

The race to Govt. House
in IBB's State

Spotlight on Niger State

May 6 - 13, 1991 Vol. 2 No19

Citizen

One year after Orkar

The state of the Federation



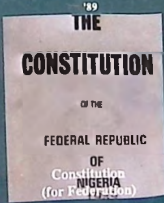
Ojukwu
(for secession)

'67



Akinrinade
(for Confederation)

'85



'89



Orkar
(for excision)

'90



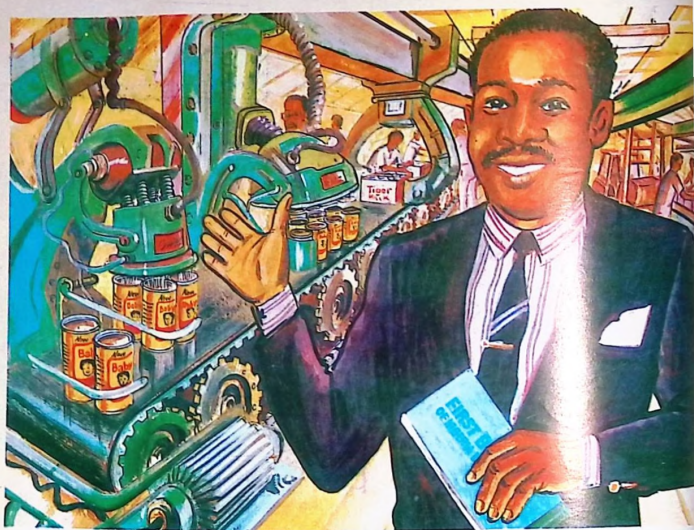
Ooni
(for Yoruba President)

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Malami
(for a Northern President)

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All the News in Perspective

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PREFACE

Last April 22, the first anniversary of the first coup whose objective was to break up Nigeria, was as appropriate a time as any to examine the state of the federation. The anniversary was just over thirty years after Nigeria got its independence as a federation. Several coups and counter-coups plus a civil war plus ethnic and sectarian riots later, it is pretty obvious that the federation has remained fragile. Three weeks to the April 22 anniversary we sent out our reporters to find out why the federation has barely endured in spite of being 30 years old. Thirty years may be like a minute in a nation's life but it is long enough to settle the issues of the most basic values of the nation. Yet we seem no nearer settling them today than when we started out in 1960.

The answers the reporters came back with showed quite clearly that the obstacle to unity and stability were more of perception than reality; every one seems to point at the straw in the other fellow's eyes, forgetting the mote in his own.

Before we could write the story, the riots in Katsina came along forcing us to shift our focus on the fledgling state. Even as the fire in Katsina was smouldering, Bauchi State was engulfed in an even more dangerous conflagration. Both underscored the fragility of our federation and the need to examine the state of affairs. Hence this week's cover written by Mahmud Jega with reports from himself, Mohammed Bomo, Delia Nzekwu, Bolaji Adebiyi, Aluko Akinyele and Rabi Barde.

Mohammed Haruna

Citizen (ISSN 1115-2389) is published by Citizen Communications Ltd. G11 Unguwan Kanawa, PMB 2334, Kaduna.
Tel. 212165 Fax. 210037 Telex. 71704 Lagos Office: 10A Arise Road, Agidingbi, off Isbert Road, P.M.B. 21742, Ikeja.
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LETTERS

The case of the civil disturbances decree

Sir,

That in 1987 Muslims and Christians caused civil disturbances in Kaduna State and the military government quickly set up the Karibi-Whyte civil disturbances tribunal is now history.

Also in 1987 there was a much more serious civil disturbance, the anti-SAP riots. It is on record that the anti-SAP rioters destroyed the Benin central prisons and released all the armed robbers etc; destroyed the Bendel State House of Assembly and burnt other public buildings and property in Benin, Ibadan, Lagos, Ife etc. And more seriously, many lives were lost. Like in the case of the Kaduna State religious riots, many people were arrested.

But unlike the Kaduna case, no civil disturbances tribunal was set up by the military government under the Civil Disturbances Decree. In fact not a single person was tried except the Tai Solarin farcical trial on television. Well, at the end of it all, Tai Solarin got a federal Bank job for his effort.

Then in 1991 there was a Muslim-police clash in Katsina State. One or two public buildings were destroyed by fire. One or two government vehicles were burnt. Some policemen and civilians were seriously injured. But there were no deaths. This is another case of a civil disturbance with religious flavour but of a much lesser intensity and political significance than the anti-SAP and the Kaduna riots.

All the same, the military government set up a civil disturbances tribunal to try the Muslims arrested and detained. Naturally, these questions arise here — what made the anti-SAP riot less of civil disturbance than the Kaduna and Katsina

riots? Why the discriminatory application of the civil disturbances decree? Is the civil disturbances decree a religious disturbances decree in disguise? Or to be more precise is the civil disturbances decree an Islamic religious disturbances decree in real disguise? Definitely somebody knows the answers to these questions. It should, however, be noted that in circumstances such as these there is no room for playing the political expediency card.

Finally, the civil disturbances decree is one decree too many. We have enough laws in our statute books to deal with all manner of offences in this country. Government should not allow itself to continuously be advised into a situation from which it cannot extricate itself. Government should invest more effort on eliminating the injustices in our society which are the real causes of these disturbances rather than on the means of suppressing them.

Aliyu Umaru
Kaduna

Journalism in crisis

Sir,

Your cover story (April 8 - 15, 1991), piquantly X-rayed the contemporary state of journalism in Nigeria.

You cited corruption, indiscipline and other unethical practices as the symptoms being manifested by some of our media practitioners who, undoubtedly, remain society's watchdogs.

These negative traits, you observed further, have combined to reflect adversely on the Fourth Estate of the Realm, a situation hardly helped by the advent of the so-called junk journalism.

Your publication then attributes

this unsavoury trend in the pen profession to, among other factors, the paucity of well-trained practitioners vis-a-vis the upsurge in the number of publications and poor conditions of service which invariably render most journalists susceptible to all manner of gratifications.

What clearly emerges from your analysis is the need for enhanced discipline, integrity and credibility of journalists. All these revolve around the strict observance of the cardinal ethics of the pen profession. Indeed, the bane of the journalism vocation over the years has been the absence of a definite, regulatory body, as obtains in other recognised professions like accountancy, law and medicine. Of course, the consequence of this vacuum has been the incipient crisis graphically highlighted in your cover story.

Yet, it is rather interesting that the Media Council provides an articulated framework for resolving the contradictions and conflicts which now beset the pen profession in Nigeria.

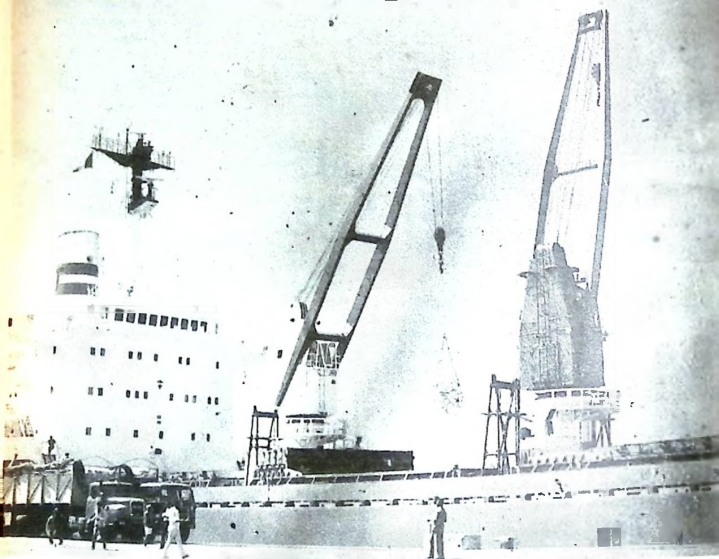
To my mind, therefore in order to preserve the image and dignity of their noble profession, media practitioners should co-operate with the relevant authorities to make the Media Council a reality. Any validly objectionable aspects of the legislation can be resolved through objective dialogue. To do otherwise will certainly be counter-productive. The situation will continue to impair the effective practice of journalism in the country.

To my mind also, you have an excellent case for the establishment of the Media Council. Journalism in Nigeria is the only profession so far without a regulatory body. That makes it an all-comers business with the attendant odium it enjoys from even those who climb the political and social ladders by it.

Steve Odugba
Lagos.

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LEADERS

Dangers to stability

It is more than a year now since the Orkar explosion. April 22, 1990 will forever be remembered in Nigeria as the day of the first coup whose expressed purpose was to dismember, not unite, the federation. All other coupists have claimed, with justification or not, that their purpose was to enhance unity and progress. The Orkar coup was therefore a tragic first. Some 69 of the plotters have since been executed; many more have been jailed and the rest are fugitives at home or abroad. While the government may have physically liquidated the plotters, to eradicate their bloody legacy is something else.

The central grouse of the coup plotters was the perception that their states of origin, principally Bendel and Benue, have been marginalised from the scheme of things. As several academic commentators have pointed out, the reality of the situation may be more complex than the plotters believed. For purposes of *real politik*, however, perception is more important than reality. What people believe, they act upon; if they are wrong, too bad.

The most reasonable way to deal with such illusory perceptions is to allow an open and

engaging debate where all sides will state their cases and stake their claims for thorough examination. Practically every primordial group in Nigeria has one grouse or another. No doubt some grouses are more justifiable than others, but this can only be established in an open discussion. Such an open discussion will help to expose demagogues who retreat into their own areas, beyond the scrutiny of others, and whip-up primordial sentiment to *Orkarian* levels in the pursuit of essentially selfish ends.

When an open debate gets underway, it should also identify the causes of religious tension in some parts of the country with a view to checking them for good. Violent religious uprisings *a la* Kafanchan, Katsina and Bauchi also poses the *Orkarian* potential to tear apart the country; they have infact snuffed out more lives than any coup ever did.

Several commentators have said that economic conditions under SAP and authoritarian military rule are the prime sources of instability in Nigeria. Perhaps. We call for an open national debate to discuss these vexing issues.

Labour pains

The gap between rhetoric and performance on the labour front is certainly wide on all sides—government, the Nigeria Labour Congress, NLC, and, the private sector.

President of the NLC, Mr. Pascal Bafyau, can point to the resolution of inter and intra union squabbles, the increase in national minimum wage and "raising the level of political consciousness" of workers as achievements. These however fly in the face of raging inflation vis-a-vis the decreasing value of the Naira, outrageous costs of rent, education, drugs, transport etc.

For more for-less the same reasons, government, whatever it lists as its achievements, should not feel happy on May Day about the condition of the Nigerian worker. At the moment, the worker cannot,

by any stretch of the imagination be said to be enjoying the fruits of his labour nor having the time of his life.

Government, to be sure, is the biggest employer of labour and can enforce labour laws, which is why most of the time unions and everyone else turn to it to seek redress or present grievances.

The cause of these, of course is the poor shape of the economy, but that is not to say that the NLC cannot fight in a much better way, to remedy some of the appalling conditions of workers. For instance, in his May Day speech, Mr. Bafyau said that the NLC does not believe that certain aspects of the Structural Adjustment Programme, SAP, would lead the country out of its economic travails. Nigeria, he said, belonged to that exclusive world class where the socio-

economic and political infrastructure is weak, therefore the "so-called miracle of the market does not quite exist in this country."

True, but what has the NLC done in terms of alternatives, not in the way of telling government only what it feels, but in doing something concrete outside these channels to ensure that the interest of the worker is not further undermined? To press for an increase in national minimum wage, for example, can only be meaningful to the worker if it is also intended to redress the excruciating pains of poor transportation and high costs of other faces of daily life.

Nobody can describe the Nigerian worker as lazy. This is why labour must articulate new strategies, such as trusts and investments, to protect and improve his condition. This does not in any way absolve government of recognised responsibilities

or stifle further demands, but the NLC must take fresh initiatives.

These also do not preclude issues arising from the new national minimum wage. All tiers of government must respect the new policy not only to set example by obeying its own laws, but to also compel the private sector, to follow suit. The position of Bunu Sheriff Musa, Minister of Labour and Productivity on deregulation of collective bargaining that tiers of government have different revenue base and act in their own right follows the logic of a federal structure, but unless care is taken it can only create room for short-changing labour.

We salute the Nigerian worker for bearing much of the economic brunt and urge all concerned to take him more seriously because in doing so, the nation would enormously reap the benefits.

Building bridges of harmony

At a national dialogue on the management of internal boundary disputes organised last week by the National Boundary Commission, NBC, participants rose from the two-day event with recommendations for peaceful resolution of inter and intra-state boundary disputes. Before the NBC came into being the regular approach for settlement of such disputes were through the judicial and other ad hoc methods. Indeed such disputes often escalated into violent events culminating in loss of lives and property. Sadly, the technicality that often informed court judgments on such cases usually left one of the contenders on the losing side and scores to settle long after implementation. The administrative fiat with which judicial decisions were effected also fuelled emotions since it provided no room for adequate expression of the customary rights and land requirement of the communities involved in the disputes.

The cumulative effect of these coercive methods of conflict resolution are bitterness and eventual violation of the settlement terms by the least favoured party. Hardly surprising that these disputes became the recurring decimal in land management.

While it is accepted that one of the

contenders must lose before another can win a case, tension is diffused where both parties are involved in the settlement of the crisis. Herein lies NBC's mandate, promotion of inter-community peace and harmony in managing boundary disputes. Given the arbitrary nature of our colonial boundaries which separate communities, the increasing pressure on land and the manipulation of hapless ruralities by the elites, the NBC has a seemingly herculean task. Peaceful resolution of the numerous boundary disputes that litter the country is no mean feat.

However, the commission has set out on the right track by adopting the problem solving approach to settlement of disputes. The basic requirement for the success of this method are maximum consultation with communities involved, harmonisation of their rights and needs for land utilisation, enlightenment of the population on the bridge concept of boundaries. This concept is the key to peaceful co-existence since it involves the recognition of boundaries only for administrative convenience and not lines and walls for divisive and acrimonious pursuits. The bridge doctrine therefore promotes mutual accommodation, emphasises contact rather than separation

LEADERS

thereby fostering socio-cultural and economic interaction across administrative boundaries.

We recommend that adequate enlightenment campaign on this bridge concept of boundary be embarked upon especially at the grass-roots level. This will of course require establishment of organs for implementation such as the community, local government and the state boundary

committees which should combine settlement of disputes with enlightenment.

It is imperative that the NBC is properly funded if it must achieve its objectives. Many are the governmental agencies established for the pursuit of laudable ideals only to be starved of funds before they make their mark. The NBC should be spared this fate in the interest of peace and harmony along our borders.

Middle East conference

Saddam said he invaded Kuwait in order to free Palestine. Few could understand how when he said it, and now even fewer still after his defeat. But in one way he never intended, he has brought the solution to the Palestinian problem much closer — by removing the Palestinians.

The absolute support Yasser Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organisation, PLO, gave Saddam has now made it possible for the conservative Arab states to do what they have all along wanted to do — ditch them. And ditch them they have. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Egypt, Syria and the smaller Sheikdoms have all given the green light to Baker to go ahead and convene a Middle East conference without the PLO.

And the Israelis are still not impressed. Without the PLO to give them the excuse to scuttle the intended talks, they have now picked on the United Nations. No, the UN has no place, the Israelis argue. Yes it has, the others say.

Israel rightly fears UN participation; even its American protector is understandably uneasy about it. The US has just, so it says, finished imposing UN resolutions on Iraq and will not like to expose itself so quickly. Neither will Israel wish to be reminded of its disobedience, nor have occupied land it has snatched away for peace.

So all the delay tactics by Israel is to effectively bar the UN from participating. But UN's participation is the most logical thing in the given circumstance. The Arabs will otherwise have neither protection nor guarantees. Unfortunately for the Arabs the world doesn't usually dictate to victors. The Americans, as the only remaining superpower in the world, will assume that everyone must deal with it now. Perhaps so

but there is nothing to show that they must short-change themselves if they must deal with anyone.

While the haggling is going on, the Zionist state, with the active cooperation of the Soviet Union, is changing the demography of Palestine. This was the trick used in the past when Palestinian land was acquired and used to settle immigrants from Central and eastern Europe. Unable to halt it the Arabs were later condemned to accept the tyranny of numbers and alien immigrants. And unless something is done, the new wave of so-called Soviet *refuseniks* will forever disposes the Palestinians of the lingering hope they cherish of regaining their land.

