

Census '91: Discordant notes

March 30 — April 5, 1992 Vol. 3 No. 13

Citizen

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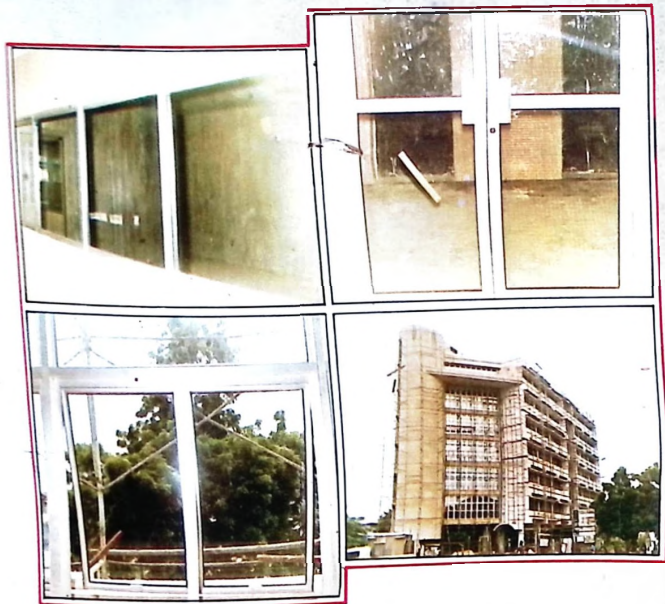
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'91 Hajj Air Crash

The full story

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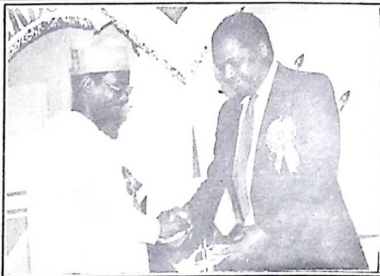
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FROM THE EDITOR

Last week, March 21 to be precise, we received an award for being the best magazine in political reporting for the year 1991. The awards in eight categories and called Diamond Awards for Media Excellence, was the first organised by Diamond Publications Ltd, publishers of the monthly *Media Review*, (MR), a magazine that serves as media's watchdog—a watchdog's watchdog if you will. Those familiar with the industry will know that the magazine is patterned after Columbia Journalism Review (CJR), America's foremost journalism watchdog. CJR also administers the prestigious Pulitzer Awards. Apparently the resourceful team at MR decided to emulate the CJR in their first year. By all accounts, the award ceremony was a success. The vice-president, Augustus Aikhomu, the minister of information, Professor Sam Oyaybaire and a host of leading mediamen and others from other walks of life graced the occasion.

Our winning of the award for political reporting in our second year of operation should have been an occasion for unalloyed celebration. MR said some good things about us. Our style, it said among other things, "is simple and lucid and its opinions on national (and international) issues strong." Still reading the citation in-between the lines you got the impression that MR was not so sure we deserved the award as a national, as opposed to a regional, magazine. There was much emphasis on our being "a northern team," as if by definition that is something awful whereas it is okay for those magazines whose "southern" identity is unmistakable.

Anyway we still thank God for small mercies and we intend to go on winning more awards, if we say so ourselves.

Our regular readers will readily acknowledge that political reporting is our forte. However, we have also produced good stories in business and other spheres. This week's cover is one of the non-political stories we have done. It is a human angle story about last year's airline crash in Jeddah, which claimed the lives of 247 Nigerians. The matter seemed all but forgotten until about a fortnight ago when the minister of state for external affairs, Alhaji Zakari Ibrahim raised the issue of compensations for the families of the victims—nine months after those of the pilot and crew had been compensated. It all looks like a story of greed and heartlessness. We intended the story to be complete, but Mahmud Jega who went to Sokoto and Kano to interview some of the relations of the victims and then to Daura to interview its emir, Alhaji Muhammadu Bashar, last year's Amirul Hajj, seemed to have got lost in transit as we went to press. Even then we have for you a comprehensive story that is bound to touch your heart. Adamu Adamu reported and wrote it in his inimitable prose.



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LETTERS

Who stops Shinkafi?

Sir,

I entirely agree with Alhaji Umaru Shinkafi that the spate of religious crises in the country is instigated from outside the country in order to destroy us.

I am in total agreement with him that we Nigerians should watch the activities of these foreigners and their internal agents. We must uproot and destroy them before they ruin our beloved country. My only regret is as a former security intelligence chief, Shinkafi certainly knows the identity of most of these cruel investigators. Why does he not name them?

Felix U. Musa
ABU. Zaria.

Sir,

The above captioned story in *Citizen* (Vol. 3, No. 10, March 9 — 15) was very comprehensive and made interesting reading. I really com-



mend you for publishing such a well-researched story. As to the question, "Who stops Shinkafi?" I say "No one."

Umar Sulaiman
Garki — Abuja.

Sir,

Your lead story of March 9, 1992 on the candidacy of Alhaji Umaru Shinkafi was very interesting. After reading it, I am convinced that Shinkafi indeed has many "aces up his long sleeve." I am particularly impressed by his ability to win the

confidence of so many power blocs and the generality of the people as well. I wish him the best of luck

Alhaji Usman Ahmed
U/Rimi, Kaduna.

Sir,

Your excellent cover story (*Citizen*, Vol. 3, No. 10) implied that Alhaji Umaru Shinkafi is the candidate of the Babangida administration.

Is he also *Citizen's* candidate?

Paul Okereke
Kaduna.

Sulu Gambari 1914-1992

Sir,

I am writing to correct you for the misinformation in your piece on the late Emir of Ilorin. Alhaji Sulu Gambari was never in the service of the Northern Nigeria government but of the then Ilorin Native Authority. The legal course or courses he attended was (were) never conducted by the then Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology but by IAZ, (Institute of Administration, Zaria) Such legal courses were designed for Native Authority legal officials and were then conducted in both English and Hausa.

None of the courses justified any diploma certificate but attendance certificates only. The then Sultan of Sokoto, Sir Abubakar 111, had never appointed any emir or chief either during the then Northern Nigeria era or when states were created. It had been and is still the prerogative of the regional governor or state governor on the advice of council of chiefs. It is still the practice.

Alhaji R.D. Mohammed
Jos

Letter to
Mohammed Haruna

Sir,

I am indeed embarrassed by a

publication in Mohammed Haruna's column in the *Citizen* magazine of March 23-29 edition to the point that I am one of those calling on IBB to extend his stay in power. Specifically, Haruna did write inter alia:-

"Boku for instance has asked you to remain in power till 1994 while Babatope has suggested 1995".

I submit with all emphasis at my command that what you have written above is a calculated attempt by you to damage my name and reputation. I have never said anything of the sort and will never say so even while dreaming.

I issued a statement early this year in which I called for the establishment of a National Transition Government to be headed by a civilian prime minister. I did state categorically and fully in the statement that Babangida and the military should disengage completely from the political scene of Nigeria from January 2nd 1993. I attacked and dismissed the transition programme and concluded that a full fledged 25 man civilian National Transition Government should administer the country until 1995. Never did I advocate the prolongation of military rule in Nigeria.

I am not a fan of military rule and can never be however benevolent the military regime may be.

It is too late for me in the day to become an apologist of militarism. I subscribe weekly to the *Citizen* magazine because of the courage that is exhibited in the journal.

It will be a tragedy for *Citizen* magazine if it joins the club of journals that have no respect for truth and objectivity. I hope you will be kind to publish this rejoinder.

Ebenezer Babatope
Ikeja, Lagos

Mohammed Haruna stands corrected and apologises to Babatope for any embarrassment caused by the misrepresentation.

Editor

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

Compensation for hajj victims

Nine months after their tragic and fatal air crash, the victims of the 1991 Hajj disaster have all but been forgotten. At least until very recently, no one in official circles seemed to have cared what happened to their cases. Then suddenly Hold Trade, the company whose affiliate hired the plane that killed them, was appointed by the Directorate of Pilgrims Affairs to exercise the power of attorney on their behalf and obtain compensation for them. According to Alhaji Zakari Ibrahim, minister of state for Foreign Affairs, the pilgrims directorate had been vigorously pursuing the claims for compensation. Yet after such vigorous pursuit for nine whole months even according to the minister, the relevant power of attorney that would facilitate the claim had still not been signed by the dependant relatives.

All this sounds absurd and indeed there are indications to show that there is more to the sudden interest in the affairs and the running helter skelter by officials than pure altruism.

The directorate ought to have immediately appointed someone to fight for the victims' right in the legal battle that was sure to follow. That it didn't was curious considering the seriousness of the loss of 247 Nigerians.

And when it finally came to doing so it chose Hold Trade. This is even curiously. Even if such a move by an agency of the federal government was legal, it was certainly most inappropriate.

Furthermore, the move to appoint Hold Trade came at a time when a private initiative instituted by a group of Nigerian and American lawyers was just about concluding and obtaining the same compensa-

tion for the victims who had already executed the power of attorney to these private lawyers. We have information that the stage reached by these private lawyers was not unknown to government officials or to Hold Trade.

We can understand why officialdom is now anxious and at pains to demonstrate that it has been vigorously at work; and we can guess who and who will be embarrassed if the compensation is obtained over their heads or even in spite of them. Yet we expected that the depth of our commiseration for the sorrow felt by the dependants would be great enough to prevent some horse trading over this disaster by parties interested in profit or making belated name. That the attempt will even be made is singularly unfortunate.

Even from preliminary findings it is clear that the preparations for the flight and the details of schedule and ancillary arrangements like insurance have not been properly concluded. It would appear that both Nationair, the Canadian airline that owned the ill-fated DC-8 and the Al-Rajhi International, the Saudi Arabia firm that actually leased out the aircraft to Hold Trade, had skillfully wriggled out of the liability for the lives of the victims. And according to reports, Hold Trade never even had time to insure the passengers as required by law. As each adopt measures of self-absolution, the relations of the victims are left to defend and fend for themselves.

No one should try to add insult to the injury caused by this sad, unfortunate and preventable disaster. The least the bereaved dependants of these innocent victims require is every assistance to recover what is theirs by right.

1991 census

Not surprisingly the announcement of the result of the headcount on March 19, by President Babangida has generated mixed reactions. While many

see the headcount as accurate, reliable and acceptable, some see it as yet another worthless exercise. The latter group seems to base their position on four main planks. First,

they regard the total population of 88.5 million as a gross underestimate. Second, they find it impossible to believe that there are actually more men than women. Third figures of cities like Lagos and Ibadan seem to suggest a negative growth in their respective states. Finally, even though the north has remained bigger than the south, the latter appears to have grown marginally faster, whereas the culture of the predominantly muslim north suggests a much faster growth rate for that region.

