

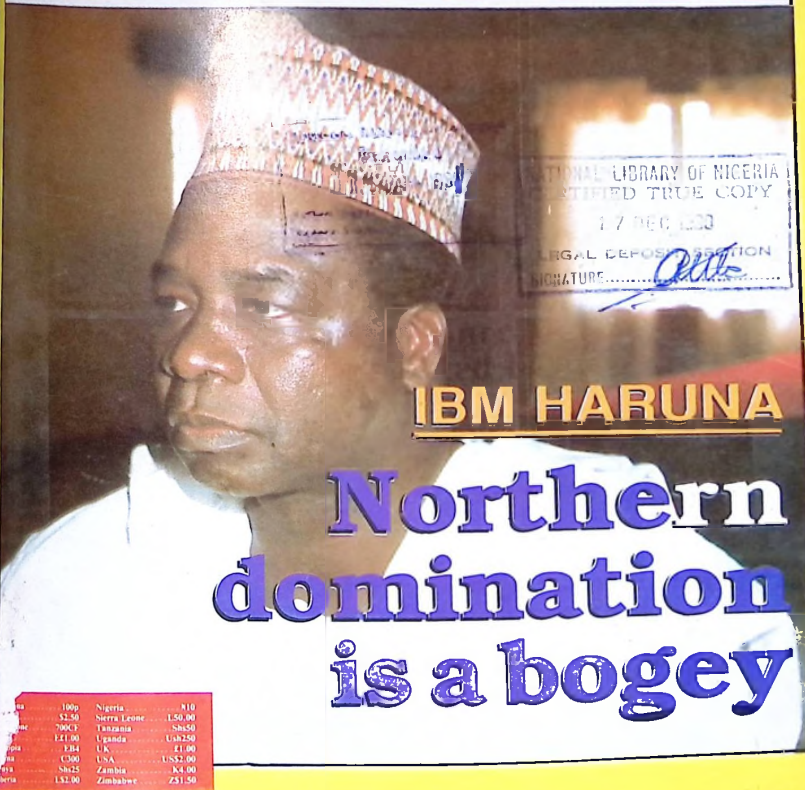
BABANGIDA'S IN-LAW

Vs ABUTH NURSES

COMPLIMENTARY

NOVEMBER 12 — NOVEMBER 19, 1990 ■ VOL. 1 NO. 13

# Citizen



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# Northern domination is a bogey

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CONTENTS

Citizen

All the News in Perspective

15 JAN 1990  
November 12 - November 18  
Vol. 1 No. 15

**Northern hegemony is a bogey**

The controversial cliché in geopolitics of this country is northern hegemony. Now a former minister, General Ibrahim Haruna throws it out; It is simply a bogey.

Page 12.



Departments

LETTERS

LEADERS

On northern hegemony  
The Soyinka capers  
United Nations at 45

ADAMU  
ADAMU

NIGERIA

AFRICA

WORLD

KABIRU YUSUF

11  
21  
25  
28  
33

**Babangida's in-law Vs nurses**



A friend of the hospital, Mr. Sonny Okogwu turns to an enemy as nurses demonstrate to protest against Sonny and police harrassment. Page 22.

**Bush is losing**

Bush is losing grips in the tight rope of budget deficit and senate elections he is walking on.

Page 29.



# Citizen

All the News in Perspective

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## PREFACE

**C**itizen has taken a step further in its commitment to giving you the best in news and views with the introduction of a forum called "Platform." It is indeed a platform through which we hope Nigerians from all walks of life will share with readers their experiences and views on a wide spectrum of issues at regular intervals.

We begin the series with a candid, stimulating interview with General I.B.M. Haruna (rtd). He sat erect on the platform with our crew of interviewers Mohammed Bomo, Bilkisu Yusuf and Adamu Adamu to debunk a long held view, that of Northern hegemony. It just does not exist when weighed against southern domination of universities, banking and the private sectors. He reviews the effect of the Orkar coup on the country's geopolitics and declares Tivland as the breeding ground for Nigeria's first coup de etat. The new angle to event of the April 22 and other controversial issues like the civil war, the demobilisation exercise and retirements in the army make the interview an exciting expose.

Citizen (ISSN 1115 2389) is published by Citizen Communications Ltd. 011 Unguwan Kanawa, PMB 2334, Kaduna.  
Tel. 212165 Fax. 210037 Telex. 71704 Lagos Office: 10A Acme Road, Agidingbi, off Isheri Road, P.M.B. 21742, Ikeja.  
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## LETTERS

### Open ballot wise

Sir,

The recent decision by the National Electoral Commission (NEC) to conduct December 8 local council election using the open ballot system of voting has expectedly drew a lot of debate from many prominent Nigerians among them traditional rulers, politicians, and members of the academia and the press who have all called for its abrogation.

Among the reasons being advanced by those who opposed the open ballot system are that it is retrogressive, will lead to intimidation of voters, and may cause conflicts and enmity among communities. In short the system, and that is argued, is an open invitation to chaos; an antithesis of the democratic culture this administration has been investing so much money and time to build.

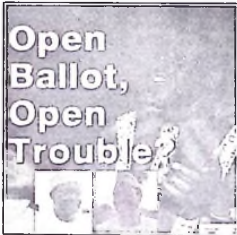
Valid as these arguments are, we cannot in all honesty admit that our romance with the so-called time tested and universal secret ballot system in the past have fared better. The voting exercises from 1959 through 1983 have all been characterised by orgy of violence and confusion and these were what have always provided an iron cast excuse for the military to intervene in our political process.

Before the advent of modern party and secret ballot system, many of our indigenous communities have operated one form of government or the other and have perfected a mode of choosing their representatives. In many of our communities today, the representatives are still chosen either by show of hands or by popular acclamation. NEC's decision to conduct the forthcoming elections by open ballot system may be a clear endorsement of the aged traditional method of voting that is still in practice in many of the African communities today.

In any case, as some other people have pointed out, the issue is not which system we adopt to elect our leaders. The issue is whether the people themselves will allow the sys-

tem to work. A system is as good as the people who operate it. We the people are the only ones that can make the system work only if we all work collectively to thwart the efforts of men of evil intention. Thus the national electoral commission and its field officers, the police and all the other security agencies must do their assigned duties to ensure a free and fair elections. Above all the political parties must drum it in to the ears of their supporters that politics is a game and not a battle field where victory must always go to those with overwhelming force of arms or the strongest. The bottomline is that every Nigerian whether in or out of uniform has a stake in the future of this great country.

Abu Mamman Kadi,  
College of Administration,  
P.M.B. 2126, Sokoto.



Sir,

I am a regular reader of your factual magazine and have been on your trail right from the onset. Since then I have not found anything to write about save the poor printing quality at the initial stage.

Then came your article over the open ballot system as decreed by the Federal Government. In the said article, you gave the merits and the demerit of the open ballot system but failed to take a stand on whether to implement it or not.

I think you should give the open ballot system a chance to prove itself.

More over when new ideas emerge,

they should be given a chance rather than be killed at the initial stage.

The fact that the system does not work in other countries does not mean that it cannot work here. After all, the system worked during the wards elections. Recently, the Canadian Ambassador to Nigeria stated his support to the system saying that it has been successful in his country and gave sample pamphlets to the NEC chairman.

I therefore feel that the system has the means of being rig proof as against the secret ballot where electoral officers connive with party officials to stuff boxes with false ballot papers.

Yakubu Muhd Aitauni,  
Grains Processing Co. Nig. Ltd.,  
P.M.B. 057, Azare.

### Iraq still strong

Sir,

Iraq has been blockaded by land, sea and air. The trade embargo placed on it with the aim of emasculating it and forcing it down on its knees has failed. A month after the action Iraq is still alive and kicking with no signs of going under. The situation has reached a stalemate. So what are the options for both sides: (1) War (2) Iraq be allowed to keep Kuwait (3) Iraq withdraws from Kuwait and financial settlement be made (4) Iraq be given some part of Kuwait (5) Iraq be allowed to drill oil from Kuwait (6) Iraq drops all its claims on Kuwait (7) realignment of forces in the Gulf.

The only viable options therefore are 3 and 5 which can guarantee Iraq to withdraw for monetary settlement. If it withdraws its troops from Kuwait, it can also be given quota out of Kuwait oil.

But the later option is prone to disputes and squabbles arising from time to time. So the only way out of the quagmire is financial settlement as specified in the third option.

Ladan Sani Gusau,  
Department of Building,  
Sokoto State Polytechnic,  
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## On northern hegemony

**F**rom the time of independence, the national question has excited diverse passion from the various groups that constitute Nigeria. Such passions vary from the cynical observation that the country is just "a geographical expression" to intermittent calls for confederation and the uncritical adulation of nationalists and believers in the concept of Nigeria as an indivisible federal entity. Happily, the latter group had a larger following and the commitment towards evolving a united and stable nation from the diverse groups traversed a broader spectrum. Firm in this belief, the nation fought a civil war to remain as one.

However, two decades after the war, a widespread and disturbing trend has developed. The North, still perceived as a monolith by promoters of the north-south dichotomy has become a target of denunciation. The size of the north and its population were seen as criteria through which its indigenes have perpetuated their domination of the country, to the detriment of the South which as the later day endowed region controls the most lucrative resources—crude oil and gas. Hope of checking this perceived northern hegemony alternated unpredictably with frustration and fear, culminating in the catastrophic coup attempt of April 22 led by Major Gideon Orkar.

The depth of public anxiety on the Orkar coup and his excising five northern states from the rest of the country only confirm that the national question ought to be re-examined in a matured and systematic manner, one devoid of sentiments and emotions. Could it be that the elites have found in the complex issue of national question a joker to play when it suits them? Should the nation be reduced to a pawn in the power game of those whose dreamland

of narrow nationalism is certain to derail it from its journey of unity? For one, the north can no longer be seen as an intimidating monolith. The creation in 1967 of the six and now 11 northern states was primarily to banish any such fears and ensure ease of administration. For another, the northern states still constitute the country's most educationally disadvantaged area. Their quotas and placements in federally owned institutions still remain unfilled. Since Western education more than any other criteria determines job placements, the South was placed at an advantage due to its earlier exposure to western education. The reality is northern under representation in the bureaucracy, financial, industrial and educational sectors. Were statistics to be compiled, as it indeed exist for some institutions, the yawning gap between the north and south would silence proponents of northern hegemony.

On the much touted northern domination of political leadership, the tenets of democracy are hereby called into question. Democracy being a game of numbers bestows numerical advantage to the north but then not to the Hausa/Fulani, the ethnic group that is alleged to be most favoured. The minority ethnic groups in the North as in the South are reasserting themselves and introducing a widening dimension to the national question. There is no easy option to the issue which assumes impossible dimensions when viewed from the angle of the 354 local governments or the 253 ethnic groups.

Unless we wish to convert diversity which should be a source of strength into a burden, federalism still remains the surest guarantee of equal opportunity and representation for all.

## The Soyinka capers

**T**wo weeks ago, the *Daily Times* carried a funny editorial on some so-called Soyinka papers which the paper claimed were on the verge of being purchased by an unnamed American university. Readers of the editorial must have been moved to tears of pity—pity that Professor Wole Soyinka regarded himself so cheaply that, one, he would stoop so low to sell himself; and, two, that he would allow, and perhaps even encourage, his min-

ions to misuse the pages of a national newspaper to create a hoax and try to reap such unjustified benefit from it.

According to the editorial, the unnamed university was bidding to acquire all of Soyinka's original manuscripts, documents, correspondences and research material for "a few million American dollars." Exactly a week later, the same *Daily Times* reported, with much chest-beating, that President Ibrahim Babangida has

stepped into the matter. The president, it said, had asked to have the full details of the deal so that he could prevent the purchase of the papers. He could of course only be able to do this by offering more than "a few million American dollars."

The editorial did not specify how much but we could assume that \$4 million would be a reasonable guess. If the government decided to acquire the great Soyinka papers nothing less than N32 million would do. We hope all this is not true. But Soyinka himself seemed to have confirmed the reports when he told the *Daily Times* (according to its own report) that his Essay Foundation would need the money. He was also, he said, interested in ensuring that the papers are "properly taken care of and preserved."

Accordingly, the *Daily Times* called on the government to step to stop the deal. The newspaper saw, in all this, an insult to Nigerians as a people. In other words, the offer of the American university if indeed any such university made any such offer, was an insult. On the contrary, we find more than one insult here. First is Soyinka's insult to himself and his integrity as an intellectual if he really means to sell his papers to make money. Second is the *Daily Times'* insult to the intelligence of the Nigerian public for assuming that people will not recognise fraud even when it is being committed right before their eyes.

We think the government should not have anything to do with this business. If money is all the professor want, whether such a desire is frankly expressed or hidden behind an impersonal, altruistic foundation, he should not be discouraged. Let him go ahead and sell himself cheap. No one should try to help make the sale more palatable and easier for him by pretending that the government is being invited to buy in order to stop a national humiliation.

The *Daily Times* editorial was sure Soyinka would sell to the government instead of the unnamed foreign entity. It said, "As an illustrious patriot and icon in the world of letters, Soyinka probably needs no pleas in order to exercise his discretion in favour of his motherland."

Certainly "for a few million dollars" it is difficult to see the difference between illustrious patriotism and illustrious greed. If Soyinka really wishes to sell himself this cheap, he ought to try to do so in the market place of letters, and not attempt a cynical involvement of the government of our country.

Where is it done that because your minions control a public newspaper, you get phony stories and even phonic editorials in order to

force the government to finance a private foundation? The practice worldwide is that those with records likely to be of interest to posterity bequeath these to libraries, institutions and foundations. We find it odd that instead of doing any of these, or even donating the records to his own Essay Foundation, especially since he did nothing more than write essays, Soyinka and his friends took the unorthodox route of forcing a sale on the Nigerian public.

The *Daily Times* even lamented that if the sale to the unnamed buyer went ahead Soyinka's legacy would leave our shores. "In plain language, that means that in future any Nigerian, even from Soyinka's home towns of Isara and Abeokuta, who wishes to consult those materials will need the authorisation of the American institution." Of course this may not be the best or neatest thing; and we think if Soyinka is as patriotic as they say, this fact should worry him — not us. Their call to patriotism and national pride should not deceive President Babangida. Thank you Mr. President for showing so much and prompt concern. Now you must tell them to go to blazes.

But to be fair to Soyinka, he himself has not claimed that any American university is interested in purchasing his papers. What he said was that he had a proposal from Schombourg Library in New York. Schombourg is a public library in Harlem dedicated to preserving the history of blackmen. Schombourg certainly can not raise the "few millions of dollars" needed to purchase our professor. And so where does that leave us?

We think there is a lot that is untidy about this affair. While getting exclusive stories is not difficult business, there seem to be more personal interest than newsworthiness in the story. We also know that Soyinka has minions at the *Daily Times*. If it creates and carries stories favourable to him, therefore, this should not surprise us. But this should:

The editorial that started it all sprang from nowhere; the story that followed it had no specific by-line. Both the editorial and story were strengthened by the views of Professor Femi Osofisan and it was unclear when or where he made them. Perhaps Osofisan himself is not an uninterested party in this affair. He is president of the Association of Nigerian Authors, many of whose members expect to receive grants from the portion of the "few millions of dollars" that will go to the Essay Foundation. Why is the purchasing university not named? The *Daily Times* editorial spoke of an offer from this university all neat with calculations of millions, but neither the paper nor the professor would name it.

The Daily Times has an obligation to tell us so many things. Public institutions like newspapers — even if they are not publicly owned — have a sacred duty not to deceive. No one

should feel he has a right to misuse his position to advance the interest of a friend or benefactor at the expense of public good.

## United Nations at 45

**T**he United Nations Organisation marks its 45th anniversary this year.

For an organisation that rose from the ashes of the Second World War its success should be measured not only by its ability to prevent a third world war but fostering peace and cooperation among nations.

Born out of the cooperation of the allied nations that brought Adolf Hitler to his end in 1945, the UN charter was signed in San Francisco on June 26, 1945 and enforced on October 24 of the same year. Since then United Nations day is celebrated on October 24.

As the world's peace factory, the UN has sought to minimise conflict among nations while taking due cognizance of its inability to give teeth to its resolutions. Its charter also defines it as a socio-political organisation steeped in all aspects of humanitarian endeavours while emphasising maintenance of universal peace and security. It has pursued this objective by providing a forum for global dialogue that has diffused the ticking time bomb that conflicts worldwide have assumed.

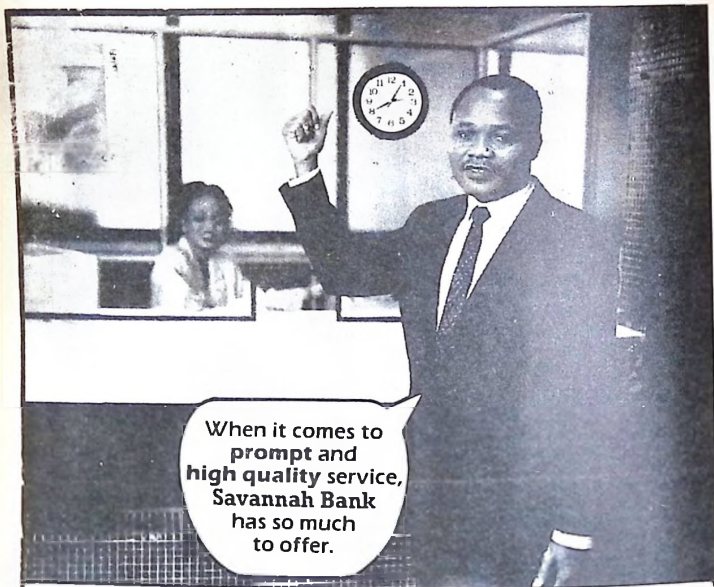
Sadly, this birthday comes amidst tension unleashed by the Gulf Crisis on the rest of the world. More than ever, military intervention to force Iraq out of Kuwait appears imminent. It is an option that the U.N. has never explored in its 45 years. It will do well not to consider it now. With its economic sanctions against Iraq fully enforced, the U.N. is likely to continue the pursuit of all diplomatic avenues for the settlement of this festering Gulf sore. As the shadow of war looms larger over the world, the international community is that the super-powers are further from it, having replaced the cold war era with that of positive dialogue.

