is capable of wheat production and this tremendous encouragement especially the rural farmers to venture into wheat production. Our problem is with funds because we expected to get from the authorities could not fully utilise. But on the whole the venture has been a worth-while venture. We have been able to produce abundant wheat that is even adequate for the state requirement. It has also kindled people's zeal for the production of self-sufficient wheat is concerned.

**Hotline:** *May we suggest that your decision to retain the cabinet inherited from your predecessor almost intact, is to ensure continuity in policy implementation for the very personal leadership friendship you have with you took over from?*

**Gov. Madaki:** The truth is that we made changes in the cabinet where necessary. You are aware that some commissioners I inherited are no longer in this cabinet while others have been brought in. Not only that, there have been adjustments in portfolios. Some of the commissioners are still serving. Government is a dynamic institution remains always open to people come in to serve.

**Gov. Madaki:** Like which projects?

**Hotline:** Take the case of the multi-purpose sports hall. Because of inadequate monitoring it is alleged that poor finishing led to leaking roofs and faulty score board during the last World Handball Tournament. Or take the example of the political party offices where for absence of monitoring, it is rumoured that even some contractors went to the extent of altering the approved architectural design so that they could gain more...

**Gov. Madaki:** You see, press men sometimes have a way of blowing things out of reasonable proportion. What I thought the press should have done was to emphasise on our modest achievement in getting the building through on time to make the tournament hold. I am not denying the fact that there were problems, but what else do you ever do in this world without at least one problem or the other? In any case, it could not have been poor monitoring because, in fact it is the government through direct labour that has completed that edifice. May be the rush because of time factor or something close to that, but definitely, not lack of adequate monitoring, what-ever that means. On the issue of political party offices, I believe we have done even more than enough to ensure speedy and qualitative finishing of the projects. This is why we even became the first state to complete construction of such political party offices, and we are proud that the respective authorities have acknowledged that. Having a problem with one contractor out so many, does not necessarily mean having problems with the entire project.

**Hotline:** The 8th National Sports Festival (NSF) was shifted from Bauchi to Lagos on your understanding....

**Gov. Madaki:** No, No, not to my understanding. If anything, it was against our wish and to our unpleasant surprise.

**Hotline:** But the Sports Ministry warned you that if you insist on shifting of the date, then you will lose the chance to host the festival.

**Gov. Madaki:** To the best of my knowledge, that is not very true. When we discovered that the tournament was billed to host in the rainy month of August, we quickly communicated to the Federal Ministry of

Sports that August was not a good month to host such a festival because of the heavy rain fall. We even asked that the date be brought forward by at least one week, instead of the shift, we just heard on the air that the tournament has been shifted not by one week, but to Lagos. Despite our persistent pleas, the Sports Ministry refused to listen to us and understand our point.

**Hotline:** But you have been compensated by awarding the hosting of the 9th National Sports Festival to your state.

**Gov. Madaki:** That is not for the Honourable Minister of Sport to decide. Our bid was for the 8th National Sports Festival and it is only the people of Bauchi state that can decide whether they want the next sports festival held in their state or not. So far they have not asked to be given the hosting of the next sports festival and in any case when it is going to hold in 1990, I am not likely to be governor of this state. I thought there are procedures for selecting the host for each NSF and is not just for the Honourable Minister to stay in Lagos and unilaterally decide who hosts what festival. If Bauchi will host the next NSF, let laid down guide-lines be followed so that they know they truly deserve it.

**Hotline:** What are the prospects and problems of tourism in Bauchi State?

**Gov. Madaki:** This is one area we intend to give a big lift to so that people don't come to Bauchi only for sporting reasons but also to explore

the abundant tourism potentials of the state. Nature has endowed us with tourist attraction centres like the famous Yankari Game Reserve, the high point of Kaltungo Hills, Bimau Mountains, and Panshamu Rocks. We have Caves, Rock Paintings, beautiful forests full of game etc. What we are doing now is to further beautify these bounties of nature and make them more appealing to the tourists.

**Hotline:** What steps are you taking to solve the transportation problems since Bauchi airstrip is not patronised by commercial aircraft?

**Gov. Madaki:** Sincerely speaking, this is not high on our priority list because of obvious reasons. For instance, the government tried it once by inviting a private airliner, Janbo Airlines and the experiences ended in a near disaster. The patronage was too low to sustain operations which again created some problems between the government and management of the airlines, a problem I doubt is yet fully resolved. Added to this is the fact that we have Jos Airport, just by the Corner, which is only an hour's drive from Bauchi town and even Aminu Kano International Airport which is not very far from our state capital. We have tried to work out the possibility with other airlines but the operational cost simply does not make any economic sense to us. So, for the time being we will contend with the minor discomfort until such a time when we find it convenient enough to venture into such projects.

*Continued from Page 20*

## Bauchi State: A Rhyme Of Symmetry And Symphony

capacity to compare favourably with Lagos in terms of sophistication, it may not have what it takes to command a pride of place in commerce and industry like Kano and Kaduna States, there are no mineral deposits or gold mines like in Rivers and Ondo States. But Bauchi State is deter-

mined to create a gold mine in the area of sports and tourism development. And given the rate at which she is going about these presently, there is no doubt that she would become, in a few years time, Nigeria's 'MECCA' of sports and tourism.

*By Jude Ifedi in Bauchi.*

**Dear Reader,**

Due to the unavailability of our type of newsprint, we are forced to print on smaller reels which has unavoidably led to the reduction in the size and type specifications of our magazine. We believe you will understand and bear with us.

Thank you.

— Editor.

## CONGRATULATIONS

The Executive Chairman, the Management and the entire Staff of **HOTLINE PUBLISHING COMPANY LIMITED**, Kaduna, do sincerely extend their warm congratulations to the Proprietor, Officials, and Players of **B.C.C. Lions Football Club of Gboko**, Benue State for winning the 1989 Challenge Cup.



*B.C.C. Lions of Gboko: Challenge Cup Heroes*

Your ability to bring this Cup home, is a befitting glory you have done to the North, after a recess of over three decades.

## SEASON'S GREETINGS

The Executive Chairman, Management and the entire Staff of **HOTLINE PUBLISHING COMPANY LIMITED**, Kaduna, wish its numerous readers a **Happy Christmas** and a prosperous **New Year**.

— *Management*

# Social Mobilisation: A Timely Necessity

By Abubakar Abba Tahir

Today as never before, few Nigerians if any could claim ignorance of the novel departure of this administration from the non viable convention of preparing a shaky ground for the return to civil rule. This is informed by spectacular breakage from past experiences as per our scheme of national governance. The political saddle has been shaken and overhauled from the very root. Our politicians old and new have been made to put meaning and purpose in their political paradigms. New and enviable "stadia" and yardstick for operation have been launched by government. The rural and underprivileged Nigerian has been made to see his own Nigeria with both eyes. He is now made to realise and appreciate the fact that Nigeria is great and the very greatness lies in the ability of our people to make it arrive at the shores of prosperity and abundance. These and many other strategies have paved way for the vanishing of the much dreaded sentimental aura of varying sorts. New thoughts have continued to permeate the minds of Nigerians of the necessity to create a dream country of hope where all citizens can find solace and hope irrespective of divergent dispositions. To sum it all, the underlying idea is to chart a new and viable political culture unrivalled in recent antiquity.

It is also no gainsaying that at this crucial period of our historic transition towards the third republic, social mobilisation forms an integral part of the total success of the scheme. This is more so when one recounts the salient reasons behind the failure of successive administrations to carry along the wishes and aspirations of majority of our people most of whom dwell in the ruralities. The backlog of such regimes have left virtually all Nigerians dormant, unaware and illiterate of government itself. It is, however, disputable that general societal awareness is a precursor of action towards the realisation of government objectives. In a situation where such awareness is lacking the machinery of state itself becomes vulnerable to destruction. Absence of social mobilisation not only stifles the

good intentions of government but widens the horizons of social hostility and expands the embers of societal chaos emanating from protracted distress of teeming Nigerians.

A lot of rational minds have attributed the failure of past regimes to mobilise our people towards meeting desired national whims and fancies to the desire of such regimes to stay in the corridors of power longer than necessary, hatred for anarchy



Prof. Jerry Gana,  
National Chairman:

### MAMSER

that may result from social awareness of fundamental human rights and privileges, and fear of the rise of the masses against the government.

Far from this myopic conceptualisation of issues, this administration feels that all the foregoing thoughts arise because of the absence of a firm belief in the justice of social mobilisation, and lack of will and determination to pursue what is necessary and desirable for the nation in good faith. This regime holds that proper mobilisation in the real sense of the word shall doubtlessly usher in a new wind of mature political, social and economic dispensation. This argument seems to hold some water because no community of persons can continue to be fooled (as past regimes

have attempted to do) under the pretext of elusive pledges for the betterment of their lives. In the meantime, no administration however dictatorial shall continue to hold the dear destinies of its people to ransom for the costly glory of consolidating its bully head in power. Sometime, someday, somehow it will fall to meet its doom. Since model regimes across the globe have fallen as prey to detractors, non viable and misdirected governments must fall one day. So, shaky past regimes have had to die out the way they did. Leaving our people in a sea of agony and despair after twenty-nine years of journeying into nationhood.

It is in realisation of the immense importance of social mobilisation that a directorate has been created for this purpose in the presidency. This directorate (MAMSER) is charged with the responsibility of steering the populace to desirable sociopolitical and economic ends. First is instilling discipline in our scheme of things which is a precondition for social justice, which in itself stands as an indispensable precursor for self-reliance. Then comes economic recovery which largely depends on a self-reliant socioeconomic polity. In addition to the aforementioned, MAMSER is also responsible for creating a conducive atmosphere for social progress. All these are important prerequisites for the broader national goal — political awareness — which is the most salient condition for the evolution of a new and responsible political structure-cum-culture.

Much more important in the mobilisation crusade, is the fact that whereas few enlightened Nigerians are up to date with the reasons for the failure of government to register any of the six political groups

**"This regime holds that proper mobilisation in the real sense of the word shall doubtlessly usher in a new wind of mature political, social and economic dispensation."**

## NIGERIA

recommended by the National Electoral Commission (NEC), majority of the population, especially the grassroots force on whose behalf the historic decision was taken, are not aware of such reasons. They are, therefore, open to misleading information by perpetrators of mischief who may bank on their ignorance to inform them negatively to score cheap political ends. Herein lies a much dreaded threat to the much cherished and adored transitional arrangement. It therefore becomes increasingly clear why the Directorate for Social Mobilisation must double its efforts at politically educat-

ing the grassroots population so that they become fully aware of every step taken towards the next republic. At this critical stage of the transition, any slant from this directorate shall wreak untold havoc to the whole package.

