

Dr Junaid, Alfa, Major Ibrahim:
What's the linkage?

N70

Citizen

DECEMBER 3 — DECEMBER 9, 1990 ■ VOL 1 NO. 16



Squabbles Threaten Council Elections

Botswana	1000	Nigeria	110
Canada	37.50	Sierra Leone	158.00
CFA Zone	300		



In the stride towards a developed Economy we put our strength firmly behind the Nigerian Shipper

At the Nigerian Shippers' Council our main business is the protection of the Nigerian Shipper. —we provide answers to all his shipping problems. In this way we defend and protect his business and thus contribute our own quota to the continued development of the Nigerian economy especially in these hard times. We have become experts in the negotiation of freight rates with shipowners and ensure that arbitrary rate increases are not imposed on shippers and indirect damage is not done to our national economy.

Underwriters, Shipowners and Agents, Freight Forwarders, Road Haulage Companies and related services.

We are proud to be the Shippers' think-tank, carrying out shipping Research, Shipping consultancy, and organising Conferences and Seminars for the shipping industry.

The Nigerian Shippers' Council boasts of experts who advise Importers and Exporters on Cargo Loss Prevention, Cargo Packaging and so many other problems.

• Come to the Nigerian Shippers' Council with all your shipping problems.

We are at your service.



**Nigerian Shippers'
Council**

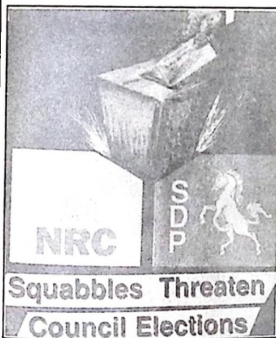
CONTENTS

Citizen

December 3 — December 9, 1990
Vol. 1 No. 16

All the News In Perspective

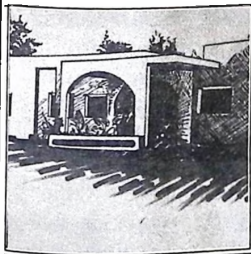
Council elections: False start?



Five days to the December 8 elections, intra-party squabbles over who should bear the party flags threaten to make the Local Government elections a false start.

Page 13.

A house with many owners



A fiery Second Republic politician of the left, an influential lady and an army major are locked in a battle for ownership of a house in Kaduna.

Page 21.

A major win for Major

Once a bank official in Nigeria, Mr. John Major, 47, has risen fast to become Britain's youngest prime minister this century.

Page 28.



Departments

Page

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF NIGERIA
LETTERS COPY 5

17 DEC 1990

LEGAL DEPOSIT DEPARTMENT

LEADERS

- Council elections:
 - Cause for alarm 7
 - No to Nigerian Media Council 8
 - CDS' Achilles heel 8
 - Gulf: There mustn't be war 9

MOHAMMED HARUNA 11

NIGERIA recorded 21

15 JAN 1991

AFRICA 20

WORLD 28

BILKISU YUSUF 31

Citizen

All the News in Perspective

Editor-in-Chief:
Mohammed Haruna
Deputy Editor-in-Chief: Bilikisu Yusuf
Executive Editor (South): Kabiru Yusuf
Executive Editor (North):
Adamu Adamu

General Editor: Mohammed Borno
Principal Staff Correspondents:
Tawey Zakka, Mahmud Jega, Ike Okonta
Senior Correspondent: Abu K. Momoh
Staff Correspondents: Delia Nzekwu;
Nkechi Attoh
Sports: Joe Olatunwo
Reporter/Researcher: Samson Ojo
Sub Editor: Tijjani Isa
Proof Readers: Dorothy Hinjari,
Rabiu Barde
Staff Photographer: Lanre Ogunsanmi
Deputy Art Editor: Oluwole Oluokun
Snr Graphic Artist: K. Bolatto Ojelande
Graphic Artist: Samuel Offiong

Computer Operator: S. G. Bulkwang
Asst. Computer Operator: T. I. Balami
Computer Trainee: C. G. Guten

CITIZEN COMMUNICATIONS LTD.

Board of Directors
Turi Muhammadu (Chairman);
M D Yusuf; Umaru Abdul Mutallab;
Ade Olawuyi; Lawal Idris;
Lawal Batagarawa; Bilikisu Yusuf
(executive); Kabiru Yusuf (executive);
Adamu Adamu (executive);
Mohammed Haruna (managing).

Deputy Finance Manager:
Alhassan Kutigi
Senior Accountant: Bilyaminu Afolabi
Accounts Officers:
Ali T. Muhammad; Usman Musa
Marketing Officer: Usman Kadiri
Marketing Asst: Justina Akpan
Adverts Executives: Emmanuel Emeje;
Isajaka Ajibola; Olubunmi Adeoye;
Stella Emele
Sales/Advert Asst: Hassan A. Adebayo
Adverts Assistant: Umar Musa
Administrative Officer:
Muhammed Ndalinan
Credit Control Officer: Turude Sunmola
Secretaries: M. J. Doko; Mary Egharevba
Typist: Osagie I. Ehuehi
Receptionist: Dinatu S. Kyom
Clerks: Amina L. Abdullahi; Olabode S.
Rotifa; Alabi Olakunle
Drivers: Bagudu Makun; Salisu Abdu
Office Assistants: Abbas Garba;
Kingsley Benson
Interns: Aluko Aknyeale

PREFACE

Five days to the December 8 elections, signs are that all is not well with the prospects for a free and fair election.

Last Thursday, senior officers of the SDP in Kaduna for the last leg of their campaigns for the elections, charged that the voters' register is being doctored by the National Electoral Commission. They also charged that there is a large scale forgery of voters' cards.

These charges may or may not be credible, but it is cause for concern that they are being raised at all. It is difficult to see how they cannot have a negative effect, however small, on the conduct of the elections. In fairness to NEC, however, the more immediate and perhaps greater threat to the elections is the state of readiness of the parties themselves. We sent out our reporters to find out, and what they saw and we are reporting to you as a cover story, is hardly cause for cheer. Our team of Bilikisu Yusuf, Tawey Zakka, Abu Momoh, Rabiu Barde, Ike Okonta, Nkechi Attoh and Samson Ojo made the rounds of party offices and the NEC offices and filed their reports which speak of many intra-party squabbles that may not be settled before the elections. It is indeed a cause for worry that even with the local government elections where the stakes are not so high, politicians cannot seem to get their act together.

Mohammed Haruna

LETTERS

Correct these errors

I wish to express my gratitude to you for the opportunity you have given me to express my views on the matters we talked about in the interview which featured prominently in the 13th edition and thank you for the honour given me, by having my photograph on your cover page.

May I take this opportunity to place on record some corrections which might be attributed to "Printer's Devil" or some other person's ideas might have gotten on the way of the interview or perhaps, it was my slip. Importantly, names that featured on pages 15 and 16 of the edition which were erroneous should be corrected. These are references to "Nwachukwu" and "Ebitu Ukiwe" which are incorrect. They are meant to be "Onuwauegwu" instead of Nwachukwu and "Ebeje Ikwue" instead of Ebitu Ukiwe. On page 16, references to Lt. Gen T.Y. Danjuma should have been Lt. Col. Largema.

On page 16, reference to Murtala Mohammed as "Commanding the depot" is erroneous. I was the one commanding the depot at Clifford Street, Yaba, now renamed Murtala Mohammed Way. Murtala Mohammed was commanding Signals at Apapa. If I may also add, minor but material errors on page 15 and 16, one in respect of the word "rifles" as opposed to "revolt" in the passage where it says "For some reasons revolt did not come out," and reference to "Radio Station" as opposed to "Petrol Station" being managed by Anuforo's brother in Kaduna, and lastly, on page 16, reference to "Ordinance" should have been "Ordnance."

I have sought to bring these to your notice as you may wish to correct the impressions that might be created wrongly, should these errors be left as they are.

Major-General
I.B.M. Haruna (ret) OFR,
Kaduna.

Babangida missed the point

President Ibrahim Babangida missed the point when he said in your forum of November 5-12 edition pages 26 and 27 "the historical and cultural roots of Nigerian Federalism runs deep down in the demographic and cultural forces which antedated colonial rule".

I rather think Nigeria comprised of

Corrigendum

We sincerely apologise for the mix up in names in our 14th edition page 33 where we addressed Governor Abu Ali of Bauchi State as Chris Ali. The error is regretted.

— Editor

three independent nations, consisting mainly of three identifiable ethnic groupings with only one having definable political territory. Thus the North was already politically and administratively well organised whereas the East and the West were fragmented having culturally definable territories without the needed political cohesiveness of the North.

He also missed another vital point when he asserts that "the fascination of our Federalism on this scope is how to define the ethnic and political group(s) as the basis for coping with Federalism as a design solution".

In my opinion the fascination is

how to check the excesses of one ethnic and political group(s) in the interest of other groups as the basis for coping with federalism as a design solution. Our ethnic groups are well identified and defined

I however agree with Mr President that it had provided us with a bulk-wark against totalitarian option as a solution to problems of development and nation building. It also provided for the non-concentration of powers, even under the military.

Michael Omokhomion
P.O. Box 10856
Kano.

KASUPDA, take note

I write to express my displeasure over the non-challant attitude of KASUPDA to the development of Kaduna Metropolis.

Kaduna which could be regarded as the capital of northern states is expected to be well developed, if not better than its sister states in the region. But to my utmost dismay, Kaduna metropolis is still maintaining some aspect which could be labelled as underdevelopment.

First of all, Kaduna Metropolis is very unkempt. Attention is not given to environmental cleanliness, not even the environmental sanitation exercise which is being observed every month has helped matters.

Secondly, road signs are missing in some major roads of the state. Similarly, signs which would inform visitors of the various directions of Kaduna town, such as Central market, Stadium etc. are missing.

I am very hopeful that KASUPDA would take note of this and many more other such matters.

Umaru Sanda Katuka
D.20 Kano Road,
Kaduna.

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



Northern States Book Fair

BOOK FAIR ! BOOK FAIR !! BOOK FAIR !!!

The First Northern States Book Fair organised by the Northern States Librarians comes up on Tuesday 5th — Saturday 9th February, 1991.

Theme: Educational Materials for effective Learning.

Venue: Library Board Headquarters at No. 6 Bida Road, Kaduna.

Time: 8:00 a.m. — 6:00 p.m. daily.

Writers, Publishers, Book-sellers, Librarians, Parents, Academicians, Teachers, Students and all Book Lovers. Another unique opportunity awaits you.

The Book Fair will feature lectures and discussion sessions on the theme of the fair. It is a unique opportunity attracting participation from education and Book Production Industries in Nigeria as a whole and beyond.

Be there: Don't be told !

For further inquiries contact:

*The Coordinating Director,
Northern States Book Fair,
c/o Library Board of Kaduna State,
No. 6 Bida Road,
P.M.B. 2061,
Kaduna.*

Or any State Library Board in the Northern States.

The local government elections: cause for alarm

In the middle of last month, we expressed reservations about the choice of open ballot for conducting the forthcoming local government elections, the first on party basis under the transition programme. In that edition (October 15), we worried that open ballot may amount to courting open trouble. We said, however, that since government had chosen it, it behoove all of us to give it a try if we wished the transition programme to succeed.

With only five days to go to E-day, it would seem the greater threat to a free and fair election is not the open ballot after all, but the state of readiness of the parties themselves, and in one particular case — Kano State — the very conduct of the National Electoral Commission officials. As our cover story shows, elections may not hold in many local governments, simply because both parties seem unable to sort out their internal feuds.

Such feuds are, of course, second nature to politics. Those who measure our success in achieving democracy by the degree of absence of disagreements must have a strange notion of democracy. If lack of turbulence is the yardstick for democracy, India and Jamaica would never have qualified as democracies. In those countries turbulence has, unfortunately, often manifested in serious political violence occasioning lost of scores, even hundreds, of lives. Yet at the end of the day those who lose an election are graceful enough to concede victory to the winners and wait for the next elections.

So our worry is not that there are serious feuds within both parties as the elections approach since where there is politics there will always be feuds. Our worry is that it seems the parties are incapable of resolving these feuds in time to allow the elections to hold in all the local governments. Either the parties do not possess mechanisms for settling disputes which inspire the confidence of their members, or the members are an ill-disciplined lot. We believe it is more the

former than the latter.

But whatever the reason, the non-resolution of such intra-party feuds at a level where the political stakes are at their lowest gives cause to worry about what will happen when the time comes for state and federal elections.

For the local government elections, the biggest threat is posed in Kano, this time not only because of intra-party squabbles, especially within the SDP, but also because for a while now the NEC officials there have conducted themselves as if they are an interested party in the outcome of the elections in the state both within and between the parties. Readers will readily recall how the NEC nullified the election of Alhaji Sule Lamido as the states SDP chairman on the spurious grounds of non-residency in his constituency, only to reinstate him later, but not before law and order in the state had been seriously threatened.

Now the NEC seems to have drawn up its own list of SDP candidates for the local government elections in contradiction to the party's own list. It is difficult to understand what exactly the NEC in Kano hopes to achieve by its repeated meddling in the internal affairs of the state's SDP.

It is equally difficult to understand why the authorities have not done anything to bring the leadership of the Kano NEC to order. In more civilised societies, the unjustified nullification of Lamido as chairman in an election the NEC did not conduct in the first place, would have cost the state's NEC head his job — that is if he was not honourable enough to resign.

Kano is one of the country's most populous, wealthiest and sophisticated state. What therefore happens there has serious implications for the rest of the country. As such the federal authorities cannot afford to watch idly as the NEC in the state cause confusion. Whoever is the cause of the confusion should be fired forthwith.

No to Nigerian Media Council

Last Monday Chief Alex Akinyele, the Minister of Information, seized the opportunity of opening a three day seminar on 30 years of Nigerian Journalism in Badagry, Lagos State, to announce that the Nigerian Media Council will soon be inaugurated. In anticipation of probable opposition from journalists, the minister pleaded with them to support the council.

Said Chief Akinyele "you can not claim that a law is bad until you have started operating it. Otherwise how do you know that the law cannot be operated?" The minister went on to plead that journalists should support the decree first and seek for its amendment later.

With due respect to the minister we find his appeal rather illogical. To start with, it is not necessary to see a law in action first before determining its workability. It is possible to tell a bad law right from its inception and *Citizen* is of the opinion that the Media Council Decree, as it is, is a bad law. The Minister himself inadvertently admitted this to some extent by urging journalists to seek for its amendment after the Council has been inaugurated.

The more logical thing to do is to amend the decree first and then inaugurate the council after. However, we think there is a lot that is the matter with the decree that what is needed is not mere amendments but an entirely different approach to the problem of journalistic misconduct which the decree is aimed at curing.

We will be the first to admit that both society and individuals need protection from dubious journalists. The events of recent weeks where

so-called junk journalists have resorted to exposing each other's shenanigans in fabricating stories, underscores this need. We do not, however, think that the solution is to create a government sponsored Media Council which (1) defines who is a journalist, (2) in effect issues or withdraws from him the licence to practice, and (3) prescribes penalties for misconduct, over and above what such laws as those of libel, defamation, sedition, etc. already prescribe — this obviously amounts to double jeopardy.

We object to the Media Council decree precisely because the temptation to abuse these weapons is simply irresistible. We fear that the decree is a highway to killing free speech and this is not acceptable in the free society we are striving to create.

As we said, we do admit that society and individuals need protection from journalists of questionable character. We think, however, that enough protection exists in many of our laws. Already aggrieved individuals like Wole Soyinka and Odumegwu Ojukwu have gone to court to seek relief under these laws. Once they can prove their case, they would deter unscrupulous journalists from taking liberty with other people's good names and liberty.

Justice at the courts may take a painfully slow course, but it provide a remedy that does not expose society to the danger of dictatorship which the Media Council decree does.

With all due respect, Chief Akinyele should let the sleeping Nigeria Media Council dog lie. Better still he should kill it.

CDS' achilles' heel

The Centre for Democratic Studies located significantly in the new federal capital, Abuja, as yet untainted by the sin of our political life is stirring, but not in a way that will please many Nigerians who welcomed its birth on October 15, 1989. Of late, it has been receiving a lot of media attention, but what the centre is making newspaper headlines for is not a major break-through in the study of truly democratic behaviour. It is rather a crisis of confidence in which the centre has been steeped. Which is very sad for an institution that the country plans to hold up to Africa, and indeed, the rest of the Third World, as model for a genuinely sustainable democracy.

The weight of allegations against the centre's management, running the gamut from a breach of the constitution in the matter of staff recruitment, nepotism, outright and barefaced victimisation of staff considered to be "outsiders because they come from the wrong

part of the country" to "financial irregularities" to consorting with one of the two political parties, is too great to ignore. To be sure, Professor Omo Omuruyi, the Director-General of the CDS has denied all these allegations in an interview with *Citizen* and lately at a public forum in Abuja, but by defiantly saying that "CDS will not be intimidated," he unfortunately missed the point which is that the allegations portend some serious danger.

Firstly, attention is being diverted from the main business of the centre, which is researching into and teaching the correct rules of the political game, to settling in-house wrangling over who should get what. To illustrate this since August 4 this year when the centre organised workshop for executives of the National Republican Convention, NRC, and Social Democratic Party, SDP, in Abuja, nothing more of worth has been done. The next workshop was to have been for candidates of the two parties in the 1991 general elections.

lections. It was slated for the third Monday of this month but it fell through, though not for any known fault of the CDS. Also, it has worked out an elaborate programme of both commissioned and in-house research projects, which ought to have started last September, running through to October 1992. The projects run into tens of millions of Naira but as it is the last quarter of this year is almost out, yet nothing has been started.

Secondly, the goings-on at the centre will tend to reinforce skepticism in some sections of the public about the usefulness of the centre. Is it not going to be another drainpipe on public money? That was the initial question. From now it is going to be asked with even greater stringency.

Thirdly, the allegation that the centre is providing consultancy to one of the two parties casts a dark cloud over its impartiality. The implication of this for the transition pro-

gramme, if it is true, is too grave to ignore.

It is heartwarming that the government has repeatedly said that it would not brook any rocking of the transition train. The thing to do now is for it to set up an inquiry into the allegations to ascertain their veracity or otherwise. If a case is proved against the management the government should move to deal with it decisively to save the name of the centre as well as restore public confidence in the transition programme. All sides to the conflict should be ironed out if the centre is to be prevented from becoming what people are already calling the "centre for destructive studies." It is for this reason that *Citizen* feels constrained to remark that the meeting which the secretary to the federal government held in Lagos recently with only the centre's DG was unwise. Dismissing the allegations off-hand, as the SFG reportedly did, on the strength of what the DG said was not good enough.

Gulf: There mustn't be war

Last week, the United Nations Security Council passed the expected Resolution 678 of 1990 authorising UN members to use force to eject the Iraqi army from Kuwait if it is not voluntarily withdrawn by January 15, 1991. The resolution was a watershed in recent UN history: only once before, in Korea, did the UN ever authorise the use of force against a member state, and this was 40 years ago. It is instructive that the UN never again found the consensus for such action, for example, to authorise the use of force to end apartheid, or to end South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, or to force Soviet troops out of Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan, or to force American troops out of Vietnam, Guatemala, Dominica, Cuba, Grenada and Panama.