Had the U.N. engineered Perestroika and Glasnost it could have taken credit for turning the world from a spectre of third world war. But it did not. Yet it is to these internal

changes within the Soviet Union the world must attribute the end of the cold war, German reunification and the incredible progress made in disarmament. The U.N. does not score high on conflict prevention and containment of intransigent nations such as Iraq and Israel in their occupation of Kuwait and Palestine only because of the double standard and misuse of veto power by members of the security council particularly the United States and Britain. It can be argued that Iraq would not have invaded Kuwait and remained adamant in its non-withdrawal stance if it had no Israeli precedence of non-compliance with U.N. resolutions to follow. Herein lies the challenge to composition U.N. security council. Perhaps the time has come for a review of the permanent status of some of the members of the security council to reflect the aspirations of the 159 countries represented in the body.

When this issue is adequately addressed, the U.N. would rid itself of one major obstacle to success of its conflict management role.

The U.N. in fostering cooperation among nations is financially committed to several development programmes especially in the Less Developed Countries (LDCs). Its various bodies, UNESCO, UNICEF, ILO, UNDP, WHO, ECA and FAO were established to take care of diverse aspects of human needs. In this regard the body has made a huge success. U.N. concern about poverty and disease that afflicts the LDC's is being reflected in regular review of the state of the world's most impoverished countries with strategies adopted to alleviate them by specialised regional bodies like the ECA. The debt crisis, balance of payment problems and the vicious cycle of poverty it triggers will remain the most crucial development problem the UN will be forced to address in this decade. Its successful handling of this would foster greater confidence in its humanitarian pursuits.



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## The United Nations

**T**wo weeks ago, the United Nations Organisation celebrated its forty-fifth anniversary.

The world, or the European vanguard of it, had gone to war in 1914 against a Germany that had become too strong — a big threat to other powers that wanted to be as strong. But did the cause of the war have anything to do with the spread of communism?

Prior to 1914 there were attempts to implant the new ideology in Germany before circumstances changed owing largely to the stout resistance of the German nation. A year later communism overthrew Russia's monarchy and allied itself to the rest of capitalist west to fight the Germans in the inconclusive first encounter.

Perhaps, now with the demise of communism, the final story might be told. Meanwhile we can assume that the wars were fought to destroy the concept that "Might is Right."

The United Nations created in the wake of these conflicts recognised the worth of man and the essential equality pervading the human race. So, declarations of equality, were made. And the world declared its abhorrence to racism and other practices that gnaw away at equality. While the first world war was essentially a European affair, the second saw the entry of the United States of America to aid the Allied Powers, and the involvement of Japan on the side of the Axis Powers.

For a world that studies its major conflicts on the presumption of German guilt, some facts can be jolting.

When the Allied powers convened the Nuremberg court to try war criminal, the indictment specifically

charged Germany with having "planned, prepared, initiated and waged" war against the United Kingdom, France and the United States. Someone added anonymously. "It is odd to read this and then recall how on that fateful 3rd of September 1939, Britain, of her own, volition declared war on Germany, followed a few hours later by a very reluctant France; that Britain declared war on Japan, as previously agreed and publicly promised, immediately following Pearl Harbour; and that in reciprocation, the U.S. Government declared war on Germany at the same instant; but (then) we are not lawyers."

Also as pertinent might be considered a remark of Mr. Beverly Baxter, MP, in the House of Commons on 19th March, 1941 replying to statements made by Mr. R.R. Stokes. "Had he attended the lunch for the new American Ambassador, he would have realised that the speeches showed that at last the great continent of America — a continent slow to come to a decision, but coming with irresistible power when it does so come — is now in this war and is coming to our rescue. That was nine months before Pearl Harbour."

Well, of course the Japanese also are guilty, aren't they? Some people even see a tinge of racism in this accusation. "Why," Malcolm X asked, "didn't the West drop its atom bombs on the Germans? The Japanese didn't start the war."

While the immediate post-war world was emerging from a "might is right" conflict, the new world found itself slowly sinking into the morass of ideological schism. The Allied powers that fought side by side were now mortal enemies.

The ideological enemies—the United States of America and the Soviet Union—split the world into two. Resources became committed to preparation for war — hunger, disease and ignorance

had a field day.

Specialised agencies created by the UN had done valuable services to fight some of the real and more concrete problems of man but the military concern dwarfed all else. Beside the rivalry among the so-called First World nations and the possibility of conflict with the Second World, the nations of the Third World were often fighting their own people or each other.

The UN itself is divided. The General Assembly comprising all nations is clearly a more representative body than the Security Council which is more powerful with its veto wielding members. Leading nations of the western world which pride themselves on their adherence to democratic ideals threw these ideals away. No, they leave you with no other conclusion, there is no equality in this world. How can the great United States be at par with Burundi? How much does Rwanda contribute to the UN, to UNESCO, to UNICEF, to WHO, to FAO and to the funding of multinational peace keeping force? What nuclear mega tonnage do the Africans have?

Thirteen weeks ago, Iraq invaded Kuwait. What impudence? What do these Third World nations think they are? They think they can do as the powerful US does and escape? Poor Saddam thought he could learn by example: the US had invaded and bombed many countries in the last two decades. No one could say anything. It was wrong to invade or bomb but *might* made it right.

The world, after 45 years of strenuous effort of deceiving itself about unity and utopian equality, is finding it difficult to admit that it has become an arena of bloodshed, racist disunity and deceit. It may need another 45 years to put its house in order. But what will it have been without the UN?

# Northern hegemony: a bogey – I.B.M. Haruna

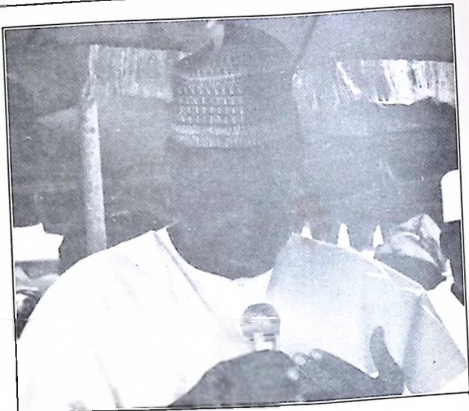
*Our first guest on the Platform this week is Major-General I.B.M. Haruna, who, through his years in public service and by the virtue of the various positions he held, has accumulated a wealth of experience.*

*At various times, he was the General Officer Commanding, GOC, 3rd Marine Commando; GOC, 1 Mechanised Division of the Nigerian Army, Kaduna and Federal Commissioner of Information. He established what is now Bonny Camp and delivered the operational orders of the civil war. After his retirement from the army, General Haruna returned to study law at the Ahmadu Bello University. He was a member of the 1989 Constituent Assembly and present chairman of National Institute of Policy and Strategic Studies. He is from Garkida, Gongola State:*

**CT:** You recently celebrated your 50th birthday. How was life then and now? Is the quality of our life as a fact and expectation declining?

**IBM:** Life expectancy in Africa was 40 years if one managed to survive Malaria, Bilharzia, worms, etc. Now it is supposed to be 47 years. As for expectation, nowadays when you leave school, there is no job, if you have a job, there is no house. If you have a job and a house, the job hardly pays. Then we carried wood for mama to cook. I grew up in Kaduna and Zaria. We walked the streets to pluck mangoes for self-sustenance. If you didn't have enough to eat, wouldn't you go to *gonan dankali* and roast some? It was enjoyable. Of course if you had a new pair of shoes for *sallah*, it was cause to celebrate.

These days children don't walk bare footed. In those days it was the exception. If you had a new shoe you don't want to wear it you want to carry it on your shoulder, let your feet go into the mud instead of the shoes. People now



**Haruna: domination a bogey.**

are getting poorer, they are getting more disenchanted. Hopes cannot rise because the situation doesn't give people the comfort of great expectation. The manpower is there, the ability is there, the will power is there. It is the goodwill, trust, the managerial capacity, and vision that are declining.

**CT:** Would you attribute these to the citizens, system or leadership?

**IBM:** The problems of the economy, if it is to blame, is in one category, religious bigotry another. The totality of the problems, cannot fall on one person. Everyone makes his own — contributions one way or the other, either in perpetuating, blaming, maintaining the status quo or in doing nothing which leads to solving nothing.

We are part of the problem and the solution but if we're not solving them, then we are part of the problem.

Specifically, the elite and the leadership. The leadership of the economy cannot be considered in isolation from the political question. The economic situation cannot be removed from the foresight and perception of the designs of those who are in a position to take decisions. Our situation is the result of yesterday's decisions. Those decisions were made by the elite under two assumptions. One that they had the mandate to act on peoples' behalf.

Second, the nation has been in the realm of military dictatorship. So, whether it is the military elite or political elite, they arrive at one decision

using certain factors. Their sense of judgment, have brought us to these major problems. For example, at independence, we were an agricultural country. We did not take the decision that would turn our agriculture from subsistence to sustenance. There are lack of social mobilisation, infrastructure, communication and political disunity.

The lack of foresight of the leadership is to do with the discovery of oil and wealth from God-given resources accruing in cash. Now, an accumulated application of that new found wealth, one way or the other should have given us, perhaps a different situation than we have today.

For instance, the rehabilitation of the damages of the civil war carried out under a military dictatorship decided on a programme of social and infrastructural investments, expansion of the economy without giving comparable intense and organised investment in the agricultural sector. If they had worked out correctly, we shouldn't be importing food. But because those solutions were wrong we've ended up importing food and the raw materials for the industries. In many cases these industries have not even taken off.

The whizz-kids in the leadership did not do their homework properly, and the priorities we chose, have proven that they were not sustainable assumptions. Take technology. We



Ojukwu: not my contemporary.

underestimated those we were dealing with. They will not sell their technology to you. They will only sell their goods to you. Technology is an inbuilt idea resulting from experience and labour with contents of secrecy. They use you as a market to expand their experiment ability and capability. Technology has to be indigenous. You learn and experiment. You may come out with things that are crude. There are well known Nigerians in Europe and America, those who come back and find the situation beyond their patriotic zeal simply go back and are utilised there properly.

CT: Are you going into politics?

IBM: It is confusing to believe that if you go into politics, you may make a contribution. In fact in our circumstances, you may be more useful being a player.

The decision to go into politics must be looked at in the context of relevance. What am I looking for? What am I going to contribute?

I've not taken the choice to join politics as the more positive way of making a contribution. The option is open. I have friends in politics, I talk with them and we are all in politics

because we have our political persuasion, they may not be permanent, but we are part and parcel of it.

CT: Looking at the calibre of the people now in politics, do you have much hope in the success of the Third Republic?

IBM: The hopes of the Third Republic cannot be hinged solely on the flare of the newbreed. The institutional mechanism of democracy, the operational modalities and the responses of all these to the law and its relevance to the people will determine the success of the Third Republic.

Democracy does not create jobs. It is a system, a process. In the end a manifestation. So



Gowon: hero of the three-year civil war.

again, prospectively I cannot categorically say what the Third republic is going to become. The second republic did not fail because of democracy. There are a lot of blames.

CT: Some would say it failed because of it.

IBM: True, because it is easy to personalise faults. Failure is a bastard. Success has so many relatives. We personalised the failure of the second republic. It broke down because that system had its limitations. The moment it came across its most formidable limitation, that is, resources, it broke down. And my fear about the third republic, really, part of it, is the ability to finance democracy. The government is aware of this.

CT: You can trim down the cost of democracy.

IBM: We have trimmed it down, but still it does not mean that we have brought it to bearable cost. What we have to look at is the average productivity of the person and what will be spent in order for him to demonstrate his participation in politics. From our national income we have to look at the cost of democracy not the cost of being a representative. You take the cost of mobilising democracy to the grass-roots to make it possible for Malam Idi to be able to throw a piece of paper in a box.

NEC, MAMSER are part of the cost. If we can afford it that way and do it accurately to promote good governance and happiness of the people, then it will be worth it.

**CT:** What do we do about corruption? its manifestation?

**IBM:** The manifestations of corruption from top to bottom are so many. It is not easy. Social pressures lead people into corruption. If we have honest people, working honestly and spending the budget in the right place and amount, some of the pains that force people to be corrupt will be reduced. A man will close his eyes and take a bribe, not because he is not against it, but he has a dying child and he cannot buy medicine for his dying child.

How many times do you hear a policeman say, "wetin I go chop?" The motivation is not fraudulent but he is virtually using his position to beg. In some instances people use their position to enrich themselves. One using his position to guarantee perpetuity. The other is using his office to assuage his being, by conjuring sympathy. These are corruption. You are paid to provide some service, but can it work if you are not paid? I do not give money as bribes because of what it will encourage. It is a level of consciousness. It starts with individual commitment. With the ordinary man, it is expected. But it is also for those in authority.

Some private companies have it as their business ethic, not to give bribe. They may send you a Christmas card and a diary. Others give bribe for everything; even the ones they are entitled to.

There is no government that has not faced the problem of corruption in public and private life.

**CT:** It appears to be more pervasive now. Is it because of the poor state of the economy or lack of will?

**IBM:** There are many factors but one of the reasons is that we do not have a realistic reward system. Lack of it opens the way for people to take chances. Here is somebody, he has gone through the university, genuinely passed in second class upper, he cannot find a job. A failure or a third class holder gets a job and in six months is promoted.

**CT:** The high turn-over of individuals in the public service, army officers is a bit worrisome. Wouldn't the army be better off if the officer corp is a bit more older?

**IBM:** It is a proposition which can be true.

The overriding importance is that we look upon it as a medium of solving political crisis.

Although we can say that it is wrong, improper, damaging, the circumstances, are meant to be sacrifices to cure certain political greed. It is important that people understand that it is not a craving for an ideal society, rather it is a desire to correct certain notion for a growing society. I would love to have been in the army, a general at 38 and a field marshal at 65. A young lawyer hopes to become a Senior Advocate of Nigeria. The issue has an inherent and inbuilt contradiction. It has social conflicts which we are trying to harmonise. It is a hard pill to swallow.

**CT:** Is the sacrifice worth it giving your experience?

**IBM:** It might be worth while for me. Generally, it is a challenge that should be worthwhile for the nation, we understand why it is done, but sometimes policy makers take things for granted. That is where the danger is. If you don't explain your policy then people are free to give it their own interpretations and to pitch it within the context of their own understanding. It is very easy to hear that in the recent

national judgement for very critical circumstances that can touch on the mood or the security of the nation. Our prayer should be that one serves with honour and integrity, people should not see it as the end of one's participation in the growth and development of this country. The high turn-over in society in itself is not a bad thing, it is the end use of it and one must always warn, the fact that people retire prematurely is no excuse for those who are in the system to think that they must generate self-enrichment because of the insecurity. To counter-balance it, there must be something to ensure that at the end of the road, the basic things for which a man has gone to school, left school and has gone to work for, gets it.

If a man can honestly work a number of years at the end he has a roof over his head and his children; he just needs something to eat and if he is sick he wants to be cured. It is not that people be given the opportunity to own mansions. Many of us have done the wrong thing because of poor orientation. The reason is, we do not sometimes see ourselves as magnifying social problems or presenting social problems, rather we see the setting where I want to do

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retirements, some people were retired to prevent them from becoming generals or the Chief of Army Staff. Or it is to make sure that certain groups of people are perpetuated. These can be killing. So policies of government must be sold. Actions should be sold in a manner that they are accepted.

In a mature nation, you have elders who have retired from high posts of public service, as ministers, generals. In a growing nation you should have such people. So Nigeria as a fast growing nation should not be without retired generals. If they make it by 32-33 and retire at 38-40, it is still good for the nation. It still holds as a promise for the young ones. But as the nation grows, perhaps the age limit will also grow.

The judiciary retires supreme court judges at 65. At 65, a supreme court judge is just so mature mentally, to give excep-

tions for myself that make me happy. However, there are people in position and leadership who must see that they have ceased to be themselves. They have actually become public property, even their privacy is of public interest.

**CT:** Orkar, in his coup bid alleged that some army officers are retired to make room for particular persons. There are also claims of northern hegemony and a national question.

**IBM:** Some of the issues Orkar raised are so personal. Historically, the Hausa constabulary, the Royal West Africa Frontier Force were built up by the British drawn from the tribes they considered as fighting tribes in Nigeria. Mostly from Bachama, the Jukuns, the Tivs, from Niger, Gwandu, Sokoto, Kanawas and Bauchi area. They were supported by clerical staff who were mostly drawn from the south because of

their traditional possession of Christian education.

People talk of Northern hegemony; they should understand the tribes' share and a crucial turning point. The turning point is that tradition and part of the military training have been the immediate post-independence situation where they sought to introduce educational qualifications for promotion to soldiers. Soldiers who were erstwhile just good soldiers, they can shoot, they can carry gun. Then for the officers, it turned out that not only the educated northerners wished to join the army, but many southern indigenes also did. So we had a situation where the follower-class in the army were predominantly southern.

This situation has become synonymous with other fields of endeavour in this country. It has interfered with our political problems. Talk about the university and the teaching cadre, the hospitals, the clerical, the private sector, banking sector. Their origin can be traced to the nature of colonial evolution. So it is nothing new, that is why our constitution gives it recognition.

What happened before our coming? The southerners were fighting themselves in the Nigerian Railway Corporation, the Nigeria Airways, Nigerian Ports Authority. There is always the accusation that one tribe or one ethnic group is dominating the public sector or body. The issues of our post-independence politics is actually what today we call the national question. That time, it was only recognised as the problem of minorities.

In whatever semantics they are described, the issue boils down to equal opportunity, equal representation, fairness, social justice. These are what we are striving to achieve. Even if the 1966 coup was right, it was wrong for soldiers to kill fellow soldiers who were in the minority of the leadership class. It didn't take a political scientist to know that sooner or later the follower tribes will react. If you do that in labour you will have the same thing, in politics too. So, in terms of northern hegemony, there is no northern hegemony. I think that people use political terminology as an instrument for achieving certain political aims and objectives. In reality today, there are 354 local governments, each one of them will like to see their sons as generals, bank managers, journalists of repute or a governor.