There is no magic formula for effectively carrying out the mobilisation crusade than by just mounting strategies to penetrate all the nooks and corners of Nigeria in just no time. People in the grassroots must be made aware of the formation of the National Republican Convention (NRC) and the Social Democratic Party (SDP).

Persistent efforts must be made to educate the grassroots on the proce-

## HEALTH

# Common Cold (Catarrh)

*— The place of antibiotic preparation*

Common cold or catarrh as is usually called is a self-limiting viral infection of the upper tract of the respiratory system. It is one of the commonest medical problems which people have learned to accommodate without seeking medical help in many instances. Although catarrh can be disabling for the individual and a scourge of considerable economic importance, there are few sequelae like infections of the ears (acute otitis media) and there is no mortality. Colds in children is much the same as with adults, but the severity and frequency of attacks is dependent on the age, degree of immunity of the individual and the weather changes. For example outbreaks are more during the cold harmattan winds.

The causative germs (organisms) commonly associated with cold - rhinoviruses, coronaviruses and adenoviruses are usually spread from one person to another by dispersal of droplets of secretions from the nostrils during talking, coughing and especially sneezing. Immunity after a common cold is transient, perhaps because of the large number of viral strains involved in the causation of the condition; thus lack of a common immunizing antigen and the absence of blood spread of the infection.

*By Dr. Dan Akut*

### Manifestations

After an incubation period which varies from one to four days, symptoms often start in a localised region such as the nose or pharynx and rapidly progress during the next 48 hours until the diagnosis is obvious. So the patient invariably makes the

**"Frequent sneezing may lead to severe headache in many people, while fever is uncommon in children and rare in adults."**

diagnosis. Due to local inflammation of the nasal mucosa which produces nasal congestion, there is snuffles, sneezing from irritation and a clear discharge from the nostrils (running nose). Frequent sneezing may lead to severe headache in many people, while fever is uncommon in children and rare in adults. Extension to nasolachrymal duct (canal connecting the nose to the eyes)

## Better Life: The Triumph Of Rural Women

By Fatima Zubair

I am a rural woman. Two years ago, that was before the launching of the Better Life Programme for Rural Women by the first lady, Mrs. Maryam Babangida. I was too unconscious to notice the life of drudgery I lived, the long torturous hours spent at the farm using primitive technology, the poor and often times non-existent medical facilities under which I raised my malnourished children and the pain of illiteracy which led me to believe that ignorance was bliss. Yet, I have always been, will always be, in fact I have since my rediscovery of the goodies of ruralism devised strategies that will ensure that I remain a rural dweller now and forever. I dare any urban woman to compete with a rural dweller like me for attention in these days of backward integration, and rural development. You see, all the activities the urbanities engage in are initiated and implemented for the benefit of rural dwellers like me. Among these are the almighty Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), hatched in the Washington womb of the IMF to stimulate the production and export of agricultural products. That means farmers (a general name for all rural dwellers) can earn more for their labours. Never mind that they also pay more for everything else. Thanks to inflation and devaluation of the naira. Included in my wardrobe of benefits is the Directorate of Foods, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI), specifically established to satisfy my infrastructural hunger brought about by years of culpable neglect of rural roads, agriculture and other rural projects by the pretentious corp of bureaucrats that have ruled this country since Independence. Now DFRRI has sworn to put asunder what all those devious and conceited technocrats have put together across the years, all for me. Lets move away from the economics to the kernel of all nuts - Politics. The sudden discovery of "grassroots" (a word synonymous with rural areas) as the nucleus, and focal point of politics of "Newbreedism" has given me and my like the political leverage that has eluded us in the past. In the First and Second Republics, we, the rural dwellers and the womenfolk in particular had no option but to join the

bandwagon of urban based political parties. Our share of the national cake never went beyond hollow, empty promises made during electioneering campaigns, promises that were blown away as promptly as they were made into the coolers of forgetfulness, news to be fulfilled. Happily, the tide was turned over with the two new political parties announced by the government. They must be grassroots based, manned by Newbreed politicians and liberated from the manipulation of monied urban political gluttons. That suits me. As a rural woman no newbreed politician can lay claims to any "new mess" that will surpass that of a political novice like me. My being rural now ensures that better life readily comes my way in the form of fertilisers, F.O.C., better life uniforms, bank credit without collateral and of course the opportunity to sleep in the suffocating luxury of Nicon Noga Hilton and Sheraton Hotels while attending Better Life anniversaries, fairs and exhibitions. No, life could not be better, and 'am not just going to sit back and hope that milk and honey will continue to flow to sustain my newfound better life. I am committed to devising strategies that will uplift the rural woman's standard of living. So how did I go about achieving this? Of course, I found my way to Abuja to attend the second anniversary of the Better Life Programme for Rural Women, and the foundation stone laying ceremony of the Centre for Women Development which was held on November 5th, 1989.

Predictably, all the movers and shakers of Nigeria were there, led by no body else but the President, General Ibrahim Babangida and his wife, the Commander-in-Chief of Better Life forces, Mrs. Maryam Babangida. Fractural support from Gambia was manifested in the presence of the first lady of Gambia, Mrs. Jawara. In addition, AFRC members, military Governors and ministers honoured the invitation while state delegations were led by the wives of the military governors - the prefects of better life programmes in their respective states. It was a massive turn out.

There was no mistaking the status of the eminent women gathered there; they were the cream of the urban socialites, yet a genuinely rural woman like me did not feel out of place. There was rapport between all. All the army of the better life creators, from the governors' wives to ordinary folks were dressed in the cheap "atampa" prints of the Better Life Uniform. Even the first lady, Mrs. Maryam Babangida had patches of the Uniform sown on her attire. There's nothing rural about their usual life-styles, it was consoling that they felt the necessity to pretend to be rural. The obvious effort made by these shakers strengthened my resolve and set me thinking about the blessings of being rural and having the privileged urban women shouting themselves hoarse to raise funds that will guarantee better life for us country-folk.

Believe it or not, I was the only rural woman in that sea of cosmopolitan faces but I was at home having given them the mandate to toil on my behalf. And toil they did. I was thrilled to be watching governors wives carrying the beggars calabash around collecting cheques and cash for the building of the Women Development Centre. None of the money heavy men could deny these self-sufficient, eminent beggars' fat donations. So before you could say thief thief thief, each governor's wife was turning her overflow ing calabash to the donation announcer's aides. Chief M.K. Abiola set the chief lawyer's ball rolling with a donation of one million naira, Alhaji Aliko Gote and Alhaji Isiyaka Rabi'u, both from Kano also donated one million naira each, while a Yola-based business man Alhaji Muhammadu Aji also donated one million naira. About 20 million naira in cash and kind was realised at the end of the fund raising ceremony.

The Women Development Centre that will rise on the soil of Abuja is a legacy of the Better Life Programme - a concept that has the rural women as its corner stone. How can anyone ignore the arrival of rural women on the scene of development? Not when their victory is sure and certain, a well deserved better life for those who have had more than their fair share of the lousy life. Rural women, I salute you.

# Nigerian Railway Corporation: Tale Of A New Dawn

When construction of the Nigerian Railway commenced in 1898, the purpose was partly administrative; to maintain links between the central seat of colonial government in Lagos and other parts of Nigeria and partly to facilitate the exploitation and evacuation of agricultural and mineral resources for export mainly to the United Kingdom.

However, with the definition of the objectives of the Nigerian Railway Corporation. (NRC) which include carriage of passengers and goods in a manner that would offer full value for money, meet cost of operation, improve market share and quality of service, ensure safety of operations and maximum efficiency, and finally to meet social responsibility in a manner that would meet the requirements of rail users, trade, commerce and industry, Government and the general pub-



lic, rail transportation became a flourishing business. The geographical spread of Nigeria coupled with its mineral, agricultural and industrial resources, its population distribution and economic growth, all tend to favour railway transportation which is most suited for bulk movement of goods and mass transportation of passengers over long distances when compared to other modes of transportation.

In order to maintain an efficient rail transportation system for ef-

fective bulk carriage of goods and passengers, the Nigerian Railway was transformed from a government department to a fully fledged corporation capable of independent existence. Henceforth, the railway became an agent for facilitating the establishment of commercial and industrial activities in Nigeria.

Since its inception, the Nigerian Railway has undoubtedly served as the cheapest and safest means of transport for the teeming number of passengers including goods. In times past, rail transportation was exclusively reserved for peasants who could not afford the luxury of travelling by air or road, but with the present economic situation in the country highly placed Nigerians and even top government officials now travel by rail. The coaches usually categorized into first, second and third classes, readily offer the



*President Ibrahim Babangida:  
Behind the success story*



*Dr. Samuel Ogbenudia  
Sole Administrator N.R.C.—  
Strong man of the rails*



*Lt.-General (Rtd) Alani Akinrinade  
Minister of Transport:  
In support of efficiency*

## SUPPLEMENT ON N.R.C.

passengers comfort to suit their financial capabilities, depending on the class chosen. The second and third classes are usually cheaper respectively.

After independence, the Nigerian Railway Corporation became a problem child following failure by successive administrations not only give to adequate attention, but to also render necessary assistance towards solving the problems facing the corporation. Such problems as derailments due to poor maintenance of rail lines and locomotives characterized the rail system and consequently threatened the smooth operation of the corporation.

Regrettably enough, the issue of NRC's neglect has dominated the print media over the years. Regrettably too, previous administrations did not see it fit to do something concrete to reverse the unfortunate situation. It is in the light of this fact that the present administration has been rated the most considerate as far as the



**Engr. J.N.A. Maduekwe:**  
*Director (Civil Engineering).*

plight of the NRC is concerned, not without some justifications. In 1986, for instance, the NRC received from the federal government for capital projects and other services, a total sum of N120,261,552 and in 1987 N140,573,485. In 1988 the amount received was N173,644,650 and for the current year 1989, a total of N154 million has been allocated as statutory allocations in the first and second quarters.