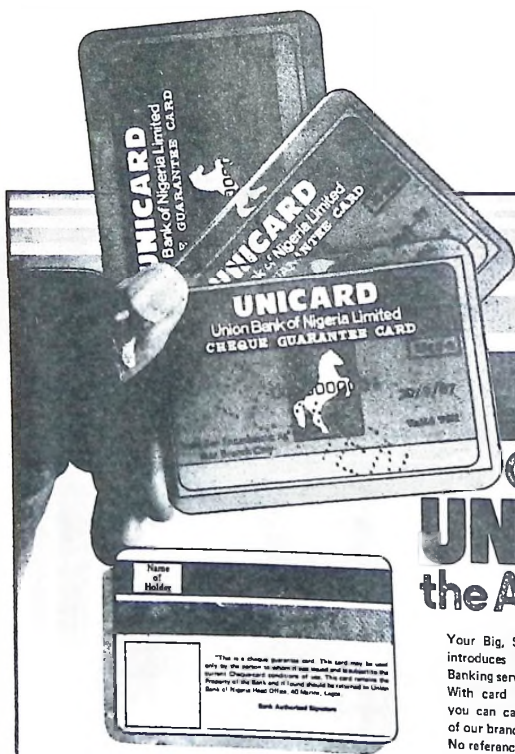
No doubt, the Iraqi invasion, occupation and annexation of Kuwait was a sad and inexcusable act. It was a most flagrant violation of international law and a slap on the face of peace and decorum. Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, a truly unscrupulous operator, made his move into Kuwait against all requirements of good neighbourliness, Arab unity, Islamic brotherhood, Gulf co-operation and OPEC solidarity. This was a most condemnable act and the world has every reason and right to demand a restoration of the *Status quo* as it obtained on August 1, if only to discourage other unscrupulous leaders around the world from adopting similar tactics. Any grudges that Iraq may have against Kuwait, and there are many of them, should be handled peacefully in the many international fora to which both countries belong, including the Arab league, the Organisation of Islamic Conference, the Non-Aligned Movement, OPEC and

the United Nations.

All that said, however, the world must not allow this crisis to result in a war. This is partly because, apart from Saddam and the Iraqis, the world also needs to teach western countries a lesson regarding their shameless double standards in international affairs. We Africans must take a sour note of the rapidity and comprehensiveness with which Western nations imposed sanctions against Iraq, including a previously unheard of air embargo, which nevertheless may be relaxed to allow western hostages in Iraq to fly out. A sour note, we say, because in 42 years of apartheid and in 70 years of the illegal occupation of Namibia, the West footdragged over sanctions and said it was "impractical". It is good for the Iraqi goose but not good for the African gander, seemed to be their position.

The world must not allow Western powers to go to war in the Gulf. Western generals and admirals are known to be utterly unscrupulous when fighting on someone else's soil, as Koreans, Vietnamese, Malaysians, Kenyans, Ethiopians and Libyans will readily testify in their experience of the last 40 years alone. A war in the Gulf, at this time and in these circumstances, may destroy Iraq permanently and damage Saudi Arabia more or less permanently. A war may spill over into Jordan, Syria and Turkey; it may invite a chemical attack on Israeli population centers, and it may invite an Israeli nuclear attack on Iraqi population centers. In all of these, it is innocent people who will die, people who in the majority of cases have no control over their political leaders. This situation is ironically truer in Iraq than in most other cases.

The world must find a peaceful way to avoid a catastrophe in the Gulf.



Go for **UNICARD** the Ace of cards

Your Big, Strong and Reliable Union Bank introduces Unicard for swift and efficient Banking services.

With card limits of ₦100, ₦250 & ₦500 you can cash your cheque instantly at any of our branches nationwide.

No reference. No delays.

Contact any of our branches for details.

UNION BANK... Big, Strong, Reliable.

Head Office: 40 Marina, F. H. Reg 2077, Lagos
Telephone: 465439, 465441, 465445.
Telegrams: Unionbank, Telex 31222.



UNION BANK

UNION BANK OF NIGERIA LIMITED



NO CRISIS IN NICON!

The attention of the Management of the National Insurance Corporation of Nigeria has been drawn to a publication in the Sunday Concord of November 25, 1990 captioned "CRISIS SHAKES NICON". The publication is false, misleading and mischievous.

We wish to state categorically that there is no crisis whatsoever in NICON as the relationship between Management and Staff including the Unions has been very cordial. Recently, the Union wrote to Management affirming their support and commending them on the efficient manner in which the Corporation is being managed.

NICON is one of the parastatals being fully commercialised under the auspices of the Technical Committee on Privatisation and Commercialisation (TCPC). Since the appointment of the current Management last year, a lot has been done to give the Corporation the desired direction as a fully commercialised enterprise and to prepare the Corporation for the challenges of the future.

In a bid to correct operational weaknesses of the previous Management, identified in the Management Audit Report compiled by Messrs Akintola Williams & Co, the present Management has also introduced accounting controls and systems to ensure effective operations as well as probity and accountability. To this end, it has been possible to block loopholes that could lead to fraud enabling Management to closely monitor all financial transactions.

These innovative efforts have strengthened the Corporation in its leading position in the industry as evidenced in increased volume of businesses. The Corporation has further consolidated its position, and now has a much better working relationship with its clients. The volume of business undertaken by the Corporation has almost doubled from N350m in 1988 to N660m as at 31st December, 1989. The estimated income for 1990 is over N650m.

Regarding the specific issues raised in the Sunday Concord Publication, we will like to comment as follows:

STAFF RATIONALISATION - ALLEGATION OF NEPOTISM & VICTIMISATION

The publication referred to the recent rationalisation exercise and insinuated that it was based on nepotism and victimisation. It is not totally surprising that some disgruntled staff affected by the past and recent purge will resort to any means to

undermine the good intentions of the present Management.

The staff rationalisation exercise recently concluded by the Implementation Committee of TCPC is in line with the Terms of Reference of the Committee. The exercise is not peculiar to NICON as it has been carried out in other sister parastatals. It was also not based on any ethnic considerations but strictly on the criteria for commercialisation as set by the TCPC.

Whilst the Coopers and Lybrand's Report of 1987 had recommended about 30% staff cut in order to reduce overheads, the recently concluded exercise affected less than 10% of the total staff strength.

The Concord Publication creates the impression that the exercise was directed against a particular ethnic group. This is far from the truth as the exercise was not based on ethnicity. Whereas NICON is a federal government establishment, over 75% of its senior staff is from one ethnic group.

ALLEGED \$230,000 MISSING IN LONDON OFFICE

There is no truth whatsoever in the allegation that \$230,000 was missing in the Corporation's London Office. There is also no truth in the claim by the SUNDAY CONCORD that NICON was queried by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development over the alleged missing sum. The publication might have been referring to a complaint to the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development on 28/11/89 signed by the Managing Director of NICON, Mr. Ogala Osoka concerning unauthorised debits by the London Bank in the Company's Account. The London Bank accepted responsibility and duly refunded the money with accrued interest.

It would be amazing if this complaint by Management is what is now being turned into an indictment of the same Management that raised the issue. The publication further insinuated that our London Contact Office Manager might have been involved in this unauthorised debit. There is no truth whatsoever in this allegation and we reaffirm our confidence in Mr. Bola Adewale who, as our Managing Director, Mr. Osoka told the Sunday Concord is one of the most competent hands within the Organisation.

ALLEGED "MYSTERIOUS DISAPPEARANCE AND REAPPEARANCE" OF N9 MILLION FROM THE CENTRAL BANK OF NIGERIA

The Sunday Concord also alleged a

mysterious disappearance and reappearance of the sum of N9 million from NICON's Central Bank Account last year. This is totally false.

What must be noted is that as a result of the new accounting system instituted by the present Management, we were able to discover a wrong debit of N9,856,000 in our SEPTEMBER 1990 Account within a few days of it being made. This matter was taken up the same day with the Central Bank of Nigeria who immediately reversed the wrong entry and credited back our Account accordingly.

The debit in question was in no way related to any of the Corporation's transactions. Contrary to the assertion made in the Publication, we wish to state categorically that the cheque leaves purported to have been used for this debit did not belong to NICON and were faked as were the signatures of Mr. Osoka and Alhaji Umar. There is therefore, no truth in the statement that "some Central Bank of Nigeria cheque leaflets belonging to the Corporation disappeared from the vaults."

Furthermore, the Corporation has had no business whatsoever with Kago Enterprises mentioned in the Publication. Similarly, we have had no business whatsoever with Kasomite Limited and NICON is not aware of any cheque for N8 million or any other amount drawn in their favour as claimed in the Publication. The cheques Nos. 615890 and 65104714 mentioned in the Concord Publication are not NICON cheque numbers and none of these was signed by any of the Corporation's authorised signatories.

In conclusion we wish to reiterate that there is no crisis whatsoever in NICON. The present Management is working in close harmony with both our controlling Ministry - Federal Ministry of Finance and Economic Development and the TCPC Implementation Committee on NICON, towards full commercialisation of the Corporation. NICON is an important national financial institution involved in a highly specialised business and is internationally recognised. Any publication about the Corporation should be fair and accurate in the interest of the nation.

We want to assure all our numerous policy holders and the public at large that there is no crisis whatsoever in NICON rather the Corporation is in top form, stronger and better.

HABIB ALIYU,
LEGAL ADVISER/CORPORATION
SECRETARY
NOVEMBER 29, 1990.



MOHAMMED HARUNA

The Journalism we deserve

Junk journalism or what *Newswatch* (December 3) aptly called Gossip Journalism, has been in the news of late. It has been a cause for concern for quite a while now. But matters seem to have been brought to a head only in the last fortnight following the intervention of the Lagos chapter of the Nigeria Union of Journalists in the case of alleged consistent fabrications of stories by Lawrence Akapa, the publisher, editor and all of *Akapa's Top Magazine*. The editors of *Classique*, *Climax* and *Poise*, variously accused Akapa and his magazine of inventing stories and doctoring pictures to authenticate the fabrications. The editors took their case to the Ethical Committee of the Lagos NUJ and apparently made a good case; Akapa, who did not bother to honour the NUJ's invitation to defend himself, was suspended for six months as a member. It seems pretty obvious Akapa ignored the NUJ because he knew he had a case to answer and he did not have the answers.

Serious as Akapa's fabrications are, however, they are merely one extreme manifestation of a dangerous disintegration not just of the ethnics of journalism, but also the ethics of society at large. For at the heart of Akapa's fabrications is the value of crass materialism which has since gripped our society and which has propelled others to rob with arms or rob with the pen or peddle cocaine.

As we condemn Akapa, for purveying fiction as fact, we ought to bear this sad truth in mind. For it is only when we put this phenomenon of Akapa and his magazine in this perspective that we can properly address the danger that it poses to society.

The first instinct of many reporters seems to be to see the Akapa phenomenon as a vindication of Prince Tony Momoh, who as Minister of Information, vainly fought a one-man crusade for the setting up of a Media Council which among other things defines who a journalist is, works out guidelines for his conduct and punishes him for any breach of those guidelines. Soji Akinrinade signing for the editor-in-chief of *Newswatch*, said in the magazine's December 3 edition which led with the story of junk journalism, that Tony Momoh, "must be having a good laugh wherever he is." *African Concord* which did a similar cover story the week before, similarly said "Prince Tony Momoh could just be smiling."

The instinct to see Akapa as the vindication of Momoh, like most first in-

The simple truth is that like government, society gets the kind of journalism it deserves.

stincts, is wrong, absolutely wrong. And if Momoh himself is tempted to have a good laugh on his colleagues, wherever he is, he will be wise to resist the temptation. For the simple fact is that his Media Council Decree does not contain an anti-dote to the crass materialism that propels the Akapas of our society.

Those who see the Media Council as a cure for unethical journalism seem to have a point at first glance. To start with, by definition, the decree setting it up, would have disqualified Akapa as a reporter. Many have indeed pointed out that before moving into junk journalism as the boss of the original *Top News*, he was merely a cartoonist. But then, the notion of a journalist which excludes a cartoonist would be grossly mistaken. Akapa may not have gone to any journalism school for the minimum qualification decreed by the Media Council, but if a journalist is defined as someone who informs, educates and entertains, Akapa had

creditably done all that from day one as the creator of *Vanguard's* popular *Mr and Mrs*. In any case, no one in his right mind would dispute the contribution that cartoonists have made to the development of journalism in this country. Fact is, with a few strokes of their pencil or brush, they have been able to mirror society in ways that words alone could never have done.

So the issue here really is not the qualifications or age of Akapa and all the other so-called "baby editors". Peter Enahoro, Sam Amuka-Pemu and Mamman Daura, who are some of the best editors Nigeria has seen, were "babies" when they became editors and none of them went to any journalism school.

The Media Council, as championed by Momoh, will not on the long run solve the problem that Akapa and Company poses for society. At the same time that it is a non-solution, it poses the grave danger that it can be easily manipulated to undermine free speech.

True, society needs protection from the Akapas of this world. But such protection ultimately lies with the leadership in society at all levels and in all professions, not in any decree. If leaders show the rest of society that a good name and a good record is more important than a BMW, a penthouse, designer clothes and all such other creature comforts, the rest will follow in time. If they do not, the rest can be trusted to lie their way into wealth and prominence in society. The simple truth is that like government, society gets the kind of journalism it deserves.

Meanwhile, journalists will do well to set up their own media council which should sit in judgment over journalists. They will also do well to expose the shortcomings of fellow journalists and thereby do away with the dog-does-not-eat-dog credo which has made it possible for the Akapas of journalism to flourish.



Citizen

... all you want in a newsmagazine:

- Actually two magazines in one, one devoted to politics, economics, the environment and science; the other to people, culture and social events.
- The News Yes, but we shall also say our minds on all the major issues of the day.
- Inspired, solid, quality writing, that will move you as it is intended to.
- Two centres of operation, bubbling Lagos and secretive Kaduna.

On the streets every Monday



Published by:
CITIZEN COMMUNICATIONS LIMITED
6, 11 LINGWAN KANAWA, P.M. 284, KADUNA
104 Arme Rd. off Isheri Road Agidingbi, Lagos

Citizen

Council elections:

Poll threatened by party feuds

Elections are here, but politicians are busy squabbling.



Professor Humphrey Nwosu: NEC chairman.

The local government elections scheduled for December 8, throughout the federation may not hold in Kano State due to disagreement between NEC and the SDP on the list of contestants for the elections. Five days to the elections, NEC and the SDP have drawn up two separate lists with each side saying that its list is the authentic one. NEC's

guidelines stipulate that the list of screened candidates be ready two weeks to the election.

The chairman of the, SDP, Alhaji Sule Lamido, alleged that the NEC list was a distortion of the result of the primary elections held at the local government level and threatened to sue NEC if it used the list in its possession.

Alhaji Sule told Citizens that the state SDP had evidence that some candidates who lost in the primaries were swapped with the successful ones. "In Karaye local government where the chairman who was charged with submission of the list

of winners to the NEC, for instance, submitted the name of those who lost", he said.

In Wudii, the chairman also allegedly "faked the results of the primaries", said Lamido. Other problem areas listed were, Birniwa, Gezawa, Garki and Kiyawa local governments. Alhaji Sule claimed that "the chairman of Garki local government called 22 members of the executive council to

form an electoral college that elected candidates without organising a primary election at ward level at which all card carrying members were to elect candidates as stipulated by the SDP constitution. The state SDP rejected the list sent by the chairman to NEC."

In Kiyawa Local Government, results of Tsirma ward for the primaries were similarly thrown out because the list of the actual winners were swapped with those of the losers. The police, he said suspected foul play but when asked to intervene they claimed none jurisdiction. "We nullified the results and conducted another election. The actual winners won again but the chairman and the secretary submitted the list of losers. State SDP submitted the list of authentic winners but NEC refused it," he said.

In Gezawa local government, the SDP executive council met to decide on a date for the primaries. Eleven out of 18 members agreed on a particular day but the minority disagreed. The 11 members went ahead in line with SDP constitution and held the primaries. The chairman allegedly nullified the elections and conducted his own primaries, the result of which he submitted to NEC. The state SDP protested since the list of results of the first election which it submitted to NEC was rejected in favour of the second election organised by the chairman. Alhaji Sule said unless the authentic list of winners at the primary elections were accepted by NEC no elections will be

held with fraudulent results.

Apart from the stalemate with NEC, the SDP in Kano is also embroiled in intra-party squabbles now threatening to split the party. The squabbles had their roots in the power tussle between Sule Lamido who was earlier relieved of his post as SDP chairman by NEC and replaced with Alhaji Kamilu Maisikeli. Later NEC re-instated Lamido and supporters of both leaders have since then constituted themselves into opposing factions. Matters came to a head on November 23 when Lamido told the press that he removed Alhaji Nuhu Ketawa, the SDP chairman of Gezawa local government and suspended Alhaji Ibrahim Bange of Wudil local government.

Lamido told *Citizen* that "Alhaji Ibrahim Bange committed political blasphemy because he denounced both the state and national chairmen of the SDP and tore their portraits at a rally. If these two SDP leaders are not recognised by him then he doesn't belong to the party. He will remain suspended until he apologises for his action. If he does not repent he will be removed from office."

As for Alhaji Nuhu Ketawa, Lamido said he "committed political treason,

One easily noticeable trend however was a general apathy among the electorate.

when he called a political rally at his local government to introduce his supporters and candidates for the local government elections. He also introduced Alhaji Kamilu Maisikeli as the state chairman of SDP in spite of the fact that he had been attending party meetings presided over by me, collecting party and publicity materials." The decision to remove Alhaji Nuhu and suspend Ibrahim Bange were taken at the state SDP congress held on November 22.

Already, political observers are predicting that the NRC will be the winner in the local government elections if the disagreement with NEC and the *taba*

santsi rift in the party are not settled. However, Lamido said rifts do not exist within the SDP and he was sure the SDP will emerge victorious in the local government elections. "You see what we have in the SDP are not factions", he said, "they are just nomenclatures with which people identify various groups with certain interests. Whether you call them *taba* or *santsi*, PSP or PF, they are all SDP loyalists. All these sub-groupings are healthy for the party. They provide political respiration for the party.

"The SDP is a dynamic and accommodating party and all the groupings point to its democratic and progressive trend unlike the NRC where the largest donour tells people to shut up." Lamido is also convinced that these initial problems will only strengthen the party.

The NRC headquarters in Bachirawa was a beehive of activities when *Citizen* called there. Most of the officials were away organising rallies. The state deputy chairman of the, NRC, Alhaji Salisu Kanya, said the party had very bright prospects. "We have no rift in the NRC and we have embarked on intensive campaign. We shall win the elections come December 8." Alhaji Salisu said the party's list of contestants was ready because NEC had completed its screening and cleared all the NRC nominees. He provided a list of candidates for chairmanship explaining that all the names were sent by the local government electoral officers directly to NEC.

When *Citizen* called at the NEC office, the Electoral Commissioner was holding a meeting but an official said "NEC does not supply the list of screened candidates contesting the local government elections." Such a list according to him could be obtained at each local government's electoral officer or the party office.

The office of the National Electoral Commission (NEC) in Kaduna situated at the junction of Inuwa Wada and Dawaki Road looked quiet. The security officer at the gate screens all visitors and issues an entry tag. At the spacious lobby is a notice board with two posters. One reads:

Local Government Elections — December

8, 1990

Come out and Vote Wisely

Elect good chairmen and councillors.

