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COVER: Politics, Nigerian politics, has a peculiar definition. The way we go about it has a telling on the stuff we are made of. And as the national congress of the two political parties closes in, dirty elements of the much hated Second Republic politics are being exhumed. Issues and ideas on how to salvage a famishing nation are being put in the cooler while key presidential aspirants go for the gutter language to smear their opponents. Moshood Ablola and Baba Gana Kingibe, notable presidential aspirants from the SDP, desperate to lead their party, are on a fight-to-finish war of words that may mar the party's national convention.

The 1988 Koko toxic waste saga is back again. Nigeria is abuzz with signals that our shores are being turned to waste dump sites. TSM brings you a plethora of efforts to deposit the dangerous products while government agencies turn on blind eye.

● It is no longer news that the Ejeh of Anka has been relieved of his post. Abubakar Audu exclusively bares his mind to ISM on why he Deposed the Ejeh **23**



Hassan Yakubu... deposed Ejeh of Anka

● The war of nerves between the Israelis and the Palestinians has been shifted to Nigeria. A couple of weeks ago the Israeli Ambassador to Nigeria, Moshe Gliboa, granted an interview to ISM where the Palestinian question come up for mention. In this edition, his Palestinian counterpart, Samir Baker reacts alleging misconceptions and distortions of history facts. **27**



Baker.... "We never intended to push Israel to the sea!"

● The stage of adolescent is crucial in the life of anyone. How parents handle their children during this period determines to some extent their future life ISM gives you a recipe on our behaviour towards The adolescent. **32**



Teen star, Kola Masha & Mum... closeness is it!

● Alex Akinyele knows he is the authentic Executive Chairman of the NSC. But there is another "chairman" quietly taking over his job. He is Obodo, the Chairman of the Stadium Area Boys. **36**



Alex Akinyele... Executive chairman of NSC



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P

OLITICS has never been a clean business. For many in Nigeria, it is a game where a man must use whatever tools available to him to get where he is going. If along the way someone gets hurt — fine; if one dies, fine. If someone had to be “knelled” or discredited for a crime he did not commit just so one can get where he is going, fine. The name of the game is “winning” even if in the end real victory remains illusory.

This is the psychology that has shaped our national politics, making it an acrimonious, divisive and often “self-destructive” affair. It was for this reason that Babangida’s political engineers decided it was necessary to keep out the old politicians in the interim as a measure to sanitize and clean up the muck in our political waters. That has not happened yet. For even though the old breed have been relegated sidelines, our politics continues to be dirty. The new breed are elevating the game of slime to an art.

If someone had to be “knelled” or discredited for a crime he did not commit just so one can get where he is going, fine.

Blackmail is everywhere, choking, blinding, confusing and confounding us all. So far, Oppon A4 has been peaceful and quiet. But as the final leg draws near, the politicians are becoming afflicted with the old virus. Even candidates who ordinarily are “gentlemen” are fighting dirty. **Comfort Obi** has more on the growing slime in our new politics.

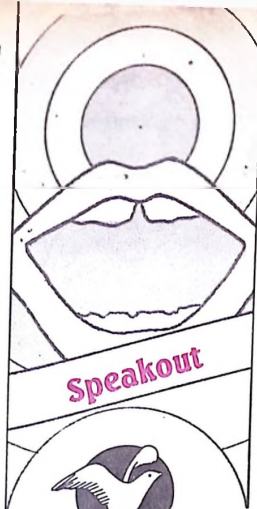
On the cover this week is a story that touches all of us. It is about the degradation of our environment and the warning signals emerging now that Nigeria may have continued to be a dump for dangerous waste from developed countries long after the

KOKO incident. This is despite of the establishment of an organisation to keep watch over the environment. The Federal Environment Protection Agency (FEPA) is reportedly hopelessly incompetent where monitoring is concerned and may in fact be engaged in practices that have compromised the safety of our environment.

Apart from toxic imports, industrial effluents in parts of Nigeria, especially Lagos, is said by international experts to be approaching an alarming level. Read **Maik Nwosu's** intriguing story, and discover why some are worried and why you may be hurting yourself each time you eat fish that comes from Lagos waters.

Have lovely Sunday.

Chris



Speakout



Abiola should pray

WHO is the best among the presidential aspirants. There is no gainsaying that the *Aare Ona Kakanfo* of *Yorubaland* is the only competent candidate who can save us from abject poverty if voted in.

For him to achieve his aim he has to pray very well. A lot of people, his enemies, are trying heaven and earth to knock him out of the race.

Oluwole Adeboye
Lagos.

Give FORUM a chance

THE misuse of the media is most unfortunate — the make the press hammered Forum. Why must the press all ways celebrate the downfall of individuals and organizations? Does the Press hate success?

Forum is a financial house as such. it is bound to have problems in these times of harsh economic realities. Even the Central Bank (CBN) and the government are all having problems. Why over-celebrated the problems of another financial company which has contributed to the development of our society in one way or the other? Give Forum a chance.

B.V. Mainasara
Adamawa State

On Zamani Lekwot

KILLING Lekwot and others will

catalyse chain reactions leading to the total disintegration of this country.

The Katafs must not see the judgement of Justice Okadigbo as that the Ibos are against for Justice Okadigbo is a stooge.

Justice Okadigbo is now a disgrace to the legal profession for carrying out jungle justice.

The verdict has brought into sharper focus the stand of government in this country as regards religious riots. Since the history of riots in the Northern part of this country, how many Alhaji's have we heard were tried, convicted and sentenced even to the one minute imprisonment? We know those behind Bauchi, Kano, Yola, Kafanchan, Zaria, Katsina and Funtua riots but how many of them were arrested and charged? Government must declared its stand of not being biased unless it is ready to go down in history as the government that engineered and executed the disintegration of this country.

Olisa Anene
Kano

Obioha for Abiola

WE need someone with international credibility as our nation cannot survive in isolation. Nigeria does not only need economic revamp but spiritual and educational. We need to educate our people that Government is not a solution to all problems, we the citizens — the employees need to achieve maximum productivity for the development of our nation. We need to educate them to be proud of their jobs.

Presidential ambition should not be an ethnic issue but a position for experienced, dedicated, courageous, patient and patriotic citizen. Ethnicity should not play any role as we are first and foremost Nigerians, and should break through stereotypes and elect a well qualified and meritorious person of Bashorun Abiola's personality. With Abiola as the next civilian president, freedom, equality, justice and accountability will reign in the country again.

The Nigerian masses has been lied to, cheated and abused by the previous regimes but believe that Chief MKO Abiola has the capability to restore our dreams and hope. Again, due to Abiola's dedication

to education the present general generation of Nigerian intellectuals by any world standard will not be wasted one.

Iheatu Obioha

Ali Sirajo as "history"

WHATEVER the arrogance and alleged high-handedness of Mallam Ali Sirajo, the bad advisers around President Babangida whom he aptly described as "The Powerful Military/Civilian Pressure Caucus" from their Evil agenda of imposing Military Dictatorship on Nigerians "till the year 2,000" guarantee for him a most important place in Nigeria's history. I indeed share the view that Sirajo is "HISTORY" as far as IBB administration is concerned. Sirajo's fearlessness, neutralizing the evil designs of a power caucus who wanted to take Nigerians for a ride deserve the salute of all sincere Nigerians.

Let our Politicians remember at all times that there is a power caucus determined to manipulate and confuse the President to refuse to handover power in 1993.

We want to hear more from Sirajo and will like to know why he will wait until five years before writing his "historical legacy." Students of Journalism and New breed members of our profession are anxious to learn of the history of the battle in the NUJ.

Duro Oluosola
Ikeja, Lagos.

Balancing the Nation

IBB says he is balancing the Nation, for example by creating 30 states. He should also balance the nation by appointing not only Hausas and Yorubas

to key political posts thereby giving them undue political advantage over others to jump the gun before the race for leadership of Nigeria actually starts! IBB, try and appoint Ibos into key political posts to balance the nation properly. Ibos spearheaded the procurement of independence for Nigeria on a platter of gold, without which today you and I cannot have the platform to perform.

Dr. Benson O. Onyemelukwe
Zaria, Nigeria

Politics & Policy



By Comfort Obi &
Yusuf Olaniyonu

ON
Onagorwa, a Lagos-based constitutional lawyer, spoke too quickly. If



Kingibe, Abiola — the fire too soon.

Abiola and Kingibe

Onagorwa had waited just a wee-bit before granting Tai Magboro his interview carried in the last edition of the magazine, he couldn't have dismissed Moshood Abiola, an SDP presidential aspirant, as an unserious aspirant.

Onagorwa had told the magazine in the interview that he wasn't convinced about Abiola's seriousness as a presidential aspirant. His words, "I am yet to be convinced that Abiola wants seriously to contest in his own right the president of this country."

Onagorwa based his conviction on Abiola's recent visit was calculated campaign to sell Ibrahim Babangida, the incumbent president, to the international community so he, Baban-

gida, could stay on in office after August 2. He said that when Abiola visited America, "he went to see all the top men in America and he was acknowledging there that he was there by the grace of his president."

Onagorwa says Abiola's campaign in America did not comply with the familiar pattern of electioneering. "He went Jamaica, Cuba and, of course, don't forget that the NTA followed him. The Nigerian Television Authority is a government organ, it is a statutory body. It's not supposed to support a private individual going on campaign."

If Onagorwa had waited just a little, he could've seen the real Abiola on a campaign trail. He could've seen how

serious Abiola is with his ambition to replace Babangida at the well protected Aso Rock. Which must explain why he chose a venue close to Aso Rock to flag off his campaign — National Assembly Complex Abuja. And so did Baba Gana Kingibe, the other SDP presidential aspirant.

Even though the battle is two weeks away from now, Abiola and Kingibe are exhibiting a little of the stuff they are

of. Both men are orators. Both have arresting presence. Both are suave and charismatic and even though Abiola may not, at times, sound as diplomatic as Kingibe, he gets it just as Kingibe manages to get by it



rather than an exception.

Nobody actually knows when the dirty political war between Kingibe and Abiola began. While it hit others "wham," just like that, some political watchers say it began in Maiduguri, Borno State on February 2, 1993 by Kingibe when he declared his presidential ambition. They allege that he fired some shots in the way of Abiola. While tracing his journey to the presidency, Kingibe said, "Some three years and four months ago when President Babangida announced the formation of the two political parties, a number of us held our breath and leaped off the mountain-side together. It was a patriotic leap for progress and transition to civil government. Few joined instantly because few believed in the transitional programme and even less in our capacity to make it work. And I am glad that many who sat aside watched while we toiled to build have now come forward to reap the fruits for our labour."

A few people felt that Kingibe was specifically referring to Abiola when he talked about people coming to reap "fruits of our labour." And their reason: Abiola is the only aspirant in the SDP who could give Kingibe a fight.

If Abiola felt that Kingibe had him in mind, he didn't say so, until the third week of February when he went to lobby SDP National Assembly members to support him.

Dressed in his usual flowing *habariga* and exuding the charm that has endeared him to many Nigerians, Abiola took time to take the legislators-

in dirty war of words

spite of the fact that he doesn't have Abiola's bagful of money.

But the power of orator, suaveness, charisma, diplomacy and money is not the only thing that make both men tick at the moment. What is making them tick for now is politics and their ambition.

But Abiola and Kingibe have same ambition — to Chief Executive of Nigeria and they have taken their ambitions to a dizzying stage. A political war has broken out between the two men with the National Assembly as the first battle ground. At stake are SDP National Assembly members and the weapons being—used by the two men are words, dirty words of war, of politics. The assembly men are inun-

dated with caustic remarks made by the two presidential aspirants against each other.

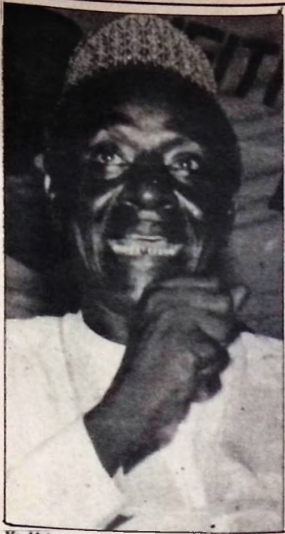
The two men have not exactly told Nigerians why they are picking on each other: why they consider each other an obstacle, inspite of the fact that they would let the public believe otherwise. For now, there are 59 presidential aspirants, so, why only two of them? Until now, Nigerian politics has not been known to be this dirty—well word-wise. Corruption, yes, but dirty words and other scandals like that of Gennifer Flowers and Bill Clinton, or Bill Clinton the Tax dodger, no. In fact, most Nigerians would ask anybody who alleges that a presidential aspirant is engaging in an extra-marital affair to go visit a psychiatric hospital. For us in Nigeria, an extra-marital affair is a rule

through the whole gamut of the reasons for his aspiration. Treating them like voters, he told them why he is the candidate the SDP needs to win the presidency, just as the nation needs him — to regain its economic vitality. He made his stand known on key national issues especially on Nigeria's membership of the Organisation of Islamic countries, OIC. "It is illegal", he said, because Nigeria is a secular state.

But Abiola did more than selling himself. He made statements which many of the legislators thought were direct attacks on Kingibe.

Reviewing Kingibe's almost three years in office as SDP chairman, Abiola concluded it was a disaster. He said, We lost about six gubernatorial seats because of the inadequacies of our past

...not this time... membership to re-... referring to Kano, Kat... which many... because... in the SDP at... He adjusted... after a short... of his first... SDP and... last year when... were dissolved... He hinted... party chairmen... the presidency... as much as... to leave a... SDP," he... his enormous... himself as one... of words... the National As-... be the president... a poor man in the nation... to serve the... was empty".... why he waited... with SDP, he said... Some... behind their... have done... wanted to... Abiola goes... Methuselah lived... a fulfilled... So, it is not a... founded... to run it did more... anybody".... the above was what... allegedly said... a faction of the legis-... SDP thought had been buried. A... source in Abuja told us that Abiola told... "Now, we'll make PSP be on top".... to the PSP faction of the SDP. This point didn't go down well with most SDP members just as a couple of other points he made didn't go down well with them. For instance, those of them belong- ing to the PF faction felt Abiola was reopening old wounds by mentioning PSP. Again, they felt Abiola was not



Yar'Adua — the man with most of the

aces. diplomatic enough when he spoke about his not being a law breaker which was why he didn't show support for SDP while he was still under ban. They felt that he had indirectly called the likes of Shehu Yar'Adua, Arthur Nzeribe, Abubakar Rimi, Olu Saraki and others who showed support for SDP while still banned, a bunch of law breakers. So, they phoned Kingibe and briefed him on the Abiola's visit. Kingibe left Lagos at about 9.30 p.m. for Abuja, on the day they phoned him. His main mission: To disabuse the mind of the legislators. But before 9.30 p.m. he met with some journalists who asked him what he felt about Abiola's attack on him. Kingibe assured the journalists that he was not going to the National Assembly to answer Abiola back. He said it wasn't necessary, and that it would not be decent of him to answer Abiola back. He said it would even be more indecent of him to say what every other person knows of Abiola but added, "I can write his history from Maroko to Bariga and still have lots to write. I am not a Father Christmas and everyday is not Christmas. I may not have millions but the one I have I made in a very decent manner. I have never taken a kobo from somebody before. If you find out I have taken any money from anybody or involved in corrupt activities or unwholesome business

from when I was a journalist, to when I was a civil servant, to when I was chairman of SDP, I will step down from my presidential aspiration. What I am going for me is my credible record, and you can put this on record".

However, Kingibe still headed for the National Assembly that night and he replied Abiola. His first meeting was with about 400 Federal legislators at the National Secretariat of the SDP in Abuja. Chiselling his own point of attack on Abiola, Kingibe enumerated his credentials as a "thorough bred SDP man" who needed the support of his brothers: He christened his meeting with the legislators as "a meeting of brothers: we are not new to each other our meeting today is just a continuous process of our past relationships, so need all of you".

Emphasising his oneness with them from the beginning he said, "We have fought collectively together before and those who we begged to be part of us and who refused to join us should not now be made to reap the fruits of our labour. I therefore need you more as you needed me when I laid solid foundations for your success at your own elections".

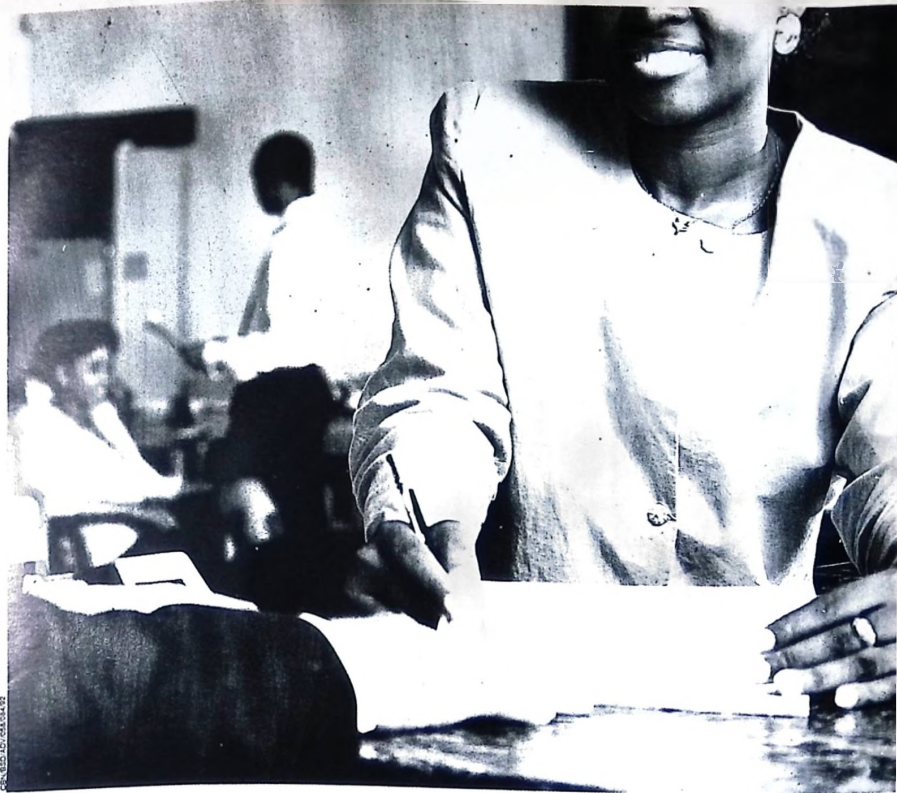
He reminded them that he it was supported over the party and ensure its victory at the polls which climaxed in SDP's control of both the House of Representatives and the Senate.

Defending the N12 million he lost when the National Executives of both parties were sacked, Kingibe said what he left behind should not be measured in such trivial terms as what was left in the party's kitty but on the scale left behind and the prestige of SDP being the majority party.

Resting his case he asked the honourable members a question, "Is it right for somebody to fix democracy before another would come and enjoy the tenets of liberty, freedom, a prosperity associated with democracy which he had all the opportunity contribute to but simply declined.

The underlying message in the statement is that compared with Abiola, he (Kingibe) is their fell party man who has been together with them in building the party from scratch, while Abiola is an outsider; the party who wants to reap where did not sow.

The inference was more magnific in his assertion that "this is my constituency, you are my brothers and sisters with whom we have fought together in the past". But some members of the Federal House interpreted the statement as the former chairma



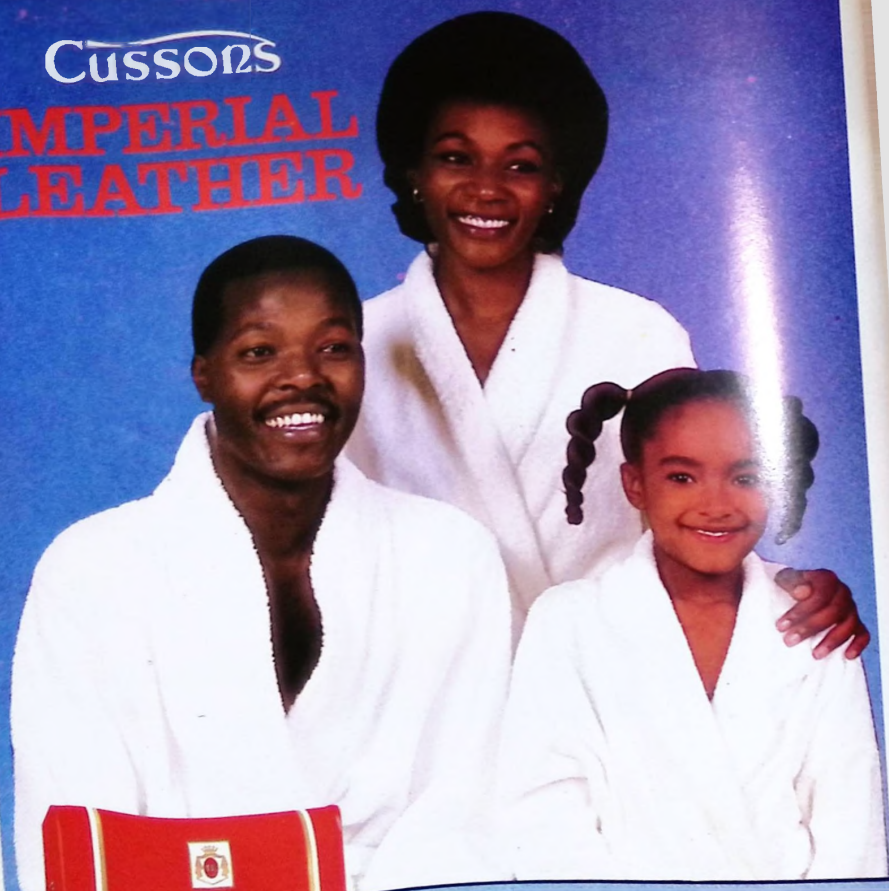
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way of cleaning the wrongs of the past. For instance, they alleged that Kingibe hurt a lot of the banned presidential aspirants during the botched presidential primaries in favour of Yar'Adua. They also allege that Kingibe stepped on even more toes during the Governorship election — for instance in Lagos State and Kano State. And for another instance in Imo State.