Failure of the past administrations to make clear-cut objectives that would put the NRC on a sound footing and ensure absolute viability, to a great extent, multiplied the problems which have plagued the corporation for a period of over 20 years. The railway was neglected and underfunded, it received no serious attention of the government, and even, demands of profits were made. To further buttress this point, an excursion into the various allocations of the railways in the first four national development programmes would suffice.

Of the N309,092 million allocated to the transport sector in the 1962-68 plan period, while highways secured 50 per cent, the rail sector got only a puny 10 per cent. From 1970-74, with N472,398 million allocated to the transport sector, 67 per cent went to the highways while the least allocation of 9.3 per cent was given to the railway. In the 1975-80 plan,



**Engr. P.T. Makye:**  
*Director (Operations).*

with N9,677,541 million transport (sectoral) allocation, it always took a whopping 70.6 per cent while the railway still last with 9.4 per cent.

When in the 1981-85 plan period railway received 25 per cent total sectoral allocation N10,474,462 to Transport, it was seen as improvement in railways began. But most of railway allocation was to be voted to the Standard Gauge project which was to take N1,283 million of the N1,662 million allocated to railway. Unfortunately, the project has been held in abeyance to insufficiency of fund to execute it.

But like a colossus, the present administration has stood so behind the NRC, supplying moral and financial support. Inclusion of railway in the 1985 Transit Programme is another laudable venture of the present administration. On the 18th April 1989, the Transport Minister, General Alani Akinrin

## SUPPLEMENT ON N.R.C.

(rtd) who can be regarded as the prime mover of the positive developments now taking place in the NRC, outlined other expenses the federal government had made to see that the NRC was viable. He indicated that under the World Bank assisted projects, the federal government has been able to defray the cost of revitalization study on the NRC and the purchase of spare parts to refurbish 75 grounded locomotives.

The Minister further stated that under the Nigerian/Romanian debt settlement agreement, NRC was allowed to import workshop equipment and wagons valued at \$18.5 million and following the arrival of these materials, the federal government also allocated N11 million for the installation and commissioning of the equipment and overall modernization of the workshop. Right now, efforts are being geared towards giving the corporation renewed efficiency in all spheres of its activities.

Towards this end, in April 1989,



**Mr. Uduma A. Uduma:**  
Secretary to the Corporation.

the NRC's top management was re-organized and a Sole Administrator in the person of Dr. Samuel Osaigbovo Ogbemudia was appointed. Since then, a new policy orientation has been introduced based on the belief that the corporation must move forward to build a viable, dependable and self-reliant organization that will effectively play its expected roles in the economic life of this country. Although the NRC still depends on government subventions, the Sole Administrator is adopting measures to enhance the corporation's revenue generation drive and at the same time, reduce cost.

The major pre-occupation of NRC since April this year has been the refurbishment of abandoned coaches and wagons as well as the resuscitation of scrapped locomotives to provide the motive power without which no service can be provided and no money earned.

In preparation for the launching of the Railway Mass Transit Programme, the Federal Government allocated N 52 million to NRC to use as down-payment for the purchase of 20 locomotives. The introduction of Commuter Train Services as part of the Federal Urban Mass Transit Programme which was first launched in Lagos on 2nd M. 1989, has been extended to Enugu, Port Harcourt, Kaduna, Minna and Zaria. About 30,000 commuters now use the Rail Mass Transit daily. The

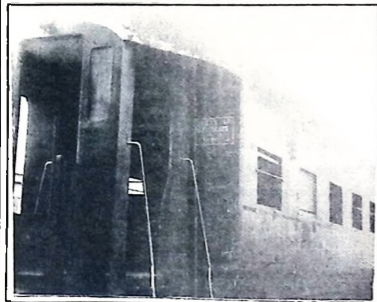


**Mr. Samuel A. Ekedebe:**  
Director of Internal Audit

number is expected to 140,000 daily with the addition of five refurbished locomotives, 30 coaches following the completion and the doubling of the Ebute Metta-Apapa track. The historic train ride from Lagos to Ibadan by the Chief of General Staff, Vice Admiral Augustus Aikhomu in September, 1989, and the President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Nigeria, General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida on October 4, 1989, there is no doubt that the commitment of the Federal Government to the survival of the NRC and the Mass Transit Programme as a whole is completely unalloyed, unmitigated and beyond question.

The NRC has embarked on the construction of a rail line from Kaduna Refinery to make for efficient and cheaper transport of Bitumen and other petroleum products by rail to Port Harcourt for export as well as to other parts of the country. There has been a resumption of Freight Co-

## SUPPLEMENT ON N.R.C.



*An NRC coach before refurbishment.*

Transport which has forced down not only the transport cost of goods, but also saved the rapid deterioration of our roads. Other projects being undertaken at planning stage include the provision of rail facilities for the evacuation of fertilizer from Onne Complex which at the moment is on limited scale pending the completion of a direct rail between Port-Harcourt/Onne Fertilizer Complex and Onne Port. Similar rail lines to industrial areas like Oturkpo in Benue State and Ajaokuta in Kwara State are already designed awaiting construction.

Interestingly enough, since the launching of the Mass Transit Commuter Train Service in Lagos area, the facilities and the number of commuters have increased immensely. By May when it was launched, 20 trains were scheduled to run each day from Monday to Friday and seven trains each day on weekends and public holidays. In August 1989, four

months after the launching, the number of Mass Transit Trains that run per working day and weekend/public holidays increased to 24 and 10 respectively. The total number of commuters in August 1989, was 569,956 which yielded a revenue of N388,183.65 as against 272,167 passengers and a revenue of N193,565.65 in May. The success story of NRC Mass Transit in Lagos is also being told in Enugu, Port Harcourt, Kaduna and Minna, the places this facility has been introduced. Team work and sacrifice on the part of the workers has been the secret of the progress recently being recorded in the NRC. Railway workers have now come to terms with the fact that survival (of the NRC), demands sacrifice.

Apart from Mass Transit Commuter Trains, the corporation runs other passenger trains. Presently, Express Passenger Train is run once a week both ways between Lagos and Kano, Lagos and

Maiduguri and Lagos - Jos. It is also run both ways once a week between Port Harcourt and Kano, Port Harcourt and Jos, Port Harcourt and Maiduguri. The reason for running the express trains once a week in these routes is due to insufficient coaches and locomotives. Nevertheless, the increased refurbishment of coaches and rehabilitation of locomotives presently being undertaken is to produce enough coaches and locomotives to make it possible to run daily express passenger trains.

The corporation places high premium on freight traffic because of its high revenue yielding capacity. In the recent past, freight traffic has been generally low owing to non-availability of locomotives occasioned by lack of spare parts and frequent fuel shortages for at least, up to April 1989. But a frontal attack has now been given to freight-train in order to establish and/or emphasize the fact that the



*Alhaji Mahe Dange mni:  
Director (Administration).*

## SUPPLEMENT ON N.R.C.



*Engr. Ayo Bakare:  
Director (New Lines).*

Railway is still the best system of transportation especially in the haulage of bulky freight. Passenger service is not a paying business in railway transportation. Little wonder then why the Nigerian Railway Corporation prefers the freight to the passenger services. Passenger trains are heavily subsidised and for every N1 spent on a passenger, only about 30k is charged leaving a deficit of 70%. The cost of fuel and oil, the maintenance of the locomotives, the repair of tracks and the payment of wages of staff, completely strips off any gain that would naturally accrue to the corporation.

Although Nigerians are yet to appreciate this fact, for every passenger, as indicated above NRC records a loss of about 70%. Government special interest on passenger services makes it imperative for the NRC to make a case for government's refund of some of the money spent in order to enhance the comfort and welfare of passengers. This explains

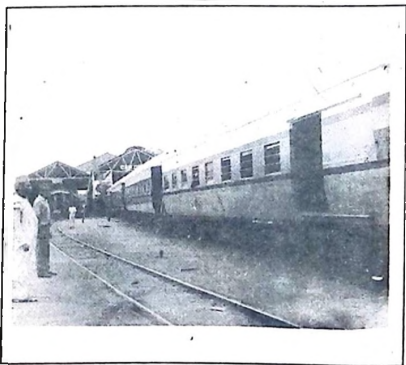
why the President, Gen. Ibrahim Babangida's recent announcement of the extension programme of NRC in which Railway lines would be extended to Katsina, Sokoto, Warri, Yola and Enugu. And this measure is aimed at enhancing greater service to the people as well as ensure the efficiency of rail transportation. The NRC on its own part is ready to commence work on this project as soon as arrangements are concluded. Right now, arrangements for these projects have reached an advanced stage.

To help achieve the task ahead, the NRC has intensified its training programmes. The Mechanical/Electrical Technical School at Ebute-Metta turned out 173 craft apprentices in August this year. The number from the Signal and Communication School was 19. At Enugu Mechanical Training



*Dr. (Mrs) M.A. Nwachuku:  
Director (Health Services).*

School, 49 graduated while about 700 trainees under the National Directorate of Employment Open Apprenticeship scheme are undergoing training in various skills in the Railway Technical Schools. The Corporation also assists in the training of personnel of other organizations in the fields of Diesel maintenance, machine tools, welding, electrical works and installation. The NRC has also made tremendous improvements



*N.R.C. refurbished coaches: Ensuring a better service.*

in the area of personnel management not to talk of efforts being made to improve the living condition of workers. The management of the Corporation is aware that to maintain high level of performance, the workers must be fit. To be able to provide adequate health services for the workers, the medical department has recently expanded its operations and upgraded its facilities which include the establishment of the present Central Hospital with a capacity for 110 beds at the headquarters, Ebute-Metta, industrial clinics at all the divisional headquarters and small, dispensaries along the rail lines all over the federation. There is no doubt therefore, that with the present tempo of activities, the Nigerian Railway Corporation in a matter of few years, will play a leading role in the transport sector of the Nigerian economy.