Beside it is a list of 396 people who are expected to call at the NEC office to collect their clearance certificates. When the *Citizen* called at the office, a NEC screening committee was in progress. After the meeting the state's Electoral Commissioner, Mr. Y.O. Beredugo said all the nomination forms forwarded to the commission from the local governments have been screened and returned to the parties. "The only outstanding ones are those on which court cases are pending".

On the issue of some nominees who failed the screening due to their inability to obtain tax clearance, Mr. Beredugo explained that under the electoral law, all contestants must submit their completed nomination forms along with tax clearance certificates issued by the revenue department.

The commission Mr. Beredugo said has employed 34,394 temporary staff to man the 7,588 polling stations in all the — local governments. The bulk are primary school teachers being trained at the local governments where they will preside over elections. In addition, NYSC members are receiving special training by NEC and the police that will enable them to assist the police in crowd control. The WAI brigade and MAMSER officials will also serve as poll orderlies to complement the police whose number is inadequate for crowd control at the polling booths. 4,000 policemen are insufficient to man the 7,588 polling booths in an open ballot election.

The electoral commissioner however gave assurance that NEC is doing its best to ensure a hitch-free election while the police have beefed up security arrangements.

The Kaduna State Secretariat of the National Republican Convention was a beehive of activities. Party officials and members were seen moving in and out of the busy secretariat.

The state chairman and secretary were busy attending to party affairs as members trooped in and out of their offices. *Citizen* met Alhaji Hassan Usman, the financial secretary and the



Shinkafi (left and) Jibrilla: NRC top notch.

party's public relations officer, Malam Hassan Ndanusa Dabogi who disclosed that the NRC had intensified campaigns at the ward level to ensure that it captured all the votes in the local government elections which he described as "very crucial."

Beside the approved list of nominees is a party campaign poster with the following message: NRC

*A little to the right
can not be wrong
Right is Right
Join NRC now.*

In Kaduna State, the SDP is quite strong following the established P.R.P. tradition of the Second Republic but the Kaduna State branch has a pending court case.

The state branch is seeking a court injunction to restrain Alhaji Yakubu Abubakar, deputy chairman, Alhaji Muhtari Uba, secretary, Mr. Jimoh Olorunmibe, publicity secretary and Malam Adamu Ahmed, financial secretary from parading themselves as officials of the party. A caretaker committee comprising Major Nicholas Gazi (rtd) as chairman, Alhaji Abdu Dahiru, deputy chairman, Mr. Tony Uda, secretary, Malam Bello Ninyio, publicity secretary and Malam Magaji Isa, financial secretary, is supposed to be running the affairs of the party in the meantime.

The SDP headquarters was deserted when *Citizen* called there twice last week. The chairman, Alhaji Daudu Tsoho was removed on October 31. The

party is wasting too much time on petty squabbles and court cases. According to Alhaji Muazu Abbas Hadeja, the party's delegate, the main problem with the party is that there seems to be "a PSP-Christian trying to deny muslims a role in the SDP."

The internal crisis of the party was serious enough to draw the attention of its national chairman, Ambassador Babagana Kingibe. Speaking at a rally in Ahmadu Bello Stadium, Kaduna, last Thursday, he expressed concern that *uptill* then, the party in the state did not have candidates for the December 8 elections.

The NRC seem set to win in Kaduna because it is devoting more time to campaigns than the SDP which is too preoccupied with disagreements to concentrate on winning votes.

Like in Kaduna State, the SDP in Kano State has the advantage of past success of the PRP to build on but it is embroiled in bickerings. Despite all these problems if it is able to settle its disagreement with NEC and an acceptable list of candidates is presented, then SDP will win.

In Katsina state, it is rather difficult to say which way the election will swing. Both parties are equally strong. The NRC has the backing of political heavyweights like Lawal Kaita — a man of the people. Others are Ismaila Mamman, Kanti Bello, Lema Jibril, Amadi Kurfi — a businessman and Alhaji Ahmadu Kurfi former FEDECO secretary.

However, SDP has the advantage of a better organised grassroots outfit. The Yaradua factor is more visible in Katsina state than anywhere else. The father of Major-General Shehu Musa Yar'adua whose link with the SDP is an open secret, is working hard to woo elders to SDP. His younger brother Umaru Musa is reputed to be the articulate planner of the SDP's grassroots penetration strategy.

Bauchi and Gongola States have not been spared the squabbles that have been ravaging the National Republican Convention (NRC) and Social Democratic party (SDP). It is the litany of litigation thrown up by the October primaries of the two parties, which were meant to elect candidates for the December 8 polls. A few days to the election, quite a number of the court cases have not even been mentioned. More than this, the two states, of late, have witnessed a spate of skirmishes over land ownership. Though the two governments have moved fast to nip the fighting in the bud, the belligerent communities are only making a show of reconciliation.

In Bauchi State, the party which has been hit harder by internal wangling is the NRC. With the array of 'big names' behind the party, it is hard to understand why it should suffer this spasm of factional feud. In Shira local government, the party has not been able to elect officials at that level. *Citizen* gathered from sources close to the party that a businessman put up a candidate who was rejected by party delegates to the July 7th congress. A stalemate resulted, which was compounded by the dissolution of the state transition committee. NEC and MAMSER were approached to find a solution to the problem but they both said it was not business of theirs.

Also, in Yamaltu/Deba, in October factions of the party clashed over which should get the "choicest" positions in the leadership hierarchy. Two deaths were recorded. Those who found themselves at the receiving end were the Fulani settlers in the area whom the so-called indigenes regarded as outsiders who deserved only the crumbs.

Another cause of the NRC's headache, according to another source, is how to balance the Bauchi-Gombe political equation. Gombe is said to have had more than its share of representation in government. But to antagonise it is to risk on avalanche of decamping to the SDP, a development which the later claims is already happening. For instance, an SDP official told *Citizen* that in Bauchi local government area alone over 20,000 NRC membership cards were returned by "decampes" to the SDP. There has been no independent confirmation of this.

Balancing the political equation is proving so difficult that the party has hard to put away the zoning mechanism it used during the state congress at which Alhaji Yerima Aliyu Gida from Katagum zone was elected state chairman of the party. The governorship candidate, *Citizen* has been told will be decided by the performance of the three zones-Bauchi, Gombe and Katagum in the local government elections.

The zone which captures the highest number of council chairmanship seats is sure to be asked to produce names of governorship candidates. For now, waiting on the wing are Ambassador Balarabe Tafawa, Alhaji Adamu Aliyu, a former secretary to the Bauchi State Government, who last week was turbaned Walin Katagum.

The other is a serving Director-General in the presidency, who, though has not come out openly to say he is in the race for governor, has not hidden his romance with the NRC. But if these, indeed, are the 'movers and shakers', as it were, of Bauchi State NRC politics, they are yet to put their influence to good use, that is, by way of bringing the party together. Because the house was not in order national chairman Tom Ikimi had been skating the state until just last Tuesday when the campaign train rolled in from Maiduguri. The launch of the state campaign had been billed for October 22 but the party boss failed to show up.

The SDP, though considered as an underdog has fewer internal squabbles to settle before December 8. *Citizen* gathered from an inside source that the only problem is over the chair-

manship of Bauchi local government. Even so, it seems an easy enough problem because the solicitor of the candidate who lost had seen the hopelessness of the case and had withdrawn his appearance. It was only to satisfy the candidate that the court adjourned the case until December 11, four days after the elections would have been held.

Apart from this one controversy, the SDP is believed to have submitted to NEC the list of its candidates in the 20 local government councils. Alhaji Muhammadu Madaki Imam, state chair-



Dasuki: had expressed misgivings.

man of the SDP, like his NRC counterpart was out of town over the weekend when the *Citizen* called. Both had left town for Azare, where Alhaji Mahamadu Kabir Umar was celebrating his 10th coronation anniversary. Such other top-notchers as Alhaji Salisu Matori, Alhaji Bappa Aliyu, Alhaji Isa Tahir were also out of town. For the SDP, just as it is for the NRC, in addition to its myriads of other problems, the fighting over land, which broke out last weekend between Tangales in Billiri and the people of Kaltungo would prove a setback if it lingers through election day.

In Gongola State, again it is the NRC which is in deeper trouble, its crisis arose from the removal on October 29 of the state chairman, Malam Obadiah Rika and the secretary, Alhaji Ismaila Agalar by the Transition to Civil Rule Tribunal; since dissolved, for contravening Decree 25 which banned persons who held po-

litical office.

The national leadership of the party last week appointed a triumvirate, made up of three state deputy chairmen to run the party until the December 8 election when a fresh voting will be called. The three deputy chairmen Aliyu Rabi'u Damina, Hajiji Asabe Sarkin Kudu and Nuhu Bakari will run the party rotationally in the alphabetical order of their names. So the party is using the time which it needs for campaigning to diffuse tension, which last weekend rose high enough to draw the attention of the police who took over the Numan Road Secretariat of the party for three days. It was reopened only last Monday.

Acting Secretary, John Kwalle Vimtim, tried to play down the effect of this problem on the morale of the party's rank and file in an interview with *Citizen* in Yola. He said the party did not see a strong rival in the SDP despite the leadership vacuum that exists in the NRC. "We shall reconcile our differences," he said, adding confidently that "the NRC has more supporters than the SDP."

The morale of a party supporters, he said, was high, "they know what they are doing ... campaigning is going on in the local governments. We are sure of winning." Yet the party has not even been launched at the state level. Monday November 26, was to have been the day, but it was shelved indefinitely. The SDP, on the other hand, is keeping a better organised house.

Citizen learnt from Malam Ahmidu K. Isa, state financial secretary, that the party submitted the list of its candidates for the December 8 election since November 7, well ahead of the extended November 26 deadline given by NEC. It reportedly has litigation in court as at November 26 when it had launched its campaign in 16 of the state's 21 local government areas. The party itself was launched at state level on November 3, 1990.

As far as Malam Ahmidu was concerned, Gongola State is for the taking. "There is a green light in all the 16 local government areas we have been to," he said, relishing the tribulation that the NRC is going through. "We are ready for December 8," he added.

Fears about the possibility of the

December 8 council election were first raised, significantly by the Director-General of the Centre for Democratic Studies, Professor Omo Omoruyi, in a recent interview he granted *Citizen* in Abuja. Then he expressed concern over the number of court cases arising from the two parties' primaries last month, which were increasing by the day. A training workshop which the centre had hoped to organise for the candidates of the parties on November 19 had to be dropped because as the Director-General said, "the parties don't even know who there candidates are... there are too many problems about whose those candidates are." The national Electoral commission, NEC, he said, had not cleared many of the candidates, because "there are so many court injunctions."

It was a worried Sanni Daura, Commissioner of police for Lagos State who called together representatives of the two political parties and trade unionists at the Lagos city Hall on Friday, November 24. Reports reaching his desk, particularly as the December 8 council elections inched nearer, indicated that the security situation in the state was less than satisfactory.

He was particularly displeased with the way politicians of both parties went about their campaigns, threatening one another with fire and brimstone and in extreme cases, assailing political opponents. He was also worried that the NEC-supervised screening for political candidates would create an avenue for some bad eggs in the two parties to cause trouble and encourage the break-down of law and order.

Mr. Julius Bolaji-George, a teacher at Lagos Boys High School last week said "I think we are about to repeat the same mistakes that signed the death-warrant of the Second Republic all over again. I have a strong feeling that neither of the two political parties is ready for December local government election."

While the leaders of the SDP and NRC would evidently want to disagree with Mr Bolaji-George, evidence indicate that the parties are yet to get their act together in readiness for the

elections. Particularly affected are Lagos and Oyo state. In the Lagos state SDP for instance, party members are still grappling with court cases in five local government areas - Agege, Shomolu, Etin-Osa, Ikeja and Ikorodu. Attempts by some banned politicians in conjunction with influential Yoruba leaders of thought to get the litigants to settle the matter out of court have so far, come to nought. A series of meetings, convened in Ikeja and Shomolu last week to iron out things also proved abortive as the warring party men gave the conveners, three former civilian governors, a cold shoulder. In a last ditch effort to hold his house together, the SDP Lagos state chairman, Alhaji Muniru Baruwa dispatched a message to Ambassador

Fears about the possibility of the December 8 council election were first raised, significantly by the Director-General of the Centre for Democratic Studies, Professor Omo Omoruyi, in a recent interview he granted *Citizen* in Abuja.

Babagana Kingibe, national chairman of the party to come to his aid. Kingibe promptly set up a peace committee, but by last week, nothing had come out of the chairman's efforts to get the various litigants to withdraw the cases and discuss matters amicably.

Nor is the Lagos state NRC in a better shape either. The sore thumb here is the Lagos mainland council. The trouble dates back to the last primaries when one of the candidates, Mr Niran Akinsanya, who won the highest number of votes was shoved aside while his opponent, Mr Adebayo Adejare with the aid of the Mainland Council Chairman, Alhaji Tajo Bawaha was declared the winner and had his name submitted to NEC. Although Chief Tom Ikimi, the party's national chairman waded into the controversy, it was not clear by last week if the dispute has been resolved.

As December 8 draws nearer, government officials are increasingly becoming worried that the plethora of intra-party court cases will scuttle its

elaborate plans to ensure a smooth and hitch-free council elections.

Citizen was reliably informed last week that government is considering two options: a scheme where the litigants would be coaxed to settle their grievances out of court, and in the alternative, a presidential order urging the courts to quickly dispose of the cases to enable NEC conduct a hitch free elections. On its part, NEC is considering invoking constitutional provisions to ensure that elections are held as stipulated by law.

Mr N. Ekuinam, NEC's spokesman, said in Lagos last week, "if either of the political parties refuse to present councillorship candidates due to party in-fighting, we will still go ahead with the elections and announce the sole candidate as duly elected".

If NEC carries out this threat then many councillorship candidates in several parts of Oyo state will be returned unopposed. Court actions over councillorship nominations are still pending in Lagelu, Oyo and Ilesha local government areas, and by last week none of the litigants had indicated willingness to settle out of court. Alhaji ado Ringim, Oyo State Resident Electoral Commissioner has however declared that elections will not be held in any part of the state where there are litigations over party nominations. "NEC will not conduct elections in the affected areas out of respect for the rule of law," Ringim told newsmen last week.

Meanwhile the Governor of Ondo State Abiodun Olukeya has declared December 6 and 7 work-free days to enable public servants travel to their respective locations to officiate during the elections. There are many in Ondo state however who are not impressed with NEC's preparations. For instance, Professor David Iornem, National Publicity secretary of the SDP last week threatened to protest to President Babangida over the alleged refusal of NEC to make the voters registers available to his party for scrutiny.

He said "we want the register to know the number of polling centres and to ensure that nobody springs any surprise by the alteration of names".

Potable water, which hitherto was an "scarce commodity" in several parts of Abeokuta has suddenly become abundant thanks to the frenzied efforts of the NRC to win the electorate's favour in time for the council elections. NRC has installed water taps in strategic parts of Abeokuta metropolis - especially Ikoko, Emere and Ibara and SDP officials are complaining that it is illegal.

Chief Adegbenro Niyi, Ogun state SDP publicity secretary told *Citizen* that the NRC was not actually installing taps in the metropolis. "It is a grand fraud calculated to hoodwink the innocent electorate and steal their votes. What the NRC is actually doing is taking water from government mains and claiming that they installed it. We in the SDP have however lodged formal complaints with NEC."

Chief Niyi was impressed with NEC's preparations for the elections, but expressed regret that NEC was unable to revise the voters register. He said that, "By not doing so, many Nigerians who had lost their cards will not vote. I don't think this is fair."

At the NRC secretariat in central Abeokuta, the state party chairman, Chief Segun Osibote told *Citizen* that the party is ready for the elections. Chief Osibote said we have completed all the necessary arrangements by putting our house in order. We now act as members of the same family." The party he said had devised an elaborate security network to ensure that elections were free and fair. "Our agents will be stationed in all the polling stations to scrutinise all the voters cards. Should they detect any foul play, a report will be promptly lodged with the electoral officer in the polling booth concerned."

Mr. T. Abari, the Ogun State Resident Electoral Commissioner told *Citizen* that candidates for both the parties have been cleared. He said that NEC has made adequate preparations in case there is a break down of law and order during the elections.

Apart from NYSC members who will be drafted to help the police monitor the elections, Mr. Abari also said that NEC had identified potential trouble spots and specially trained law enforcement agents have been

placed on alert in these strategic areas. As to complaint from both parties that fake voters cards are circulating in the state, the Commissioner said NEC had taken appropriate steps to contain the trend. Mr. Abari said, "the number of voters in each polling station is very small so it will be easy for my men to keep an eye on the entire voting. We have a fool-proof mechanism to identify fake voters cards, and culprits will be dealt with appropriately."

Meanwhile the Egbe Odede Drivers Union in Abeokuta has agreed to make its fleet of taxi cabs available to NEC officials during the council elections. Mr. Tijari Alarape, the union's president told *Citizen*, "this is our humble way of contributing to the efforts to ensure a free and fair elections."

Ibadan municipality, noted hot-bed of western Nigerian politics was surprisingly calm last week. In all 20 wards, aspirants of both parties went about their campaigns peacefully. One easily noticeable trend however was a general apathy among the electorate. Lekan Oyegoke, a taxi driver told *Citizen*, "I will not vote in the forthcoming local government elections. The politicians can do whatever they like. I just don't want to be bothered."

The secretariats of the two parties presented a different picture, however. They were literally bubbling with activity. At the NRC secretariat at Yemetu, Ibadan, Mr. Abdul Adebayo Lawal, the chairmanship aspirant for Ibadan municipality told *Citizen* that everything was in place to clinch all the votes come December 8. Said Lawal, "it is true that we had a little fracas within the party some time ago, but all the disputes have been amicably resolved. The NRC in Ibadan is now a solid and united entity with a common goal: to sweep the polls during the council elections."

Citizen's attempts to get officials of the SDP to talk proved fruitless. At the party's municipal secretariat at Eleyele-Olopomewa all the key officers maintained sealed lips. Mr. Lekan Latiwa, the party's legal adviser, said "we won't speak to the press until after the council elections."

At the NEC secretariat, preparations were in top gear to ensure hitch-free



Attah: will his men cope?

elections. The Resident Electoral Commissioner, Alhaji Ado Shehu Ringim, said that all the candidates contesting the elections had been cleared. On security arrangements, he said he had dispatched his officials to the various local government areas of the state to monitor campaign rallies. NEC had also finalised plans to use teachers and civil servants to count the voters. Ringim could not however comment on the still pending-intra party litigations in several local government areas. Questioned on the issue, several Ibadan municipality residents expressed the fear that the court case may well turn out to be the Achilles heel of the December 8 local government elections. "I smell violence in the air," said Mrs. Funmilayo Ajalla, a retired school principal.

he position of the two political parties in Benue state forthcoming is very difficult to predict

The state chairman of SDP Mr. John S. Odawa said he was optimistic that the SDP would win the December 8 elections. His optimism was based on the party's programmes which he said had been accepted by the people of the state. He said the large turn out of the people at the rallies in the local government areas were a measure of acceptance of the party by the people of the state. He said there would be no problem if the people and the two parties obeyed the rules and the regulations as spelt out



Lamido: had a taste of NEC's highhandedness.

by the decree guiding the conduct of the elections.