The question is how valid are these observations? There is a consensus that the 1963 figure of 55.5 million is the most accurate of all the headcounts between amalgamation in 1914 and last year. The truth, however, is that this figure, to paraphrase President Babangida, came to be accepted more through negotiation than accurate enumeration.

However even as a negotiated figure, it was an educated guess. In the likely event that it was exaggerated a low official annual growth rate of 2.5 per cent was adopted. Using the 1963 figure as base our population now should be 100 million or less. The figure of 88.5 million arrived at by the National Population Commission is therefore

quite reasonable and as accurate as can be in the circumstance.

The more contentious aspect of the figure is its distribution between the states and the local governments as well as between the sexes. Even here NPC deserves the benefit of doubt. By common consent no headcount has been as thoroughly organized as last year's. Without doubt NPC had its problems, but it's chairman, Alhaji Shehu Ahmadu Musa, the *Makaman Nape*, and his team prepared well. First they used local governments as there units of supervision instead of the more unwieldy states. Then they had a series of pre-tests and trial censuses. Finally commissioners swapped places to ensure that none supervised the exercise in his state or region of origin. It is hard to be more thorough.

Still it is understandable that some people should express dissatisfaction with the figures, especially as it defies long-held basic assumptions about our demography. Such dissatisfaction is in any case, not peculiar to Nigeria, universal. The important thing is that those who are dissatisfied should recourse to due process in seeking redress. They must accept that the onus lies with them to go to the census tribunals to prove NPC wrong.

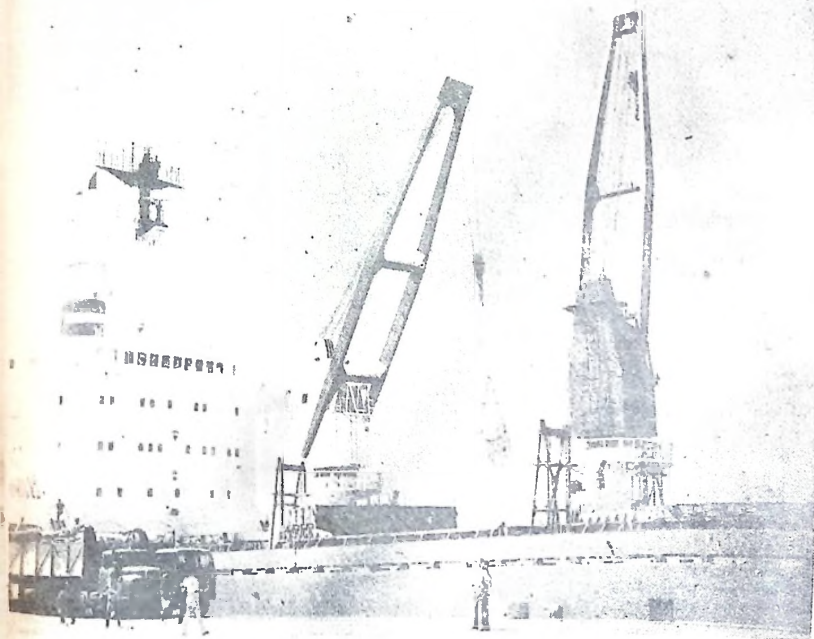
The hounding of Libya

If anyone entertained any illusions that President Bush's New World Order meant a just world order, the manner in which America, Britain and France have recently been hounding Libya over its alleged bombing of two airlines in 1988 and 1989 ought to dispel such illusions. The bombing of those airlines, which occasioned the loss of hundreds of lives, were despicable. However, the method America, Britain and France are using to establish guilt is no less despicable. Their insistence on the imposition of sanctions on Libya suggests quite clearly that they have made up their minds not to allow any facts get in the way of their determination to punish Libya; they have told the world in effect that whatever anyone, including the world court, may say Libya is already guilty.

Let us, for purpose of argument, assume that Libya is indeed guilty. It ought then to be asked, are the Libyans the first to bomb an aircraft? Did the United States not shoot down an Iranian airliner in the Gulf region back in June 1988 killing all 298 passengers on board? Did the Israelis not shoot down a Libyan airliner in February 1973 over the Sinai killing 108 of the 113 passengers aboard, under the pretext that the aircraft was heading towards Dimona, its super-secret nuclear bomb plant in the Negev desert? Where was the UN security council which now seems too willing to do America's bidding?

Terrifying, it now seems, is in the eye of the all-powerful America. If this is the meaning of President Bush's new world order, God help us all.

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ever. Whatever they might have said about each other — and most of it was accurate — they only discovered how much they needed each other after this final parting. Since Sadat died, nobody in the Arab world — or anywhere indeed — had ever taken Gaddafi seriously.

In his 23 years in power, Gaddafi had done very many great things none of which was really useful. The exception was probably his provision of housing for every Libyan family.

But it must be weighed against the lack of security of religion or expression, in the country. An efficient, ruthless security apparatus sees to this. To its credit goes the killing of several hundred opponents — in Libya or abroad — on the orders of his so-called popular congresses.

Clearly when he set out (his coup took its origins from an Islamic discussion group), he had only two goals — love of *Nasserism* and infatuation with Islam, without properly understanding either. Islam and *Nasserism* are contraries — and not surprisingly, he ended up having neither. *Nasserism* was torn into pieces in front of his eyes by *Nasser's* legatees. He had told the world that the constitution of Libya was the Holy Qur'an. This, at a time none of the muslim leaders was talking about Islam, gained Gaddafi such goodwill that for a long time criticism of his rule was muted and might not have gone down well with many people.

His Islam, however, was only in name. The directive principle was his Green Book. The list of *Ulama* who disagreed with him disappeared without a trace.

Next he assaulted Islamic theology itself, first by casting doubt on *Hadith* (the sayings of the Holy Prophet). Gaddafi's greatest problem appears to be his inability to marry his ideas of revolution and Islam. Having no model from which to copy, he copied himself — and

went down the well trodden path to autocracy.

And looking at Gaddafi's more well-known foreign adventures it becomes even more doubtful if the Libyan leader ever has a goal. Already his sporadic promiscuous political marriages — with Egypt, Syria, Sudan, Tunisia, Algeria and Chad — that collapsed almost immediately they are hatched, have made him the laughing stock of the muslim world.

His one remarkable achievement was in 1973 when he was able to secure multiple ruptures in Israel's diplomatic relationships with African countries. The oil embargo then was on, African countries were poor and Libya was willing. Yet four years later, Egypt (the victim as far as the OAU was concerned) locked the gift rupture of African countries in the mouth and Gaddafi's effort turned to smoke.

In 1978, France in a secret agreement, agreed to divide Chad into spheres of influence with Libya in return for oil contracts to Elf. Gaddafi went into Chad. Just 1000 Libyans spent a couple billions of dollars and, as he was preparing to settle down, was sent packing.

But it was his so-called support for international terrorism that got the best headlines. He basked in them. Now the New World Order which, incidentally, has no time for the "terrorists" or their case, has decided that it is time for the pay-back.

In 1986 Gaddafi tasted how sharp the sword of the new imperial arrogance was. No one came to his rescue. The same sword — now sharpened anew — is dangling over Libya. And no one will come. Inconsistency has no better price than loneliness — at the hour of need.

Yet if the United States attacks him again it will be a great opportunity if one can go to fight and defend, the Libyan people — against the US and against Gaddafi.

Gaddafi

When Anwaral-Sadat was shot by Khalid Islam-boulli on October 6, 1981, Muammar Gaddafi, the Libyan strongman, denied that it was an assassination. "Who said it was a (political) assassination!" Gaddafi roared. "Sadat the traitor, was tried, found guilty and publicly executed." Though many in Egypt and the muslim world would agree with Gaddafi, it would be for reasons different from his.

Sadat and Gaddafi had come a long way. They were friends in 1969, when Gaddafi toppled Libya's King Idris and when Sadat was the trusted aide and errand boy of Gaddafi's hero — Gamal Abdin Nasser.

Then they became enemies when Sadat sided with Egyptian women who had heckled Gaddafi as he unfolded his plans for them after the impending marriage between Libya and Egypt. He said he would shut them in the kitchen.

Then they became friends during the October 1973 war.

Then they became enemies once more when Egypt gave shelter to his former Revolutionary Commands Council colleagues who had attempted to topple him.

Gaddafi's outburst following Sadat's execution was the last punch at an enemy who would have become a friend again if Islam-boulli had not made that impossible for-

FIGURES.

CAN YOU TELL THE COURT WHY YOU STRUCK THE COMPLAINANT?

MY LORD! THIS WILL SOUND RIDICULOUS BUT IT IS TRUE. I STRUCK HIM SIMPLY BECAUSE HIS NAME IS SHEHU.

ONE SHEHU HAS RUINED MY PRESIDENTIAL AMBITIONS.

SINCE MARCH, I HAVE DEVELOPED THIS DISLIKE FOR ANYBODY WITH THAT NAME. YOU SEE ONE SHEHU, YOU'VE SEEN THEM ALL. SO, I HIT HIM.

YOU SEE I HAVE PLANNED TO SWEEP THE POLLS WITH A MARGIN OF A LEAST TEN MILLION VOTES MOST OF IT FROM MY L.G. AREA! BUT SEE, THE OTHER SHEHU HAS DEALT ME A BIG BLOW. HE SAYS MY L.G. IS LESS THAN ONE MILLION!

ABDUL UMARIQZ

BUT WHY?

COVER STORY



Ibrahim: minister of state for foreign affairs

Flight WT 2120 from Jeddah in Saudi Arabia to Sokoto that crashed last year, was doomed almost from the beginning. The DC-8 aircraft leased by Hold Trade from Alrajhi of Saudi Arabia, which in turn had leased it from Nationair of Canada, was an accident just waiting to happen.

Indeed it had happened a number of times before but these didn't make the headlines because no loss of lives was involved. Finally, on July 11, 1991, the 23 year-old DC-8 carrying Nigerian pilgrims exploded and went down in flames just minutes after take-off, killing all the 261 people on board.

For almost a year investigators have been battling to piece together the disaster jigsaw and come up with the full story of the event. Their first report dealt with preliminary investigations into the crash immediately after the accident. The second dealt with the technical aspect—the plane's airworthiness and technical specifications. The third

and final report—believed to have been released toward the end of January but about which until last week Nigerian officials would not say anything—dealt with the human angle and attempted to draw a comprehensive picture of the why and how of the crash.

The following picture has emerged:

As the Nationair DC-8 got ready for take-off, First Flight Officer Kent Davidge, told Captain William Allan, in charge of the flight, that their tyre had been blown. The captain said and did nothing. And as the plane picked up speed a second tyre blew. The captain still said nothing and the plane with two wheels on fire lifted into the air.