Even before the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, it was clear that the PLO had on the whole failed the Palestinians. Most of Palestinian achievement on the political and diplomatic front had been due to either Arab oil power or the result of sympathetic Third World majorities in international organisations voting to protect Palestinian rights. Not much can be attributed to the organisation itself except the highlighting of their situation by spectacular acts of skyjacking and infiltration into Israel. Perhaps the diplomatic game is not the one that will free their people.

Without any force or inducement to make Israel behave, the current efforts will fail or manage to arrange a peace that is worse than the status quo. Perhaps the PLO should change its tactics. The first step is getting a new leadership. The second is a change of direction to one of proper self determination based on a meaningful ideology with which the bulk of their people will identify. The world will never take them seriously if they keep playing a game they don't know or one which they can ill-afford even if they know.

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MOHAMMED HARUNA

was even worse. It told the world on its cover that "Religious fanatics are back" with a picture of soldiers guarding over what was supposed to be a group of fanatics. The message clearly was that only Muslims are fanatical and violent about their religion.

Reading all these stories you had

returning home late. Apparently they didn't like the sound of my name; they verbally harassed me and insisted on detaining me at the 1st Division Headquarters. Fortunately the late Col. U. K. Bello, who was then commanding an armoured battalion in Kaduna, was at the headquarters. Himself and the divi-

Why religious riots continue regardless

Almost to the last, the magazines last week carried the killings in Bauchi State last week as their cover stories. And once again they reflected the sharp division of the country along religious lines, with all the Lagos-based magazines demonstrating Christian bias while those of us in Kaduna demonstrated a northern bias. As the editor-in-chief of *Citizen* whose sympathies are taken for granted, it's difficult for me to persuade non-Muslims that we can cover sensitive issues objectively. Immodest as it may sound I do believe, however, that we did a better job than other magazines on the religious riot in Katsina, the crisis in Gongola state over the building of a mosque in Government House, and the killings in Bauchi. This is as far as objectivity is concerned.

If you ask me, I would say next to the partial conduct of the authorities in putting down such riots and in punishing culprits, the total lack of objectivity of the Lagos press is the greatest obstacle to solving our religious problems. *Newswatch* (May 6) reported the story on its cover as "Mayhem in Bauchi." Predictably only mayhem committed by Muslims — and they did commit mayhem — was reported. Christians in the state were portrayed as peace loving people who were going about their legitimate business when the intolerant, violent-prone Muslims fell upon them just like that. Tell

a feeling of *deja vu*. Exactly four years ago the same thing happened in Kaduna state. A religious riot started in Kafanchan. Nineteen Muslims were officially confirmed killed and hundreds of thousands worth of property and a mosque were confirmed as burnt. The riot spilled into the rest of the old Kaduna state where Muslims out on revenge burnt churches and killed several people. When the army and the police were moved in to contain the situation, they seemed to target only Muslims. To some extent this was understandable since it was the Muslims that were burning churches. The frightening thing, however, was that the soldiers and police went well beyond their brief and were breaking into houses and wantonly killing people.

When the press covered the riots, they reported only the burning of churches in Kaduna state and conveniently ignored what started it all. No one was arrested, never mind prosecuted, for the killings in Kafanchan and of course the press did not ask why, why, why.

The press also failed to report how the army and police over-indulged themselves in containing the riots. I myself almost fell a victim. I was returning home from office having had to stay beyond the 6 p.m. curfew as managing director of *New Nigerian* when I was stopped at a junction by an army patrol. I told them who I was and why I was

returning home late. Apparently they didn't like the sound of my name; they verbally harassed me and insisted on detaining me at the 1st Division Headquarters. Fortunately the late Col. U. K. Bello, who was then commanding an armoured battalion in Kaduna, was at the headquarters. Himself and the divi-

tion's Col. C. S., whose name escapes me now, came to my rescue and Bello personally drove ahead of my car to see me safely to my house. The same thing that happened in Kaduna seems to be repeating itself in Bauchi. While the papers have reported the terrible killings in Bauchi, they have either over-looked what happened in Tafawa Balewa or rationalised it away or worse still completely distorted it. The same treatment is being given to the needless killings and maimings by the police and the army in the name of containing the riots in Bauchi. As the clouds clear, one can almost predict that all the questions will be asked about the burning of churches in Bauchi and hardly any on the cold-blooded murder of Muslims in Tafawa Balewa. Fewer questions still would be asked on the conduct of the police and soldiers in attempting to contain the riots.

Obviously we cannot go on this way. If we want peace in this country newsmen must realize that they have a grave responsibility to be as objective as possible on such sensitive issues like religion. On their part those in authority must be seen to be fair to both parties in the crisis. You cannot arrest and prosecute one party for burning churches and do nothing about those who provoke the burning in the first place by committing cold-blooded murder. Churches are sacred, even for Muslims, but lives are even more sacred.



The April 22 coupists, Orkar in the middle

COVER STORY

Who is dominating who?

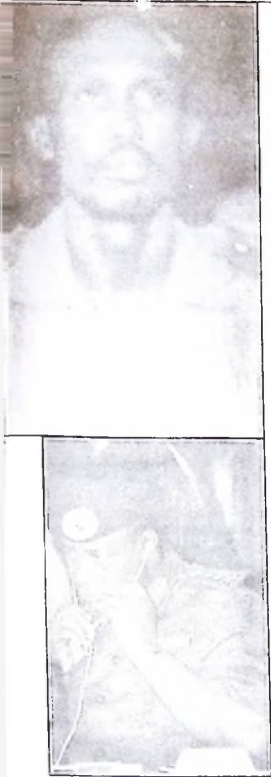
A year after Orkar's coup, several groups complain of domination. What is the truth?

David Orkar, grey-haired and bespectacled, regarded the *Citizen* reporter with a sly smile and asked, "why is my view on the stability of Nigeria considered to be important?"

Orkar's views on the matter would certainly have been

interesting, since he is the nearest earthly thing to the late Major Gideon Gwoza Orkar who, on April 22, last year, shattered the fragile stability of the Nigerian federation and came closest to dissolving it since the Biafran secession of the late 1960's. Major Orkar's main grouse, as far as could be discerned from his incoherent radio address, was the

alleged domination of the ethnic minorities and the South by the North. In order to deal with this much talked about, if poorly clarified allegation, Major Orkar and his fellow coupists took the drastic step of expelling five far northern states from the Nigerian Federation. Orkar's action at once violated the constitution, which



undertaking not to pursue the "feudalistic and aristocratic quest for domination and oppression." The other condition was that this undertaking be given in the name of the returnees by Alhaji Muhammadu Maccido, Sarkin Kudun Sokoto, who must succeed to the throne of the Sultan of Sokoto.

Orkar's grand scheme for the resolution of the national question collapsed only hours later when troops loyal to President Ibrahim Babangida launched a counter-attack and crushed the rebellion. The shaken federal military government dealt severely with the mutineers. A military tribunal headed by Major-General Ike Nwachukwu, at the time GOC of the One Division, was established to try the coup plotters. On 27th July, last year, the first batch of 42 condemned plotters were executed by firing squad, and weeks later, another batch of 27 plotters were also executed. With that, the federal military government hoped it had buried the Orkar phenomenon forever, but has it?

More than a year since the Orkar coup, the many contentious issues that exploded into the April 22 coup are still being fiercely debated in Nigeria. As far as is publicly known, no other group of soldiers has again taken up arms to dismember the federation; however, new challenges to the stability of the country have arisen, especially in the light of the recent religious disturbances in Katsina and Bauchi States. In Katsina, trouble began after a short story appeared in a junk publication *Fun Times*, blaspheming the Prophet Mohammed (P.B.U.H.). Rioters in Katsina burnt down the offices of the *Daily Times*, publishers of the magazine, and the state's governor, Col. Yahaya Madaki, worsened matters by threatening to execute the leader of the group that led the riots. More riots followed the governor's threat; although no one

died, dozens were injured and hundreds were arrested. Only a week later, a far worse eruption occurred in Bauchi State, this time, following a dispute at an abattoir. At the small village of Tafawa Balewa, south of Bauchi, Muslims and Christians disagreed over the slaughter of pigs and donkeys; this led to a conflagration in which more than 600 people may have died.

These shocking events in Katsina and Bauchi came on top of the divisive dispute now raging among politicians and others over which part of the country should produce the president of the Third Republic. The issue exploded into a public debate sometime last year when the Oni of Ife, Oba Okunade Sijuwade Olubuse II, urged a visiting SDP delegation to allow the Yorubas to produce the next president. A northern response apparently came when Alhaji Shehu Malami, the former Sarkin Sudan of Wurno, stated that in so far as northerners constitute a numerical majority in the country, they must either produce the president themselves, or they must endorse whoever else becomes president. Other individuals and even some newspapers soon entered the fray. The new magazine *Tell*, in its very first edition, went to great lengths to promote the southern contention for the presidency. The magazine stated that Alhaji Shehu Malami's position had "more than a whiff of tasteless arrogance," but did not so characterise the Oni's position, although Oba Sijuwade is a first-class traditional ruler whereas Malami is a former district head. The religious riots and the dispute over presidential zoning added up to give a befitting anniversary for Orkar's coup last April 22.

David Orkar, elder brother of the late army major coupist and himself a former commissioner for agriculture in Benue state declined to speak until he was authorised to do so by authorities of the Federal University of Agriculture, Makurdi, where he now works. Some political

Babangida: Shaken but resolute

holds the federation to be "indivisible and indissoluble." It also expelled along with the Hausa-Fulani "domineers" several minority ethnic groups in Bauchi, Borno and Sokoto who may well have grudges of their own.

Orkar did not intend the rupture to be permanent, however. In his speech, he proposed to re-admit the expelled states if they gave an

observers in Makurdi however spoke, with deliberate care, to *Citizen* on the legacy of Gideon Orkar. James Gwabo, chairman of the SDP in Guma Local Government and also chairman of the Tiv caucus of the SDP, told *Citizen* that "the military have their own problems, which a civilian will not easily comprehend. Gwoza Orkar must have had his own reasons, some reasonable, some selfish, for staging the coup, and we are unable to find out from him what they were." Gwabo does not however share the late major's feeling that Benue state has been totally marginalised from

the scheme of things. "During the Second Republic," he said, "Benue State was represented in the federal cabinet by three ministers, Isaac Shaahu, Paul Unongo and Audu Ogbu. If they did not do well for us, how can we blame anyone? The army too has treated us well. Many of our sons were governors of other states, including David Jang, Chris Garuba and Lawrence Onoja while David Mark was a minister. If the chance now goes to someone else, how can we complain?"

Dan Okolo, general manager of the Benue Printing and Publishing Corporation, told *Citizen* that "the feeling of being marginalised is fairly widespread in Benue, although not with anything close to the bitterness felt by Gideon Orkar." Okolo thinks, that the expulsion of the five northern state from Nigeria contradicted the feelings in Benue State, where "most of the people regard themselves to be northerners, more than the people of Plateau do, for instance." Despite this, Okolo said "there is a feeling that most of the resources assigned to the North are consumed in the far north, and only a little trickles down to Benue."

During the First Republic, the Tivs waged a bitter campaign against what was seen as domination by the Hausa-Fulani majority, exploding into the Tiv riots of the 1960's. A political observer in Makurdi however said the "return of the Tivs to the NPN in 1978 marked their return to the old northern fold. The Igala and Idoma are always decisively pro-north. The Tiv return was also

dictated by Joseph Tarka's personal experience under the military while Awolowo used Godwin Daboh to rope him." Okolo added that "Benue's loyalty to the NE brought few amenities, maybe because the three Benue ministers could not bargain their way."

Feelings of marginalisation are not limited to Benue State. Infact, army officers from Bendel, led by the fugitive Maj Mukoro, played a more prominent role in organising the April 22 coup than Benue soldiers did. Some civilians from Bendel were also known to have aided the abortive coup; the financing of the coup was said to have been shouldered by the fishing magnate, Chief Gre Ovedje Ogburu, now in exile. On the other hand, the most senior military officer identified with the coup, Lt Col. Nyam, hails from Cross River State. Bendelites and the eastern minority ethnic groups have for long complained that their areas suffer neglect despite the fact that they harbour in their midst the country's most precious resource, oil. To be precise, some of the neglect is due to the oil; drilling activities by oil companies have seriously devastated farmlands, forests and fishing grounds.

Nor are the minorities the only ones complaining. The South as a whole is chagrined that only two southerners have headed the Federal government in the 30 years since independence; the second of them relinquished power more than eleven years ago. Not to be outdone, northerners are also complaining that southerners are preponderant in the modern economic sectors and the federal bureaucracy, and also have an iron grip on the universities, a situation that will perpetuate their domination in the future. Allegations of dominations are directed not at the centre alone but within every state as well. Even the youngest of the states, Akwa Ibom, is already rife with charges that the Ibibio are dominating the Annang



Okolo: opposing injustice to the south?



Oni: touting a southern candidate for the presidency



Falae: Ooni's choice?



Obasanjo: handed the mantle of office to Shagari



Kontagora: "Who is dominating anyone?"

and the Oron while in Katsina State, the people of Daura and Funtua complain of domination by Katsina indigenes.

What is this whole matter of domination and marginalisation? Some politicians dispute its existence. Alhaji Yusuf Dantsoho, a prominent politician in the First and Second Republics, insists that "there is no domination whatsoever. Every part of this country has been catered for by successive governments. All federal cabinets have had ministers from various ethnic groups. Every ethnic group at one time or another had a minister. This domination you talk of cannot be defined. No one group has a special problem in this country." Alhaji Hassan Sani, Magajin Rafin Kontagora and publisher of the pro-northern *Hotline* magazine, also believes there is no domination. "Who is dominating anyone?", he rhetorically asked. "The Tivs, for example, see themselves as being marginalised at the national level, whereas in Benue they are busy suffocating other groups."

The Magajin Rafi was of the view that our practice of federalism has been flawed. "Each state," he argued, "should have had its own police to avoid the explosive

situation that now exists where non-indigenous policemen with no appreciation of local values always over-react in putting down riots." James Gwabo, leader of the Tiv caucus of the SDP, was less belligerent. "Where there is a requirement to spread political posts and we feel left out, we can complain," he said, "but we do not insist that our candidate must be the president unless we can show that he is better than all other candidates. There is no need to shout about non-recognition when you do not put forward an acceptable and competent candidate."

Academicians and lawyers who spoke to *Citizen* on this issue all handled it gingerly. Dr. Tijjani Bande, head of political science at the Usman Danfodio University, Sokoto, noted that "it is difficult to say what domination should mean in this context. Although there are allegations, we are yet to see the evidence. Peter Ekeh's studies have at least shown that the composition of federal cabinets since 1960 has been, on the whole, balanced. To say that the North dominates is to ignore the internal complexity as well as crisis ridden nature of the North. The frequency with which northerners may be appointed to

federal positions should be viewed against the fact that the North makes up more than half of Nigeria. Still, any group that says it has been left out should be listened to, provided they can demonstrate a clear grasp of the total picture of the situation."

Dr. Paul Izah of the department of political science at the ABU, Zaria, noted that "while most of the political leadership came from one part of the country, another part of the country is seen to dominate the economy, and the argument is made that one group should not control both." Regarding political domination, Dr. Izah added that "as long as a group is bound together by certain common interests and they are numerically strong, they are likely to gain political control unless other issues appear on the horizon to weaken their cohesion." Dr. Oyedele of the department of history, ABU Zaria thought there is some truth in the charges of domination. "However," he said, "each of the three regions dominates in one area or another. Since independence, the North has dominated political power, whereas the South has dominated

the economic sector. It may be said that within the South, the East controls commerce while the West controls industry and finance. This is all very unhealthy for the federation."

The radical lawyer, Femi Falana told *Citizen*, "this whole thing about domination, leading to Orkar's coup, is a manifestation of crisis within the neo-colonial polity. The political elites over the years have not attended to the problems of our

people, but instead played up ethnic and religious differences to their advantage. Now the whole thing has blown up."

Mohammed Kuna, radical sociologist of the Usman Danfodio University, agrees. "It may be too far to say the charge of domination is an illusion," he said, "but it has no basis in reality. Since independence, the state has become the central arena for the accumulation of wealth. When some individuals fail in their desire to accumulate, they fall back upon primordial sentiment and say

that their groups are marginalised.

Dr. C. S. Momoh, philosophy lecturer at the University of Lagos and current head of the Advisory Committee on Religious Affairs, also dismissed charges of domination. "I think it is a lazy way of thinking," he said. "If we say any group is being marginalised, we must know in what respect. For that purpose we must break the spectrum into the political, economic, religious, cultural, linguistic, industrial, intellectual, social, bureaucratic, musical, medical,

One year after Orkar

Colonel Fred Chijuka, Director, Army Public Relations, spoke to *Citizen* on the 1st anniversary of Orkar's coup. Excerpts:

On cohesion of the army after the coup.