Kingibe's address to SDP senators a day after addressing the legislators was however perceived as "the real offensive to wade off Abiola's earlier attacks". Addressing the senators, he explained away the charge of profligacy and urged all party members to read his handing of the party's finances. He said, "If the former executives of the NRC left more money than that of the SDP during the last elections and lost the elections, then, we are justified in using the money for the purpose they were given".

And as for the bit about the "poor man in the Kitchen," Kingibe postulated that the poor man in the Kitchen will be more conscious since his background will always nudge him into regulating the oven to lessen the heat as well as make more food available to all the people he is elected to serve.

Sources close to both Abiola and Kingibe told TSM that both men are quite embarrassed by their outbursts at the National Assembly. While the source from Kingibe's side insists that Kingibe didn't actually mean to reply Abiola, Abiola has apologised to Kingibe over his utterances. Speaking to journalists in florin on Tuesday Abiola said that if the content of his address to the National Assembly in Abuja was misconstrued by Kingibe, "I tender my apology for I mean no harm". He said he was not on the war path, explaining, "Kingibe is my friend, I joined the party to foster the friendship".

However, the dirty words of war between Abiola and Kingibe go beyond the lobbying of Federal legislators and senators. The main target actually, the big fish who is being lobbied is Yar'Adua who controls over 50 percent of the SDP National Assembly members and who has a sort of magical wand on over 55 percent of SDP members.

For the SDP presidential aspirants, Yar'Adua is the beautiful bride. And so, Abiola and Kingibe have gone all out to lobby him. Even though Kingibe told us in an interview that he takes Yar'Adua's support for granted and need not lobby him, (If Yar'Adua is the beautiful bride of the SDP, I refuse to

court him because it is incestuous to do so", he told TSM) we gathered that he is quite worried about Yar'adua's reluctance for now, to give him a nod. He is alleged to be lobbying his fellow Kanuri man, M. S. Buhari, who is the fourth in rank in Yar'adua's camp to help him talk to Yar'adua.

And this is rather unfortunate considering that Kingibe was (?) a part and parcel of Yar'adua's camp. TSM gathered on good authority that in the camp, Kingibe ranked second before now, followed by Tony Anenih (who Yar'adua wants as SDP's national

in some newspapers alleging that Yar'adua has endorsed Abiola.

However, the story about the endorsement was quickly dismissed as a ruse by Abubakar Atiku, a Yar'adua faithful and SDP presidential aspirant from Adamawa who told journalists, "It is not true. The group has not declared its support for Abiola".

Kingibe's reply to the story was even worse. After a brief laugh which sounded a little satirical, he said, "I agree, and I admit that he went to the meeting. He was taken by Adedibu but how was he received?"

Kingibe and Yar'adua are not the only problems Abiola has. Abiola may also have a problem in picking a running mate from the core North.

Kingibe said as much when he told journalists, "where will Abiola pick his running mate from? He will have problems picking a credible, influential christian from the core North which is the only place left for him to pick a running mate. He is a muslim. He cannot pick a moslem. I don't have such problems. I have credible influential christians from the south to pick from".

Kingibe spoke the minds of two members of Katsina State elders committee of SDP and leading members of the Yar'adua group, Mamud Kanti Bello, a senator, and Hamisu Gambo. They gave Abiola one condition to clinch Yar'adua's support — to pick a Hausa-Fulani moslem as running mate.

Bello who is the chairman of the senate committee on Science and Technology said that Abiola's aspirations would be dashed if he made the mistake of picking a christian northerner as his running mate. This he argued was because, according to him, most of the key national assembly offices such as the senate president, his deputy, senate leader, speaker of the House of Representatives have already been occupied by Christians. He said,

"The entire political equation is completely upside down. Those who are saying that Abiola should pick a christian northerner should forget about it. If we have to support him, he should forget about it. If we have to support him, he should have a Hausa-Fulani as his Vice President.

The fight for Yar'adua's hand by Kingibe and Abiola is real. Abiola has gone to the extent of allegedly running after Yar'adua to as far away as Saudi Arabia where the latter went to perform the lesser Hajj but both Abiola and Kingibe may just be fighting a lost battle.

He said it would even be more indecent of him to say what every other person knows of Abiola but added, "I can write his history from Maroko to Bariga and still have lots to write. I am not a Father Christmas and everyday is not christmas. I may not have millions but the one I have I made in a very decent manner.

chairman) and then by Buhari. Abiola has not hidden his desperation to get into Yar'adua's camp. He does realise that without the support of the camp, he may be humiliated at the SDP National Convention. So, he has managed to get the support of most of the influential members of the Yar'adua camp in the western states, courtesy of the strongman of Ibadan politics, Lamidi Adedibu. Adedibu has even done more than mobilising the Yoruba support. He has taken Abiola to the meeting of the Yar'adua camp which prompted a story

TFM gathered on good record that as far as the core group of Yar'adua is concerned, Abiola is off the mark. His name has been cancelled from the group's list which argued that Abiola should not stay where he didn't sow. The group also allegedly pointed out that Abiola spoke at the National Assembly as if they were owing him. They pointed that he allegedly told the members that "I now want to cast in on the ICJ."

As for Kingibe, Yar'adua's displeasure with him for not supporting his presidential aspiration earlier on continues. A source told TFM "It was later that Kingibe supported Yar'adua but he was ready to jilt the General to pursue his own ambition as soon as it was convenient for him. The convenience came when the General and others were disqualified."

Unless Yar'adua changes his mind about Kingibe, what both he and Abiola lost may be the gift of Anker who

He said, "We lost about six gubernatorial seats because of the inadequacies of our past leadership and we should not this time around allow such leadership to return."



Abacha, Saraki — the other forces in SDP power struggle.

snatched by Yar'adua in thick and thin. Abiola's SDP sympathisers are worried these more than losing turns to berate each other in front of legislators and executives. The Abiola versus Kingibe war may throw the party into another well-documented struggle, akin to the 1990 Abacha convention. The PSP-PFN coalition may re-occurate in a different form.

Abiola, casting in on the impasse in the Yar'adua group as is manifested in his endorsement by the western axis of the group and the group's reluctance to endorse Kingibe is coming comfortably in the arms of the PSP faction of SDP. His appointment of key members of the defunct Falae for President Campaign team into his campaign committee gave a PSP character to his team. Falae's national campaign coordinator, Jonathan Zwindler, from

Adamawa State was recently appointed to the same position in MKO for president campaign committee.

The Yar'adua group already has many of its loyal members in all states emerging as state presidential flagbearers. Such men include Atiku, Amgo Abdullahi from Kaduna State, Abdul Azeez Farouk from Kogi State and Hakeem Giwa from Lagos State. Most of these aspirants have some national delegates loyal to them to contribute to the pools of delegates that will later ensure that the division of the Yar'adua group prevailed at the convention.

Aside from factional wranglings the supporters on both sides of the divide are believed to be preparing donations which will later be exposed to the delegates at the convention venue to influence their decisions.

Abiola's sources of wealth, the patronage and camaraderie he enjoys with the past present military governments, his private life and apathetic reactions to SDP in the past are said to be the issues the Kingibe group will later chun out to diminish his chances.

Likewise, the Abiola campaign committee consisting of old Falae's team men who are well-versed in the political occurrences of the past three years are also said to be warning up to use the NEC probe report on the two parties as well as magnify Kingibe's errors since 1990 when he started leading the SDP to the delegates to consider in deciding who should fly their flag in the eventual battle against the NRC in June.

Based on all these, the SDP convention in Jos is sure going to be a filthy battle ground.

59 men with the flags

The nation is set for the final lap of evolving the two candidates who will struggle to succeed IBB.

By Yusuph Olaniyonu

IN a developing nation, there is a thin line between an election and a battle. Penultimate Saturday, the two events took place in the name of state congresses across the nation last week.

Take Lagos for instance. While the National Republican Convention (NRA) delegates gathered at the National Theatre to peacefully and quickly select a presidential flagbearer for the state and elect state officers, the Social Democratic Party (SDP) delegates and other irate supporters converged at the state Assembly complex to break into two feuding sides.

The Alausa venue of the SDP congress had all the trappings of a riot zone. Envisaging the battle that was on between the rival factions of Jakande and Sarumi-Yar'Adua, the police came with all their vicious elements of trouble-shooting Dogs, guns, black maria vans, tanks and a coterie of personnel which overwhelmingly outnumbered the delegates and fanatics supporters.

The struggle for the supremacy between the two groups who had constituted themselves into two parties within the SDP was intense at the congress. Even, elected public officers like senators, local government chairmen and commissioners could not rise above the confusion arising from the struggle. Ahmed Tinubu and Tony Adefuye, both senators were in different groups and they were factional leaders.

At various points delegates of one group has something or the other to complain about the conduct of the congress. And outside the venue of the congress, fanatical supporters were countering each other with war chants that further enveloped the arena with more tension.

NRC congress in Cross River State followed a similar pattern. In a congress in which two big sons of the soil, Joseph Wayas, second republic senate

president and Anthony Ani, a renowned chartered accountant and son of the chief electoral officer in the second republic, Michael Ani, struggled for who became presidential flagbearer, the atmosphere was a ripe one for disagreements.

The total accredited number of delegates publicly announced to the congress by the caretaker committee chairman, Bassey Okon was 901. But when the total number of votes cast added up to 904, and Wayas came tops with 490 votes, Ani's supporters protested.

At this point, tension that looked too egregious for the police armoured tanks and trucks to handle mounted. The caretaker chairman had to immediately postpone the state executive elections till the following day to preempt trouble makers. Okon was to later explain that the three excess votes were cast by the state deputy

governor, Cecilia Ekenyong and two state com-

missioners in her entourage, all of whom were accredited in his office. The failure of the accreditation office to have their names reflected in the list of accredited members created the confusion.

The cause of confusion at the SDP congress in Rivers State was different. For some reasons, a cabal within the party said to be led by a former gubernatorial candidate had decided that the votes to be cast by the accredited delegates should not hinder their chances at taking control of the party machinery. So, while the accreditation prior to voting was going on, the group had already amassed heaps of fake ballot papers in an office some meters away from the voting centre. Some thugs were also hired to fill the ballot papers in preparation for stuffing it in the box.

But before the dirty trick could mature, nemesis caught up with the perpetrators. Some party members invited the police to come take a look at the oddity. Police then impounded the ballot papers and brought in tanks to assure the crowd that they are in charge. With the tank the congress members did not wait to be told the business of the day is finished.



Atiku — SDP presidential aspirant from Adamawa.



Tola — leading NRC flagbearer from Kano.

The congress was later held in the middle of the week. Though the NRC congress in Rivers was relatively peaceful, there were still allegations flying around about the manoeuvres that permeated the elections to ensure that only candidates sponsored by the state government won all the contested posts.

However, the congresses were not only tales of woe and electoral sharp practices. Most of the states elected presidential flagbearers and party executive members with no hitch. The congresses once again afforded those who want to succeed Ibrahim Babangida as the occupant of Aso rock House in Abuja to seek their people's mandate.

In this regard, Osun, Imo, Enugu and Borno states were where some notable aspirants failed. In Osun, Oladosu Ladipo who narrowly missed becoming governor in 1991 mowed down two giants, former Babangida's minister of external affairs, Bolaji Akinyemi and former SDP deputy national chairman, Ademola Babalola. With his victory, Oladosu seems to have had his political glory lost during the governorship race restored.

In Imo State SDP, Ralph Obioha proved that being in a race for long does not win for a man when he floored an old time presidential aspirant, Chinedum Ezeburuike. Also in Borno State, Abba Gana Teraz who was NRC

governorship candidate in 1991 defeated an NRC party elder Shettima Ali Monguno to become the flagbearer for the right of the centre party from Borno.

Also, Enugu state NRC congress once again provided avenue for Joe Nwodo and Ryde Onuaguichi to settle their unfinished scores lingering since they were both disqualified from the governorship race after an intractable fight. Nwodo eventually triumphed with 1,037 votes over Onuaguichi's 720.

Similarly, most of the frontline aspirants got the mandates of their states to proceed to the national convention holding between March 27 to 29 for the battle royale. Candidates like MKO Abiola, Ogunb SDP, Baba Gana Kingibe, former SDP chairman Borno, Abubakar Atiku, Adamawa SDP, Ahmed Joda, Adamawa NRC, Sumaila Mammad, former Babangida's Minister, Katsina NRC, Bashir Tola, Kano NRC, Ralph Tafida who defeated Gwon at Zaria LGA congress and now candidate from Kaduna State. See the list below for the entire list of the flagbearer.

Meanwhile, with the state party apparatuses in place and all eyes set for the national convention in Jos for SDP and Port Harcourt for NRC, the politicians are now ready to ease out the military government for full democracy to be installed.

LIST OF PRESIDENTIAL ASPIRANTS NRC

No	NAME	STATE
1.	Dalhatu Araif	Plateau
2.	Emmanuel Nwabufie	Abuja
3.	Samuel T. Ota Akande	Oyo
4.	Godwin Omamual	Delta
5.	Doyin Ogungbe	Ogun
6.	Abba Gana Teraz	Ogun
7.	Joseph Wajias	Borno
8.	Fade Aderibige	Osun
9.	Rasheed Saliman	Kwara
10.	Fursho D. Ologunla	Lagos
11.	Ime Ebong	Akwa Ibom
12.	Ayo Ogundade	Ondo
13.	Joe Nwodo	Enugu
14.	Ismaïla Mammad	Katsina
15.	Bashir Tola	Kano
16.	Sani Bello	Niger
17.	Dalhatu Yusuf Tafida	Kaduna
18.	Ogbornaya Dike	Anambra
19.	Edwin Onuadike	Rivers
20.	Pere Ajawa	Edo
21.	Raymond Dokpesi	Kwara
22.	Iyralias Ayita	Bauchi
23.	Abdulrasheed Saliman	Adamawa
24.	Greg Moadiye	
25.	Bashir Mustapha	
26.	Ahmed Joda	

LIST OF PRESIDENTIAL ASPIRANTS, SDP

NO	NAME	STATE
1.	Baba Gana Kingibe	Borno
2.	Moshod Abiola	Ogun
3.	Sarah Jubril (Mrs.)	Kwara
4.	Paul Umango	Benue
5.	Damishi T. Sango	Plateau
6.	Ibrahim Usman Gwagwe	Abuja
7.	Serki Adamu	Kano
8.	Ralph Uweche	Delta
9.	Oladosu Oladosu	Osun
10.	Makreem Giwa	Lagos
11.	Udoka Esuene	Akwa Ibom
12.	Reuben Farunyibo	Ondo
13.	Chris Nwankwo	Enugu
14.	Ange Abdullahi	Kaduna
15.	Matthew Ojong	Cross River
16.	Sam Igwe Eke	Anambra
17.	Mike Okechuku	Anambra
18.	Emmanuel Njiru	Taraba
19.	Abandji Gumei	Jigawa
20.	Sarki Adamu	Kano
21.	Ibrahim Waziri	Bauchi
22.	Abubakar Ahiu	Adamawa
23.	Femi Okuns	Edo
24.	Ralph Obioha	Imo
25.	Silas Bamielale Daniyani	Kogi
26.	Abubakar Koko	Keffi
27.	Yusuf Akuye	Niger

Danger signals: Another toxic dump

As Nigeria is besieged by toxic waste merchants, the Federal Environmental Protection Agency (FEPA)'s lack-lustre performance signals a probable post-Koko toxic dump.

By Maik Nwosu

- *Lagos fishes carry mercury
- *Tilapia poisoned
- *Toxic waste merchants here
- *FEPA's inspection agent indicted
- *Is anyone listening?



NOTHER

toxic dump, after the 1988 Koko saga? Perhaps it sounds esoteric but the signals are that there could be or may even have been, indeed, such an occurrence. Last week, *ISM* was privy to fears that there had been such a dump off the Osse River in Edo State. Although an investigation revealed that the fears have no basis in fact, the picture is still grim: Nigeria is under siege by toxic waste merchants!

According to Evans Aina, the director of the Federal Environmental Protection Agency (FEPA), within the last two months of 1992, about 20 world-wide alert cases of (proposed) trans-boundary shipment of hazardous wastes towards the Nigerians shores were reported or intercepted. These span the importation of toxic waste by "Maria Laura," a Japanese ship; the plan by INDES S.A., a Romanian company, to import waste from Germany under the guise of paints; the plan by a certain Dr. Ted Ekwe to dispose of toxic nuclear waste products in Nigeria; and that by the British Ministry of Defence to dump TNT and other explosives in the Atlantic Sea.

While many of these proposals and attempts never generate any publicity



Flashback. 1988...Nana and the Koko toxic wastes

ripples, there was, at least, one that did. Nick Ashton-Jones, the Africa Representative of Pro-Natura, a conservation rural development organisation, told TSM about a report on the BBC World News in November 1992 about "a Nigerian businessman who was luring European chemical companies offering waste disposal facilities in Nigeria. The BBC European Economic Commission heard about it and made a public statement and the whole deal collapsed. Green Peace was making their own investigation as well. I spoke with Mrs. Forouma, a Green Peace activist, on the phone and she told us they have the name of the alias of the Nigerian involved, but they didn't eventually give the name."

Although these attempts can be said to be growing in leaps and bounds, they are not new. The 1990 edition of *The International Trade in Waste: A Green Peace Directory*, noted that in 1986 "the Nigerian government...refused rumours of illegally buried nuclear wastes at a steel plant in Ajaokuta. The possible dump was discovered after the Nigerian government ordered a search of the entire country to locate any illegally imported waste. Initial reports alleged that several tons of radioactive Cobalt 60 had been buried at the steel complex. At least one newspaper reported that the waste had been imported from the Soviet Union. After investigation by scientists, geologists, and security officials, the Ministry of Works and Housing retracted the allegations and said that no nuclear wastes were found buried at the site."

In the same year, "An Arctic Trader," an Egyptian vessel, was detained for 15 weeks at the Tin Can Island Port, Lagos, for attempting to bring over 9,000 tons of contaminated wastes into Nigeria. The next year, 1989, three incidents of ships carrying toxic beef, believed to have been contaminated during the 1986 Chernobyl accident, occurred in a two-month period. The company responsible for the shipments was believed to be Fish and Richardson Ltd. of London. Consequent on this wave of radioactive waste trading ships, the Federal Government, on December 7, announced that it would outlaw all imports of beef and expired food products. Later, it had to ban the importation of toxic mosquito coils as well, thus adding one more item to the list of dangerous wastes exported as "useful products" to Nigeria. Announcing the ban, an army colonel Anthony Erukudo of the Standards Organisation of Nigeria (SON) said that "the government was worried by the rate at which all manner

of toxic substances were being dumped in the country."

Beyond the realms of proposals and attempts, there are also claims of success. An expatriate scientist, whose hobby is fishing, intimated TSM that last year he witnessed the dumping of toxic wastes just outside Nigeria's territorial waters but was barred from any further investigations or a picture, by death threats. "These wastes are mixed with solvents to mask their identity." Significantly both FEPA and the Federal Fisheries Department of the Ministry of Agriculture and Water Resources bemoan their lack of sufficient facilities for such monitoring functions.

The curious thing is that this hydra-headed siege drama is being enacted against the backdrop of a stern national policy against toxic wastes. Unlike the Niger Republic which, according to a controversial official Yugoslav broadcast on May 27, 1988 had signed an agreement with Van Santen, a Dutch firm, for the disposal of European waste in Niger, Nigeria as a party to the Lome Convention totally bans waste shipment to its territory. In June 1988, it announced execution as the penalty for anyone convicted of dumping foreign toxic waste in the country; in November 1988, in a decree (No. 42) outlawing the purchase, sale, import, transport and storage to toxic wastes, this sentence was reduced to life imprisonment. The decree states that diplomatic immunity will not extend to crimes involving hazardous waste; any means of transportation and land used in illegal waste dumping will be forfeited to the government; and it authorizes the police to enter and search land, buildings or vehicles suspected of involvement in illegal waste schemes. Nigeria has also, according to Green Peace, led groups, shipping agencies and others pledging to inform one another about international waste trade schemes. The motive behind Nigeria's stern position is the prevention of a repeat of the Koko tragedy. The crystallisation of this aspiration was the establishment of FEPA via Decree 55 of 1988, its charge being the overall responsibility of protecting the Nigerian environment. FEPA was to be the shield between Nigeria and toxic waste merchants.

A close-up of how FEPA operates however, even makes more strident the danger signals that Nigeria may be in for another Koko nightmare. Despite its chest-thumping inclination, FEPA is yet to tackle its enormous responsibility with the sobriety that a protection agency must necessarily



Evans Aina, FEPA director. Questions for answer

do. This absence of sobriety is underscored by its recent accreditation of laboratory consultants to inspect industrial imports — a procedure that has been compared to the SSS subcontracting aspects of its security vigilance.

The story, according to the Agency's press report, is that in November 1991, it put out newspaper adverts requesting prospective waste management disposal companies as well as environmental consultants and contractors to apply for permits and accreditation in order to operate in the country. The response was overwhelming. About 316 prospective environmental consultants/contractors, 58 hazardous waste disposal companies, 50 municipal waste management companies and 39 waste discharge permit applications were screened. Across board, 118 were found eligible for permits and accreditation as consultants/contractors.

The impression created is that the process involved a rigorous scrutiny. But there are accusations, within the Agency, that the exercise — chaired by Goke Adegokpe, FEPA's Deputy General Manager in charge of the Inspectorate and Enforcement Department — was influenced by personal and commercial considerations. And these claims how appear to be substantiated by a study of the logic behind the accreditation process and the manner of operations of these FEPA sub-agents.