Nevertheless, there is a serious need for the public to appreciate the plights and predicaments of the NRC. The NRC believes that this appreciation will go a long



*Engr. S.M.R. Wilcox:  
Director (Mechanical/Electrical  
Engineering).*



*Interior of a refurbished coach: Satisfaction guaranteed*

way towards establishing a solid foundation for the building of mutual understanding between the public and the NRC. For instance, the public has to appreciate the fact that the construction of railway tracks in Nigeria at the beginning of this century, was not planned to take care of the present economic, social and political development in the country. Hence, not much was done during the construction to eliminate the very sharp curves and steep gradients which do not allow for high speed maximum safety and operational efficiency. It has also been observed that due to age, wear and tear, certain sections of the track are due for re-railing, re-sleeping as well as re-aligning sharp curves and improving steep gradients. It has been suggested that the present rail lines should be replaced with broader ones.

This suggestion is no doubt a good one. But how practicable is it given the present state of our economy? Against this back-

ground, it can therefore be seen that such venture with an estimated cost of about N15 million is rather too flamboyant to be embarked upon. This is why the NRC believes that the only tenable solution for now, at least, lies in the efforts being made to repair the existing rail lines, establish a second line of the same gauge and ensure sufficiency of rail lines for transportation rather than constructing new gauges.

In fact, there is the need for all and sundry to understand that the case of narrow gauges is not peculiar to Nigeria alone. Japan, India and virtually every other country in the world experience similar problems as Nigeria. Indeed problems associated with railways is global. It would therefore be unfair and somewhat astigmatic for anybody to presume that Nigeria's case would be an exception. With a little understanding Nigerians can begin to appreciate the fact that hardly any railway anywhere in the world can bear

## We Are Indeed Grateful —Dr. Ogbemudia

*Engaged in a warm grill with Hotline, the indefatigable Dr. Samuel O. Ogbemudia, two-time Governor of Bendel State (Military/Civilian regimes), former Chairman of National Sports Commission and a renowned administrator hardly loses his cool. On the contrary, he spoke with admirable presence of mind, volunteering information freely on the flurry of activities that has characterised his eight months stay in office as the Sole Administrator of the Nigerian Railway Corporation.*

*Forthcoming, frank and soft-spoken, Dr. Ogbemudia answered our reporter, Joyce Ehiere's questions with the precision of a soldier and the astuteness of a politician and administrator neatly blended.*

*Read excerpts of the interview below.*

**Hotline:** Sir, since you assumed office as the Sole Administrator of the Nigerian Railway Corporation (NRC), there has been tremendous improvement. Could you please tell us the secret of your success?

**Dr. Ogbemudia:** Personal involvement, interest and relentless pursuit of the objective; leadership by example; and the will to succeed. I strongly believe in teamworkanship; Immediately on assumption of duty on April 20, 1989, apart from acquainting myself with the functions and objectives of the NRC, I quickly identified the major problems for the NRC, mapped out strategies for solving them, mobilised all human and material resources within and outside the Corporation. The results are the improvements in all facets of the NRC management and operations. The Honourable Minister of Industries, Major General Alani Akinrinade (Rtd.) was the prime mover through physical and financial support.

**Hotline:** There is the possibility that when you assumed office, there were some problems you identified in NRC. What was the nature of these problems and how far have you gone in finding lasting solutions to them?

**Dr. Ogbemudia:** Major problems identified on assumption of duty in April, this year were: leadership problem, low morale, inadequate locomo-

tives and rolling stock as well as lack of working tools at various workshops leading to poor passenger and freight train services and low workshop productivity with serious cash flow problem.

Solutions provided were: reorientation of management and leadership at all levels, improved staff morale through regular payment of salaries and wages as well as improved workshop activities. In line with SAP and Mr. President's directive on maintenance culture, we relied primarily on our internal assets and resourcefulness, and ingenuity of our engineers, technicians etc. to achieve some measure of viability by mobilising resources to reactivate about 25 locomotives and refurbish over 250 coaches in the past eight months; leading to regular passenger and freight train services with improved facilities; effective NRC participation in Federal Mass Transit Programme with introduction on May 2, this year of Mass Transit Commuter Train Services in Lagos Area, later extended to Enugu - Port-Harcourt - Enugu sector in June and Kaduna - Mirza - Kaduna; Kaduna - Zaria - Kaduna in August, this year. Plans are at advanced stage to introduce inter and intra-city Mass Transit Commuter Train Services in Oyo, Ogun, Bauchi and Plateau States; improved workshop activities all over the system; improved financial performance by the NRC; revenue increased from N3.8 million per month in April to about N5 million at present.

**Hotline:** It has been noticed that NRC now pays workers' salaries in good time, quite unlike the situation some years ago. How have you been able to achieve this?

**Dr. Ogbemudia:** Firstly, by prudent financial management and reordering our priorities. We also owe a lot of gratitude to Mr. President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, General Ibrahim Babangida and his Administration through the Honourable Minister of Transport, Lieutenant General Alani Akinrinade for their support and financial assistance.

**Hotline:** The NRC has, in time past,

*been neglected by previous administrations but the present Military Government is financing and encouraging the NRC. Would you like to say something in this regard?*

**Dr. Ogbemudia:** As I've stated earlier, with mutual understanding and good support now established between our supervising Ministry of Transport under the able leadership of Lt-Gen. Alani Akinrinade and the NRC, the present administration has been kind enough to put its weight heavily behind the Ministry in building out the NRC and has mapped out programmes to revitalise the Nigerian Railways in the next ten years to enable it play its leading role in improved transportation in Nigeria. We are indeed grateful to Mr. President and his team for the moral and financial support planned to revitalise the NRC.

**Hotline:** How far has the NRC gone in implementing the World Bank assisted projects?

**Dr. Ogbemudia:** Studies conducted on various aspects of management and operations of the NRC had led to Revitalisation Programme designed to resuscitate rail operations in the next ten years and beyond. The thrust of this study includes the most efficient use of existing assets for rehabilitation, a commercial approach to the management of resources, etc.

Besides, work on rehabilitation of the first 30 locomotives has commenced in earnest. Some of the reactivated locos will be back on very soon. We are expecting immediate deliveries of the needed spare parts for other locos.

And also the second phase of World Bank Project to improve Management Information Service and Manpower Development Program in the NRC will soon take off.

**Hotline:** The Mass Transit, as it involves the NRC, is one section I would like you to throw light on; the success as recorded so far and problems facing it?

**Dr. Ogbemudia:** The very first mass project embarked upon by the NRC administration was the launching on Tuesday, May 2, 1989 of

Rail Mass Transit Commuter Train Service between Agbado and Iddo/ Apapa stations in Lagos Area with active collaboration of the Lagos State Government in providing bus and ferry services to co-ordinate commuter journeys from Oyingbo/ Iddo to Marina and Ikoyi.

The programme comprises the operation of Rail Mass Transit trains from Agbado (in Ogun State) to Iddo (26 km) and Apapa (30 km) - two rail terminals nearest city centre (Lagos Island).

The Lagos State Government then provides connecting buses at Iddo, boats and ferries at Otto (in Oyingbo) and Apapa for passengers continuing their journeys into Lagos Island.

During the first experimental month of operation, twelve trains were run on each working day (Monday through Friday), and six trains at week-ends and public Holiday. However, in response to over-growing popular demand for Rail/Mass Transit Services, we have progressively increased not only the frequency of trains in each direction, we have also increased the carrying capacity of each train set (rakes) from 10 to 12 number coaches. In addition, the services had extended beyond Agbado to Ijoko and Ifaw. Presently, we operate at the rate of 22 trains on each working day and 10 on week-ends and Public Holidays run on Lagos Area.

Inter City Mass Transit Commuter Train Services were later introduced between Enugu and Port Harcourt on Monday, June 26, 1989; and between Kaduna and Mirna as well as between Kaduna and Zaria on Friday, August 4, 1989.

As could be seen in the table of Monthly performance (Passenger carried/revenue) below the Rail Mass Transit programme so far introduced has gone a long way to ease Urban and inter-city transportation problem in the country. Arrangements are at advanced stage to introduce similar intra- and inter-city mass transit commuter train services in Oyo, Ogun, Benue, Plateau and Kano States in due course.

It is thus evident that Rail Mass Transit Programme is one of the success stories of the NRC. We plan to introduce Mass Transit Commuter Train Services in all other parts of the coun-

**Table I: Lagos Area Monthly No. Of Passengers Carried**

Month	Passenger
May, 1989	272,167
June, 1989	456,725
July, 1989	469,236
August, 1989	569,956
September 1989	568,333
October, 1989	549,377
November, 1989	445,155

**Table II Enugu-Port Harcourt**

June, 1989	3,654
July, 1989	87,937
August, 1989	130,905
September 1989	145,599
October, 1989	123,344
November, 1989	114,282

**Table III: KDJ-Port Harcourt**

August, 1989	59,426
September 1989	60,692
October, 1989	75,807
November, 1989	68,367

**Table IV: KDJ-Port Harcourt**

August, 1989	23,826
September 1989	27,184
October, 1989	24,039
November, 1989	18,859

try but for constraints of adequate locomotive and rolling stock and limited



*Dr. Samuel Ogbemudia,  
Sole Administrator,  
Nigerian Railway Corporation*

# Face-to-Face with Diligence

By Joyce Ehieze

Beauty enhanced by neatly manicured flowers along the major lanes and evenly spaced storey buildings — such is the environment as one approaches the headquarters of the Nigerian Railway Corporation situated in the heart of Ebute Metta, Lagos.

At a glance, what readily surprises one, is the vastness of the compound which stretches from Yaba Bus Stop off Tejuosho to Oyingbo bus stops. The Railway Medical Centre and Union Bank building are strategically situated alongside the administrative block with about 40 offices including that of the chief public relations officer.

The railway quarters are sub-grouped into streets which are named after some influential Nigerians. I was opportuned to dine at the railway institute which serves as both canteen and recreational centre for the corporation.

Another good impression that needs be mentioned here is the high level of diligence exhibited by the workers. All through my stay there, I noticed that the shuttling and charterings which usually characterise most government parastatals was hardly in practice here; this adds another feather to the cap of the administrators.

Sitting in the fairly furnished office with newspapers and journals that can easily constitute a mini-library is a soft-spoken man in his mid-40's — Idrees Abdul-Azeez, chief public relations officer to the NRC. The courtesy and affability with which this busy gentleman receives the numerous journalists and other persons that flood his office now and again, makes him a perfect fit for the job.