There might have been the initial problem (of injury to the cohesion and the *esprit de corps* of the army) but as the government succeeded in pin-pointing only the people concerned and picking them out from the rest that helped immediately to restore the 'esprit de corps'. I am very happy to say that it (the coup and the executions) have not in any way weakened our stay together (in the army) as a team.

On those in detention particularly the relatives of coup plotters.

I think the army is very obedient to the court because we cannot be supporting the court system which guarantee individual freedom and

then we turn round to flout their (court) orders. I am not aware of any of them that the court has ordered should be released who have not been released. I think you

court did examine the alleged detention of the children of Major Mukoro, but if you recollect the judgment, the judgment was that from the evidence



should also know that it is not the army, *per se*, that is holding them, it is the federal military government. If there is any of them that is under strict army detention environment and the government says release them, we will release them

As far as my knowledge can take me, I think the

available (to the court) there was nothing to show that those children were under detention. It was only the wife who was put under protective custody and people might not appreciate what the government was doing. People might say if she is out (of custody) nothing would happen but I think keeping her in a safe place, (not under detention because she is still in the husband's house as far as I know) is better (and is) in her own interest. Nobody is flogging her, nobody is compelling her to do anything. (It is better she is in custody) until such a time that may be from the

records that government gets, the situation is such that her life will not be in jeopardy then the government may release her from custody.

But I am not aware of any other person that is strictly in an environment apart from Major Mukoro's wife. And (her protective custody) has also been a way of helping the children (whose place in custody is close to their school). They walk to school and walk back from school. People have not seen it from this perspective and some people have tried to create the impression that we are punishing the children but they (children) are in school. We are not visiting the sin of their father on the children and their families.

Citizen: What about Gloria Mowarin, the girlfriend of Alex Aigbe. Why is she still being detained?

Chijuka: I am not aware (of her detention). But it is true (that she is in detention) it must have been based on security

and sports. In which of this will you say that any part of the country is being marginalised? Most of the time, people have in mind only the political arena when they talk of marginalisation. Unfortunately, this is the most ephemeral area of them all. Achievements in this area are not durable and do not stand the test of time, whereas in other areas, achievements are durable and the fall-outs are imperative, comprehensive and profound. Take for example, music. Which ethnic groups control the musical world of

this country? And who controls education?"

Whether or not domination exists in Nigeria, the perception prevails that it does exist. Dr. Tijani Bande said, "the charge of domination cannot be easily proven, but the perceptions of domination must be addressed since people act on the basis of perceptions, whether they are right or wrong. Unless serious discussion is allowed, it can create serious problems for the union."

Among students of constitutional history, Orkar's coup, as well as religious clashes and the arguments over a president are seen as evidence that Nigerian federalism has been a failure. The appropriateness of a federal arrangement in Nigeria has been long debated. In May 1966, for example, in response to political crisis, the late Major General Aguiyi Ironsi promulgated the unification decree No. 34 of 1966. The decree abolished the existing regions and unified the various public services.

report. The government has to satisfy itself that the lady is not in any way linked to the coup, as to commit her for tribunal. When the government is satisfied, I think the government will also release her. But anything the government does is based on intelligence report.

Citizen: How many of the wanted men have been traced and what

efforts are being made to bring them back to the country for trial?

Chijuka: It is only Lt. Col. Nyiam that I heard his voice on BBC late last year. The impression is that may be, he is in Britain. He is the only one that the focus is on that is in Britain. As for the others, I am not aware.

On the other hand I will not say that... I do not know how far the

government has made efforts to get these persons back but you must not discountenance the flexibility of the English law which tends to give protection to categories of people. I understand that he is married to an English lady and if his wife goes to court and uses her influence to get parliament to pass rules or apply some laws that

may have been abandoned, only to protect the man, obviously, there will be nothing the Nigerian government can do. But as a responsible government, I know it must have made some efforts. But if these people (British) now say we grant him political assylum, what can you do?

By Bolaji Adebisi

Orkar's coup and detained relations

Obafemi Adewale
Secretary of the
Nigerian Bar Association,
also spoke to
Citizen. Excerpt

The NBA as an association has not received any request from anybody for assistance and we have to appreciate the fact that the government we have is not accountable to anybody (because) they did not get there by anybody's mandate (and) if they think that their security interest demand that somebody be kept in detention, particularly in relation to such a sensitive

issue as a coup attempt, one cannot just take off the cuff without knowing exactly why that person is being kept. I can assure you that it is not every security issue that is open to general discussion. So, unless there are specific cases that are referred to us which we will be at liberty to look into and investigate to see if there is any merit, of course, I cannot commit the NBA to any particular position on it. But you must also be assured that the NBA does not in any way condone detention

without trial of anybody or any person.

We believe in the rule of law but we also believe that the security of the nation must be maintained.

A coup attempt is different from somebody getting detained because of the expression of his views in the news papers. And when you look at the coup attempt itself, it's one of the most unreasonable attempt so far.



Adewale: Nation's Security
upmost to NBA



Ojukwu: led the clamour for confederation

General Aguiyi Ironsi intended this more to promote national unity and end inter-regional bickering; in fact, it produced the opposite effect. The North, which saw itself as being deprived of political power after the coup of January 15, 1966, saw the decree as further worsening its plight, and riots erupted in the northern cities. If eastern Nigeria supported unitarism in May 1966, it reversed course after the counter-coup of July 29, 1966. Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu, then military governor of the East, soon led the clamour for a confederation as part of his non-recognition of the Gowon regime. A confederal arrangement for Nigeria was actually agreed to by the Supreme Military Council when it met at Aburi, Ghana in January 1967, and was given legal effect by decree No.8 of 1967. Disagreements over interpretation of the Aburi decision ultimately led to the Biafran secession, abrogation of decree 8, and the 30-month civil war, at the end of which the country re-emerged as a federation.

It is a matter of dispute whether the country is indeed a federation under conditions of military rule. Professor Isawa Elaigwu of the University of Jos has called this condition "military federalism", especially since July

1975, the arrangement is closer to unitarism than to anything else. "Military rule has destroyed the basis for establishing a sound federation in this country", regrets Mohammed Kuna of the Usman Dan Fodio University, UDU, Sokoto. "It is responsible for most of our problems". During its 21-year grip of political power, the military establishment upholds the theory of federation but practices unitarism. Within itself, however, disputes arise. In mid-1985, former Chief of Defence Staff Lt. General Julius Ajani Akinrinade called for a confederation, in protest against the preponderance of northern officers in the Buhari-Diagbon regime. It is remarkable that he became silent after his appointment as minister. Five years later, Gideon Orkar took matters a notch higher and launched a coup, expelling some states in the process.

The very idea of a coup enrages some Nigerians. Professor (Mrs) Bamidele Folatin of the University of Lagos charged that "in Nigeria, people equate ascendancy to power with personal enrichment. There should be a design for army officers who want to be rich; they should retire, collect their entitlements and set up businesses. It is the height of treason to secure power for the sake of amassing wealth. If a soldier wants power, he should also retire and go into politics". Prof. Folarin's advice is well heeded in the USA, where General Norman Schwarzkopf, the commander of the Allied forces during the Gulf War, is retiring to "make money on the lecture circuits", and where General Dwight Eisenhower retired in 1952 to seek the presidency.

Central to the problem of instability in Nigeria is the elite's mobilisation of ethnic and religious sentiment in pursuit of essentially selfish political ends. This phenomenon has stemmed from several sources in Nigeria's history. The eminent historian Prof. A.E. Afigbo has pointed out two of these. According to him, British

colonialists adopted a policy of "duality" in Nigeria after the 1914 amalgamation, recognising the South as pagan and barbarous, while they saw the North as Islamic and civilised. With this perception, they sent missionaries all over the South to spread Christianity and Western education, but kept them out of Muslim areas in the North. This policy duality was directly responsible for present-day discrepancies in educational attainment between North and South.

In 1939, according to Afigbo, the colonialists decided that the South was not homogeneous, and saw the West as superior to the East in terms of traditional political organisation. The British thereby split East and West and saw each of these, as well as the North, as the preserve of one major ethnic group. When Colonial Governor Arthur Richards said in a speech in 1948 that Nigeria's three major tribes were culturally different, he said nothing about the 200 minority ethnic groups. In this way, Afigbo said the colonialists imposed a policy "trinity" over the original duality. Both phenomena are still forceful in national politics.

Dr. Peter Ekeh of the University of Ibadan has said that in an underdeveloped country such as



Akinrinade: also supported the call for confederation

Nigeria, the "primordial forces of society" such as ethnicity and religion "interfere with the functioning of the state and seek to gain control of it" for the benefit of their groups. Today, many issues of national importance have become polarised due to the contest by primordial forces; these include political representation, revenue allocation, census, national languages, federal capital, and the relationship between state and religion.

Presently, one of the hottest national debates, regarding political representation, has been reduced to where the next president will come from. Femi Falana told *Citizen* he regrets the "opportunism of the newbreed politician. No one is talking about widespread poverty. Instead, they are preoccupied with whether the president should come from the Middle Belt, Sokoto Caliphate, Kaduna Mafia, Yoruba Axis or CARIA states. They have reduced the people's problems to insignificance". Dr. Tijjani Bande also argued against zoning the presidency to any group. "It will weaken the federation", he said. "If a president emerges from a region due to zoning, then he will feel compelled to pursue policies that favour it to the exclusion of other areas. Their turn will come when the presidency is zoned to them".

Also contentious this year is the census. The *Tribune* has already warned that there will be trouble if the returns show that Northerners outnumber Southerners. To forestall this, Femi Falana has called for the suspension of the census, due to be held in October, this year. "It was fraudulent of the government to fix the census in-between elections", he said. "It is a time-bomb likely to blow-up the whole political process". The National Population Commission is however not resting on its laurels. According to its chairman, Alhaji Shehu Musa, *Makaman Nupe*, people will not be

asked to state their tribe and religion. Also, the census figures may not be released until after the 1992 presidential election.

Even more explosive this year is the relationship between state and religion. Since the mid-1980's, rivalry between the two great religions of Christianity and Islam



Falana: President's ethnicity insignificant



Nwachuku: Chaired the treason tribunal

has been the source of much tension in Nigeria. The areas of conflict between the two are many and varied; the Political Bureau noted in its 1987 report that their various demands are "irreconcilable". Whereas Christian leaders demand separation of state and religion, state disengagement from the

pilgrimage to Mecca, return of missionary schools to churches and withdrawal from the OIC, Muslim leaders demand continued support for the pilgrimage, abandoning the Gregorian calendar, observing Friday as a work-free day, remaining in the OIC, establishing a Federal Sharia Court of Appeal, establishing Sharia Courts in the western states, and withdrawing Nigeria's ambassador to the Holy See.

It would probably have been all right if the rivalry were pursued peacefully, but this is not the case. In 1987, disagreement over the interpretation of the Qur'an by a Christian priest Abubakar Bako, led to a bloody clash in which many people died. Similar clashes have already occurred this year in Katsina and Bauchi.

Can the Nigerian federation survive these pressures? Has federalism failed? Professor Adebayo Adedeji, outgoing Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), contends that to say federalism has failed is to expect too much from it in the first place. "A federal system", he said, "is a compromise between centrifugal and centripetal forces. It rests on a particular attitude on the part of the federating units who desire a union but not unity". Dr. Tijjani Bande thinks there is a lot to learn from the experience of other federations such as the USA, Australia and New Zealand. "They had the advantage of having formed a federation of accretion of previously independent units", he said, "whereas ours was formed by devolution. Still, we can learn a lot but not in ten or fifteen years". Dr. Oyedele of the ABU has a faster idea. "We should go beyond the class system we have so far practised," he said. "A social system will forge a real federal system".

By Mahmud Jega with reports from Mohammed Bomol, Dele Nzekwu, Bolaji Adebisi, Alu Akinyele and Rabi Bar-

Frontiers of peace, harmony

The festering issue of border disputes takes front line

The serene atmosphere of Abuja, the Federal Capital and the palatial splendour of

the NICON-NOGA Hilton Hotel provided the conducive setting for the three day dialogue on the management of Internal boundary Disputes organised by the National Boundary Commission last week. declaring the dialogue open, the vice-president and chairman of the commission, Admiral Augustus Aikhomu (rtd) who was represented by the Inspector General of Police, Alhaji Attah told the participants that "boundary lines are established for administrative convenience to denote the limits of different administrative jurisdictions and not to separate communities from one another. "The vice president therefore urged the people to see boundaries as bridges of contact and not as lines division to foment disharmony.

With the tone of the dialogue set, the working paper which was presented by Professor T.A. Imobighe, the commissioner of internal boundaries, provided the necessary ingredients for detailed analysis of the historical causes of boundary disputes, its management and the commission's new found problem-solving approach. In a dawn-to-earth mode Professor Imobighe identified the colonially-imposed divide-and-rule tactics of the colonial era as the root cause of the boundary disputes frequently experienced in different communities. In addition to this arbitrary border demarcation, is the inadequacy of the methods adopted for management of border disputes such as the judicial process, administrative fiat and the rigid implementation of the functions of boundaries. These methods complicated issues by imposing unnecessary restrictions on cross-border activities, imposing uneasy peace

and creating inter-community disharmony.

The secret to a lasting peace is an approach aptly termed the problem solving option or the "win-win" outcome, in contrast to the previous options which focus on the "win-lose" option. In applying this problem solving approach, both parties in the dispute are involved in negotiations directed at harmonising the rights of each community to land and the needs if any for its utilisation. The National Boundary Commission has fully subscribed to this approach which

involves getting at the root of the dispute, maximum consultation by parties involved, harmonisation of rights to land and needs of each community, general enlightenment of the population, promoting confidence and the bridging the concept of mutual accommodation along boundaries.

The commission's problem solving approach could not have been sold to a better prepared and responsive audience. Nineteen out of the twenty-one states were represented by commissioners, surveyors-general directors-general, local government chairmen and administrators. The commission's resource persons were widely drawn from the law enforcement and security agencies, academia, media and the civil service. These groups engaged in candid deliberations at commit-



Aikhomu: not lines of divide

tee level under various relevant themes, among which were land administration and utilisation along boundaries, principles of managing boundary disputes, implementation of the commission's decisions and enlightenment. From the fertile minds of these discussants emerged a 10-point communique which called for involvement of the three tiers of government, community leaders, and rural elites, community development associations and women's organisations in enlightenment programmes on boundary issues. Participants also recommended that the land use decree should be reviewed to reflect the realities of the problems of boundary disputes while only relevant agencies should be identified and utilised for resolving boundary disputes.

By Bilkisu Yusuf

Education

Not a local matter

Primary school funding, teachers argue, is not a matter for local councils

The Nigerian Union of Teachers (NUT) rose from its 50th delegate conference with a stern warning and a one-month ultimatum to the federal government to revert to the former policy that makes primary school education funding the duty of the federal government. Local councils, they argue, cannot perform that role effectively. The new president of the association, Mr Brendan Ugwu even maintains that the new policy which hands over the funding of primary education to local councils has "taken the hand of education growth. ... back by, at least, 10 years".

The union also expressed its disillusionment with government for having taken such a critical decision without consultation with it as a professional body. The union is of the opinion that had its views been sought, it would have told the government what it is now giving out as its reason for calling for the repeal of the decree on funding of primary education in the country.

Two of the reasons are: the new policy will lead to politicisation of education thus introducing variation in standards from one council to another. On this, the union specifically recalled the era between 1979 and 1983 as "the bitterest period and the darkest hour for education in this country".

The second reason is that with political influence being exercised on the teachers, the school system will become clearly and dangerously partisan.

The union still cannot understand why bodies like the National Primary Education Commission (NPEC) and the various Primary School Management Boards cannot

be strengthened with funds and additional powers so that they can continue with the good work they have been doing as agencies for running primary school education.

Although the union has sent a petition to the federal government and President Ibrahim Babangida has promised to give it attention, the

government to once and for all bring to an end the problem of scarcity of textbooks.

But what do the local councils think about the views of the NUT? It is either they are ignorant of it or they do not want to dabble into a matter that has seemingly become that of the federal government and



Fafunwa, Education Minister

union's President, Mr. Ugwu told reporters that they had to give the ultimatum because "the new policy has been having adverse effect".