Recently, the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (MAN) formally protested to FEPA its disagreement with the Agency's logic. "Since the begin-

Jawura Environmental Services Limited

Head Office (AI) Nigeria Enterprises Ltd. Office, 77, Ikorodu Road (1st Floor) Fideyin, P.O. Box 166,
Benin, Lagos, Nigeria Tel: (01) 823373, 820626. Fax: 823062. Telex: Fio 27424 IAS. NG
Enkwin Postal Address: P.O. Box 9531, Uf. Port Office, Ibadan, Nigeria Tel: (022) 412198

The Deputy general Manager,
Inspectorate and Enforcement,
Federal Environmental Protection Agency,
Surulere,
Lagos.

10th February, 1993.

ATTENTION: ASSISTANT GENERAL MANAGER (SR & R)

Dear Sir,

**TECHNICAL REPORT ON A SAMPLE OF CARBON FERRO-CHROME
EX-NIGERIAN FOUNDRIES LIMITED**

INTRODUCTION

A silver-coloured solid sample was submitted to our Laboratory for analysis for the purpose of identification. The chemical identity of the sample was established by physico-chemical analysis.

2. RESULTS

Parameter	Results
Appearance	Silver-coloured heavy lumps.
Solubility	Insoluble in water and dilute mineral Acids. Soluble in concentrated hot mineral Acids and mixtures of these acids.
Test for Carbon(C)	Positive
Test for Iron(Fe)	Positive
Test for Chromium(Cr)	Positive
% Iron (Fe)	82.0
% Chromium (Cr)	15.44
% Carbon (C)	2.56

DISCUSSION

The sample as presented is in all probability an alloy of Iron, Chromium and Carbon (Carbon Ferro-Chrome).

CONCLUSION

The sample is in all probability Carbon Ferro-Chrome based on the results of the analysis carried out.



PROFESSOR GLADYS OSTANJO
Public Analyst and Environmental Consultant.

What We Do

- Winter Quality Monitoring
- Industrial Quality Control Services
- Environmental Pollution Studies
- Environmental Safety & Hygiene
- Waste Management
- Analytical Laboratory Services
- Geochemical Analyses
- Pesticides Formulation and Residue Analysis
- Environmental Impact Assessment
- Environmental Audit
- Environmental Information Management
- Laboratory Design and Supply of Equipment and Chemicals
- Manpower Training
- Clients
 - Private Firms and Companies
 - Government
 - Public Corporations and Parastatals

ning of this year," Gbenga Akinowun the MD of African Paints and Chairma of MAN's Committee on Environmental Protection, told TSM, "chemical import have been subjected to inspection an analysis by FEPA for a fee of N5,00 for each chemical.

Of course, manufacturers are naturally not happy about this new development for two reasons: the cost is very high, at N5000 for each chemical in one container, and the delay component of the inspection process which leads also to payment of demurrage by manufacturers. And, of course, knowing Nigeria very well, the attendant corruption by authorised and unauthorised agents of FEPA. The agents of FEPA sometimes take this N5,000 from you without giving you a receipt. The system is open to abuse, too open to corruption. Because of these, we requested a meeting with the FEPA director and his executive. The meeting was very fruitful, very cordial and very useful. The reaction of manufacturers to the meeting will be communicated to FEPA in due course."

MAN's argument, Akinowun further explained, is that this new process amounts to an unduly expensive duplication as there are overseas-based inspection agents of the Federal Government (Bureau Veritas, SGS and Coleckna) who cost the nation more than \$80 million dollars annually. "They inspect for many countries all over the world to make sure that what you're importing and what you claim are the same and for price-monitoring, so that you don't overprice or under-price. Nothing comes in unless you have a certificate of Clean Report of Findings (CROF) issued by these inspection agents."

But if, as FEPA claims, the essence of the double road block is to further insulate the country from the designs of toxic waste merchants, the question then arises: is this realised in practice? On the contrary, TSM's investigation led to the conclusion that FEPA's accreditation committee, whether it was influenced or not, did not do a thorough job. The irrefutable illustration is the technical report Jawura Environmental Services Ltd, FEPA agent, sent to FEPA on a sample of carbon ferro-chrome imported by Nigerian Foundries Ltd. Apart from the fact that carbon (2.5 percent) and chromium 6.32 percent carbon content, Jawura's report classifies it as having a lower carbon (2.5 percent) and chromium (15.44 percent) content. At Jawura Environment Services Ltd, Segun Afolabi, the Technical manager, declined to

discuss any aspect of the company's operations," he referred TSM, instead, to his chief executive who was never available despite repeated calls. On whether FEPA has had any reason to impose disciplinary action on any of its agents, Aina told TSM: "We're only just licensed them, but we're monitoring them." He then pointed out that FEPA makes no money from the process since the N5000 charge is to offset the agents' service cost. But, significantly, it is FEPA that initiates by assigning imports to agents, and concludes the inspection process — by issuing its own certificates of clean report of findings, based on the technical report of the pertinent inspection agent.

The inspection scandal is only one instance. Another is FEPA's response to the pollution load on the Lagos Lagoon and the long-term implications for the health of Nigerians. A 1990 World Bank report entitled "Towards the Development of an environmental Action Plan for Nigeria" had identified the impact of water contamination in Nigeria on economic growth, distributional of water resources integrity as high. "The contamination of water resources integrity as high." "The contamination of water resources in Nigeria," notes the report, "has been caused by the discharge of untreated domestic and industrial waste water into water bodies. Pollution has also affected riverine and marine ecosystems in two important ecological zones - in the Lagos Lagoon (through industrial and domestic pollution) and in the Niger Delta area (because of oil spillages). In many of the urban areas risks of contamination extend not only to surface water, but also to ground water because of the relatively high water tables. In Lagos, for example, the water table is between one and three meters below the land surface, and leaching of solid wastes and sewage is a public health risk for the large urban population dependent on groundwater supplies." Prince Dosunmu, the Director of Administration of the Nigerian Conservation Foundation (NCF) painted an even more grim picture: "We're at the verge of a crisis, because of toxic wastes. Some fishes in the Lagos Lagoon carry mercury around their gills."

So, too, Philip Hall, an ecologist and until recently NCF's Director of Technical Services: "The most polluted fish comes out of the Lagos Lagoon. You'll create a very bad situation if the fishes being caught have a heavy metal residue: ultimately, man will suffer because he will build up in his tissues

a level that will ultimately destroy him. As the concentration of toxic materials build up in the tissues, they cause nasal problems, breathing problems and ultimately, the plummeting of the population. There has to be checks. Many people will not eat fish caught in the Lagos Lagoon: they will eat sea fish."

On its part, FEPA, aided by a three-million dollar grant from the British government, has embarked on a study of the pollution load on the Lagoon — a study that will take all of three years until 1996 to conclude. Until then, according to Aina, FEPA cannot comment on the subject. The curious thing, in addition to the time span, is that FEPA's only laboratory, the National Reference Laboratory in Lagos, which FEPA says is up to international standard, is for water and waste-water research. Remarkably, the World Bank study already cited, despite its much broader scope, took less than one year to accomplish.

Then there is the troubling absence of co-ordination in some of FEPA's core activities. While the Agency has released a two volume

Standard for Environmental Pollution Control in Nigeria, it is only now that, in collaboration with the Swiss Government through the Swiss Federal Office of Environment, Forests and Landscape (BUWAL) and in conjunction with the WASTECo company of Switzerland, it is undertaking a study of the hazardous waste management practice in Nigeria. And it is yet to conclude work on its comprehensive report on the state of environment in Nigeria. "Some of the (FEPA) guidelines," Akinowun told TSM, "have no basis, with the nature of Nigerian wastes. They are mere copies. You don't make guidelines unless you've carried out base-line study which FEPA has not done. So, obviously, they've copied the guidelines from somewhere. They've copied from USEPA (the United States Environmental Protection Agency), the UK and the Indian Environmental Protection Agencies." A question mark also hangs on FEPA's programme of technical assistance to industries to accelerate compliance with its regulations. The question mark specifically hangs on its selection of the National Fertiliser Company of Nigeria (NAFCON). Onne, Rivers State to oversee the fertiliser manufacturing sector. Yet NAFCON is a known major polluter in Rivers State. Because of complaints from the public and the Rivers State Environment and Pollution Bureau that NAFCON was polluting the environment, FEPA had to in-

vestigate its compliance with environmental protection standards late last year. It is also remarkable that while Aina told TSM that FEPA had had no reason to prosecute anyone for non-compliance because "Nigerians are very law-abiding," FEPA's Special Duties Department had to set up an Event Response Team "to provide technical assistance to industries which have not complied with FEPA's requirements after the moratorium given to them expired."

This soft-soap approach, alleged a source, gives FEPA officials enough latitude to exploit the commercial possibilities of the situation. It is equally curious that, since the dumping of toxic wastes at Koko in 1985 and after declaring the area as totally decontaminated, it has taken FEPA four years to begin the process of establishing a monitoring station in Koko town "to ensure that both the short and long term post impact effects of the toxic waste is not harmful to the health of the inhabitants of Koko Town and the environs."

Even at the conceptual level, level, some of FEPA's intentions do seem strange. Hinging its argument on the fact that Nigeria is the largest gas flaring country in the world with the attendant generation of carbon dioxide, sulphur dioxides and other oxides (an estimated 0.2 percent of the global emission of carbon dioxide), it has initiated a gas flaring project. The aim is to stop gas flaring by promoting its re-injection for ultimate tapping for commercial use. At the Fourth Tranche Meeting of Participants to the Global Environment Facility which took place in

Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire, from December 3-5, 1982, it secured a \$25 million grant for this project. But, according to a November 1991 report by the Council on Economic Priorities, on Shell's environmental policies and practices, deep well injection was outlawed by the US Congress in 1984 for the several environmental threats that it poses — except in cases where companies

could prove that their wastes would stay in the "zone" into which they were injected for 10,000 years. Essentially, an injection well consists of a pipe leading from 300 to several thousand feet underground, surrounded by several layers of protective casings of concrete and steel. Its unsuitability as a waste disposal system stems from the fact that "waste may escape unde-

ected through faulty casings or joints. It is possible for corrosive wastes to eat through protective linings and leak directly in to drinking water. In fact, there have been many cases of acids eating through steel and concrete, eventually contaminating a fresh water aquifer. Intense upward pressures could also force wastes into drinking water. Abandoned oil wells can provide an escape part of the wastes to move toward drinking water." Further on, the report reveals that, in addition to safety and health concerns anti-injection opinions are shaped by "the growing evidence that wastes pegged for injection can be either eliminated at their source by changes in production or recycled." Shell, for instance, has closed some of its wells in the US and, at its Norco plant in Louisiana, neutralises its acidic wastes into calcium chloride which is then sold for use in many consumer products.

So, despite its weak fund base, as it is wont to complain, the be-all of FEPA's ineffectiveness is not just a question of money. No doubt, it does need much more money than it has been getting — considering "the onerous responsibilities," in Akinwun's words, that it does shoulder.

In the 1991-93 rolling plan, the allocation to FEPA (N53.6 million) represents only .21 percent of the Plan's total (26.3 billion). This under-funding, said Aina, has been communicated to the government, marked by "a very favourable response." In the interim FEPA's plan to establishing zonal of fices laboratories in Kaduna, Kano Port Harcourt and Ibadan remains bogged down. But FEPA's track record shows that, powered by an active government support, the Agency does have an incredible fund-raising ability. Apart from the instances already itemised, in 1991 the federal government secured for FEPA and other line agencies supporting it environmental programmes and financial assistance to the tune of \$32 million from UK ODA (Overseas Development Agency), UNDP, EEC and the World Bank. The Swiss government also promised a one-million Swiss francs assistance to establish a hazardous wastes tracking system that will ensure that the Agency monitors the fate of all chemicals coming into the country right from the cradle to the grave. The National Environmental Information Management and Monitoring Network is powered by an IDA (International Development Assistant) from the World Bank.

In 1991, at the annual press briefing, Aina told his audience: "I am happy to inform you that last week, during the

negotiations at the World Bank, I was able to secure an outright grant of \$250,000 from this fund (the technical assistance provided under the Interim Multilateral Fund of the Montreal Protocol) for our CFC programme." The chlorofluorocarbons programme refers to FEPA's Comprehensive National Reconnaissance study to establish the nature, type and quantity of chlorofluorocarbons and halons in the country as well as the identity of the importers and consumers. A FEPA survey had established that no company manufactures these ozone-depleting substances but that they are imported and used in refrigeration, air-conditioning, foam-blowing, aerosols, fire extinguishers and as cleaning solvents. Significantly, the national consumption of about 0.02 kg per capita is lower than the 0.3kg per capita limit

An expatriate scientist, whose hobby is fishing, intimated TSM that last year he witnessed the dumping of toxic wastes just outside Nigeria's territorial waters but was barred from any further investigations or a picture, by death threats. "These wastes are mixed with solvents to mask their identity."

set for developing countries under the 1987 Montreal Protocol.

It may well be that, properly examined, FEPA, despite it groans, might have some accounting to do. The cover-all atmosphere an enquirer encounters at the Agency's office deepens this feeling. Why, for instance, should a government agency insist on not making its publications available to the press? Adegoro's reason for not availing TSM of FEPA's Guidelines was that the text would be beyond the comprehension of a journalist! Then there was incident of Aina referring our reporter to Adegoro for further discussions on the accreditation committee only for him to learn that the director

himself had issued instructions that only he could discuss FEPA's activities with the press. Appalling it was too that the only back ground material its Public Relations Unit could provide were two issues of its newsletter, The Nigerian Environment.

FEPA has, however, not been static its relocation from the Ministry of Works and Housing to the office of the Presidency ensures for it a better position for the furtherance of its core interest. The relocation was one of the near-term options suggested by the World Bank report to resolve potential conflicts: of interest issues associated with monitoring the activities of the MWH. As an independent body, FEPA would be able to ensure cooperation between all ministries, rather than rivalry. Hence, it could be more effective in its role of monitoring all national activities which have a negative impact on the environment."

But, essentially, the import of the foregoing is that FEPA's jerk and questionable manner of operation constitute, ironically, the core danger signal with respect to the probability of a post-Koko toxic dump. As Aina admitted, there are quite a few unscrupulous Nigerians parading themselves to foreign companies abroad as landowners and offering these fables of land as the receptacles for toxic wastes. And some of these companies, burdened by huge chunks of wastes, are not turning a deaf ear. Ideally, FEPA's new inspection programme should have strengthened the nation's protection system instead, it has become part of the problem.

The probability that, in deed, another toxic dump has occurred, without the attendant cacophony that the Koko saga generated, is high. Consider this: "American companies export 400 - 600 million pounds of pesticides a year," reports the Council on Economic Priorities, "about a third of the pesticides produced in the USA. Many chemicals banned, restricted or unregistered in the US are among them. Under the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act (FIFRA), the EPA must determine that a pesticide will not have "unreasonable adverse effects" on the public or the environment before it can be restricted or unregistered for use. However, FIFRA provided no regulation of pesticide exports, and many of the unsafe pesticides which are exported are sent to developing nations that have no pesticide regulations or safety measures. In many developing nations, the pesticides are imported without gov-

ernment approval, used inappropriately, and handled unsafely. Often was insufficient protective equipment is available, and medical care to deal with pesticide poisoning is inadequate. The World Health Organisation estimated that over three million cases of pesticide poisoning occur, causing 220,000 deaths annually."

The tragedy of it all is that the lessons of Koko, as grim as they were, appear to have been lost in the mists of time. For nine months between August 1987 and May 1988, about 4,300 tons of toxic wastes from Italy were dumped in Nigeria in an illegal arrangement between Italian businessmen and Nigerian officials. The wastes, brought in five shipments, were represented as materials "related to the building trade." In July 1988, over 150 Nigerian workers, most from the Nigeriana Ports Authority, were employed in the removal of the wastes. But the quantity of protective clothing

provided was insufficient and many workers did not have gloves to wear.

Quite a number were hospitalised for ailments including severe chemical burns, nausea, vomiting blood, partial paralysis, and at least one went into coma. The Koko residents inevitably suffered from exposure to the wastes. When Mamman Kontagora, then the Minister for Works and Housing, visited a hospital near the dump site in November 1988, doctors there told him the waste-dumping scheme caused significantly higher rates of cholera and premature births in the area.

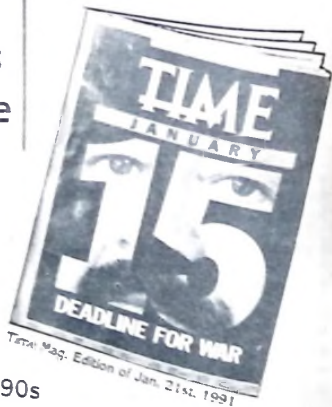
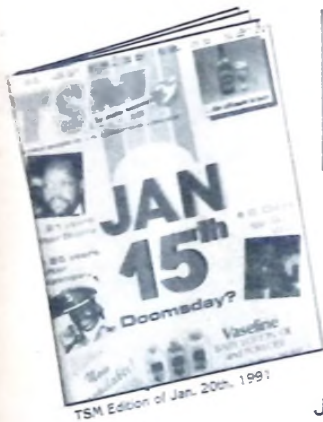
The London-based Friends of the Earth estimated the cost of the clean-up to be one million pounds; the Xinhua News Service came up with a figure in excess of one million dollars. It was to render anachronistic the logistic laws that made that incident possible that an environmental protection agency was institutionalised. Yet, despite the high price that was paid,



the bruised dreams penultimately balm'd by the sun, these flaws are still with us!

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Journalism for the 1990s

Why I deposed the Ejeh of Ankpa

— Governor Abubakar Audu

By Ono Bobi

THOSE who know Abubakar Audu, Governor of Kogi State say what he abhors most in life is indiscipline. The other, is that the man is born to hate being used as a canofoder. His closeness to the deposed Ejeh of Ankpa, Hassan Yakubu, a retired army colonel was misinterpreted to mean a political relations—but here is a relationship that dated back some decades ago. The governor does not hide behind any veil of words when discussing his relationship with the former Ejeh whom he deposed and kept away in a one bedroom flat at Oke-Agada in Egbe of Kogi State; "to maintain law and order" in Ankapa Local Government area and among the Igala people of the state.

"It is on record," says Prince Abubakar Audu, "that before we decided to employ state machinery to discipline Hassan Yakubu, the man had through several of his actions mutilated the face of the traditional institution. For, here is a man whose background as a former senior military officer could not comport him and, even as a traditional ruler he was a complete misfit. It is likely he got to that seat through a military godfather."

Governor Audu told *TSM* that contrary to the many views expressed on the issue by the media, one issue still stands out very clearly: my deposition of Hassan Yakubu does not at all border on a personality clash nor does it have a political undertone. For those who have been privileged to read some Greek mythology, the whole affair amounted to "cleansing an Augean stable."

However, *TSM* learnt from well informed sources in the state capital that what actually prompted the deposed Ejeh's dislike for the government of Audu was that the Ejeh mistook the Governor's friendship as one he could ride on to become the chairman of the

Kogi Traditional Council, a seat already occupied by the well-respected Attah of Igala land. But Audu, refused to be drawn into what would result in a chain of controversies which he reasoned could divide a society he pledged to nurture into a model state in Nigeria. The governor was quoted to have told Hassan Yakubu to the face that such action would be criminal and subversive.

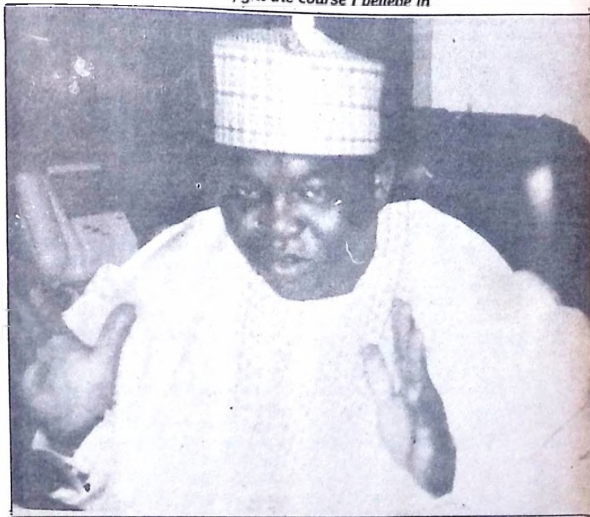
The governor also readily admits that the former Ejeh was a very good friend and still is and has been a full-fledged supporter of his party in the state. But this relationship would not deter him from punishing Yakubu for erring particularly "on a very serious issue." Well meaning citizens of the state interviewed by *TSM* claim that the former Ejeh is "dogmatic and unyielding in his pursuits even when he knows he is on the wrong side."

Sometime last year, when the governor found out that the former Ejeh is used to some restlessness as an ex-military man as opposed to his traditional ruler status, Audu sponsored him to an overseas trip. "My government gave the former Ejeh N300,000 to spend overseas and he actually went and was there for five weeks as against the 10 days which we allowed him. When he arrived, we welcomed him but when we invited him to know why he had to stay that long, Hassan Yakubu refused to honour our call."

Says the Governor: if as a traditional ruler, we allow him to have his way at all times, then we would be setting a bad precedent and indiscipline would be everywhere in Kogi State."

What is not known is, when the deposed Ejeh would be released from his "temporary" confinement. Sources close to government say that Audu has no intention to keep the deposed Ejeh at Egbe forever. His being there since the past few months is no total banishment from his domain. According to the source, government only wants to ensure that he (Hassan Yakubu) does not become a security risk to the people of Ankpa and the state as a whole. It is probable that the deposed Ejeh might be released to taste freedom once more, as an ordinary Igala man and businessman, when the new Ejeh, his younger brother has been of

I am not a controversial man. I fight the course I believe in



officially installed.

The appointment of the new Ejeh of Akpa was ratified by government February 3. A government bulletin on the approval went on to state that the new Ejeh, 50, replaces the deposed one, Hassan Yakubu.

Since you took over government, you have been seen to be incontinent just as you have been involved in several controversies. And from the look of things, these controversies don't seem to deter you. Could it be said, with due respect, that you thrive on controversies?