Watching the railway men in action could be a very thrilling experience. Time was about 11.35a.m., Saturday, Railway Terminus, Iddo. The atmosphere

here is different from the usual hustle and bustle of Lagos. Noise from both traffic and passengers trying to obtain their tickets, a few lay-abouts and beggars and petty hawkers rent the air with "Omitutu" (Here's cold water), "e ra mineral tutu" (buy cold mineral) as they try to outdo one another in advertising.

Odd jobs you would say, but the truck pushers in Iddo terminus are determined to survive in Lagos. As they sweat profusely chanting "commot fo road"; "e kuro lo no o", rolling heavy sacks from the locomotives to the waiting room they seemed to be enjoying their source of livelihood after all. "Monkey no fine, but im mama like am". At exactly 12 noon, the Jos bound express train left Lagos.

Back at railway headquarters for my interview appointment with Dr. Ogbemudia. Lugging my writing materials and tape recorder, I proceeded to the "inner chambers" of the sole administrator's office with chief public relations officer in tow. This however, amazed other journalists who were "grounded" in the waiting room. (The S.A.'s office is a no-go area with police men on guard!). Pictures of railway executives for the past two decades, adorn the S.A.'s, tastily furnished office. I couldn't stop glancing intermitently at the

"...They seemed to be enjoying their source of livelihood after all. 'Monkey no fire, but im mama like am'".

whole decor.

At the mechanical electrical department, Engr. S.M.R. Wilcox is the director in charge. He joined the NRC in April, 1957 as a technical assistant-in-training and was later promoted to the grade of a mechanical engineer in June 1965 and by February 1987 he attained this post of director. A chartered engineer, Engr. Wilcox is a registered member of the Council of Registered Engineers (COREN), in addition to holding the membership of the British Institute of Production Engineers.

The director of health services of the corporation Dr. (Mrs) O.M. Nwachuku, an alumnus of Aberdeen Medical School, Scotland, is one interesting person that needs to be mentioned here. She joined the service of the NRC in 1971 and has since put in 19 years of meritorious service.

The director of new lines of the corporation, Engr. Ayodele Bakare joined the NRC in 1969 and served in various sub-districts from 1972-76. He was promoted to the post of assistant director in 1981. Engr. Bakare was a member of the NRC delegation on study tour of Zambia Railways in 1979.

These are some of the many men and women whose brains, efforts and untiring commitment make possible the long flow of human and cargo traffic across the nation's once ailing rail-lines.

In all, the NRC can be said to be assuming a new dimension in administrative efficiency and to be witnessing a new era of commercial viability.

It is with crossed fingers that the nation now awaits more breakthroughs in 1990 and beyond. Here is to hoping that the dynamic NRC team continues to function even pleasantly above expectation.



# NIGERIAN RAILWAY CORPORATION

## P. M. B. 1037, Ebute-Metta, Lagos.

The Management and Staff of Nigerian Railway Corporation

### *WISH TO THANK*

The general public, our numerous customers and well-wishers including President Ibrahim Babangida, the Chief of General Staff, Vice-Admiral Augustus Aikhomu and especially the millions of Nigerians whose loyal patronage has meant an increased use of the expanded railway services in the year 1989.



Lt. Gen. Alani Akinrinade  
Minister for Transport



General Ibrahim Babangida  
President and Commander-in-  
Chief of the Nigerian Armed  
Forces.



Dr. Samuel Ogbemudia  
Sole Administrator, NRC

#### **With:**

- Introduction of Mass Transit Commuter Train Services (already available in Anambra, Lagos, Kaduna, Niger and Rivers states).
- Increased Passengers Train Services.
- Increased and improved freight traffic.

NRC has already taken the leap into the '90s, and promises you the quality services that you deserve.

*HAPPY NEW YEAR.*

**MANAGEMENT.**

# Delays, Technicalities and Injustice

By Yahaya Mahmood

Any person who is arrested or detained shall be brought before a court of law within a reasonable time, and if he is not tried within 2 or 3 months, as the case may be, he shall be released either unconditionally or upon such conditions as are reasonably necessary to ensure that he appears for trial at a later date. This is what Section 32 (4) of 1979 Constitution and Section 34 (4) of the 1989 Constitution provide. And in the determination of civil rights and obligations, including any question or determination by or against any government or authority, a person shall be entitled to a fair hearing within a reasonable time by a court or other tribunal established by law and constituted in such manner as to secure its independence and impartiality. See Section 33 (1) of the 1979 Constitution and Section 35 (1) of the 1989 constitution. In the case of *Unongu V. Aku* (1983) Justice Bello held that the old adage that delay of justice is a denial of justice has the same force as the maxim that hasty justice or hurried justice is also a denial of justice. The determining factor may be the nature of any given case and its circumstances.

Justice is not a fencing game in which parties engage themselves in air exercise of outsmarting each other on technicalities to the detriment of the determination of substantial issues between them. This was what Justice Ariagolu said in the case of *Afolabi V. Adekunle* (1983). In the later case of *Ezewani V. Onwardi* (1986) Justice Oputa stated that in his humble view, in the quest for justice, the court should not be inhibited by unnecessary technicalities but should rather consider and deal with legal results of pleaded facts. These two cases from the highest court of the land shows that the courts themselves have never been in favour of technicalities.

In some cases however, the courts have held that while trying to do justice between parties, they must decide cases in accordance with well settled principles of law. This was what Justice Nnamani said in the case of *Okafor V. Idigo* (1984). This may mean that whenever the law states clearly what the procedure shall be, it

must be followed. But the strict rules are relaxed to ensure that justice is done. In the recent case of *U.T.C. V. Pamotei* (1989) the Supreme Court held that rules of procedure are made for the convenience and orderly hearing of cases in court. They are made to help the cause of justice and not to defeat it. The rules are therefore aids to the court and not masters of the court. For courts to read rules in the absolute without recourse to the justice of the cause, will be making the courts slavish to the rules. There is no reason why the laws should not provide time limits within which things should be done. That in the superior courts i.e High Courts, court of Appeal and Supreme Court, no case should last for more than 6 months, while in the junior courts and other tribunals cases should not be delayed for more than one year.

While in a criminal trial, a trial within trial to determine the voluntariness of a statement allegedly made by an accused is for all purposes a separate trial, there will be nothing wrong if the law provides that it must be determined within a month from the date the objection is raised.

These time limits may help in many ways. The witnesses will be giving evidence that is still fresh in their memory. The judges will be considering testimonies that are fresh, within times that demeanour of witnesses could still be fresh. Sentences passed may be appreciated by both the victim and the convict in criminal cases, and both parties in civil matters. There is no law that gives a doctor the right to examine a corpse or perform post-mortem of an accident victim within 48 hours of the accident and then delay the issuance of the report for more than two weeks. There is no law that insists that the police must type the case diary and its contents before sending it to the Ministry of Justice for advise. There is no law which stops the Magistrate from going ahead with a criminal case without the advise, or binds him by the advise from the Ministry of Justice.

One discovers therefore that all delays are caused by those officers whose duty it is to respect the Consti-

tution, by their oath or nature of their duties, to dispense with the cases within reasonable time. It is possible, therefore, to make practicable directions, and amendments to remove all delays in the administration of justice, civil and criminal.

Within the last 5 years or so, the attitude of our superior courts is to rely more on justice of each case instead of strict adherence to rules of procedure. But this depends mostly on individual judges. Some judges think they are good if they challenge pleadings, papers filed before them or submissions that violate the a rule of law or rule of procedure, no matter how slight. The correct position should be that as long as there is substantial compliance, the main issue for consideration shall remain to be the justice of the case. Few will deny that numerous ills from which we suffer are the direct result of the stresses, tensions and conflicts characteristic of a civilized and therefore complex mode of existence. Nigerians are mostly in a hurry to be British or Americans. Not Nigerians to succeed as Nigerians. Not Nigerians proud of themselves, their cultures and their values. We have all become accustomed in modern times to the purely secular conception of law as made by man for man and to be judged accordingly in purely human terms. Very different was the attitude of earlier, more peaceful, ages, when law was regarded as having a sanctity which bespoke a celestial or divine origin. Law, morality and religion were treated then as inevitably inter related. Each was given its deserved respect. Justice Eso of the Supreme Court has said in the case of *Transbridge V. Survey* (1986) that the function of judges is to keep the law alive, in motion, and to make it progressive for the purpose of aiming at the end of justice, without being inhibited by technicalities in order to find every conceivable, but acceptable way of avoiding narrowness that would spell injustice. *Ex parte* motions, interim injunctions, stays are to be given with absolute caution, and only when it is necessary to preserve rights.

*Mahmood is a private legal practitioner.*

# Dig Out 'Aruwa'

Ranch Bees Football Club has for the past few years been braving the stormy tides of Nigerian and international soccer and even when it came close to clinching the 1987 edition of the F.A. Cup but narrowly lost it to Abiola Babes of Abeokuta, all were agreed that it was a mere turn-of-the-cards and that the Bees were destined for top-rating. Thus, their winning the WAFU Cup this year, plus their chance to represent the country in the battle for Mandela's Cup in 1990 goes to prove just this.

Yet, it seems to me that all may not be well with the Club for much longer because all does not appear to be well with the proprietor/financier of the nation's favourite team, Alhaji Ahmed Mohammed Mukhtar Aruwa, who to my knowledge has not made a public appearance within the last two months or so.

This comes in the wake of unconfirmed reports in some media, especially *Newsweek* magazine and others, that the man is now in some sort of trouble with authorities of Nigeria and elsewhere involving some of the many corporations that he is involved in.

There is apprehension and misgivings in the air and as if to buttress this very fact, Alhaji Mukhtar Aruwa did not (a sacrilege!) even attend the occasion of the launching of the Ranch Bees Stadium Development Fund/Ranch Bees WAFU Cup victory party at the stadium grounds in Kaduna. There and then too, rumours grew rife that Aruwa is "making time" in a secret hide-out following speculations that he may be wanted in connection with some shady international deals involving some of his companies in Nigeria and abroad.

There were also reports of the existence of certain documents which are said to indict 'Aruwa' of fraudulent and extra-legal activities at the Commercial Trust Bank (Nig), which is said to be wholly-owned by him.

It is amidst the lush proliferation of such reports and rumours that another dismaying speculation is now making the rounds across the nation especially among sports enthusiasts: To wit, that because of these legal, financial and security problems, Alhaji Mukhtar Aruwa plans to sell off the Ranch Bees Football Club!