According to an investigation by *The Gazette* of Montreal, Canada, from where the plane came, the tyres that blew were the same ones Jean-Paul Philippe, a Nationair mechanic wanted to change the day before in Accra, Ghana. He died in the crash. The tyres were not changed, according to *The Gazette*, because mechan-

Jedda crash

The full story

Nine months after the Jedda air-crash, there are indications of murky deals to deprive relations of the 247 victims of adequate compensations

ics had problems locating the key to the storage depot where spares were stored. When they finally did locate the key, the flight was running late and had to take off to fly to Jedda to pick Nigerian pilgrims. Its schedule was tight, its planes old and it had a series of contracts to carry pilgrims from Jedda to a number of West African countries.

The urgency to catch up was a key factor in the decision not to change the tyres in Accra, inquiry by *The Gazette* found out. But more than that documents and staff testimonies confirm Nationair as a habitual late flyer, with records of delayed repairs and insufficient spare parts.

Five days to the Jedda air crash the same DC-8 was briefly grounded in Guinea when it developed problems in its wing. The following day its weather radar failed and the plane was forced to wait in Accra for a day. During that day witnesses recall the bitter quarrel between Captain Allan and co-pilot Davidge. Davidge complained that Alan never listens to him. The two died in the crash as



Dasuki: a sad day for Sokoto State

if to confirm Davidge's charges.

It was on record also the crew tested tyre pressure in Accra and found it to be on the low side in the tyre that blew but there was no record that the pressure was adjusted.

The flight left for Jeddah on July 8, with another crew; and those who were to perish had another day of tension and quarrels in Accra as they awaited the DC-8's return. The tension was attributed to lack of sleep, tight schedules and lengthy delays. The plane arrived Accra in July 10, at 1.24 am, and when mechanics went to the airport to change the tyres, nobody was around to open the storage depot for them.

When they finally got someone to open, they had to bribe him. And they were already getting late — three hours behind schedule. They decided they couldn't afford the 45 minutes needed to change a tyre. This was despite the testimony of one Nationair staffer who told *The Gazette* that on some parts of the tyre there were no threads at all. They were completely bald. A mechanic, however, said they were "still serviceable".

The crew loaded the four tyres onto the plane and took off for Jeddah, where they intended to change them. They arrived at noon, and the crew went to sleep while the mechanics went to work — on a long list of repairs billed to last seven hours. The flight to Sokoto was at 8.00 pm the same day.

By 8.00 pm, the tyres had still not been changed. Philippe, the mechanic, again, intended to change them in Sokoto. Even when the plane was delayed for 12 hours while Hold Trade, Nationair and an airline broker haggled over advance payment no attempt was made to change the tyres. The broker had asked Nationair not to leave Jeddah until Hold Trade paid up. When the cash issue was settled, 247 Nigerian passengers boarded the plane, according to Robert Obadia, President of Nationair.

As it took off at 8.29 am, on the very hot morning of July 11, the tyres, now on fire, had not been changed. According to crash investigators, the tyre on the left side exploded and ignited on the hot runway. Then a second tyre blew.

The Gazette quoted Omar Barayan, vice-president of Saudi Arabia's aviation agency, saying, at that point, voice recordings reveal co-pilot Davidge telling Allou, his captain, that they had blown a tyre. Even Davidge at this stage didn't know the tyres were on fire.

As they lifted, he raised the

off it nose-dived. Minutes later, it was gone. The explosion and fire were so intense that some of the pilgrims' body were incinerated.

Since then nothing was heard of the case of the pilgrims. But as required by the convention on international civil aviation, the authorities in Saudi Arabia had assembled more than 30 experts drawn from all the countries involved in the crash. They came from the United States, Canada, where it was registered by Nationair, its Canadian owners; Saudi Arabia, where the accident occurred. Nigeria was represented at the investigation by the managing director of the Federal Civil Aviation Authority, Captain Ado Dahiru, FCAA's director of safety and the chief accident investigator in the ministry of Aviation.

The first press release on the matter was the one made by Olawale Ige, minister of Transport and Communications. Dated January 14, but actually released March 19, the minister's report did not add anything new to what people already know. It indeed sought to absolve

As it took off at 8.29 am, on the very hot morning of July 11, the tyres, now on fire, had not been changed. According to crash investigators, the tyre on the left side exploded and ignited on the hot runway. Then a second tyre blew.

smouldering running landing gear into the aircraft's belly. The fire spread quickly and at an altitude of 900 meters a third tyre exploded. This, *The Gazette* said, knocked out the plane's electrical and hydraulic control systems. The crew had to use manual controls to turn the plane back to the airport.

The plane began falling apart and exactly nine minutes after take-

crew of negligence and ended without touching on so many vital areas.

Aviation sources voiced dissatisfaction with the report and wondered why it was silent about the age of the aircraft, its airworthiness at take-off and the pre-flight check on the aircraft prior to take-off.

Indeed, a lot could be said about the airworthiness of the DC-8,

because four and a half months before the crash, Nationair had told Transport Canada it was inspecting all its DC-8. The inspection became necessary to find out why some of the jets' rims keep falling apart during take-offs and landings.

In addition, according *The Gazette* of Montreal, a series of nine disasters had followed the DC-8's. On August 28, 1989 a DC-8 flying from Quebec City to Mirabel lost its left landing gear door. The cause: the crew "misinterpreted" their own operations manual.

On May 26, 1990 a DC-8 blew two tyres on take-off from Toronto and the plane made an emergency



Abdulkarim: governor of Sokoto State

landing at Mirabel with the help of staffers in the control tower with binoculars spotting what was wrong and alerting the crew.

On December 6, 1990 another DC-8 en route from Toronto to Las Vegas lost part of a wheel rim while taxiing at Toronto's Pearson International Airport. The aircraft lost ground power and smoke began coming from cockpit panels.

Again, on February 25, 1991 a DC-8 taxied for departure out of Barbados, a loud bang startled passengers and the plane's wheel was seen rolling away from the aircraft.

The condition of Nationair's DC-8's, however, was not the only worry, as a 1986 audit carried out by

"We hope no one is being coerced" —Kumo

Dr Suleiman Kumo is of S. Kumo & Co. who along with Johnson & Cory a law firm in the US is representing some of the relatives of the victims of the Jeddah crash

Citizen: *When did your investigation start? And who do you represent?*

Kumo: Our investigation started in August 1991, about a month after the unfortunate air crash. We represent some of the victims' families in association with Johnson & Cory, American law firm based in Birmingham, Alabama. And to date we have 149 clients whose cases we have prepare; and we are now trying to decide whether to go to court or accept settlement out of court with the insurance company covering some

of the parties.

Citizen: *How will the appointment of another body by the federal government to exercise power of attorney on behalf of the same victims affect your efforts?*

Kumo: First, I don't know if it is a Federal Government appointment. Even news media reports only say that the directorate of pilgrims affairs has appointed a certain company to obtain compensation for the victims' families.

To begin with, this is primarily a private matter concerning civil rights of

citizens of Nigeria; and neither the pilgrims directorate nor the Sokoto State government, nor even the minister or any government agency has the right to decide who should represent whom. What the government agencies have a responsibility to do is to try to help the families of the victims by facilitating their getting due and fair compensation as speedily as possible.

This responsibility should have been discharged beginning from early August 1991, immediately after the air crash, and not until March 6th, 1992.

Secondly, it seems to me



Ige: transport minister

wrong (as the media reports suggest) to order the victims' families to execute powers of attorney appointing one of the possible defendants in any litigation to represent the plaintiffs (that is, the families). And the alleged order looks even worse if the families are being forced or coerced into this. In order words, it is not the

Concerning civil rights of citizens of Nigeria; and neither the pilgrims directorate nor the Sokoto State government, nor even the minister or any government agency has the right to decide who should represent who.

Transport Canada showed. The audit led to seven cases against Nationair DC-8 pilots for carrying more passengers than legally permitted. The pilots had carried between 235 and 286 passengers while there were only 229 seats.

Two of the seven pilots faced charges for falsifying the plane's log book to conceal the overloading. Two others pleaded guilty and were fined \$150,000. A third one pleaded guilty to overloading three times and falsifying the log book twice.

Clearly the DC-8 fleet of Nationair was a troubled fleet, and it would be legitimate to wonder how Hold Trade became stuck up with it.

According to Austin Ekwoogwu, managing director of Hold Trade, shoddy performance by Nigeria Airways forced his company to look elsewhere. He said the

national airline delayed Hold Trade for many hours stranding its passengers. But there may be other reasons.

Perhaps the bid submitted by Hold Trade might have determined what type of aircraft it could hire. While its competitors, Nigeria Airways and Trans Air Services — with long experience in the business — quoted \$900, Hold Trade charged

\$650 per pilgrim. Probably as a result, it ended up with aircrafts from the Canadian airline, Nationair, widely known for flying cheap.

Despite its lack of experience, Hold Trade got the airlifting contract in spite of what must have appeared as a ridiculously low bid. But it had to do a lot of running around before it could procure aircrafts.

Condition of Nationair's DC-8's, however, was not the only worry, as a 1986 audit carried out by Transport Canada showed. The audit led to seven cases against Nationair DC-8 pilots for carrying more passengers than legally permitted. The pilots had carried between 235 and 286 passengers while there were only 229 seats.

appointment of the people to pursue the victims' claims that I take exception to, but the manner, the timing and the specific appointees that I am saying is, exceptional.

Needless to add, the Directorate of Pilgrim Affairs appointment of others has no relevance to the families we represent.

Citizen: Can you guess any reasons behind the delay by almost all those concerned?

Kumo: I cannot for the life of me.

Citizen: Will you know if this is an attempt to partly protect some interest or to cover up?

Kumo: Well, you should perhaps ask the Pilgrims Affairs Commission.

Citizen: But is it morally right in law to have appointed Hold Trade to perform this function with respect to the rights of victims its agents killed?

Kumo: If I were the Director of Pilgrims Affairs, I would hesitate to do so.

Citizen: Was it just a coincidence that their ap-

pointment came at a time you were finalising your own case?

Kumo: I don't know.

When I entered into this, I went out of my way, as a mark of respect for these sensibilities and also out of my desire to take into consideration the political and other psychological considerations in the matter, to notify some authorities including then Attorney-General of the Federation, Prince Bola Ajibola who gave complete support and encouragement and even received my American partners. The former Attorney-General insisted that we should ensure that the victims obtained fair compensation and that they were not cheated.

Citizen: How much are the victims' families likely to get per head?

Kumo: It depends on a number of factors. If we

are able to establish wilful negligence on the part of any of the plaintiffs (as some foreign media reports suggest to be the case on the part of the Nationair crew), then they should be able to get more compensation than if we are able to rely only on negligence.