Well, I wouldn't say I thrive on controversies because I am not a controversial man. I am a very simple man and I chart out a good course for myself and my people. I lead the people and I must give them the required leadership direction. Only that I am very dogged in my determination. Once I commence myself that this is the right direction for my people, that's the direction we are going irrespective of what critics might say. I am not worried by criticisms because I am convinced that whatever I am up to is good for my people and for the interest of the people. So this is responsible for my indifference to the criticism about my government. And as a politician, controversies are not new to me. You must develop a hard skin and be able to live with controversies, manage crisis and controversies otherwise you are not yet a good leader. Quite often as a leader you run into problems and must look for solutions to those problems and come out of it smiling even at a time when people would think you are sinking and you would be buried; you come out of it all with a huge success. That has been my achievement.

So it is not correct to say I have been thriving in crisis rather I have taken crisis management as part of leadership qualities that one must be able to perfect and handle to the satisfaction of all parties involved especially where it involves ourselves and other states.

May I mention this. The crisis we have had so far with other states was on the assets sharing. This is not unexpected because if somebody is holding on to his property and you want to forcibly take it away from him, naturally he has to resist. This is a natural phenomenon and I don't see this as a crisis as such. The crisis which this state had with Kwara and Benue states over assets sharing were merely out of sheer misunderstanding borne out of a desire to have a hold on one's property because most of these properties were our statutory share from Kwara



Hassan Yakubu... deposed Ejeh of Akpa

and Benue, following the creation of new states by the President, General Ibrahim Babangida. The whole crisis erupted during and after the assets sharing exercise between the three states. However, we were able to overcome it and today we are happy although the other states are not too happy but they are our friends. We have forgotten about misgivings and have put them behind us and we are forging ahead.

Your Excellency, is it so to say, that the total assets sharing exercise has been fully completed and you as governors of these states are fully satisfied?

Well, frankly speaking, it has not been concluded in totality.

It is also true that there are still so many goods and cartels of ours that are yet to be retrieved from both Kwara and Benue states. So until when those things are received by us, we assume that assets sharing has not achieved total conclusion. We also have some funds that should be shared by states concerned. So it would be wrong for me to say that the assets sharing exercise has been fully completed.

Are you saying too that your counterparts are aware that the exercise has not been fully completed?

All parties concerned are fully aware of the present position and there is need to say, the sharing would be open at the appropriate time.

It could be said that the geo-politics of the states, has to a large extent, been responsible for most of the differences your government has had with traditional rulers in the state. Sir, what have been your most trying human problems and what have you done to fuse the people together?

Stravely speaking, we don't have any problems with traditional rulers. The only traditional ruler who was busy misbehaving himself and couldn't conduct himself like a good father and was more or less like a thug was the former Ejeh of Akpa. And virtually everybody including his domain has become very very peaceful since his removal. So we thank God that we took the decision to remove him to ensure peace and stability. On other ethnic groups in the state having friction among themselves is not unexpected. A popular English saying says that group interaction brings friction.

If you live within a group, you will one day have misunderstandings and that is what is happening in my state. Even a man and his son, a mother and her daughter do have misunderstanding and that is what is happening in my state. Even a man and his son, a mother and her daughter do have misunderstanding and that does not warrant separation forever. We had a similar case here in Kogi State but we have taken necessary steps to reduce the situation. Initially, the compo-

nents that makes up Kogi State were under the banner of the former Kabba province and we have lived together as an indivisible body before the abrupt interruption by years of creation of a new state in 1976. It was then the Kabba Province was torn into the two leaving a part with Kwara and another with Benue State. This was what led to the agitation for Kogi State so as to bring together the two sides of Kabba earlier torn apart in 1976. The agitation for Kogi State lasted for a period of 15 years until 1991 when Mr. President created Kogi State. It is the separation for 15 years that caused a state of suspicion of each other in us when we again came together as brothers, as sisters. In fact we brothers very suspicious of one another we became so frightened of one another, we became so worried and apprehensive of one another, because that turn, that confidence of society we have lost as a people. Initially, there was that teething problem of fear of marginalisation by the dominant ethnic group but all the same we have decided to settle down to the task of building a state that could be recognised in the affairs of the country. Now the time of suspicion, of



I run an open-policy

appointments were well distributed among various ethnic groups that make up the state virtually every ethnic group is represented in government appointments in the state. The award of contracts is on ward basis so that there would be no complaint from anybody whatsoever. And from the ward to local government and to the state level in the award of contracts to ensure equal and even representation. There is need to point out that it was the sense of a wider representation in the scheme of state affairs as they affect the people in the award of contracts and appointments that helped a lot to stem the virtual tide of criticisms against my government as being non-conformist. The initial fear that one area was being marginalised was because we were experimenting on this exercise of wider representation to satisfy all areas and citizens of the state. I agree with you that it was the initial fear but now that this exercise has worked out there is a greater sense of belonging by all indigenes of the state.

I even reasoned that as an ex-army colonel, he is used to some restlessness but as a traditional ruler he's somewhat confined to his domain. Therefore, I suggested that he should prepare to go overseas. The government gave him N300,000 to spend overseas and he actually went and was there for five weeks as against the 10 days which we allowed him, before coming back.

friction, the time for in fighting, the time for all sorts of intrigues and wrangling have been put behind us and we are now one single, indivisible entity.

Would this have been your most trying period in government?

Indeed it was one of the most trying periods I had but I remained dogged in my determination to put both the East and West of the State together and make them understand that the states government means well for them and that we are very sincere in the sharing of political offices. Today, all citizens of the state understand our intention, our plans because we have always offered explanation for any of our action in government.

Early in your administration, a crisis of confidence was said to be brewing in the state because it was alleged that your key appointments, contract awards and siting of key projects appeared to have favoured Kogi East more than Kogi West. Could you in comment on the issue?

Initially, our detractors were under this misconception that in appointments and contract awards we were biased in favour of Kogi East and in virtually everything we do we were seen to be acting in favour of the eastern part of the state. The general belief was that we the Igalas were here in Lokoja as seat of government to take everything away to the Igalaland. But today, those people have been proved wrong. Our

Your excellency, there is this crisis over who heads Ijumu Local Government Council following its dissolution. What is particularly of concern is, the allegation that you hastily appointed a caretaker chairman, on June 9 last year, despite an order of an election tribunal which called for a bye-election in the disputed Egbedda Egga Okedayo Ward. Sir could you clear the air on this?

Strictly speaking, Mr. Ajewole, an SDP candidate won the election and he was sworn in. Later, his opponent petitioned and it became a matter of litigation and the court quashed Ajewole's victory as not being proper. In the process we had no choice but to appoint a caretaker committee chairman, who was sworn-in by me: And as the name implies, he was a only taking care of an interim arrangement pending when the substantive person will emerge. After this, the court asked for a bye-election to be conducted. It was conducted and again John Ajewole won the election. I had fixed a date for his swearing-in Ajewole. And in the process, I had no choice but to stay action. Until now, I am yet to go ahead with the swearing-in ceremony. Any time I get court directive in this direction I would go ahead to swear him in. I am prepared to carry out court order because as the chief executive of the state, I should be seen to obey court directives to the letter. This explains why I have not sworn Ajewole in and constitutionally all I can do is



Ahmadu

...New Ejen of Anápa

to appoint a caretaker committee chairman who will stand in until I get the marching orders from the appropriate judicial circle to swear Ajewole in. You see if I had gone ahead to swear him in contrary to court injunction, I would have contempered the court which could have been a very serious offence by a governor.

Who again went to court to restrain you from swearing John Ajewole in as chairman (Jumu Local Government)?

His opponent. It was his opponents the NRC who went to court to get the order to restrain me from swearing in Ajewole who is in the SDP and because the election was conducted under an atmosphere of several mal-practices.

Sir, let us look at the situation at Anápa and the recent deposition of the Ejen, Col. Hassan Yakubu and his banishment to Egbé. The claim in some circles in the state is that your actions

has the grip of political partisanship. Could you in very detailed form discuss this issue with the wider public?

This is not correct. The former Ejen is a very good friend. I have helped him so much and he has told everybody. He has been a full fledged supporter of NRC so his deposition has no political undertone. But because Col. Hassan is a supporter of my party and he helped me during my election does not mean I should not punish him when he has erred, especially on a very serious issue. I have done a lot for him. I have personally gone to his place several times with my deputy to tell him about certain anomalies of his and imploring him to refrain from them. He refused. There was even an occasion when he drove my deputy governor away from his palace. At a time, I even invited the chairman of Kogi Council of Traditional rulers, the Atah of Igala to help me

talk to him yet our combined efforts did no hold water. I even had to go around his close friends, confidants and relations all over this country, begging them to help me talk to the former Ejen to change but all to no positive response. He, Hassan Yakubu continued to be very adamant, very violent in his ways of doing things. We'll invite him for a meeting, he would not come. He does not believe that there is any authority than can call him to order in the state. He is the only traditional ruler in the state who bought cars for himself equipped with sirens and painted black. I called him and warned him that the action was against some regulated Federal Government directives, yet, the man just would not budge. He will leave his domain for about three to four weeks without permission or clearance from the appropriate quarters. All of a sudden he would reappear in his domain and when he is questioned he would only say: As far as I am concerned, I am a businessman. But I say the man can't be a businessman as well as a traditional ruler. It got to a stage when I even called him privately into my office, showed him the documentary evidence of the implication of what he has been doing and implored him to change. I even reasoned that as an ex-army colonel, he is used to some restlessness but as a traditional ruler he's somewhat confined to his domain. Therefore, I suggested that he should prepare to go overseas. The government gave him N300,000 to spend overseas and he actually went and was there for five weeks as against the 10 days which we allowed him, before coming back. We welcomed him but when we invited him so as to know why he had to stay that long, he refused to honour our call. If as a traditional ruler, we allow him to have his way at all times, then we would be setting a bad example and indiscipline would be everywhere. I also called other traditional rulers, in the state to appeal to Hassan Yakubu to refrain from his obnoxious attitudes like going to the House of Assembly to order the honourable members to carry out certain did (action not give examples). But all along we refused to react until his removal from office came as a last resort. The Atah of Igala, the Obaro of Kabba, the Ohinovi of Igbiraland and the Ohinogbo of Koton-Karte are my witnesses. They all helped me to talk to the former Ejen. My wonder was: here is a man whose background as an ex-military man is so full of order, refusing to accept orders from a well constituted state government. Discipline to the Ejen is a runaway moral factor.

EXCLUSIVE!

Palestinian envoy hits back at Israel

Baker was already waiting expectantly, armed with books and documents at the ready, to prove any point he was about to make. The *TSM* publication in question was also piled atop his busy desk, which he made repeated glances at whenever referring to an issue, contained in the magazine — which he finally pulled out. "We never intended to push Israel to the sea!" he explained.

and despair of Palestinians who are now homeless and stateless, is the bone of contention between the Arabs and Israelis.

It was not surprising then, that the Palestinian Ambassador to Nigeria, Samir Baker, who is also the Dean of the Diplomatic Corps in Nigeria called on *TSM* to arrange an interview which would correct some impressions about life in Palestine and the evolution of the Palestinian peoples, among other issues. Baker's request, was largely a reaction against alleged misconceptions and distortions of historical facts, levelled by the Israeli Ambassador to Nigeria, Moshe Gilboa, published in the Vol 6, No. 21 edition of *TSM*.

When *TSM* arrived at the Palestinian Embassy for the interview,

He equally quarrelled against the Israeli envoy's remarks on the history of Palestine, the building of Jerusalem and Israel's stand on racism. "They (Israel) even supported apartheid," Baker asserted, while extracting a book on the subject, as if to support his statement. Indeed UN's Resolution 337-9 equated Zionism with racism because both apartheid and Zionism are based on conceptions of racial supremacy and 'God given' rights to control lands to which the bearers of the two sys-

Baker.... "We never intended to push Israel to the sea!"



Samir Baker, Palestinian ambassador and the head of foreign diplomats in Nigeria, speaks to TSM on Israeli human rights violations and their attempts at distortions.

By Joseph Umunegbu

THE picture of an average Palestinian, painted by the Western media is that of a hot headed and blood thirsty terrorist or hijacker. But the actual truth appears far from the myth. The Palestinians are basically victims of an irreconcilable conflict of interests between the Jews and the Palestinians over the former British Mandated Territory of Palestine.

Since the Jewish state of Israel was carved out of Palestine on May 1948, the region has never been the same again. Sectarian and racial conflict erupted. This led to the mass expulsion of the entire Palestinian populations from areas given to the Jewish state. It also resulted in Israel's occupation of territories, surrounding her designated land, leading to acts of terrorism against the people in these territories. A million of these people became refugees, scattered around the Middle East and beyond. The plight

tems are newcomers. Apartheid South Africa and Israel also have close links historically, ideologically, commercially and militarily.

But an area of deep concern between Israel and Palestinian, is the atrocities committed in the Occupied Territories. A Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) press release showed that, since 1987 to the end of last year, Israel has killed 1,389 Palestinians and injured 126,193 more, causing a further 3,366 foetal deaths. Israel is also allegedly carrying out its version of ethnic cleansing. For instance, 95 percent of Palestinian homes and properties in Jaffa was confiscated to make way for Jews, and the dispossessed Palestinians now live in refugee camps. Palestinian experts and researchers in the Occupied Territories also charged that Israel collects annually, over 1,220 million dollars in taxes, fines and other fees from Palestinians, used to finance the occupation, and fatten Israel's coffers. New terror tactics by Israel, at the end of last year — according to the PLO release — include the dropping of explosives on Palestinian civilians by Israeli military helicopters overflying areas of high

Palestinian concentration. The interview continues:


Has Israel committed more atrocities in the Occupied Territories since last year?

Yes this is a daily occurrence. Yesterday (4 March), the Israeli military, attacked a school in Jerusalem, seriously injuring 12 Palestinian children. And in the past 10 days, Palestinians have been besieged by the Israeli military. Then, last week, the Israeli authorities destroyed 50 houses in the Gaza strip, rendering 50 families homeless. They used heavy artillery such as rockets, in the attack. These incidents are the daily lot of the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories. The situation has been worsening since Yitzhak Rabin became the Prime Minister. They even go as far as uprooting economic trees, confiscating land and bringing Jews to settle in the Occupied Territories.

Why has the situation in the Occupied Territories worsened since Rabin came to power?

You cannot judge the man. Rabin was expected to do something to achieve peace, yet what he does is bad. They still talk peace, yet their practice is different to what they say.

Despite UN Resolutions, they are not ready to accept the Palestinians. This is why there is no progress. Israel is yet to recognise the rights of the



Israelis also attack Christians in the Occupied Territories. Here, a church is bombed.

Palestinian people. And they do this mainly by distorting history — by claiming that there was no Palestine. The international community should not be deceived anymore about the fact that the Palestinians have been living where they are (including the area that is presently the Jewish State of Israel) for the past six to seven thousand years. The Israelites came to Palestine in 1,000 BC and ruled parts of it for 73 years. And after, they fought with each other. The total period Israel remained in Palestine was less than 200 years. This is 3,000 years ago. And today, they are claiming that there is no Palestine and no Palestinians. Although Palestine was invaded by many races: Greeks, Byzantines and Romans, the latter did not give the land to Palestine as the Israeli ambassador claims. The Palestinians were there already. It is not logical for the Israeli ambassador to talk about the issue in the way he likes. Even in the Bible, the Palestinians are mentioned. And the land of Canaan is mentioned.

Moshe Gilboa made many contradictions, saying the Palestinians came with the Islamic invasion (Gilboa stated that "The Arabs came through the Arab conquest, after the emergence of Islam from Saudi Arabia... When the Arabs come they lived in what was already named Palestine. After the Palestinian invasion from the Arabian Peninsula, they started inhabiting this area... so there was never a Palestinian state."). The Romans came to Palestine in 63 BC. But before that date, already the Philistines who gave the name of the land, Palestine were there in 1,200 BC before the arrival of any Hebrew. Even till the Resolutions of 1947 and 1917, the Jews were not more than 6 percent of the total population of Palestine.

The remaining Jews that came to

Palestine, this century, are of European and Russian races. It is just not logical for the Israelis to claim that they were in Palestine 3,000 years ago. Even the names is not as it was then.

The Palestinians did not leave their country since the dawn of history, until 1948 when many of them were deported and Jews, particularly from the former Soviet Union, came and settled on the confiscated land.

And after that, they (the Israelites) say there was no Palestine. But Palestine is recognised by the whole world. And even the UN Resolution of 1947, which is considered the birth certificate of Israel, partitioned Palestine into two states: for the Jews and the Pales-

tinians. And when Israel applied to be a member of the UN, it was on condition that they abide by the partition Resolution 181. It is true that the Palestinians at that time rejected it, because they did not want the country divided. They wanted to live democratically with the Jews, in one state.

and not because we wanted to drive the Jews into the sea as they claim. But it does not mean as we rejected the 1947 Resolutions, we have lost our rights. Since the 1970s and 1980s we have been emphasising that we recognise Resolution 181 and are willing to join the peace talks on these basis.

Moshe Gilboa also made the erroneous assertion that king David built up Jerusalem. This is not true. The Canaanites built Jerusalem in 1,000 BC, it fell under David's control, 800 years later. If you check the Encyclopaedia Britannica and the Jewish Encyclopaedia, they admit the existence of the city of Jerusalem, long before the arrival of David to the place. The Palestinians are descendants of

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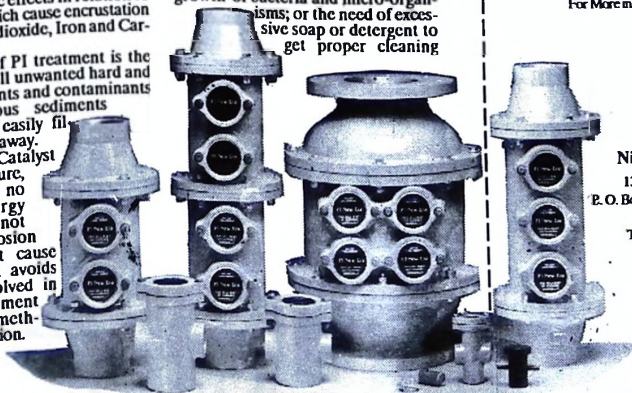
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the Canaanites. They (the Palestinians) have been there since Abraham came to the land. Even Moses told the Jews when he was leading them out of Pharaoh's Egypt. "I am taking you to a great country built in a great way." So Palestine is one of the ancient civilisations in the world.

Today Jerusalem has been partitioned. The old city, which was occupied in 1967 by Israel, is part of the West Bank. The Palestinians are in the majority here. In this part, which used to be called East Jerusalem, the Israelis built some settlements and brought Jews to the city.

Where did the Palestinians who were forced out of Israel go?

They were taken to refugee camps in Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and so on. These were the Palestinians who were driven out to make way for Soviet Jews. The forced deportations occurred after the 1948 and 1967 Arab-Israeli war.

Why does the West continue to support Israel?

The US is dealing with Israel in a special way, and gives it all assistance.

The reasons include the influence of the Jewish lobby in the US. There are interests are economic and strategic. Economic because of the vital discovery of oil in the Gulf Region, which is all very close to Palestine. Strategic, because it was then competing with the former Eastern bloc.

With the collapse of the Eastern bloc, and the change in the US administration, do you think, the US will look at Middle East issues, more favourably to the Palestinians, in the future?

We are watching developments. There has been a visit of the US Secretary of State, to the region. We hope they will be able to bring peace and stability to the region. Although, we understand that Clinton's administration is new, and therefore is still at the beginning of negotiations, we appreciate that fact. We hope the Americans will apply fairness and justice, in dealing with the issues, instead of seeing Israel as an exceptional case. Israel must abide by UN resolutions and charter.

The Palestinians are trying their best to take advantage of the opportunities in a new world where many changes are taking place. We have reacted positively to the peace efforts and have made many concessions to let the peace process begin in Madrid. Why did the PLO reject further talks on the Middle East peace process, because of the 400 deportees, while other Arab States appear to accept the continuation of talks?

We will not participate in peace talks unless all the deportees are returned



Baker... "The Israeli Ambassador to

to Palestine, and that the Palestinians will not be continuously deported in the future. Deportation is against the 4th Geneva Convention, and Israel is a party to it. And there are UN Resolutions which state that Israel must take back all the deportees, immediately.

If Israel cannot even respond positively to the minor issue of the deported Palestinians, then now can they be serious to talk on the more complicated issue such as the Middle East peace talks? They have created this problem and they want to legitimise the deportation, which is illegal and against the UN charter. Maybe if the US gets Israel to change its mind on the deportee problem there will be progress. But if they fail to solve it, progress cannot be achieved. Israel wants to convince the US by saying they have done something in allowing 100 deportees to return, while accepting the rest after one year. But UN Resolutions cannot be done piecemeal — this is double standard on the part of Israel — all the deportees must be returned immediately.

Don't you think Israel was provoked into deporting the 400 Palestinians after the death of an Israeli soldier?

Daily, the Palestinians are being kil-

ritories at all levels: economic care, education and so on. For 15 years, schools and universities in the Occupied Territories have cl-

Continued on Page

Life & Style



Fola Richie Adewusi

JUST
n't understand what is wrong with
is boy! He's so stubborn and does
t take to correction." This girl is now
quarrelsome and aggressive. She
s also not been performing well in
ool lately. I don't know what her
blem is." At least I try to make them
nfortable. If these children think
y can misbehave anytime, they are
for a tough time."