*Hotline* international newsmagazine is noted and admired for its illuminating exposes of the issues and peoples of the moment. *Hotline* readers for ever cherish the magazine's timely investigations and reports on the lives and activities of individuals and institutions who mean much to its wide readership.

*Hotline* has prior to this served its readers exhaustive reports on Ibrahim Dasuki: '*Dasuki, Whose Sultan*', Obasanjo: '*A Prophet Of Doom*', Sunny Okogwu: '*Agony Of A Citizen*', Abiola: '*Controversy Unlimited*' etc. and others on corporate bodies - Ajaokuta: '*The Steal Connection*', '*Okpere vs Skypower*' etc. just to mention a few.

Dear Editor, will it be asking too much to request that you do the same on the increasingly controversial proprietor of Ranch Bees Football Club, Alhaji Ahmed Mukhtar Muhammad Aruwa and the vast number of businesses in which he is involved? Can you apply your efficient investigative and journalistic machinery to dig into the life of this man who has come to represent so much to so many people; the man on whose behest the darling

**"Readers for ever cherish the magazine's timely investigations and reports on the lives and activities of individuals and institutions."**

Ranch Bees and various other people - employing, gainful institutions exist?

Can *Hotline* find out for its numerous readers, for how long 'Aruwa' intends to continue financing the Ranch Bees Football Club? Is it true that he wholly owns all those organisations credited to his name? Which organisations in Nigeria and abroad does he own and in which does he merely participate? How many staff are on his pay-roll and how does he cope with the management of the motley corporations that he is said to head? Indeed, is he up to date with all their operations and activities or is he merely a front? Also does Aruwa own the property housing the IBWA in Kaduna South and if so what is the nature of the controversy surrounding it?

All we are asking is that *Hotline* should in its unique way, search and present to us the essence and spirit of the man behind the Bees and the businesses behind the man. You have done the like before, can you do the same now?

Yours faithfully,  
Marcus Aboki Kazah  
Ungwar Sunday, Kaduna South.

**"Will it be asking too much to request that you do the same on the increasingly controversial proprietor of Ranch Bees Football Club?"**

*"Yours is the most precious recognition Hotline craves for — the satisfaction of the reader. We have taken your letter as a challenge and will do our best to dig out the man, Aruwa, — his ideas, his principles, the myths, the realities, and of course, the prejudices. Keep a date with our next edition or the one after to have your curiosity melted. It is a promise.*

— Editor.

# Genius In Search of Expression

By Muh'd Hassan-Tom

A million to one, a twenty-two year old secondary school leaver going by the alias "Reckoner" will pass for a rowdy and loud but underdeveloped 'man', but Musa Abdullahi, Barewa College Class of '89 is truly a Reckoner.

Born in Bichi, Kano state but brought up in the old city of Zaria, Kaduna state, Musa discovered at age ten that his brains had exceptional prowess comparable to the computer's.

Here is a prodigy of intellect that without any aids whatsoever and within the briefest pause, can give the day of week of any given date as well as the exact number of days and weeks and months since that date!

Musa Abdullahi was at *Hotline* and before he left nobody he met was left in doubt of all his claims. ('Nobody' here being a detachment of the tall order in skepticism called Nigerian journalists). If the *Hotline* sports writers were not unavoidably absent, they would have thereafter been in doubt who to tag Maradona.

Musa juggles the oddest combination of figures, by addition, by subtraction, by division as indeed by all the common mathematical operations. The feat is that it is all mental and done in less time than the best calculator.

Even greater doubting Thomases at the Ahmadu Bello University Com-

puter Science Department put him through tests back in 1987, and they concluded that his brains compare favourably with the computer!

So what is the nature of this peculiar gift and how does it affect its bearer? *Hotline* was curious.

"I really don't know" says Musa, picking his words slowly "it is just that when I am given a mathematical problem or any problem involving dates, days and all calculations in general, I look at the problem and I see the solution in its finished form."

*Hotline* also asked whether he makes mistakes in his reckoning and Musa was definite about its never occurring to his memory. He added though that "I am also human." And human he is, for the young man lays no claim to vision, inspiration by spirits or any feelings of a super-natural or abnormal kind. Though a wonder, Musa Abdullahi is still within the folds of humanity as we all know it.

Unlike most other geniuses even, Musa has not the slightest eccentricity. He enjoys every-day food, participates in every-day routines and is outwardly just a young man, up and about in a not too perceptive world.

Yes, a wonder about which no-one has done anything spectacular, except perhaps the young man himself. He had found a receptive market for his

"services" at markets and other places where transactions involving complex and huge sums are featured.

Musa however declined to give an idea of his earnings but he admitted that it is a ready source of cash. Some people, he said, are so appreciative of his abilities that they pay him to demonstrate and when he does, they give him even more for his dexterity.

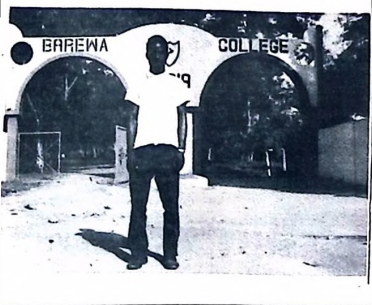
A rosy-looking story, but it is not all roses now. Musa Abdullahi is at the cross-roads of life and a single act of negligence will mean that all that genius will go down the drain. Indeed that it has not gone down yet is the will of God executed through the grace of a few men, for Mallam Abdullahi father of ten children besides Musa, scrapes together a living selling dried cassava at the Sabon Gari market, Zaria. The boys college fees were paid by a Mallam Ahmed Abdul-Wahab, the AGM Kaduna Textiles Limited and further support came from people like Alhaji Ahmadu Kurfi.

Reacting to the same inner drive that enabled him survive on his 'gift', Musa Abdullahi is once more on the move - battling the poverty and deprivation that may yet turn his genius to premature ashes and enact a tragedy of unnecessary ruin.

Aristotle was not in jest when he wrote that "Youth is spent in expectation and old age in memory." Musa's biding ambition today is to proceed to any of the worlds best computer science and technology schools, and what else? - turn to a human computer.

In theory, this should not be a tall ambition. What with government's gifted children programme, the bureaux for external aid, the opportunities offered by international organisations like the Commonwealth as well as foreign governments and institutions.

But the reality may not turn out like this. This being a world, too often, of perpetual disadvantage and multiplying fortunes. Unless, unless of course, someone OUT THERE, somehow insists that Musa Abdullahi (Reckoner) does not live and die merely as a genius in search of expression.



Musa Abdullahi: A Reckoner yet to be reckoned with.

# An Important Way Of Solving International Problems

*By Professor Igor Usachev*

Since the end of the Second World War there have been more than enough armed conflicts and minor wars. Scientists have calculated that the number of victims in these conflicts is equal to the number of people killed in the First World War. Yet, none of the armed conflicts or minor wars has brought any serious advantages to the side using force. Armed violence never remedied the illness that caused the conflict, but only drove it in. When the stronger side imposed its will on the weaker one, the latter sought revenge and gave way to its hatred whenever their relations worsened.

The above said acquires particular importance in our time when the world is facing the threat of nuclear self-destruction. In such conditions, wars and armed conflicts stop being a means of reasonable policy. The senselessness of using force in the nuclear and space epoch has raised the question of a foundation for future relations between all states, big and small, with differing socio-political systems. In his report to the Congress of People's Deputies, Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev emphasized that dialogue and talks pursuing balance of interests, not confrontation, must

become the only way of solving international problems and settling conflicts.

The Soviet side does not claim the role of a pioneer. Since its inception, the Non-Aligned Movement has had a similar approach, though this principle was in international life on very few occasions.

In the past the balance of interests was reached through long and painful talks after attempts to gain unilateral advantages. This was due to the tense international situation, and regional conflicts frequently involving major powers in various parts of our planet.

Today the situation is changing for the better and confrontation is being replaced by dialogue and cooperation, including between the Soviet Union and the United States. Representatives of these two major powers, on whose policies peace and security largely depend, discussed peaceful means of settling conflicts in addition to disarmament issues at their meetings and talks, particularly at the summit level. This creates favourable opportunities for political settlement of local conflicts.

In the new international situation, this trend is being intensified by the new political thinking. Efforts are being made to settle regional conflicts, some of which have plagued the world for years.

The accords on Afghanistan concluded in Geneva last year have opened up the way to settling this conflict. The Soviet Union and the United States are the guarantors of these accords, which are being implemented with great difficulties due to the unwillingness of some parties to the agreement,



*President George Bush  
of United State*

particularly Pakistan, to fulfil their commitments. Nonetheless, the process of political settlement in Afghanistan is being continued.

Difficulties are being successfully overcome in implementing the agreement on a settlement in South-West Africa, signed in New York last December by Angola, Cuba and South Africa. Following this agreement, South Africa withdrew its troops from Angola, and the way to independence was opened up for the Namibian people on the basis of the United Nation's plan.

Ways are being charted to settle regional conflicts in Kampuchea and Central America, and talks are being held with UN assistance on concluding a peaceful agreement between Iran and Iraq, as the war is over.

The Soviet Union has always followed the course of settling disputable international issues through peaceful talks. It has invariably supported this policy and taken part in its implementation. At the Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow peaceful settlement to disputable international issues was adopted as a basic principle of the Soviet foreign policy.



*Mikhail Gorbachev  
Soviet Leader*

# The Working Mother: A Liberated Woman?

By Grace Uadia

Before now, women were expected to be fully committed to the home and occasionally help the husband on the farm. But today the role of the woman has changed. The change is so gradual that nobody seems to notice its effect on her or even show any interest as it is fast becoming part and parcel of the societal norms. Those who manage to notice this gradual change see this as the sign of the liberated woman, which is very unfair. In the light of the fact that the economic condition of the country is not changing for the better, women have to find a source of complementing their husband's efforts.

By so doing, women are being put in a position where they play a three-in-one role; the wife, the mother, and the worker. One cannot help but wonder how women cope with these very challenging roles. It deserves to be properly appreciated.

The class of working mothers most likely to have little or no problem are the teachers. What then happens to the "non-teachers"? How they cope cannot be overlooked as trivial or a sign of liberation.