The teachers also discussed issues such as the role of companies in education funding. They would want education tax to be imposed on companies by the federal and state governments. They also complained about the ratio of teachers to that of students, which they regard as grossly disproportionate, even though qualified professional teachers could be seen roaming the streets. They will also want the gov-

ernment to once and for all bring to an end the problem of scarcity of textbooks.

But what do the local councils think about the views of the NUT? It is either they are ignorant of it or they do not want to dabble into a matter that has seemingly become that of the federal government and

the NUT. The secretary to the Kaduna local government who was asked to comment, (the chairman was away when we called between Monday and Thursday) feels that it is mischievous for us to ask such a question "when we only do as the federal government wishes". When informed that the views of the local councils could influence the action of the federal government, the secretary, who was not impressed, advised us to go to the appropriate quarters. He would, however, not say which quarters were appropriate.

By Rabi Barde



As the race to Government House, Minna picks up, clearly the "IBB factor," as some political observers have called it, is the single most important factor that will decide the final outcome of the race. President Babangida would not be the first to retire to his home state come 1992, but the last three before him have either transformed into itinerant international statesmen (Obasanjo) or have had their freedom restricted by virtue of their being ousted from office (Shagari and Buhari). In the case of Buhari, he has indeed lived as much in Kaduna as in his native Daura, Katsina State. However, the IBB factor apart, there are several others that will decide the outcome, including the missing one of Alhaji Bako Kontagora.

Until his death a few years ago, Alhaji Bako Kontagora, the *Garkuwan Kontagora*, was easily the most influential kingmaker in the state during the Second Republic. Legend has it that he once boasted that if he supported a goat for the governorship race in the state the

The IBB factor

The factor of President Babangida's indigeneness of Niger State promises to make the race to Government House, Minna, a most interesting one

goat will win. This legend may have exaggerated his influence but his dominance of Niger State politics in those days was near total. It was indeed a reflection of this dominance that Alhaji Awwal Ibrahim, a fellow Hausa from Suleja, whom he supported in the first governorship election was returned for a second term in spite of the stiff opposition from the Nupes, by far the state's largest ethnic group.

The absence of the Bako Kontagora factor seems to have created a vacuum that has made the governorship race in the state one of the most free-for-all in the country. At the last count there were five "heavy-weight" candidates in the NRC and four not-so-heavy-weight in the SDP.

The NRC candidates are Alhaji Ibrahim Aliyu, until recently the managing director of NIDB and before then a director-general in various federal ministries. He was also the first secretary to the government of the state in the Second Republic. Aliyu is from Minna, the president's birth place.

The others are; Alhaji Muhammadu Liman Doko who rose through the ranks in the northern, north-western and federal civil services to become a permanent secretary in the federal ministry of agriculture from where he retired into agricultural consultancy in Kaduna several years ago; Professor Shehu Bida who headed the veterinary department of ABU Zaria, was the last chief executive of the defunct Nigerian Livestock and Meat Authority and until recently the elected Chairman of Gbako local government; Alhaji Umaru Mohammed Liman, a banker whose

last job was the managing director and chief executive of the Lagos-based Access Bank. Alhaji Umaru is from Kontagora. Last but by no means the least is Alhaji Yusuf Suleiman who retired recently as commissioner of information to contest the race. Suleiman, a veteran television broadcaster, is from Lapai.

The candidates of the SDP seem less formidable than those of the NRC. In any case the contest for the party's ticket has been far less contentious than that of the NRC. For one thing the party does not seem to have zoned the governorship to any ethnic group. Even then all the four better known candidates are Nupes, two from Gbako and one each from Lavun and Lapai local governments. The two from Gbako are (1) Mr Isaac Maajin, who retired from the ministry of defence in mid-career several years ago to contest for the governorship of the state in 1983 in the NPN and (2) Alhaji Isa Abdullahi Zhitu who hails from Badeggi and was a member of the Niger State House of Assembly. From Lavun comes Alhaji Muhammadu Egba Enagi, a retired



Aliyu: the president's man?



Mustapha: Sterilising the scalpel for Government House, Minna

permanent secretary in the states civil service, the penultimate secretary-general of the Government College Bida Old Boys Association, the state's premier institution and President Babangida's alma mater. Enagi was until recently the elected chairman



Limnan Doko: a likely winner

of Lavun local government. Finally, there is Dr. Mustapha Abdulsalam, who hails from Lapai but is practising medicine privately in Minna.

While in the SDP it is far from clear who will win the party's ticket, in the NRC the contest seems to have narrowed down to one between Alhaji Ibrahim Aliyu and whoever wins a primary election among the Nupe candidates. That leaves out Alhaji Umaru Muhammed Liman from Kontagora as the dark horse.

The NRC ticket is being hotly contested for many reasons, not least because of unconfirmed speculations that Alhaji Ibrahim has the blessing of the president, speculations which the former NIDB boss is not known to have discouraged. In addition to this there were strong rumours that he also had the support of the Etsu Nupe, Alhaji Umaru Sanda Ndayako, who is the state's leading traditional ruler. So strong was this rumour that anonymous leaflets were circulated in the state threatening dire consequences for the Etsu if he continued with his support for Aliyu.

Reliable sources in both Dodan

Barracks and the Etsu's palace have however, denied the speculations. One source close to the Dodan Barracks said that Aliyu does indeed enjoy the presidents confidence not merely because he comes from Minna but also because he is a very intelligent and competent person. No doubt, the source added, the president in retirement would feel more at home with Ibrahim than with the other candidates. "However," said this source "at no time did he ever explicitly tell Ibrahim he will back him. After all he will retire as the country's No. 1 citizen come 1992 and who ever is in government house, Minna, must accord him the respect due to that office". Aliyu, he said, may have sought the president's blessing but it is a blessing the president would give anyone competent to govern the state.

As for the Etsu, speculations of his support for Alhaji Ibrahim, seem at first to have a basis. First the former NIDB boss had twice been to the Etsu's palace to seek his blessing. Besides some of the Etsu's friends and confidants like Alhaji Shehu Ahmadu Musa, the *Makaman Nupe* and chairman of National Population Commission, Alhaji Abdulmalik Ndayako, the *Makun Nupe* and the immediate younger brother to the Etsu, and Alhaji A.B. Umar a Kaduna-based businessman, were known to be favourably disposed towards Aliyu's candidature. 'In spite of these indications, however, sources in the palace say that the Etsu never promised him any support. On the contrary, he reportedly sent word to Aliyu in between his two visits that he should not resign from NIDB. Citizens can confirm that during the second visit, the Etsu told Alhaji Ibrahim that it would be wrong for him to seek the NRC ticket since there was an accord zoning the ticket to the Nupes. Still, to date Aliyu has conducted the most systematic and active campaign among the candidates.

As things now stand, it seems the Nupes are determined to put forward only one candidate for the primaries. Among the three candidates, the most likely to emerge as the winner is Mohammed Liman Doko although he is handicapped by the fact that he has lived outside the state most of his adult life. Professor Shehu Bida is a serious candidate but he is known to have antagonised the Establishment in both Bida and Minna. Besides, his record as chairman of Gbako local government was not particularly successful in terms of, for instance, providing amenities and such infrastructures as drainages and roads. Alhaji Suleiman is the dark horse of the three having just retired from his commissionership for the contest.

Whoever emerges as the NRC candidate will probably find the road to government house not particularly difficult. Certainly not as difficult as Alhaji Awwal Ibrahim found it during the 1983 elections.

Then the Nupes, as a protest against his nomination for the NPN ticket, voted massively for the NPP's candidate, Alhaji Alhassan Badakoshi, who is from Bida, Gbako local government. Since then the local pendulum seems to have swung back and the Nupes seem prepared to vote for the establishment party, in this case the NRC. Ironically the former governor himself seems indifferent to the fortunes of the NRC as the party to which most ex-NPN members have flocked. As a former governor he has refused to discriminate between those vying for the job from both parties whenever they sought his blessing. This, in addition to the fact that SDP won the chairmanship of Suleja, his local government, has led to speculations that he now supports the SDP.

Whether the NRC would have an easy ride into government house vis-a-vis the SDP, would depend on whether or not it fields a Nupe candidate.

By Mohammed Haruna

Towards a successful Hajj exercise

The seven-day hajj training course organised by the Kaduna State branch of the Federation of Muslim Women Association in Nigeria (FOMWAN), held at GGSS Kawa-Kaduna from (17th - 23rd April) ended with a recommendation to both Federal and State governments to urgently review the Hajj fare to make it possible for the average Muslim to perform the Hajj.

A communique issued by the branch signed by the president, Hajiya Fatima Lami Kurfi said muslims should view Hajj not only as one of the pillars of Islam nor regard its performance as mere visit to Islamic historic places but as a symbol of the unity of Allah (*Tauhid*).

It therefore enjoined pilgrims to regard Hajj as a fulfilment of relig-

ious obligation and an act of self purification and moral upliftment to be manifested.

To ensure the success of the Hajj, the association wants the government, pilgrim boards and muslim organisation's to properly educate intending pilgrims on its complexity and vitality. In addition, it reiterated that the authorities should appoint qualified and Islamically conscious medical personnel to take care of the health of pilgrims. It also said that welfare guides or assistants to be properly screened so that only those with impeccable character and Islamic knowledge are employed.

Participants at the forum however expressed disgust at the attitude of some wealthy and influential individuals who for dubious

reasons sponsor women of questionable character to the holyland. The association therefore appealed to the government to keep an eye on the activities of some travelling agencies in order to discourage their unislamic habit and eradicate what it termed "visa marriage".

The association commended the individuals and organisations who contributed to the success of the course. These include the Kaduna State Ministry of Education, Pilgrims Board, Jama'atu Nasril Islam and Kaduna State branch of Muslim Students' Society of Nigeria (MSS). This year's will be the first to be organised by the states following the federation dissolution of the National Pilgrims Commission last January.

By Abu Momoh

Workers day Gains and losses

Nigerian workers like their counterparts the world over trickled to various parade grounds throughout the country last Wednesday as they do yearly, to mark this year's May day. With the exception of Bauchi state where rallies were not held in consideration of recent events there, reports from the states said the occasion which featured march past by workers, goodwill messages from labour, government leaders and interest groups passed off peacefully.

It was however generally of mixed blessings. While in some states workers were treated to litany of woes by their leaders, others received gifts. Ogun state was one of the latter. The state government pledged to commence payment of the new minimum wage. Secretary of the state branch of the Nigerian Labour Congress, NLC, Mr. Julius Ogun-

dipe, told the workers the cheering news. He said an agreement to that effect had been reached between the representatives of the workers and the government on April 29. The government has also agreed to correct anomalies arising from the elongated salary structure. In addition, those who were due for promotion would be considered for one soon.

In Minna, Niger state however, no government official who were invited turned up at Minna Stadium where the occasion was held. Comrade Mohammed Adamu who noted that it was the first time government officials had boycotted the occasion, put it down to the deteriorating relation between the government and the organised labour. In Kaduna State, only a handful of workers bothered to turn up for the march past at the Ranchers Bees Stadium, venue of the occasion, in itself a



Bafayo: rescue state governments

change of venue from the usual Murtala Muhammad Square. This might not be unconnected with the government refusal to pay the new minimum wage. The state chairman of the NLC, Mr. John Gimbasan, in an address at the rally lamented that the leading role of the Kaduna State labour has been relegated to the background. He said

the present stalemate between the government and union over the minimum wage should be resolved quickly to avoid labour dispute.

Although Governor Abubakar Tanko Ayuba did not attend therally, he sent in a goodwill message through his wife, Mrs Ronke Ayuba. In the speech, the governor praised workers' courage. And in what looked like a reconciliatory gesture, Mrs Ayuba later presented the state labour council with a Peugeot 504 station wagon donated by the state government.

The vice president, Mr Paschal Bafyau, sent a nation-wide message expressing regret over the non-implementation of the presidential directives at all tiers of government to implement the new minimum wage. He appealed to the federal government to assist state governments to pay the wage and allowances to workers, adding that this should be done with minimum delay so as not to disrupt the present calm and understanding between government and the unions.

The NLC boss also called for an urgent review of the deregulation of collective bargaining especially in the public sector. Mr Bafyau said



Placard carrying workers at the rally

while the unions recognised the ability to pay as an important factor in collective bargaining, the concept of compatibility, equal pay for equal work and political consideration were also strong factors in determining wage in the public sector.

In his own goodwill message to the workers, the Minister of Employment, Labour and Productivity, Alhaji Bunu Sheriff Musa said while the government would not prevent workers from making de-

mands and voicing their disagreements, they must always follow the laid down procedures for seeking redress.

The minister then told the workers that in recognition of the poor transport system as a factor in impeding the productivity of workers, the federal government has made available to the Mass Transit Authority a 100 million Naira for the purchase of buses for the workers.

By Abu Mommoh

NIGERIA IN BRIEF

LAGOS: The Federal Government is to review the retirement age of judges, presently 65 years. The review is most likely to push the age upward in line with the Nigerian Bar Association, NBA's demand. President Babangida, speaking to members of the NBA at Dodan Barracks said he entirely agreed with the arguments of the bench in respect to the retirement age of judges, and his government may have to reconsider some of the decisions taken.

KADUNA: All land transactions in the 13 local government headquarters of Kaduna state and 8 other towns are now under the control of the state governor. At the opening of 21st yearly conference of the Nigerian Institution of Estate Surveyors

and Valuers in Kaduna, Governor Ayuba said that the order, dated 1990, is meant to halt the former haphazard land acquisition and development procedures and the confusing multiple issuance of Certificate of Occupancy for one piece of land.

GONGOLA: All forms of open air preaching have been banned indefinitely in Gongola State in reaction to recent religious upheavals in some parts of the country. Commercial activities had been partially paralysed last weekend about an imminent religious unrest.

BAUCHI: The governor of Bauchi state, Colonel Abu Ali, on Sunday, on behalf of the people of the state publicly apologised to the nation for

the recent religious disturbances which claimed so many lives and almost marred the 9th National Sports Festival held in the state capital. Speaking at the closing ceremony of the festival, the governor congratulated the law enforcement agents for arresting the situation, and assured that the culprits would be brought to book.

ABUJA: A panel has been set up to probe the cases of irregularities in the award of a 68.6 million Naira contract for roads and culverts by the Federal Capital territory Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI). The minister had been surprised at the award of these contracts without his approval.

Niger State Health Management Board

Progress Report:

The Niger State Health Services Management Board was established by edict No. 26 of 1984. The Board came into full physical existence in January, 1985 with the appointment of the director (chief executive) and key functionaries of the organisation.

It shall be the duty of the Board to:

- Administer, control, manage all hospitals, health centres and specialist medical services established by the state.
- Co-ordinate, evaluate activities and policies and programmes for professional staff.
- Establish such clinics and other professional facilities within the Board.
- Ensure integration of various health services at both the state and local government levels in the state, etc.

A: Medical Services Division:

By and large, the following advancements were recorded by this division in spite of all odds:-

- Renovation of Bida and Kontagora General Hospitals.
- Fencing of General Hospital, Minna.

our Rural Health Centres. The Chanchaga Leprosarium was provided with physiotherapy unit and also connected with national grid (NEPA). In addition most of the generators were reactivated.

It is also important to note that three Rural Health Centres were reactivated to provide health services to the villages, (grass-root), and the renovation of Agaie, Kafir Koro and Lapai Rural Health Centres was carried out.

In view of the determination of the present administration to provide medical care to the teeming population 10 (ten) ambulances were purchased and shared out to the health institutions. More importantly referral cases were decisively handled which is a fundamental improvement in patient and health care services.

C. Pharmaceutical Services Division:

- Drawing up and procurement of essential drugs for all health institutions under the Board's jurisdiction.
- Organising symposium on clinical pharmacy to enhance efficiency in pharmaceutical services in the hospitals thus improving health services delivery system in the state.



Governor Lawan Gwadabe of Niger State



Health Commissioner Dr Nuhu S. Zagbayi

- Construction of Obstetrics and Gynaecology (O & G) Clinic at Minna General Hospital.
 - Construction of infusion plant at Minna General Hospital.
 - Construction of new theatres at all the General Hospitals in the state.
 - Renovation of Chanchaga Leprosarium.
 - Completion of Mokwa General Hospital.
 - Equipping the Pathology Laboratory at Minna General Hospital.
- B: Community Health Services Division:**
During the period, UNICEF provided bore-holes to

(c) Re-organisation of the dispensary units of Rural Health Centres to maximise utilisation of essential drugs through the posting of Pharmacy Technicians to the centres.

(d) Introduction of monthly drug use return form system in all our health institutions with the aim of having comprehensive data and also enhancing accountability and probity in the utilisation of available drugs.