The major problem the two parties were likely to face was that their members who had lost their voting cards were only given pieces of papers or covering notes because during the registration exercise the voters' cards run out.

The two parties blamed NEC for displaying the voters list only at the local government areas and not at the registration centres. The officials of the two parties argued that because most of the voters live in the rural areas they will find it difficult to check their names because of the cost of transportation.

On the criteria for nomination of candidates, the two parties said they allowed all registered members of the party to contest for any position they desired. For instance 14 women are to contest the elections on the ticket of the NRC. The SDP is also fielding a woman for the chairmanship of Ushongo.

The parties were unable to provide *Citizen* with the list of their candidates because both secretaries were away. Attempts to get them from the NEC office in the state also proved abortive. The Administrative secretary of the NEC said the commission was not in a position to release the list to the press because it was yet to arrive at an authentic list.

It was also gathered that the NRC had written to NEC withdrawing the name of its chairmanship candidate for Gwer local government council.

without substituting it with another name.

It was the opinion of many people in the state the SDP would do better because it has many "big names" in its fold including banned politicians.

However some other people spoken to in Makurdi preferred to adopt a wait-and-see attitude saying the two parties should be allowed to prove their mettle.

In Plateau state, the chairman of SDP Mr Donatus D. Dafuan told *Citizen* that the party began its campaign on November 8 in Keffi local government area, a day after the state rally was held in Jos and that 13 of the 16 local government areas had been covered.

The chairman ruled out any possibility of losing any seat in the council election. He said the people had been enthusiastic and the turn out at the campaign grounds testified to the acceptability of SDP.

He alleged that the NRC was giving fake voters cards to its supporters, but added that both Ikimi and Kingibe had accused each other's party of circulating fake voters cards.

He said there were no religious or ethnic consideration in the party saying that "Plateau State was made up of many tribes who practised different religions, christianity, Islam etc and going to the people to tell them that SDP was either for Muslims or Christians would be deceitful. The party is nominating candidates based on the principle of allowing equal representation."

Opinions are divided on which party would do better. Most are of opinion that it was too early to make predictions, but argued that SDP might win in places like Jos, Barkin Ladi and Shendam while NRC might have better showing in Keffi, Akwanga and Lafia local government areas.

Effort to get the list of the nominated candidates from any of the parties failed. At SDP's office, the chairman could not give it out because the party secretary was out of town. There was no official around at the NRC offices when *Citizen* called.

At the NEC office in Jos the Public Affairs Officer, Mr. J. Nyako said he had been instructed not to speak to the



Bosso: NRC is one.

press.

It was however gathered that NEC could not release the list due to last minute withdrawals and changes in the names of nominated candidates by the two parties. For instance, in Awe local government officials of NRC wrote a petition withdrawing the nomination of the chairmanship.

In Katsina, as you drive along Ibrahim Babangida Way, the major road that passes through the heart of Katsina town, flags of the two parties are seen at almost every ward. Posters of the candidates decorate trees, walls and even body of commuter buses. Enlightenment campaigns appeared to have reached their zenith. Mr. Tony Iredia, the Public Relations Officer of the National Electoral Commission NEC was in town organising a seminar at the Conference Hall of the Katsina Motel for electoral officers and other officials who were assigned to the local governments for the election.

For the past two weeks, the state public enlightenment committee on Transition to Civil Rule had been touring the local governments committees split into two, with one group headed by the state MAMSER chairman and the other by the General Manager, Katsina State Radio, Alhaji Ibrahim Hamisu.

The former group covered the local government areas in the southern part of the state while the latter covered the north. During the tour the committee identified some problems which it will include in its report to be submitted to the Transition Committee at the fed-

eral level. Alhaji Ibrahim said that many people complained that they had misplaced their cards. There was a review of voters register when Katsina State was created and another review which was done nationwide took place between September and October when a display of voters register was carried out. People should have availed themselves of these opportunities to obtain another card."

Another problem concerns the open ballot system to be adopted by NEC. While the commission has done its best to allay people's fears about its workability, the committee will suggest that NEC should limit its usage to local government elections only. "As someone who has just returned from the field, the consensus of opinion collated by us suggest this."

"In addition some traditional rulers said they will not vote because it would not augur well for peace if they are seen queuing up for one candidate. Their role as fathers of the people who are supposed to be neutral will be jeopardised," Hamisu said. In short, the reality is that traditional rulers have been disenfranchised by the open ballot system. Hamisu observed that except for these problems, the enlightenment campaign has been quite effective because the people are aware of the elections and intend to participate. Asked to assess the strength of the parties, Hamisu declined. "We are public officers who in addition are members of a transition committee; it will be unethical to assess the parties."

In Bakori Local government, the SDP is fielding a woman for the post of chairman. A former television broadcaster with NTA, Kaduna, Hajija Mariya Abdullahi is the only female candidate for chairmanship. Alhaji Lawal Kuli, SDP chairman, Katsina

where. When *Citizen* called at the office the state chairman of the party Alhaji Hassan Mashi was presiding over a meeting in the accountant's office.

The state secretary of the party of the NRC Alhaji Sanl Bature said that the party's campaign train has been moving from one local government to the wards and "we are working 24 hours to ensure that victory is ours."

In Niger state, it is increasingly difficult to say which of the two parties is stronger. A quick look at the build-up of the parties and the popularity of the contestants to the chairmanship post, especially, would give the picture of a battle that is going to be long-drawn and hotly contested.

The Suleja local government chairmanship tussle could be the keenest. While the NRC seems the stronger, the SDP candidate here, Ibrahim Dikko Ahmed stands a good chance of winning, if not for anything but for being from within Suleja metropolis. The NRC candidate, Mr Abel Sunday, is from one of the surrounding villages that have sworn to see anybody from Suleja town fail, irrespective of whether or not he belongs to their own party. In short, voting may not be along party lines.

When *Citizen* sought the views of the NRC state chairman on the allegation of some members of his party having a soft spot for the other party's candidate, Alhaji Abubakar Mohammed Basso, said that "the NRC in the state is one and that there is no division."

Observers point at many unsettled issues in the NRC, that may likely open up after the December 8, elections. They say some of such cases in the SDP have been settled amicably unlike in the NRC where, for instance, the case

are other reasons to suggest that they have a chance. To start with, there have been reports of in-fighting and disaffection within the fold of the NRC. This came to the fore during the party's primaries to select candidates. Many believe that there are some candidates that are considered favourites of those in authority. This was allegedly one of the main reasons for a fracas at Gusau during the primaries. An electoral officer was hospitalised and many received minor injuries. In this event — observer said that tempers are yet to subside and this may see the SDP reaping a fat harvest.

However, NRC Sokoto State chairman, Alhaji Muhammed Bello Alkali, said that there is a division in the party, adding that their only concern now is the local governments' campaigns. "We are moving on smoothly. No hitches," he said.

The SDP also has its own internal problems. Some believe that the party would have posed a bigger challenge but for their autocratic leadership and the personality conflict between the defeated national aspirant to the leadership of the SDP, Alhaji Muhammadu Arzika and the state chairman, Alhaji Abubakar Koko.

Alhaji Abubakar Koko is said to be adopting a "one-man show" in running the party. Others accuse him of capitalising on the inexperience and financial weakness of the executive members to dictates the tune.

The personality clash stems from the differences between the former PF and PSP members of the SDP. The belief is that Arzika still fumes over the role of Sokoto State SDP in his defeat by Babagana Kingibe.

And just last week, to underline some level of seriousness in the elections, NEC National Secretary, Alhaji Abubakar Aliyu, on a visit to Sokoto disclosed that some unnamed politicians have been involved in bringing into the state aliens to vote during the elections. Bagudo local government was reported to be the port at which the aliens are brought in. The were warned to stop in their own interest.

By Bilkius Yusuf, Tawey Zakka, Abu Momoh, Rabiu Barde, Ike Okonta, Samson Ojo and Nkechi Attah.

In short, the reality is that traditional rulers have been disenfranchised by the open ballot system.

Local Government described this as a mark of the party's commitment to giving capable women encouragement.

At the NRC secretariat along Daura Road the NRC *mutunci* handbills and spot colour posters were seen every

between Nasir Abdullahi Wachiko and Musa Adamu Maikunkele is still a court matter. There have also been reports of decamping from both parties.

In some other ways, the SDP has a point for not being despondent. There

A house with many owners

It is a curious mix. What links Dr. Junaid Mohammed, the fiery second republic politician, the former Chief of Air Staff, Air Marshal Ibrahim Alfa, a Hajiya Bahajatu Katsina and General Domkat Bali's former ADC, Major Shehu Ibrahim? A parcel of land measuring approximately 0.688 of an acre located in the Malali G.R.A., Kaduna. It landed some of them in court and opened a Pandora's box on the uses and abuses of power.

Like most complicated issues, it began on a simple enough note in June 1977 when Dr. Mohammed applied for and was allocated a piece of land by a one-time governor of Kaduna state, Group Captain Usman Jibrin (rtd) covered by a survey and town planning sheets No. N.C.L.P 106 and T.P.O 452 respectively.

The trouble was that the plot next to his was allocated to Hajiya Bahajatu, a powerful woman who Dr. Mohammed deposed later before a court had a close relationship with Air Marshal Alfa. "No sooner we were given physical possession of the land than Hajiya Bahajatu changed the configuration of the plots by ignoring the beacons and encroaching into my land," Dr. Mohammed said.

Initially, she erected "angle iron and wire-netting" to establish her presence. Later, she demolished those and replaced them with concrete

walls. Naturally, he protested to the woman who listened but ignored him. Next he asked Malam Mahmud Abubakar, a former diplomat and Alhaji Ismaila Gwarzo, then commissioner of police for Kaduna state to intervene in the matter. They did, all to no avail.

Dr. Mohammed then asked a legal firm, Baba Adi and Company to write and warn Hajiya Bahajatu not to continue with the trespass and then pay 5,000 Naira for damages and admitted to her trespass and promised not to encroach again if Dr. Mohammed would agree to waive the 5,000 Naira damages to which she agreed but, he claimed that she refused to comply with her own written undertaking.

Matters came to a head with a military coup of 1983/84; he became Air Marshal Alfa had been Chief of Air Staff. Hajiya Bahajatu, not in so Dr. Mohammed's hell. He then travelled to Kaduna times and times secured the piece of land from Alfa secured the piece of land never did.

Surprisingly, Hajiya Bahajatu not contest the piece of land rather the Mr. Junaid Mohammed her defence was that she was the piece of land.

Dr. Mohammed had sought a statement of claim before a court.

Her lawyers argued that Bahajatu had indeed encroached on the land but that she had removed, a situation which she confirmed.

(a) that the trespass was no trespass and that the benefit was no benefit.

At the end of the day, the court ruled in favour of Dr. Mohammed.



Dr. Junaid now owns the house. He spent a kobo...

March 3, 1990

was erecting was nearly completed.

Dr. Mohammed subsequently took the major and Hajiya Bahajatu to court seeking (a) a declaration that the plot belonged to him, (b) that 20,000 Naira be paid to him by the two for trespass and (c) a perpetual injunction restraining the two from "committing further acts of trespass."

Major Ibrahim, in his defence, held that one Alhaji Mohammed Adam, and not Dr. Mohammed owned the plot vide a letter of grant reference number NCL/743/4 dated April 5, 1976 signed by A.B.U. Tinau. He also said that Alhaji Mohammed paid the right of occupancy rents between that date and December 30, 1986 totalling 2,703.41 Naira and was issued a Certificate of Occupancy No. NC 9780.

The army officer also stated in his defence that Alhaji Mohammed subsequently assigned his right of occupancy to then Captain Shehu for "a consideration of 500,000 Naira vide a Union Bank of Nigeria Limited bank draft No. 363564/43351752 dated March 16, 1988. The approval of assignment of right of occupancy was conveyed to then Captain Ibrahim via a letter No. NCL/7431/38 dated December 2, 1987 even though the sale was made in 1988.

He also said that he paid a stamp duty of 15,002.50 Naira and registration fee of 7,500 Naira. However, on March 23, 1988, the then governor of Kaduna state revoked the Certificate of Occupancy in dispute - No. NC 9780 but that on the same instrument, he approved the issuance of a fresh one No. NC 17086 "in the name of the assignee for the residue of the unexpired term of the former Certificate of Occupancy No. NC 9780.

In his final address to the court, Major Ibrahim argued that by Clause 2 of Dr. Mohammed's Certificate of Occupancy, the military governor reserved the right to enter into the 'piece/parcel of land or any part of it and hold and enjoy the land as if its certificate had not been granted if the yearly rent or any part of it remains in arrears of three years, a situation which he said, Dr. Mohammed had

not complied with. Besides, if the same piece of land had been revoked and a new certificate issued, it then meant that the previous one, which Dr. Mohammed had ceased to exist.

His lawyers also argued that a mere production of a Certificate of Occupancy does not *ipso facto* confer title on Dr. Mohammed and that in circumstances where there is a dispute regarding competing titles, the question to ask is not who first obtained the documents title, but who has a better title? Therefore in deciding the case, the lawyers told Mr. Justice Hansine Donli, to have it clear in her mind that Major Ibrahim held all the ingredients of a good title. What was more, the lawyers observed that "equity only comes in aid of the vigilant and diligent but has no room for the lazy, indolent land speculator who stood by and did nothing to a piece of land purportedly allocated to him in 1977. The possession of land means the occupation or physical control of it either personal or through an agent."

Dr. Mohammed, in his final submission insisted that his certificate was valid and subsisting and that he had paid up to date his ground rent and also that the reference to the revocation of the plot should be ignored because no such case had been set up against him. The court should therefore not fall into the error of 'making a finding based not on the case formulated by the parties, but on an imaginary case formulated by the trial judge on his own accord.'

Dr. Mohammed's lawyers contended that Major Ibrahim's title which was predicated on the title of Alhaji Mohammed Adam was replete with falsehood and contradictions. One such example was Alhaji Mohammed's claim that he was granted the right of occupancy over the land on April 9, 1976, when the the layout plan from which the plots were derived was only approved in July 1977. Thus Major Ibrahim's root of title spoke of plot 7 that predated the layout plan, was mere fabrications concocted for the purpose of the trial.

The lawyers made the point that where there is a valid and subsisting Certificate of Occupancy over a parcel of land, the superimposition of another subsequent one is null and void.

Even when a person has only an equitable interest in land be it under customary law or under an agreement without conveyance, his right to ownership cannot be defeated by a subsequent holder of a legal estate in law.

To show the "clandestine nature of the entry of Major Ibrahim, the occupier of the adjoining plot, Hajiya Bahajatu, did not even know him. In defiance of the rights of occupancy of Dr. Mohammed, the major, knowing the true ownership of the plot, and disregarding an order of the court, built his house" in an attempt to present a *fait accompli*. This action, the lawyers claimed, "may have been informed by the major's assumed privileged position, but the courts exist to stand between the mighty and the rights of law abiding citizens."

The lawyers submitted before Mr. Justice Donli that her court should enter judgment for Dr. Mohammed because his title to the land had been well established.

In her judgment, delivered at the Kaduna High Court Six, Lugard Hall, Kaduna, on November 23, 1990, Mr. Justice H. N. Donli, declared that Dr. Junaid Mohammed "is entitled to the right of occupancy in and over all that parcel of land measuring approximately 0.688 of an acre situated at plot 7."

She further awarded damages of 5,000 Naira against Hajiya Bahajatu Katsina for trespass and 10,000 Naira against Major Ibrahim for the "act of entering on the said land" and granted a perpetual injunction restraining the major and Hajiya Bahajatu, their agents, servants from committing further acts of trespass on the land.

Perhaps if there were enough, the matter might die down but there is a real cruncher. A Roman-derived principle of English land law, *Quid Quid Plantatur Solo Solo Cedit* — meaning whatever is attached to the land belongs to the land applied in this case. This means that the beautiful mansion the major built automatically passes on to Dr. Mohammed without his having spent a Kobo in building it.

By Muhammad Bomo

Is SAP encouraging protein deficiency?

Opinion leaders in the livestock industry are not satisfied with efforts being made towards the development of the industry.

For three days in November — 19th to 22nd — most of those who should know about our livestock industry and whether or not we are doing well in that sector gathered in Kaduna to focus on the various aspects of livestock development as we face the 1990s.

When the conference, organised by the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research, Ibadan and the Federal Department of Livestock and Pest Control Services closed, participants came to the grave conclusion that certain "macro-policies" — without actually naming SAP — had tended to have adverse impact on livestock development.

transfer of functions from federal to state and to the local governments. This would prevent a vacuum in the implementation of "critical livestock projects" especially in the areas of veterinary services, abattoir development and operations of control posts.

The participants observed that the current constitutional arrangement among the three tiers of government would not only hinder development but that many livestock agencies are unnecessary duplications.

The government should also introduce concessionary interest rates for agriculture and the livestock sectors until they can compete for loans in the credit market. Thus, commercial banks

ning purposes, but as a deliberate effort to identify, document and utilise local knowledge in livestock development.

Turning to livestock production itself, the conference identified lack of nutrition, diseases, marketing problems, high input costs, lack of appropriately-priced credit, technology and shortage of seed stocks of "good genetic potentials."

Genetic improvement of "economically important traits of indigenous breeds of cattle and small ruminants" the conference insists, should be pursued while proven technology on small ruminant management systems be extensively disseminated, a "live-



Nutrients as derived from the above livestock are now hard to come by.

These, according to the numerous experts at hand, include interest rate deregulation, commodity marketing and pricing and "institutional arrangements for the execution of livestock projects."

To counter the likely effects of these policies and to remove what they considered a serious impediment on the development of the sector, the participants suggested a constitutional amendment to allow for a phased

be encouraged to strengthen their agricultural divisions, state agricultural development agencies be made to include livestock projects in their operations, a much bigger financial allocation to the sector and that the group approach to credit procurement be "vigorously pursued" to enhance livestock production.

The participants are also convinced of the need for government to establish a livestock data bank not only for plan-

stock show" and the development of breeders' associations be organised nationally on regular basis and that special projects on water fowl development fully set up with fish ponds, rice farms and agro-forestry techniques be developed to ensure sustainable livestock production.

On nutrition, a most topical issue given the state of the economy vis-a-vis the general welfare of citizens, the participants observed that despite

Take the decline of livestock production. It has been on the decline for years, yet no concerted effort had been made to stem the tide other than the yearly conferences and seminars governments sponsor to humour those who think they have the expertise.

government efforts, nutrition remains a major problem. Another area which persistently retards livestock development is the incidence of diseases which ravage herds and flocks with the effect of production losses and overall declines.

The conference recommended massive monitoring and vaccination of

cattle against such deadly diseases as rinderpest, cattle pleuropneumonia, controls of ruminant diseases, gastrointestinal parasite and hemoparasitic, enforcement of animal health legislation, establishment of compensation funds for disease control the revitalisation of recovery scheme for pregnant animals and giving a greater involvement

of livestock producers or their representatives in livestock project planning and implementation.

Perhaps far more serious, was the suggestion that government evolve efficient and consistent policies to encourage local producers, the focus being on availability of credit, marketing and pricing policies, proper land tenure arrangement, monetary and fiscal policies that would enhance production, and institution of dairy extension services.