Though some women like Mrs. Obiyan, a teacher in one of the secondary schools in Kaduna, claim not to have much problems, but not every mother is that lucky. Mrs. S. Amoku, a hair dresser along Alkali Road, hardly has enough time for her children let alone her husband. Where the teacher resumes at 7.30 a.m. and closes at 12.30 p.m., she resumes 9.00 a.m. and closes 7 or 8.00 p.m. Mondays to Saturdays. Her situation is even more compounded because she has no house help. Even in cases where there are house helps like that of Mrs. Salamatu Adamu a Chartered Accountant in one of the accounting firms in Kaduna, the child still desires the attention and love of the mother. But how often she can do this depends on how tired she is after the day's job. What about the wifely aspect? The woman married to a civil servant, not only makes sure he has his lunch but has to perform her wifely duty towards him before she continues her job. But can that be possible in all cases? Consider the case of a bank

worker or a trader who after a hectic day has to listen to her husband, talk to him, attend to the kids and plan against the next day. You can imagine how tired she will be if she succeeds to go through all these at the end of the day only to wake up as early as 5.00 a.m. the next morning for a fresh start. Above all, the husband lays his complaints and the kids give their own share of problems; no wonder some women grow slim and always carry that tired look as they keep playing this triple role.

These accounts typify what many of our average Nigerian women go through and there is no doubt that their experiences have made a lot of differences in their marriages and material responsibilities.

For instance, a woman has to leave her house as early as 7.00 a.m. to come back as late as 7.00 p.m. or more, the kind of relationship existing between her and her family would be questionable. Obviously, there will be this strain in relationship which is determined by how often and well she attends to the needs and desires of her family in between her work and leisure. What goes on in the house while she is away becomes a constant source of worry. She starts getting easily irritated and snaps at anything, even at her husband and children. The idea of having a nanny becomes inevitable, yet, it creates its own problems. Sometimes some of these nannies exercise malevolent influences over these kids which may result into initiating the child into something like witchcraft. The kids could still be exposed to dangers (such as fire incidents) which the nanny is supposed to guard against. In some cases these children are made to cultivate very bad habits, like stealing. Everything

considered, how safe then is it for a woman to leave her family in the hands of a nanny? Besides how many of our average Nigerian homes can afford a nanny?

What shall we say then of these things? Should the woman do away with her job and be fully committed to the home? There is an inherent dilemma here because to continue to shoulder her responsibilities effectively, she needs a little help from the husband. What she is doing is not for her benefit alone but in the interest of the entire family.

There is need for the husband to be more understanding and considerate. At times when she gets easily irritated, he should understand it is due to stress from the day's work. He needs to bear with her and not see it as a fault. As a source of encouragement she will be spurred to continue with her struggles if her efforts are commended and not seen as trivial. He should at least do his best to take care of her, he could even help look after the kids while she is away, give them (both the wife and kids) his love and attention. He needs not overstep his bounds in cases where nannies are employed, that is the best he can do show gratitude towards her work.

As earlier said, women's liberated or not, we pray God to grant women the strength and courage to carry out this triple role gracefully and deftly. What they are doing is a power tussle or "show" but a desperate struggle to have a buoyant family which every one strives to attain. In the final analysis, you will discover that, the question of whether a working mother is a liberated woman or not rests heavily on the background and experiences of whoever is passing the judgment.

What shall we say then of these things? Should the woman do away with her job and be fully committed to the home?

## First Class Embarrassment

Hear tory O! Was that supposed to be, a casino-joke? Gaskiyal these registered *amebas* can cause tribal-nuclear war in Nigeria. Quick, quick, without cross-checking the *ua* (story) they go on air again and again - First Nigerian presidio are *yamutu* in his home town in the early hours of Thursday, abi Friday(?). Some radio stations had given a brief *amebo*-like run down of presidio's auto biography profile. *Osanobua* up in the highest heaven above! Joke na joke-o. Quick, quick, ambassadors and ambassadors from oyibo countries have dispatched agents to go greet Nigeria over the death of her living presidio. *Chinekel*, what a first class embarrassment!! Na wa o, I fear this kain christmas gift, if we may call it so; where men pikin still swallowing *akpu* in his house will read his own obituary with his crow-crow eyes, fa, and hear it again and again like "news nation-wide". This imaginary death could make one begin to count his heart beat and ask his wife every day he wakes up, "em darling am I still alive so, abi this world is the one beyond?"

Don't mind them o, oga former president journalist, you are alive *kankpe*. Whether they want to kill all old politicians by force to bring in the newbreed, we wonder. Sometime sef, some were looking forward to having the contract to purchase *aso ebi* (uniform) for the obitu; contract to build presidential casket; contract to purchase *nmaya* (drinks) etceteram - etceteram... Not to worry, Allah is telling you with metaphors that you have been booked down for long-long life in the diary of heaven *Ise* (Amen).

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## Those Accused

Ha, ha, ha, oga governor in the biggest Yorubaland, I love your style well-well. So hard times that is not curse has reached the stage where una must publish the names of die-hard borrowers for bank to make them pay up? You say advertising the names of the accused is not meant to laugh them

and let shame make them pay. I beg o. I no sabi bookuru, but, if publishing the names for public consumption is not supposed to compel them to pay by ridiculing them, what purpose are advertising the names meant to serve? You wan give them promotion, or scholarship? Abi you think they have forget? *Ina!* Blackman only forgets to pay back, never to borrow. Printing the names of borrow-borrows that are refusing to pay, whether they are big man or dwarf man is not wrong, that is, if their *kankoni* (lineup) is overflowing. After all, business are business. If everybody is borrow money without return, naira go remain for Central Bank at all so? If you so desire sef, put the names and pictures of



those accused on bill-boards; whichever way you choose, just make them vomit the *kudi cikanan!*

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## Oyibo Money

Once upon one time, one *gofnor* of that state with the short name of our country almost went *shokoto* and *babariga* in hand to beg the indigenous owners and sons of the state to come build at least 1/4 scale industries, even if it is simply an industry to carve native chewing stick, e go do. You remember? This state is supposed to have many giant business and big civil-servant men scattered all over Nigeria with 'white houses' in Victoria Island, Lagos; Jabi and Kinkino Roads, Kaduna, and other best government G.R.A.'s. They have massive factories, exporting/importing, forwarding and backwarding and clearing enterprises everywhere. But

a small hut to mend Bata shoe and market-basket in this state, they have not even one!

I hear this *gofnor* begged and begged; some started *helepu* him develop the state. I hear the state is not looking as primitively backward as it was just a few years back. Congrats. Now, I hear too that one community of Economic Europeans have promised to borrow, abi dash, (e jo, I no know again be) anyway, this community is to give this backward state plus Igbira state about 35 million oyibo dollar for rural infrastructural development. That is very good and kind indeed of this Oyibo lenders. If we use the *muri* to electrify, give water, health centres etc... to needy areas, that go better. But if we decide to see oyibo civilisation one time, and use this oyibo money to build beautiful roundabouts and parks for village people who are no sabi or need park, e go bad o. That means, this hard time that has come so ch? e no go go sam-sam.

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## Nama-Men

Did you hear that Nigerian nama-men stranded in Ivory-Coast, Ghana and other brotherly countries ate to return home soon? Hooray! More anu-meat for Nigeria has come be dat. By the way however, wetin carry our *Melameli* go Ghana, Ivory-Coast and Soweto? Me, I can't seem to understand the logistic mentality of Nigerian black-man o. Did they go to sell *nama* or *nono* in Ghana when cow-leg and *kpomo* are so dear in this country? Or them go special pilgrimage? Anyway sha o, *gofment*, *biko*, speedily bring them back as some of them may not know *hanya* - road to their villages anymore. Besides, we need the meat o. *Omomo* (baby) needs it, plus *miliki*, *Edele* (old person) need am too, even radical students, extremists and gun-carriers need *nama da milk*. Don't you think so? Did someone in uniform once say that the best pepper-soup to take over a bottle of beer is one made with cow tail and its *kayan ciki* (stomach content)? Thoughts of possible change in leadership tend to flow smoother over this delicacy(?) they say. Me? I no know o.

# Those Who Live In Glass Houses ...

By DSP Umar Idris

We Nigerians are quick to point accusing fingers away from us forgetting the fact that those in glass houses should be sufficiently wise about handling stones whether playfully or otherwise. The Nigeria Police is one organization which enjoys more media coverage, albeit mostly negative, than any other. Most of the coverage centers around corruption in the force, as if it is the only organization that is corrupt. I have always maintained that the police force is unfortunate to find itself in this situation described by a Hausa saying that all birds do have a taste of faeces but the vulture is the only one usually caught "in the act."

There is no working place, whether in government institutions, private establishment or even among individuals that there is no corruption. Take the case of our millionaires, some of whom made their millions without visible means of livelihood. These, along with our retired this and that. How did they get their millions? What in fact is their defence? Hard working? Length of service? Wise saving? Certainly not. It is just that they are "cleverer" than other Nigerians. For there are millions of Nigerians with long years of hard and meritorious service but are as rich as 'Church rats'. Our millionaires ought to be asked to explain the sources of their wealth. Instead, they are even praised, in spite of the fact that their activities have resulted in uncountable number of Nigerians living a miserable life.

A visit to the market will educate one as to the extent of corruption in the Nigerian society. In the first place, the prices of items are differently applied depending upon the bargaining power of customers. Some of the transactions are conducted on behalf of the owners so that whatever excess that results from the over pricing goes to the man on the spot.

Or the case of commercial drivers and their conductors. While the conductor pockets money from some passengers, the driver returns to his master much less than he earned. These same people are quick to inflate fares at the expense of the public where and when a situation of shortage of vehicles is created. Yet theirs is not considered an offence.

During my student days in the university, I did not only read about corruption by members of the executives of various higher institutions' students' bodies but also saw how rife it was in my university. Such students' 'leaders' have been investigated and found to be corrupt. Yet students assume a holier than thou attitude and waste no time in calling the police corrupt.

For any person who has cause to visit a government or private organization on a business, he will get to know that corruption is not restricted to the police force alone. The degree of respectful response by the workers on a first visit will depend on the type of dress one is putting on. On subsequent visits, one is accorded positive response depending on the number of

'All birds do have a taste of faeces but the vulture is the only one usually caught "in the act.'

times he dips his hands in his pocket. And one's successful business conduct is predicated on this. In fact in most of these places, a person cannot see the boss without 'seeing' his messenger first.