This is what people should recognise. There are people in this country, if you asked where they come from, in nine cases out of ten executives in Lagos at the top, they will not tell you. Our sense of geography is that odd. There are people who will interview you, say where do you come from, if I say I come from a village in Garkida, they say where is that, I say in Gombi. They'll say where is Gombi? In honest fact, he does not know. And when you even tell him that it is in Gongola State, then he will ask, is that near Wukari?

The so-called northern hegemony, everybody knows is a political gimmick, some cry caliphate, some talk about North and South, some Hausa/Fulani, Ibo/Yoruba. If it doesn't suit them they talk about Christianity and Islam. Some of these things are so irrelevant and irritating.

**CT:** Enough to worry them or cause worry?

**IBM:** Yes, they are enough to cause worry. But the consolation is that leaders should recognise the factors that can be used negatively or positively. If you use it negatively you breed trouble, positively, you create harmony.

**CT:** They are easily recognisable, but have they been effective?

**IBM:** Yes. When the elites fail to gain prime positions they begin to use this instrument to out-manoeuvre others. It started from the time of Zik and Awolowo. From Lagos to Ibadan, they ask, how can an Igbo man win a parliamentary seat? He has to go back to the east and use the Igbo as his base for political influence. But things are changing and people ought to reshuffle their political thinking and instrumentality.

The young man Orkar, either did not



Hassan: first military governor of the north.

know the history of this country or was politically inept. He didn't even realise that where he came from was the foundation of military coups in this country.

On the issue of federal character, the soldiers who staged the first coup had experience, not just from the Congo, but because they were used in the Tivis riots. And so those who were behind them had appreciated that they could use them as an instrument of imposing political power in Nigeria.

**CT:** That brings us to the issue of the civil war and your role. What role did you play? Where did you serve? Did people outside the military use these soldiers?

**IBM:** I wasn't part of the rebellious few, but I was a commanding officer in April 1966. I was a major. After the coup, we realised what was happening. In 1965 as an officer in charge of logistics and material supplies, materials like armament were going into the workshop. For some reasons, revolt did not come out. The reason being that Victor Banjo was ahead of me in the workshop and he was part of the plot. They were collecting these things (armaments) so that they could later use them.

The same thing with Anuforo, Nzeogwu, etc. all were there collecting arms. People were not close to see what high-catchment they were getting. From what happened after the coup, it was a deliberate attempt to swamp the north and stop it from getting a prime participation in Nigeria's political affairs. Those of us who were young in Lagos for the first time while in transit for training abroad knew the kind of feelings that generated. You were like strangers just coming into their fatherland, or like aliens coming to Lagos.

**CT:** What was your relationship with Ojukwu, Victor Banjo, Nwchukwu, Nzeogwu, Anuforo personally and professionally.

**IBM:** Nwchukwu and Anuforo are my contemporaries, we went to Ghana together in the same group with late Murtala Muhammed, Major-General Muhammadu Shuwa (rtd), Bisalla, Ebitu Ukiwe. He was a very ambitious man. He was working in Kaduna in the radio house. His brother was running a radio station also in Kaduna. They lived in Abakpa here. So we knew ourselves. Ojukwu, was not my contemporary. I only knew that there was an Oxford son of a rich man who was brought either to join the army or to become something else. I got close to him

when he joined the ordinance services. Between him and I was General Effiong who was director of ordinance services. I was in Lagos, Murtala Muhammed was commanding the depot, where all military arsenals etc. are kept. I was then the Commander of Army logistics.

It was then I got to know Ojukwu and Banjo. My knowledge is not as close professionally as my knowledge of the late Maimalari. Lt.-General T.Y. Danjuma, I knew, commanded the Nigerian Military School, NMS. They were the prime pioneers. Maimalari, I knew because he was also a commander and that is the first person who taught me to use ammunition. I much admired him...

The Tiv riots, you know how it was engineered. Creation of Bendel State, you know how it came about. Frustration with the elections. But the concern in all these

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### **Up to today, the derided northerner does not have control of the high turn over of goods, the economy. Yes, he sits over the table, the policy comes to him and he makes it. And they interpret that as the real power.**

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political problems is the belief that the north is underpopulated. And if there are no people, how come so many of them have been given opportunity in the hierarchy of government? I think we are still being tolerated in high places.

CT: Tolerated?

IBM: It is part of this that some people raised the national question. They believe some people have the power in the economy, power in the military, they are perpetuating northern interest. But people don't look at the total picture of Nigeria and how we are participating in it. If they look at say banking, you'll know that he is not the beneficiary of the banking transactions. Where is the money? Where is the real thing that improves our daily living? It's not there.

Up to today, the derided northerner does not have control of the high turn over of goods, the economy. Yes, he sits over the table, the policy comes to him and he makes it. And they interpret that as the real power. It is unfortunate because people do not want to see how we are sharing. This man is on the table, he is not selling any thing, the other man who is not part of it, he is selling exhaust pipes and tyres, he is making profit he is sending his money back to the village to build mansions

People should appreciate that they should not want to grab everything. This is what is happening. The truth is that some of the thing you may have to say may be saddening to unity, but that is the truth. The truth is bitter. Some of the time, rather than engendering friendship and understanding, it will bring enmity. As a Nigerian, I am glad, welcomed in the East. They have good roads, nice buildings. That does credit to the ingenuity of the people. But what does that speak of me who went to fight them? My relatives are still in mud, thatched houses; If I have a house they insult me.

As for my role, at the beginning of the civil war, I was recalled from a course in Britain. On my return I was made the Lagos Garrison Commander.

As the commander I had to make

was available to hold them from advancing into Lagos until such a time that the commander-in-chief would decide and appoint a commander.

From that first incursion, I was working in Lagos with Major General Armah (rtd) and Major General Ejiga (rtd). Ejiga from Ikeja was told that we had troops that just arrived from the north, take them, give them arms and make sure nothing crosses Ore. Then he was later joined by Late Colonel Ibrahim Taiwo. We had to go through out Lagos to all the units to retrieve arms and ammunitions from them to give it to the people who are necessary for the protection of the borderline. When Murtala succeeded through his campaign and took Onitsha, subsequently I took over from him as General Officer Commanding, GOC in Onitsha in 1967/68. Not long after that my command was in Bendel State. I was recalled to Lagos and took over as Quarter Master-General till the end of the war.

For the first two weeks of the war I was Shuwa's rear commander. He was in Makurdi, I was in Kaduna. My second in command then was Colonel Yakubu, the now known contractor of Songhai. My civil war role properly should start as the initial rear commander to 1 Division.

Late Brigadier Bisalla as chief of staff gave me and I delivered the operational orders of the war to the commander and when one looked at it, it was like a child's play because those operational orders took effect within 7 days. This led to police action but when things started it went on for 30 months.

CT: What is your assessment of the Ikemba of Nnewi, Chief Odumegwu Ojukwu and his cause?

IBM: My assessment of Ojukwu is that he is a politician. His mind is dead clear. Up to today, if Ojukwu has a way to manoeuvre to be the president of Nigeria, he will be, notwithstanding that he has been president of Biafra. That is Ojukwu. He knows what to use power for and why he should want power. Of course when he got it in the east he wanted to keep it. That is why we had to go to war. We didn't go to civil war because Igbos and Hausas could not agree. We went to war because, he said no, I nearly used a spear

sure that reinforcement, logistics, support were provided mainly for the protection of vital areas in Lagos. That is how Bonny camp came into being. I established a camp and called it Bonny Camp. It was holding the troops for short time training and familiarisation with riverine operations. We train and take them across the water, go to Bonny, the first landing port. I established the headquarters at No. 5 Koffo Abayomi Street, Victoria Island, which is now the Brigade of Guards headquarters. And if I am not mistaken that was perhaps Alhaji Musa Yar'adua's house when he was minister in Lagos. He is the father of Major General Shehu Musa Yar'adua (rtd). The Airforce took the one next to it. It became unity headquarters.

I was commanding Lagos Garrison and of course the incidence that happened worth mentioning was when Ojukwu started his air raids on Lagos. Then the second important incident was when Bendel was overrun by the rebels and Victor Banjo was coming to Ibadan to declare the republic of Ojoduwa.

That was a nightmare for us because we had to quickly assemble whatever

word, this guy Gowon cannot be head of state while I am here.

At Aburi again, he said no, if we are not sharing power where we are equal Gowon can not be head of state. So as far as he was concerned he had to be a head of state.

So he became head of Biafra. Now he doesn't mind coming back, if he has the opportunity. Nigerians are very generous and forgiving.

CT: Ojukwu fought Nigeria he was defeated and ran away. You as an ex-soldier, a lawyer and as a citizen, how do you see this? He hasn't renounced rebellion.

IBM: And he has been forgiven. Now as soldier, of course, if you lose it is a court martial and you are fired for rebellion. In this case he ran away and returned. The thing one will ask is, did the president have powers to forgive? Looked at it in the academic sense, the powers in the president as exercised under the constitution is to give pardon, prerogative of pardon. In this case, one would say there is a man who was accused, who overtly had committed a crime but he was not put on trial.

As a lawyer, well, the state has the right to prosecute or not to prosecute. The right thing to say is that the state has refused to evoke its powers of prosecution, but has not forgiven him. The forgiveness, perhaps, is the journalistic way but in law, it is declining to prosecute. You prosecute and try and find the man guilty. Even if you have done all this, he has not yet been found guilty, because he has not been charged. But the state has used its prerogative to waive prosecution. Once that happened, under the constitution one is presumed innocent until proved guilty. So, he can still say, today I want to be president. I did nothing. He can say the Igbo people wanted a war, they wanted to fight I was their leader, I am still their leader, and as you can see, I did not commit any crime.

CT: What of as a man who witnessed the horrors of the war? How would you look at Ojukwu's position not renouncing rebellion?



Murtala: ruled for only six months.

IBM: Ojukwu is saying that he needs no forgiveness. The Igbos are now saying that the rebellion is not Ojukwu's crime, it is our crime. So if you want to bring Igbos back into the Nigerian society, you will have to bring him in because we all rebelled and we all have surrendered and we lost the fight so perhaps in the spirit of what Gowon said "No victor, no vanquished", Nigeria has put herself in a special class of civil wars where there are no victors no vanquished. Since we are not victors, I can tell you part of the problem this created, we cannot really say that certain sensitive positions or issues cannot be given to certain people because they were part of the rebellion that sought to dismember this country.

CT: Are you on the reserve list? Because there was a controversy recently between Danjuma and others. I think General Hassan repeated this assertion that there is a reserve list. His contention was that there is ...

IBM: I support Danjuma's position. I don't know anything called reserve list. Who is on reserve, reserve to who?

CT: We are made to believe that it is a military tradition that once you reach the position of a general, your service is assumed to be continuous and that you can be called upon at any time to serve the nation in a state of war.

IBM: Whose military tradition? By the tradition of the British, from where we emerged, you don't invite a general and tell him you're retired. Worse, I was not just a general, I was a cabinet minister. You can't do it in a political party. It is not like the Lord Profumo

case that everybody had heard that he had done something with Rice Davies. Or Gary Hart in America he entertained a Miss Rice. Profumo had Rice and Hart had Donna Rice. You see, if you are running for presidency, you'll do well to avoid any rice woman.

In the British tradition, when you sign as a soldier, you normally sign six years with the colours, three years with the reserve, or that after nine years you are entitled to gratuity and three years in the reserve. Then after 15 years, you are entitled to gratuity, pension and retirement. *Ka gama ka aje kaya ka yi shanya ka tafi*. Renewable and three years in the reserve, you have some pension to start a new life.

After 12 years and three years in the reserve, that is 15 years, they give you pension and gratuity. You can serve more depending on what rank you are. We have no such tradition with officers... The tradition with the British is that every officer is commissioned into a regiment to which he is accepted. If they don't accept you and you are commissioned you go into anyone of those services you like. If you are an officer, a Grenadier, Coldstream or Welsh guard, they have their tradition.

It's like if we have the tradition of guard regiment in the Emirate of Kano, if you are commissioned into that regiment, you knew how far you'll go. If you are commissioned into Coldstream, you know your father was never a general, a Count or Earl or something, you know that you are ending up as a captain or major, after that you are going out. You can never become colonel of the regiment. We don't have that tradition.

What we have, is a contract of employment where you have volunteered to go and the contract is defined by statute. That is our tradition. To test it, one would have gone to court, but you'll note that when the second republic constitution was made, they put it in a clause, which exempted the administration of General Olusegun Obasanjo from any liability for unlawful termination of engagement. You cannot sue.

There is however a recent very important decision of the supreme court. The essence of that decision is that when you are in the federal public

service, you are not serving the crown and therefore except by the proper legal termination of office, you are entitled to serve the nation.

Unlike the crown which can terminate your services, the state is the personal property of the crown. In a federation, by the constitution you have equal rights. You can retire me from being a commissioner, that I did not volunteer but you can't retire me from the army. I got in there to be an officer of the state like you did. So your right over me is dictated by the law.

I commit an offence, you institute a court martial etc. When you say come, keep your uniform and go, I can take my gun and shoot you. After all, you are a soldier, I am a soldier, by what virtue are you there? Isn't it by the gun? I shoot you and declare myself president, somebody else shoots me and takes over. The man who shoots last properly becomes president. That kind action is imminent.

The civilised way is to sue in court. I can be reinstated because in Common Law, you cannot force an employee on an employer. Here, the head of state is an employer, he can purge a public servant and reinstate him in the public sector. That was the decision in the case I referred to which is a proper decision in our case as a republic. The provision is there, you can sue, but some of us are taking it in good faith. There isn't a piece of paper that says, Major-General Haruna has served the Nigerian government as a soldier from such a year to such a year.

There is no such thing, how can anybody say that you're in the reserve. There is no reserve, no statement of retirement, no testimonial.

If I wanted to go and ask for an international job, and say look I have been a retired general, there is no paper to show for it. General Hassan, with every due respect, he said when Orkar excised five states, that he would mobilise all the retired generals. We're all here, yes. We'll be ready to mobilise and may be go to fight but, it will not be constitutional. It will just be another Yormie Johnson and Charles Taylor affair.

CT: The Oduduwa-Banjo case. We'll like you to give us some background on how that happened.

## He said no, if we are not sharing power where we are equal Gowon can not be head of state. So as far as he was concerned he had to be a head of state.

IBM: Well, as the federal forces, under Major General Muhammadu Shuwa were compressing the rebel-held areas, they sought to expand, by taking over Bendel State and declaring it the Republic of Benin. The plot then was as soon as Republic of Benin was declared, the troops from Biafra were to move under Victor Banjo's command and take over Ibadan and declare the Republic of Oduduwa. Things didn't work quite that way. As soon as Bendel State was overrun and the declaration was made and then Governor David Ejor was deposed but not found, the neutrality of Bendel State which he declared ceased to be neutral, therefore, it gave more or less licence and authority for the federal troops to liberate the Bendel State, this was done under the command of Murtala.

As soon as Murtala liberated Bendel State, he proceeded to capture Onitsha by direct crossing from Asaba. Two attempts proved disastrous, finally he had to do it by going round through Lokoja, Abagana then Onitsha. Well, that more or less closed in the rebel enclave and confined it to across the River Niger.

CT: When you refer to this Banjo's attempt or even Oduduwa are you implying that he had a different agenda from Ojukwu?

IBM: No, he was actually together with, who was this guy now? Sorry, names just disappear, they were strictly under the battle strategy of Ojukwu's Biafran war plan. When Port-Harcourt and Cross-River state had been liberated, it was purely the Igbo speaking enclave that was left of Biafra. The Bendelites did not want war in their territory and of course we had a time when the western army officers had power to repatriate all northern troops out of the west as well. This is part of the history of the making

of Nigeria, at one time everybody was belonging to a part. You know the fate of Banjo when they failed Ifeajuna — the other name I was talking about, Common-wealth gold medalist in Nigeria in the end were both shot under Ojukwu's orders, as we were told.

CT: What was the conflict between Gowon and Murtala that you referred to?

IBM: Normally one does not expect in a military culture to have a disagreement between a senior and subordinate, but the history of power making made that kind of disagreement possible. This is traceable to July 29, effects of 1966, when as you well know Mohammed and others in Lagos were very much in command of the troops. Military etiquette demanded that more senior officers were given deference, except by reasons of other wide political considerations. For reasons put together, Gowon took over as the head of state. Between them it appeared that the military policies were divergent in implementation. I would say that Murtala stood for more dynamism and speed for curbing Ojukwu's rebellion right from its inception. But Gowon was more schematic of procedural matters.

So the two military lords failed to agree and time came when Murtala felt like he was not going to remain a soldier for long if things stood that way. He had gone on casual leave, in Kano when the incident occurred. He was recalled to take over command of the division. As a matter of co-incidence, when the 1975 coup that toppled Gowon took place, he was out of the country.

CT: Were you involved in any coup?  
IBM: Let me put it this way. I wasn't aware of the January coup even though many of the operators were my friends or colleagues. Those of us who



Obasanjo: gifts are private matter.

were in Lagos were all in Late Brigadier Maimalari's house having the usual party for Gowon and others for change of appointments. I was a youngman enjoying myself, dancing the night away. It was early hours of the morning when we knew that things had happened. The pity was that I was with Lt. Col. Largema talking about 2:30 — 3:00 a.m. After we left Maimalari, I told him, "*Kai rankai dade muje miyi suhur a gidana daga nan.*" I was living nearby. He was a senior officer but we related very well. That was more or less the last conversation I had with a senior officer that was to me like a guardian angel.

In the morning, my sergeant major at Lagos, Wambi told me Maimalari had been shot at the Polo Club. That was my first information and shock about the coup. One of the planners, Major Chukwuka, we were at Sandhurst had been to my house over the weekend but he never said anything.