(e) Renovation of Central Medical Stores for better drug storage so as to guarantee efficiency and shelf life of drugs.

(f) Ensuring that essential surgical consumables are always available.



Dr. Jonathan Jiya,
Director NSHMB



Alhaji Aliyu T. Ahmed, *Director
Personnel Services*



R. H. Ndace, *Director of Nursing
Services*

The Pharmaceutical Services Department has been able to purchase drugs in bulk sum this period as compared in the past. This has been due to the tight fiscal measures. Be that as it may, it has successfully achieved a 70% success in providing essential drugs and the necessary consumables to all the hospitals and rural health centres by revolving funds from the sale of available drugs and funds raised from the services rendered.

It is hoped that in the coming period, there will be a better drug situation if the allocation for this purpose improves. Gladly too, the Board has some items sold to it from the 2.0 million Naira drugs allocation given to the ministry of health from its federal counterpart. This has helped in improving drug situation in the hospitals.

During the period under review, the government approved the installation of communication system in all the health institutions including the Board's headquarters. This is aimed at improving communication networks for both professional and administrative operations particularly in this era of complex health programmes and matters.

A good sanitary condition is an important catalyst to a sound health. This among other things can find expression in a hospital setting by the kind of hospital linens being used. For this alone, the Board placed order for the purchase of bed sheets to all the hospitals and rural health centres to the tune of 76,000 Naira.

In addition, surgical instruments have been ordered. One of the bold steps taken to curtail the problem of preserving corpse before disposal was the purchase of modern and functional mortuary units in all our hospitals. Equally important indeed, is the installation of blood banks in our health institutions. This is aimed at assisting patients whose problem require infusion of blood irrespective of the hour of the day.

In order to improve the welfare of staff, active renovation of government quarters that were hitherto inherited and dilapidated were carried out. This has no doubt increased the tempo among our field officers operating in the leprosarium.

The state government has also during the period placed order for 7.893 million Naira worth of drugs and surgical reagents.

In the field of staff development, a reasonable amount of funds has been expended by exposing them to vigorous health training programmes with a view to meeting health challenges of modern times.

During the period, contract for installation of intercom at Minna General Hospital at the total cost of 183,566 Naira was awarded to BAFORMEN NIGERIA LIMITED. The work is already in progress.

In addition, contract for the supply of surgical instruments for all hospitals and rural health centres to the tune of N274,475.37 was awarded to GATCO(NIGERIA) LIMITED to ease the problem of shortage of equipment in some of our hospitals and rural health centres.

To catch up with present drive for maintenance culture constant repairs of vehicles, equipment, rehabilitations, etc. on both movable and unmovable assets have been carried out.

In addition, the Military Governor has also approved the purchase of syringes from GAMJI PHARMACEUTICAL



Kemi Obashe, *Director of
Pharmaceutical Services*



Alhaji Tijjani Liman, *Director
of Finance and Supply*

to the tune of 1.5 million Naira to eradicate the possibility of infections through constant use of single reusable needles.

In 1990 alone, the following projects were satisfactorily executed:-

- (a) General repairs and renovation of Lapai Rural Health Centre = 98,935.35 Naira.
 - (b) Re-roofing and renovation of Doctor's quarters at Rural Health Centre, Kafin-Koro = 29,000.00 Naira.
 - (c) Renovation of Pathology Laboratory = 51,018.80 Naira.
 - (d) Renovation of 'A' Ward In and Out = 26,712.00 Naira.
 - (e) Renovation of staff quarters at Tungan Magajiya = 155,246.00 Naira.
 - (f) Supply of electrical equipment = 52,000.00 Naira.
 - (g) Renovation of staff quarters at Kagara = 78,000.00 Naira.
 - (h) Fencing of Rural Health Centre, Kafin-Koro = 117,000.00 Naira.
 - (i) Provision of hospital furniture to all health institutions at the total cost of = 207,300.00 Naira.
 - (j) Renovation of Chanchaga Leprosarium = 197,600.00 Naira.
 - (k) Construction of staff quarters for officers on call duty at Bida General Hospital = 250,000.00 Naira.
- One can say that our hospitals have improved from the "mere consulting clinic" stature in which they were at the inception of military rule in 1984.

1st Quarter 1991

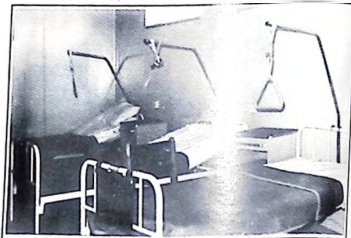
1. Completion of abandoned walk ways at General hospital, Bida.
2. Provision of 3 No 1,000 litres of water tank at General hospital, Bida.
3. Provision of W/C for surgical and medical wards at general hospital, Minna.
4. Provision of hospital benches.
5. Renovation of emergency ward at general hospital, Bida.
6. Construction of V.I.P. Toilets.
7. Drainage and road levelling at Minna General Hospital.
8. Renovation of mortuary unit of Minna General Hospital.
9. Renovation of maternity and wards at Kontagora General Hospital.
10. Major rehabilitations of emergency quarters particularly at Minna, Tungan Magajiya and Kontagora.
11. Provision of bed sheets and hospital blankets to all hospitals.
12. Provision of hospital chairs and benches.
13. Renovation of all wards in Chanchaga leprosarium including theatre, construction of dressing room, provision of bore-holes and waiting room.
14. Purchase of drugs of over one million Naira for effective distributions to health institutions in the state.

The board has jurisdiction over the following health institutions in the state.

- (1) General hospital, Minna
- (2) General hospital, Bida
- (3) General hospital Kontagora
- (4) General hospital, Suleja
- (5) General hospital, Mokwa
- (6) General hospital, Kagara
- (7) General hospital, Auna
- (8) Rural Health Centre, Kutigi



Infusion plant General Hospital, Minna



A modern ward



Leprosy patients

- (9) Chanchaga Leprosarium, Minna
- (10) Rural health centre, Kuta
- (11) Rural health Centre, Agaie
- (12) Rural health centre, Kafin Koro.

It is a quite imperative to note that formidable arrangements have been completed to upgrade the above mentioned rural health centres to status of hospital so as to serve as feeders for primary health institutions in areas that secondary health institutions (hospitals) do exist. In addition, the transfer of primary health care to local governments in line with national policy has been completely implemented in the state

(Aliyu T. Ahmed)
Director Personnel/Secretary
For: Managing Director.

Trusting an ICON

ICON launches a unit trust that promises so much for all categories of investors

The Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) of the government has done a great deal in bringing about transformation in the financial sector of the economy. There is now a lot of creativity in the banking business. New products and scheme are regularly being launched. Penultimate Thursday, it was the ICON Limited (Merchant Bankers), at the Durbar Hotel, Kaduna, that launched the ICON Unit Trust.

It is now agreed that financial institutions are the major beneficiaries of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). The Banks know that, and they are up answering the challenges posed by the boom and increased activity in the capital market. There is an increase in the number of capital market operators and there is also an increased investor awareness. All these and more have meant stiffer competition among the banks. And only schemes such as the unit trust ensure that banks survive. Investors also are expected to make substantial gain.

A brochure which contains information on the ICON unit trust spelt out the objectives and advantages of the scheme. So, the overall objective of the scheme is to "maximise total returns on the funds under management". It will also "maintain the real value of dividends to unit holders by ensuring that a significant part of the return is in the form of current income. A unit holder—any investor—will be entitled to some service: annual dividends, re-investment of income, regular information on the scheme and redemption of units (when requested by an investor).

The scheme also offers wide



Muhammadu: "I have no wish to get involved in breweries"

range of advantages, as spelt out in the brochure or form: it allows investors to spread investment risk over a wide portfolio of assets, provides small unit holders opportunity to own interest in several companies. The investor is also being assured that funds are managed by competent and experienced managers and his interest is protected by an independent trustee.

Guests seemed impressed by what the scheme holds. Even the chairman of the occasion, Malam Turi Muhammadu, chairman of *Daily Times*, was elated. That, however, did not stop him from probing thus: "how can I as a unit trust holder ensure that my money is not invested in companies such as breweries with which I have no wish to be involved?" Alhaji Yakubu

Shehu executive director (corporate services) of ICON answered that unit holders reserve the right to object in having their monies invested in breweries.

ICON LIMITED (Merchant Bankers) is the first bank to launch the scheme outside Lagos. They have no reason to regret doing so. Over 2 million Naira was collected, on the spot, as investors' funds. The guest of honour, Governor Tanko Ayuba was represented by his commissioner of finance Alhaji Ali Madaki. The star of the night was however, the commissioner of agriculture Alhaji Sirajo Balarabe Yakubu who has bought units to the tune of a million Naira—mostly on behalf of various companies and agricultural organisations.

By Rabi Barde

A giant at five

Nigerdock, Nigeria's premier ship-building company clocks five and takes giant strides



Ozobia: a giant toddler



Yahaya: Minister of Industries

April 29, marked the 5th anniversary of Nigerdock Nigeria Limited, a federal government owned liability company incorporated in 1986. The company manages the 25,000 deadweight ship repair yard at Snake Island, Apapa, Lagos.

Built between 1981 and 1985 at a cost of 86 million, Naira the shipyard was conceived to provide maintenance and repair services to sea-going and other vessels flying both Nigerian and foreign flags.

The dockyard was built by Navimor Consortium, made up of Foreign Trade Enterprises Navimor of Poland and Royal Netherlands Harbourworks of Holland with Nigerian Dockyard Consultants Association (NDCA) as consultants. The project was directly supervised by the federal ministry of transport under the leadership of Nnamdi Ozobia, a naval architect and engineer as the supervising engineer. Since its inception, Ozobia has been the chief executive of Nigerdock Ni-

geria Limited.

As part of activities marking the 5th anniversary of the company, Ozobia conducted journalists round the shipyard to acquaint them with available facilities and services at Nigerdock. These included graving dry-dock, multi-purpose workshop rail cranes, training workshop, 45 day oil storage tank, hull repairs, marine/mechanical repairs, electrical/electronic repairs and underwater repairs.

And for an indigenous ship-building company, the most appropriate way to celebrate her anniver-

sary is to let the public have a cruise on one of its boats. Hence, the journalists, chief executive of the company and some of his staffers embarked on a boat cruise aboard *MU Yankari* built for the federal urban mass transit programme by the company.

The more than three hours boat cruise along Badagry creek served as an opportunity for the journalists to take the company executive up on the achievements, problems and prospects of the company. According to Ozobia, the turn-over of the company has been progressive since its inception.

As at August 1990 the company has repaired 250 vessels and recorded a turnover of 87.5 million Naira. The breakdown of the total revenue generated by the company is as follows: N4.5 million Naira in 1986; 9.5 million Naira in 1987; 12.5 million Naira in 1988; 22 million Naira in 1989 and 39 million Naira in 1990.

Though, not without some problems such as lack of automation which makes fast turning out of vessels off the drydock difficult, the chief executive of the company observed that the shipyard which is the most modern in West African sub-region is an investment that has proved its worth.

By Tola Sunday

Tug of war

Aviation workers disagree with the aviation minister, over cargo handling

It started with a whimper, then grew into a bang. When the first signs of trouble between the Nigerian Aviation Handling Company (NAHCO) workers

and the Minister of Aviation Tony Graham Douglas blew into the open two weeks ago, the general view was that it would be resolved amicably. But events later revealed the



NAHCO workers down tools in protest

both are now poised for a showdown.

The Air transport Services Senior Staff Association of Nigeria (ATSSAN) has appealed to President Babangida to intervene. The bone of contention had been the minister's directive granting the Nigeria Airways sole authority to handle passenger and cargo services to foreign airlines, a service provided by NAHCO.

NAHCO workers have accused the minister of taking sides. A NAHCO official said "we have been too mild with the minister. He has now turned a union leader".

National Secretary General of ATSSAN Orugbemi Olaifa, said the decision to incorporate NAHCO in 1979 was informed by the determination of the federal government to restore sanity to our airports and

provide an atmosphere of competition and efficiency in passenger and aircraft handling in Nigeria.

Mr. Olaifa said prior to the establishment of NAHCO, Nigeria Airways was unable to render efficient and reliable passenger and aircraft handling services to the foreign airlines, thus they constituted themselves into handling companies." He also said that the inefficiency of the Nigeria Airways resulted in the airports being littered with all sorts of handling equipment which have now become a hazard.

Citizen learnt that during this period, millions of Naira which ought to have accrued to the Nigeria Airways was lost to those foreign airlines.

An infuriated Olaifa said NAHCO has gone a long way in putting efficiency in the handling of passenger and cargo handling services. Officials of the Nigeria Airways do not however see any reason for NAHCO's grouse. The minister, explaining his position said national carriers the world over facilitate the movement of cargo and passengers in and out of airports.

He said that "the measure has its own security implication". Reacting to the minister's directive, the head of Nigeria Airways corporate Information, Chris Aligbe, told *Citizen* that the minister is in the right direction. He said Nigeria Airways must be the sole agent for handling

ground services for all foreign airlines operating in the country. However, NAHCO workers have countered this by arguing that in several other countries including Britain, United States and Guinea, ground services are provided for Nigeria Airways aircraft not by the national carriers, but independent firms. They argue that if the minister's new directive is not reversed, it would lead to chaos, confusion pilfering, flight delays and cancellations in the nation's airports. Aviation experts also believe that the Nigeria Airways Limited is ill-equipped, technically, operationally and financially to take over passenger and aircraft handling of foreign airlines.

Michael Ajibotoso, the National Chairman ATSSAN told *Citizen* that if the new directive is not reversed, then NAHCO would be rendered redundant. He said "the demise of (NAHCO) will be a fatal blow", explaining that if NAHCO folds up, the result will be that about 1,000 employees of the company will be thrown into the labour market and their over 10,000 dependants plunged into financial and social agony.

Tony Momoh, chairman of Nigeria Airways asked to comment on the controversy by *Citizen* last week said "I think whatever happens in the boardroom is not meant to be made public". Last week, an administrative panel was set up to review the decision. According to him, the panel was set-up to give all the parties involved a fair chance to argue their case. By last week however, NAHCO workers had already taken their case to court to challenge the minister's order.

While the mudslinging goes on, Dodan Barracks is silent. But there are indications that a once stable castle is on the brink of collapse and if left unmanaged might have devastating consequences for the nation's aviation industry.

By Samson Ojo



Douglas: reviewing his decision

Another white elephant?

Experts jaw jaw on the feasibility of the community bank project

A favourite pet of the government is the idea of a community bank. Launching the first bank in Kaduna late last year, President Babangida said that its establishment would improve and sustain the social and economic well being of the communities in which they would be located.

However, like any other government programme, the project has come under critical review by the media and orthodox banks.

Some communities have gone ahead to establish the bank nevertheless and so the argument has shifted to the feasibility of community banks. As such, the Nigerian Association of Masters of Business Administration (NAMBA) focused its 1991 Executive Lecture/Symposium of Community Banking. The symposium which took place at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA) Victoria Island, Lagos April 30, had Hayford Alile, Director-General Nigerian Stock Exchange as its chairman, while AVM Larry Koinyan (rtd) the chairman of DFFRI, was the special guest of honour.

Speaking at the occasion, Chief Kingsley Ikpe, Managing Director of Nigeria-Arab Bank Limited observed that rural-urban integration has been a major issue around which policies have been formulated in recent years.

Chief Ikpe lauded the community banking scheme as a complement to rural banking from the perspective of the need for balanced growth and development. However, like the rural banking scheme, he noted that the scheme may likely face some problems which might prevent it from achieving its objectives.

He said that the recent drain in manpower resources in the banking industry as a result of extension of

banking services both in urban and rural areas and establishment of new banks might starve the community banks of experienced personnel: Chief Ikpe said the absence of incentives such as regular supply of electricity, pipe borne water, and medical facilities to attract experienced bank staff to move to the rural areas and take up high level positions in the community banks. He also argued that since the project is a

centres.

The Arab Bank chief executive said for the community bank to achieve its objectives, the minimum capital base of 250,000 Naira stipulated for the establishment of the bank should be raised to 500,000 Naira. "The viability of this bank will, to a large extent depend on the strength of its capital base," he noted.

In his paper titled "Federal Government Community Banking Scheme: Matters arising," Dr. Boniface Chizea of United Bank for Africa contended that community banking is aimed at integrating the rural economy into the mainstream of the national economy.

If the orthodox bankers are against the idea of a community bank, and doubt its success, the chairman of the community bank implementation committee, AVM Larry Koinyan was optimistic about the success of the project.