The participants observed that livestock farmers have not been deriving much benefit from research efforts in the livestock sector and advised that there should be increased manpower in livestock extension, a functional technology for livestock farmers which extension workers are capable of managing well with the farmers, efforts

should be made to ensure job satisfaction, tools for extension workers and inputs to farmers and research efforts. Research efforts, henceforth, the conference advised be channelled through the nomadic education programme to assist the livestock farmers adopt some improvement efforts from the sector.

Everything from the conference sounded well and perfect, but the problem is not that of shortage of ideas. Most Nigerians in other sectors of our national life are aware of their particular problems, but adequate care and commitment is never shown to see through most of our development efforts. Take the decline of livestock production. It has been on the decline for years, yet no concerted effort had been made to stem the tide other than the yearly conferences and seminars governments sponsor to humour those who think they have the expertise.

The other issue is that of diseases. Take the incidence of rinderpest. It devastated our livestock population beyond what government can immediately do. What did we do beyond circulating tired documents about how to deal with the problem when it was already on our doorsteps? Clearly, there is a crying national need for concerted effort to bring about rapid development and harmonisation of effort in the livestock sector, unless we wish to see our citizens dying from lack of nutrition.

By Muhammad Bomo.

"NOW THE BIG ONE!"

the 13TH KADUNA INTERNATIONAL TRADE FAIR

organised by
KADUNA CHAMBER OF
COMMERCE, INDUSTRY &
AGRICULTURE

**THEME: "Synergy in
Agric. & Industry for
Rapid Development"**

Venue: Murtala Mohammed
Square, Kaduna
Date: 16th - 23rd Feb. 1991.

Director General:
Kaduna Int'l Trade Fair
KCCI & A
24, Waf Road, P.O. Box 728,
Kaduna
Tel: 062-211216
Telex: 71225 Kadcha Mg

Kaduna Expo Int'l Ltd.
SA, Zanna Dujuma Road,
Box 52, Kad. Ng
Tel: 062-216829

Kaduna State Liaison Office,
Plot 1232, Bishop Okwelle St.,
Victoria Island, Lagos
Tel: 01-610429.

All State Ministers of Commerce & Industry,
All City Chambers of Commerce in Nigeria.

- **Take part in this AFRICA's
FAMOUS FAIR to make profitable
business contacts.**

CMBU Ltd. sagn 0102



Liberia:

Peace at last?

It seems the eleven months old war in Liberia has come to an end.

Most of the parties to the dispute in the nearly one-year-old bitter conflict had little choice but to sign a peace accord. Samuel Doe, whose actions or lack of them Charles Taylor, leader of main rebel group, National Patriotic Front of Liberia, NPFL, insists pushed him to start the war, is dead.

Prince Yormie Johnson, leader of the breakaway Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia and the remnants of the Liberian army made their peace with ECOMOG a long time ago. Charles Taylor, despite a belated rally, was beaten into submission by the ECOMOG forces.

It was hardly a surprise therefore when it was announced in Bamako, Mali, Wednesday that the warring factions had accepted an immediate cease fire. It was signed by Taylor, Johnson and the head of what is left of the Liberian army, Major-General Hezekiah Bowen.

The ceasefire agreement came at the end of the extra ordinary summit of ECOWAS heads of state and governments. It is expected that the cease-fire would start the process of law, order and stability in Liberia.

The Bamako summit had set out to achieve three objectives — the restoration of peace, a cease fire agreement by all the factions — especially Taylor's and the need to accept a negotiated resolution of the conflict.

The most significant aspect of the summit perhaps was the appearance of Charles Taylor. His heavily armed faction had shunned past attempts to enforce a ceasefire and thus slowed down the peace process. Also important was the appearance of the Franco-phone African states at the summit.

Cote d'Ivoire, one of the three strong backers of Taylor had last month

called for an extra-ordinary meeting of ECOWAS, but it was aborted by Nigeria and other member states on the grounds of procedural irregularity.

The ECOWAS charter clearly provides that such summits can only be convened when two-thirds of the member states agree to it and a month's notice had been given - none of which was met by Cote d'Ivoire.

With the cease-fire agreement in place, the next few weeks will be extremely delicate given the fact that it is not yet clear what will happen to interim government installed in Liberia by ECOWAS.

At the inauguration of the government two days ago, Professor Amos Sawyer, a lawyer and leader of the now dead Liberia Action Party, promised to lay a solid foundation for a new political, social and economic order. He called for support from all Liberians, without whom, he said, the task will be made difficult. He also promised that the general elections scheduled for 1991 will be free and fair and will be supervised by international observers.

Charles Taylor, not unexpectedly, has not only rejected these calls and promises and an invitation to serve in the interim government as a speaker, but had said he did not recognise the interim government. He impliedly therefore still regards himself as an interim president.

The ECOWAS clearly assumes that securing the ceasefire agreement signals the unconditional acceptance of all parties to the dispute of the legality of the interim government. Having

started the war and with most of the country under him, if even tenuously, Taylor is not about to give up on his ambitions without a fight, neither will his backers even in the community.

This will perhaps explain Taylor's bellicose attitude even at the Bamako summit. Many regard such an attitude as a mere bargaining position considering the fact that he cannot match the fire of ECOMOG.

Much will now depend on the goodwill and the sincerity of all the parties, including ECOWAS in handling the



Host: President Mousa Traore

cease-fire agreement and the long and difficult path to peace. After much bloodshed and the trauma of violent displacement, Liberians certainly deserve a break. It behoves all therefore to work hard in enduring that not only the ceasefire endures but peace is restored.

By Muhammad Bomo

Kenya:

One party system in the noose

Old war horse Oginga Odinga leads the pack for the political pluralisation of Kenya.



Arap Moi: Opposed to Pluralisation

Kenya may soon have the multi-party democracy it is strongly resisting. Oginga Odinga, who was Jomo Kenyatta's deputy from 1963 to 1966 would be defying the country's 1982 amended constitution which provides for the existence of only one party in the system to establish his own political party.

Odinga, who has over the years become a thorn in the flesh of President Daniel Arap Moi and his Kenya African National Union (KANU), is, along with his supporters, unequivocal about launching a political party that will safe-guard democracy in Kenya. Odinga, the leader of the Kenya Peoples Union (KPU) banned in 1966 by Jomo Kenyatta, the then president, gave no hint about when his party would be launched, and what it is to be called. He had earlier extensively criticised KANU's schemed political reforms just as he lashed out on the president for outlawing democracy by clamping on debate and dissent, the spine of legitimate democracy.

Odinga's refusal to reckon with KANU's intention to preserve the one party system indefinitely is being matched by government's perception of his moves and latest pronounce-

ment as confrontational. In this light, the most blatant response to his declarations seems to have been made by KANU Director of Public Relations, J.K. Chuma, who on Friday said that "it is highly ridiculous, provocative and full of malice..." to ignore constituted regulations, and initiate a novel political party in Kenya.

But developments in Kenya in recent times have, nonetheless, set in motion the renewed obstinacy in politicians like the 76 year old Odinga who is hell-bent on seeing political change enforced. Demands for a multi-party system took a very violent turn early in the year with repeated public protests. Kenya which has operated a one-party democracy since its independence is growing more dictatorial. It has known all forms of political intimidation of pro-democracy advocates. Under Jomo Kenyatta, the country's first president, dissenters like Josiah Mwangi, Tom Mboya, Kingu Karumba, Pio Gama Pinto, to name a few, were silenced forever for being defendants to the *status quo*.

The latest in the series of mysterious murders of political luminaries is that of Bishop Alexander Kipsang Muge who was threatened with death by the Labour Minister, Peter Okondo, three days before he was murdered. Okondo has since resigned his appointment. Before Muge's death, in January this year, Kenya's Foreign Minister, Robert Ouko had been brutally slain in his farm. Ouko's death tossed government's reputation in the mud and a Scotland Yard investigation into the incident was carried out. For some inexplicable reasons, the report, till date, has not been published and Moi's administration, has, so far, given no indication of any intent to publish it. Bishop Muge's death in August further blemished government's image. This is all the more so because it followed the July vehement demonstrations that seemed to have

marked the apex of this year's loud clamours for a multi-party system.

At this period too, as politicians, students, intellectuals, lawyers, etc. pressured government to institute some political reforms, government conceded the need for a political change. It argued that Kenya's ability to eschew tribalism in politics is proof of the nation's political maturity. However, the president and KANU have since reversed their opinions. Kenya, they now envisage, would need five decades or more to attain and thus, afford a multi-party democracy, because, they explained, Kenyans are tribalistic and therefore, politically immature.

For those like Kenneth Matiba and Charles Rubia, convinced that Kenya has come of age and should transit to a multi-party system, President Moi who has governed since August 22, 1978 would not grant the licence to introduce political parties. Matiba is in detention for his pro-democracy ideas. Also in detention is Odinga's son, Raila Odinga, one of the country's leading anti-one-party activists. While President Moi leans on the assumption that a multi-party rule would cause ethnic adversities, he has collided with fellow civilians and the military. In August 1982, after a foiled military coup, Moi disbanded Kenya's Air force which he accused of plotting the coup, and directed that a new force be carved out from the scratch.

The protests in July in which 20 or more persons were killed were succeeded by nation wide meetings held by KANU in September to sanction public grievances and opinions. For now, Odinga the celebrated author of the book, *Not yet Uhuru*, strictly critical of post-independence Kenya, is propelling Kenya towards some political reform; a political vicissitude president Arap Moi and KANU supporters find absolutely in bad taste.

By Delia Nzekwu

South Africa

A boost to anti-apartheid struggle

Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress, (ANC), have recorded a remarkable headway in the call to all black movements in South Africa to rally round the on-going negotiations for a non-racial constitution.

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) indicated on Sunday, its readiness to cooperate with its traditional rival, the ANC, in the bid to establish a multi-racial democracy in South Africa.

In a response to Dr. Mandela's call on the Pretoria government to set up a Constituent Assembly which would draft a new constitution for the state, PAC's acting president, Clarence Makwetu told a summit of the 18 nation preferential trade area of Eastern and Southern Africa, that he is willing to work towards forming a united anti-apartheid front that would handle President F.W. de Klerk's reform programmes. PAC which had previously rejected talks with the South African government on racism in the enclave declared its support for a Constituent Assembly, adding that these moves are a clear signal for a closer relationship between it and the ANC which seems to be improving. As a virile anti-apartheid movement, PAC's ideas of the means of terminating apartheid in South Africa have not always been at par with the ANC's. It was for this reason it split from the ANC in the first place.

Included in areas of contention between the ANC and PAC are the latter's refusal to acknowledge whites who are against apartheid. For PAC, the struggle, being purely a racist one, simply classifies all whites as enemies. It would also not abandon the use of arms in the struggle for the freedom of blacks in South Africa.

Mandela had told an African summit at the weekend that he intended to discuss the prospects of

establishing a multi-racial Constituent Assembly, a new constitution, and an interim government to superintend efforts to end apartheid. His meeting with the president on Tuesday, however, does not seem to have achieved the desired results. No concrete agreements were reported as having been reached by both parties. A statement from Pretoria only stated that the South African president reiterated his commitment to peaceful negotiations between the minority government and anti-apartheid movements. The report added that areas of concern were outlined as well as areas in urgent need of attention.

De Klerk, on his part, noted dur-

ling.

While calling on the government to redress the imbalanced situation, Mandela, two weeks ago, stepped up efforts to determine the preparation of a new constitution when he called on all existing political parties and interest groups, with no exception, to come to the negotiation table and present their views and proposals on the political future of a post-apartheid South Africa. He had suggested a referendum in which whites could also articulate their views before a general election to usher in a non-racist government.

Mandela, by this call, grounded his acceptance of the importance of all political/tribal factions. What

A statement from Pretoria only stated that the South African president reiterated his commitment to peaceful negotiations between the minority government and anti-apartheid movements. The report added that areas of concern were outlined as well as areas in urgent need of attention.

ing last week's rendezvous that peaceful negotiations were being thwarted by the factional violence among blacks which has claimed over a thousand lives this year. He pointed out the need for close communication between political leaders of divergent groups. Mandela, irked by the partial role of the South African police in quelling violence in black townships, had threatened to take up arms again and pull his anti-apartheid movement out of the current talks with the racist government if the president does not intervene to stop the 'brutal killing' of blacks by the po-

was regarded as the major impediment to significant progress in black-white negotiations, that is, the failure to incorporate Chief Buthelezi and his *Inkatha* movement in the negotiating process now seems blotted out. The ANC deputy president had sought and talked with Buthelezi last month, although no definite compromise was reached. Meanwhile, more talks are to be held between Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk in order to straighten out similar issues for which they met on Tuesday.

By Delia Nzekwu.

WORLD

Britain:

A major win for Major

Recalled from Nigeria after a motor accident, John Major is now Britain's youngest Prime Minister this century.

When 374 Conservative MP's huddled into the House of Commons' Committee Room 14 last Tuesday to elect a successor to the departing Mrs. Thatcher, there was no certainty as to who the final victor would be. But when the results were announced that evening, they showed that Chancellor of the Exchequer John Major, once thought to be the underdog, had obtained 185 votes, only two votes short of outright victory. Under the rules, Conservative MP's were to go through a third round of preferential voting last Thursday, in which they would indicate their first, second and third choices among the three candidates. This cumbersome procedure would have broken the impasse, but it turned out to be unnecessary. Within minutes of the results being announced, former Defence Secretary Michael Heseltine, who got 131 votes, and Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, who had 56 votes conceded victory to Mr. Major.

The following day, the embattled Mrs Thatcher formally resigned as Prime Minister, and Queen Elizabeth invested Mr. Major in her place, thus completing a meteoric rise. At 47, John Major is the youngest British Prime Minister this century and has been a



Major: New British PM

member of the cabinet for only three years and an MP for only eleven years. His sharp rise to political power attained "great leap forward" proportions last year when Mrs. Thatcher reshuffled her cabinet and promoted Major to the post of Foreign Secretary to succeed Sir Geoffrey Howe. Only weeks later, following the sudden resignation of Sir Nigel Lawson, the Iron Lady again moved Mr. Major to become Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Major thereby came to be regarded as Mrs Thatcher's chosen successor, most probably because of his headline views on financial matters, although his position on social issues is relatively liberal.

By the standards of Britain's exclusive Oxbridge establishment, Mr. Major's background was very humble and he never acquired a University degree. Born in London, he left school at the age of 16 and began a string of odd jobs. His application to be a bus conductor was rejected, and the future Prime Minister instead became a circus trapeze artist and an ardent cricketer. He later joined the Standard Chartered Bank and was posted to Nigeria in 1967, from where he was recalled only after losing a knee cap in a major motor accident. Mr. Major subsequently entered Conservative party politics as a London borough councillor and was elected to the House of Commons in his party's landslide of 1979, which brought Mrs Thatcher to power. Today, eleven years later, Mr. Major is the leader of his party and Prime Minister of Britain. He is also the First Lord of the Treasury, and has moved into No. 10, Downing street from No. 11, of the same street, where he previously was.

Britain's allies welcomed the rise of John Major. President George Bush, flying home from Mexico, spoke to Mr. Major from his plane, Airforce One

asking for an early meeting. The US President is clearly concerned to maintain the creaky front against Saddam in the Gulf crisis. Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu said he hoped Mr. Major will recognise the value of British-Nippon relations and "continue the policies of Mrs Thatcher." European leaders, however, want nothing of the sort. Easily recalling that the Iron Lady's hostile attitude to Europe brought her downfall, they called for greater British co-operation in matters such as a European central bank, common currency and economic integration.

In Britain itself, many Conservatives wished that Mr. Major's election will reunite the party after the politically divisive last few years of Mrs Thatcher's leadership. Conservative party chairman Kenneth Baker said he was glad the leadership contest was over and he expected the party to now heal its wounds. The opposition Labour party, however, was not eager for such an outcome. Although Mr. Neil Kinnock crossed the floor of the commons to congratulate Mr. Major, his party quickly called for an early general election to determine who the electorate really wants as the country's Prime Minister. While Labour hopes to capitalise upon its lead in the opinion polls, the new Prime Minister does not have to call elections before 1992, when the Conservatives' 5-year mandate runs out.

The Liberal Democrats were also cynical. Party leader Teddy Estine said the Conservatives have plunged Britain into a recession and have messed it up with poll taxes and the row over Europe. All that can be said at the present time is that after John Major's major victory, there are still several major problems awaiting his attention.

By Mahmud Jega

GAMJI BANK



as Solid as the
GAMJI
tree!

Like the solid evergreen Gamji tree, Gamji Bank stands firmly rooted in providing dynamic banking services. In March, 1984 we started operations as Sokoto Co-operative Bank with our roots in Sokoto. Today, as GAMJI BANK with a full-fledged branch in Lagos, we are continuously expanding our scope under the strong support of the Sokoto State Government and the efficient management of Continental Merchant Bank.

Come and benefit from our well - packaged services: Agricultural Financing, Short and Medium Term Loans, Small-Scale Business Financing, EXPORT/IMPORT, and Investment Advice, Commercial Papers, Tender and Performance Bond.

GAMJI BANK OF NIGERIA LIMITED

(Managed by Continental Merchant Bank Nigeria Limited)

Head Office: 3, Kano Road, P.M.B. 2348 Sokoto Tel: 000-232623, 231035 Telex: 73124 Fax: 234996
Lagos Area Office: 7A/7A, Abiola Oke Street, Lagos Tel: 01-887887, 887883, 887832 Telex: 22763 Gamhuk Ng
Branches: Sokoto Main, Sokoto Market, Borno Kebbi, Gusam, Lagos, Zaria, Maradun, Danchadi, Dakin-gun, Gulu
Correspondent Bank: American Express Bank Limited, 60 Buckingham Palace Road, London



- the symbol of strength!

Gulf:

A target date for war

The UN security council authorises war to liberate Kuwait, but can the Americans do it?

Mr. James Baker was ecstatic. After weeks of painstaking diplomatic effort involving much travel by President George Bush and the secretary of state, the Americans have finally got what they want: a resolution of the United Nations security council authorising war to force the Iraqi army out of Kuwait after January 15, 1991. With Mr. Baker himself in the chair, foreign ministers of the 15-member security council, five of them permanent, debated all day through the draft Resolution 678-1990. When it was finally put to vote, 12 members voted in favour, Yemen and Cuba voted against, and the People's Republic of China abstained.

President George Bush immediately said the passing of Resolution 678 will send a "powerful signal" to the Iraqis that they must pull out of Kuwait or face a war. This signal may however, be blunted somewhat by the Chinese abstention. Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, who was personally present, said China found it "unacceptable" to authorise war in the Gulf, since it will "cause much suffering". The Chinese Minister also said the abstention was "consistent" with China's policy of promoting a peaceful resolution of the crisis in the Gulf. Nevertheless, US Secretary of State James Baker said he was "disappointed" by China's abstention; it was probably his painstaking diplomacy that prevented a Chinese veto of the resolution.