In July 1966 I was a unit commander. I was not in Nigeria. When July 29 event took place I was in Germany with the then Quarter-Master-General, Lt. Col. Keshi. We were visiting arms factories in Germany and we had with us Colonel Sule Apollo. We were shopping for arms when it happened. Colonel Keshi said we must return. Sule and myself said we would not go home, we were shopping for arms for Nigeria and Nigeria will still continue.

We continued with our mission. Keshi left us in Germany. We proceeded to Italy to complete our assignment. By the time we got back, about three days after or so, the situation had normalised and there was a government. If you remember there was no govern-

ment for about two or three days. When Gowon was toppled in 1975, I was there. I was briefed.

CT: Before, or after?

IBM: I was briefed. On the day of the coup there was a flight for us the commanders to go to Lagos and sort out matters. I know I had various officers I could depend on. They were frank as to tell me everything and gave me the choice. Everything put together, I went along with them. Eventually we got to Lagos that day and the inner-core of the planners landed in Lagos. I gave up my appointment as GOC to become a minister or commissioner, that is how the exit of my career started. From there to organising FESTAC.

CT: How about General Obasanjo's book? You said you have not read it?

IBM: I read the excerpts. I bought a copy. Something struck me and I thought to myself, now I am going to read it. I thought it was very, very mean for a writer and for a head of state, to say in his book that Major General Joe Garba (rtd) gave him a pair of shoes. He tried it on and it did not fit. That General Garba went to find out whether he had worn that shoe and he said no. General Garba went back and collected the shoe which Obasanjo had given to his ADC saying it was not fit for the ADC.

You see, I thought it was bad. To admit that I am taking presents from my immediate subordinates to me is bad. Worst of all to portray that officer to have done what he did. I have read "*My Command*". Sometimes, I wander how some of our leaders take us, as kids in a kindergarten? If you are the head of state of a very important nation like Nigeria, you are communicating to the world and is that what a head of state should say?

It's not that people don't give gifts. I am sure corporate bodies give gifts to Mrs. Reagan, Mrs. Bush, but it is personal. If you are my junior, I give you gift I think it is private. Who would want to read in a book that I went on tour as your minister and brought you a pair of shoes, it ridicules us as a people. Somebody should have edited the book or told the former head of state that it was not a matter for a book.

Honestly a book should made interesting reading. I don't know the motive of writing it. It has commanded so much controversy where people start going into the archives to look at where the council's decisions that were taken in respect of appointments. We thank God that since he cared to write we can put him and examine him and criticise him, perhaps if he did not write we will live by the things we know but unfortunately we still think that he could have done better.

As a writer there are a lot of things about governing this country that people would like to know, that are not being said, and the things that are said are not the things that really interest serious people who are interested in governance.

You contrast it with "*Just Before Dawn*" by Kole Omotosho, you will know that reading that book, there is somebody who is addressing serious issues about his country and he has not ruled the country, just picked up materials here and there. Someone may want to know about what are the political intrigues that took place in Nigeria reading "*Just Before Dawn*" you would see some indications. A Nigerian who was not old enough at independence in 1960 would want to know what took place, it is history to them.

Here is a head of state, I often say I owe no grudge to Obasanjo, I still visit him, I go to him anytime as a colleague.

There are things that we owe people as their trustees and by virtue of what position we held and certainly one should be able to make the distinction between a private and a public matter. If you are writing about public experience, public trust, matter, you do that. There are times, when we knew that the late Prime Minister during Sallah would send rams to friends of the government and so on.

As a nation with culture, if a man as head of state doesn't have the means, the government should make that means available to him because it is part of our culture.

CT: Mr. Allison Ayida claimed that when Obasanjo was offered the leadership of Nigeria, he said he didn't want to be shot like a fowl.

IBM: I tell you why I think it was a

joke. I have my own personal query. There is a man who presented himself as a reluctant head of state, but you must have read what was reported about a grand design. The grand design had something to do about what happened between Obasanjo and Awolowo. When I read that report, that on the night of the coup that killed Murtala, Obasanjo was at Apapa with Awoiowo till the early hours of the morning. Nothing explains his movement from there to the morning when Murtala was killed to the time he hid himself.

How feasible is it that I should believe that somebody else who is far from looking like him was shot in the mistaken belief that he was the one? Dumuje doesn't look like Obasanjo, their flags were not like Murtala's. Dumuje was flying my flag when I was chief of Ordinance Service, he does not have the colours of the supreme headquarters. So as far as I am concerned, my belief is that it is all part of the design to misdirect mislead, misinform or whatever as to who to believe. As far as I am concerned my own belief is, they were part of the conspiracy to disorganise Murtala's government. And my personal conclusion is that if you are a muslim head of state in this country use double security, but that is politics.

There are things that we should not be heard to be saying because, it will endanger the peace we are looking for. We harbour it not because they are competent or but because you are what you are and what you can do but Nigerians must learn to accept that those who are in leadership positions preaching the embracement of disci-



Haruna: still strong at fifty.

pline cannot be seen to be saying these things because it may have a hot effect. You can go and laugh, but I tell you, when you print it, there are people who will twist it over there, make it headline. That is when they will put my photograph. If I say the right things and the decent things they won't. We have got the thing which is wrong, now we can use him — they will blow your photograph and put that thing and everybody now will say, ah! this is a hater of Nigeria. But you know this is a threat. We have to recognise it is a threat.

CT: Obasanjo said that he was sent to Awolowo's house by Murtala but he never said what his mission was.

IBM: I keep cultings. I have it somewhere. I read that article and my mind started wondering. Something must be wrong. This grand design has more in it than can be told to the public. It was only recently that he said why he went there. That article did not say why he went there. He went there for what? Why for so long? Who else was there? All this are not explained.

The same thing when you look at organisation of the coup, that is the same coup where I read an excerpt that says if T.Y. Danjuma, so so and so, emerged together, you must not shoot, what does that mean?

Of course, we cannot always tell whose hands is at work when certain things happen. They can be the long arms of CIA, they can be the long arms of Gadaffi, they can be the long hands of Mossad. Whosoever long hands it is, the fact is that when you put the pieces, you ask why? I have been asking myself — why did Obasanjo say "ah I am reluctant?" You don't want to be the head of state? Don't be the head of state. You take it, then you start performing as you really wanted it and acted like, but he acted like he didn't want it. The fact is, look, we had Balewa, Murtala all were overthrown violently. Shagari's coup could have been bloody too but for Bello Kalliel. A first class officer, unfortunately we do not value them. He did his job as an officer to protect the head of state to death.

CT: Does the ethnic factor also play an important role even in Journalism.

IBM: We do not use all our energies to do our politics. If it was a northern minister being tried the southern press will go to town, the files would have been out. But when it is our own fight we don't fight for our people, we still don't fight for our people. You see, if you are a northerner, God bless you if you find a place you can hold it, you have to hold it by the strength of your competence.

By Mohammed Bomi,  
Bilkisu Yusuf and Adamu Adamu.

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**Some of the issues Orkar raised are so personal. Historically, the Hausa constabulary, the Royal West Africa Frontier Force were built up by the British drawn from the tribes they considered as fighting tribes in Nigeria. Mostly from Bachama, the Jukuns, the Tivs, from Niger, Gwandu, Sokoto, Kanawas and Bauchi area.**

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## NIGERIA

# The mirroring of SAP

Only a month ago, some vociferous critics of the government had wanted to examine SAP.

The October 24 worldnet dialogue on Nigeria's implementation of a structural adjustment programme, SAP, in the eyes of the American audience, may have gone the way of all previous televised satellite interviews put on by the United States Information Service. But for Nigerians it has a special significance. First, the topic, SAP has been a 'no go' subject, on which the government would brook no debate. Just last September, it aborted a national conference organised by a few of its most stridently vociferous critics. That a month afterwards, Nigerians in Lagos and Ibadan were allowed to ask questions about SAP marks a significant shift in policy.

Their questioning of Dr. John Williamson and Dr. John D. Sullivan, both Americans, described as "distinguished economists", revealed the citizens' weak economic pulse. The questions ranged from the too obvious to the rather embarrassingly very awkward. For instance, a man in Lagos asked whether Nigeria, or any other country for that matter, implementing SAP, would get an indemnity, against failure. A newspaper editor in Ibadan wanted to know whether any cushion could be pro-

vided against the potential political instability that the economic and social pains of SAP might cause.

The responses of the two American gentlemen were mostly insincere, to say the least. One can perhaps guess why: Dr. Williamson was once an advisor to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the economic devil's advocate. Nigerians who watched the televised interview considered some of the Americans' recommendations, like the one about inviting Hong Kongans to teach us entrepreneurship as very cynical.

Then there was their comment about Nigeria's budget deficit being too large and they recommended a regulation of government expenditure to enable government "live within (its) budget". They also suggested some tax reform as a priority policy measure. Interestingly, the American government is groaning under the weight of an unprecedented huge budget deficit that pitched President George Bush against a Democrats-dominated Congress, which wanted the deficit reduced by making the richer Americans pay higher taxes. But the Bush government did not want to alienate its Republican constituency by going back on its electoral promise not to raise taxes.

Financing the budget deficit is one of the several facets of the structural adjustment programmes which many developing countries have been called upon to adopt. Citizens of such countries who know the pains of SAP only too well should be curious about the implications for the international economic system if the almighty United States were to be asked to walk the path of structural adjustment too. But this is not likely to happen for the reason that the two American discussants gave in the programme: the U.S. economy has a much wider base and so can absorb the shock waves of the

budget deficit better.

Both men quibbled about the political equivalent of economic "conditionalities" which western donor governments and financial institutions give for making loans and grants available to needy SAPped countries.

They commended the abolition of the commodity boards as a sound policy. The "unexpected good result" of that decision, according to them, is that the Nigerian farmer is now getting a good price for his crops.

But at the same time they feared that there is yet no real take-off of export industries, saying that the time to have them is now. Apart from oil, the only thing Nigeria exports is textiles. Even so they are sent to the West African market only.

Are there countries that have come out of SAP with a cleaner bill of health? Yes, Chile and Indonesia, Dr. Williamson said. According to him, Chile, in the early 70's went through the hiccups of severe belt-tightening. A few bunglings here and there but as from 1982 the economy began to show sign of the expected turn-around. "Since then there have followed years of rapid growth", he said.

As for Indonesia, Dr. Williamson said it is an oil exporting country like Nigeria but unlike the later, "it did not make the mistake of spending its oil money unproductively." Again, without any external prodding, that country undertook a far-reaching currency devaluation "though there was no pressure on balance of payment." Today, it has achieved "a 44 per cent growth in manufactures."

So what do Dr. Williamson and Dr. Sullivan think of the Nigerian experience? Will it be a success? asks Dr. Okereke, president of Nigerian chamber of mines and agriculture. Yes, they believe we can make it. SAP is succeeding, the entrepreneurial force has been unleashed and there exists already a large market to exploit.

That optimism is not shared by their Nigerian interviewers though.

By Tawey Zakka.



Aka Bashorun: organised the abortive national conference.

# When the kettle boiled over

It all started with an injection for malaria and nearly ended up in a fist fight.

On October 13, Malam Usman Garba, a security guard took his 18-month daughter to the A.B.U Teaching Hospital, Kaduna. The doctor he met on duty said she had fever and made the necessary prescriptions. The hospital did not have the necessary drugs. He went out and bought them on the advice of a nurse and who later administered the injection.

Satisfied, he went home. A few hours later, the left leg of the child, Shamsiyya, was paralysed. From that moment on, the kettle was on the boil because Malam Usman happens to be in the employ of Chief Sonny Okogwu, an in-law to President Ibrahim Babangida.

According to Chief Okogwu, when Usman asked for his assistance in getting the hospital to take another look at the child because she couldn't walk and that the hospital wasn't showing much care, he was apprehensive because it might be misconstrued. He however offered to assist in getting better medical attention.

A few days later, "Usman came to my office. He was going 'mental' so I wrote two notes to the matron and the hospital secretary imploring them to come and help me resolve a problem. When they came to my house, all I asked was that the nurse in question should please come and see Usman's wife and calm her down. They both promised to return in a few minutes, but two days later, neither showed up."

Thereafter, Usman became hysterical, but Chief Okogwu urged him to take it in his stride since it was God's will. "I bought them many things to calm them down, but on the night of Sunday, Usman sneaked out

and went to the hospital alone. He came back, told me that he had seen the nurse and would go back even if they were going to kill him. When he did not show up, I alerted the policeman on duty to check at the hospital. Both were held hostage and they called me on the radio, but I refused to go fearing what might happen to me."

Chief Okogwu claimed that at this point, he called in the police to rescue them in a peaceful way, but CSP Dada Paiko too was held. Our sources said that CSP Paiko met Usman Garba and the policeman, Corporal Saidu Damari sent to accompany him, surrounded by nurses. He appealed to Mrs Zayyad to persuade the nurses to let them go and in the ensuing heated argument, they escaped. Chief Okogwu told *Citizen* that he asked to speak to Mrs. Zayyad if she was there. He pleaded with her before they were released.

The duo of Corporal Damari and Shamsiyya's father's mission was to invite a nurse who had given the injection, but the request was rejected. The hospital staff, he alleged, called for Mrs Zayyad, who he

claimed not only ordered them to be detained but expressed strong doubts as to whether he was sent there by Chief Okogwu.

"Mrs. Zayyad and a few others followed them back to my house and she apologised." Chief Okogwu told *Citizen* that his position was simply for them to show a little bit of sympathy so that the mother would understand and not to arrogantly confront them."

The following day however, nurses and staff at ABUTH went up in arms. Their grouse was that, using his familial ties, Chief Okogwu had unleashed the police and thugs to molest and harass them.

They carried placards some of which read, "Save us from Okogwu's shipyard brutality," "Shipyard now a private police station," "Humiliation of hospital staff must stop", and "Sonny to seal up ABUTH, no way." The men-



Nurses on a protest march November 1. (top) Shamsiyya.

tion of ship is in reference to Chief Okogwu's house which is shaped that way.

According to our sources, the hospital matron, Mrs. Maimuna Zayyad, received a phone call from Mrs Ukpabi, who works in her office that some men had come to take Nursing Sister, Mrs Mabel Aiebenomo to Chief Okogwu's house in connection with the case of giving an injection to a child. She directed that the nurse should not be allowed to go and called the attention of Professor E. Adekeye, the Deputy Chairman of ABUTH Management Committee.

On getting to the scene, she met a large crowd and CSP Dada Paiko, whom sources said did not even stop to listen to her but kept on shouting, "What do you know about the law?" The matron said that she tried in vain to stop the demonstration, but the nurses were aggressive and did not heed management advice, made individually and personally.

Mrs. Mabel Aiebenomo, was accused by Usman Garba on October 28th for giving the injection to his daughter, an accusation she denied. Not satisfied, Usman left only to return with an armed policeman insisting she follow them to Chief Okogwu's house, a two minutes walk from the hospital.

She wrote a letter of complaint to the National Association of Nigerian Nurses and Midwives, NANAM ABUTH, which formed the nucleus of the demonstration. She also submitted her resignation from the hospital with a cheque number KAF 080926 for N760 being a month's salary in lieu of notice.



Health Minister Ransome-Kuti: was there negligence?

On November 2, after much persuasion by the matron and colleagues, she withdrew the letter of resignation.

According to our sources, Mrs Zayyad had told the police that prior to the incident, she had made an attempt to treat Shamsiyya, a point which Malam Usman disputed. He told *Citizen* that he had repeatedly gone to the hospital seeking to even understand what happened to his daughter without success. "They just kept dribbling me. At one point, I was at the hospital at 7: a.m. but nobody talked to me until 4: p.m."

Our sources said that the Chairman of NANAM, ABUTH, Mr. James Esieckpe, was informed on October 29, of the incident of the previous day and the resignation of Mrs Aiebenomo and because of the rising tension in the hospital, with some doctors stopping work, a meeting of the association was held on October 30 where the decision to stage the demonstration was taken.

The association also took the decision to write intimating the chairman of the hospital management committee, the Commissioner of Police for Kaduna State and the media of its decision to stage a protest march. The police advised the association not to hold the demonstration, but our sources revealed that NANAM defied this directive.

What, now it seems, that triggered the demonstration was Usman Garba's wrong identification of and insistence that Mrs. Mabel Aiebenomo as the nurse who had given the unfortunate injection. *Citizen* can now reveal that Dorothy Shintuk actually administered the injection. Our sources said she told the police that there was nothing unusual in doing that and it was a normal treatment.

Chief Okogwu's contention was that the incident had gone beyond the simple issue of showing hu-

man sympathy for the baby but his relationship with people in government. "I intervened to show care, moreso when we are neighbours with the hospital, isn't that what religion teaches us, to show human sympathy? I go to the hospital, help them with drugs, money, services, personally and individually. Does my relationship with government people stop my freedom and right as a citizen?"

The nurses had said that Chief Okogwu had been using "his power" to harass and intimidate them, a charge which he denied.

*Citizen* learnt that the hospital authorities had now pleaded with the father of the girl and is handling the negligence aspect of the case.

A doctor at ABUTH [name withheld], told *Citizen* that when Usman Garba returned to the hospital the second time, the staff reviewed the case of the child and diagnosed her ailment as poliomyelitis, infantile paralysis. When Usman brought her the first time, she was treated for malaria, but that such treatment could not have resulted in paralysis unless the child had polio from the beginning.

The doctor however admitted that malaria injections, when given to a polio patient could hasten manifestations of the symptoms of polio.

The Commissioner for Police for Kaduna, Alhaji Bappah Jama'are, confirmed the incidents and directed his officers to comment. Mr. Mohammed Manzo, Assistant Commissioner of Police in charge of Special Investigation and Intelligence confirmed the incidents and said that his department was conducting an investigation. The Police Public Relations Officer, Mr. Basil Nwadika, also confirmed the incidents.

When *Citizen* called at the office of Mrs. Maimuna Zayyad, she said that she had no authority to comment on the issue. "Only the director can comment on this. Please go and see him." Professor Adekeye was out of town.