We know there is negligence somewhere but if we are able to prove beyond negligence, they should get more. In any case, it is not easy to say how much they would get. If the cases went to trial in America, it would be a jury trial. Now, American jury trials of this nature, I understand, are quasi-political and juries are usually more sympathetic to victims.

Citizen: Since you began was there any pressure on the investigation to discontinue?

Kumo: Not that I know of.

We know there is negligence somewhere but if we are able to prove beyond negligence, they should get more. In any case, it is not easy to say how much they would get.

At the time the pilgrims directorate gave them the right to transport the pilgrims, Hold Trade has no means of fulfilling its obligations, said Earnest Company, a partner of Johnson & Co, the American law firm representing some of the victims' families.

Hold Trade waited until eleven days prior to the Hajj before securing Nationair. In the end, its own hurried programme coupled with the tension of Nationairs' tight schedules and delays combined to produce a mixture ready to ignite on the slightest provocation. When it did, it was with much explosive fury and, for our 247 pilgrims and the je'ts crew, with cold finality.

As Saudi Arabia's Barayan said, "We feel it is a mishap the whole industry can benefit from. There are a lot of lessons to be learned from it."



Ibrahim: former MD Nigeria Airways

The question now, have we learnt anything from it?

While the dust surrounding the circumstance of the air crash was settling as investigations progressed, fresh and murkier dust was to rise in the struggle to lay blame and claim compensation. While it would appear that the case of the pilgrims had

already been abandoned, each party was nevertheless busy trying to deflect blame from their quarters. There was almost near panic as the files and denials piled up.

Immediately following the crash there were fears that Nigeria Airways might be saddled with the entire passenger liability for the crashed victims. The DC-8 aircraft was leased by Hold Trade from al-Rajhi International Trading Group of Saudi Arabia. al-Rajhi in turn had leased it from Nationair of Canada. But before signing the contract each insisted on being free of liability for the passengers.

Nationair had provided insurance cover for its aircraft and crew only. And while signing the wet lease contract, al-Rajhi withdrew the insurance clause covering the passengers. In

My only concern is that nobody should be coerced, nobody should be forced or misled into signing what they do not understand or intend.

Johnson & Cory representatives and my assistants have been coming and going all over the place and they never encountered any pressure or any resistance from the authorities.

Citizen: What steps have you taken to allay fears you may have initially entertained about possible obstacles other than the pressures?

Kumo: There was no fears as such. There were, as I said, psychological problems and political sensi-

bilities. You know the air crash disaster involved so many parties. One had to worry about the possibility of misrepresentation—giving a wrong image of any Nigerian government organs or unduly and unjustly portraying them and so on. These are things one has to take into account.

Citizen: With the appointment of Hold Trade, people begun to express fears about the rights of the victims. Do you share these fears?

Kumo: It really depends on the effort by the people appointed by Pilgrim Affairs Directorate. We are concerned about the people we are representing. We are determined to get the maximum we can get for them, and to protect their interests to the best of our ability. We would like to settle the matter out of court as speedily as possible and with the least fuss but if we find that the interests of our clients would be jeopardised or in anyway compromised thereby, we would be prepared to go ahead with litigation. And I am sure all the defendant, would entertain no doubt that if we waited and went to trial, the families would obtain larger compensations.

I think the correct thing would be: if a settlement proposal which was reasonable and fair was made

by the defendants, we should accept, if it is not, then we should refuse. But what the others do is their business. As long as people are not forced or coerced or misled into signing any paper conferring their authority I would have no quarrels.

On the other hand, if any of our clients decided to change their mind, it is entirely their prerogative. It is their right to decide who should represent them. My only concern is that nobody should be coerced, nobody should be forced or misled into signing what they do not understand or intend.

Citizen: a total of 247 pilgrims died, why are you representing only 157?

Kumo: Well, it is not everybody that have asked us to represent them. If all had come, we would have handled their cases.

By Adamu Adamu

its contract for the Tri Star, the other aircraft on lease to Hold Trade, the contract stipulated that Hold Trade would "be liable for any passenger, cargo and mail insurance," and would foot all relevant fees. It put the onus of providing passenger baggage, cargo and third party liability insurance on the charterer.

In its hurry, Hold Trade in fact forgot to sign anything with respect to the crashed DC-8 jet. So when their plane exploded, the pilgrims were without cover beyond what the Warsaw Convention provided which "is limited in most cases to proven damages not to exceed \$75,000 per passenger." But from whom will recovery be made?

Aviation sources at the time seem agreed that as per the Warsaw Convention the airline responsible was that whose ticket was used. The Hold Trade charter issued Nigeria Airways ticket and actually called its flight with the Nigeria Airways call sign; it was



Momoh: airways chairman at the time designated Flight WT 2120.

Amidst charges and counter charges, it came to light that though Hold Trade had signed a charter agreement with Nigeria Airways to lift its passengers, this did not cover the DC-8 flights. So Hold Trade began to look elsewhere.

Around mid August 1991, it filed a \$25 million claim against al-Rajhi International. Since then nothing more was heard of its attempts.

Meanwhile, dependant relatives of the aircrash victims bore their sorrow stoically. Being from an environment and a tradition that is new to litigations over "acts of God", there was little prospect of their pressing their case.

Many observers see these efforts by Hold Trade as attempts to make good of a bad situation. Both al-Rajhi and Nationair might have considered it too risky to insure the 23 year-old problem-prone plane.

Meanwhile, dependant relatives of the aircrash victims bore their sorrow stoically. Being from an environment and a tradition that is new to litigations over "acts of God", there was little prospect of their pressing their case. To many of them, though the principle of *diyya* (blood money) is not unknown, the air crash may look like an accident willed by providence, therefore beyond questioning and must be suffered as it comes. To the knowledge of the Nigerian public at least there was no one pursuing the victims damages even *sluggishly*. One prominent lawyer who spoke on conditions of anonymity said, "I don't know what happened. There didn't appear to be any concern on the part of any Nigerian authorities for the fate of Nigerian citizens. Why did the pilgrims' directorate wait until now to reopen the case? Is it because another Hajjis around the corner or are they reacting to the spate of advertisers' announcements we saw recently?"

Things changed with the entry of Johnson & Co., a firm of US attorneys sent with a note by a concerned American muslim who had been following events since the crash in July 1991. When he learnt that some of the families were looking for someone to represent them and they had already approached one or two lawyers, he asked Johnson & Co. to get in touch with a Nigerian acquaintance of S. Kumo & Co., a legal chamber in Kano.

According to Dr. Suleiman Kumo of S. Kumo & Co., his chambers, along with Johnson & Co., has been representing the families of the victims since August 1991, barely a month after the crash. "To date, we have 149 clients whose cases we have prepared." Dr. Kumo said, "and we are now trying to decide whether to go to court or accept settlement out of court with the insurance company covering some of the parties." If this is a story, the happy ending is still far off.

On Friday, March 6, 1992 during a courtesy call on the governor of Sokoto State, Alhaji Zakari Ibrahim, minister of state for foreign affairs announced the appointment of Hold Trade as an agent to the pilgrim affairs directorate in the compensation claims arising out of the 1991 air crash. The minister, according to the *Daily Times* requested the governor to direct the appropriate officials to have the power of attorney, duly executed to the solicitors to the agent and returned to the directorate.

This prompted an immediate response from S. Kumo & Co. In paid advertisements broadcast over Federal Radio Kaduna and placed in the *New Nigerian* and *National Concord*, Amin T. Modibbo of S. Kumo & Co. warned "our 149 clients whose cases we have been pursuing from the time they engaged our services..... NOT to execute any powers of attorney to the newly nominated solicitors."

"We hereby further inform them," the advert continued, "that we have now reached a stage in the prosecution of their claims whereby we expect the claims to be finalised

within this month of Ramadan *insha Allah*."

This led to a war of sorts because for some days prior to Sunday March 22, a series of radio advertisements, no doubt in response to the ones placed by S. Kumo & Co., called on dependant relatives of the air crash victims to assemble at the Sokoto State pilgrims welfare board premises on Sunday at 10.00 am with proper identification. Though it was not explicit, many expect that the assembly is probably the forum in which the powers of attorney would be executed to the solicitors nominated by the directorate of pilgrim affairs.

This move is seen by many people as inappropriate. Alhaji Abdulmumin Bello, administrative secretary of the Islam in Africa Organisation wondered why the right of the victims' families would be violated this way. He said, "Everywhere in the world, the injured party has the right to those who defend him. The pilgrims directorate must not enforce anyone on them." He further said that it would not be accurate to assume the move by the directorate stemmed from concern for their rights. "If they were concerned," he said, "they ought to have done something nine months ago."

Ernest Cory, a partner in Johnson & Co. was a loss for words. "It is incomprehensible to imagine," he complained, "that the victims' families would be forced to use Hold Trade's attorneys knowing that Hold Trade is one of the parties responsible for the death of the pilgrims."

"The choice of an attorney by the victims' families," Cory continued, "is an individual right. It is not a right which the government, Hold Trade or anyone can dictate."

While debate about the choice of attorney continues, we can only wait to see how the affair resolves itself. Will it go to court or will it be settled out of court? According to Dr. Suleiman Kumo, it would probably pay to wait and argue out in court. "I am sure," he said, "all the defendants would entertain no

doubt that if we waited and went to trial, the families would obtain larger compensations." But, continued Kumo, the correct thing would be to accept a reasonable and fair proposal and refuse one that was not.

Kumo, however, refused to comment on rumours that at one time his American associates at one time reached a settlement of \$100,000 per pilgrim. Many other legal experts who do not wish to be named said they expect a settlement amount to be much in excess of that especially if it goes to trial.

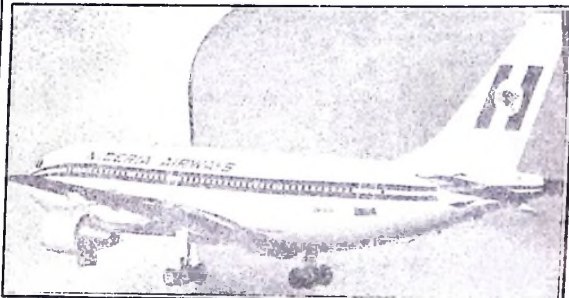
According to Kumo, how much the families eventually get will depend on a number of factors. "If we are able to establish negligence on the part of the plaintiff (as some foreign media reports suggest to be

Ibrahim, the 247 pilgrims who perished in the crash were boarding a Nigeria Airways DC-10 when instructions came that they should board Hold Trade's DC-8 instead.

Hold Trade, in which a foremost traditional ruler and others close to him, have interests may, therefore, as well get the powers of attorney for the families executed to it. However, one or two of the families have told *Citizen* that they will reject this even if it is imposed.