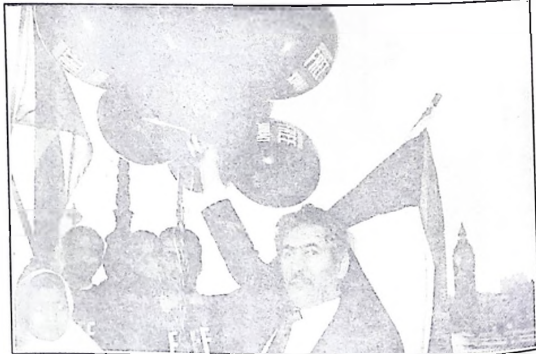
British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, reappointed to his post only the day before by Prime Minister John Major, said it was time for Iraqi President Saddam Hussein to realise that the military option in the Gulf was "a reality and not a bluff", and to use this occasion to make peace, "the keys to which are in his hands". Also speaking after the vote, Soviet Foreign Minister Edward Shevardnadze, who voted for the resolution, said the Soviet Union will nevertheless exploit its contacts with the Iraqis to see if war can be avoided in the Gulf. Mr. Shevardnadze also said his country will not send troops to participate in a war against

Iraq, since "the memories of Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan are too fresh in our minds". The exiled Foreign Minister of Kuwait also welcomed the Security Council resolution, saying it provided "a ray of hope" for his people.

The Iraqis, however, saw no ray of hope in the resolution. Their UN ambassador charged that the Security Council has become a "willing tool" in the hands of the United States. President Saddam Hussein went on Iraqi television to say that while he was still

solution.

The passing of Resolution 678 was another watershed in recent UN history. It is only the second time in the organisation's 45-year history that it has authorised war against a member state. The first occasion was in 1950, when North Korean troops pushed beyond the 38th Parallel into South Korea. At the time, the Security Council was only able to pass the resolution, which led to the 3-year Korean war, because the Soviets boycotted the session and China's seat was held by the



Kuwaiti Ambassador to Britain, Ghazi Al-Rayes releasing "free Kuwait" balloons in London before the UN resolution.

interested in peace, he will not bow to threats however great. He told the Iraqi people that while American military power was considerable, it should not intimidate them, and they should fight "courageously" if attacked.

In the midst of the war talk, UN Secretary General Xavier Peres de Cuellar tried to sound a hopeful note of his own. Mr. de Cuellar said he would allow a "few days for reflection" and then contact Iraqi leaders to see if he can arrange a peaceful solution to the crisis before the expiration of the January 15 deadline. The secretary general has tried before, without much success, to arrange for a peaceful

Nationalists of Taiwan.

Although President Bush has now got the kind of UN mandate President Harry Truman got in 1950, he may not go to war as easily. Some members of the US Congress commented soon after the resolution was passed that Mr. Bush must seek another resolution, this time, from the US Congress under the War Powers Act of 1973, authorising him to send American troops to war. The president is highly reluctant to do this, but he may have no choice; the US Congress appears to be less eager for a war than the UN Security Council is.

By Mahmud Jega.



BILKISU YUSUF

Thatcher: A valedictory message

your 11 years in government as a disaster for Britain. They point to the massive cuts in social welfare budget which has worsened the plight of the poor. For this you earned the derogatory name Thatcher the milk snatcher. Now that you're gone they look forward to reforms in the housing, health, education and prisons which your policies had reduced to a shadow of their former selves. Indeed, they say you stepped on too many toes with the blind pursuit of unpopular policies like poll tax, Falkland war, cabinet crisis and your authoritarian imposition of your policies and views — "Thatcherism" on the people. According to them, when ministers failed to re-inforce your convictions you fired them.

On the international scene they accuse you of subterfuge and refined hypocrisy. As one of the best friends of the racist regime in South Africa you stood stubbornly against imposition of sanctions in South Africa. They say that you stood for the false and perishable idea of apartheid by opposing economic sanctions which you said would hurt blacks, but you were quick to impose it against Iraq. If sanctions were ineffective in South Africa why did you readily assume they would work against Iraq? Could it be a case of double standard? For this hypocrisy, Saddam Hussein of Iraq gave you another name — the old hag.

In the European Economic Community, (EEC), your detractors say you constituted a stumbling block to a greater and united Europe. At EEC meetings you were always alone in your favourite position, alone against all the rest in your opposition to monetary union. In fact, you were known to carry the same inflexible and often times undiplomatic attitude to cabinet affairs thereby alienating your ministers. One of them was forced to resign because he had had enough of your haughty and authoritarian approach to issues. And another was cheeky

enough to give you yet another name the "old cow" simply because you refused to resign when they thought they ought to try their hands at governing Britain. Then came the last straw that broke the camel's back (not the cow's) when your fellow conservative party member and former Defence Secretary Mr. Michael Heseltine challenged you. Your detractors see it as the best way of putting a humiliating end to your career. They are happy that the strategy finally succeeded in getting you out of No. 10 Downing Street. Now they say Britain will be saved from the face-saving gains of hypocritical diplomacy, and unjust social policies, these of which you had always initiated and supported.

Madam, by now you must be wondering where I stand. I am neither standing nor sitting with either group but I will offer a few words of defence on your behalf. Your detractors know that you live in a big enough world not to behave like a person with a one-track mind. So when you do they should bless you for it. So what if you are obstinate and fiery to a fault? What utter failures are they who bend to the will of everybody. A leader leads not to be loved but to be obeyed, not so? Then they point to the fact that you are the first prime minister to be hounded out of office by her most intimate supporters. Well, there is no harm in breaking yet another record even if it borders on notoriety. Success certainly has its residual evils and you have tasted it. Madam please do not be petrified by your latest political misfortune and to silence your detractors forever I plan to conduct an opinion poll on your achievements. I assure you that when the results are released, Heseltine, Kinnoch, and others will be begging you to return to 10 Downing Street in style. Only then will they realise their folly and how indispensable you are to Britain.

Dear Mrs. Thatcher

This is not exactly a fan mail because I have had cause to disagree with some of your policies when you were prime minister. It is neither a hate mail because I know you must have received too many of those. Rather, this letter is to let you know what your supporters and detractors are saying as you move out of No. 10 Downing Street. Lets begin with the former who are delighted that whether or not you were hounded out of office, the fact remains that you were Britain's first woman prime minister and the longest serving in recent times. They refer to this record breaking epoch as "double firsts". They describe you as a resolute, articulate, self made woman, who has proved that "what a man can do, a woman can do even better". Unlike late Indira Gandhi of India you did not ride on the popularity of a prime minister father into office. And you can not in any way be compared to Mrs. Corazon Aquino of Philippines who climbed on the ladder of political success provided by her slain husband nor with Ms Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan who inherited the legacy of another prime minister father. A grocer's daughter, you began your political career in your teens and rose through the ranks of the conservative party to occupy Britain's most exalted post. You combined all these with the role of a good mother and wife. What else your supporters wonder can a woman ask for? To them you were a leader of principles, courage and deep conviction. You were therefore affectionately referred to as the "Iron Lady."

Your detractors however describe



SUPPLEMENT ON NIGER STATE TRANSPORT AUTHORITY

Progress Report

August 1988 — October 1990

Transportation problem got more compounded in Nigeria generally in the 80s. The mobility problem went beyond intra-urban level into inter-city movement problems. Transportation which forms a major factor of growth of a nation's economy and a factor in social and political integration was greatly affected.

The government recognising these, and sensing that socio-economic activities might grind to a halt due to inadequate transport facilities introduced the Federal Urban Mass Transit Programme. The programme which is two years old, and runs at states level aims at providing cheap, efficient and reliable transport service to the people.

The Niger State Mass Transport System (i.e Niger State Transport Authority) came into operation on 11th August, 1988 under the supervision of a Task Force headed by a Military Administrator in the person of Major I. Abubakar. This post, he retained until the 31st of October, 1990 when he was redeployed to the barracks in line with the gradual disengagement policy of the Federal Military Government. Alhaji Idrisu S. Ahmed was then appointed in his place as the new Administrator of the Authority on the 1st of November, 1990.

The Authority which took off with 55 buses in August, 1988 now has a total fleet of 77 vehicles made up of both the Federal Urban Mass Transit assisted programme and State Government effort.

Below is the breakdown of all vehicles received from the Federal Urban Mass Transit Programme and State effort.

FUMTP ASSISTED VEHICLE TYPES	NUMBER
0365 M/Benz 39 seater buses	8
Peugeot J5 buses	15
M/Benz 911 Recovery	1
M/Benz 608D 33 seater buses	5
Total FUMTP effort	29 buses

NIGER STATE EFFORT	NUMBER
M/Benz 33 seater buses	11
M/Benz 180, 21 seater buses	6
Peugeot 504 S/Wagon cars	5
M/Benz 911 locally built seater buses	45
Toyota Hiace 18 seater buses	7
Peugeot Pick-up vans	15
	4
Total	48
Total number of vehicles	77

The Authority has maintained and improved on the following services: (a) Township service within Minna only (b)



NSTA Sole Administrator: Idrisu S. Ahmed.

- Intra State routes
- (c) Inter State routes
- (d) Haulage services

The intra State covers all the Local government areas in the State with Minna as its main terminus. These routes which are plied daily are:-

- (a) Minna to Bida
- (b) Minna to Kontagora
- (c) Minna to Suleja
- (d) Minna to Muye
- (e) Minna to Lapai
- (f) Minna to Agaie
- (g) Minna to Kutigi/Mokwa
- (h) Minna to Kagara
- (i) Minna to Gwada/Kuta
- (j) Minna to Rijau

The inter State routes which are plied daily comprise the following:

- Minna to Lagos
- Minna to Kaduna
- Minna to Onitsha
- Minna to Ilorin
- Minna to Sokoto
- Minna to Makurdi
- Minna to Jos
- Minna to Kano
- Suleja to Kaduna
- Suleja to Onitsha
- Suleja to Lagos
- Kontagora to Kaduna
- Bida to Ilorin
- Bida to Kaduna



Col. Lawan Gwadabe:
Military Governor, Niger State.

Haulage services covers the entire federation

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE:

The Authority has steadily continued to improve on its revenue drive. The total revenue realised from August 11, 1988 when the Authority took off to October, 1990 is 16,588,089.00.

The operation of the Mass Transit System has been very viable in Niger State. The monthly net profit averages also stands at 150,000.00 naira.

It is interesting to note that since January, 1989, the Authority has been funding itself in terms of payment of staff salaries and allowances, maintenance of vehicles and spare parts purchases. The Authority has in addition settled the following debts from its internally generated revenue:-

- Loan repayment to Federal Urban Mass Transit Programme = 336,600.00
- Purchase of four M/Benz 911 locally built 45 seaters buses =2,426,600.00
- Five 25 seater Combi buses =1,225,000.00
- Payment to NICON Insurance coy = 505,692.00
- Five (5) M/Benz 180 (20seater) buses = 1,315,000.00
- Five (5) Peugeot 504 S/Wagon cars = 639,000.00

The Niger State Government has ordered for the supply of the following brand of vehicles this year to further boost its operations. Payment for the buses has already been made from the Authority's internally generated revenue, viz: Five (5) M/Benz 180 (20 seater) buses = 1,315,000 , Five (5) Peugeot 504 s/wagon cars = 639,000.

IMPACT ON THE SOCIETY

The introduction of the Mass Transport Programme has so far received a very good acceptance by the general public. Movement of people and goods within and outside the state has been made easy. Generally, people can now move from one part of the state to another at affordable rates.

This can be attested to from the 2 of the several letters of commendation we have been receiving.



SUPPLEMENT ON NIGER STATE TRANSPORT AUTHORITY

Progress Report

August 1988 — October 1990

Transportation problem got more compounded in Nigeria generally in the 80s. The mobility problem went beyond intra-urban level into inter-city movement problems. Transportation which forms a major factor of growth of a nation's economy and a factor in social and political integration was greatly affected.

The government recognising these, and sensing that socio-economic activities might grind to a halt due to inadequate transport facilities introduced the Federal Urban Mass Transit Programme. The programme which is two years old, and runs at states level aims at providing cheap, efficient and reliable transport service to the people.

The Niger State Mass Transport System (i.e Niger State Transport Authority) came into operation on 11th August, 1988 under the supervision of a Task Force headed by

a Military Administrator in the person of Major I. Abubakar. This post, he retained until the 31st of October, 1990 when he was redeployed to the barracks in line with the gradual disengagement policy of the Federal Military Government. Alhaji Idrisu S. Ahmed was then appointed in his place as the new Administrator of the Authority on the 1st of November, 1990.

The Authority which took off with 55 buses in August, 1988 now has a total fleet of 77 vehicles made up of both the Federal Urban Mass Transit assisted programme and State Government effort.

Bellow is the breakdown of all vehicles received from the Federal Urban Mass Transit Programme and State effort.

FUMTP ASSISTED VEHICLE TYPES	NUMBER
0365 M/Benz 39 seater buses	8
Peugeot J5 buses	15
M/Benz 911 Recovery	1
M/Benz 608D 33 seater buses	5
Total FUMTP effort	29 buses

NIGER STATE EFFORT	NUMBER
M/Benz 33 seater buses	11
M/Benz 180, 21 seater buses	6
Peugeot 504 S/Wagon cars	5
M/Benz 911 locally built seater buses	45
Toyota Hiace 18 seater buses	7
Peugeot Pick-up vans	15
Total	48
Total number of vehicles	77

The Authority has maintained and improved on the following services: (a) Township service within Minna only (b)



NSTA Sole Administrator: Idrisu S. Ahmed.

- Intra State routes
- (c) Inter State routes
- (d) Haulage services

The intra State covers all the Local government areas in the State with Minna as its main terminus. These routes which are plied daily are-

- (a) Minna to Bida
- (b) Minna to Kontagora
- (c) Minna to Suleja
- (d) Minna to Muye
- (e) Minna to Lapai
- (f) Minna to Agaie
- (g) Minna to Kutigi/Mokwa
- (h) Minna to Kagara
- (i) Minna to Gwada/Kuta
- (j) Minna to Rijau

The inter State routes which are plied daily comprise the following:

- Minna to Lagos
- Minna to Kaduna
- Minna to Onitsha
- Minna to Ilorin
- Minna to Sokoto
- Minna to Makurdi
- Minna to Jos
- Minna to Kano
- Suleja to Kaduna
- Suleja to Onitsha
- Suleja to Lagos
- Kontagora to Kaduna
- Bida to Ilorin
- Bida to Kaduna



Col. Lawan Gwadabe:
Military Governor, Niger State.

Haulage services covers the entire federation

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE:

The Authority has steadily continued to improve on its revenue drive. The total revenue realised from August 11, 1988 when the Authority took off to October, 1990 is 16,588,089:00.

The operation of the Mass Transit System has been very viable in Niger State. The monthly net profit averages also stands at 150,000:00 naira.

It is interesting to note that since January, 1989, the Authority has been funding itself in terms of payment of staff salaries and allowances, maintenance of vehicles and spare parts purchases. The Authority has in addition settled the following debts from its internally generated revenue:-

- Loan repayment to Federal Urban Mass Transit Programme = 336,600:00
- Purchase of four M/Benz 911 locally built 45 seaters buses = 2,426,600:00
- Five 25 seater Combi buses = 1,225,000:00
- Payment to NICON Insurance coy = 505,692:00
- Five (5) M/Benz 180 (20seater) buses = 1,315,000:00
- Five (5) Peugeot 504 S/Wagon cars = 639,000:00

The Niger State Government has ordered for the supply of the following brand of vehicles this year to further boost its operations. Payment for the buses has already been made from the Authority's internally generated revenue, viz: Five (5) M/Benz 180 (20 seater) buses = 1,315,000, Five (5) Peugeot 504 s/wagon cars = 639,000.

IMPACT ON THE SOCIETY

The introduction of the Mass Transport Programme has so far received a very good acceptance by the general public. Movement of people and goods within and outside the state has been made easy. Generally, people can now move from one part of the state to another at affordable rates.

This can be attested to from the 2 of the several letters of commendation we have been receiving.



Formal launching of new fleet of vehicles of the NSTA, August 11, 1990.



Some of the Authority's vehicle ready to enter service.

I note with appreciation the low fare your Company charges in contrast to the highly exploitative rate charged by other transport owners, as well as ensuring consistency in the movement of vehicles to the various routes of coverage.

I wish that the NSTA will continue with her good gesture to mankind. I wish you many more years of successful operation.

**Onyeonufooro Consomas.
NYSC Secretariat.
Minna.**

I noted a reasonable degree of courtesy from your operators and as well appreciated alot over your low charges.

I have nothing else to say but to urge you to keep it up and if possible improve on the already good services.

No doubt, you are excellent.
**Abdullahi Maidamma,
Sifawa-Sokoto.**

Economic activities are not left out as traders can now transport their goods within

and outside the state at affordable charges.

The commercial transporters have now been compelled to cut drastically the fares originally charged and in some cases, they have brought their fares at par with the Authority's fares along the same routes. This, should be noted, is the cardinal objective of the mass transit programme.

Further more, the Authority has opened up job opportunities to about 250 staff in various fields of its operation, thereby reducing the unemployment problem in the State, in particular

and the country in general.

WORKSHOP

In recognition of the need for a functional Workshop to make way for effective maintenance of these vehicles, the State Government has acquired the Bi-Water Workshop situated near Tagwai Dam for the Authority. This workshop has been handed over to the Authority and all the workshop tools and equipment received by the Authority through the Federal Urban Transit assisted programme will be installed in this Workshop.

Within the first two years of its operation, the Authority has strived vehemently to fulfil the aims and objectives for which it was established by the Government. This of course would not have been made possible without the personal interest shown by the Military Governor and the Government of Niger State.

It is our hope therefore, to improve on the services and to ensure a self sustaining and viable Transport system in the State.

Citizen

SOCIETY

	Page
CITIZENSHIP	36
DEFINITIONS IN HUMOUR	37
PRIVATE EYE	38
RECIPE CORNER	39
POETS' NEST	40
GUIDE—LINE	41
BUSINESS AND ECONOMY	43
SPORTS	45



A second-hand market in Surulere, Lagos. Page 43

TAR TAR



Citizenship

by Dokun Abloya

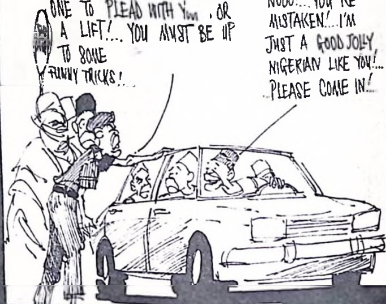
SOLDIER!...SOLDIER!

...DO YOU WANT A RIDE? PLEASE HOP IN... I'VE RESERVED A SPACE SPECIALLY FOR YOU....



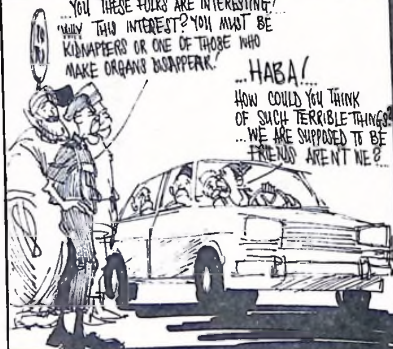
...YOU THIS FUNNY CIVILIANS WITH YOUR PRANKS!... WHAT IS IT THIS TIME?... I'M SUPPOSED TO BE THE ONE TO PLEAD WITH YOU... OR A LIFT!... YOU MUST BE UP TO SOME FUNNY TRICKS!