The Hospital Secretary, Malam Mohammed Isa Bauchi, said, "I appreciate your attempt to obtain the hospital's angle but I am not in a position to comment."

By Bilkiu Yusuf  
and Mohammed Bomoil

## NIGERIA-IN-BRIEF

## Lagos:

Former Nigeria's head of state, General Yakubu Gowon on Tuesday denied paternity of the child Princess Edith Ike Okongwu claimed she had for him. In a statement of defense countering the N30 million libel suit filed by the Princess and her son, Musa Gowon at an Ikeja High Court, General Gowon said her persistent refusal for a scientific proof of her claim, insisting that the former Head of state accepts a photograph of Musa as an authentication of her allegation is of no substance. He denied having an intimate relationship with Mrs. Ike Okongwu in the 60s as she claims. He



Gen. Yakubu Gowon (rtd).

said it was not true that he wanted to marry her in 1964 but for the refusal of her parents. He said that it was neither a fact too that he urged her to keep a pregnancy she claims was his for fear of losing his life in the civil war, neither is it true that he has seen to Musa's upkeep in the first six years of Musa's life. The case was adjourned to November 19 for hearing.

• The social security scheme for which a decree has been drafted will commence next year. Under it, the National Provident fund (NPF) would pay the jobless, the elderly and the genuinely needy a monthly allowance almost equivalent to his/her last month salary until the worker dies or finds another job. The Managing director of the NPF, Alhaji M.A. Dangana said the scheme was to replace what presently obtains, where NPF pays the bulk of no more than N5,000 to its contributors when they are jobless. He said the sole delay to the taking off of the scheme is the promulgation of the enabling decree which he said would be signed before the year runs out.

• Arms and Wheat are still being illegally imported into Nigeria, Flag officer commanding the Western Naval Command, Rear Admiral M.A.B. Elegbede alerted the nation last week.

Ten weeks ago, five container loads of ammunition were "discovered" at the Lagos port.

Admiral Elegbede, addressing officers and men of NNS Umalokun, at Warri however said efforts are being made by the armed forces to curb the illegal acts.

• Seven directors-general were appointed. They are Major Meneral Olu Bajowa (rtd), Ministry of Defence, Mr. M.A.B. Akpobasah, Ministry of Planning, Mr. Lele Mukhtar Ministry of Youth and Sports, Alhaji Gambo Magaji, Federal Civil Service Commission, Dr. T.P. Enodien, General Service office, the Presidency, Mr. M. A. Braimoh Bondany Adjustment Commission in the Presidency, Dr. Adamu Fika is the new Director General National Assembly/Clerk Designate.

Those redeployed are Mr. T.A. Anumodu, Ministry of Agriculture, Mr. A.A. Garuba, Internal Affairs Mr. J. A. Olatunji, Managment Services and Training, the Presidency, Dr. A.S. Abam, Cabinet Secretariat, the Presidency, Abdullahi A.M. Ma'aji will move to Political Affairs Office of the presidency, Mr. F.A. Adelula Mineral resources special Ecological fund, Dr. E.O. Ayo, Federation Account, Mr. S.B. Agodo, National security Advisers Office, Alhaji Gidado Idris, to Productivity, Prices and incomes board, and Alhaji Alfa Wali PPJB.

• The four-day visit of Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe scheduled to start on November 24 has been moved to January 6.

• Workers may have been undermined by labour and employers in their quest for bigger pay following disclosures that the basic monthly pay recommended by a tripartite committee was slashed by N235 after fresh negotiations. The committee according to Mr. Pascal Bafyau, NLC president recommended a minimum pay of

N685 in the report it handed to president Babangida. However, following fresh negotiation with the organised private sector which maintained that the amount recommended by the committee was on the high side the NLC agreed to a basic minimum wage of N450 for the least paid worker.

• Dr Tunji Olagunju, was appointed minister of special duties, raising the membership of the Federal Executive Council to 27. Until his appointment, the new minister was a special adviser to the President on political affairs and a member of the Presidential Advisory committee. He had served a former Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters, Major General Shehu Musa Yar'adua, as special adviser between 1975-1979.

• The government has appointed a committee to look into the activities of the Directorate for Social Mobilisation, MAMSER, and recommend ways of avoiding a conflict between it and other government agencies, Minister of Information, Chief Alex Akinyele disclosed. He dismissed claims by NRC Chairman, Chief Tom Ikhimhi as "false".

**Abuja:** Phosphate rock deposits used in the production of fertilizers are available in large quantities in Sokoto and Ogun States, Minister of Agriculture, Dr Shettima Mustapha, said last week. There is also abundance of natural gas in the areas. He therefore asked scientists, technologists and entrepreneurs to work with government to properly harness the the resources for the betterment of the fertilizer industry.



Maj-Gen. Gado Nasko (rtd).

## Another plus for de Klerk

A big win for de Klerk as the ruling National Party wins a seat in the reform process.

President F.W. de Klerk of South Africa, under pressure from all sides regarding his steady dismantling of apartheid, is in dire need of victories and, last week, he got a sweet one. The by-elections for a seat in parliament from the Johannesburg suburb of Randburg were widely regarded to be a referendum by the white electorate on Mr. de Klerk.

Since the last whites-only "general" elections in the country over a year ago, the President and his ruling National Party have systematically dismantled the structures of apartheid by freeing prisoners, legalising banned organisations, abrogating apartheid legislation and negotiating with the ANC. Mr. de Klerk's course has unsettled many whites, who were expected to indicate their views on the reform process in last week's by-election.

When the results were declared, the National Party's candidate was elected with an overwhelming 84% of the white votes. The result pleased the National Party leadership greatly. Dr. Chris de Pleissis, the party's chairman in the Transvaal who is also the Minister of Finance in Mr. de Klerk's government, said the result showed that white South Africans were in support of the process of dismantling apartheid. Dr. de Pleissis called on the opposition Conservative Party to abandon its policy of opposing the reform process and join the government in talks to end apartheid. The National Party leaders, including Mr. de Klerk had campaigned vigorously in Randburg and saw the result as a vindication of their position.

The Conservative party candidate polled only 15% and lost his deposit, but did not regard the result as an endorsement of the ruling party. Dr. Andries Treurnicht, the party's leader, pointed out that his party never had held the Randburg, a well-known constituency which, in last



Pr

only "general" elections, the Democratic party was more reformist than the ruling party. The Democrats refrained from contesting the order not to split the party. The Democrats, a fusion of opposition Progressives and Dr. Dennis Wor

Mr. de Klerk's course has unsettled many whites who were expected to indicate their views on the reform process in last week's by-election.

Rwanda:

## Is Uganda behind the invasion?

Reports have it that most of the rebels were at one time members of Yoweri Museveni's NRM.

**W**hat appeared to have been government's victory over Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF), a few weeks ago looks now like the calm before the storm as the rebels launched yet another attack on government troops on Friday.

The rebels who are being backed by the Ugandan Army, among whom are a significant number of Rwandan Tutsi exiles, say it is decisive about seeing to the fall of the Hutu-led government. Given the fact that most of them are veterans of war from their experience in the National Resistance Movement (NRM), of Mr. Museveni, a drawn out struggle is expected.

The fresh attack on the Rwandan Army went a long way to proving them right, although they have suffered, perhaps, the biggest casualty by the death of their leader, Major-General Fred Rwigyema.

Reports monitored in Kampala reveal that General Rwigyema, did not die, as generally assumed, during fighting with government forces, but in a combat with his second in command, Peter Bayingana, who in turn,

was killed by the rebels loyal to General Rwigyema.

The morale of the troops went naturally low after the incidents and they lost the key border town of Kikitumba which government troops had overrun. However, by mid-week, the RPF had regained the town and discipline seems to have been restored in the ranks of the team. But at least 14,000 refugees have crossed into Uganda.

The situation is compounded by increasing food shortages which is causing considerable hardship. The war is preventing farming.

There seemed almost no reason to doubt the strength of the Rwandan forces having been replenished with troops from mainly Zaire and Tanzania. Reports indicate the presence of the rebels in Kakitumba as they hold on to Akigera Park which covers a considerable part of the country. As a further indication of the state of the crisis, the Rwandan government warned its citizens without mincing words, that the fight had not ended.

The violence in Rwanda, one of Africa's smallest countries, has today,

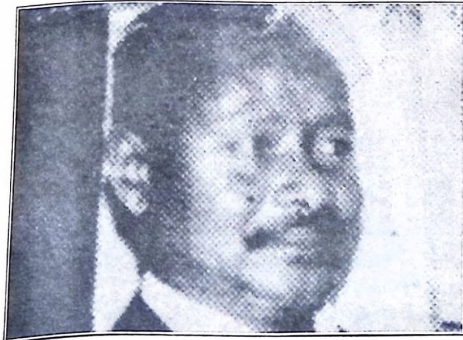
assumed such proportion, President Juvenal Habriyamana has called for a UN and American intervention. He has enough reason to distrust the OAU and what role it may play if it mediates in the conflict.

Rwandan government accused Uganda on Saturday of invading Rwanda. Mr. Yoweri Museveni, the Ugandan president and the chairman of the OAU, and who incidentally, is partly a Tutsi, cannot extricate himself from being an accomplice in the Rwandan crisis.

General Rwigyema, the late rebel leader who was a Rwandan by birth and a former Ugandan defense minister was a close friend of Mr. Museveni. He was the deputy commander of the Ugandan Army until he left to lead the rebellion on the 1st of October. Explanations for concealing his death for over a month could only be given by Mr. Museveni himself and the rebels. The Ugandan president, whose interest, evidently, is to see the reinstatement of a Tutsi led government in Rwanda cannot make the OAU, which he heads, a neutral party where it to arbitrate in Rwanda's conflict. It is for reasons not too far from this that James Taylor, the leader of the major rebelling group in Liberia refused to reckon with ECOMOG headed by Nigeria and Ghana. Nigeria's cordial relationship with Samuel Doe while he ruled Liberia was too well known, its claim to neutrality as it meddled in Liberia's affair was not credible.

The OAU on its part, appears too involved in Liberia to divert its attention elsewhere. Besides, its unimpressive performance in Liberia may have, to a reasonable extent, informed President Habriyamana's UN choice. If Uganda seeks to crumble the Rwandan government, certainly, the OAU and Africa have another major crisis to tackle.

By Delia Nzekwu



Ugandan leader Yoweri Museveni: could he be responsible?



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India:

# Singh bows out

India's gentlemanly Prime Minister loses a vote of confidence following spate of violence that claimed several lives among Hindus and Muslims.

When the lower house of the Indian parliament, the Lok Sabha, met in New Delhi on Wednesday, November 7, to debate a motion of no-confidence in the government, the outcome was never in doubt. Prime Minister Vishwanath Prasad Singh was expected to lose, and lose heavily. In the last three weeks, his government's majority in the 500-seat parliament was reduced to a pitiful minority by defections of his coalition partners as well as elements within his own party, the Janata Dal. When the vote was finally taken on Wednesday afternoon, the defectors were joined by the opposition Congress I to topple the government with a large majority.

Prime Minister V.P. Singh stoically accepted the outcome of the vote and promptly submitted his resignation to the state President of India Mr. Ramaswamy Venkataraman. With that, Mr. Singh, widely regarded as an unusually clean and honest Indian politician, bowed out from leadership of the world's second most populous country. His 11-month tenure in office, one of the briefest in India's 43-year independent history, was bedevilled by trouble from the start. Very early in his tenure, the Prime Minister encountered trouble from his powerful deputy, Mr. Devi Lal, one of the country's veritable wheeler-dealer politicians.

The crisis only ended with the ouster of Mr. Devi Lal's son as the Chief Minister of an Indian state and the eventual resignation of Mr. Lal from the cabinet. Hardly had Mr. Singh ridden that storm when his government faced stiff opposition over planned reforms in civil service employment. Mr. Singh's government wanted to reserve 40% of all positions in the country's huge public sector for the lower castes of India's highly

stratified society, especially the Harijans, who support Mr. Singh's Janata Dal. The proposed reforms invited a tremendous backlash from Indian students, many of whom set themselves ablaze in public squares, a form of protest previously unknown in India, and reminiscent of Vietnam's Buddhist monks in the early 1960's. The episode shook Mr. Singh badly, but he managed to ride the storm once more.

There was no riding the third major storm, however, which soon followed the second. Tension between India's Hindu majority, who make up 85% of the population, and the substantial Muslim minority, 14% of the population, was never too far below the surface in Indian politics. This time, it found expression in attempts by Hindu fundamentalists to erect a temple at Ayodhya, believed to be the birthplace of the Hindu lord Ram. Since the site chosen for the temple has been occupied by a mosque since the 16th century, Indian Muslims rose in protest. This led to vicious communal clashes which left hundreds of people killed. The climax came quickly. Hindu fundamentalists planned a march to Ayodhya, to be led in person by Mr. Lal Krishna Advani, leader of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), a Hindu fundamentalist party that was part of Mr. Singh's governing coalition. Ironically, India's Muslims also support the Janata Dal and Mr. Singh made it clear that he would not allow the march in support of the building of the temple. In the end, Mr. Advani was arrested, and the BJP promptly withdrew from the coalition.

With the BJP's withdrawal of the support of its 86 MP's, the government



V.P. Singh: a gentleman indeed.

no longer had a majority. Things got even worse when a faction of 56 Janata Dal MP's, led by Mr. Chandara Shekhar, also walked out on Mr. Singh. His defeat in the no-confidence motion was therefore a forgone conclusion.

The fall of Mr. Singh opened the way for a return to power by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, whose Congress (Indira) party controls 195 seats in the Lok Sabha, making it by far the largest party in parliament. Mr. Gandhi however indicated that he was not interested in assuming power just yet, until his party wins a clear mandate in general elections now expected to be called in 1991. Mr. Gandhi is simply not eager to inherit the Hindu-Muslim tension that brought down Mr. Singh, and probably wishes to wait another year in opposition for the tension to cool. Instead, Mr. Gandhi has pledged to support a government led by Mr. Chandara Shekar, who has now succeeded Mr. V.P. Singh.

By Mahmud Jega

United States:

# Bush loses again

Hardly recovered from the budget shock, President Bush has received yet another blow from the Democrats.

The party that controls the White House traditionally loses ground in American mid-term elections, so the Republican party was expected by all analysts to suffer reverses at the polls. In the event, the pundits were proved right. The Democrats, who last occupied the White House in 1980, recorded gains in the potent Senate and the House of Representatives, and also won some crucial races for state governorships.

In the Senate, where the Democrats already had a 55 to 45 seats majority, Democrat Paul Wellstone defeated incumbent Republican Senator Rudy Boshwitz of Minnesota to widen the Democrats' majority. Otherwise, 31 of the 32 incumbent senators from both

parties who sought re-elections nationwide, were reelected. Some had a close call; North Carolina's arch-conservative Republican senator Jesse Helms nearly lost to his Democratic rival, Mr. Harvey Gantt, a black man.

Many of America's key Senators stood for re-election and in all cases retained their seats. They include Georgia's Democratic Senator Sam Nunn, the powerful chairman of the Senate Armed Services committee, who was elected unopposed, and Democratic Senator Joseph Biden of Delaware, the former presidential candidate. Also re-elected from Tennessee was Democratic Senator Albert Gore, a former presidential candidate, and the powerful Democratic Senator from Illinois, Paul Simon.

In the race for seats in the House of Representatives, where the Democrats already had an 83-seats majority, this was increased by another 9 seats, thus retaining control of the House by the Democrats for 36 years now. Some 96% of all Congressmen who stood in the elections retained their seats. Among those defeated was Democratic Congressman Robert Kastner of Wisconsin, who has held his seat continuously since 1958. He was defeated by Republican Scott Klug, a

former newscaster. Also defeated was Republican congressman Peter Smith of Vermont, who was defeated by Bernard Sanders, the first Socialist to be elected to the US Congress since 1918.

Democrats also recorded major gains in the gubernatorial races. The biggest blow for the Republicans was in Texas, George Bush's adopted home state, where Democratic state Treasurer Ann Richards narrowly defeated the Republican candidate, oil millionaire Clayton Williams, despite vigorous campaigning in the state by President Bush. In Florida, former Democratic Senator Lawton Chiles defeated incumbent Republican Governor Bob Martinez. The Republicans narrowly retained California, where Senator Pete Wilson defeated the Democrats' candidate, Diane Feinstein, the former Mayor of San Francisco. Other governors re-elected include Democrat Mario Cuomo of New York, a likely presidential candidate in 1992, and Republican John McKernan of Maine.

Significantly, the number of black congressmen increased from 24 to 26. Among the new members of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) will be three women, Maxine Waters of California, Barbara Rose Collins of Michigan and Eleanor Holmes Norton of the District of Columbia. All three women are Democrats. The CBC, however, will receive its first Republican member in recent years, Gary Franks of Connecticut, a confirmed Reaganite who, in his campaign, advocated controlled Federal spending, a balanced budget, Constitutional amendment and cutting capital gains taxes.

One of the most colourful victors in the elections was the Reverend Jesse Jackson, former Presidential candidate, who was elected from the predominantly black District of Columbia as a non-voting member of the Senate

By Mahmud Jega



Bush (top) and Jesse Jackson.

The death of Meir Kahane:

# Israel back to square one

For years, his political thinking had affected policy in Israel.

An apple a day may keep the doctor away but it is powerless against the mortician as controversial racist Rabbi Meir Kahane, on a home-coming visit to the Big Apple, found out — too late. He is dead; he died a victim — some will say culprit — of the struggle in occupied Palestine.

Kahane was shot dead while answering questions at a Zionist conference at New York's Marriot Hotel. The alleged assassin is Sayyid Nosair, an Egyptian immigrant worker, contrary to earlier speculations that the fiery Rabbi might have been a victim of rival Zionist terror gangs, which along with his fanatical Kach, exist in New York city. First Agency reports, quoting police sources, rule out the existence of a conspiracy. Nosair might well have acted alone as a solitary Arab effort at revenge against a Rabbi who had vowed to chase all Palestinian Arabs from Israel. If Nosair turned out to represent groups that wanted an escalation of Jewish violence against Arabs he couldn't have chosen a better target. Already two Arabs have been reported killed in what is believed to be the first reprisal by Kahane's supporters. It was as Kach party spokesman Noam Federmann, speaking on Israel Radio predicted saying that there would be revenge killings. The atmosphere was tense enough.