Speaking as a financial expert and not as a military man, he debunked all the arguments against the bank to the admiration of the participants at the symposium. He wondered why people should be sceptical of the concept when it has been established at about 50.4 percent of the money in circulation is in the informal sector which is concentrated in rural areas.

According to Koinyan, the 250,000 Naira capital base for the take-off of the bank is the minimum while the community could mobilise as much as millions of naira if they so desire.

The DFFRI boss however conceded that there would be problems. His words: "No doubt, the road is not smooth. We have problems with the People's Bank but not in terms of the concept but the usual Nigeria factor which has bedevilled other concepts."

By Tola Sunday



Koinyan, the road is not smooth

profit-oriented venture, emphasis is placed on patronage and earnings. Unfortunately however, in most rural areas in Nigeria, the tempo of economic activities that could increase patronage and enhance earnings is comparatively low. This according to Chief Ikpe, might not sufficiently encourage reasonable investment in this direction.

In spite of all the envisaged difficulties, he said evidence had shown that the rural areas constitute a veritable source of idle funds which community banks are expected to mobilise and channel to more sophisticated and profitable financial

Madike Twists and turns

Government accuses Jennifer Madike and her cousin Doris Obi of forging Mrs Babangida's signature and slams fresh charges against them

The rumour, which had been simmering in media circles since early January when the Lagos socialite, Jennifer Madike was detained at Alagbon close, finally became public at a Lagos Magistrate's Court last week.

Appearing before Chief Magistrate Samuel Adelana at the Igboere Magistrate Court was Doris Obi, Madike's cousin who had signed an affidavit on her behalf at the Ikeja High Court alleging that Fidelis Oyakhilome, suspended chairman of the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency used Madike to collect 800,000 Naira from the relatives of Greg Odilibe, an alleged drug baron.

This time around however, government is accusing Jennifer Madike and Doris Obi of conspiring to commit felony by knowingly and fraudulently tendering a forged hand written note purported to have been written by Maryam Babangida, the president's wife, an offence punishable under section 468 of the Criminal Code. The offence was said to have been committed between January 14 and 17. Doris Obi alone is also facing one other charge. According to the prosecution, she forged a certificate of marriage, No.08967 in Ibadan on March 14 last year purported to have been issued by the Jos Local Government Council. The offence is punishable under section 467 of the criminal code.

When the case came up for hearing last Thursday, only Doris Obi was in court. The police prosecutor, Deputy Superintendent of Police, DSP, E.B. Udo-Ekong told the magistrate that Madike was unwell. She was

reported ill last month at the Lagos high Court. Not unexpectedly, Obi pleaded not guilty to all the charges. Her lawyer, Ugochukwu Ukwandu subsequently applied for bail on her behalf arguing that forgery was a bailable offence. He also argued that the court could use its discretion on the issue of bail, pointing out that the constitution presumed his client innocent until proven guilty.

The prosecutor however quickly moved to oppose the bail application. Ekong told the chief magistrate, "I have instruction to do so (oppose the bail) because investigations have not been concluded and if bail is granted, other aspects of the investigation will be tampered with". He therefore urged the court to place Doris Obi in police custody at the Federal Investigations and Intelligence Bureau at Alagbon Close.

Ukwandu however countered this by pointing out that it was highly irregular for an accused person to be brought to court before investigations were completed. Further arguing his case for bail, Ukwandu pointed out that investigation is normally completed before arraignment, adding that this point was crucial as the prosecution had not told the court how his client was likely to tamper with their investigations.

The magistrate was not however impressed with the counsel's arguments. He conceded that an accused person charged with a bailable offence is entitled to a conditional release, but stressed that it was only at the court's discretion. He ruled that Doris Obi be remanded at Alagbon



Jennifer slumping during Court session

Close until May 14 when hearing will come up again.

The Igboere magistrate court drama illustrates one clear point: the end of the Jennifer Madike saga is nowhere in sight, and there is no telling what other dark and grisly tales it will yet unearth before the story runs its full course. After Oyakhilome, the Madike saga has claimed yet another victim in the person of Bayo Manuwa, former director of public prosecution, Lagos State. Manuwa received a terse letter April 23 reassigning him to another department in the ministry of justice, far lower than his former office. Sources in the ministry told *citizen* last week that Manuwa's demotion was not unconnected with the role he played during Femi Falana's face-off with Mr. Justice Moshood Olugbani of the Lagos High Court a few weeks ago. Mr. Manuwa had sided with Falana, Jennifer Madike's counsel when Mr. Justice Olugbani took him up after he walked out of his court during Madike's trial.

Bayo Manuwa's dramatic fall from favour has put into question again, the much vaunted independence of the nation's judiciary. Indeed, judiciary watchers predict that Mr. Manuwa's reassignment would further erode the little credibility which the judiciary still enjoys.

By Ike Okont

Ethiopia

At the cliff's edge

War torn Ethiopia is on the verge of collapse following threats to Mengistu's government

President Mengistu Haile Mariam might have been given a breather he desperately needed to wad off the rebels threat to his 14 year old government when the parliament

opposition parties. By these measures *Shengo* would appear to have bought Mengistu's government enough time to recoup and at the same time send warning signals to the rebels that an armed solution to the country's conflict was unacceptable.

To underscore the seriousness of the government attached to these recommendations, it recently made a number of sweeping changes in the government machinery. It approved the appointment of a new prime minister and formation of another party. Mr Tesfaye Dinka, a technocrat regarded as a moderate, was appointed to the previously vacant

position of prime minister and asked to form a new cabinet. Vice President Fisseha Desta and Legese Asfaw, two long serving members of the government were dismissed.

Legese's removal from the politburo was significant because he was said to belong to a small group of ideological hardliners unwilling to make concession to the rebels. Lt General Tesfaye Gebe Kidan became the new vice president, while Alemu Abebe, a politburo member was instructed to form a new party, the Ethiopian

Democratic Unity Party. The question is whether the new prime minister will be given the free hand to pick his team. What is not clear is whether the new party would replace the ruling work party of Ethiopia formed two years ago. Some analysts have described the latest changes as new wine in an old bottle adding that it is not likely to bring the rebels into the new political process.

The rebel groups have made significant gains against government forces since February. They have threatened Assab on the Red Sea coast, the only port still in government hand.

Last week, government said its forces had retaken Anbo previously seized by the rebels. The capture of Anbo, about 120km from Addis Ababa was significant because it led to panic among the foreigners leaving in the capital. For instance the US government ordered its non-essential embassy staff to leave the country.

Over the past 30 years, the Addis Ababa authorities have been engaged in continuing fighting with several rebel groups. One of these is the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) which has been fighting for Eritrean autonomy. In 1974, the Tigre People's Liberation Front joined to pull Tigreans out of Ethiopia. Last February peace talks between the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) and the government foundered. This was because the Ethiopian government was opposed to dismemberment of the country. Since then the circle of opposition has widened threatening to bring down the government.

While it is acknowledged that Mengistu has in his 14 years ruled brought positive changes to his country, these achievements have pale in the face of the prevailing state of war in the country.

By Abu Mommot



Mengistu: Sign of relief

voted recently to introduce political pluralism in the country. Worried by reverses suffered by government troops and prospects of the country's capital, Addis Ababa falling to the rebels, over 800 members of Assembly of Ethiopia's Parliament *Shengo* after an emergency session quickly endorsed a number of measures. These include a call for ceasefire and formation of peace committee to negotiate with opposition groups, political amnesty for political refugees and prisoners, transitional government and legal guarantee for

South Africa

Tension mounts

There is a growing fear South Africa is on the brink of a civil war

As violence in South Africa black townships continues, a strong warning on a possible civil war has been issued. President de Klerk, disturbed by the exacerbation of the bad situation would no longer wait for the May 24 multi-party conference on violence. He has invited Nelson Mandela and Chief Buthelezi to commence talks with him right away.

The president whose delight in his just concluded visit to some European countries is being marred by the state of the country told parliament in Cape town last week that these unrests and intimidation jeopardising South Africa's future prospects must end. Defending his government's reforms against apartheid which white extremists say have encouraged the conflicts, he identified the root of the unrests as the law of racial discrimination which has "suppressed the black majority and made violence a way of life".

The ANC has rejected the new call for dialogue on ending the violence among blacks. Reaffirming its position on the issue, it accused the president of trying to conceal his "reluctance and inability" to deal with the violence himself by the latest summon. It had accused government of complicity in the clashes. Last week, the ANC at a press conference in Soweto spoke about a conspiracy to eliminate its top officials. It alleged that Inkatha youth brigade members, including some state agencies trained by units of the country's defence force of Koevoet, of the one — one battalion and other arms of the security forces had plotted to attack communities and assassinate prominent members of the party. The sole purpose, it said, is to sabotage the peace accord between Mandela and Buthelezi opposed to by some Inkatha supporters and worsen existing conflicts, thereby, block political reforms. The ANC also uncovered the forceful extortion of illegal taxes by Inkatha chiefs in various households from local dwellers with which arms are bought and the violence financed generally.

Although the Inkatha organisation denied these allegations and the South African army called it the ANC's "attempt to justify in advance whatever violence it was planning", Sunday's rampage in Soweto by Zulus following the funeral of one of its black leaders tends to have given some credence to the

ANC's claims. When these Inkatha members ravaged communities and brutalised their victims eye witnesses said, the South African police made no attempt to stop them. The police, however, said it used tear gas on the rioters.

Yet, the "culture of violence" formerly associated with blacks in the racist enclave is cutting across the races. It got Mandela to abandon a speech at the University of Pretoria on Monday when a scuffle broke out following riots by right wing extremists, mostly students who stormed the stage before the ANC deputy president began to speak, fought his body guards and set ablaze an ANC flag amidst chants of white nationalist songs. The ANC leader escaped unscathed from this meeting organised by the left wing students of the university.

With the end of the ANC's deadline for the prerequisites to a continuation of talks with the Pretoria regime on a non-racial constitution, 26 members of the ANC were on Tuesday freed from Robben Island prison in what looked like a pacification of the organisation. Mandela, same Tuesday, accused government of failing to keep the deadline for the release of all political prisoners and a grant of indemnity to political exiles. But President de Klerk in response, blamed the ANC for not providing adequate information on those imprisoned. While government puts the figure of unreleased political prisoners at about 200, the ANC says there are 5,000 of them. So far, the ANC has given its support for a protest march.

By Delia Nzekwu



Buthelezi: his group still responsible?

Bangladesh Still endangered

After 9 hours of devastating cyclone the people are being threatened by disease and starvation

Monday, last week, was tragically a different day in the Asian country of Bangladesh. The skyline must have assumed a more catastrophic colour other than the usual bright blue. For nine hours the serene nation was taken over by devastating cyclone that, at first instance, left over a thousand lives dead and carpeting almost whatever stood on its path. By Wednesday, the devastation ranked as the worst to hit the country this century. The one of 20 years ago was reported to have taken as much as 50,000 lives in its wake. It is however feared this time around about 100 thousand lives may have been lost. The government has already put the figure at 60,000 with the worst yet to come. Bangladesh's economic loss is estimated to be over 1 billion Dollars. By the time it becomes clearer both figures should be quite embarrassingly understated.

Three days before, the devastation was predicted. That enabled the government to organise the evacuation of over 3 million people. Even then, 25 thousands lives were reported lost in the portland of Chittagong alone.

And by late Wednesday, it was still difficult to determine the scale of the disaster, government and relief officials and the Red Cross continue to send to noticeable affected areas, relief materials such as food, blankets, water purifying tablet and medicine. The major hitch is that most of the affected areas are not accessible. Roads are still not distinguishable from sea.

Even when air transportation was adopted, there was difficulty in getting a safe landing space. Worse still, communication in most of the affected areas is virtually non-existent.

Meanwhile, Prime Minister Begam Khalid Azia has appealed for urgent international relief facilities, food and water. Already diplomats are being taken around some accessible devastated areas so

relief volunteers were reported have started arriving in the capital Dacca for the onward journey Chittagong and other affected areas. Already the Bangladeshi army forces have moved in in aid of survivors who are now on the verge of another kind of nature's misadventure.

The cyclone is over. Roads are insignificantly making an appearance. Local and International relief officials have

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as to send out first hand and on the spot picture of the scale of damages which would inform the international community on the needs of the people. However, the situation looks like the government rightly wants relief materials sent in urgently; for a cyclone that was reported to be moving at a speed of 140 kilometres per hour should have devastated enough lives and property to worry the world.

The world is worried. Led by the International Red Cross, various

moved in. But the problems still remain that of meaningful application of all efforts. The people may be facing a more horrendous nightmare — disease and starvation.

It now calls to question the world's ability to control the horrors. As it obtained in previous occurrence, survivors usually end up giving up when disease and starvation begotten by cyclone prove equally devastating.

By Rabiul Bari

El Salvador

Bringing down the barricades

After three weeks of tough negotiations, government and leftwing rebels clinch a fragile truce

A 23-year old Salvadorean journalist way back in 1983 was explaining to a visiting news correspondent why he joined up with revolutionaries in the 11-year old insurgence against the rightwing rulers of his country. "I can't bear the suffering of working men and women", he said. "Their plight is hopeless, whereas the few families who live by exploitation loll in luxury. This is unjust! This is not right! That is why I have joined revolutionary organisations".

The armed struggle in El Salvador is being waged by Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, FMLN, guerrillas, the front groups three leftwing organisations. Formed in May 1980, it was named after Farabundo Marti, a hero of the 1932 peasant uprising against the dictator, General Maximiliano Hernandez, which was put down with much bloodshed.

On April 4 the two sides, forced by an increasing international pressure, exerted mainly by the United Nations and the United States as well as a war-fatigue that is fast taking hold of the population, the two mortal enemies scurried to Mexico to start talking peace. Twenty-four days later they announced a "a breakthrough". The two sides agreed on a package of constitutional reforms that they hoped would lead to a ceasefire in the war that has killed about 75,000 people. Specifically, they agreed on reforming the judicial and electoral systems, limiting the role of the armed forces, having a civilian police force and for a UN commission to investigate human rights abuses.

The guerrillas have shown "good faith" in allowing, first, thousands of rural Salvadoreans to vote for the first time in the March 10 election for the national assembly, and, secondly, leftwing deputies to take their seats in the assembly on May Day. These took the oath during the traditional May Day march in front of thousands of supporters who chanted "People united will never be defeated", a slogan which

in the past was a call for a revolutionary armed struggle.

Support for the reforms also came from, surprisingly, the fascist, death-squad leader and founder of the governing National Republic Alliance, ARENA, party, Major Roberto D'Aubuisson. He declared the April 30 agreement "a tremendous advance". He even voted for the leftwing leader, Rubin Samora to be the vice president of the new assembly. President Alfredo Cristiani has defended the reforms against criticism by extremists within his party. Both sides, he said, will have to leave aside ideology and be flexible to achieve peace.

Is peace nearer now? Not yet.

Mutual antagonism and deep distrust on both sides have dogged the talks all the way, with the result that even though reforms have been broadly agreed upon, negotiations on a ceasefire are not expected to begin for quite sometime yet. The reforms themselves still have to be ratified by the national assembly.

In the words of one commentator, the way forward is not any clearer than before the start of the



Cristiani of El Salvador

peace talks. Even with a ceasefire, he said, "there is likely to be a long and difficult period of armed peace as the two sides argue about how and when to demilitarise the country".

By Tawey Zakka

Middle East

A new world odour?

A very bitter struggle is going on in the Middle East right now. If you missed it, it was probably because the protagonists wore smiling faces, and were not facing each other

The United States, exulting in the glory of its victory over Iraq and supported by a majority of the governments of the Gulf States, is busy carving up Iraq. But it is saying the opposite.

Too weak to fight or resist, Iraq looks on helplessly. Its friend — if there are many of them today — prove unhelpful in protecting its territorial integrity. Iraq's former enemy — Iran — fights the rearguard battle, with the support of Turkey and Syria. They go along with Iran, but only half way.

Why it opposes an independent Kurdistan, Turkey is known to favour the creation of a safe haven for Kurds in Iraq. Turgut Ozal, enjoying a thaw in relations with his own 15 million Kurds, believes the haven in Iraq will check Kurdish nationalist aspirations in his country in the same way the creation of a Palestinian government in exile is supposed to

have dampened the intifada. Syria, on the other hand, loves every bit of the discomfiture of Iraq but is committed to maintaining its territorial integrity.

But if Saddam is without redeeming grace on the battle field, many observers give him credit for the new concern shown over the long standing Palestinian problem. Whether this new concern is the acceptable revival of Saddam's ill-fated linkage or it has become a necessary prelude to the new world order of the US is not clear. But the Americans seem to have decided that it is time to solve the Middle East problem. But only on their terms.