NOOO!... YOU'RE MISTAKEN!... I'M JUST A GOOD JOY, NIGERIAN LIKE YOU!... PLEASE COME IN!



...YOU THESE FOLKS ARE INTERESTING!... WHY THIS INTEREST? YOU MUST BE KIDNAPPERS OR ONE OF THOSE WHO MAKE ORGANIS BUAPPER.

HABA!... HOW COULD YOU THINK OF SUCH TERRIBLE THINGS!... WE ARE SUPPOSED TO BE FRIENDS AREN'T WE?...



...ANYWAY I NEED THIS RIDE AS WELL!... I HAVE ONLY TWO KILOMETRES MORE TO COVER!...

THANK YOU VERY MUCH!



?... I HOPE I WON'T REGRET THIS!... YOU THANKED ME AS IF I AM THE ONE DOING YOU A FAVOUR!... AND EVERYONE IS QUIET AS IF DEAD!... TELL ME, WHY DID YOU BER ME TO SIT BETWEEN THESE TWO?

...THEY ARE IDENTICAL TWIN BROTHERS. THEY TALK THE SAME WAY, AT THE SAME TIME, WITH THE SAME VIGOUR!



...THAT'S WHY I WANTED YOU ON THIS TRIP!... YOU'LL SHOUT THE WAY YOU SHOUT YOUR ORDERS AT THE BARRANGS AT THE ONE SITTING A LITTLE TO YOUR RIGHT TO SHUT UP, WHEN THE ONE SITTING TO YOUR LEFT IS TALKING AND GAG. THE ONE SITTING A LITTLE TO YOUR LEFT WHEN THE A LITTLE TO YOUR RIGHT IS TALKING...
...THANK YOU!



Dokun Abloya 2000

ADAMU ADAMU

DEFINITIONS IN HUMOUR

While I was away from my assignment and my warning to soon disengage from writings in humour as instructed by the Board, I received among my contribution by Bilya Bal. what he wrote below seems to be a dim view of banks and Here we go:

Dear Adamu Adamu:

Some definitions in Bank
When you are dealing with do not bother with your English con. It will not help you even if he (she, we mustn't forget the gender) would be speaking English language. Terms do what you believe they are. in doubt just have a look at the definitions below:

BALANCE SHEET —
Company's SHIT CAN.

Please enter

3 months (1)

6 months (2)

1 year (52 weeks)

Name _____

Address _____

Ten NEPA men plus a missing one

To be sure, 11 NEPA men were jailed for life. Much later after persistent pleas, the authorities felt a bit sympathetic and reduced the jail terms to ten years. Finally, out of the boundless humanitarian gesture imbued in our leadership, they were finally freed and pardoned. But now it appears there were only ten men and one missing one.

You all saw 11 on release being raptously welcomed into the cosy bosoms of the loved ones, my eyes saw one of them looking very well-fed and very fresh looking. An improvement in the prison service and condition? A resolute stand in the face of adversity that men of courage now and again have stood in the face of tyranny? No.

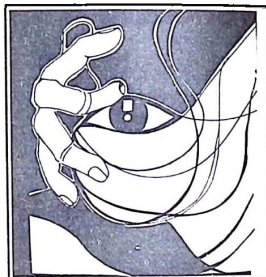
The missing man simply spent only 23 days in the cooler! The rest he spent ensconced in the company of caring doctors and excited nurses. His colleagues spent a total of 1,065 days learning the basics of house breaking and entering, sniffing and then smoking ganja, cocaine and on really hard days, crack.

A birdie insists that the missing man

was hospitalised in ward five of the Ahmadu Bello University Teaching Hospital, ABUTH, on the sensible grounds that he was suffering from high blood pressure. That was alright, I suppose, considering the Herculean battle the men had been waging to secure the rights of the ordinary folks to freely breathe, except that the missing man was said to have a stroke before having the high blood pressure.

What it means in plain terms, as one of the doctors constantly ministering to his needs, observed, the missing man was NAD. Now, NAD, as many folks know is a deadly disease because while sufferers on long prison sentences can escape the drudgery of a dirty prison life by pleading the disease, other folks cannot even smell the privilege. You see, NAD simply means *Nothing Abnormal Detected*. See why it is so dangerous?

Not only that, the missing man went missing the day the pardon was announced. He shot out of bed leaving bewildered wardens by his bed-side and walked to the main gate of the hospital, a place he had frequented



even in custody, to see a woman he had been seeing anyway for the rest of the day, nobody saw the missing man until days later when he was taken to the Kaduna Prison for the press photographers to record.

The missing man must have been so important because at one time, the authorities nearly fought themselves physically, bringing the entire hospital to complete standstill over whether or not he was that sick to warrant an extended holiday on a hospital bed. Some argued themselves hoarse that he should be returned to prison and be treated as an out-patient so that his bed could be used by more serious cases. His minders and backers on the other hand insisted that NAD's confinement in prison might shoot up his blood pressure and that he was not getting a balanced and proper diet! Who is?

Spare the cane...

The problem with us in this country is our nonchalant attitude to issues we ought to take seriously. As I write, a national conference on discipline and motivation is holding in Lagos. It is sponsored by the federal ministry of education. All the egg-heads were there as usual. Principals, provosts, education commissioners, students' union leaders, executive members of recreational clubs, even police were invited to present papers perhaps on "wetin you carry." Am I disappointed that not a single fire brigade official, those

who are used to douse the fire of students crisis was invited to present their own views?

And when I say fire brigade, of course I am referring to our royal fathers, the traditional rulers who have now been rendered useless by our haughty attitude. We call them in only when there is a crisis in the community, but when all is calm, they get no share of the action. As our royal riot squad, shouldn't we get them informed about indiscipline in schools? Who does not know that they have made the greatest input into enforcing

discipline in schools? Well, I can tell any cynic that the hand that wields the staff of office also wields a cane.

By the power of the privacy of my eye, I saw a royal fire brigade father of the Sahara desert border town of Daura in Katsina State doing just that. So concerned was Alhaji Muhammadu Bashir about indiscipline in a secondary school in the town that he went there, got hold of the cane and gave a good hiding to the truants among the students. How many of the egg-heads gathered at the conference on discipline have done that much?

RECIPES CORNER

Assorted Nigerian Dishes

WAINA

Nigeria

Ingredients	Metric
<i>Per person</i>	
Eggs	2
Cooking oil to deep fry	200 ml
Salt and pepper to taste	

Whisk (beat or whip) eggs thoroughly, adding a tablespoon of water to two eggs, and a pinch of salt. Heat oil in a deep frying pan. When oil is hot, pour a ladleful of egg at a time into the hot oil and fry until golden and crisp. It should look like a crisp sponge. Take out of the oil, drain and spread on a flat dish. Continue to fry the egg in the same manner until it is used up. Serve waina hot with fresh baked bread.

WAKE-EWA

Nigeria

Ingredients	Metric
Black-eyed beans	450 g
Sugar	1 tsp
Salt to taste	
Pepper Sauce	
Tomatoes	3
Onion	1
Groundnut oil	6 tsp
Chilli powder	1 tsp
Dash of thyme and coriander powder	
Salt to taste.	

Liquidize the tomatoes with half the onion and slice the rest. Heat the oil and dry the onion slices. Combined the spices with the tomato mixture and stir into the hot oil. Cook for 25 minutes, stirring constantly.

Pour beans into a colander and wash thoroughly. Turn beans into a deep saucepan with one and a half pints/750ml cups of water and boil over a low fire for 30 minutes. Pour through a colander, rinse again and turn back into the washed pot with three-quarter pint/375 ml cups of water, the sugar and salt. Cover pot and simmer steadily until beans are cooked and quite soft. Serve hot with pepper sauce and/or garri (grain-like cassava flour).

MOIN MOIN

Nigeria

Ingredients	Metric
Black-eyed beans, skinned	450 g
Large onion	1
Chilli powder	2 tsp
Tomato purée	2 tbsps
Fresh tomatoes	2
Ground crayfish	2 tbsps
Palnut or cooking oil	200 ml
Salt to taste	
A bundle of banana leaves, foil or bread tins to steam.	

To skin beans: soak for 30 minutes and then drain off the water. Using both hands with a squeezing, washing action, peel the skins off the beans. Cover with water and the skins will float and can be collected in a sieve or drainer as the water is drained off into a second bowl. Repeat the sequence to skin the remaining beans.

Soak skinned beans until very soft, grind or liquidize and pour into a mixing bowl. Chop the onion and fresh tomatoes and stir into the bean purée. Add the salt, crayfish, chilli powder and tomato purée. Pour 4 fl. oz./100 ml half cup of hot water into the oil, and then pour both into the beans. Mix well. Shape two leaves at a time into an envelope, put into it two tablespoons of the bean mixture and arrange on a pot of boiling water, cover with a lid and steam steadily for one hour.

UKPO

Nigeria

Ingredients	Metric
Green plantain flour	450 g
Over-ripe plantain	2 kg
Fresh ripe peppers, ground	50 g
Small onion, ground	1
Palnut oil	100 g
Salt to taste	

Found the over-ripe plantain in a mortar and put in a mixing bowl. Stir in the green plantain flour, and the rest of the ingredients. Mix well, put small portions in leaf wrappings (or in foil)



and arrange on a steamer in a cooking pot half filled with water.

Steam for about an hour or until cooked. Test by sticking a toothpick into one; if the pick comes out clean, the ukpo is cooked. Serve on its own, warm.

RICH MOIN-MOIN

Nigeria

Ingredients	Metric
Quantity of basic moin-moin	450 g
Chicken stock cube	1
Combination of fresh shelled prawns, chicken meat, bits of salmon, sliced sausages, sliced boiled eggs, onion, diced corn beef.	450 g

Thoroughly grease a large bread tin. Prepare moin-moin as shown above, incorporating the chicken stock cube into the basic mixture. Do not steam the moin-moin, but pour a cup of the mix into the bottom of the bread tin. Cover with any of the fillings and continue making alternate layers of bean purée and filling until the tin is three quarters full, finishing with a layer of bean purée. Cover tin with foil, put on the top shelf of the oven and bake for one and a half hours at 350°F/180°C/Gas Mark 4. If you have a cooking pot large enough to take bread tins you might find it economical to steam the moin-moin by putting the tin in a steaming bag and boiling it in the pot with one and a half pints/750 ml/three quarter cups of water. Add more water if necessary. A knife pushed into the moin-moin should come out clean when it is cooked.

Rich moin-moin is a very popular party dish throughout West Africa.



The Many Lives of VWON

Does VOLKSWAGEN OF NIGERIA have as many lives as a cat? This question has been asked by many who have watched the company respond to adversity with more strength. What VOLKSWAGEN OF NIGERIA does have is a management committed to Nigeria, and determined to producing motor vehicles in Nigeria not only for today's Nigerian but also for tomorrow's Nigerian. How do we hope to achieve this objective of continuing to provide jobs and skills to Nigerians and contributing to Nigeria's industrial development? The VOLKSWAGEN OF NIGERIA promise is to do it through product diversification, increased local sourcing and increased adaptation of products to meet Nigerian requirements.

LOCAL SOURCING

Thanks to support from the Raw Materials Research and Development Council, we are breaking new grounds with local component production. A lot more could be achieved if our production level could provide proper economies of scale for these local components manufacturers. Unfortunately, the importation of used cars, some of which have only a few months of active life in them is adversely affecting the volume possibilities that suppliers can take advantage of. Even more sad is the defrauding of the Nigerian consumer who soon finds that after sales service possibilities may reduce the span of service of his car as was the experience during the "Home Delivery" era in the 1970s. Certainly the Nigerian consumer deserves more than this "penny wise but pound foolish" solution to his transportation problems.

Many of these imported used cars are scraps in Europe. They in fact constitute road hazards, endangering those who are not guilty of such purchases.

Our extensive surveys of local content manufacturers for the purpose of immediate commission resulted in the following findings. After visitation to 69 companies, 19 companies were found to be ready to produce. Another 19 were of adequate standard but needed further support to produce for VOLKSWAGEN OF NIGERIA.

We are therefore building our local content thrust on the first 19 companies while still keeping in touch with the others.

RESTRUCTURING

We also saw the sense in SAP at VWON and embarked on our own restructuring. This has made us more efficient and has boosted our earnings to wipe off our past cumulative losses. Restructuring has also reached our range of models. Today we have a range of buses from the Kombi through 32 to 41 seater buses. This response to Nigeria's more relevant needs follows the tradition of modifying such parts as shock absorber, ground clearance and suspensions to make our cars more manoeuvrable and durable than those built in Europe and the Americas.

OUR PLEDGE

We believe that by its very nature, an automobile industry is a germinal industry with immense potentials for stimulating diverse industrial and economic activities. VOLKSWAGEN OF NIGERIA is proud to have contributed positively and shall remain committed to an industrial era which encourages investments in automotive components manufacture in Nigeria.

Our only request is support to attain our goal. This can come through tariffs that are more appropriate for industrial development and efforts to ensure that Nigerians are not short-changed in the quest for used cars from Europe.



Volkswagen - The name you can rely on

BUSINESS AND ECONOMY

Pounded yam goes to America

Pounded yam, a popular national staple, has finally gone international.

After months of painstaking research and negotiations, Cadbury Nigeria Limited has exported the first batch of "Poundo Yam", a food product derived from yam, to New Jersey in the United States. The eight-tonne shipment is, according to Mrs Yinka Ayalanja, Cadbury's Controller of Export, a forerunner that will prepare the ground for a sustained export of "Poundo Yam" to the United States.

This latest Cadbury initiative is part of the company's corporate strategy to boost its foreign exchange earnings and explore new markets for its many products. The first shipment of Poundo Yam will fetch the company twenty-eight thousand dollars and plans are in an advanced stage to increase the supply with time. *Citizen* learnt last week that the company is planning to cash in on the huge black presence in the United States and parts of Europe which in themselves also have a very strong Nigerian representation and run joint advertising campaigns in African-oriented newspapers with wide circulation in these countries to boost sales of the product.

Cadbury is also eyeing the British market. Mrs Ayalanja confirmed last week that the company has almost concluded negotiations with its U.K. partner on modalities to ship Poundo Yam to Britain. "We have concluded negotiations on eight of the ten points

of the agreement. There are only two points on payments terms and duration of the contract that we are yet to agree on. But we should finish that soon."

Cadbury Nigeria Limited is however not the first Nigerian company to export its products to European countries. A few years ago, Nigeria Breweries Limited (NBL) blazed the trail when it shipped about three tonnes of its lager, "Merit Beer" — derived from a composite mixture of maize and sorghum — extract to Britain. The Cadbury scheme however appear to be more ambitious in that the company has not only set in place the necessary machinery to popularise its product in the United States but has also mapped out a comprehensive strategy to secure a sizeable chunk of the foods market.

Mr Peterside Okon Bassey, a senior partner in the firm of Bassey and Bassey, a corporate finance and consulting outfit in Surulere, Lagos sees Poundo Yam's journey to the United States as the beginning of greater things to come. Said Bassey, "the Nigerian economic landscape is getting more competitive and only the dynamic and innovative firms can remain on top. The men at Cadbury are aware of this and that is why they are exploring avenues for new markets for the company's products."

Mr Bassey would want a situation where the Federal government will

step in and encourage export-oriented companies with generous tax holiday and other incentives. Citing the example of such newly industrialised countries of South-East Asia like Indonesia, Singapore and Taiwan, which he argued are prosperous today because their respective governments actively encouraged them when they went into the export market. "This nation is blessed with a number of unique products which it can export at great profit", Mr Okon Bassey told *Citizen* last week. "All that is needed is for government to aid willing export-oriented companies with basic infrastructural and policy support."

One disturbing trend that has emerged in the on-going export drive is the tendency for Nigerian companies to direct their energy at far away markets in Europe and America while ignoring the ECOWAS countries. Cadbury's Ayalanja however explained that this is not deliberate. According to her, problems arise from a maze of complex import and payment procedures. "We are still talking about payment terms how to ensure that we get our money out. We are still working on that." Mrs Ayalanja is confident that once this problem is sorted out, Cadbury and other Nigerian companies will give the West Coast market the attention it deserves.

By Ike Okonta

"Second-hand" becomes first choice

The quest for brand new products is gradually becoming a thing of the past.

Second hand goods are taking over, and the interesting thing about this new scenario is that people who patronise these goods no longer bother to disguise that fact. It is now a familiar sight on most busy streets and markets in Lagos to see well-dressed men and women haggling with traders of second-hand

goods for bargains. Such items as shoes and clothes are increasingly becoming popular too.

Mr Felix Obi, a trader in Oshodi Market in central Lagos explained the sudden boom in second-hand goods thus, "the nation's economy is growing from bad to worse and people can no longer afford to buy brand new

products whose prices have sky-rocketed. They have therefore settled for second-hand goods which are not only cheaper but in some cases are even more durable". Obi attributes the proliferation of second-hand goods in the nation's markets to the advent of the Structural Adjustment Programme which encouraged the emer-

Citizen, December 3, 1990



A second hand market in Surulere, Lagos

gence of bold, innovative and dynamic businessmen. Obi, who sees himself as "a by-product of SAP" told *Citizen* that the season of acting the "big man is gone for good. Survival is the word now, and people no longer turn up their noses in disdain when you offer them second-hand goods".

Miss Juliet Okokon, a receptionist in the employ of the Lagos-based Citadel Merchant Bank, strongly echoed Obi's view. "How do you think I can manage on a monthly salary of N300 without patronising second-hand goods. A brand new refrigerator costs about N4,000 but with N1,000 you can easily buy a second-hand fridge. Ladies shoes and dresses also come cheap when you know the right second-hand shop to patronise. I am not ashamed to admit that I buy second-hand goods. It is what SAP has done to us".

While buyers and sellers alike are happy and contented with the booming trade in second-hand goods, there is however a particular group who would like the government to step in and put a halt to it all. Shoe manufacturing companies such as Bata, Lenards and Silver would for instance, want government to slap ban on the importation of used shoes. In recent times, Bata has had to cut down pro-

duction following a gradual slump in sales.

The bulk of customers seem to have found a new love in second-hand shoes which are usually imported from Britain, Brazil and Spain. While these shoes, for the most part appear fairly used, they are usually strong and rugged and easily outlast locally produced ones.

Local shoe manufacturers, in a bid to lure away customers from patronising second-hand shoes, have over the past few months, raised the alarm that they were used by lepers and AIDS victims before being shipped to Nigeria, *Citizen* investigations however revealed that there is no substance to this rumour. Rather they were discarded by affluent middle and upper class people in European countries. Nigerian sailors buy them at give-away prices and in turn sell them to traders in Lagos. "People who say that these second-hand shoes were formerly won by AIDS victims don't know what they are talking about," Mr Obaro Osime, a trader at Yaba Bus Stop told *Citizen*. "I have been in this business for over five years now and not once did I receive a report of AIDS contamination from

any of my numerous customers." Johnson Ola-George, a student of History at Lagos state University who *Citizen* saw prying a pair of Osime's second-hand shoes merely pointed to the pair he was holding and asked rhetorically, "Do these shoes look like they were worn by a leper?"