Last week Israeli troops opened fire on Arabs in the Gaza strip wounding more than 300. On October 8, twenty-one Palestinians were killed as Israeli security opened fire on what were called rock-throwing Arabs, near the Al-Aqsa, Islam's third holiest shrine. A week later an enraged Arab youth took the matter into his own hands and went on the rampage, killing three Jews. He specifically said he was taking revenge for the 21 Arabs shot to death. It has been like this for the past three years.

In December 1987 the Palestinians in the Gaza strip and the West Bank, clearly dissatisfied by what some of

them regard as the betrayal by the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), decided to do something concrete: they confronted Israeli might head on — with empty hands. They had nothing for weapons except stones and boundless enthusiasm which has remained unconquered after three years. The *intifada* was born.

The better armed Israeli soldiers used their superiority to maximum advantage. As the small children pelted them, the soldiers got their orders to open fire. They did and television cameras focused. Israeli brutality was soon in the living rooms of all western households. This began to have effect on viewers and did much to erode the solid support Israel used to enjoy as the much-touted beleaguered democracy in the sea of Arab tyranny. It led Israeli Prime Minister Yitzak Shamir to order ceasefire while Henry Kissinger and other American friends of Israel privately urged full and strict censorship of the press. Instead Shamir asked them not to shoot but to break the bones of Arab hands and feet. Before the censor finally shut out the television cameras, CBS crew got pictures of the bone-crushing. Despite denials there has recently been what looks like a confirmation.

Last week, Colonel Yehuda Mier one of the military commanders who directed the shooting and limb-breakings admitted that he ordered his troops to beat Palestinians. He, however, denied giving specific order to break Palestinian arms.

The flare-up of violence in Israel and in the occupied territories comes at a particularly bad time for the Israelis, whose "special relationship" with the United States is being sorely tested by the Gulf crisis. The Israelis are already fearful that America's new-found close Arab allies in the Gulf confrontation may permanently supplant them in American strategic thinking. This bitter prospect is not expected to be helped by Western revulsion at the Israeli tactic of breaking arms and

gunning down unarmed civilians.

But it may be helped by the killing of Rabbi Kahane.

If it does not eliminate altogether, it will at least dampen, criticisms of Jews and Israel as innocent Arabs on the Occupied Territories are lynched in reprisal killings. "With the information that we have right now," said New York Police Commissioner Lee Brown, "we do not think it (the killing) has anything to do with any group." Despite this Kach supporters will see all Arabs behind it.

Already, they were spoiling for war as the week ran out. Barbara Ginsburg, an activist at Kach headquarters in Jerusalem said, "Rabbi Kahane wasn't right when he said, 'Transfer them (Arabs) first'; (why) you kill them and then you throw them out dead." And if that was not enough another vowed, "I promise you there will be a river of Arab blood. Kahane will take more Arab blood with him in his death than when he was alive."

A fight broke out at the headquarters between Kahane followers and television journalists. The press in Israel imposed a black-out on the late racist leader and in 1988 parliament banned his party from sitting in it. The followers resented the interest in his death if none was shown while he was alive.

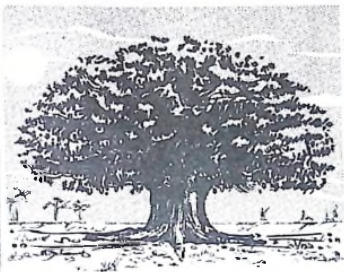
The majority of Jews, no doubt, are not Kahane fanatics but his death is unlikely to leave them unmoved. His extreme racist views seemed to have put off most sensible Jews — at least publicly. While the confrontation is sure to continue, for Kahane the end has come rather too soon.

By Adamu Adamu.



Yitzhak Shamir.

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KABIRU YUSUF

## Melting in the pot

■ had tried my best not to live in the concrete jungle of Lagos, until recently when fate finally caught up with me. Twice in the past I was given a fair chance, but almost at the last minute I recoiled back to the gentle comfort of living in Kano or Kaduna. Like all escapist I knew this would not last for long. It was I, in fact, who actively sought the first job the city offered me. In 1984 I was teaching political Science at the University of Sokoto and getting bored with it. *The Guardian* had just made its debut and it promised to be an exciting and serious paper. On impulse I wrote to Publisher Alex Ibru. Sir, I said, going directly to the point, I have read a lot and I can write a bit, you will do well to give me a job in your newspaper. Less than a month later I got a reply hand-delivered by Courier. It was signed by Yemi Ogunbiyi, then controller in the publisher's office (now, of course, high-profile Managing Director of *Daily Times*). It said I was invited for "a chat" all expenses paid. I took the next available flight out of Sokoto and the reception I got at Rutam house strengthened my resolve to try Lagos. No new publication in Nigeria, before or since, had brought together such a team of intelligent and patriotic Nigerians under one roof. Stanley Macebuh, Lade Bonuola, Onwuchekwa Jemie, Yemi Ogunbiyi, Rufai Ibrahim, Eddie Iroh, Chinweizu, Sully Abu, Sonala Olumhense, Richard Umaru, Oda Ofeimum, Andy Ak-

porugo, Femi Osofisan, Amma Ogan, Duro Irojah. Each, in his own right, an outstanding commentator on public affairs. I wanted so much to be like them, and without the slightest hint of condescension they invited me to try.

Jemie, then chairman of the Editorial Board, took me home with him that first night. When I returned a few weeks later to resume duty, Oda Ofeimum offered me a room in his flat before I could find mine. Editor Lade Bonuola gave me a short lecture on writing. "Write to express, not to impress." Regrettably, after all this preparation, I never did stay on at *The Guardian*. The management of *Triumph* newspaper in Kano wanted me to become deputy editor and I thought it was my duty to accept.

Two years later, Lagos again beckoned. This time it was *ThisWeek* magazine, which had assembled a corp of young and talented journalists for a major challenge to *Newswatch*. Sonala Olumhense, the editor, I knew at *The Guardian*, and would have been happy to work with him. Abba Dabo, my outgoing boss at *Triumph* is a director of the magazine, and he wanted a few northern hands involved. I made the trip to see things for myself, but while I liked the energy of "the gang" working out of Surulere, I was not very tempted.

Since then, I had overflown Lagos to live for two years in Harare (Zimbabwe) and Windhoek (Namibia). On my return I deposited my bags in Lagos, living with a kind friend. I was determined to make the city my home. A month later, we started the

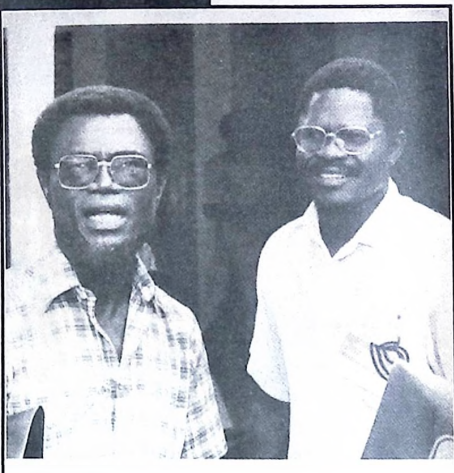
*Citizen* project. Four months later I got a flat of my own. The landlord said it was in good shape, but I discovered it wasn't, so it took me two months to repair and occupy it. The next house is occupied by an ample Alhaja, who has a large and noisy family. But I am trying to get used to their chatter. In our block of flats, I have found a soul mate in the only other bachelor in the neighbourhood. Chris and I vent our frustrations on each other as endangered species tend to do. It is amazing that he, from the East, and I, from the North, could have so much in common. The other day Layiwola, a friend who hails from Ilesha came visiting, and he, Chris and myself had a heated debate on Tam David-West. The *WAZOBIA* tendencies were so obvious. We have much in common, yet we cannot hide our differences!

My favourite restaurant is run by a woman from Akwa Ibom. People from that part of Nigeria prepare the best vegetable soups. So, I, who grew up on *tuwo*, *fura* and rice, now does a happy job of demolishing pounded yam. In short I am coming to terms with living in Lagos. It is dirty, noisy and has inconsiderate drivers. But it is also the cutting edge of Nigerian civilisation, whatever "civilisation" there is. It is the best place for confronting the problems of living in Nigeria head on. And, as we shove and push and abuse and blame each other, we will come by an acceptable solution, if there is a solution.

# Citizen

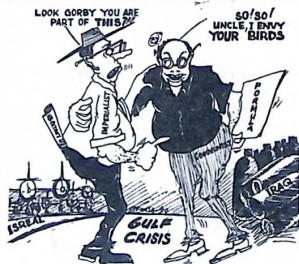
## SOCIETY

	Page
CITIZENSHIP	36
DEFINITIONS IN HUMOUR	37
PRIVATE EYE	38
RECIPE CORNER	39
POETS' NEST	41
GUIDE—LINE	42
ARTS AND CULTURE	43
SPORTS	45
PEOPLE	50



Delegates at the ANA Conference. Page 43

## TAR TAR



# Citizenship

BY DOKUN ABIYOLA

... I KNEW IT! THAT WAS WHY I SAID OUR FOCUS SHOULD BE ON LAGOS... IT'S INHABITED BY HEARTLESS AND IMPOSSIBLE PEOPLE, EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO MANAGE... I KNEW TROUBLE WAS GOING TO BE STARTED BY THEM!



... ON THE CONTRARY SIR, ... LAGOS HAS BEEN PEACEFUL! ... THE PEOPLE ARE AWARE OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF ANY ATTEMPT TO DISRUPT THE ELECTION PROCESSER! ... THEY ARE WELL INFORMED AND CAREFUL, KNOWING FULLY WELL WE ARE ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE THIRD REPUBLIC!



... OUR FOCUS SHOULD BE ON KENE TOKUN AND ITS ENVIRONS! ... KWARA STATE APPEARS TO BE THE BULLING CAULDRON, AND THE PEOPLE ARE TRYING TO ROCK OUR BOAT! ... THAT RIOT AT OKENE WAS BLOODY!



... YOU'RE RIGHT! ... BUT YOU MISSED THE POINT!

YOU SEE, NO MATTER HOW SERIOUS A RIOT IS, THE POLICE ARE THERE TO CONTAIN IT! ... LATER, WE ARE GOING TO HAVE THE NATIONAL GUARD! ... PEOPLE IN LAGOS MAY NOT BE RIOTING, BUT THEY ARE CAUSING RIPPLES, A BRAND NEW SENSATIONAL RUMOUR ON THEIR HANDS!



RUMOUR? ... WHAT RUMOUR?

... THEY NOW GO ABOUT, WITH THE FEAR THAT THEIR GENITAL ORGANS MIGHT BE STOLEN! ... THE WOMEN CLUTCH FIRMLY AT THEIR BOSOMS WITH BOTH HANDS, AND THE MEN TOO, GO ABOUT TUCKING THEIR HANDS DEEPLY INTO THEIR TROUSERS' POCKETS! ... ITS A FUNNY SIGHT, BUT I'M VERY DISTURBED, AND I'M WORRIED!



WHY SHOULD YOU BE BOTHERED?

... DON'T SEE WHY...

SO WHY SHOULD YOU WORRY?

... THEY SHOULD SIMPLY BE IGNORED!

... WELL, THEN, WHY SHOULD I WORRY? WHEN YOU'LL ALL BE THERE TO PERSUADE THEM TO BRING OUT THEIR HANDS TO CAST THEIR VOTES! ... WHY SHOULD I WORRY?!



NOW... WE ARE WORRIED!

# Meeting the Nigerian challenge



Nigeria, like so many other countries, is going through a tough economic period; a situation that requires creative and innovative management.

Various measures are already in place to turn the economy round in keeping with the exigencies of the times. For instance, emphasis is now placed on local sourcing of raw materials, exports, higher productivity through privatisation and on self reliance in Agriculture and Industry.

And UACN, Nigeria's leading industrial, commercial, technical and agro-based organisation, is naturally in the forefront of the economic recovery campaign. UACN has gone into large scale Agriculture and has consolidated its leadership position in the manufacturing sector. Greater emphasis is given to local sourcing of raw materials and export is being given greater attention.

UAC is an example of the successful blend of Nigerian investment and international participation. UAC of Nigeria Limited with the support of its technical partner, Unilever PLC, has over the last 100 years been contributing to the development of

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In spite of the current difficulties, Nigeria does have an important incentive though. Given the new concerted effort to turn the economy round, the good times seem not too far off.



— Always meeting the challenges of the times.

ADAMU ADAMU S

DEFINITIONS  
IN HUMOUR

temporaries. Laughter is the essence of culture and the great unifier. Though tongues may differ, all people laugh in the same way. This way I hope to project our cultural heritage onto the world stage by sticking to that

## Letter to Babangida

Dear Mr. President,

Sir, one thing you must know about me is that I hate formality. So like the Hausas I always start with the thousand greetings. I hope you are okay and doing fine. But it is just a manner of speaking, because I know it is difficult to be doing fine with so many characters vying for your attention, so many executive beggars making unreasonable requests and so many clowns trying to take your advantage.

I have for long observed the comings and goings into and out of your residence, the visits by seekers, the calls by envoys — and I don't envy you at all. Uneasy lies the head that carries the presidency, especially with so many vying to take it away. My purpose in writing today is so important, it dwarfs what all these groups come to tell you. And because it affects everyone in the country I decide to make my letter open. I write to alert you of the great danger and peril that face the cultural heritage of our people. Unless you act fast a cultural catastrophe will befall us and wipe out our contribution to the history of mankind.

Now, as the leader of the country with the largest population of blackmen, you must act at once to save the culture of blackmen from destruction. What is at issue today is cultural

Many years ago, Your Excellency, I began writing this column called Definitions in Humour. In it, I try to relive, invent, distort, straighten, define, obfuscate, expose, enliven, remind, teach and learn about the great cultural exploits of our ancestors, forebears, forerunners and con-

which is common to man. I am very great, Your Excellency. I have been great all through. It is only of late that people are realising.

Now, the International Institute of Humour Research and Studies in Golgotha has quite rightly decided that its collection of writings are incomplete without the inimitable Definitions in Humour. You ought to know Your Excellency, because I have been informed that you have on occasions had reasons to laugh at what they define, even if you ignore what they exhort. Therefore you understand why the international institute is worried. So worried are they that they have already advanced millions in foreign currency to tear out the great words from the pages of one newspaper and those of this magazine. I shudder to contemplate the magnitude of the loss that will befall our letters.

Being a patriot, however, I am not jumping at the offer. You don't know about this affair of course because there is no newspaper that will fight my cause, and help in launching me solidly into the millionaire club that I cherish to enter but feign distaste to belong. Good excuse that. Already I have received royalties of various types — from books of definitions, humorous plays, prize money and what have you, and what haven't you. I control so much vote that my lieutenants, my secretaries and typists have so much to themselves that they can spray such chicken feed as N70,000 at a party. I have arrived; I only need to settle and that is where you'll come in handy — handling? Panhandling?

You must not allow Golgotha Institute to possess the definitions. If you oblige and pay the multimillions in

Nigeria I intend to hand it entirely to the Adamu Adamu Adamu Foundation for Laughter. My younger brother has just had a son he named Adamu and I have decided to adopt him and name my foundation after him. I don't personally need money.

Your Excellency, don't ask me the name of the foreign university interested in my projects, my papers and my personality. The Eric Morecambe Centre and the Spike Milligan Project and no less the Charlie Chaplin Institute have sent proposals — very interesting proposal too. But a proposal is not an agreement. Only the university has reached agreement but as I plead I crave Your Excellency indulgence that you don't ask about the identity of the university. It has in fact a department of bashfulness and someone must tell Professor Phillip Zimbardo to open a Shyness Clinic there and we shall thereafter see what we can do.

Since you have cared so "benefactorily" to establish contact I can thankfully conclude that you believe the DTN story, and trust and have listened to the pleas of the Association of Nigerian Artists, ANA, and its president. Of course the AAA Foundation will liberally fund the members of ANA.

Thank you, Mr. President. You can see that I have really wasted your time. I haven't told you anything. But there was really nothing to tell. Thank you again.

DTN — Daily Tamed of Nigeria.

Sshhh! New-look Tamed is the new name. If you thought the rampaging watchdog lived only in Kaduna, you must have another thing coming. Finesse is the word my dear, finesse. Alternatively, you might call DTN — MMT — the Millionaire-Maker Tamed.

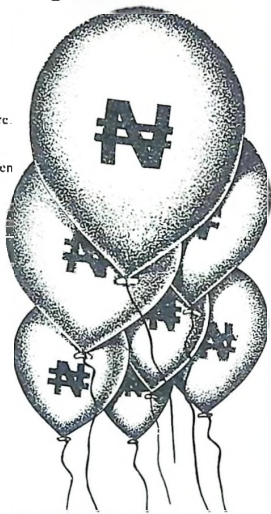
ANA — Association of Nigerian Artists whose art is writing. FOUNDATION — Everybody needs a very strong foundation in order to make it and survive. You understand? It measures what you've found.

SDP — See Dirty People.  
NRC — No Responsible Citizen.  
AFCA — Armed forces Constituent Assembly.

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## RECIPE CORNER

### Regional Specialities

#### Ghanaian Fowl

Ghana

Ingredients	Metric
Duck	1
Shredded meat or chicken or corned beef	450 g
Cooked yam or cassava	450 g
Tomatoes, chopped	225 g
Medium onion, chopped	1
Groundnut oil	2 tbsp
Salt and pepper to taste	

Heat the oil and fry the shredded meat, onion and tomatoes. Mash the yam and stir it in. Leave on one side having turned off the heat.

Bone the duck, clean and salt it inside out. Stuff the bird with the mixture, then, with a needle and thread, sew the duck into shape. Place in a large saucepan, cover and steam for about one and half hours over low heat. When done rub the bird with butter and roast in an oven for 30 minutes until golden brown. Serve slices of roast duck with pilof rice.