These and many more are some of
expressions coming from parents
r their adolescent children. Have
really bothered to sit down with
se kids to find out what exactly is
pening to them? Do you think you
continue to beat good behaviours
of your adolescents? This can only
them to be more hostile. How then
you get the best out of your adoles-
- you get by getting to know
-ts? It is only by getting to know
on, understand what they are going
ough and being able to identify with

adolescent is a boy or a girl be-
n the period of childhood and
hood. According to World Health
nisation (WHO) they are people be-
n ages 10-19 years. This period is
static. That is why it is regarded as
nsition period (not transition to
nsition though) but social develop-
of the individual. The physical
ges I believe we are all familiar
such changes as broad shoulder,
growth all over the body, cracking
ice and production of sperm in
For girls also growth of pubic hair
hair under the armpit, develop-



Teen star, Kola Masha & Mum...closeness is it!

How well do you know

ment of breast, broader hips and the beginning of menstruation.

All these physical changes have a great effect on the psychological development of the adolescent. The ability to adjust to these changes varies from one child to another and also depend on the kind of support the teenagers get. This period is a very sensitive one and they are easily influenced by situations around them.

A child of ten noticing that hair has started growing in her pubic region once told the mother and the mother's reaction was to have it shaved immediately because she was too young to start growing hair. The girl challenged her why? Since she too has, but the mother even though a nurse told her it is abnormal for her to have started growing hair at that stage. Since

then the child has been withdrawn, cannot play freely with her mates so that they will not discover the so called abnormality in her. The mother though later informed that the fact that she was 16 years old before she started growing hair does not mean her daughter must be, as old because of improved nutrition. If the mother had not been told to go and disabuse the girl's mind over her body, by the time the girl finds out that she was after all not abnormal, her reaction might be very hostile because she might think the mother was just frightening her unnecessarily not knowing the mother was ignorant of the actual facts.

A girl in the boarding school that was not told about menstruation once found out there was a flow of blood coming out of her vagina, rushed out



that adolescent of yours

of bathroom naked and terrified wandering how they managed to hurt themselves without feeling any pain. The embarrassment has different effect on the individual and the ability to adjust differ.

Another boy once told me his first experience of 'wet dreams.' He woke up in the morning to find something like pap all over him and was asking his junior brothers who poured pap on him while sleeping? The father heard but told him to shut up instead of explaining to him what happened. Of course, the boy was still worried and was trying to persuade his brothers to tell him who poured pap on him when an uncle who poured pap came in, heard of his, a medical doctor came in, heard what was going on and later explained to him. Since then, that uncle has been his confidant on issues relating to sex-

uality. It is attitude of parents to issues concerning them that make adolescents find solace in other people even the ones one would normally disapprove of

The adjustment to all these changes that sort of spring on the unsuspecting teenagers make them react in different ways. Sometimes when they look at themselves and realize that they are as tall as their father or mother and have all the physical features that they are now mature. But the parents still treat them as children. This creates a lot of confusion in them. They will then want to assert themselves by experimenting with things that adults do just to prove that they are mature and the result is usually disastrous. It is at this point,

that most parents start to wonder what exactly happened to change that bab of "yesterday."

These changes trigger-off the production of different hormones in them and affect their emotions. Sometimes they are excited and happy at other times they are moody and want to quarrel with everybody. Unless parents try to understand that it is the influence of these changes on their emotions that is making them react in these ways, there will continue to be conflicts. It is said that during childhood the personality of the individual is organized because the child is largely dependent on parents but during adolescence, the personality gets disorganised because of the different values the environment is presenting to them.

It is the adolescents perception of all these values that they will use to re-organise their personality. They can then come out as a responsible or irresponsible individual depending on the support they get. At this point in their lives they need a lot of support, so parents have to be around to help them sort themselves out. This can only happen if the parents have established a good rapport with their children earlier on. If not, after sometimes they will start depending on their peers alone for information on how to cope with these changes because the peers are easily accessible and are probably going through the same phase as them.

Lack of privacy in their effort to adjust to the changes taking place in their bodies sometimes make them react in a hostile manner. The double standard of parents also confuse them as to how to relate to others in society too. Some adolescents turn to social deviants just to get attention from their parents. Shouting on them or abusing them most times do not yield the desired result. It further alienates them.

All these are just a few pointers to guide us to understanding our adolescents. There is no rigid rule as to how to deal with every adolescent. Each child has his/her own characteristics which parents should look for in order to know how to approach them as individuals. We should take a second look at our adolescents and our own behaviour to them so that we might be able to help them get through this stage successfully.

Fola Richie-Adewusi is the author of "Their Tomorrow Today" — A practical approach to coping with ADOLESCENTS

Uforo Is Born

UFORO an Akwa Ibom Better Life Magazine was recently launched in Uyo, Akwa Ibom State. The magazine is a baby of Obengwanan Imoh Isemin, wife of Akwa Ibom State governor and chairperson of the better life programme in the state. It came into existence after months of ruminating over the unfair fate of rural women in the state and possible means of documenting their illustriousness and contributions towards the development of society. The first desire of Uforo magazine therefore is to duly acknowledge the contributions of this silent majority, document their ingenuity and give them the pride of place they deserve. The magazine which is at the quarterly and decidedly rural in focus is intended to expand in readership and target audience to other states of Nigeria and overseas by increasing the scope of coverage. Already links have been established with Akwa Ibom communities in London and New York to sell the magazine.

In terms of content, the maiden edition of Uforo magazine is rich. Issues as health, food, business, interviews, personality profile so on were discussed.

The magazine is multi-lingual, comprising English and Ibibio language usages. The English is simple and easy to understand while the Ibibio language makes the rural woman involved since she is able to understand the content.

In terms of production quality the magazine is rich. This also leads us to the crucial issue of profitability since the cover price is N20.



Healer For Haemorrhoids

GOOD news for all! Afrab — Chem Ltd., a sister company of APM world-wide penultimate Tuesday introduced to the Press a new drug "HEALAR" for the complete cure of haemorrhoids: an affliction commonly referred to as pile.

Top officials of the conglomerate which included from left S.C. Nwaozuzu (Manager,

Afrab Chem. Ltd.), D. Foudeh (Executive Director), Mazen Mahafzah (Senior Marketing manager/Africa APM) and Ali Jaber (Group Product Manager APM), were all present to educate the press on the advantage of the new product.

This is hoping that HEALAR will be the long awaited answer to millions of Nigerians suffering from varying degrees of haemorrhoids.

HEALAR which is purely herbal will be available soon in the form of suppositories and ointment.



Ride On Ajayi

THE Art and Object Gallery recently signed on Olu Ajayi, an ebullient man and a leading

Artist in the country. Picture shows from left, Alero Etoromi, Olu Ajayi (the Artist Centre) and Ekpo Udoma, the Gallery Manager, shortly after the signing ceremony.



Mike Adenuga Elected!

In recognition of his wealth of experience, Mike Adenuga Jr. (Dr.), the ebullient chairman of Consolidated Oil Limited was recently elected into the Board of Newswatch Communications Ltd. It was a unanimous decision at a meeting of the board held recently; bringing the number of directors of the company to eight.

Adenuga Jr., 39, was educated in the United States. He studied Business Administration at North Western State University, Alva Oklahoma and Pace University, New York. Since he returned to Nigeria, he has gone in to commerce, manufacturing, real estate, banking and oil.

Here's wishing Mike more greeze to his elbows!



Rosabel Rewards Staffers With Promotions, Appoints Two Associates Directors

THE Management Board of Rosabel Advertising Limited in strategic move to strengthen



its management base as well as enhance determination to face the challenges of advertising industry in the 90s has pronounced some key promotions and appointments.

Those appointed are: Babatunde Isikalu - Segun Akinpelu as Associate Directors, (Finance and Media) respectively. And the promoted are: Yinka Fayemi (Mrs) Senior Media Executive; Gbenga Saruwa Assistant Studio Manager; Chinedu Uweronye - Media Executive; Godwin Emonri - Assistant Accountant and Christian Inegbu - Principal Cashier.



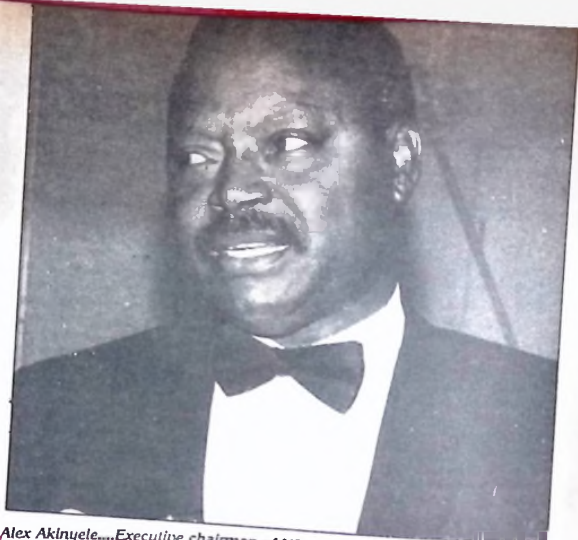
Lanre Weds Omolara

ANOTHER wedding bell rang recently for the solemnisation in holy matrimony between Lanre Oyelade and Omolara Soderu at African Salem Church, Ebute Metta, Lagos.

Lanre is a lecturer of Mathematics at the Federal College of Education (Technical) Akoka, Lagos; while charming Omolara is self-employed - (confectionary and catering services).

Here's wishing them many more years together.

Compiled by Grace Onyegbula



Alex Akinyele...Executive chairman of NSC

...It showed that much of the grand-finales of the BCCL Volleyball classic, which ended recently in Lagos, that

This chairman "stronger" than Ak

By Isodi Dike

THEY lost on the day the "chairman" supported them. To them it was controversial but to the chairman it was worse than that. Broad day robbery. So he decided to teach the organisers a lesson.

You see, at the Sportcity, Surulere Lagos, there operate two chairpersons. The one everyone knows is the one you are most likely to know too. Alex Akinyele, the Ondo high chief and executive chairman of the National Sports Commission (NSC). The existence or otherwise of the other is known only to "insiders" including Akinyele. He is a permanent feature at the National Stadium, Lagos, where he operates with his "men". In fact he does not mince words when he tells you that his headquarter is the indoor sportshall of the National Stadium, where any sports person or team he supports must carry the day.

He is Anctor-Esoimeme. He says that is the name his parents gave him way back in Edo State, where he hails. But in his headquarter he is known and addressed as OBODO.

The conventional type may dismiss him as one of those "area boys," yet others just say he is a mild nuisance. One thing is sure though, this guy has shown that he is "powerful" and needs to be monitored very closely. He and his "men" (and he has aides too) have a way of soliciting for cash-full help from sports personalities. It is when they refuse to play ball that the nuisance value in him surfaces and then, only when it matters most. Ask Sule Olalere, what happened to him on the day he defeated Atanda Musa, at the sportshall during a table tennis tournament.

On that particular day, Thursday March 4th of the finals of the Bil Construction Company Limited (BCCL) volleyball classic, Niger Brass Club of Minna and the Super Stars of Kano were spiking it out. Suddenly there was game point to Kano, from Mus-

tapha Ibrahim's brilliant left-handed smash. The score stood at 14-13.

Everyone present held his breath. A serve by the Kano team was dug up by a Niger player to his setter. All the players took off into the air for the ultimate moment, the moment of decision. So too was the skipper of the Niger Brass, Abdullahi Barau. He gave a powerful spike which went out or so the central referee thought. The other referee signalled he did not know by folding his arms, x-wise, across his chest. But there were many who could have sworn that the ball brushed past the blocking hands of the Super Stars' boys. Still the central referee thought otherwise: Game to Kano.

So, he blew his almighty whistle for a change over. What happened next left the spectators speechless. Our "Chairman," brought out his own whistle, blew hard on it, reversed the decision, dramatically gesticulating with his hands, and insisted the ball touched the hands of the Kano boys. The ovation that



Obodo...Sportshall enjoys his support

time one of his aides was hovering menacingly behind him.

That way Niger Brass Volleyball Club, eventually lost the game and a 3-1 scorecard. In the female category, Delta force club looked unstoppable, with the dexterity of the twin sisters, who had just returned from a professional stint in Cote D'Ivoire. They forced the BCCL crackers of Lagos to swallow their own fire 3-0, even with player and Ghanaian import, Elizabeth Essel. Mustapha Ibrahim of Kano won the Best male player award.

THE volleyball classic presented an opportunity to look at some issues bordering Volleyball in the country. One of these is the shoddy state of the clubs and players and how it affects the development of the game in the country.

This came to the fore earlier in the year, when the country was preparing for Zone III elimination. Some clubs who are clearly in the top brass of Nigerian volleyball. At least in recent years. They failed to come. Their excuse? That they were short of funds and there was nothing they could do about that.

A Rivers State club was, therefore, sent to represent the country. They lost at the first round. Ordinarily the matter would have ended there but the world Volleyball Association (FIVB) through Brass, 500 Swiss francs for failing to attend the zone III tourney.

All hell broke loose. TSM Sporting authorities gathered that some of officials of Niger State accused the National Volleyball Association of complicity in the whole drama.

The tourney would cost a participating club the sum of 800 Swiss francs, with an extra 15 Swiss francs per player, per day for a two week duration.

The logic of the Niger camp is that they did not have the money and that the national association should have bailed them out but instead it chose to "assist" the Rivers State club for some selfish aims. They insisted that within the time Rivers club was called in, that there was no way, they could have raised that money without some kind of help from the national association.

These allegations naturally developed some deep seated animosity amongst the parties. At the BCCL classic, the matter was on everyone's lip. The chairman of Niger Brass, Yusuf Dauda, even sought audience with Eddie Aderinokun, the national chair-

man to explain their side of the matter.

According to Dauda who TSM Sporting gathered has been the main force behind the continued existence of the club, their main headache is lack of funds. He explained their desire to be the number one clubside in the continent in all its ramifications but appealed to their governor and the state council to come to their aid.

His call was supported by his skipper Abdullahi Barau who pointed out that the degree of self-sacrifice and determination which the players have put in has seen them this far.

On the other hand though, there were others who derided the shoddy manner the Niger officials handled the elimination thing. When they were invited they signified their intention to participate through a telex and even stated when they should be expected for the training. Few days to the beginning of the tourney they had not come. It was only when it became obvious that Nigeria may be losing that chance that the national association accepted the Rivers club who went to a great length to pay the needed monies.

If they knew they would not make it because of funds, why did they not inform the national association in time?

With this question in mind some volleyball followers saw their defeat in the hands of the Kano team as nothing short of poetic justice. They queried. How long will Niger continue to remain one of the clubside the top clubside in Nigeria, only to hold the nation to ransom when they are needed. Since the team is made up of Niger State sports council workers, do they mean that when adequate representation is made, the government will not listen to them?

All the cries of lack of funds and poor state of the players may have been at the back of the mind of Aderinokun, as the noted in his closing remark at the classic. "Players must be able to make a good living out of volleyball and that is why we are introducing mid-sea-sons transfer among our clubs and state players" he said "This will enable our players to make a good choice of teams where they can both improve their volleyball career and also be able to live well like their counterparts in other sports."

It will be recalled that BCCL sponsored the classic with about N200,000. That is not all. They also have a full fledged volleyball team, the BCCL Crackers of Lagos, which to its credit is the first indigenous volleyball club to invite a foreign player into the country. That player is Elizabeth Esse of Ghana.

in is in yele

greeted this was not only wild, it was deafening. Confusion had crept in. The second game was, therefore, held up. At last the referee won but just as the second game started, the "Chairman" and some of his men swooped on the Kano coach, claiming that the man insulted him.

They were quickly separated but by that time "Chairman" and his aides had been charged up. They would not allow the Super Stars to settle down to their game. They made wild catcalls, gave vociferous support to the Niger boys and generally booed the Kano players. The message was clear.

One of the officials excused the "Chairman" to one of the dressing rooms. No one will know exactly what transpired but when the "Chairman" came back he was all smiles. Shortly afterwards, he called his men to order.

Was he "settled?" The "Chairman" waved the question aside when he told TSM Sporting, "No mind dem" Dem no know me O. Look, my own support no be yeye support. Ask people. As the chairman here, I nor dey look for trouble. Imagine, because I dey support dem, they wan mess me." All this

Continued from Page 31
down.

How does the PLO regard Islamic fundamentalist Palestinians such as HAMAS?

The PLO is an umbrella organisation, they represent all Palestinian people, whatever their political affiliations. And the PLO has the Palestine National Council which acts as Parliament in exile. So we consider all the groups and factions. There are differences like in any democratic nation, so there is bound to be different political groups from the right to the left of the political spectrum.

Israel equally has an extremist group which wants to deport all Palestinians. But in our case it is different, because our people are under occupation and all the Palestinians have rights to resist. It is a right given to them by the UN, and any Palestinian group can utilise these rights, including HAMAS. When there is peace and stability in Palestine, the need for violence will cease, no more killings will take place in the region when Israel recognises our rights as human beings and as people.

What is the Palestinian position on the issue of International terrorism?

Initially, the Palestinian question was ignored in 1974 when the issue was brought to the table. Before this time, it was not even discussed. The Palestinians felt despair. This led to the emergence of counter-violence, to resist Israeli state terror in the Occupied Territories. It even extended to other acts like international hijacking,

so that the world will be aware of the plight of Palestinians, and end thirty years of Western ignorance on the situation in Palestine. This was necessary, because when Israel came to Palestine, they claimed that they had entered a land without people. So, the PLO struggled to let the world know about their suffering. But when the PLO embraced all the groups under its umbrella, some of the factions terminated their use of terrorism.

The PLO policy was restricted to attacking Israeli military targets only, and to assist out people in the Occupied Territories use all means to resist the occupation. This was in the 1970s when the PLO was based in Lebanon. Presently, it has no military base, and since 1982 its political headquarters have been in Tunis.

Did the PLO support for Saddam Hussein, during the Gulf war harm its international credibility?

The PLO was not alone in standing against the Gulf war. Many countries like Jordan, took the same position. It was not that we were supporting one against the other. Our position was clear from the beginning of the crisis, that the Gulf war should be solved through dialogue within the region. But the presence of foreign troops complicated issues and left no time for mediators to achieve progress. The

view did not satisfy some, but we considered it a principled stand. We did not support anybody against the other.

We tried our best efforts to solve the problems.

How do you view UN's role in the Palestinian crisis?

From the beginning, we had wanted the UN to play a more major role in the Middle East peace process, like what happened in Namibia. The way the UN handled and supervised the elections, was admirable. In the Palestinian case, the UN is not playing an important and effective role. This is largely because Israel is an exceptional case. In spite of this, we need to know whether the UN, or the on-going peace process will lead to the kind of peace that will satisfy us. We want to achieve peace and stability but we want the US to play a fair and just role as cosponsor of the peace process.

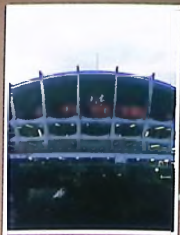
Comment on Palestinian — Nigerian relations?

The relations are excellent. Nigeria has always supported the rights of Palestinian people to self determination. After two days in 1988 when the declaration of the state of Palestine was announced, Nigeria was among the first countries to recognise it. And Nigeria is still committed to Palestine. She is a member of the 23 countries which makes up the UN Committee of Inalienable Rights of Palestinian Peoples. The committee makes reports on the daily developments and the situation in the Occupied Territories, and hold seminars. On all occasions, the government of Nigeria emphasised its position to support the rights of Palestinian people to have an independent state.

Palestinian youths resisting the occupation



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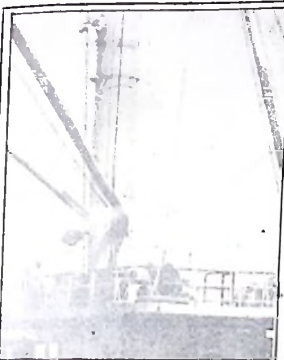
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COVER: Corruption as a virus has eaten deep into the fabric of Nigerian Ports Plc. And the purpose of their establishment as revenue generators for the nation has been changed the other way round as the officials of the ports now turn them as avenue for personal aggrandisement, and corrupt enrichment.

"Frontiers" as one of Nigeria story books gives different perspectives of Nigeria, as a nation **20**



Collapsed building

Structural defects of our buildings have in recent years claimed many lives and the menace is assuming alarming proportion. **47**



Imoh Isemin...Akwa Ibom State Governor's wife

As the transition train cruises forward, and having scaled the hurdles at ward and local government levels, presidential aspirants from both SDP and NRC are intensifying electioneering campaigns to emerge the choice flagbearers of their respective parties.

TSM considers it imperative to dig deep into the past of each aspirant to enable the voters know much about each and everyone of them, and also to enable them make a right choice when their mandate is eventually sought. TSM gives you the details of their past history.

Imoh Isemin, Akwa Ibom State First Lady brings a new dimension to the Better Life Programme by establishing a bank for rural women. **51**



Abiola...more hurdles to cross





HE phone call came quite late. It was at about 11.00 p.m. on Thursday when we had almost put to bed, the last edition of **TSM**.

The caller went straight to the point. He told us that Anthony Awoye, Managing Director of the Nigerian Ports PLC has been suspended. Now, that wasn't hot for us because the caller hadn't said anything new from what we read in the newspapers. Just when we were getting a little impatient he dropped the bomb shell. Awoye, he said, was suspended over a sinking bribe scandal which involved millions of dollars. He mentioned the word **kickback**.

Now, that set our hearts racing because one, converted into naira, the amount of money being mentioned was paralysing. Two, many politicians of the second republic were sent to jail by the Muhammadu Buhari regime over **kickbacks**. Three, the Nigerian Ports Plc has been in a mess for sometime. A group of people entrusted with generating the much needed revenue for government have, for a long time, made the ports their sole constituency.

The suspension of the boss of the Nigerian Ports PLC is a big story. That the story behind the suspension stinks to high heavens is even a bigger story. Which was why we set out to get the story behind the suspension. The bits you will never read anywhere else. The suspension, the accusations and counter-accusations, written in the unique **TSM** style, form our cover story this week.

Conscious of our responsibilities to the nation, we have here given you a Voters Advisory, a dossier on six presidential aspirants, three from each party, who we consider the front-runners, and who we think would make the last lap.