So far US Secretary of State James Baker has ended his 12-day nine-country sojourn without anything to show for it. After his third visit April 26 and extended sessions of negotiations with most of the countries in the region, Baker is

resolutions; the US doesn't want to share their exclusive influence with the Soviets, something the conference will bring about.

And that is just what the Syrians want. Speaking in honour of visiting Iranian President, Hujjatul Islam Hashemi Rafsanjani, Syria's Hafiz al Assad praised the United States — perhaps with the unlikely hope of tilting it to his side. "If the United States initiative were to fall apart", he said, "it would be the fault of Israel and its obstructionism".

In Israel itself differences between Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and foreign minister David Levy were allowed onto the side walk. Whether this is make — believe or not, Shamir faces some real difficulty handling the issue of Palestinian participation in the talks and the nature of the conference itself. If he accepts it as given this will mean the almost certain departure of the 10 extreme right



Saddam: Making peace with his Kurds

nowhere near convening the international conference. Even the modest goal of making Israel see reason and accept the idea of the conference is now exasperatingly unachievable. Not that the Americans really wanted them to accept it anyway. Both the US and Israel have good reasons to dislike the conference under the auspices of the United Nations. Israel fears having to subject itself to a pile of unobeyed



Baker: a new regional security structure?



Shamir: faces difficulty at home

wingers in his coalition. If he rejects he faces the wrath of the opposition labour MPs.

As Baker left Israel, Soviet Foreign Minister Alexander Bessmertnykh accepted US proposal to co-sponsor the Middle East conference. As inducement to Israel Bessmertnykh offered the prospect of diplomatic relations. It was not taken.

The new search for an international conference, never much was supported by the Israelis, came to an abrupt end May 30 last year when commandos of Abul Abbas launched attacks on Israel. This time the Palestinians outrightly rejected the Baker-Israeli peace plan. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine wasted no time denouncing what they saw as a new treachery. An embarrassed Yasser Arafat, still smarting from the repercussions of his disastrous identification with Saddam during the Gulf War, was later forced to state his position. He was against a conference too.

He was to have other things to worry about before the conference. In Kuwait the Gulf War — this time by Kuwait against Palestinians — is still raging. The Kuwaiti government was accused by its own lawyers of holding 900 people

without trial. This charge followed a scathing report by Amnesty International alleging mass detentions, tortures and mass murders. Kuwait authorities admitted there had been gross abuses but claimed these were things of the past. No date had been fixed for trials. Meanwhile government moved into reassert its authority.

Another government-in-Beirut gingerly moved to reassert its authority as the Taif Agreement signed by Lebanese warring factions

expired April 30. It is estimated that the central government now controlled 25% of the country.

And as the week drew to a close allied forces in Iraq moved to extend the security zone surrounding the safe haven for Kurds on the Turkish border. Thursday May 2, British foreign secretary Douglas Hard met Hosni Mubarak of Egypt and called on King Hussein of Jordan in a four-nation tour that would also take him to Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, where talks of shura (consultative politics) and larger to larger armies are rife.

To blunt the edge of western manoeuvres, Saddam hastily arranged autonomy for his Kurds, gave unconditional general amnesty to all prisoners and deserters, and agreed to hold elections within six months. That helped move the Kurds from their mountain passes but it might prove powerless to stop the new world order spearheaded by the US.

But the new world order may in fact be old. In an address to the US Congress September 4, 1990, Secretary Baker spelt out three aims for the war the US was planning to fight against Iraq. There were to "achieve a settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict," to put in place "new rules of the post cold-war international order", and to create "a new regional security structure". Baker forgot to mention the



Arafat against a conference too

liberation of Kuwait and it might not have been inadvertent. To achieve these the Americans sent 1 billion Dollars worth of weapons to Israel.

As he flew toward the Gulf, Douglas Hurd said he was going there to establish channels of military cooperation, arms control, bring Arabs and Israelis together and investigate charges of human rights violations. Before he even touched down 30 British soldiers were told to leave Turkey for manhandling a high-ranking Turkish official.

Is the new world order already in place or is it, as they are beginning to say, a new world odour? Pete Hamill of the *Daily News* thinks he can smell it. As the Americans smile, others are beginning to see reasons why they should worry.

A debate in Iran about relations with the west elicited a most unhelpful response from Hujjatul Islam Ahmad Khomeini. He said "It is unbearable that some people, under the pretext of satisfying our financial needs, deem appropriate the possibility of raising the issue of resuming our relations with the United States".

If a new order is coming this way, it is probably different from what the US has in mind.

By Adamu Adamu



BILKISU YUSUF

to the Hall that those weird guys we met were the pyrates. Of course, I had heard all sorts of tales about the pyrates as new comer on the campus. They were weird guys alright, but intelligent, since they had to undergo a brain storming session in various disciplines before

Cult of piracy

Ahmadu Bello University, Samaru, Zaria, 1971.

It was a quiet moonlit night and the campus was buried in the air of tension that is an inseparable part of the examination season. Groups of students hovered around the open spaces between the faculty of arts and social sciences and the administrative offices. Three of us were returning from the serial section of the Kashim Ibrahim Library. We did not have to decide on the route to follow, our feet led us as naturally as they did every day past the administrative block, through the convocation square, the university bookshop to old Amina Hall. Just as we were about to cross the main road in front of Amina Hall, we heard them before we saw them. Their guttural voices announced their approach as they sang disjointed, discordant notes, clinking what sounded like bottles and empty bowls. They finally emerged from the lush elephant grass behind Mrs. Habiba Kaita, the hall administrator's house. There were about 15 of them in black trousers, assorted colours of shirts, with twisted bands of red headgear on their heads. About six of them carried a coffin. As soon as they appeared in the poorly lit shadows of Amina hall we fled.

My colleagues later confirmed to me when each of us found her way

they are enrolled as members. The confraternity was a semi secret association which did not display its membership list nor open its activities to non-members. The pyrates published a campus newspaper called the *Octopus*, lesser mortals were free to buy even if the language was too esoteric for them to understand. They called themselves seadogs, ahoy! was their mode of greetings and they operated a hierarchical leadership structure with a *capon* (captain) at the head. Other tried and tested seadogs were elected on to their executive councils. Because they were seadogs they had to indulge in the habit of all seafarers by sailing. Since ABU is 962 kilometres away from the sea, the campus pool served them well. New members had to undergo an initiation ceremony where their alcohol consumption and retention ability was put to test. They were expected to drink a generous measure of assorted hot drinks and remain sober. It was during such an initiation ceremony that Usman Zurmi, a brilliant student from Sokoto State lost his life. Another, Mohammed Namadi from Kaduna State, popularly known as *escape* became unconscious and was on admission at the ABU teaching hospital for one week before he regained consciousness. That was 1971, the police made some arrests, the usual interrogation followed.

We saw nothing more because the pyrates were privileged students. May be they had powerful benefactors.

If we must contend with heinous activities of cults, those who must shoulder part of the blame are the university administrators who looked the other way as these miscreants had their fill. I do not know if any pyrate was prosecuted for the murder of Usman or the attempted suicide by Namadi. If Usman died before he could make a statement, Namadi was very much alive, and should have volunteered enough on the culprits.

That did not happen, when it should have. Now the police and the university authorities are wringing their hands in utter helplessness as the cult members continue their carnage. They have sworn to put an end to it all but can they achieve this? Will they fish out the seadog captains, and their cohorts and allow the full weight of the law to descend on them?

Parents who bred and nurtured pyrate students deserve laurels for negligence and for abetting crimes. They did not only provide the money, with which the pyrates procured their booze but never took enough interest in what their children did in school. Now like the police and the university authorities they can raise their eye brows in self righteous indignation at the havoc wreaked by campus cult members.

It has become a habit with our policy makers to do last what they ought to do first. They found it convenient to watch these seadogs grow and nurture rebellious successors before realising that their wings must be clipped. I do not harbour any premature optimism that tough talk and half hearted legislation which did not eradicate secret societies from our national landscape will kill its baby — the campus cult.

Citizen

All the news in perspective

SOCIETY

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Professor Ike turns sixty. Page 46

Citizenship



PRIVATE EYE

For Colonel Rasaki's eyes

The Governor of Lagos State, Colonel Raji Rasaki, is not called the action governor for nothing. When some have buckled under pressure over such simple matters as ejecting illegal residents of Maroko, the man has stood like a rock, unblinking, unperturbed.

It must have therefore come to him as a rude shock that after ridding the society of undesirable elements, a capitalist convert, led by the nose by a carping *busy-body*, unilaterally doled out 4.5 million Naira in unsecured loans to the very people whom the governor had, on behalf of the decent members of the society, just flushed out. It must be very frustrating.

But there is no dumping the man's enthusiasm. He has just bluntly said that he would resist any attempt to remove the thoroughly disreputable road blocks mounted by the various armed and unarmed forces throughout the country on the sensible ground that, when they were removed, the crime rate would jump to eternity.

The good colonel said all the talks about policemen demanding bribes

at roadblocks are utter rubbish. The members of the public, he said, should be blamed because they "encourage bribery by offering money to policemen. If you do not give them money, they will not force it out of you."

The action man is right, but I require his urgent advice about what to do concerning an incident at one of his beloved roadblocks. Not all of us are made of steel, you know. The incident occurred at a roadblock about April 16. On the Kaduna-Suleja-Minna road, just before getting to Diko village on the way to Minna, there was a mobile police roadblock. A commercial Peugeot 504 Station Wagon travelling to Minna was flagged down. The driver stopped a few metres away from the gun-toting policeman, who "checked" the vehicle, and perhaps seeing nothing of interest asked the driver to proceed.

Just as soon, however, a terrific shot rang out. Naturally, everyone stood dead in his tracks. A burly officer, bleary-eyed who had fired the shot calmly walked to the vehicle and asked the discomfited driver



out. He was told in clear language that his having been cleared by the other policeman did not mean that he could just drive away. He was presently charged with not stopping immediately on sighting the roadblock, and he, as the O.C felt it was his duty bring that home as forcefully as he could, hence the gun.

The O.C. told the driver that since he had nothing to declare, he had to pay for the bullet he fired! The driver feebly asked for the price. three hundred naira, no less. After 30 minutes of haggling, the price was reduced to 200 Naira. The driver paid and off he went. See why I need the governor's urgent advice?

The Barons

As the Barons were mapping out strategies regarding possible capture of political power after the soldiers quit the stage, president Babangida made a down broadcast on 23rd September, 1987 in which he outlined the federal Government's decision on the political bureau's Report. He spoke on a number of issues which include—

1. Creation of two new states of Katsina and Akwa-Ibom;
2. Establishment of MAMSER (Mass Mobilisation for Social and Economic Recovery).
3. Establishment of National Popu-

lation Commission to conduct another head count in 1991.

4. Postponement of handing over of political power to civilians from 1990 to 1999, and, 5. Placing blanket ban first and second republic politicians and other top government officials from participating in the politics during the transition period 1987 — 1992. This act adversely affected most, if not, all the super Barons, Barons and Baronets.

It jolted them and also caused heated debate throughout the country with new breed generally supporting and old breed politicians opposing the measure. Needless to say, the Presidential broadcast was followed by meetings of various

interest groups with a view to planning strategies to meet the challenge posed by the military. The four coordinators called for a meeting at Kaduna to assess the situation.

The meeting was held at a venue only known to the conveners — and later to other participants. The conveners feared that the security forces will pounce on them because banned politicians are not supposed to attend political meetings or participate in politics except to cast the vote at the election. They are prevented from sponsoring, funding and/or campaigning for new breed politicians. The penalty for contravening the law was five years imprisonment or fine of N250,000 or both.

Of saviours and critics

Creative minds have their code of ethics with which they judge the people.

Critics have their style and their aim is to correct their society. Poet's literary mind is supposed to light up society's dark alleyways. A saviour of the society is committed to its development. Of what use is a doctor who fails to heal or a boot-licker whose stock in trade is sycophancy?

Poets

In these turbulent days
Elephants are trapped in cobwebs
Mosquitoes hunted with bombs
In these days.

So behold, O eyes of the world
The moon has withdrawn its light
Darkness has engulfed everything
Truth and virtue have waned.
Now that the yoke is on your necks
Dip your pens into inkwells
And draw healing water
To quench the thirsts of the world.

For who are the seers of the day,
Prophets and vocal mistrels but you?
And low, when you tell the tales
Tell them with the tongues of Angels
Innocent souls will turn into stammerers
Should you turn yourselves into flatterers.

Shehu El-Hafiz

The Saviour

Here comes a "Daniel"
And the people are happy.
As they set eyes on the saviour.
Look at him they say,
He looks so serious.

Many days later.
The people are complaining
Because he is working

more than their expectations.
And they gave him a name
Which is "Jungle Soldier"
The Soldier is moving,
Breaking and Stamping,
All those not working
up to these expectations.

Forward! my Soldier,
Even though they are crying,
We know you are working
Until you are tired,
That is when you retire.



Doctor

He is a Doctor.
A doctor of nothing.
He criticises without sizing.
He thinks he is a genius.
But we discovered he is only
A gerry-mander.
When given Funds to tender.
He only blunders
He is only a caricature
of decaying western culture.

Aminat Nasir

Boot-licker disgraced

A boot-licker of the highest order,
A hypocrite with immune breaker,
He cuts like a razor divider.
His activities surpasses bad standards,

Never Godly just he wants vanguard,
Anyhow even with gas-mustard.
Presents himself as the more divine,
Deep inside him is worst a wine,
You may not know, can even bet a dime.

Inquisitive, curious all notes he takes
Not his victims good but he wants mistakes,
He drives pleasure when he implicates.

His mastery is misinformation,
He enjoys misinterpretation,
No he's not the one who suggest useful solutions.

Can even guide others take bad actions
While trying to show loyalty and dedications,
Only a second look can reveal the questions.

His ideas are the must musty,
For his mind is no more than a muzzy,
And atimes unnecessarily stingy

Since, he can't make his own comments
He capitalise in fouling others, arguments
In the most hypocritical ways of the moment.

Pitiful behind trouble gates,
Save him from all the gadgets,
Next you will be the target

He ridicule you to zero,
Make your road look so rough,
And left you to suffer the sorrow,

Unveil him full don't shiver,
You will get your most shocker,
The reason of his being deceiver.

Strip him meter to acre,
Or even so far to hectre,
Hell! he is a challatant mediocre.
Ibrahim Isa Abbas

Occupational stress

From this week we are introducing a column that will Provide answers to your health problems. Kayode Ogugbemi, a clinical psychologist throws light on occupational stress and what to do about it

Stress remains little understood even though it is an integral part of our every day lives. We experience it when we want to listen to news and there's no light, when we have a brilliant business plan but no money to execute it, even when we want to rest but children disturb us. There is no agreement about what the definition of stress is but an easy way out, though not a satisfactory one, is to identify it as anxiety.

Stress is necessary in order to succeed in life. When it is handled effectively it provides the motivation needed to overcome obstacles which separate us from our goals. Stress can also be pathological, symbolising low level performance and even premature death.

Classifying stress according to its source or context in which it occurs is only done for convenience. The principle underlying stress, its manifestation and consequence are the same irrespective of the source or context. For a deliberate purpose, occupational stress will be discussed in this article and the focus will be top executives. The general misconception by the public and often fuelled by experts is that stress occurs mostly among top executives. There is no empirical justification for this. In actual fact, in contemporary Nigeria, low income earners, house wives and unemployed are likely to suffer twice as much stress related disorders as the top executives. The only difference between the execu-

tives and others may be in ability to tolerate it (stress tolerance).

Occupational stress arises in the course of carrying out certain tasks in order to achieve some goals. Many executives see it as a sign of failure to admit that they are under stress. Many even see it as a pride and sign of being tough to undertake stress-

coping techniques. No one is totally immune from the effect of stress but some people can withstand stress more than others just as we vary in some physical attributes. Job selection and promotion procedure should be designed in such a way that top executive positions are only offered to people with a high level of stress tolerance.

Many top executives today are aware that they are suffering from excessive stress. Instead of embracing clinical and relaxation facilities, a lot of them employ the support of tranquilizers, sleeping pills, whisky and coffee. Even with the aid of these addictive and untherapeutic facilities, they eventually suffer from stress related disorders. Some identified stress related disorders



ful tasks and when tensions and frustrations accumulate, they merely redouble their efforts and extend the pace and length of their working day. These executives are referred to as workaholics. They will continue to push themselves a little harder until they bow to the mighty figure of stress related disorders such as high blood pressure, heart attacks or mental breakdown.