#### Groundnut Stew

Ghana

Ingredients	Metric
Roasted groundnuts puréed	100 g
Groundnut oil	1 tbsp
Tomato purée	1 tbsp
Cayenne or chilli powder	1 tsp
Small onion, ground or liquidized	1
Chicken, mutton or pork	1 kg
Mixed spice	1/2 tsp
Salt to taste	

Chop or dice meat and boil with salt, mixed herbs and two slices of onion for 30 minutes. Add two cups of water and the rest of the ingredients (except groundnuts) and continue to cook for 20 minutes. Stir in the peanut purée and simmer for 10 minutes. Serve hot

with fluffy white rice.

Groundnuts, popularly called peanuts in Europe and America, grow profusely in the savannah regions of Africa. These highly versatile nuts grow below the ground, hence we call them ground nuts. They provide us with cooking oil and you can eat them cooked, roasted or raw. You can make them into cookies or grind the roasted peanuts for use as butter.

#### Tatali

Ghana

Ingredients	Metric
Maize flour (Cornmeal)	450g
Over-ripe plantains	1kg
Medium onion	1
Ground ginger	1 tsp
Hot fresh peppers, ground	1 tsp
Palmnut oil, to fry	200 ml
Salt to taste	

Pound the over-ripe plantains in a mortar (or cut into small pieces and liquidize). Stir in the maize flour and the other ingredients. Heat the palmnut oil, scoop up a bit of the mixture at a time and put into the hot oil and, depending on the size of the frying pan, fry up to ten scoops at a time. Fry for about 5 minutes; flick each tatali onto the other side to fry. Press each one flat with the back of a stirring spoon and continue to fry until crisp and golden.

Serve hot with well cooked beans (red or black-eyed beans), with rich fish pepper sauce (yoyo).

#### Ponkie

Ghana

Ingredients	Metric
Ponkie (pumpkin), diced	1kg
Medium aubergine (egg plant)	1
Beef, minced	450g
Green pepper, chopped	1
Medium onion, chopped	1
Large ripe tomatoes, chopped	2
Cayenne or chilli	1/2 tsp



powder	
Coriander powder	1/2 tsp
Cooking oil	2 tbsp
Salt to taste	

Dice the aubergine and soak in salted water. Heat the oil in a saucepan and lightly fry the onion. Add the minced meat, salt and coriander and cook for 10 minutes. Stir in the onion, peppers, tomatoes and pumpkin. Drain the aubergine and stir it in. Reduce heat and simmer for 20 minutes. Serve hot with boiled yam, cassava or rice.

Aubergines are known as 'Garden eggs' in Africa.

#### Nkrakra

Ghana

Ingredients	Metric
Yam, peeled and diced	450g
Fresh or smoked fish	
Tomato purée	1 tbsp
Small onion, thinly sliced	1
Cooking oil	1 tbsp
Fresh chilli pepper, ground	1/2 tbsp

Simmer the chilli pepper, tomatoes, onion, salt and oil in 1 pint/500 ml/2 1/2 cups of water for 45 minutes or until the smell of raw pepper is no longer there. Sieve the soup into another saucepan, put in the yam and cook until yam is soft but not mashed. Add the fish and simmer for 20 minutes. Serve hot.

If fresh fish is used, clean and sprinkle with salt and a dash of lime juice and put aside until needed.

This is the famous African 'pepper soup' called by different names in other parts of Africa. It is ideal for a sick person with no appetite for solid food.

## No dinner for Governors' Wives

The Better Life for Rural Women Programme marked its third anniversary recently. Bauchi the state capital played host to the delegates from all states and what an assortment of delegates they were. The matrons of Better Life, its skeptical media critics, the beneficiaries and curious watchers were all there to absorb the wonder of Better Life fair. By the power of my eye, I can now faithfully report to you that the fair was really a fair affair. So said the real rural dwellers who thronged the venue of the fair. They told me, for my ears only, that the first lady, Mrs. Maryam Babangida stole the show by the efforts she made to reach out to the real rural women. Before I give you the juicy story, I need to take an oath of authenticity in case a skeptical reader waves off my story with a sigh of disbelief. So here we go. I, the private of all private eyes, solemnly declare that the story "am selling in this grapevine column is the truth, the real truth and nothing but the truth."

Bauchi the host state had organised a dinner for participants but in a scrupulous and prudent display of eco-

nomics of rationing, there were fewer seats than delegates at the banquet hall. Of course by the time the governors' wives as chairpersons of Better Life



along with their Aide-de-camp who are the Directors-General of Women's Directorates in the states took their seats, there were none left for the rural women. They hovered timidly in the background wearing long faces. They were resigned to their fate of watching privileged women stealing the show, leaving them to clap their hands sore in feigned appreciation. So they waited.

There was an uncomfortable silence. Mrs. Babangida, the Commander of Better Life Forces surveyed the scene with disapproval. She signalled to an aide and before you could say Jack Robinson, the governors' wives and their retinue of bureaucratic Aide de Camp were on their way out of the banquet hall! They rose almost lifeless from their cushioned seats the starch from their "gogoro" headties almost giving way in shock and disappeared to go and comb Bauchi for an alternative place where they could have dinner at 9.30 pm. What was amiss? The rural women asked each other. Then came the announcement from the protocol department. "This dinner is hosted for the real rural women. All other officials including the chairpersons of the Better Life are to vacate their seats for the rural women from their states".

The ecstatic rural women were so dazed in wonder before they found the nerve to occupy the seats just vacated by their "madams". But sat they did and feasted on the sumptuous meal. When they finished lining their stomach they all said a private prayer for the arrival of Better Life at Bauchi fair.

Don't ask me how many governors' wives and Directors-General went to bed without dinner that night. I am still conducting a census!

## Eyes for the future

It is not my style to be stingy with bits and pieces of news including the stuff raked up from crystal ball spinner (CBS) I was having a quiet moment when this professional "futureologist" called on me.

P.E:- So let's have your predictions for what is left of the year since you claim that is your speciality.

C.B.S:- I usually begin my predictions in December, but this year SAP has forced me out of my shell of hibernation. But SAP apart, there is an urgent need to inform the people about an impending drought...

P.E: Pardon me if I cut you short but 'am more interested in the demobilisation exercise, how to catch a coup plotter and make 500,000 Naira

C.B.S:- You see, this demobilisation exercise is very ineffective. So you

have sent a few shakers and movers in the Airforce to their villages and other big shots in the army are joining them. Some 300 ordinary soldiers drawn from the 1 Mechanised Infantry Division of the Nigerian Army will attempt to resign. They will make their wish known to the Chief of Army Staff, General Salihu Ibrahim, who will refuse to entertain their request because "The Units would crumble"

P.E:- Will the Chief of Army staff finally accept their withdrawal from service? Will they also be promoted after retirement?

C.B.S:- Yes, they will be allowed to leave but they will not benefit from any post service promotions. That is reserved for their "Ogas". Many more heavyweight soldiers will go but they will be "rehabilitated" with jobs. So as the forces demobilise, MAMSER will mobilise to balance up the equation and make demobilisation ineffective.

P.E:- Now, how can I catch a coup plotter?

C.B.S:- First, you need two first class British Airways tickets. The reason? Well, the easiest coup plotters you can catch live in Britain. So, you can kill two birds with one stone. You will need to reserve two suites at the Churchill Hotel in London because two of the coup plotters frequent the place and there is a security man there whose palms can be greased to cooperate. Then you need 50,000 pounds to hire an Israeli spy of an anaesthetist, and 50 pounds for two crates and ...

P.E:- But the naira is 18 to the pound. How can I break even?

C.B.S:- You will catch two coup plotters at one go and I can see that the operation will succeed only if I accompany you.

We need to go to Harrods and while we are shopping, two of the coup plotters will pass by and...

P.E:- Are you going to leave before I call in the police? You dupe of a...

## POETS' NEST

## Nature's Beauty

A journey through the verses on nature begins with the beauty of summer, to the nuisance that the mosquito is. We ponder on the mystery of the Atlantic and the winged metal called a plane. Our poets guide us through the unfathomable maze of nature.

## God Is...

God is knowing, so wise,  
for giving us MOUTHS to protest or  
commend; and to make haste  
or slowness in life, to walk  
He gives us LEGS; now the eyes are  
given for sight, and to talk a  
TONGUE is given; now, the will of  
the SKIN is to judge, to feel.  
Yet we oft stand to gain  
much more from His gift of the  
BRAIN.

## Summer

When Butterflies hum and Roses  
bloom  
With fine petals, and Canaries  
sing  
As they cross the dales on a quick  
wing,  
Winter, then, awaits her doom!  
Now Summer gets the strongest  
hand  
As it stands, waiting, at the  
threshold.  
How merrily do the Rivers flow!  
How sweetly does the Wind come  
and go  
O'er the flower-carpeted Country-  
side!  
And the Sky, ever so high and  
wide,  
Made illume by the twinkling  
stellar Lights;  
Now we forget about Winter's  
genid Nights.  
This is Summer, and tranquil it is;  
Lovers' season: they roam and  
cuddle  
In the dithering flamelight of the  
Candle:  
Now a sigh, now a touch, then a

warm kiss,  
Then a rush to the scent-tree, for a  
splinter:  
Who can have these in hostile, cold  
winter?  
By Ibrahim Sheme.

## Mosquitoes

Mosquitoes sting and their bites  
pain  
They thrive in heat and dampness  
and rain  
One mosquito carries malaria in its  
vein

It bites and pass it to the victim  
with stain.  
We don't like mosquito we fight it  
in vain  
Because our drainage system is  
archaic and plain  
With pot-holes in our roads and  
left pots full of rain  
We have breeding mosquitoes we  
can never contain.  
If mosquitoes are crazy, lazy  
people are more  
For how can they be lazy while the  
insects, know before  
For the fight is serious against this  
evil foe.  
Mosquito, Mosquito, you have an  
evil name  
You have a canny carcass and  
skeletal frame  
Mosquitoes I challenge you I have  
been ready since I came  
I am a real fighter and killer is my  
name.  
With your singing noise your  
voice is bad.  
You compose your music making  
people mad  
Now listen you mosquito, if you  
drive me mad  
I am prompt with my swapper  
then your stain is on pad.

By Abdulkadir Babajo

## Tensility

Deep and Expansive  
such is the Atlantic of our experi-  
ence  
Over which we are sailing with  
nothing in sight  
We are crossing the Atlantic in a



canoe  
Mindful of the fragility of our  
craft?  
Pulled here and there by our  
Paddlers wind of ingenuity  
A massive perfection of human  
Frailty  
Illusion of purpose and disintegra-  
tion of beliefs  
Personification, Coronation and  
Worship of Greed  
Flamboyance and destitution  
juxtaposed  
A blatant prostitution of our  
values!  
What a massive capacity for resig-  
nation.  
The multitude of us; harrowed and  
lugubrious  
Eyes open but vision descriptably  
hazy  
Ears straightened but hearing  
voices from the dead  
True, they are our next of kin  
because we are a living wreck.

Hopes rising and falling like the  
tides  
Making creases on our unwilling  
bodies  
This is symbolic — the looks of a  
wasted humanity  
In leaps and limps we've crossed  
much hurdles  
And with as taunting mind power  
we'll continue our struggles  
With posterity ahead we expect a  
magnificent ladle  
And with a Divine pat we shall  
once again be on a saddle.

By Bomo Mohammed

## GUIDE — LINE

**Clear  
The Air**

There's  
nothing  
more awkward  
than a  
misunderstanding  
left unresolved.  
And nothing more  
unnecessary.  
It leads  
to strain,  
tension,  
invective,  
an atmosphere  
that can lead  
to open hostility.  
Why risk losing  
a friend,  
a colleague,  
a customer?  
If you have  
a misunderstanding  
that is a tempest  
in a teapot,  
don't let it  
blow into a  
hurricane.  
Take the initiative.  
Pick up a  
phone.  
Pick up a  
pen.  
Or pick yourself up.  
March in right now  
and clear the air.

## ARTS AND CULTURE

# When writers gather

The Association of Nigerian Authors Marked its 10th Anniversary, October 31, what is in store for the avid readers

The main campus of the University of Ibadan is a writer's delight. The rambling old buildings, spirited straight out of a talented architect's sketch book. And the somnolent green lawns generously interspersed with leafy trees has a way of setting the muse on fire. And it was in this well-appointed vale that members of the Association of Nigerian Authors (ANA) gathered from October 31 to November 3 to mark the tenth anniversary conference of the Association.

It was four whole days of laughter, dance, music and poetry punctuated occasionally with brain storming sessions where the writer and his craft was placed on a pedestal and minutely dissected. Expectedly, the theme of the conference, "Writing and Public Life" provided the central arena around which delegates, invited guests and journalists, jostled and crossed literary and intellectual swords. Dr Akinola Aguda the eminent jurist laid the ground from the three days literary fiesta in his keynote address at the opening of the anniversary conference on Thursday November 1. Aguda railed against Nigerian Publishers who rather than encourage the growth of literature, chase after retired Major Generals for permission to publish their trite and cliché-ridden autobiographies. The jurist also argued that since government subsidises housing, transportation and other services, it should also extend the gesture to book publishing as is the case in Kenya and Great Britain.

Indeed, the current book crisis in the country turned out to be the main topic of discussion all through

the conference. On Friday evening, a special forum was convened whereby book publishers and writers were brought face to face to discuss their mutual problems. In attendance were representatives of such major publishing companies as Longman, Heinemann, UPL and Malthouse. The established names in Nigerian Literature as well as the "young and upcoming" ones were also there,



New ANAN President Ken Saro-Wiwa

and they siezed what some of them later described as "a heaven-sent opportunity" to pour all their anger and venom on the publishers.

The main grouse of the writers, especially the young and yet to be published ones among them, is that Nigerian publishers are reluctant to accept and publish book in the creative literature genre and prefer to concentrate on textbooks and sundry tertiary material. Dr Osas Enebulere, a lecturer at the university of Benin told *Citizen* at

the forum that Nigerian publishers are not dynamic and adventurous enough. "Nigerian publishers are unwilling to take risks and that is why they are always reluctant to accept the work of young and unknown writers. This is not the case in Europe and America where first consideration is given to budding writers".

It was also Dr Enebulere's view that editors employed by the publishers are not properly grounded in the rudiments of the profession and this explains the shoddy manner with which they treat writers.

Earlier, Mr Ken Saro Wiwa, author of the popular television comedy, *Basi and Company* and proprietor of the publishing firm, Saros International had brought the house down with the suggestion that Nigerian writers should "try other publishers if they are not satisfied with the performance of local publishers". The storm of protests and angry retorts that ensued in the wake of Wiwa's utterance was only stopped from maturing into a violent row by the timely intervention of the moderator, Mrs Mabel Segun. As the voices quietened, Mr Ben Tomolaju, literary editor of *The Guardian* took the floor and suggested, as a way out of

the book crisis, a concerted lobby that will persuade government to reactivate the moribund supplementary readers scheme in the primary and secondary schools with a view to reactivating the fire of literary awareness and creativity. Massive advertising of new titles in the mass media was also suggested by Mr. Sola Osofisan, one of the delegates.

But by far the most seminal of the marathon literary sessions at the conference was the special discus-

sion forum on Friday morning, November 2 when such eminent writers as Chukwuemeka Ike, John Munonye and the celebrated British playwright, Nikky Wright shared with aspiring young writers the peculiar joys and pains of creative writing. Citing the example of the Rushdie affair, Wright argued that censorship is the major obstacle in the path of the writer today, especially in the Third World. It was the playwright's view that although censorship has virtually disappeared in Britain and other countries of the West, leaders of developing countries appear to have developed an inordinate appetite for clamping writers in jail.

Chukwuemeka Ike focused on writing as a profession and its demands on the writer. "Writing is not as easy as drinking pepper soup", asserted the author of the celebrated novel, "The Potters Wheel". "It is a very tasking profession, and demands all the time and energy of the writer".

Writing has its rewards nevertheless, and John Munonye, author of such famous novels as "Oil Man of Obange" and "The Only Son" took time to point them out. The elderly novelist likened the

process of creating a novel to childbirth. "The ultimate pleasure of writing", remarked Munonye, "is the moment when the writer holds the published novel in his hand, opens the first page and sees his name written in bold letters thereon. There is no joy greater than this, and at that moment, he feels like a woman who has successfully given birth."

It was not only literary jaw-jawing throughout the three day conference, though. The delegates also took out time to treat themselves to joyous sessions of poetry, music and dance. A play written and directed by Stella Oyedepo and presented by the Kwara State Drama Troupe was served as an appetiser to welcome delegates and invited guests alike on Thursday evening, November 1. Entitled "Rebellion of the Bumpy-Chested", the play sought to make a case for women liberation but ended up admitting that nature has so ordained things that women and men have their respective and complementary roles in society. Friday evening saw Koteba, a dance troupe from Cote d'Ivoire assuming centre stage at the university's Arts Theatre. The dance troupe, consisting of ten young

men and eight ladies acted out a dance drama which highlighted the darker side of delinquency and drug addiction.

At the business meeting of the Association on Saturday morning, Mr Ken Saro Wiwa emerged the new president of the association, taking over from Professor Femi Osofisan who had occupied the office for two consecutive years. Dr Ossie Enekwe and Dr Bode Sowande both retained the posts of Vice President and General Secretary respectively. Other officials are

Chidi Ngangah, financial secretary, Idris Amali, Assistant Secretary, Wale Okediran, Treasurer and Dr Tunde Fatunde, Publicity Secretary (South). Four Ex-Officio members — Wale Ogunyemi, Chidi Amuta, Ben Tomoloju and May Ellen-Damijo were also elected.

The four day conference ended with a Dinner and Award Night on Saturday evening, November 3.

At ten, the Association of Nigerian Authors has clearly come a long way. What is however in doubt is the extent of its contribution to the growth of literature and culture in the country.