Already there are reports that a Lagos Lawyer working with some Americans having going round trying to buy the cases.

The fear of the families interviewed was how to ensure that the compensation got into the right hands. They have good reason to fear. On August 12, 1991 police in Sokoto State arrested two traditional



Nigerian Airways: lost to Hold Trade

the case on the part of Nationair crew) then they should be able to get more compensation than if we are able to rely only on negligence."

Now, of course, the question of compensation is far from clear, who will collect it on behalf of the victims' families? Is it the attorneys chosen by the families themselves or those nominated by the pilgrims directorate?

From experience the families of the victims will have little way against Hold Trade's extensive power and connections. For instance, according to Nigeria Airways managing director at the time, Jonathan

rulers who had dipped their hands into funds meant for the families of the victims. This was part of the 4,126,000 million Naira collected as donations from individuals and state governments to aid the families.

"If they can touch this chicken feed at the height of these people's sorrows and at a time when people's sympathies were overpowering," said one university lecturer who spoke on condition of anonymity, "there is nothing to stop them: getting at the hundreds of millions of Naira expected as compensation."

By Adanu Adanu

NIGERIA

Tempers ran high at the Oyo State house of assembly last week. Wearing forlorn looks, the members of the House were concerned that their state might have been under-represented in the 88.5 million national population figure released Thursday, March 19, by the National Population Commission, NPC. At a lengthy debate session where the parliamentarians went through the NPC figures with a toothcomb, they were not prepared to munge words either. The 5,691,797 population size credited to old Oyo state (comprising Osun and Oyo), they said was "too odd" because it implied a marginal increase of a mere 400,000 over the 1963 figures. During the same period, they argued, Kaduna/Katsina states appreciated in population by no less than 3.7 million people. Finding the figures "unacceptable," the lawmakers swiftly passed a unanimous resolution rejecting the NPC figure for their state.

Niyi Akintola, a lawyer and deputy speaker of the legislature told newsmen: "We are compiling our own figures. We have over one million pupils in primary schools alone." Popoola Ojo, another member of the legislature representing Afijio Constituency, also wondered if "It was only the figure for Ibadan that has been declared", added he: "The figure for Oyo State is terribly odd. The NPC chairman should come and clarify. It is too low".

According to the NPC figures, Nigeria has an overall population of 88,514,501. Of this, Oyo State is credited with 3,488,789 people and Osun 2,203,016. Other states are scored as follows: Bauchi (4,294,413) Kano (5,632,040), Jigawa (2,829,929), Katsina (3,878,344), Lagos (5,685,781) Rivers (3,983,857), Sokoto (4,392,391) and Kebbi (2,062,226). A breakdown of the figures into the six geo-political zones revealed that north-western zone comprising Kebbi, Sokoto, Kano, Jigawa, Bauchi, Katsina and Kaduna is inhabited by 27,095,415 people. There are 3,908,070 Nigeri-

Census '91

Discordant notes

As Alhaji Shehu Ahmadu Musa the *Makaman Nupe* leaves NPC, Nigerians are far from unanimous on the accuracy of the head count

ans in the predominantly Kanuri north-eastern states of Borno and Yobe while the core-east (Abia, Anambra, Enugu and Imo) is credited with a population of 10,712,672. In the south-west (Lagos Ogun, Ondo, Osun, Oyo and Kwara), 19,908,070 people were counted while the Middle-Belt states of Taraba, Niger, Abuja, Adamawa, Benue, Kogi and

Plateau have 14,628,825 people between them. The oil-rich southern minority areas (Rivers, Akwa-Ibom, Delta, Edo and Cross River) were, according to the NPC figures, inhabited by 12,939,426 as at November last year when the census was conducted.

Perhaps, due to past experience, initial reactions to the census results tended to be cautiously optimistic. Sam Aluko, an economics professor evinced an uncanny sense of fulfilment. Said he: "I am quite happy with the result especially as my estimate in all interviews I have granted the press is between 80 and 90 million. I am being justified". Nobel laureate Professor Wole Soyinka comparing the 1991 census with the ill-fated 1973 census, also said there was tremendous improvement



Musa: "we didn't guess the numbers"

while Lema Jubrilu, an NRC presidential aspirant told participants at the Oyo State NUJ *Guest Forum* that he found the figures "acceptable". NLC president, Pascal Bafyau agreed with them. So did Mr. Gabriel Abdurashheed Adeyemi, a retired civil servant and businessman who said the de-facto method of counting employed made the 1991 census the most accurate to date. Adeyemi also feels that the use of computer software and the prominent role played by United Nations technical advisers must have made inflation difficult.

Joshua Sikhitbis and John Ukoje, both geography teachers at Ahmadu Bello University (ABU), Zaria say the Shehu Musa-led NPC has given the nation its "fairest" and "most accurate" census. Mr. Sikhitbis, a



Solarin: disagrees

population geographer, who worked at NPC's zonal office in Kaduna for a time told *Citizen* in Zaria that a 100 per cent accuracy was impossible to achieve.

He said before NPC released its figures he had known that Nigerians were fewer than a 100 million. He believed that even after cross-checking the total would change only slightly, "give or take two million" Mr. Sikhitbis attributed NPC's success to the elimination of religion and ethnicity from the questionnaire "less counting of trees" this time around and a higher level of public awareness about the need for accurate population data for economic



Babatope: miffed

planning

Sikhitbis saw stains left on the NPC scorecard by hitches, which were avoidable. Those included overlapping of enumeration areas, counting after the specified period and house numbering, which he said was carried on to the eve of the commencement of actual counting. However, he said "those hitches were not on a scale that would have affected the figures drastically".

Ukoje who said he helped in training NPC's field workers and was a supervisor himself in 1963, told *Citizen* that NPC did "a fantastic job". He was full of praise for Alhaji Shehu Musa. "The man at the helm of affairs", he said, "must have been very, very meticulous in his planning and deserves a very high marks."

He described the 88.5 million total given by the NPC as "really appropriate", and challenged anyone who would want to contest the figures to "come forward with proof." Said he: "It will be a pity if people reject the figures because they don't favour them. They don't want to be realistic."

Mallama Talatu R. Umar, a sociology teacher in the liberal studies department of Kaduna Polytechnic thinks the commission "did its homework well." For the first time, she told *Citizen*, "we have the most authentic and reliable figures." Talatu appears to have accepted that indeed, men are more than women. "I think men are more populous than women in Nigeria," she told *Citizen*. But she expects that to change in 10

years' time.

To Mr Abraham Akpam, a topography teacher at the same polytechnic, the 1991 census figures will be the least controversial because "the most controversial questions like religion were not included in the questionnaire." He said the 88.5 million total of the NPC did not surprise him as he did not for once believe that Nigerians were more than that. He said the 120 million estimate bandied around was based on "wrong parameter."

Akpam said the male/female differential was "marginal", adding that the numerical superiority of women in the eastern states might be due to the civil war which cost them more men than women.

NPC's modest report card is not however, to remain clean for long. Celebrated social critic and ex-chairman of People's Bank, Dr. Tai Solarin said: "I know that my worst subject at school was mathematics but it's hard to believe that Lagos, which 10 years ago was estimated to have 5.1 million people, could not have grown more than that now."

Ebenezer Babatope, a lawyer and a senatorial aspirant, disputed the figure for Osun State describing the November 1991 head count as "an intelligent juggling of figures." SDP's national secretary Chief Alex Anielo said: "I'm aware that Kano and Sokoto are populous but I'm not sure they will give Oyo that kind of gap."

Mallam Mohammed Ali, who teaches economics at the Kaduna Polytechnic says the NPC's figures are "not realistic." He expects that

He described the 88.5 million total given by the NPC as "really appropriate", and challenged anyone who would want to contest the figures to "come forward with proof."



Sikhitbla: *kudos for Musa*

with reduced mortality rate due to improvement in health care, Nigeria's population should be more than what the NPC said it is. "There was a serious under-counting", he alleged. Mallam Mohammed said he did not believe men were more in number than women.

Mallam Ibrahim Musa who teaches urban geography at ABU, Zaria also thinks the numerical superiority of men over women "is not realistic." He told *Citizen*: "I believe there are more women than there are men." He said NPC's planning of the census was "hicc" but it failed to impress him in demarcation of enumeration areas and recruitment of enumerators.

Ibrahim said that in Runna village in Zaria, for instances, "a single house had 114 members" and three streets in Tudun Wada ward had almost 600 people living there. The NPC's "result did not reflect Nigeria's actual population", he said.

A Lagos State University demographer, lecturer, Dr. Ayo Omotayo however thinks critics of the recently released census results may have been basing their arguments on wrong premises. According to Dr. Omotayo, the 1963 census on which the projections are based, may have been over blown. He however concedes that if the 1963 figure is correct, the 1991 figure cannot but be wrong. He argues that the fact that there are more women than men in the Igbo speaking states could be attributed to the fact that

more men of eastern origin died during the 1967-70 civil war. Omotayo also believes that women in purdah may have been shielded from the de-facto system of counting adopted for the 1991 census.

Alhaji Shehu Musa, whose resignation from the National Population Commission for full-time politicking takes effect from the end of this month, has himself not spared his critics. He has in fact charged that some of them are "ignoramus" and that the NPC would be ready to defend its figures. "We are not guessing," he says, "the work of the Population Commission is not to guess, it is to determine exactly the population of Nigeria and that is what we have done." Offering an olive branch, Alhaji Musa said a population complaints tribunal which would sit on petitions relating to the

Dr. Tai Solarin said: "I know that my worst subject at school was mathematics but it's hard to believe that Lagos, which 10 years ago was estimated to have 5.1 million people, could not have grown more than that now."



Saleiman: *satisfied*



Ukaj: *happy with census '91*

census figures is already being set up.

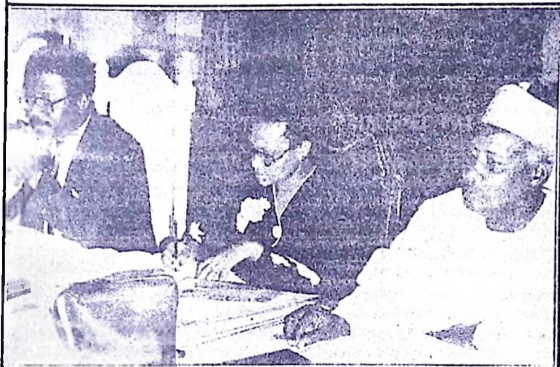
Already, the *Makaman Nups'* friends are rallying to his support. Air Commodore Dan Saleiman, a prominent Middle Belt chieftain told *Citizen* last week: "Shehu Musa is a man who likes to do a thorough job and he is a man who likes to leave a good name wherever he goes and I think we should give him moral support until somebody is able to come out with independent and verifiable information which counters his."