This edition is a double-barrelled one. The National Conventions of the two political parties, NRC and SDP, come up next weekend. Conscious of our responsibilities to the nation, we have here given you a **Voters Advisory**, a dossier on six presidential aspirants, three from each party, who we consider the front-runners, and who we think would make the last lap. It is a sensitive project but it is aimed at letting Nigerians know exactly the true picture of the men aspiring to lead them. If this Voters Advisory helps in anyway, as we think it would, to shape the future of the country, then our A-Team made up of **Yusuf Olaniyonu**, **Joseph Umunegbu** and **Akaninyene Esiere**, who spent sleepless nights digging into the background of the presidential Front-Runners, and who anchored the story, would not have denied themselves a well deserved sleep for nothing.

Have a marvellous week.

Comfort Obi



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have been committed in Bauchi, Kano, Katsina, Yola, Gombe and so on and up to date nothing has been done to the culprits?

Lamela Kutungu
Bauchi State

RE: Justice Okadigbo judicial terrorist or victim?

MEN of the bench are assumed to be learned. And if really they are, they should be intelligent too. Intelligence is generally defined as the ability of one to foresee or forecast the consequences of one's actions. If this definition is accepted, then I wish to say Justice Okadigbo is not a learned man, because he is not intelligent.

When eventually the verdict of Okadigbo's Kangaroo Court is actualised, the survivor of its aftermath will read in the lines of history that: It was ONE "injustice" Okadigbo, acting under the directives of the then head of state, General Babangida, that erased the Nigerian nation from the world map. Afterall, what is history? While some aspire to be on the positive side, others choose to be on the negative side. Okadigbo has chosen, the latter. You can eliminate some people sometimes but you can't eliminate all the people all the time.
Enough is enough.

Ako Emmanuel Ogwuche
Benue State

On Zamani Lekwot

I NEARLY shed tears when I read your cover story on life in Port Harcourt prison for Lekwot and co. From all indications, I believe Lekwot and his men are trying to do a Ben Johnson or a Carl Lewis to scale over the honourable Justice Okadigbo verdict. I believe the only prescribed dose for the patients is to be sent to their graves in no time.

Sambo Audu Jalingo
Taraba State

Re: Another toxic dump — correction

LAST week, certain errors in the rendering nearly marred our story entitled "Danger Signals: Another Toxic Dump." The later part of the last paragraph on Page 19 should have read: "On the contrary, TSM's investigation led to

the conclusion that FEPA's accreditation committee, whether it was influenced or not, did not do a thorough job. The irrefutable illustration is the technical report Jawura Environment Services Ltd., a FEPA agent, sent to FEPA on a sample of carbon ferrochrome imported by Nigerian Foundaries Ltd. Apart from the fact that the conclusion of the report amounts, unscientifically, to no conclusion ("The sample is in all probability carbon ferrochrome..."), the stated parameters raise the question whether an inspection was actually carried out: if so, in what manner of laboratory?

The parameters are a combination of obvious statements, like noting that iron is insoluble in water and a composition table that is at variance with what was actually imported. Whereas the oversea supplier's report, certified by Cotecna, confidently describes the import as high carbon ferro-chrome with 66.26 percent chromium and 6.32 percent carbon content, Jawura's report classifies it as having a lower carbon (2.5 percent) and chromium (15.44 percent) content."

COMING ATTRACTION

A masterpiece from CHINWEIZU!

Title:

"IF WE WANT DEMOCRACY..."

CHIWEIZU, one of Nigeria's most gifted, controversial and irreverent writers, is at it again! You remember his bubbling snoppets "FROM THE OBSERVATORY" in the *Guardian* and *Vanguard* newspapers.

More recently, you recall his enormously humorous and intriguing book, "THE ANATOMY OF FEMALE POWER."

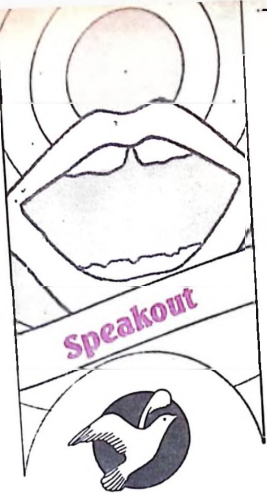
This time, keen-eyed detailist has chosen to examine a different kind of anatomy. It is on the subject of transition from military to civilian rule or democracy. Chinweizu calls it "demilitarization," a process whereby the military relinquishes political power and never finds reason to intervene again.

Chinweizu examines a global pattern and sheds a unique light on Nigeria's current demilitarization process. It sounds like music and rhymes like poetry, but has the explosiveness of a live volcano. You are bound to react, and your reactions are welcome.

This three-part serial begins to run from the first Sunday of April, 1993. It is part of a stronger, classier TSM that is unfolding.

Get ready to learn. Get ready for a shock!

TSM — For news you can use!



Unfair trial

THE conviction and sentence to death by hanging of retired Maj. Gen. Zamani Lekwot and five others by the Okadigbo Civil and Communal Disturbance Tribunal was insensitive and devoid of justice.

The voice of the public is the voice of God. If they say yes, it is yes. The public perception is that the accused persons were denied a fair trial.

The judgment was in favour of one group. Okadigbo must have been bribed by top officials in the North who hate Christians and Lekwot. The judgment was not in favour of the masses. The judgement was in favour of the Moslems because they are at the top.

Moreover, I.B.B. is in support of the Okadigbo judgement, no matter what he is saying.

Iyke O. Chioma
Ngor-Okpala LGA

The trial of Lekwot

THE trial of LEKWOT is a shame and disgrace to the blackman all over the globe.

Nigeria will never know peace as far as certain group of people continue to manipulate the judicial process to suit their whims and caprices.

The President should note that all Nigerians deserve equal treatment irrespective of whether one is an Hausa, Fulani or not. How can he explain the much attention on Zango-Kataf while similar and even more heinous crimes

The Six National Champions



Politics & Policy



By Ochererome Ninanna



WHO would have guessed it? That so soon, we would again be engaged in providing the readers with a profile and voters' guide on those aiming to succeed Ibrahim Babangida as Nigeria's next leader?

In June, 1992 TSM shortlisted 12 front runners of the 23 aspirants of the two parties. Facts on the ground suggested that ISF's successor was bound to emerge therefrom. But they were all bundled together and thrown into the political bagmen following unsuccessful attempts at

selecting the flagbearers for both NRC and SDP. Political analysts, after reviewing that version of the Transition Programme, now seem to agree that it failed because the job they were entrusted with was not vacant, anyway.

Is it vacant now? The answer will only emerge after the national conventions of the parties on March 27—29, in Port Harcourt and Jos. This time though, thanks to Humphrey Musorubi's Option A4, there are 59 people who have won the state congresses of the parties and warming up for the biggest event which some mischief makers have tagged "Option A4 Step 4."

As usual, we have followed developments in the parties since the ward congresses. Our calculations show that six giants will pop out of the first ballot of both parties come Sunday, March 28, 1993. What happens on Monday, March 29 is anybody's guess. For the NRC, Bashir Tofa (Kano); Dalhatu Tafida (Kaduna) and Samaila Mammam (Katsina), will qualify for the second ballot. Moshood Abiola (Ogun), Baba Gana Kingibe (Borno) and Abubakar Atiku (Adamawa) will be the three musketeers for SDP's battle royale. We'll tell you why briefly.

NRC:

1. **BASHIR TOFA:** Endorsed by the core ruling clique in the presidency, which is composed of

powerful civilian and military Northern elements. He has been a top notcher of this group; is enormously wealthy and many of those he planted in the states to run on his behalf won their states' tickets. In any case, king makers of the North believe that this is Kano's time to present the next president, and Tofa is handy.

2. **DALHATU TAFIDA:** The giant killer of Zaria who flogged Yakubu Gowon. The Zangon Katsina crisis helped to brighten his chances so far. Those delegates and sponsors in the NRC whose electoral preferences are being guided by this issue would not have problems locating their man.

3. **SAMAILA MAMMAN:** The ex-Trade and Agriculture Minister appears to appeal to conservative elements of the core north, especially, the royalty. He is cast in the Shehu Shajari mould and could be the joker in the pack.

SDP:

1. **MOSHOOD ABIOLA:** friend of the Federal Military Government, a wealthy and influential philanthropist who has the backing of SDP's most numerically powerful base, the West, with potential for winning the hands of other political blocs if he is lucky this time. And if it pleases Shehu Yar'Adua.

2. **BABA KINGIBE:** The godfather of Borno and Yobe SDP, with loyalists inherited from his days as the boss of the party. If it pleases Yar'Adua, Kingibe will stun all as he did Muhammadu Arifika in 1990. Kingibe is a veteran, and a lucky conventionalist.

3. **ABUBAKAR ATIKU:** meticulous politician like his boss, Yar'Adua. Confident and dogged, this Adamawa champion looks the most likely candidate so receive Yar'Adua's blessing. He should pray though.

For rest of the story, read on...

Dalhatu Sarki Tafida

(Doctor)

THE sweetest success Dalhatu Tafida will savour for some time, is his victory over hot favourite for NRC's February 20 presidential primaries in Kaduna State — Yakubu Gowon. Tafida, a medical doctor, became the state's presidential flagbearer, after thrashing Gowon by polling over three-quarters of the total votes cast. The Retired General had a paltry 29, while Tafida hauled 194 votes.

A giant killing act was accomplished by Tafida — who was initially given an outsider's chance by political pundits. Ironically, Gowon and Tafida hail from the same local council area of Zaria, and schooled together during their formative years at Barewa College, Zaria, where Gowon was the senior. But Tafida, a former personal physician to Shehu Shagari, the Second Republic President, on this occasion delivered on Gowon a surgical strike.

The question now on most people's lips is, how did the medical doctor make it? Tafida is said to be a 'non-controversial personality' which suited many conservative NRC members. It was considered that this 'non-controversial' posture could assist NRC a great deal since he does not appear to have skeletons in his cupboard.

Tafida was thus, given the nod by an alleged faceless but highly influential 'Northern Elders' group and the NRC hierarchy who formerly campaigned for Adamu Ciroma's presidential aspirations, last year. These groups of people probably preferred Tafida to Gowon because the latter is a Christian and was fighting in a mainly Muslim territory — Zaria. The Northern hierarchy tended to prefer Muslims. Another factor which must have shattered Gowon's chances was that his endorsement would have caused confusion over who should be his running mate. The vice presidency was zoned to the South, and as a Christian, Gowon was expected to pick a Southern Muslim. The conservatives are stronger in the East where a formidable NRC Muslim candidate would not have been forthcoming. As a Muslim, Tafida does not suffer from such problems.

Though the NRC is visibly split into two camps — Ciroma's and Shinkafi's



groups, they met on March 7, to sift through the various presidential aspirants placed before them. Representatives of last year's disqualified NRC presidential candidates attended the meeting. They appeared to agree to endorse one of the candidates. Those at the meeting were said to have clamoured for Tafida, while the support for Bashir Tofa was divided. Adamu Ciroma is apprehensive about backing Tofa. This is buttressed by the fact that Ciroma's group supported a candidate to defeat Tofa — though the attempt was defeated. The NRC caucus is not likely to support Samaila Mamman either because of the latter's involvement with Shinkafi. This means that the Shinkafi "choice 92" group which has fallen out with the core North, may have its votes split between Mamman and Tofa unless they arrive at an understanding between themselves to pick one of the two candidates. The Northern Elders on the other hand, could give a block vote to Tafida because he is acceptable to all parties concerned. From being an outsider, Tafida could now be considered the top NRC presidential hopeful, ahead of Mamman and Tofa, come NRC's presidential convention in Port Harcourt.

These factors aside, it should not be surprising that Tafida shot to his present position. He is firmly rooted within core Northern traditions as an Old boy of Barewa, an elite college.

Barewa is a breeding ground for Nigerian leaders. Gowon, Shagari and Ciroma (who missed his chance for the presidency) — passed through Barewa. Perhaps, Tafida is the next Barewa product in line for the presidency.

Tafida considers himself one of the humble Nigerians and a grassroots man. But he is surrounded by some of the most influential and powerful people in the country. In this area, he shares similar qualities and background with his benefactor, Shehu Shagari.

If Tafida becomes president of Nigeria, what will he do for the country? He says he would open up the economy and make it better by injecting financial discipline into the system and stimulating production. A high productive capacity will bring about lower inflation coupled with the effect of encouraging cheaper food and a healthy economic growth. Tafida also hopes to bring about social justice in Nigeria, as a means to diffuse ethnic and religious tensions. Social Justice, he says, can be spearheaded by developing a merit-oriented system where all parts of the federation will enjoy equal opportunity.

Tafida was born in November 24, 1940. He began primary school in Zaria, in 1947 and attended Zaria Middle School from 1952-3. After that, he was at Barewa College until 1959 and from there went on to Keffi Secondary School in 1960. In 1962 Tafida was among the pioneer students of the University of Lagos Medical school. He graduated as a medical doctor in 1967. A few years later, he attended the Royal Victorian infirmary in Newcastle, U.K from 1970 to 1971. Back in Nigeria, Tafida was made the Senior consultant Physician and Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare in Kaduna State, in 1978. He rose to become the Chief Consultant Physician to the President from 1980 to 1983, and was awarded the Order of the Federal Republic (OFR). He was appointed Commissioner for Agriculture and later Commissioner for Education in 1987. He resigned the appointment to become a member of the Constituent Assembly in 1988. In March 1989, Tafida was the pro-chancellor of the University of Agriculture in Makurdi and resigned when he wanted to contest the gubernatorial election. Born and bred in Zaria, Tafida is married with four children.

Bashir Othman Tofa

(Alhaji)

The central defining factor of political and economic power — and Bashir Othman Tofa's money and power — is based in goods and has grown in accumulating wealth and in political activism almost simultaneously and right from an early age.

Tofa had the advantage of being born into a family of affluent Kano merchants. From his school foundation he began managing his father's business. He and one of his brothers at the age of 26 and rose to become chairman of a chain of companies which include Century Merchant Bank, his NRC counterpart, and close associate, Ibe Ebong, who clinched the presidential ticket for Akwa Ibom state as the Managing Director of Century Merchant Bank. Secondly, the First Lady of Akwa Ibom, Ime Ibiam, was until her husband's election as governor of the state a general manager in Century Akwa Ibom NPC's votes appear reserved for Tofa. Apart from banking Tofa has his hands in insurance, manufacturing and farming. He would have little problems in financing his presidential campaign since he is a wealthy businessman.

At the age of 45 Tofa is among the youngest of all the aspirants in the presidential race, and is very much, in every sense of the word, a new breed politician. Yet, although he is relatively unknown, he has a long history of political activism. It began in Britain when he was a prominent figure in communist circles. And in 1971 to 1973 together with Second Republic Governor of Kano State, Abubakar Rami and Gani Fawehinmi, he re-activated the Nigerian National Union, a forum for promoting the unity and oneness of Nigeria. This culminated in his recent victory at the Kano State Convention of NRC, where he now represents the state, as its presidential flag bearer.

But an area of doubt, which may cast suspicions on his intention to run for president, is his close links with the Babangida regime and an article he wrote a month after the failed Gideon Okar-led coup attempt in April 1990. In the write up, the Kano businessman, not only denounced the coup like many Nigerians, he vehemently advoc-



ated for the continuation of military rule under President Babangida until the year 2000. In the article published in *the Nation*, Tofa said "my candid opinion is that we should not aim for democracy (civil rule) by 1992, we must begin instead to faithfully work out some acceptable arrangement with the present military regime on the basis of certain irrevocable guidelines and agreements until 1993 or even 2000."

Tofa's article was also said to have been despatched to the government owned *Nigerian Observer* by a senior operative in Babangida's administration for immediate publication. But this did not happen. Sirji Ali Sirji, who was head of the paper at the time wrote to Tofa last month alleging that he was unceremoniously booted out of the government owned organ for 'bravely' writing.

Today, a so-called Northern Elders or what are allegedly promoting the same Bashir Othman Tofa as a consensus candidate for the nation's presidency. The promotion even claimed that both SDP and NRC see in Bashir Tofa a re-breed consensus candidate. He has himself boasted that only a man of vision is good for the presidency and claimed he is that visionary. For someone who was visionary enough to recommend military government till the year 2000, he should wait till the year 2000 before aiming at the presidency.

Sirji also reaffirmed the level of power and influence Tofa wields at the corridors of power, coupled with his formidable but faceless purported backers — Keith Atkins and Farouk Ahmed.

Tofa has since tried to absolve himself of the stain of that article and de-

ned being a front for president Babangida. He stated that he was apprehensive at the time concerning what happened during the Second Republic.

The article apart, Tofa has an uphill task, in overcoming the likes of Duhama Taffa and Samalla Mamman, within NRC. The party is generally made up of two main camps. The Ciroma group is considered the NRC hierarchy. They are likely to support Taffa because they believe in tradition — that Tofa is young and must await his turn. The Shinkafi group which fell out with the Northern caucus may go for Mamman or Tofa. The Kano businessman was a frontline supporter of Shinkafi before the banning of the 23 presidential aspirants, last November.

The Northern caucus includes the shadowy but highly formidable Kaduna mafia who are said to be behind Taffa. But Tofa is confident in overcoming them. They the Kaduna mafia tried to stop me (on March 6) by fielding an aspirant against me. He said after his victory at the party's state convention. He has been seeking the support of Ciroma and Bamanga Tukur, asserting: "my main duty is to ensure that these highly placed people and others feel very comfortable with me." But one great obstacle for Tofa is that he is inaccessible to the people.

Tofa was born on June 20 1947, in the ancient city of Kano. He attended Shuachi primary school between 1956 and 1961, before going on to Kano provincial Secondary School, which he left in 1966. This followed a two-year stint the Royal Exchange Insurance and the Nigerian Embassy in Khartoum, the Sudanese capital. He later graduated with a first degree in economics which he bagged in London.

He added a Graduate Diploma in Management to his academic leather before returning to Nigeria in 1975. Two year later, Tofa became a member of the Constituent Assembly that met between 1977 and 1978 to fashion out a new constitution for Nigeria's Second Republic. He was later elected to represent Dawakin Tofa LGA, where he has been serving as a council member since 1976. Apart from Century Merchant Bank, Tofa is the chairman of General Metal Products (GMP) and International Petrol, among other companies. He is married with six children.

(Alhaji) Samaila Mamman

MAMMAM
Ghaddafi, the Libyan strongman, is a controversial statesman. No two newspapers spell his name the same way. This shows the mythical stuff the man is made of. And he enjoys it.

In Nigeria, there is a "rising star" very close to being in the mould of Ghaddafi, as far as name spelling goes. But the spectrum of the Libyan leader's myth may well be extended to accommodate him. He is Samaila Mamman, a Presidential aspirant under the banner of the NRC. Some newspapers spell his name Samalla Mamman; others prefer the smoother Ismaila,

Could this mean Nigerians can't matter the name of a man who is peeling the nooks and crannies of the nation canvassing for their mandate to be the nation's Chief Shepherd? His name does not ring a bell in the ears of an average Nigerian. In the course of exhuming facts on the man, TSM was confronted with the task of answering virtually all the questions on him. Sample: "please, could you produce a file on Samaila Mamman." TSM had asked a veteran Librarian. "Who is Ismaila Mamman?" Was the response. Then you start preaching: "He was blablabla. He is now a Presidential..." "Sorry, we don't have a file on him." Perhaps this explains the man's unenviable toga as a political neophyte, a rookie.

If Mamman is not a well known politician, his sartorial outfit makes matters even worse for a man angling for the nation's soap box. Samaila, is a rather sober and modest man. His background may be the spoiler here. Born into an ultra conservative society, Samaila, sojourning into the nation's political minefield, has not been able to shed the garb of a typical Fulani man.

Nor is he generous in charm. Christmas, an increasingly deciding decimal in a television-dominated political campaign, the type Kingibe is riding on, is a scarce commodity in Mamman's political arsenal. Same for power of oratory. Remember Bill Clinton and Albert Gore. During his tenure as Trade Minister and later Agriculture and Water Resources, he exhibited no armour of an orator.

But politics is more than a game of

fashion and beauty contest, plus theatrical aesthetics. It is also the manipulation of the mind of man for a set goal. But does Mamman have the gumption, the political clout to win an election, steer a troubled nation to a glorious dawn? He says he has. And if intimidating credentials and public experience were the only determinants for a leap to Aso Rock come August 27, Mamman has a lorry load of same.

In what appeared as the starting block to flag off his presidential campaign, Mamman last week secured a two-page advert in the national dailies aptly captioned "Destiny '93." Starting with a powerful quote from Napoleon Bona parte, Mamman flaunts himself as a leader with a philosophical bent. "It looks as if everyone has been waiting for me. Yesterday would have been too early, tomorrow would have been too late. I have come at the right moment," he quoted Bonaparte.

But has Mamman arrived? The answer is in the time. Agreed, he has successfully emerged as one of the strongest contenders within the NRC for IBB's post. Political permutations do not altogether favour him as one to fly the kite of his party. Dalhatu Tafida, a fast emerging politician, and Bashir Tofa a super-rich businessman stand fearsome to his bid for the presidency. The shadowy Kaduna Mafia and the

Adamu Ciroma camp from the NRC have already given Tafida their nod. However, Mamman has the backing of a diminishing "Choice 92," the political machinery of Umaru Shinkafi. He is rumoured to be the second most favoured aspirant from the North.

This has not answered the festering question: Who is Samaila Mamman? Has Nigeria again been saddled with another dark horse?

Could he be one of those doing the Babangida's job? Questions begging for answers. When he resigned his ministerial post in August 1990, and opted for politics along with Olu Falae it was banded that both were government candidates for each of the government-sired parties. A man not known for having a thick skin for criticism, Mamman gave a skin-deep reply. He told the nation three months after that he ventured into politics to influence events and not seek any elective post. Mamman quickly learnt the tight wire of politics, defending virtually all macro-economic policies of his political mentor — Ibrahim Babangida and making an army of enemies in the process. Lema Jibril, a disqualified presidential aspirant from Katsina, of the same state as Mamman was one of them. Jibril had in an interview with the *Sunday New Nigerian* described the Structural Adjustment Programme as a disaster, that never brings about the revitalisa-



tion of the country's economy, while Mamman reacted sharply by saying that it was the best thing to happen to Nigeria. However, the cards on the ground brazenly disagreed with Mamman.