By Ike Okonta



Delegates at the Conference: From left Drs. Vincent, Afejuka and Garba

## SPORTS

## Champion Cup:

## Gutless Nationale blew it

It is another labour lost once again. Nigeria's dream of winning the most cherished soccer prize in African clubs competition for the first time since its inception in 1965 has faded into thin air with the disgraceful exit of Iwuanwu Nationale from the race. The sad drama was played out on Saturday November 3, and the theatre of the tragic and shameful performance was no other place than the main bowl of our famous National Stadium. It was a day most ardent followers and analysts of the game assumed

resounding victory for Iwuanwu Nationale in their second-leg semi-final of African Champion Clubs Cup against Nkana Red Devils of Zambia. The Zambian team had a fortnight earlier managed a slim lone goal victory against the Nigerian representatives in an explosive show-down that took place in Kitwe. The narrow scoreline had given a false sense of security to the enthusiastic football fans nationwide who saw in Nationale a team not only capable of qualifying for the final but also able to break the age-

long jinx that the continental competition has become to all Nigerian clubs who had attempted it.

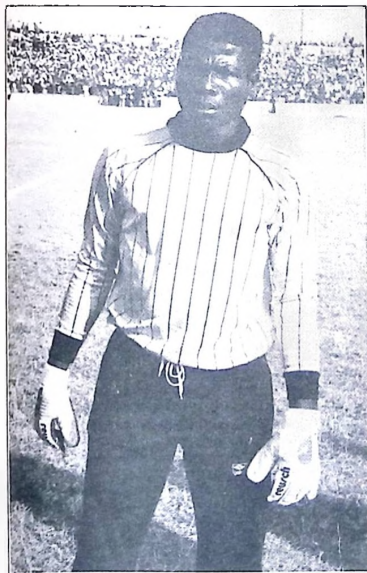
If the game lovers who pinned their cup hopes on Nationale were over-ambitious, they have every reason to be. Were Nationale not the leading club in the local professional league, with many points clear of their closest rivals? Was their camp not brimming with players who rank among the best in the land? Were they not the team who survived the intimidating blitz from Esperance Sportive of Tunisia to qualify for the semi-final? Only a chronic pessimist would not give a

team with such record a good chance to survive a lone goal first leg defeat by the Devils and qualify for the final.

But when the much anticipated moment came, it turned out to be the harshest irony of fate that most soccer-crazy Lagos fans who stormed the National Stadium least expected. Like a child's play or like a motion picture in slow motion, the cruel hand of fate began to swallow the Nigerian flag bearers. As if they were under the influence of some mysterious spell of the Devils' conjurers, Nationale wobbled and stumbled awkwardly like oversized elephants. This presented a sharp contrast to their opponents, the Red Devils who as if inspired by the god of soccer soared like eagles, with captivating and mesmerizing skills, smooth positional play and fast breaks, that the clay footed Nationale players found too overwhelming to keep up with. At the end of the 90 minutes performance, Nationale, instead of living up to people's aspiration, crashed out of the competition, after losing 0-1 to the Zambians to make it 0-2 on the aggregate.

If the Owerri based team's failure to make it to the final and possibly win the elusive cup for Nigeria after swelling the nation's optimism to the brim was bad enough, the mediocre performance they displayed on that Saturday was a bad commentary on the image of the country's football. If Nationale who pride themselves as the front-runners of our professional league, that houses the creams of the nation's clubs could display so much deficient skills and lack of technical depth, then our desire to hoist our flag in the 1994 World Cup final in U.S.A. may turn out again to be a scuttled ambition.

A careful look at most of the factors responsible for Nationale's exit from the Champions Cup shows that they were the architect of their own disaster. Scandalous revelations by some



Nationale's Keeper Edward Ansah

key players of the team at the end of that ignominious outing, revealed that officials who should have charted out an impeccable plan to see Nationale to victories actually spent most of their time plotting the club's down fall.

Team manager Uche Ejimofor unwittingly began digging the club's grave midway into the current football season when, following the resignation of Nationale's longest serving coach Tony Ukachu, he told anybody who cared to listen that his team could survive any competition without the guiding hands and useful hints of a coach. To him, Nationale were such a gathering of the best hands around who could march through the usually strong and competitive field of Champions Cup with little hindrance. Ejimofor and other club officials were

Another factor that contributed to the team's ouster from the continental competition was the unwise decision by the management to withdraw from this year's Challenge Cup competition. The players missed that stiff rivalry of the Challenge Cup which would have put them in good shape for the tough challenge of the continental competition which usually gets tougher the fewer the participating clubs become. It was obvious from their weighty appearance and slow response on the day of the crucial match that, the Owerri boys were suffering partly from match rustiness and partly from inadequate coaching.

The two deadly blows that finished off Nationale were the fielding of unfit players and the unreasonable flexing of muscle by the club's acting chief

tion, attributed the club's unsuccessful attempt in their third consecutive bid for the cup to coach Dike. According to Aghenu, coach Dike saw Peters who contributed immensely towards the club's victory in Tunis, as a threat to his job. And in a bid to prove that he is superior to Peters, he turned upside down all the game plans the junior national coach had laid out for the match.

Surprisingly Nationale team manager Uche Ejimofor still believed that they lost out because the match was played in the National Stadium which he described as jinxed. Ejimofor should tell us why BCC Lions could so overwhelm Grupo Desportivo of Mozambique on the same pitch a day after by 6-1. Somebody like Ejimofor's standing should have known by now



Iwuanyanwu handlers: Peters and Panov: taking it all in.

to learn the hard way that the Sekou Toure Cup Competition has no room for rudderless club. The stark reality dawned on Ejimofor when Nationale struggled badly in Lagos before they could manage an unimpressive 2-1 win over Esperance Sportive of Tunisia in the first leg of the quarter-final. Junior National team coach James Peters and Super Eagles technical adviser Clemence Westerhorf had to be drafted in to drill the team before they were able to survive the second leg show-down in Tunis.

coach Alphonsus Dike. Ghanaian born Missah Ibrahim opened the festering can of worm in the club when he disclosed that some of the players used in that very important match were fielded not because they were fit to play but because they were friends and relations of some club officials so as to enable them "enjoy match bonuses and some other goodies from the club proprietor."

Another player, Ifeanyi Aghenu, piqued by the disgraceful manner his team was pushed out of the competi-

tion, attributed the club's unsuccessful attempt in their third consecutive bid for the cup to coach Dike. According to Aghenu, coach Dike saw Peters who contributed immensely towards the club's victory in Tunis, as a threat to his job. And in a bid to prove that he is superior to Peters, he turned upside down all the game plans the junior national coach had laid out for the match. Surprisingly Nationale team manager Uche Ejimofor still believed that they lost out because the match was played in the National Stadium which he described as jinxed. Ejimofor should tell us why BCC Lions could so overwhelm Grupo Desportivo of Mozambique on the same pitch a day after by 6-1. Somebody like Ejimofor's standing should have known by now that football has advanced to such a stage that such puerile issues like home support hardly affects the performance of a good team. The truth is that Nationale did not prepare for such crucial encounter and they would still have lost even if the match was played in Owerri. A tattered team as paraded by Nationale on that day would have suffered greater disaster from Nkana Red Devils if the match had been staged in Owerri or Benin where they would be under the intense pressure of their home fans.

## Roar on, BCC Lions



Humphrey Jebba of BCC Lions (left): in hot pursuit.

**W**hat would have been a sorrowful weekend of double defeats for Nigeria in continental clubs competitions was averted by the inspired dazzling performance of BCC Lions 24 hours after Nationale had crashed out of the Champions Cup Competition. The Lions' roar, which took them to the final of the Cup Winners Cup, in their

Maputo 1-2 would not find it quite easy pulling through to the final. This was informed by the accounts of the first leg match which said that the Nigerian flag bearers who are also Challenge Cup defending champions did not play up to expectation. After qualifying for the semi-final of the Challenge Cup by beating Kwasa Bombers in Kano, the Lions withdrew

to their Gboko base to prepare for the decisive match against the Mozambicans. Rigorous work-outs and flawless game plan by Coach Amadu Shuaibu were all they needed against Desportivo. They also got more in form of fitness and the will to win. It was little surprise that the Gboko boys stormed the field cutting through Grupo Desportivo like a knife through butter.

BCC Lions are now to meet Club Africain of Tunisia who eliminated defending Champions El-Meriek of Sudan in the semi-final. The first leg of the final will be played in Lagos on Saturday November 24, while the second leg will hold in Tunis. This is going to be the real test for BCC Lions. North African Clubs have always presented the toughest challenge to Nigerian teams. And more often than not, they have become a spoil-joy to our clubside at the finals of both Cup Winners Cup and Champions Cup. Moreover, Club Africain will be urged on to use BCC Lions to avenge Iwuanyanwu Nationale's ouster of Esperance Sportive, which incidentally is based in the same city as Club African. BCC Lions will do well to embark on a very serious preparation for this crucial match. They need flawless strategies and extra-hardwork to overwhelm the sleek and skillful North Africans.

### Challenge Cup final:

## A battle of prize and pride

**A**s a weekly publication, we were caught wrong footed by the constraint of time. At the time of putting together this edition, the two F.A. Cup semi-final matches to determine the two teams to play the final of the glamorous competition this year were yet to be decided. *Citizen Sports* was therefore left with two options of not saying anything about the Challenge Cup final coming up this Saturday in Lagos, or doing a general preview based on the four teams who were yet to play the two semi-final matches as at the time of going to press. Since we feel our sports pages are to adequately inform you, we opted for the later option.

We must say from the outset that this weekend's F.A. Cup final is going to be action-packed and tension-soaked immaterial of the two teams playing in the final. As we said in the edition before this, all the four clubs in the semi finals are potential winners. They have all proved since the competition started over a month ago that they are the best surviving four out of the 20 clubs that began the race for the most important soccer prize in the land. Any face-off between two of them therefore is likely to be a spectacle of the best soccer thrills and explosive struggle ever witnessed in recent time.

Take for instance a possible F.A. Cup

final show-down between defending champions BCC Lions and Lagos heart-throb Stationery Stores. It will easily be a replay of their last year semi-final clash in grander scale. You can imagine how electrifying and palpable the tension around such encounter will be. Stores who got knocked out of contention for the cup in the semi-final last year would be spoiling for vengeance. They would fight till the last drop of their sweat to win their first F.A. cup in eight years. But dethroning ruling things like BCC Lions would be no mean job. Moreso, when BCC Lions who defeated Grupo of Mozambique 6-1 in the Cup Winners Cup campaign seem to have suddenly discovered a



Who lifts the cup this time around?

winning trick that will see them retaining the cup for another one year. Such a showdown may drag to penalty shoot-outs before the clear winners emerge.

A challenge cup final between Rangers International and Ranchers Bees will not be less explosive. Rangers stand out as the most successful team in the history of the competition having won it five times. Ranchers Bees however are yet to taste the sweet sensation of the Challenge Cup victory even though they have appeared in the final twice. The two clubs' rivalry in the competition dates back to 1983 when Ranchers Bees (then known as DIC Bees) lost the cup to Rangers in an entrancing and keenly contested final that was decided by penalty shoot-outs. Ranchers Bees stormed back to get their own pound of flesh from Rangers in 1987 when they eliminated them in the semi-final. Ranchers Bees also eliminated the Coal City boys the following year at the quarter-final of the competition.

Rangers are having their best outings in recent times while Ranchers, after a chain of setbacks in the pro-league, have used the F.A. Cup to launch themselves back to limelight. It is going to be a very dicey affair if by any chance both of them play in the final.

Another possible pairing is Stationery Stores versus Rangers International. Such encounter would mark the first time the two clubs are meeting in the competition's final. Such tie would drive the Lagos fans mad be-

cause both clubs rate among the best in the current football season. But more than that, both of them have won the F.A. cup before. They have had a good feel of the pride and glory that go with emerging the winners of the best soccer trophy in the country. Therefore, unless the unpredictable which is so common with the game happens, don't expect easy victory from any side. Just as predicting which team

wins a possible pairing between Ranchers Bees and BCC Lions, will be no less tasking. The two teams have not met in the competition's final. But the severe and sometimes unhealthy rivalry that had prevailed among the two teams in their amateur days in the national league divisions two and one is instructive enough for one to predict an uncompromisingly tough F.A. cup final match for them.

## Sports Zones: Craving for excellence

Investigations being conducted by *Citizen Sports* have revealed that all the seven sports zones created by the federal ministry of youth and sports to enhance grassroots sports development, are currently engaged in silent rivalry to raise a formidable team for the coming National Sports Festival slated for April next year in Bauchi. According to our investigations, some of the measures being taken by some of these sports zones to ensure that they come tops in the maiden sports festival to be competed for on zonal basis, include specific instruction by the zonal coordinators to states under them to watch-out for the possible poaching of their athletes from states from other zones. Some zones, we gathered, have even mapped out far-reaching programmes to prepare their athletes for the sports festival.

For instance Zone six which comprised Kaduna, Kano and Katsina has already put together an intra zonal sports competition among all the higher institutions of learning in the zone. It is to start off on state basis. After that, the best athletes in each of the three states will compete against themselves to enable the zone pick the best material for its team for next year's sports festival. The Zone, we gathered has also packaged some coaching clinics and seminars for schools and sports council coaches to help them in grooming grassroots athletes.

Zone six coordinator Malam Tijjani Yusuf confirmed the silent and careful groundwork being done by some zones towards the Bauchi festival. He said they (Zone Six) were aiming to emerge one of the best zones in the festival. But the former Ahmadu Bello Director of sports who, sources said,

has been making extensive tours of all the states and sports centres under his zone, regarded as top secret the strategies he is planning with the three states directors of sports in the zone to come out tops in Bauchi. It was also gathered that all the national coaches who were posted to the zone from Lagos have been working round the clock



Tijjani Yusuf, Zonal Coordinator

with the zonal coordinator to raise a strong team of local athletes. One thing is however clear. If the current level of silent preparation being made by the sports zones are sustained, next year's sports festival will not only be more competitive than the past ones competed for on state basis, it will also be more rewarding for the country, as it is likely to yield athletes of improved standard that may form part of the nation's team to the All-African Games in Cairo next year and the 1992 Olympic Games in Barcelona.

By Joe Olajuwon

*Citizen Sports* sincerely regrets the mix-up in our article, *Ebevel's rantings* in the last edition. The piece which started on page 48 was inadvertently concluded on page 50. We assure you that such mistake will not reoccur. We shall keep you abreast with the latest development in the world of sports.

# Citizen

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## PEOPLE

**D**R. Victoria Nwigwe, 47, leaves a trail of optimism where ever she goes. Hardly surprising when she confesses that her philosophy of life is to "make the best out of every situation and engage in positive thinking all the time. The positive effect of this frame of mind is that some twenty professional, social and philanthropic organisations, are benefiting from Dr. Nwigwe's dedication to service. She serves these in various capacities either as a member or a patron. Somehow she finds the time to attend to these extra-curricular activities and still maintain her grasp on her job as a lecturer in the French department of the Alvan Ikoku College of Education, Owerri, Imo State.

Citizen caught her in Abuja at a meeting of the Resource Panel appointed by MAMSER's Family and Social Relations department to work on a project. Asked how she finds the time to cope with such a loaded schedule, she said what gives her the greatest pleasure is "to see some other person happy. I like to generate happiness by giving a helping hand whenever I am called upon to do so".

A woman activist Dr. Nwigwe observes that "Nigerian women have gone a long way in their quest for identity and self actualisation. More could be achieved if they close ranks and eschew pettiness and jealousy."

A bilingual educationist, public administrator and guidance and counselling expert, Dr. Nwigwe also has two chieftancy titles bestowed on her by communities that appreciate her contribution to the country's development.



**A**t a time when all his colleagues were looking for security guard jobs in factories, retired staff sergeant Hassan Shettima had another thing in mind — thanks to three of his relatives.

After serving for twelve years in the Nigerian Army as a staff sergeant Hassan Shettima was discharged on health grounds. This was in 1977, he



went to Hong, his home town with a heavy heart, only to return to Lagos a couple of days later, with an idea that made him what he is today.

"It all started two days after I arrived Hong, my town in Congo State. Fire broke out not far from my family's compound, one of my relations lost his wife and two children, while five others lost their homes. That was how I got the idea of making security equipment my business".

He started on a very small scale through the help of his friend Mr. Trevor Cole a Briton, who bought his idea and helped him establish connections, in England for supplies on trust.

"When I started Dala Security in Kano in 1978, I was alone for more than three months before I was able to hire a helping hand, a cleaner. After another two more months I employed a typist/secretary."

Further, Shettima's early military training aided him tremendously in running the security firm all alone. He is at present the Chairman of Fire Risk Engineering Limited, Ikoyi, Lagos. Ten years later his hard work was rewarded by yet another company, Providence Manufacturing Company Limited, Lagos.

Born 47 years ago, Alhaji Hassan Shettima is married with a wife and has eight children.

**L**ong before he became a shipping magnate, Alhaji Hassan Adamu had made a credible presence in the manufacturing sector. Spreading his tentacles to these vital sectors of the economy have paid him well. He is the current president of the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (M.A.N.) and chairman of the Abuja City Press, publishers of *Abuja Newday*. Enough commitments to keep a versatile business man active, isn't it? But Alhaji Hassan is not mesmerised by the success he is making of these ventures here at home. He has since cast his net wide, fishing in foreign investment waters in a bid to attract foreign investors to the country.

His latest port of call was Atlanta, Georgia where Alhaji Hassan was invited to inaugurate the International Lecture Series of the Clark/Atlanta University. He talked on "Private Entrepreneurship in Nigeria." He was also the Special guest at the 1990 National Business League Convention which was held in Austin Texas.

In appreciation of his attempts to build bridges between Nigerian and American businessmen, the three-term mayor of Atlanta, Mr. Maynard Jackson, at a special ceremony bestowed on Alhaji Hassan, the honorary citizenship of the City of Atlanta. In an acceptance speech, the M.A.N. president who also holds the traditional title of Wakilin Adamawa, said "African governments are anxious to assure foreigners, the security of their investment.



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