By Yinka Tella and Balaji Adebisi with additional reports by Samson Ojo, Tawey Zakka and Abu Momunoh

Zango riot

The "trial" of Gaskiya

News hunt puts editor and his reporter in the dock



Members of the tribunal (centre) commission chairman Cudjoe

Gaskiya Tafi Kwabo is a Hausa language newspaper in the New Nigerian Newspapers stable. It translates roughly in English as "truth is worth more than money." But on one occasion, exactly March 16, the paper failed to live up to its name. That day it served its readers what was not exactly true, when it quoted a police memorandum as having identified the chairman of Zangon Kafaf Local Government in Kaduna State as the cause of the market riot in Zangon Kafaf town on February 6.

The police memo submitted by chief superintendent of police Abdullahi Lawal to the judicial commission investigating the riot, merely stated that Juni Babang Ayok, council chairman made relocation of the market a campaign promise, which he "worked relentlessly to actualise" after his election.

In his verbal testimony to the commission on March 11, Chief Superintendent Lawal said "it is the opinion of the police" that the cause of the riot was the chairman's defiance of a court injunction stopping

the market from being moved and Hausa opposition led by Alhaji Danbala ATK.

To be sure, Gaskiya did not set out to distort the evidence of the police. Editor Abul-Hassan Ibrahim said if his paper made a mistake it arose from "our misunderstanding of the police memo." In admitting the error early and offering profuse apology, he was able to secure for himself and his reporter Suleiman Lemu Ladan "a discharge", but theirs was qualified freedom. An indictment still hangs to its name.

The Gaskiya 'trial' was initiated by J.B. Daudu, counsel for the police on March 17, when he drew the Justice Cudjoe commission's attention to a story in the paper's edition of the previous day, with the headline. *Binciken 'yan Sanda ya nuna cewa: shugaban karamar hukumar Zangon Kafaf ne ya hadasa rikici*

In English this will read: "Police investigation has clearly revealed that the chairman of Zangon Kafaf is the cause of the riot." Mr. Daudu's application to have the paper's editor and the reporter who

filed the story "summoned to appear before the commission" was granted.

The two dutifully answered the summon on March 23, at about 10.00 am. The commission began hearing of their case at 10.54 am. Opening the case, Daudu complained that the Gaskiya story "alarmed my client, particularly the chairman." He said it gave the impression that the police "implicated" the chairman "as being the cause of the riot."

Daudu could not take his eye away from the "banner headline", which shot out at him with its disturbing boldness, coupled with its "very wide coverage, not only in Nigeria but throughout West Africa." He said Gaskiya's distortion of the evidence of the police and their memo was "fraught with mischief and danger." The paper, he said, used the memo as "a smokescreen to clearly pre-empt the findings of the commission." He wanted its editor and correspondent "to show cause why some form of action should not be taken against them for clear contempt."

Justice Rahila Hadea Cudjoe (chairman): *You are the editor (referring to Abul-Hassan), what explanation do you have?*

Editor: (Initially, speaking in English) *Gaskiya relied solely on the evidence of the police before the commission. (Switching to Hausa, with commission's permission) Our story did not change what the police said in their memorandum and the evidence of its witnesses. Our aim as a federal government newspaper is to ensure that what we publish is in the public interest. Our story was to enlighten the public about what the police said before the commission. (But) if it has offended any interested party, we sincerely apologise.*

Suleiman Lemu Ladan (reporter): (Speaking in Hausa) *I go along with my editor. I would like to add that if the chairman or the local government council feels aggrieved, I sincerely apologise.*

Justice Cudjoe asked the editor to read aloud the headline of the

contd. Pg. 24

Census '91

Provisional result

Speech delivered by General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria on the occasion of the submission of Census '91 provisional result on Thursday, 19th March, 1992.

When this administration decided to include the conduct of national population census as part of its transition to civil rule programme, it did so in a determined effort to lay an enduring foundation for our political evolution as a nation. Such foundation is particularly desirable for Nigeria, to back up democratic political structures with sound socio-economic plans for sustained national growth and development. Needless to say, such plans, however beautiful, can only be translated into reality against the background of accurate reliable and adequate data.

It is regrettable that our peculiar political history has made it impossible before now to establish a common perspective for appreciating national goals and objectives. Needless to remind you of past exercises, particularly the 1963 census figures which were arrived at by negotiations rather than by enumeration. Neither do we need to remind ourselves that 1973 figures failed not so much because of the alleged inflation of figures but primarily because the provisional figures, when compared with projected figure from 1963 census, resulted in negative growth rate in some sections of the country. This acrimonious situation, coupled with certain technical shortcomings, has been responsible for the chronicle of failure which characterised the conduct of, and public attitude to, the post-independence censuses of 1963 and 1973. Yet, the nation continues to yearn for a national population census that will serve as a reference point to our development effort.

Government was therefore mindful of that inglorious background when, in 1987, it accepted the recommendation of the Political Bureau to conduct a population census before it eventually hands over to a democratically elected government. These considerations also informed the care with which the provisions of Decree 23 of 1989 were crafted. That decree sets up the

National Population Commission which has, among other duties, the conduct of population censuses in Nigeria. Similarly, government was extremely careful in the choice of chairman and members of the commission.

I wish to reiterate the high premium that our administration attaches to your assignment and indeed the Transition Programme. This fact apart, many of our countrymen are anxious about the census, hence the close monitoring of the progress of your commission since its inception in 1988.

We are particularly impressed by the boldness with which you attempted to make a break with the past. We also appreciate your sincerity and commitment to the task of providing for our beloved nation an accurate reliable and acceptable census this time around. Together with other well meaning Nigerians, we have followed the successes attained in every stage of the census exercise including enumeration, area demarcation, the three pre-tests, trial census, training of census functionaries, and decentralisation of data processing control. I vividly remember launching your public enlightenment programme for the 1991 census in May 1990. I took precious note of the way it has helped to engender public confidence in all that you have done. All these are strategies which commend the National Population Commission's approach to the census as a purely technical exercise. They are equally symbolic of the proper way and manner in which you executed the assignment.

Thus, fully aware of the home-work you did, your widely acclaimed success in the actual enumeration in November, 1991, did not come as a big surprise to us. In fact, it reinforced our belief in the ability of Nigerians to conduct their own affairs successfully.

I recall with nostalgia the manner in which you killed the scepticism which crept up at the initial stages of your assignment. You took time off to explain the

Federal Republic of Nigeria

1991 Population Census

(provisional result)

State name	Males	Females	Total
1 ABIA	1,108,357	1,189,621	2,297,978
2 ANAMBRA	1,084,824	1,039,225	2,124,049
3 BAYELSA	1,162,430	1,197,306	2,359,736
4 ANAMBRA	1,374,801	1,393,102	2,767,903
5 BAUCHI	2,202,962	2,091,451	4,294,413
6 BENUE	1,385,402	1,394,996	2,780,398
7 BORNO	1,327,311	1,269,278	2,596,589
8 CROSS-RIVER	945,270	920,334	1,865,604
9 DELTA	1,273,208	1,296,973	2,570,181
10 EDO	1,082,718	1,077,130	2,159,848
11 ENUGU	1,482,245	1,679,050	3,161,295
12 IMO	1,178,031	1,307,468	2,485,499
13 JIGAWA	2,059,382	1,410,203	2,829,929
14 KADUNA	2,858,724	1,909,870	3,969,252
15 KANO	1,944,218	2,773,316	5,632,040
16 KATSINA	1,024,334	1,934,126	3,878,344
17 KEBBI	1,055,964	1,037,892	2,062,226
18 KOGI	790,921	1,043,082	2,099,046
19 KWARA	2,999,528	775,548	1,566,469
20 LAGOS	1,290,720	2,686,253	5,685,781
21 NIGER	1,144,907	1,191,647	2,482,367
22 OGUN	1,958,928	1,193,663	2,338,570
23 ONDO	1,079,424	1,925,557	3,884,485
24 OSUN	1,745,720	1,123,592	2,203,016
25 OYO	1,645,730	1,743,069	3,488,789
26 PLATEAU	2,079,583	1,637,974	3,283,704
27 RIVERS	2,158,111	1,904,274	3,983,857
28 SOKOTO	754,754	2,234,280	4,392,391
29 TARABA	719,763	725,836	1,480,590
30 YOBE	206,535	691,718	1,411,481
31 ABUJA F.C.T.		172,136	378,671
COUNTRY TOTALS	44,544,531	43,969,970	88,514,501

State name : ABUJA F.C.T.

L.G.A. name	Males	Females	Total
1 ABAJI	12,028	11,619	23,647
2 ABUJA MUNICIPAL	121,901	90,953	212,854
3 GWAGWALADA	43,051	37,790	80,841
4 KUJE	29,555	31,774	61,329
Totals	206,535	172,136	378,671

State name : ABIA

L.G.A. name	Males	Females	Total
1 ABA (1)	255,325	238,827	494,152
2 APIKPO	47,262	56,412	103,674
3 AROCHUKWU	43,453	48,164	91,617
4 BENDE	61,200	67,027	128,227
5 IPUWANO	27,925	32,043	59,968
6 ISIALA-NGWA	43,758	50,141	93,899
7 ISUKWUATO	68,731	79,323	148,054
8 OBIOMA-NGWA	162,439	162,967	325,406
9 CHAFIA	64,961	75,250	140,211
10 CHACARA	59,467	74,501	133,968
11 ONICHA	48,052	64,365	112,417
12 UKWA	23,776	25,108	48,884
13 UMUARIA	105,797	107,833	213,630
14 APIKPO SOUTH	33,205	37,909	71,114
15 UKWA EAST	15,234	16,727	31,961
16 ISIALA NGWA SOUTH	47,772	53,024	100,796
Totals	1,108,357	1,189,621	2,297,978

(1) Comprising ABA NORTH and SOUTH

State name : ADAMAWA

L.G.A. name	Males	Females	Total
1 FUFURE	78,978	74,800	153,778
2 GANYE	86,386	84,763	171,149
3 GOMBI	43,589	44,836	88,425
4 GUYUK	33,424	36,180	69,604
5 HONG	62,315	63,957	126,272
6 MAIHA	48,814	43,785	92,599
7 MAYO-BELWA	59,736	61,290	121,026
8 MICHIKA	57,502	60,210	117,712
9 NUMAN (1)	132,586	110,828	243,414
11 SONG	115,842	112,569	228,411
12 YOLA	99,757	93,335	193,092
13 JADA	132,968	113,100	246,068
14 MADAGALI	60,349	63,837	124,186
15 SHELENG	44,757	47,348	92,105
Totals	27,821	28,387	56,208
	1,084,824	1,039,225	2,124,049