He was however to identify with the political leaning of Lemba when he joined the National Republican Convention, a move he defended by saying that he believed the party's manifestoes would help solve the nation's economic problems. He was to make underground contacts with those that matter, edging his political ambition in the process. In 1992 Mamman temporarily went into political limbo, while the disqualified presidential aspirants burnt their political candle. Two reasons were given for his refusal to pick the presidential nomination form last year. One was that the N400,000 imposed by the Tom Ikimi-led NRC scuttled his bid for the presidency. Another was that Mamman, a master strategist, was privy to Babangida's unpreparedness hand over power on January 2 1993.

The man described by his admirers as a rare breed blunt and brilliant was to prove book makers right when he picked the presidential nomination form in January 11 this year. Since then he has risen rapidly to become the man to watch. In his state, Mamman had a free ride to become the state presidential candidate courtesy of the novel election process coined Option A4.

Were Samaila Mamman to be the next president, would he wrought the Nigerian dream? Records on the ground show that his regime will not witness any significant difference from Babangida's. In fact the stigma that he is a product of military intervention in politics haunts his political ambition. In the newspaper adverts which stand as his manifesto for the nation, Mamman exhibits a fanatical belief in the tenets of the Babangida policy, if not a lack of understanding of the enormous problems Nigeria has found herself in. Said he: "I was a part of the administration that packaged the economic reforms called SAP. And I know that it was and is the best thing for the nation. I will continue with the programme with necessary changes."

And as if to leave no one in doubt of his resolve to continue with the present regime's policies, Mamman embarked on double speak. He said, "I am aware of the fact that the Nigerian people can no longer be expected to should new burdens." In the same breath, he dived into the most touchy policy at the moment — oil subsidy by saying that "the removal of the oil sub-

sidy will be progressively pursued to lessen the pains on the generality of Nigerians." His views on economy, politics and world affair sell him as a highly conservative man.

Born into a rather humble home in July 15, 1945 in Kurfi, Katsina State, Samaila Mamman was to exhibit a rare taste for Western education at a time the "doctrine" was still a stranger in his milieu. He showed brilliance at an early age and started his Western education at the Junior Primary School, Kurfi in 1956 to 1959, then moved to Senior Primary School, Dutsin-Ma in 1960. In 1966, the 21 year old Samaila was to leave Government Secondary School, Funtua with a coveted Grade One in the West African School Certificate Examination. This propelled young Samaila in to the world of scholarship and research.

That dream was fulfilled in 1969 when he enrolled at the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria for a degree programme in the Social Sciences. He left the varsity in 1972 with a B.Sc in Economics. The same year he moved into the then University of Ife's Institute of Administration for a Post Graduate Diploma in Development Economics. He finished the programme with a distinction the following year, and took former Miss Halima Isa Bule as wife. His sojourn at Ife provided him the rare opportunity of associating with Nigerians of contrasting cultural, political and religious leanings. In fact his admirers say the period marked a political watershed in his life by "detrabaling" Mamman. Whether Mamman has been detrabaled is another ball game. A curious look at his last week's manifesto in the papers leaves a gaping question. Under his programme on Unity and Stability, Mamman had commented that Nigeria is enmeshed in a scenario where "Christians (are) against Muslims." The fact that he did not add "and vice versa" could not be forgiven on the grounds of omission or oversight. In fact it cast aspersions to his "detrabaled" posture.

Mamman started his career in 1972 as Economic Planning Officer to the then Kaduna State government, saddled with the task of drawing up the state development plan. In 1974 he moved over to the Nigerian Industrial Development Bank as Investment Executive Grade II and rose to the position of Area Manager in charge of the then 10 Northern States within a year. This crowned him the title of a development banker. In 1976, Samaila was to crown his taste for education at the Business School, University of Manchester, the

United Kingdom.

The following year he was second to the Kaduna Investment Company and became its General Manager two years after and reached its apogee as Managing Director in 1983. With the return of the military in 1984, Mamman was to enjoy a meteoric rise in public service. He was appointed Commissioner of Finance and Economic Planning to the Kaduna State government in 1984, a position he held until he was picked by Babangida in September 1986 to head the Trade Ministry (which had become second rate) after the discontinuance of Import Licence system. He moved over to the Ministry of Agriculture, Water Resources and Rural Development in March 1989 till his resignation in August 1990.

As an Agric. Minister, Mamman was askance as the nation was awash with fertilizer racketeering. The World Bank-assisted Agricultural Development Project (ADP) was pursued with vigour in his time with little to show for it while the nation was busy piling up millions of naira as debt on the programme. In fact, the ADP during Mamman's era came to be associated with flashy cars, rather than a corner stone for rural agricultural transformation. How much of these were attributable to him personally is unclear.

Samaila Mamman's entry into the race for the presidency along with other aspirants presents an opportunity for Nigerians to know inside-out the man who may eventually lead the country. Mamman is by and large a Northern candidate. Little is known about his penetration into the political South. Evidently brilliant, Mamman has however not proved to Nigerians that he has grappled with the mountain of problems the nation has found herself. Nor has he exhibited convincing proof that he is the messiah Nigerians badly in search of.

Little is equally known of his source of wealth to make him plunge in to venture whose success is largely determined by the amount of money on hand. He is however renowned to be engaged in large-scale farming. Could this mean that he must have benefitted from the Agricultural portfolio he held? We wouldn't know. But his chances of getting his party's nod at Port Harcourt appear among the brightest.

A father of two sons (twins) and four daughters, Samaila Mamman, 4 needs all the luck in this world to burrow through the labyrinth of Option A and Nigerian queer political milieu to lead the country and its people.

BIL CONSTRUCTION COMPANY LIMITED:

Billed to build the nation

BUILDING and engineering construction have come of age in Nigeria. There is hardly a project that cannot be handled by indigenous companies now. Notables in the industry comfortably take up housing, office and civil constructions. But a giant like BIL CONSTRUCTION COMPANY LIMITED go beyond these. The company feels much at home with tough projects such as jetties and airports.

Still fresh in mind is the company's perfect-finish of a jetty at Ojo, Apapa, Lagos for the Nigerian Navy and the conversion of Katsina State's acrodrome to airport. But the achievements of BILL CONSTRUCTION are legions. Its operations span across the country. To reach out to its numerous clients, the company's offices are flung to the cardinal points of Nigeria.

The lead office of BCCL, as the company is fondly called is on Agege Motor Road, Oshodi, Lagos at Denton Street, (water side) Ebute Metta. But its beach — heads can be found in Katsina, Kaduna, Minna, Abuja, Sapele, Warri, Port Harcourt, Owerri and Asaba.

The company is also known overseas. It makes forays in Brazil and Middle East. BCCL's strength is forged in expertise, technical-know-how and manpower. The Executive Director of the company's projects, Mr. Ako A. Agugua told *TSM* the company has 376 professionals in



Mr. Ako Agugua...Executive Director (Projects)

Nigeria and out of this figure, 316 are engineers. There are still other-professionals like Quantity Surveyors, Project managers, Architects and a host of others. "What I consider as our greatest asset is our entrepreneurship, expertise and dedicated hard core professionals," the Projects Director said with a smile.

But success is not spoiling BCCL or getting into its head. It is not one of those monstrous outfits that operate like steam-rollers: hurting and bulldozing through everything without a twitch of conscience. BIL CONSTRUCTION

puts something back in every community it operates. When the company was building a road at Iruua in Edo State, it installed water taps for the people. The community before then had no potable water. The kind, laudable gestures of the company are numerous but BCCL does not go about blowing its own trumpet. Nor is the company like the proverbial lizard that fell from an Iroko tree and turned around to clap for itself when no one seemed to have noticed the great feat.

Not known for throwing caution to the wind, every staffer of the company at its projects site is covered by insurance. BCCL has a beautiful human face. It is humane and kind. It is only in BCCL that ordinary site clerks could be turned into engineers. What is the secret? The company sponsors them through the university to read engineering courses. In the words of BCCL's Executive Director (projects), Mr. Agugua: "BILL CONSTRUCTION is more of a school. There are staffers who started as labourers and are now trained to become masons, carpenters and so on. Some of them are even foremen, supervisors and engineers." But BCCL is not just earth-movers and cranes, staffers regale themselves in the company's budding volleyball team, the Bill Crackers.

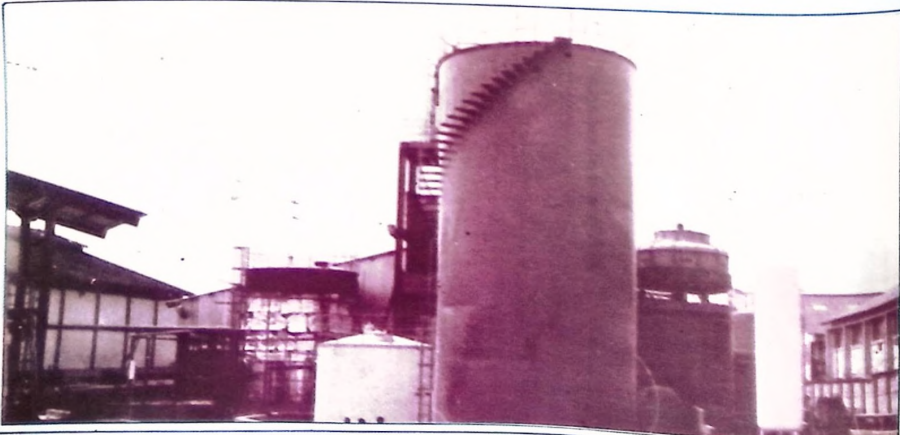
Over the ages, man has made concerted efforts at evolving a better and more comfortable environment for himself. Shelter has been universally acclaimed to be the second most important need of man only after food. From the age of the cave man to date, mankind has come to the realisation that housing in all its ramifications is more than mere shelter, since it also comprises all the social services and utilities that make a community or neighbourhood a beautiful habitable environment.

Construction is an age long art, which predates modern scientific design. Such monuments include the pyramids of Egypt, the Roman Appian ways and aqueducts, the irrigation networks at the banks of the Nile, the leaning tower of Pisa and the raffia and straw-roofed houses built by Nigerians. All these predate scientific design.

The early builders were their own architects, engineers, planners, and quantity surveyors. The advent of science and technology, however, brought about specialisation in these interrelated fields.

The Nigerian construction industry is modelled largely after the British system as a result of British colonisation of Nigeria. But since attainment of political independence in 1960, construction in Nigeria has taken into consideration the styles of other Western countries such as Italy, Germany, France and others.

Petroleum Jelly plant construction by BCCL



One of the companies making waves in this industry in Nigeria is BCCL. BILL CONSTRUCTION COMPANY LIMITED was incorporated in Nigeria in October 1978 as a private building and engineering construction company.

BCCL is part of an international construction group. It has over the years accumulated a considerable store of experience and expertise in a wide range of engineering projects in various parts of the world.

Backed by its international reputation for efficiency and quality workmanship, as well as the resources of its parent company, BCCL began operation in Nigeria in 1979 on a solid footing.

In accordance with its worldwide tradition, BCCL started with a fleet of multi-million naira modern construction equipment in addition to a highly motivated team of experts consisting of engineers, surveyors, architects, accountants and the others who are mostly Nigerians.

The activities of BCCL in Nigeria has been an upward trend. The company undertakes such engineering construction projects as the building of jetties, mills, and plants for gas and oil refineries. It undertakes civil works such as the construction of roads, drainage, office complexes, factories, markets and other high-rise projects. In the area of building construction, BCCL has completed hundreds of housing units for governments, corporate bodies and individuals all over Nigeria.

With operational presence in more than four states of the federation, BCCL plans to establish presence in more states in the near future. With its sound financial structure and the support of its international operations, BCCL is now considered as one of the leading building civil engineering construction companies in Nigeria. According to Mr. Ako Agugua, "At BCCL we have a firm commitment to quality, cost savings and the meeting of deadlines."

Other notable projects executed by BCCL in Nigeria include the construction of housing estates in Edo, Delta, Abuja, Imo, Katsina and Akwa Ibom states, flour mills in Abia and Bauchi States, roads construction in Ondo, Lagos, Akwa Ibom, Abuja FCT and Edo states. Others include office complexes in Lagos, Katsina, Imo, Ogun, Ondo and the FCT Abuja.



Roads and drainage construction at Kirikiri, Lagos.

Asked what problems BCCL is going through as a construction company in a highly competitive environment, Mr. Agugua State that BCCL has only one problem. That of delay in payment by its clients. "Most of our clients are owing us" he said. He attributed this phenomenon to the current general down-turn in the world economy which affects construction companies both in Nigeria and elsewhere. According to him, "construction industries world-wide are used as economic regulators. When the economy is good, the construction industry booms, but when the economy is bad, the industry contrasts, because it is starved of funds."

BCCL's strongest forte is in its ability to handle projects that scare away other construction companies. According to Mr. Agugua, "BCCL is technically well equipped" to do any job given to it. His words, "The biggest advantage that we have is that we accept jobs other companies refuse. This is because we are equipped to handle anything that is called construction. For instance, some companies do not handle others construct only high-rise buildings, but we do everything from steel work construction to furniture joinery to aluminium, to instrumentation and pipeline construction. Whatever is in construction, we do it. So, when other companies run away, we do the job."

There is a road BCCL is currently constructing in Aba, Abia State called Ohanku road. Four companies were awarded the contract at different times since 1969. According to the Executive Director of Projects, all these companies abandoned the project because it involves construction of heavy underground tunnels, but BCCL hopes to complete the project by July this year. "We pride ourselves with completing jobs," he asserted.

BCCL is not only concerned with construction, it is also into property and real estate business. It, in addition, finances building projects. It builds and rents out office and residential quarters. In Maroko extensions, Victoria Island, Lagos, BCCL has built about 26 houses on contractor-finance basis and has rented most of them out for periods ranging from 10 to 20 years. The company is currently building 100 houses in Owerri, Imo State on acres of land leased to it by the Imo State Housing Corporation.

From all indications, BCCL has a rosy future. Though the economy of Nigeria and the world over is bumpy, the building and engineering constructions industry is bound to wade through the harsh, lean times. The projects guru of BCCL, Mr. Agugua is full of hope. Says he: "The future of construction in Nigeria in particular and in the world as a whole is very bright. Because, first of all, governments must continue to provide infrastructure and set standards and while individual developers will, go on to construct buildings for residence industries, factories, markets and offices. There must be new industries and plants being built." So, the present and the future belong to BIOL CONSTRUCTION.

Interview with:

Mr. Ako A. Agugua,

Executive Director, (Projects) BIOL CONSTRUCTION CO. LTD.

We would like to know the profile of your company, by this we mean the thrust of your company?

Yes, like you know, our business is construction. We construct civil works which include roads, bridges, jetties, residential and business buildings, high rises, factories and industries. Some of them involve a combination of building, civil/structural and other engineering works. We have built an airport control tower. We upgraded the Katsina aerodrome to a mini airport before the government converted it to an international airport. We have built jetties for the Nigerian Navy. We are in every sphere of construction, and we have been in this business since 1979.

You must have a lot of experts to be able to handle all these aspects of construction, and you appear to have spread your tentacles all over the country. May we know all these places you have your.....?

We have 376 professionals, out of which 316 are engineers. Then there are other professionals like quantity surveyors, project managers, architects, surveyors. Our operation covers the whole country, but essentially, we have four area offices. Apart from the headquarters being in Lagos, we have an area office in Lagos. There's another area office in Warri, which handles the Edo-Delta area. There is an area office in Owerri which handles the former eastern region. Then we have an area office in Abuja. There are four directors in the company, all based in Lagos, although, hardly can you see all four in Lagos the same time. We have the Managing Director and Chief Executive, we have the Director of Operations. We have the Director Contracts and Administrations and the Director of Purchases. All of us are technical professionals in the building industry. So each one is always supervising in one area or another of construction.

What are the major problems your company encounters in the business?

Only one major problem. That of payment by clients. Most of our clients are owing us and this situation could be linked to the general down-turn in the economy. The construction industries worldwide are used as the economic regulators. When the economy is good, the construction industry booms, and when the economy is bad, the construction industry contrasts, because it is starved of funds.

Generally, technically, we are well equipped to do any job we are given. We have pillars, motoriser concrete mixers, trailers, lorries. We have over 300 lorries. We are handling about 8 roads right now, all with full equipment.

In terms of occupational hazards, how do you ensure the safety of workers? Do you have insurance cover for them?

We have safety policy guidelines of the company and classes of insurance. We have contractors. All Risks insurance for every project. Generally, we have been lucky with risks. Sometime last year somebody died in Kaduna. We were renovating the NNDC headquarters and he was in a scaffold, well protected in accordance with the norms of safety, but the wind was so much that it sucked him out of where he was working and crashed him on the road and he died. Last year too, one of our vehicles was involved in an accident, which was not the fault of our driver. Our vehicle was already crossing the road when a drunken driver ran into it with a car. Such things do happen. But we have safety officers on sites and we try to minimize the hazards by educating our workers on safety standards and providing them with safety clothing like helmets, raincoats and other means. But we have been generally lucky, compared with other companies in the industries that we know.

In a highly saturated industry like construction, where you have other giants like Julius Berger and the others, what do you consider your core competence that gives you an advantage over the others?

The biggest advantage that we have is that we accept jobs others refuse. This is because we are equipped to handle anything that is called construction. We do everything right from steel work construction to furniture, aluminium, to steel and jewelry, instrumentation and pipeline construction, whatever in construction, we are in it. So when many others run away, we do the job. For instance, there is a road we are building in Abia State. It is called Oharku Road. Four companies had been awarded the contract at different times since 1969 and they all ran away because it involves heavy underground tunnels but we are completing the project very soon. Also in Rivers State, there is a road contract that was awarded for road construction over marsh land. Others ran away but we are doing it. We pride ourselves in completing jobs.

From the on-going, it appears you are well prepared for the stiff competition going on in the industry?

Yes. At times like this, the good ones succeed while the bad ones fail by the wayside because competition is stiff and there are very few jobs to be competed for by many. And today, the industry is gradually tailoring itself to those who know what they are doing. Unlike in those days that anybody had a relation or friend in a place of trust, may want to become a contractor. Those days are gone, because now, you have to prove your worth. If you are given a job today and you can't do well, you can never get another one. Now every client wants maximum value for his money.

Can you give us an over-view of the construction industry in Nigeria?

The future of construction in Nigeria in particular and in the world as a whole is very bright. Because first of all, governments must continue to provide infrastructure, and individuals will continue to construct houses for residence, buildings for offices. There must be new factories, roads and plants being built. There must be construction but you must know what you are doing. You must be a competent and efficient contractor to survive these times. But there will always be business.

A newspaper journalist asked my opinion about the non inclusion of any monetary allocation for the housing policy in the federal budget. I said it was a welcome development. But the problem with this country before was that there was too much government presence in the economy. Government was involved in everything. Government should not build houses. Government should only make policies, set guidelines for private developers to build houses. Private developers should borrow money from financial institutions and build. Individuals should borrow money from financial institutions to build. The private developer will pay back the money to the banks and this has a multiplier effect on the economy.

But in the past, there was government involvement on various projects, digging up petroleum from the ground and spending it on various projects. There should be nothing like Low-Cost houses. Let's face it, for you to build a low-cost house, you at least need N150,000. A low income earner build a low-cost house, you at least need high income earners that will cannot afford that. It is still high income earners that will buy the house and rent to the low income earner. And so it is a shanty town. You debase human beings by

categorising them as low-income earners. Nobody remains a low income earner for ever. People should raise loans and buy houses from developers and build houses. There should be no shanty towns. It is racist. It is the type of thing they do in South Africa. They build shanty towns for blacks and the poor. Nobody is permanently poor. You might be poor today and become rich tomorrow. I don't think there should be anything like low-cost housing. The government should provide the infrastructure, create guidelines and give incentives like tax rebates, and other things.

The problem in the country, is actually that of finance. The fifty percent interest rate per annum is outrageous. Then if someone borrows N100,000, in one year it becomes N150,000, and the interest continues to rise. It is impossible for anybody to borrow money and do any business. There should be a reorganisation of the banks and financial institutions and then all the other aspects of the economy will improve. For instance, most of our universities are like housing estates. The government spent money in building hospitals, building senior and junior staff quarters, academic and non-academic staff quarters. Then what money do they have to provide educational facilities, the laboratories, libraries and so on. The system should be non-residential, both for teachers and students. The government should sell off those residential buildings. The people will earn more money by this and build more residential accommodations.

If there is a government policy to that effect, will BIL CONSTRUCTION be able to take up the challenge?

Right now, we are financiers. In Maroko extensions, Victoria Island, we have built 26 houses in contract-finance and have rented most of them out for periods ranging from 10-20 years. We are building 100 houses in Owerri. The Imo State Housing Corporation gave us the land, for which we paid some money we got more and plough back. People are owning homes and the place is quite developed. There is no government influence, the houses are up to standard and in good condition. If you don't build good houses, people won't buy. You can't build a match box and call it a low-income house. Look at the Shagari houses all over the country. They are inhabited by rodents. They are not fit for human habitation. It is just like Jakande schools in Lagos, most of them have been demolished. You don't just put such things because you are in government. You waste money. Even if you put up a few buildings, let them stand. The life expectancy of a building should be between 60 and 80 years, and sometimes up to 150 years. Some of the houses that the new white settlers built in Badagry are still standing there after so many years. Why don't we build a little at a time but let them be of good quality?

Is there any government policy that is inimical to the building and construction industry?

This is a transitional period and to my mind, the government has done the best it could under the circumstances.