In this country we have people paid and housed just for the purpose of administering justice. These are the judges and magistrates. It is common knowledge that this group of Nigerians have turned their court rooms and/or chambers into grounds for getting rich. Some of these arbitrators connive with lawyers to commit all sorts of corruption. Similarly lawyers, those people who wear wigs and gown, as a prelude to performance of duty, are known to bribe policemen in order to allow them win cases in court.

What of the media which do the publishing? The practitioners of this profession usually forget about 'Brown Envelope.' Whether it is the news gatherer or member of the editorial staff, the camera man or advertiser, they are all involved. Media men and women are known to publish or refuse to publish, write or refuse to do so on an issue or person simply because their palms have not been greased. Yet these people call themselves the watch dogs (though they are not dogs) of the society.

In the final analysis, one feels safe to conclude that looking at the present Nigerian society it is unjust to point only at the police for the offence of corruption. I am always prepared and ready to present a policeman in a market place and dare any Nigerian who is not corrupt to stone him. It will prove a difficult venture even among God's representatives in this country.

Umar is the P.P.R.O. of Kaduna State Police Command.

"The Nigeria Police is one organization which enjoys more media coverage, albeit mostly negative, than any other. Most of the coverage centres around corruption in the force, as if it is the only organization that is corrupt."

# Politics of Challenge Cup

By Danjuma Bawa

Sports development in Nigeria has come a long way since the attainment of independence in 1960. However this development has been imbued with intra-national politics. It is the same very conscious differences that are exhibited in our everyday life that we also given prominence in our appreciation of sports. This is even more so when we talk of the game of football and particularly the most prestigious football competition in the land, the F.A. Cup, otherwise known as the Challenge Cup.

The Football Association Cup (Challenge Cup) is the dream achievement of every football club in Nigeria. It is the one cup that heralds the arrival of a team either as a permanent mark of superiority or as a "flash in the pan". It gives most clubs the opportunity of striving covetously to at least have their names on record as one of the winners of this premier cup. In spite of the entertainment aura that surrounds this competition, there is always more to it than meets the eyes.

It is most unfortunate and painful too that we are still very amnesic in our concept and perception of history. At every possible moment, we easily allow our sentimental and emotional attachments becloud our vision of reality. We see every team, especially if they happen to come from either sides of the River Niger, as warlords of the North and the South, meeting

on the battle field of soccer. And since these soccer wars had often not been fought on neutral grounds, the outcome of such wars makes your guess as good as mine.

Talking about venues, it would be pertinent to remind those who need reminding that since the inception of the Challenge Cup in 1945, the venue had always been the Lagos - Ibadan Axis. And if venues determine who wins the Challenge Cup, then this 'AXIS' went a long way in determining the past winners of the prestigious cup.

Most teams who arrived this 'Axis' as finalists, often found a reception akin to a foreign country's. They are intimidated and subjected to all forms of harassments. In sum, the atmosphere is charged in such a way as not to enhance success. What is most painful in this situation is the hypocrisy of some of us. We saw these things happening yet turned our blind sights but when the same thing happens elsewhere, even though not in the same magnitude, we raise our voices to high heavens, shouting all sorts of obscenities and crying wolf even where none exists.

There were no voices of dissent since all those years when the finals were played in Lagos. Nobody had any cause for complaints, perhaps because it favoured most participating teams. But when the venue was



*Inuwa Rigogo: a veteran goal keeper.*

shifted to Bauchi, (in the North) outside its 'traditional home', every one with the avenue had been shouting themselves hoarse.

We should try and understand that, venues for the finals of the Challenge Cup is not the absolute privilege of a particular area, it is a privilege that must be enjoyed by every state in Nigeria. And that is why it should be made rotational so that one team does not enjoy total home support to the disadvantage of another. Bauchi State had only pioneered this new and welcome trend.

Some critics went to the ridiculous extent of saying that a Southern goal won the cup for the North. It is a most absurd thing for anybody to think. After all this isn't news to anybody except those who are still finding it difficult to believe that the cup is in the North. Have these 'Thomas'es' forgotten so soon the exploits of some 'Northern' football notables like Lawal Inuwa Rigogo, who kept the goal for Nigeria in the 60's and Dahiru Sadi who played for Abiola Babes?

Lawal Inuwa Rigogo, a Northerner, was the goalkeeper for the E.C.N. (now NEPA) team of Lagos that won the Challenge Cup in 1965. And it was Dahiru Sadi of Abiola Babes who scored the first goal against B.C.C. Lions of Gboko (the present champions) in the final of the 1985 Challenge Cup which Abiola Babes eventually won via penalty shoot-outs.

Let us be honest with ourselves and call it as we see it instead of being hypocritical about it. Football is an interesting game and no doubt one with the largest followership in the country. But it can only be appreciated in a most ideal situation, a situation that does not handicap the true nature of the game and how it should be enjoyed.



*BCC Lions of Gboko: winners of this year's Challenge Cup.*

## Rambler Resumes

Towards the end of last year

(1988) readers of this column were informed of my intention to take a short leave but would resume early in the new year (1989). The vacation seemed a longish one and a lot of water had since passed under the bridge during the almost twelve months' leave period especially in the political arena.

In May, 1989 the President lifted the ban on political activities following which many political associations mushroomed — some say — as many as 100 associations made the debut claiming to have newbreed memberships and leaderships. The so-called old brigade were regarded as lepers or devil, incarnate who should be avoided at all costs. I think that old breed, newbreed, mixed breed, newgreed — are all made from the same Nigerian stock. In the animal or biological world genes are passed on from one generation to another and no amount of genetic engineering by anybody, soldiers included, can alter that fact. The attributes, good or bad, of the old block — the chips — form the building blocks that produce the off springs — "newbreed" — and these usually turn out to be imperfect copies of the old — thanks to breakages, adulteration of the sand/cement mixture etc. In July 1989, the National Electoral Commission (NEC) invited political associations to submit applications for registration as recognised political parties to contest elections that will usher in civilist rule from 1990 onwards.

Thirteen associations applied but others could not, partly because of the N50,000.00 registration fee demanded by NEC, and also because of the very stringent conditions laid down by the electoral body to be fulfilled by associations seeking registration. The associations worked day and night, spent enormous financial resources, millions of men hours, employed thousands of workers, in order to meet the stringent conditions for registration set by NEC. The associations established, equipped and staffed offices at ward, local government, state and national levels and registered hundreds of thousands of memberships. The almighty NEC went into the field in August this year

to VERIFY the performance of the 13 associations. Eventually, it came up with a VERDICT that none of them passed the test but all the same recommended six of the associations to the A.F.R.C. to pick out two for registration as political parties. Curiously, before making the recommendations, NEC accused the associations of a litany of wrong doings which portrayed them (and newbreed politicians) as unfit to participate in politics during the transition period. This was a case of giving a dog a bad name in order to hang it. Predictably the A.F.R.C. seized upon NEC's condemnations to deny registration to any of the six associations "recommended" to it. The A.F.R.C. disregarded the Decree establishing the NEC and went ahead to register two brand new political parties — the National Republican Convention and the Social Democratic Party. These were to be founded and funded by the Government and would be staffed at all levels by government functionaries. Their manifestoes and constitutions were to be drafted by NEC and submitted to A.F.R.C. for approval. This is Guided Democracy per excellence much more than what President Sukarno prescribed for Indonesia in 1950's and 1960's. Any person wishing to practice politics in the Third Republic must join either of the two Government-sponsored parties. Administrative Secretaries will be appointed by government to organise registration of members and election of party officials at all levels — ward, local government, state and national levels.

The Almighty Administrative secretary will decide who joins which party and who becomes what in that party. He is the Alpha and the Omega of Nigeria Party politics. He thus usurps the rights of Nigerians to elect their leaders at grassroots and other levels. Some news media have even speculated that elections for party offices at grassroots level will be based on random selection of members. This is most undemocratic because through such process, grassroots leadership belonging to the 13 banned political association can be eliminated from the race and "new" faceless "leaders" foisted on the people. Will such pro-

tenders be accepted by the people?

However, the two parties created by government can be vehicles for "participatory democracy" by the grassroots as envisaged by President Babangida. This can happen if people at grassroots level are permitted to elect leaders of their choice not through random selection but by encouraging all registered members of a party at ward level to participate at election of party officials. Those elected through this democratic process must be allowed to select delegates from the wards to represent them at the election of party officials at local government level. The same procedure should apply at state and national levels. The government is advised not to tamper with this recognised pattern of democratic choice of leadership. To do otherwise will cause chaos and disaster as people at grassroots level are likely to resist imposition of unknown quantities as their purported leaders. Government should step in and ensure smooth transition to civil rule. As depicted in a cartoon in one of Nigerian daily newspaper, our Maradona scored goals against a succession of football teams. He scored the first team (old breed) with a header; he floored the second (AFRC), with a lefter; a penalty kick against the new breed; and by using his hand (or is it the hand of God) to floor the rest of the players in the Nigerian political game. It looks as if the Artful Dodger will, against all odds, succeed in fooling all the players all the time and come out on top. However, even the real Diego Maradona (who married in Argentina on 10/11/89) is having trouble with his football club in Italy. It was rumoured that he — of all people — missed a penalty kick. Our number 10 should improve upon the performance of his Argentina opposite number by not allowing his fans — praise singers — to deceive him that all is well in the Nigerian political football field or minefield. The melodious tunes they now sing can change with the prevailing circumstances. Such fair weather "friends" are not reliable weather cocks that tell the correct direction the wind blows.

Sai an jina, Yours Rambler.



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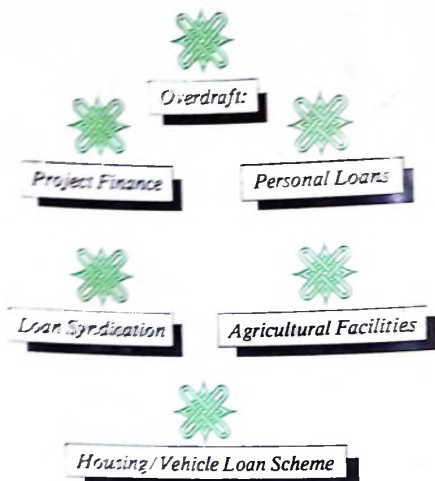


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