(1) Including DEMSA

State name : AKWA IBOM

L.G.A. name	Males	Females	Total
1 ABAK	50,945	53,017	103,962
2 EKET	39,099	38,410	77,509
3 EKPE-ATAI	30,212	33,117	63,329
4 ESSIEN-UDIM	62,730	68,008	130,738
5 ETINAM	39,763	44,283	84,046
6 IKONO	42,956	47,708	90,664
7 IKOT-ABASI	35,219	34,741	69,960
8 IKOT-EKPENE	76,252	80,052	156,304
9 ITU	90,085	92,634	182,719
10 MBO	32,050	25,551	57,601
11 MKPAT-ENIN	47,262	53,164	100,426
12 NSIT-UBIUM	37,099	38,851	75,950
13 OKOBO	31,988	32,432	64,420
14 ONNA	71,013	61,901	132,914
15 ORON	40,935	39,113	80,048
16 ORUK-ANAM	57,791	68,765	126,556
17 UKANAFUN	40,374	43,889	84,263
18 UQUO-IBENO	43,822	33,116	76,938
19 URUAN	36,673	43,195	79,868
20 UYO	117,068	117,547	234,615
21 ETIM EKPO	57,064	62,664	119,728
22 NSIT IBOM	32,194	32,015	64,209
23 INI	35,047	37,074	72,121
24 URUE OFFONG/ORUKO	14,789	16,059	30,848
Totals	1,162,430	1,197,306	2,359,736

State name : ANAMBRA

L.G.A. name	Males	Females	Total
1 AGUATA	141,329	147,720	289,049
2 ANAMBRA	74,882	75,475	150,357
3 ANAOCHA	96,863	102,230	199,093
4 AKWA SOUTH	59,285	62,285	121,570
5 IDEMILI	206,162	194,442	400,604
6 IHIALA	91,294	108,435	199,729
7 NJIKOKA	65,974	68,127	134,101
8 NNEWI NORTH	105,062	96,201	201,263
9 OGBARU	94,137	83,919	178,056
10 ONITSHA (1)	136,230	120,711	256,941
11 ORUMBA SOUTH	44,946	51,170	96,116
12 OYI	94,764	95,897	190,661
13 AKWA NORTH	30,063	33,269	63,332
14 ORUMBA NORTH	60,276	67,522	127,798
15 NNEWI SOUTH	73,534	85,699	159,233
Totals	1,374,801	1,393,102	2,767,903

(1) Comprising ONITSHA NORTH and SOUTH

State name : BAUCHI

L.G.A. name	Males	Females	Total
1 AKKO	122,750	112,575	235,325
2 ALKALERI	129,912	124,565	254,477
3 BALANGA	64,378	69,006	133,384
4 BAUCHI	180,225	161,533	341,758
5 BILLIRI	44,522	40,697	85,219
6 DARAZO	83,650	80,199	163,849
7 DASS	26,064	27,149	53,213
8 DUKKU	84,876	73,555	158,431
9 GAMAWA	95,514	85,490	181,004
10 GOMBE	150,541	132,648	283,189
11 ITAS/GADAU	64,028	63,624	127,652
12 JAMA'ARE	31,681	28,662	60,343
13 KATAGUM	97,644	90,483	188,127
14 MISAU	112,099	107,086	219,185
15 NAFADA	96,601	89,530	186,131
16 NINGI	150,606	139,512	290,118
17 SHIRA	124,303	118,989	243,292
18 TAFAWA-BALEWA	89,979	98,506	188,485
19 TORO	107,825	107,630	215,455
20 YAMALTU/DEBA	108,797	111,978	220,775
21 KALTUNGO	81,971	83,544	165,515
22 GANJUWA	73,151	69,988	143,139
23 ZAKI	81,845	74,502	156,347
Totals	2,202,962	2,091,451	4,294,413

State name : BENUE

L.G.A. name	Males	Females	Total
1 ADO	48,376	54,852	103,228
2 GBOKO	151,818	146,569	298,387
3 GUMA	57,599	58,151	115,750
4 GWER EAST	57,650	57,468	115,118
5 KATSINA-ALA	119,510	118,075	237,585
6 KONSHISHA	70,471	72,574	143,045
7 KWANDE	95,968	95,099	191,067
8 MAKURDI	121,122	105,076	226,198
9 OJU	82,910	94,360	177,270
10 OKPOKWU	43,187	43,822	87,009
11 OTURKPO	95,814	94,643	190,457
12 USHONGO	61,888	62,063	123,951
13 VANDEIKYA	81,179	82,476	163,655
14 OGBADIBO	41,952	48,938	90,890
15 APA	63,858	65,449	129,307
16 BUKURU	64,005	66,658	130,663
17 GWER WEST	36,639	36,757	73,396
18 UKUM	91,456	91,966	183,422
Totals	1,385,402	1,394,996	2,780,398

State name : BORNO

L.G.A. name	Males	Females	Total
1 ASKIRA-UBA	80,941	77,952	158,893
2 BAMA	97,989	97,135	195,124
3 BIU (1)	108,835	107,835	216,670
4 DAMBOA	69,123	71,286	140,409
5 DIKWA	36,594	35,008	71,602
6 GWOZA	79,903	81,451	161,354
7 KAGA (2)	51,858	53,511	105,369
8 KONDUNGA (3)	86,252	87,604	173,856
9 KUKAWA (4)	77,405	72,798	150,203
10 MAIDUGURI	340,809	288,677	629,486
11 MOBBAR (5)	77,558	73,019	150,577
12 MONGUNO (6)	64,469	61,012	125,481
13 NGALA	65,408	61,045	126,453
14 SHANI (7)	90,167	100,945	191,112
Totals	1,327,311	1,269,278	2,596,589

- (1) Including KWAYA-KUSAR
 (2) Including MAGUMERI
 (3) Including MAFA
 (4) Including NGANZAI
 (5) Including GUBIO
 (6) Including MARTE
 (7) Including HAWUL

State name : CROSS-RIVER

L.G.A. name	Males	Females	Total
1 AKAIKPA	59,103	55,821	114,924
2 CALABAR MUNICIPALITY	166,203	154,659	320,862
3 IKOM	91,495	84,129	175,624
4 OBUBRA	69,665	68,764	138,429
5 OBUDU	45,137	44,685	89,822
6 ODUKPANI	56,273	54,630	110,903
7 OGOJA	82,906	85,983	168,889
8 UGEP SOUTH	71,298	69,658	140,956
9 BIASE	47,339	46,023	93,362
10 BOKI	70,906	66,712	137,618
11 YALA	75,903	79,501	155,404
12 OBANLIKU	24,398	25,603	50,001
13 AKPABUYO	49,218	46,974	96,192
14 UGEP NORTH	35,426	37,192	72,618
Totals	945,270	920,334	1,865,604

State name : DELTA

L.G.A. name	Males	Females	Total
1 ANIOCHA SOUTH	56,003	56,395	112,398
2 BOMADI	70,100	70,336	140,436
3 BURUTU	85,352	75,093	160,445
4 ETHIOPE EAST	52,173	56,530	108,703
5 IKA SOUTH	63,674	66,261	129,935
6 ISOKO SOUTH	69,890	72,773	142,663
7 NDOKWA WEST	88,466	94,784	183,250
8 OKPE	132,722	128,708	261,430
9 OSHIMILI	61,582	61,021	122,603
10 SAPELE	71,198	70,043	141,241
11 UGHELLI NORTH	77,807	83,350	161,157
12 WARRI SOUTH	109,818	103,458	213,276
13 WARRI NORTH	44,598	42,846	87,444
14 ETHIOPE WEST	50,375	51,210	101,585
15 NDOKWA EAST	34,908	37,773	72,681
16 UGHELLI SOUTH	60,243	71,048	131,291
17 IKA NORTH EAST	52,820	57,696	110,516
18 ANIOCHA NORTH	27,280	28,115	55,395
19 ISOKO NORTH	64,199	69,533	133,732
Totals	1,273,208	1,296,973	2,570,181

State name : EDO

L.G.A. name	Males	Females	Total
1 ESAN SOUTH EAST	43,847	45,639	89,486
2 AKOKO-EDO	59,421	64,945	124,366
3 ETSAKO WEST	65,208	65,718	130,926
4 ESAN WEST	45,537	46,211	91,748
5 OREDO	397,296	383,680	780,976
6 ORHIONMWON (1)	116,622	110,726	227,348
7 OVIA (2)	42,554	38,466	81,020
8 OWAN (3)	75,517	75,582	151,099
9 ESAN CENTRAL	60,921	67,590	128,511
10 ESAN NORTH EAST	43,476	44,882	88,358
11 ETSAKO EAST	67,968	75,935	143,903
12 IYEKUSELU (4)	64,351	57,756	122,107
Totals	1,082,718	1,077,130	2,159,848

- (1) Including UHUNNWONDE
 (2) Renamed OVIA SOUTH WEST
 (3) Comprising OWAN EAST and OWAN WEST
 (4) Renamed OVIA NORTH EAST

State name : ENUGU

L.G.A. name	Males	Females	Total
1 ABAKAALIKI	110,217	115,535	225,752
2 AWGU	99,754	122,884	222,638
3 ENUGU (1)	233,818	231,254	465,072
4 EZEAGU	50,050	58,079	108,129
5 EZZA	81,089	107,446	188,535
6 IGBO-ETITI	65,518	66,151	131,669
7 IGBO-EZE (2)	100,535	125,907	226,442
8 IKWO	77,144	89,125	166,269
9 ISHIELU	60,090	72,462	132,552
10 ISI-UZO	96,147	113,578	209,725
11 IZZI	78,992	87,247	166,239
12 NKANU	94,626	113,492	208,118
13 NSUKKA	104,642	113,538	218,180
14 OHAUKWU	82,609	98,323	180,932
15 OJI-RIVER	38,130	43,975	82,105
16 UDI	68,882	78,028	146,910
17 UZO-UWANI	40,002	42,026	82,028
Totals	1,482,245	1,679,050	3,161,295