What would you consider your greatest asset in this business?

What I consider our greatest asset is our entrepreneurship, expertise and dedicated hard core professionals.

How was it like getting started as a construction firm?

It was a question of time and patience. As the jobs kept coming in small bits, each job required particular expertise and we go for such experts. I don't mean expatriates, although we have a few of them. In BIL CONSTRUCTION we are colour-blind. We don't care where you come from, we give the job to those who can do them.

BIL CONSTRUCTION is a very big company. How do you relate with the communities where you do business?

We have a volleyball team, the BIL Crackers. Many staffers who started with us as site clerks are engineers today because we sponsored them through universities to read engineering courses. BIL CONSTRUCTION is more of a school. There are staffers who started as labourers and are now trained to become masons, carpenters and so on. Some of them are even foremen, supervisors, and engineers. We always help the communities within which we work. For instance, when we were building a road in Irua, people there didn't have water and we know if we finish the road, for them so that they wouldn't have to tamper with our road. We try to help within the means of our resources and the economic situation.

Atiku Abubakar

(Alhaji)

IF there is any dark horse in the race for the Social Democratic Party (SDP) presidential ticket, then this man qualifies to bag the tag. A fine gentleman. That is one description anybody will give about Atiku Abubakar, as you watch this bespectacled man in his smart agbada with leather slippers to match.

Abubakar was born on November 25, 1946 in Jada town of Adamawa State. He was educated at Jada primary school, Adamawa Provincial School, School of Hygiene, Kano where he bagged a diploma of Royal Society of Health before going on to study for a diploma in law at the Ahmadu Bello University (ABU).

A student union leader at both Kano and ABU, this healthy-faced man with the posture that look like he cannot withstand the wilderness of Nigerian politics later joined the Nigerian Customs Service where he retired in April 1989 as a deputy director.

The widely travelled Fulani man has since dipped his hands into the jar of many businesses. He is a director of many companies including NICOTES, an oil field transit and supply company. He is an executive director along side his political mentor, Shehu Musa Yar'Adua. He is the *Turakin Adamausa* and the *Nwanne Dinamba* of Umuahagu in Ngor Okpala area of Imo State.

For, Atiku politics is the gospel according to Yar'Adua.

In the days of the 13 banned political associations Abubakar joined the Patriotic Front of Nigeria founded by Yar'Adua. He later moved into the SDP as a thorough newbreed politician. Perhaps, his first experience in competitive partisan politicians was during the gubernatorial primaries of SDP, first in the old Gongola State and later Adamawa State.

In a predominantly Christian environment, Atiku demonstrated that behind the affable exterior he has a shrewd, grim determination to daunt political odds. Running what a Lagos based magazine called "Computer Programmed Campaigns," Atiku stood eye to eye with the former ABU intellec-

tual, pro-PSP Bala Takaya who had the advantage of religion over him as well as the support of the party establishment. With the present governor of Taraba State, Jolly Nyame, a reverend father as his campaign manager, Atiku took his campaign to all communities in the area. With the creation of Adamawa and Taraba States, his campaign manager with his support became a candidate in Taraba while he and Takaya slugged it out in Adamawa. In a controversial manner, he was declared winner of the primaries. Takaya's appeal was overruled by the SDP national executive.

The stalemate that resulted from the primaries eventually prompted the National Electoral Commission (NEC) to disqualify the two aspirants. And here was the beginning of SDP's defeat in the gubernatorial elections. With the supporters of the two groups antagonistic as ever the NRC candidate achieved a victory over a disparate SDP which presented a pro-Takaya candidate, Boss Mustapha, the former SDP chairman in the state.

Abubakar's next political endeavour was how to get Shehu Musa Yar'Adua elected as president. He was the man who first publicly declared Yar'Adua's candidacy and he worked strenuously to achieve the purpose. But another disqualification, this time of Ya'Adua, stopped him in his tracks.

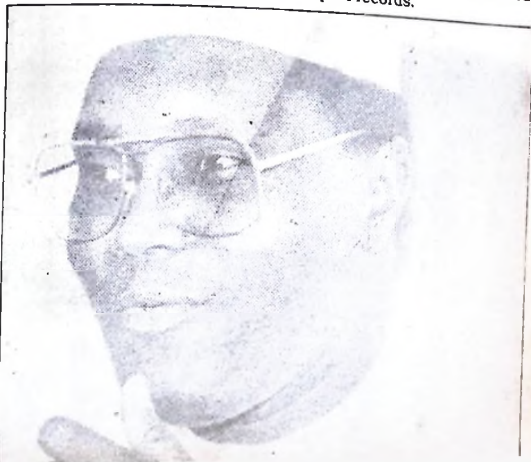
Since November, the man who is said to be an "introvert with an uncanny

ability to reach out and commandalty" from friends has prepared a home base for the commencement of his presidential campaign. He recited with his former arch rival Takaya and Mustapha to prevent Enugu NRC debacle in which Hy Onuaguluchi and Joe Nwodo carried the aborted Gubernatorial fight into the presidential race.

Now, with a feeble opposition in the ward, Atiku is the flagbearer for Adamawa State. Atiku commands a lot of respect from members of the Yar'Adua platform from all parts of Nigeria. Which is why he is the man who will benefit from any slip made by Baba Kingibe or MKO Abiola. Prominent Eastern members of the Yar'Adua group like Chuba Okadigbo, Oke Odunze, Gbazuagu N. Gbazuagu and Maria Ike are said to be rooting for him. He is sure to be on the SDP final ballot.

Even, the northern elements of the Yar'Adua platform like Kanti Bello and Hamidu Gambo who predicated their support for Abiola on his picking a Hausa-Fulani Muslim as running mate are said to also have Atiku in mind.

But with all the good attributes of Atiku, like most of the other serious aspirants, his ability to manage a turbulent economy like Nigeria now remains untested and therefore left to the probability — possibility praxis. In the same manner, though the ability of Abubakar to plug holes through which service revenues drip out of the nation's purse is not in doubt but what about ability to increase productivity? But nearly all the aspirants suffer the same disability when it comes to answering these questions based on their past records.



that the chief must explain his role in the abandoned aerostat balloon project, a telecommunication project which was never used anywhere in the world but was imported to Nigeria to suck some millions of naira and later got abandoned. More than this, some other antagonists have continued to harp on the suggestions that Abiola's candidacy may be a cannon fodder designed to further perpetuate Ibrahim Babangida in power. Abiola is a bossom friend of the President, as he was to former Nigerian leaders like Murtala Muhammed, Olusegun Obasanjo, and for some period, Shehu Shagari. While it may be contended that Abiola, through this closeness has benefited from the resources of the state as many other wealthy Nigerians, the Abiola who is described as a man who never took half measures, once he is convinced, plunges into a venture with all he has, does not look like a stooge. He has demonstrated his readiness for the Presidential job by taking his message to all that can help him in Nigeria. He even still finds time to regale the international community the type of presidency he wants to offer Nigeria.

In Nigeria of today, no individual can match the philanthropic stature of MKO. Just like no individual has garnered as many traditional titles with such national spread as this publishing magnate. In the international arena, he is better known than many Nigerian government officials. The revolution that brought Yoweri Museveni to power in Uganda was believed to have been sponsored by Abiola. And through numerous university endowments, brilliant seminar papers and addresses and chiefly, his recent pet projects, securing reparation for Black African nations for human exploitation and deprivation suffered during slave trade, Abiola can easily rival such late black nationalists like W.E.B Du Bois and Marcus Garvey among the black community in the diaspora.

And this man is a polygamist of the highest order with many children and sharp appetite to acquire more wives like he acquires wealth.

If one were to look to Abiola's philanthropy, the goodwill enjoyed across the country, the number of traditional rulers across the country who receive regular grants from this businessman turned politician, his intellect, knowledge of the nation and his personal vigour, there would be no debate as to his victory at the SDP convention or the general election.

But far from it. The seeming doubt over his ability to win is there

in a Nigeria where leaders are chosen out of incongruous zoning arrangements and other mundane considerations like ethnicity, religion and wealth.

First, Abiola is seeking the presidential ticket of a party controlled by his not too friendly business partner, Shehu Yar'Adua. Though the Yar'Adua group, through the insistence of its Western group had included Abiola as one of the three candidates under consideration for their support, it is still left to be seen what game the group is up to.

Again, in the West, which is Abiola's base if he is assured of Ogun, Oyo and possible Lagos State's support, Ondo and Osun states are suspect. Osun state where Abiola had considerable support has a presidential flagbearer, Dosu Ladipo, a member of the Yar'Adua group who hopes to be selected as Vice President. But a recent statement credited to him that he will abide by the group decision taken the Western axis of the Yar'Adua group which is in Abiola's favour, will be a good news to the MKO campaign committee.

In Ondo State, TSM sources revealed that some influential elements in the state are scheming to ensure that a son of the soil becomes the vice president. In that case, they would want the presidential candidate to come from the North. These elements are said to be drumming up sentiments against what they termed "the domination of Western political advantages by Ogun State indigenes." How far this sentiment can carry the disseminators is still a future decision. But the former governor of the state, Adekunle Ajasin, who is now chairman of the SDP elders committee and head of the Awoist group has publicly indicated his support for Abiola.

However, Olu Falae, former presidential aspirant from Ondo State has, up till now, kept mute on where his support lies. But key operators in his defunct campaign are now working for Abiola.

Outside the West, Abiola seems to have made little impact in the North and the East. But the hope of getting the vice presidential slot in an Abiola ticket may sway the Middle Belt in his favour. Though, it has produced the senate president, the Middle Belt calculates that a Moshood Abiola from the West must pick a christian from the north and it is only the Middle Belt that visible and popular christians who can be of immense electoral value to a presidential ticket can be found.

This calculation is what may likely strange the Hausa-Fulani stock of the North from Abiola. The core North, af-

ter producing sons who dwell in the presidential quarters from 1980, are not about to suddenly forgo the opportunity. More so when they still have more states to their advantage. This danger of suddenly becoming an outsider to real power faces them in Abiola.

Their views are better reflected in the condition which the northern zone of the Yar'Adua group is giving MKO in exchange for their support. Kant Jello, an engineer from Katsina who contested and lost the gubernatorial ticket of the NRC but now a senator is the spokesman.

Bello warned Abiola to forget the idea of picking a christian running mate from anywhere. His alternative: Abiola must pick an Hausa-Fulani muslim to balance the ethnic and religious diversity of the nation. His analysis toward this submission is that if the Middle Belt already produced the Senate President who is a christian and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Senate Deputy President, the Senate Majority leader and other key National Assembly officers are christians, then, it is only right that Nigeria: muslims and Hausa-Fulanis of the North should be compensated with the presidency and vice presidency.

It is however doubtful if Abiola, in the aftermath of the Zango-Katari and the religious polarities of the nation can have a muslim presidential ticket. This amounts to giving impossible conditions to withhold support.

The circumstances here present Abiola, strong dilemma. It has to be resolved before the SDP national convention.



By Yusuf Olaniyun, Joseph Umunagbu, Comfort
Odo and Akaninyene Esere

Baba Gana Kingibe

(Ambassador)

THE Kaduna boy from Maiduguri, the Nigerian student on scholarship in London, the university lecturer, the broadcaster, the civil servant, the politician and also the politician, Abubakar Abba Kingibe, is the story of Baba Gana Kingibe who last year was relieved of his position of national chairman of the Social Democratic Party (SDP).

Kingibe is now seeking to assume the post currently occupied by Ibrahim Babangida, the highly unpredictable but reputed military president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. In the issue of credibility and wily politics, Kingibe resembles the man he wants to succeed. But then who is Kingibe?

To understand the character of this man, who is eager to become Nigeria's president, we need to take a look back to the days of the Maiduguri people. On June 27, 1947, Kingibe is the first child of a famous warrior man for the old state Borno, whose His mother was from one of the highly respected warrior royal families in the pre-Bornu state. This presidential surname got its name from his father's heroic deed who was a neighbour of the Kingibe, Baba Gana. He was also a warrior and a political follower of the Borno Youth Movement, the group of political intellectuals who then successfully challenged the Northern People's Congress (NPC) in the northern region and led by Ibrahim Danjuma.

Kingibe was to later grow under the tutelage of his namesake who was a chieftain. This period must have served as the formative period of what is that Kingibe stood for in politics — an admixture of conservative and progressive ideas. His parents had five children, two of whom died leaving Kingibe and two younger brothers.

In 1960, Baba Gana fulfilled the ambition of his father who had been expelled to untrained soldiers from the World War II, when he won the national school scholarship. This scholarship provided him the opportunity to earn a first degree in international relations at the University of

Sussex in England. He had a broad-casting training at the BBC Training School in London and studied for a masters degree at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva. Kingibe was working on a Ph.D. in international theory before he wanted it to take up a teaching appointment with the Ahmadu Bello University in 1968 when the school was still trying to free itself from the invasion by expatriate lecturers. That was when Yahaya Adu'a, a professor of medicine was the vice-chancellor.

Teaching could not satisfy the young mind of Kingibe who then left for the Current Affairs department of the Broadcasting Service of Northern Nigeria as the pioneer head. In 1972, Kingibe joined the foreign service as an external affair officer. After the coup that brought late Murtala Mohammed to power, he was recalled from the High Commission in London and posted to the political department of the Supreme Headquarters under Shehu Musa Yar'Adua who later became his political mentor. In this capacity, Kingibe was operating as an intelligence operative which opened his eye to another aspect of government and diplomacy — intelligence gathering.

Under Yar'Adua as the Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters, Kingibe got posted at first as the Ambassador to Chad, where he never served due to the civil war in that country. Later, the

posting was changed to Greece with accreditation also to Cyprus. He later served as Nigeria's High Commissioner to Pakistan from where the

Babangida administration recalled him and made him Permanent Secretary (now Director General) for political affairs. He was later posted to the Constituent Assembly in 1989 where he met what is now the cream of Nigerian politics. He eventually retired voluntarily from the civil service for a political career.

Fate was going to once again put Yar'Adua in the position of shaping the future of Kingibe when he joined the Patriotic Front of Nigeria (PFN), one of the 13 political associations that applied to be registered as political parties. The PFN was formed and funded by Yar'Adua. Kingibe was its national secretary. When the associations were disbanded, Kingibe, like other PFN followers joined the SDP.

At the 1990 Abuja convention where the first set of national officers were elected for the SDP and NRC, Kingibe became one of the two candidates who wanted to lead SDP. His emergence as a candidate was a text book lesson in what the raw qualities of a man can do to his career. Yar'Adua and the PFN actually were rooting for the group's former director of organisation, Abdul Azeez Farouk to win the chairmanship. Kingibe actually indicated his interest but would not act independent of the group which had bouyed his politicking.

But with the rival PSP looking so invincible with its candidate, eloquent



At the meeting of the Yar'Adua group in Lagos last week, points bordering on his placing his ambition over the unity of the party was raised against him by members. It was mentioned that as far back as December, 1991 plans had existed to steer the campaign of Kingibe for the presidency

and agile Muhammadu Arzika from Sokoto State. Kingibe's eloquence, amiable personality, genial disposition, guile and wife persuaded Yar'Adua that he is the man who could stop Arzika.

That contest in Abuja is now history. Kingibe, a man who like Babangida understands human greed and is always ready to play a joker with it later assumed leadership of SDP and was able to win the few PSP proteges in the executive to his side. Few months after he became chairman, speculations started flying around that the chairmanship job could no longer pre-occupy the wandering mind of the Ambassador. Kingibe wanted to be president! Speculations and denials of his veiled presidential ambition pitched Kingibe against many of the party members who were also interested in the presidential ticket. The contention then was that it would be unfair to other party members if after using party resources to popularise and publicise himself, he now wants to abandon party leadership for the presidential race.

Kingibe is a thorough Kanuri man-charming and likeable, obstinate and resilient but not afraid to do battle. Even, as party leader Kingibe did not hesitate to take on Olu Falae and Olusola Saraki, two prominent former presidential aspirants of the party. In such fights, Kingibe forgets the finesse of a diplomat.

He assessed himself as a man who "easily makes friends, an open straight forward person and consequently, much misunderstood because people

don't take me as they find or take me...seeking consensus and compromises are second nature activity to me."

His main friends are his former boss, Musa Yar'Adua, Tunji Olagunju, a key member of the Babangida government and one of the brains behind the formulation of transition programme, Umaru Shinkafi former NRC presidential aspirant, Muhammed Buhari, a key member of the Yar'Adua group and Yomi Edu, who co-owned a business venture, with Kingibe.

Kingibe is a humble man but is also given to intellectual arrogance. He is a man of modest taste who is not at loss with opulent living, particularly in his choice of automobile. He is the husband of two women and father of three children and a grandfather of one girl.

KINGIBE is by no means a conventional millionaire having left the public service for politics. But he is running one of the best campaigns supported by adequate funding. With a campaign headquarters, at the elitist Victoria Island extension, a residence at the High brow neighbourhood of Victoria Island and many flashy personal cars and campaign vehicles, Kingibe comes across as a rich man. How did he come about these possessions? A source close to him showed that some millionaire friends of his are supporting his campaigns with all desire.

Though there were insinuations that some of his friends are now governors, like the governor of Borno State, but Kingibe says, he finds it distasteful for anybody to suggest he is collecting money from the governor of a poor state like Borno State.

Though NEC has not come out with the report of its probe of the finances of the party executives during the period Kingibe was chairman, the man has insisted that he has been given clean card. In fact, he drums it loud to anybody who cares that "if somebody said that I am not a man of integrity, I will tell him I am. In fact it is my biggest asset." He also boasted that "I have never taken kobo from somebody before. If you find out I have taken any money from anybody or involved in corrupt activities or unwholesome business from when I was a journalist to when I was civil servant to when I was chairman of SDP, I will step down from my presidential aspirations." But MKO Abiola keeps on hammering on the fact that Kingibe's tenure as chairman was profligate.

Kingibe as a politician is seen as a very ambitious man, though this can be justified in the sense that politics is

about pursuit of power and a good politician calculates to optimally utilise his chances for acquisition of greater power.

At the meeting of the Yar'Adua group in Lagos last week, points bordering on his placing his ambition over the unity of the party was raised against him by members. It was mentioned that as far back as December, 1991 plans had existed to steer the campaign of Kingibe for the presidency. Even, the campaign posters he is now using were said to have been printed since early 1992. This explains why it has no word on the presidency.

A member of Yar'Adua group accused Kingibe of disloyalty. They insisted the former party leader was busy imposing his loyalists as party gubernatorial candidates in 1991 instead of putting PFN candidates or the real comers. Osun and Delta States were mentioned as examples. Another reason why the Yar'Adua group is against Kingibe's candidacy is the possibility of its tearing the party apart even more than when Yar'Adua himself emerged as winner of the disputed primaries. Prominent party leaders like Falae, Saraki, Abubakar Rimi, Sule Lamido and Mohammed Goni are said to have threatened to campaign for the NRC candidate if Kingibe emerges.

The source told TSM that the Yar'Adua meeting would have dropped Kingibe from its list if not for the intervention of the "Godfather" himself. Kingibe is also believed to be working on a possible alliance with Arthur Nzeribe towards getting the Eastern votes. It was the same Eastern votes that made the difference between him and Arzika at the Abuja convention in 1990. Except that Nzeribe's CARIA movement has lost control of the East. Even the state congress held penultimate weekend produced state executives controlled by candidates of the Yar'Adua group.

However his supporters believe that Kingibe still has a good chance of becoming the choice of the Yar'Adua group. His past loyalty, his visibility as a candidate and the influence of some of his good friends like Mohammed Buhari who is a fellow Kanuri man, may still work in his favour. Yar'Adua is believed to be withholding his support for Kingibe to punish him for playing a similar delay game in 1992 when Yar'Adua was himself a candidate.

But before the Yar'Adua group makes a choice between Abiola Abubakar Atiku and Kingibe, Kingibe is still campaigning tirelessly to realise his ambition.


Nigeria in perspectives

these priests and herbalist within the ambience of tradition and culture played tin gods of their communities unquestionably. But no society lives in isolation and this proves true of the Nigerian society which embraces certain external influences in its march towards westernization. History is thus presented in the guise of literature as a society which has existed for so long on the pedestal of its own internally generated set values and aspirations, now has to contend with an alien culture as it makes incisive cuts into its fabric.

The juxtaposition of Western and traditional medicines which pitches the doctor on one side and the herbalist on the other captures the cultural conflict which has been engendered. It is worthy of note that this conflict which has its genesis in

primeval Nigeria has also found its way into contemporary Nigeria with no resolution in sight.

Moving towards the realm of era-ture, some of the stories in this collection particularly *Rainbow*, *Wasted years* and *The Sargoba Mermaid* smack of folk tales with suggestive, humorous and didactic inputs. In fact, *Rainbow* instructs conclusively that God's time is the best, while *Wasted years* recreates the scenario of the biblical profligate enmeshed in the quagmire of thoughtlessness, recklessness and squandermania. But while this biblical protagonist was reintegrated and rehabilitated, his counterpart in *Wasted years* has misery, contempt and scorn as companions in the twilight of his life, consequent upon golden opportunities frittered away. And before his death



Arty Stuff

Every story in the collection stands on its own makes a definite statement with far reaching implications on the citizenry and the Nigerian polity.

By Emma Anyamele Jr.

A microcosm of the macrocosm, this collection of Nigerian short stories written in lucid prose, serves as a literacy vista into primordial Nigeria with the objectivity and clarity of vision permitted by the hindsight and a panorama of the Nigerian society in progression and contemporariness. This literary excursion into the short stories genre holds the mirror to the Nigerian Society as it transverges the length and breadth of the Nigerian society.

Thus, one finds himself face to face with an Ifa priest (the priest of a god) in his shrine where he ministers to his clients. How else could we have known that the Nigerian traditional medicine has its version of Western medicine's autopsy and even much more: it cannot only determine the cause of demise but can also divulge the will of the deceased. For decades,

Frontline stories

Continues on Page 37