The advent of second-hand cars popularly known as "Tokunbo" has also sent some of the nation's leading vehicle-assembly plants, on a war-path. Their complaints, similar to that of the shoe manufacturing companies, is that, the on-going massive importation of second-hand cars into the country from Belgium and other European countries is depriving them of their old customers who, to cut cost, opt for second-hand vehicles. Such assembly plants like VON and PAN have intensified their lobby urging the Federal Government to ban, or at the very least, curtail the number of second-hand cars imported into the country. "I don't think the lobby will succeed", an official of Progress Motors, a Lagos-based firm which specialises in second-hand vehicles told *Citizen*. "The arithmetic is simple. A brand new Peugeot car cost over one hundred thousand naira. On the other hand you can easily pick up a fairly used vehicle for about thirty thousand naira. Now, given the harsh economic landscape, who really can afford to spend a hundred thousand naira on a new car?"

One argument which the vehicle assembly plants have proffered against second-hand vehicles is that they are not specifically built for Nigerian roads and thus break down regularly. But Mr. Livinus Oyediran, a computer programmer with UAC thinks otherwise. "I own a second-hand Toyota Cressida and I have been using it for the past two years. While it is true that such vehicles, especially the ones imported from Europe break-down occasionally, the good thing is, they can easily be repaired by any local mechanic".

The Structural Adjustment Programme may have its ugly and unattractive side, but it has its good side too. Today, cost-cutting is the watchword in every home. This, is the sense in SAP.

Cup Winners cup:

Lions set for final victory

When they humiliated the dreaded North Africans they rolled out the drums, will they repeat same in Tunis?

This Saturday can best be described as a week end of great expectation for Nigerian football followers. It is a day when thousands of citizens with characteristic burning love for the king of sports will be vicariously transported to Tunisia capital city, Tunis, to unite in spiritual solidarity with our own BCC Lions as they take on Club Africain in the second leg final to decide which country will rule Africa for the next one year in the Cup Winners Cup, otherwise known as Mandela's Cup.

The great expectation and the flaming fire of hope for a possible cup victory after 13 years of fruitless chase is born out of the superlative performance of BCC Lions when they humbled the dreaded North African Club by 3-0 in the first leg match played in the National Stadium Lagos, over a week ago. This resounding victory has given Nigeria a clear advantage to lift the cup for the third time having won it first in 1976 through IICC Shooting Stars (now 3SC) of Ibadan and again in 1977 through Rangers International of Enugu. The vital question now is this: can BCC Lions of Gboko hold on to their first leg advantage to roar to victory in the decisive second leg in the chilly, hostile weather of Tunis? That question can only be answered from a careful analysis of the way the Nigerian won their game in the first leg match.

But for the two lucky breaks at the tail end of the first leg match in Lagos, BCC Lions would have carried a discomfiting lone goal victory to Tunis for this weekend decisive second leg, and that in itself would have dampened their spirit and made them easy victims of



BCC's Afima doing what he knows best defending the home.

the North Africans. The reasons why the last two goals took so late in coming (the second goal came five minutes to full time through substitute Alum Aule and the third goal was scored at the dot of full time by Amir Angwe) were due to tactical blunder and technical deficiency on the part of BCC Lions. These lapses came to the open the moment midfielder Edema Fuludu scored the first goal for his side off a penalty as a result of foul play against Amir Angwe by Tunisian central defender Amdouni in the penalty box. Instead of hunting for more goals through sustained attacking strate-

gies, BCC Lions went to sleep immediately after the goal was scored, conceding the initiative to Club Africain. The North Africans brought out their technical superiority. They combined the advantage of speed, accurate passes, good ball possession and beautiful positional play to unnervingly their Nigerian counterparts. For the remaining part of the first half they controlled the midfield and forced BCC Lions to adopt hasty defensive measures to save themselves the painful embarrassment of conceding a goal to club Africain. In the midfield Super Eagles player Moses Kpakor was a

big liability to his team mates as he did everything wrong until he was pulled out for Aule.

Kpakor's mediocre dance in the midfield was quickly exploited by the more skillful and tantalising Club Africain's Saidi Khallel, Selmi Samir and Abdel Haruwi. A direct consequence of which was a frightening attacking blitz at the Lions goal by intimidating striker Rouisi Faouzi and Yaukubi Kais, the bad boy who got the marching order in Lagos and Sani Tauri. But for the determination displayed by defenders like Sam Elijah, Ben Ugwu, Skipper Sylvester Afioma, John Agum and the brilliant efforts of the goalkeeper Tunde Adedara, the Tunisians would have succeeded in pulling back BCC Lions' one goal

midfielder Toyin Ayinla and Alum Aule in just five minutes! This goes to prove that tactical game plan rather than haphazard approach makes the difference between winners and losers in such a crucial match.

Nigeria's chance of winning the Mandela's Cup this weekend therefore depends on the ability of BCC Lions to withstand whatever Club Africain might be banking on to turn the table. For Coach Amadu Shaibu of BCC Lions, it is not just enough to revel in the seemingly resounding victory of his boys in the first leg. And it is doubtful if the coach has not lost his head in the hazy terrain of over confidence. Or how does one explain such statement like, "with this result, I am sure of winning the

Nigerians and they scaled through in the ensuing penalty-kicks.

To be candid, BCC Lions' handler should prepare the players for an excruciating show down in Tunis. It is going to be a football war between the two teams because Club Africain who have just emerged winners of Tunisian premier division league will regard this encounter as a matter of life and death. They will fight hard not to concede defeat in front of their teeming home supporters. The Tunisian trainer Fouzi Benzati said as much at the end of the first leg match in Lagos. "We can and shall turn the table in Tunis. It is not impossible to beat your team in Tunis, and I know my boys will do it. I have not given up hope," he told pressmen during a post match interview. This is the reality that Coach Shaibu and his boys have to prepare themselves against.

BCC Lions can write their names once again in the historic books of Nigeria's soccer as the first team to win the cup for the country at a first attempt if they play the second leg as though they are the first leg losers. Their game plan should be predicated on total football—mobile midfield, good defensive play and cautious attacking strategy that is not too adventurous so as not to allow the players up front to run out of steam too early in the game. BCC Lions' handlers should also note that this is also once in a life time chance that has no room for 'popular players' who have little or nothing to offer. Nothing but the best players in the team are needed for this assignment. By this we mean players who are skillful, experienced, determined and fit enough to withstand the pressure of the toughest opposition. BCC should have it in their minds that they are the only hope of the country this year in continental championships. All eyes are on them to do the country proud. They should therefore put up a heroic show against Club Africain so as to win the trophy and bring the continental honours and glory to their father land.

Their game plan should be predicated on total football—mobile midfield, good defensive play and cautious attacking strategy that is not too adventurous so as not to allow the players up front to run out of steam too early in the game.

lead before the end of the first half of the match.

Credit should however go to BCC Lions bench for pulling out Moses Kpakor for Aule and Clifford Cassidy for Toyin Ayinla at the time they did. These two crucial changes turned out to be the winning trick. The Tunisians who lost a bit of concentration towards the end of the game because of over reliance on defensive and delay tactics realised too late the infusion of a new aggressive spirit into BCC Lions. What the Lions could not accomplish through carelessly lobbing the ball into the sky, they succeeded in doing through careful attacking moves initiated from the right full back by Sylvester Afioma attacking

Cup. Nobody can beat me 3-0."

Coach Amadu had better remember that with the excellent football tradition of the North Africans, that boastful pronouncement might mean that he has allowed himself to be carried away by the euphoria of the first leg victory. He should remember what Royal Armed forces (R.A.F) Football Clubs Cup of Morocco did to Iwuanyanwu Nationale of Nigeria in 1988 Champion Clubs quarter-final. Nationale walloped RAF 4-1 in the first leg played in Nigeria. The Moroccans kept their calm and in the second leg a fortnight later in Rabat, RAF scored four quick goals while Nationale could only pulled one back. Luck however joined forces with the

3rd President Tennis Cup:

A new vista of hope



George Alewure: An evidence of the NLTA's catch them young campaign

The week long third edition of President Babangida's Tennis tournament that came to an end last Saturday opened a wide vista of opportunity that abound in the game in Nigeria. The significance of this year's tournament in which nine other African countries competed along with the array of Nigerian players is not so much because of the huge prize money of N30,000.00 for the single title winner and N15,000.00 for the double event. The President Cup the first of its type to bring so many African countries together is significant because what started on a modest scale in 1988 is fast becoming a rallying point of unity among different African countries. But most significant is that it served as the measuring scale of gauging the standard of Nigerian tennis players vis a vis that of their counterparts from other African countries. But more interestingly, it brought to the fore the great potentials of the game in the country and some of the negative factors that have been affecting the development of the game.

It was clear from the first day of the tournament that the serves and volleys for the honours and prize moneys of the president cup would be between three sets of players: the visiting foreign players from the nine countries of Benin Republic, Cameroon, Congo

Brazzaville, Cote d' Ivoire, Egypt, Ghana, Guinea, Sierra Leone and Togo, and their Nigerian counterparts on one hand and the young and up coming local stars and their older, more experienced players on the other hand. The 64 charts for the single event and the 32 for the double provided a good draw for these three groups to give themselves a hard fight.

The foreign players who were 17 in number in the 64 single charts, had a rough fight against their more experienced and skillful Nigerians. By the time the tournament got to the third round only Togolese K. Ag Wamba who was seeded 9, K. Lionel from Cameroon seeded eleventh, and Ghanaian unseeded K. Donouwa were among the 16 players who were to slug it out for quarter final slots. In the double event of 32 charts only 3 out of the 9 pairs for the foreign players advanced to the second round.

But surprisingly the much anticipated upsets of older players by their young and up coming stars did not materialise. Oldies like tournament defending champion David Imonite, maiden edition winner Sadiq Abdullahi, Segun Balogun, Segun Akinloye, and Calistus Osaji still loomed large after the first two rounds, although junior players like Gabriel Otu defeated 13 seeded Guinean Samura Mohammed in two straight sets of 6/3, 6/1 while Nnamdi Ehirim another junior player defeated Camerounian Luc Ondobo to count among the last 16 hoping for a shot in the quarter-final. On the whole, Nigerian junior tennis players won themselves and the country a great deal of respect with the effortless ease they outstroked their older and more experienced players from other African countries.

There is however the disturbing question as to why Nigerian tennis players are not participating in big international circuit that could have earned them world rating if they are so good? For a long time now only Nduka Odizor, Nigeria's foremost tennis ambassador who once took Nigeria to

the quarter-finals of the most prestigious grand slam event, Wimbledon has managed to get an Association of Tennis professional (ATP) ranking. Watching the way crack Nigerian tennis players were bubbling with enthusiasm and displaying so much skills in the three courts of Nicon - Noga - Hilton Hotel, Abuja, one would not hesitate to predict that a Nigerian would soon win one of the world prestigious tennis tournaments.

But in reality, it is not as easy as that. The standard of Nigeria's tennis is quite high, all right, perhaps about the highest in Africa, but there are lots of short comings that have confined our players to the local tournaments.

The chairman of Nigerian Lawn Tennis Association (NLTA) Colonel, Kofie Fidelis in an interview with *Citizen* put the problems down to lack of money to sponsor players to international tournaments and lack of adequate facilities for the young players to train with. The national association, he says, wants to groom the young players by giving them necessary exposure through sending them on training tour, but this has not been fully realised because of inadequate fund. According to the chairman the best way to help the growth of the game in the country is for wealthy individuals and organisations or companies to sponsor competitions and send promising players to international playing tours. "The only way our players can get ATP rating is for them to participate in tournament approved by that body. In this area, we are appealing for sponsorship for the good young players," the chairman said. He also explained that more facilities like good playing courts, are needed in different parts of the country if we are to breed players of international standard.

David Imonite, one of the oldest players still very active on the national tennis scene however sees the problem in a different light. He said Nigeria had good players who, if well groomed, could emerge among the best in the world. The problem according to him

lies in the inability of the NLTA to formulate concrete implementable programme for the training and grooming of potential tennis champions in the country. In the past, he said, NLTA was fond of waiting for individual players to train themselves. This he says has worked greatly against the development of the game in this country. The veteran tennis player however noted that NLTA is beginning to rise to the challenges of developing the game in all its ramifications.

"Right now something definite is being done. The NLTA members have started putting heads together on how

they can improve and groom young players from the large number of talents that abound in the country," explained Imonitie. He said young talents who can be groomed to become formidable champions at national and international scene abound who can take over from the old players. But before this happens, NLTA will have to devise a comprehensive talent hunting training programme for kids from ages of five to twelve.

On the standard of our tennis, Imonitie said it was still too low and recommended more tournaments, especially international playing tour as the only way to raise the standard, and get our

players to international tennis circuits that will earn them ATP rating. Reseasoning along the same line with NLTA chairman, David Imonitie says achieving this laudable objective requires a lot of money which unfortunately has not been forthcoming. He however took consolation in the fact that more and more talented junior players are being discovered almost every day, and with the likes of Kryian Nwokedi, Sule Ladipo, Nnamdi Ehirim breathing down the necks of old players like himself, Nigerians will in a matter of three to four years from now emerge winners of some international tennis tournaments.

Professional League: Whatever happens to the euphoria?

Seven months ago, when the professional league finally took off in Nigeria after years of controversy and foot dragging, the enthusiasm among football lovers nationwide was infectious. Then professionalism in our football was seen as the only saviour that could reform the decaying culture of the game and rid it of most of the ills that were almost fleeing it to death. With professionalism, it was thought that our standard football culture would instantly give way to a glowing tradition of excellence; with professionalism our coaches would switch on the midas touches, and do away with the rusty coaching techniques that have been their lots for many years so as to transform their players to superlative achievers. Yes, with professionalism we can rule the world.

But Seven months after, we are not so sure again; having run one season of professional league in the premier division which came to a close last Saturday, we will be doing ourselves a lot of good if we take a hard, critical look at the experimental venture and see areas yearning for improvement. It is too early to count the blessings of professional league after a season of its operation, as some observers would say, but some aspects of its operation call for rapid improvements.

In terms of organisation the Nigerian football Association (NFA) rendered the constituted professional league board powerless and the clubs did

poorly. NFA did not allow the league board created by the pro league decree No. 11 to perform its delegated duties.

These duties include providing adequate facilities to its employees and various personnel that may be involved in the administration and organisation of the league and its activities, with a view to improving the standard of football administration and officiating. The board was also charged among other things with regulating, on behalf of the NFA, the organisation, registration and practice of professional football in Nigeria. Unfortunately the board was not constituted before the pro league took off and when it was later constituted it did not carry out the functions stipulated in the decree.

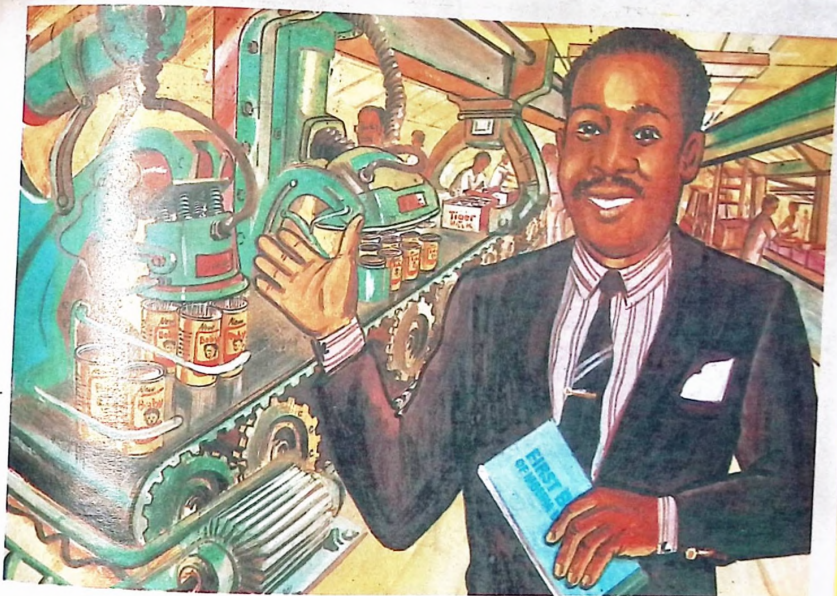
Clubs and football fans are however the worst for these lapses. Without proper ground work, the clubs rushed into the league while the fans went heedlessly along with the hope of witnessing a new era of improved standard of Nigerian football. But this was not to be. Players still have nothing more to offer each week than the worn out show they entertain fans with. But what do you expect when the players' pay packets still reflect their amateur days. The coaches too do not encourage their players to do better because they are not motivated with better pay to reflect extra hard work expected of them in the professional league. Unfortunately however, the hapless fans turn out to be the losers.

Most of these clubs charged exorbitant gate fees ranging from N20 to N50. The rip off was not to go on for long. The fans after witnessing a couple of matches and failing to get their money worth preferred spending their weekend on some other things rather than coming to the stadium to waste their money.

It is now clear that excitement and enthusiasm that greeted the professional league have disappeared and scepticism is beginning to sneak in. For now nothing really has changed between the professional and amateur leagues except the names. Pro-league is meant to raise the standard of our football and allow the clubs to commercialise their operations. But not much has yet been done in this area. It is doubtful whether any club made any move to get endorsement contract from companies and organisations.

But the clubs may be absolved because the pro league board charged by the decree to spell out how the club can commercialise their activities fail to do that. Before disenchantment set into the professional league, NFA should take drastic measures to save it. The pro-league which is likely to run one or two more lower divisions in the coming season can only achieve its objectives of positively transforming our football if the operation is allowed to take its proper course. Without that the venture may turn out to be a wild gamble that will do more harm than good to our football.

By Joe Olajuwon



Spreading prosperity nationwide

Since 1894 First Bank has been committed to spreading prosperity nationwide.

A lot of our customers have been with us since our humble beginning.

This is because at First Bank we understand the needs of our customers better and respond with despatch and professionalism.

You can depend on First Bank with its massive asset and resource base.

Moreover, First Bank has more branches than any other bank in Nigeria, and it is also associated with Standard Chartered Bank, a major British Banking Group, with representation in over 50 countries worldwide.

Let us back you up with all our might.



First Bank ...truly the first.

RE

SOKOTO CEMENT

..a commitment
to progress



The development of SOKOTO CEMENT from raw materials to finish product is symmetrically ensured to give you topmost quality cement/performance.

Some qualities of SOKOTO CEMENT that attest to this age-long commitment:

- * Low heat of hydration - which makes it suitable for massive construction jobs i.e. Bridges, Dams, heavy structural supports etc.
- * Medium setting time - allows transportation of mixed concrete to sites.

- * Low alkali content - makes it resistant to chemical and corrosive attacks. Best for heavy and marine construction.
- * Highest strength achievable in concrete structure by any Portland Cement
- * Dark grey finish texture bestow an appealing lustre.
- * Most competitive market price per 50kgs bag.
- * Availability nation-wide

The high quality of SOKOTO CEMENT has been affirmed through its numerous applications from the commonest blocks to residential buildings, dams, bridges, sky-scrappers, etc.

Whenever the job requires real cement,
make sure it's SOKOTO CEMENT



Winner of the seal of NIS quality (NIS No. 11) 1982-1988 and 1989 Silver Award from the Standard Organisation of Nigeria.



.. the shining star of quality



**CEMENT COMPANY OF
NORTHERN NIGERIA PLC.**

HEAD OFFICE/FACTORY: 24/25/26