It is now recognised that it is not the top executive positions and duties that predispose them to stress related disorders but the individual's stress tolerance, threshold and

include mental break down, hypertension, peptic ulcers, coronary diseases, insomnia, alcoholism, chronic fatigue, migraine and impotence.

Apart from low stress tolerance, other factors that can cause occupational stress in top executives include (a) insecurity (b) unmerited appointments/promotion (c) conflict between goals (d) work and information overload and inability to delegate (e) undertaking highly stressful activity alone (f) poor management of time and lack of rest and physical exercise.

By Kayode ogugbemi

Toads for the professor

Professor Chukwuemeka Ike, celebrated author of the novel, "Toad For Supper" turns 60

It is a comment on the intellectual laziness of Nigeria's literary critics and cultural historians that the trioka — Chinua Achebe, Wole Soyinka and J. B. Akpan — predominate literary discussions in learned journals, the popular press and even beer parlour discussions. Other writers, no less accomplished are either consigned to the footnotes or are forgotten altogether.

Last week's celebration of the life and works of Chukwuemeka Ike, easily one of the nation's outstanding novelists of the first generation, was clearly an attempt to correct this anomaly. Chukwuemeka Ike had turned 60, and his publishers, Heinemann Educational Books were determined not to let the event pass unnoticed. So it gathered together the brightest and best in the nation's literary and intellectual firmament at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, NIIA, Lagos, April 26 to launch Ike's 9th novel and reassess, for the umpteenth time, his contributions to Nigeria's literary history. In attendance were Professor Aliu Babatunde Fafunwa, Minister of Education and a noted educationist, Ezenwa Ohaeto, young poet and literary journalist, Professor Laz Ekwueme, music scholar and Professor Theo Vincent, critic and co-author of the popular anthology, "A selection of African Poetry". The presence of Cyprian Ekwensi, Nigeria's first published novelist also added sauce to the gathering.

It is instructive that Chukwuemeka Ike chose to launch his 9th novel, "The Search" and another do-it-yourself book, "How To Become A Published Writer" on

the occasion of his 60th birthday. It is as though the famous novelist is protesting, albeit in a subtle manner, the prevalent literary drought in the country, a veritable holocaust which at its height, saw the nation's leading literary lights either making a beeline for the West or chasing government contracts.

Ezenwa Ohaeto in a paper, focused on Chukwuemeka's contributions as a writer to nation building and moral rearmament. The topic could not have been more apt. Running through Ike's published novels is a moral strain, an attempt to come to terms with the human predicament as it affects the daily life of otherwise ordinary human beings. Thus Ike's heroes are not larger than life; they are "just plain folk", the kind of men and women you might encounter say, in a bus or department store.

The writer is nothing if he is not a critic of society, highlighting follies and foibles and pointing the way to social regeneration. Ike right from the publication of his first novel, "The Potters Wheel", has not only sought to fulfil this role, but more importantly has resolutely and courageously charted the contours of the nation's history with a view to finding out precisely where and when it took the wrong turn. It is thus not surprising that the writer uses such a novel as "The Naked Gods" to highlight the decay

and petty rivalry which has taken over the nation's university system. "Expo 77" is the author's way of explaining the genesis of examination malpractice in secondary schools and also establishes a strong link between the cancer of corruption that has overtaken the wider society and the



Ike: sixty and still going strong

secondary schools.

Interestingly, "The Search", Ike's latest novel was dedicated to Christopher Obigbo, one of Africa's most influential poets and the organisers of the ceremony used the opportunity to present autographed copies to members of the Obigbo family.

Ike's way of celebrating the advent of the newly independent Nigeria was the intellectually engaging and optimistic "The Potters Wheel". Now that all hopes seem lost what matter of novel will the writer offer Nigerians to portray this harrowing story? Only time, and Ike's creative muse, will tell.

By Ike Okonta
and Samson Ojo

SPORTS

9th National Sports Festival (2)

Lessons from 'Bauchi '91'

"Bauchi '91" may not have fully attained its objectives, but it serves as a good experiment for future festivals

The festival torch, which moments ago was lapping restlessly on the warm evening wind, flickered briefly and

went out as a lanky man discretely cut off its gas supply pipe. Some athletes who were quite familiar with the symbolic tradition, responded with applause. The audience rose in unison, and in a solemn and steady voice they chorused farewell song, "peace be with you till we meet again".

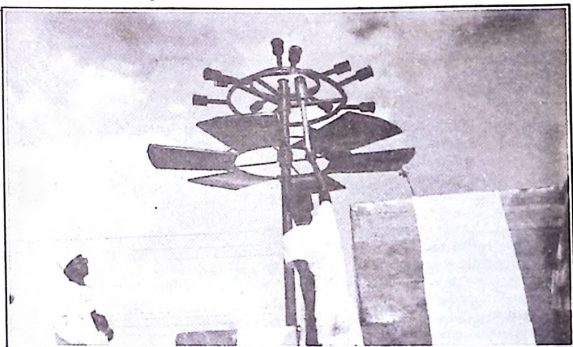
That was a brief moment of ceremonial beauty that formally drew the curtain on the 9th National Sports Festival at the main-bowl of

Abubakar Tafawa Balewa Stadium, Bauchi on Sunday April 28. It marked the end of a dream well conceived but not fully realised, but still a good end to the most important national sports festival.

The Chief of Army Staff, Lt. General Salihu Ibrahim, who represented President Ibrahim Babangida, pronounced the festival closed. Three zones had emerged as the outstanding performers in the first ever National Sports Festival to be competed for on zonal basis based on the current sports policy of decentralisation for effective development sports from the grass-roots. Zone two, comprising Bendel, Ondo and Rivers states emerged the over all

winners, having hauled 70 gold, 62 silver and 59 bronze in the 21 events competed for at the festival. The second position went to zone one

fact the zone's first position was made possible by the large number of medals it won in swimming. Their closest rival, zone six won 6



One of the athletes ignites the festival torch on the opening day

comprising Lagos, Oyo and Ogun states. It won 51 gold, 39 silver and 65 bronze. Zone six, comprising Kaduna, Kano and Katsina states came third with 46 gold, 36 silver and 45 bronze. Zone four where the host state Bauchi, Borno and Gongola belong came fourth with 24 gold, 28 silver and 38 bronze.

The first zonal sports festival however, revealed the role sports facilities, modern sports equipment and sound coaching instructions play in the over all performance of all the zones in the 21 events competed for at the festival.

Zone two, ruled the festival swimming event, winning a total of 15 gold, 11 silver and 9 bronze. In

gold, 3 silver and 3 bronze. Zone one and two with well-developed gymnasiums in Lagos and Benin respectively, also stood out as the only two out of the seven zones that won medals in gymnastics. Zone two won 8 gold, 5 silver and 4 bronze in the event while zone one picked 3 gold, 6 silver and 5 bronze medals. Apart from zone four which managed to pick two bronze, no other zone won anything in the event.

The vital role sports facilities play in the development of athletes' skills was further demonstrated by the performance of zone six in swimming, athletics and golf. The zone came second in swimming mainly



Zone six athletes marching in traditional attire

because of the conscious efforts of Kano in recent times to provide swimming facilities in the state. Although, the state started off by luring swimmers from such States like Bendel, Ondo and Rivers, it has since put in place a programme that enables it to breed its own swimmers. Zone six also made wave by winning the athletic event with 10 gold, 9 silver and 3 bronze, beating zone two whose states had dominated the event in the past sports festivals to second position with 8 gold, 8 silver and 11 bronze. Zone six's feat in athletics was also as a result of the dynamic and determined efforts of Kano in its quest for sports excellence. The zone also ruled golf event with 6 gold, 6 silver and 4 bronze as against 2 gold and one silver won by its closest rival, zone two. This is traceable to the fact that Kaduna Golf club is one of the best golf courses in the country with array of brilliant amateur golfers.

By the time the curtain was drawn on the competitions, it became quite glaring that without adequate sports facilities and sound coaching clinics in all the zones, the festival may never attain its objective of "promotion of mass participation in amateur sports from the grass-roots level throughout the country with a view to discovering hidden talents in the states of the federation." Two Zonal Coordina-

tors, Alhaji Abba Yola of zone seven, which took the rear of the medal table and Mrs. C. A. Omiyale of zone three (Anambra, Akwa-Ibom, Cross River and Imo states), which came sixth attributed their low performance to non-availability of facilities in events like swimming and gymnastics.

The issue of provision of modern facilities to hasten the development of the country's sports may not be as easy as it seems in the face of the current zonal policy. While the national sports policy and the National Sports Festival rules made the funding of zonal sports festival a 60—40 between the federal and state

governments, there is no explicit statement in the policy on the provision of facilities, although, the federal ministry of youth and sports has been sending some facilities to its sports zones. Kaduna state Director of sports Alhaji Ahmad Maude, however, believes that the best way the federal government can realise the country's overall objectives in sports is to make states the centre of development by supplying them with vital sports facilities and equipment.

Indiscipline also poses a serious threat to the survival of the national festival arrangement. In Bauchi some coaches were a law unto themselves. These coaches who were employees of sports councils of the states under the zones, believed they owed allegiance to their sports council bosses and not to the zonal coordinators or any officials from the zones.

One coach who openly demonstrated his contempt for the inter zonal festival owed up to allegation that he was instigating the athletes against the officials of zone six in every little opportunity. He told *Caravan* that he instructed his boys to beat up a particular official of zone six because he felt the food the athletes were given was not good enough. Zone six coordinator, Malam Tijjani Yusuf at a point during



Male basket ballers in action at the festival

the festival described the athletic coach as a bad influence on the athletes and urged his bosses at Kano state Sports Council to call him to order.

On the whole, the first intra-zonal National sports festival is regarded as having scored high on the standard scale. This is based on the fact that 15 new festival and national

records were set in various events, inspite of the fact that nearly half of the participants were freshers picked from the grass roots. Zone one coordinator, Mr. A.O. Abdulraheem and the former chairman of the defunct National Sports Commission Chief S.B. Williams, rated the festival's standard very high not on the number of medals won or records bro-

ken, but because of the exposure such arrangement has given to up coming athletes to grow. According to Abdulraheem, "this will create for the country a pool of athletes of merit that can easily step into the shoes of their aging colleagues and take the country to the top in international sporting competitions."

By Joe Olajuwon

Time-up for Okala junior

Death strikes down Patrick Okala, former Super Eagles' first choice goalie

For over 10 years he built up a reputation as a reliable ball catcher. But for former senior international Patrick Chuka Okala, it is now all over. It all ended for him on Sunday, April 21, when he was felled by a vicious shot by the mortal striker, death.

For the ex-Rangers International first choice goalkeeper, death came when least expected. Two months earlier he had cheated death after being put on the danger list by a mysterious illness. For Okala Junior, 34 last March 21, the year 1991 began on a pathetic note. Early in January he was reduced to bones and rendered barely audible by an illness, the nature of which his doctors and relatives refused to disclose to the anxious public. He was rushed to the University of Nigeria, Nsukka Teaching Hospital (UNTH) Enugu, where a team of doctors led by Dr. O.O. Modebe battled to save his life. To protect the celebrated goalie from the sea of fans which surged forward to register its sympathy and wish him quick recovery, the doctors declared his room a no-go area. The move, however, backfired, as some itchy tongues went to town with the rumour that he had been quarantined because he was dying of the dreaded Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome, AIDS.

Towards the end of January Enugu was thrown into mourning

as news that the sick star had finally died of AIDS swept through the Anambra State capital. Okala Junior, however, made a dramatic recovery and on February 1, he was discharged from hospital and walked into the waiting hands of his wife, Ngozi, and their two daughters. Dr. Modebe provided more comforting news when he said that the talented ball catcher was fit enough to return to action, but would have to decide whether or not to do so. As it turned out, what death merely did in the closing days of January was to go on half-time rest



Patrick Okala, ex-Rangers goalkeeper,

in the bruising battle with Okala Junior. At about 11 O'clock in the night of April 21, it returned more forcefully and finished him off in a twinkling of an eye. On that fateful night, the goalkeeping idol who was resting after a journey from his hometown, Onitsha, where he attended a wedding party, had complained of some "abnormalities" in his body. His frightened wife dashed into the room to fetch his medicine, only to return and find him dying.

Patrick, who came from a family of three goalkeepers, was born in Onitsha, the commercial nerve centre of Anambra State, on March 21, 1957. He came to the limelight on joining Rangers International of Enugu in the early 80s. His arrival on the scene ensured the continuation of the goalkeeping dynasty founded by his elder brother, Emmanuel Okala, from whom he took over both at club and national level. The younger Okala, however, found it difficult to endure the heat for long. His hey days extended to the mid-eighties, after which he was rejected by Rangers for declining performance. He found solace in Vasco Da Gama, another Enugu-based clubside, but packed it all up with goalkeeping shortly after, in 1988, to begin a new career as a coach with the Anambra State Sports Council. His burial comes up on May 11 in Onitsha.

By Isaac Umunna, Enugu



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By Isaac Umunna, Enugu

ADAMU ADAMU S

DEFINITIONS
IN HUMOUR

Lidney and kiver

When the mind works faster than the tongue—as it always does—there is little to complain about. It is only when the tongue tries to outstrip the mind—and succeeds—that matters become complicated. Luckily the complication is nothing serious; it's never beyond an opportunity for a good laugh.

The other day Abdulmumin must have met hunger in person. It was a very bad meeting—for him. He came back to his seat shaking—his spleen, his skin and tongue quivering uncontrollably—having lost everything. Including his coherence. He sat down. He fumbled. He sputtered and shouted his order—for the second time.

"Quick please, bring my order".

"What was it, sir?" the waiter asked.

"I wasn't the one who took it".

"Lidney and kiver!"

I hit the floor. I have never heard anything quite like it before. It was so stupidly—but also so innocently—funny that it almost sounded like the legendary Rev. W.A. Spooner who went to Oxford by the *town drain*. (Of course old Spooner went by the *down train*, but then what's the fuss all about?). What's the difference between six of one and half a dozen of the other? Spooner said he always enjoyed a good drink of a *well-oiled bicycle*. (Damn it. His tongue can never correctly say a *well-boiled icicle*).

pute with the *Severend Rpooner*? Perhaps the conundrumists can. Do you know them? I don't. But hear them anyway. They are the breed that can laugh with the right corner of their mouth—and weep with the left, while their lips are grinning. Before you *understand* what they are *saying* they *oversit* what you are *laying*. Do you understand? Too bad.

"What's the difference between a jeweller and a jailer?"

"One *sells* watches while the other *watches* cells".

"When is a door not a door?"

"When it is ajar".

"When is a cold-room not cold-room?"

"When it is ablaze".

The following is a pun that is grammatically incorrect but can be full of meaning:

I took my left—Bello Umar

Bello blurted it out just like that. He wanted to say, "I take my leave". But like a robot he went into the past, and spoke from there

Maxims for Professionals

Public servant—Public funds are for everybody—to *misappropriate*!

And who the hell is *Miss Appropri-*

At the end of it all Spooner gave thanx to God and s a n g Kingquering Congs their titles take). (The homily of course taught Conquering kings, their titles take). But who is there who can dis-

ate? I don't know her but why leave unto others what others will leave unto you?

Unto him who has the first change goes the largest share—all of everything.

Soldier—He who was taught kill must kill to teach his lesson. And so be it. Amen.

Teacher—Time was when the kids were taught discipline. Now that the kids are more discipline than the teachers, what can they be taught? Many things. Smoke-inhaling, beer-imbibing, cocaine-sniffing and proving that they have passed puberty, for instance. Tight schedule.

Journalist—Show, don't tell. Tell, don't show. Don't show, don't tell. Having a choice is good enough fortune nowadays. Having three choices looks like extravagance by Providence. Take the easiest.

Police—Life is of two kinds, and so are its rewards—*pepper-soup* or *pepper*. The heat of pepper, of course, is not without remedy. *Wetin you carry?* A cooling agent? Goooooooood!

Traveller—You have nothing to declare except your genius, which in the main consists in the ability to conceal cocaine. Doing that can be dangerous. And it is good to avoid danger.

Graduate—The profession of some people is gradual unemployment.

Ode to a kid

It was a kid and her Lima Kid, kid roaming

Art thou a human gazelle?

By thy long neck, I swear

Thou' jumpeth high and playeth so well

And hurteth so bad

In the heart a scar

In life a void

What a teamer so fat

Kid, kid roaming

Haven't you roamed enough?

Mike Oudee



So, come to Habib

Habib Nigeria Bank Limited
The bank with a difference

[illegible]

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