(1) Comprising ENUGU NORTH and SOUTH

(2) Comprising IGBO-EZE NORTH and SOUTH

State name : IMO

L.G.A. name	Males	Females	Total
1 ABOH-MBAISE	53,912	61,216	115,128
2 AHIAZU-MBAISE	44,604	52,687	97,291
3 EHIME-MBANO	44,862	50,418	95,280
4 EZINIHITE	42,568	49,351	91,919
5 IDEATO NORTH	62,757	65,926	128,683
6 IHITTE/JBOMA	34,291	36,476	70,767
7 IKEDURU	49,523	57,427	106,950
8 ISIALA-MBANO	48,667	56,196	104,863
9 ISU	66,485	74,084	140,569
10 MBAITOLI	70,276	77,974	148,250
11 NGOR-OKPALA	64,953	71,149	136,102
12 NKWERRE	61,777	63,861	125,638
13 OBOWO	29,504	34,708	64,212
14 OHAJI/EGBEMA	58,578	60,212	118,790
15 OKIGWE	62,028	66,031	128,059
16 ORLU	54,367	62,409	116,776
17 ORU	67,049	81,947	148,996
18 OWERRI	140,878	144,053	284,931
19 OGUTA	41,457	45,108	86,565
20 ORSU	40,403	50,682	91,085
21 IDEATO SOUTH	39,092	45,553	84,645
Totals	1,178,031	1,307,468	2,485,499

State name : KADUNA

L.G.A. name	Males	Females	Total
1 BIRNIN GWARI	73,727	66,683	140,410
2 CHIKUN	154,495	143,636	298,131
3 IGABI	153,421	144,606	298,027
4 IKARA	175,688	168,569	344,257
5 JAMA'A	111,037	104,712	215,749
6 KACHIA	109,059	107,202	216,261
7 KADUNA	182,318	155,321	337,639
8 KAURA	64,290	56,475	120,765
9 KAURU	64,523	63,414	127,937
10 LERE	114,114	106,944	221,058
11 SOBA	95,741	91,536	187,277
12 ZANGON-KATAF	76,134	73,350	149,484
13 ZARIA	147,233	129,954	277,187
14 MAKARFI	107,236	104,010	211,246
15 SABON-GARI	113,415	99,256	212,671
16 JABA	34,056	33,328	67,384
17 GIWA	85,889	84,364	170,253
18 TUDUN WADA/MAKERA	197,006	176,510	373,516
Totals	2,059,382	1,909,870	3,969,252

State name : JIGAWA

L.G.A. name	Males	Females	Total
1 BABURA	66,790	68,314	135,104
2 BIRNIWA	55,902	58,205	114,107
3 BIRNIN-KUDU	147,491	145,347	292,838
4 DUTSE	73,772	74,602	148,374
5 GARKI	51,053	51,796	102,849
6 GUMEL (1)	61,466	59,812	121,278
7 GWARAM	99,411	96,207	195,618
8 HADEJIA	95,049	88,478	183,527
9 JAHUM	120,981	128,834	249,815
10 KAFIN-HAUSA	75,169	74,544	149,713
11 KAZAURE	61,934	59,582	121,516
12 KIRIKASAMMA	92,535	85,073	177,608
13 KIYAWA	53,701	54,343	108,044
14 MAIGATARI (2)	91,073	87,933	179,006
15 MALAM-MADURI (3)	99,409	93,528	192,937
16 RINGIM (4)	119,216	128,337	247,553
17 RONI (5)	54,774	55,268	110,042
Totals	1,419,726	1,410,203	2,829,929

- (1) Including part of SULETANKAR-KAR
- (2) Including part of SULETANKAR-KAR
- (3) Including KAUGAMA
- (4) Including TAURA
- (5) Including GWIWA

processes including the preparations, the comprehensiveness of your coverage and the technical efficiency of the programme. This approach did confirm your ability to inspire confidence and reassured Nigerians of the thoroughness of the exercise. Let me also observe with appreciation that, inspite of financial and logistic difficulties, you were able to call on your vast experience and skills in resource management to overcome such obstacles.

Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen, we have observed that a few individuals, unfamiliar with nature of census as a statistics operation have, since the close of enumeration in November 1991, been expressing concern about the release of the result of the exercise. On our part, we are quite aware of the stupendous amount of data generated by the census and the arduous and tortuous processes involved before the results could be obtained. In fact, that you are able to present the provisional result of the 1991 census to government today, in spite of the mass of data that needed to be captured in the



Babangida: a job well done

field, processed, checked and cross-checked prior to further analysis, is a testimony to your dedication, loyalty and effectiveness in executing the project.

As I remarked when you came to enumerate me and members of my family in Lagos on 27th November, 1991, I did not envy you nor your assignment. I am however confident that you would perform. I feel so proud that you have not failed me in my expectation.

I am not surprised because, in addition to the

previous meritorious services you have rendered to the nation, the recent exercise has further demonstrated your personal qualities, experience and commitment to the aspiration of the present administration.

This administration understands the apprehension of those who argue about the need to release the provisional results to an expectant nation without unnecessary delay. At the same time, I did assure the nation that the result will not be tinkered with. Towards this end, the Armed Forces Ruling Council met today to receive the provisional result of the census. We deliberated on the procedures and processes undergone in order to arrive at the figures. We are satisfied with the conduct of the census and I hereby confirm that the population of Nigeria is 88,514,501 million.

Once again, I extend the commendation of government to you as chairman, and members of the commission for the exemplary way in which you have handled this delicate national assignment. To the numerous staff of the National Population Commission nationwide, this nation remains ever grateful for your commitment and sacrifice to the cause of a credible census. To the media men and women, your role in mobilising everyone for the exercise is highly appreciated. To all Nigerians and non-Nigerians alike, I commend their patience, understanding and endurance during the period of enumeration. I should also like to mention the support and assistance of the international community which has been most helpful to the 1991 census project.

On the whole, the exemplary conduct of all groups in relation to the different stages of planning and execution of the 1991 census project suggests a fundamental attitudinal change to programmes initiated by this administration.

It is my fervent hope that this new orientation will be extended to other aspects of the transition to civil rule programme as we set about the task of ensuring the safe delivery of the Third Republic.

As people who share a common nationhood, we need to constantly remind ourselves that census is yet another effort in nation building. It is not a contest in ethnic or religious strength, nor is it a contest between regional, communal or cultural groups. Having resolved to live together as one nation, we must now jettison attitudes that are critically unhelpful to national unity. Our overriding concern should be how to make the many Nigerians more productive and how to ensure that Nigerians give our nation a better image abroad. This is a task for all Nigerians. It is my hope that this census exercise will mark the beginning of a positive re-direction of our attitudes.

Once again, I thank you all for a job well done.

story. Editor Abul-Hassan did as he was told.

Chairman: Is it what the memo said?

Editor: As I said earlier, we relied on the content of the memo.

Chairman: But your story did not mention the memo. Is a report one and the same thing as report?

Editor: In Hausa we refer to both as report.

At this point, Yahaya Mahmood, counsel for the Hausa community stood up to say "something as a friend of the court (commission)." But the chairman stopped him short, saying: "We have started ruling already. We don't want to drag this issue on and on. It's a very simple issue."

A simple issue maybe, but it took the commission about 20 minutes to rule on it. When it came, it dealt a blow to the reputation of *Gaskiya* as a newspaper which tells the truth. Said Justice Cudjoe: "We have clearly considered the submission of Mr. Daudu and the explanation of the editor, all in the light of the police memo. We are of the considered view and noted that nowhere in the police testimony and memo was it said that the chairman (of Zangon Katak Local Government) caused the riot." She said that the third line of page 2 and paragraph 5 (a) of page 4 of the police memo, which *Gaskiya* drew on for its story, merely said that the chairman made the market a campaign promise and the local government's intention to transfer the market to a new site.

Said Justice Cudjoe: "Local government council is not the same as chairman and an intention to move the market is not the same as causing a riot. Similarly, making a campaign promise doesn't amount to causing a riot." Therefore, the commission considers the *Gaskiya* publication "erroneous and misrepresentation of the police memo and the testimony of its witnesses."

What "saved the day" for the newspaper's editor and reporter was

their apology, which the commission considered a sufficient mitigating factor. They were merely "strongly cautioned" to be more accurate in reporting proceedings of the commission, especially what memos and witnesses say. Justice Cudjoe said the commission "is a fact finding inquiry", not set up to



Cudjoe: urges media to be fair "find anyone guilty of an offence." It would submit its findings to

ties. Waziri was definitely disappointing though the commission did not say it in many words. First, he said he was not the person who presented the programme that day. The presenter was on leave and could not be reached.

Second, the tape he brought was not the original, but a "copy", recorded by a "listener". The original tape was wiped. Police counsel, Mr. Daudu wanted to know whether it was usual to wipe tapes after "seven days." Waziri said it was not but the Danbala interview was not in the category of "important tapes" that needed to be kept longer than seven days.

Even so, the "copy", which Waziri confirmed was a true recording of what was aired on February 3, was incomplete. It began and ended with the Danbala interview slot. The quality of the recording was poor. Said Justice Cudjoe: "The recording is blurred and unclear." All the same it was admitted "as having been played."

A simple issue maybe, but it took the commission about 20 minutes to rule on it. When it came, it dealt a stinging blow to the reputation of *Gaskiya* as a newspaper which tells the truth.

government of Kaduna State. Therefore, "it's wrong", said the chairman, "for any newspaper to suggest that anybody caused the riot (in Zangon Katak) even before the commission has submitted its report." She appealed for "moderation and restraint" as well as "accurate and balanced reporting" of the commission's work.

After the "discharge" of the *Gaskiya* reporter, Musa Waziri, producer of FRCN Kaduna's feature programme, *Jakar Magori*, was called to explain an interview with Alhaji Danbala ATK, a major figure in the Zangon Katak market controversy, which was aired on February 3, three days before the outbreak of hostili-

In the interview, according to Waziri, Alhaji Danbala appealed to the Hausas in Zangon Katak, who were incensed by the decision to move the market, to be calm and await the court's decision on the matter. Apparently, Danbala had gone to the commercial department of the FRCN, intending to pay to have his views put across to the "talakwas" of Zangon Katak, the people of Nigeria, the government." But he was informed he could do that for free on *Jakar Magori*, which Waziri described as "a public enlightenment programme on social issues that touch directly on the lives of talakwas."

By Tawey Zakka in Kaduna

Imo airport Difficult dream

Three months after it was commissioned, "the people's airport" is yet to become operational

It has gulped 217 million Naira and outlived three military governors. The last of the governors Commander Anthony Oguguo assumed power with a vow to see the end to it. Ten days before bowing out of office he put up a show purportedly making the completion of the project. But over three months later, the Imo Airport is yet to become operational.

The airport, fondly called the people's airport, represents a milestone in Nigeria and aviation industry. It remains to date the only airport conceived, started and vigorously pursued by one of the states in the country. For the business-in-

June 5, 1986, laid the foundation stone of the airport. His successor, the bearded Amadi Ikwechegh, took over from where he stopped, later handing over to Anthony Oguguo, the immediate past governor of the state.

To raise money for the project, several appeals for fund were launched at various levels, and Imo people, as well as their friends and well wishers, donated generously. In addition to that, many communities in the state (including Abia, which was excised from the old Imo last August 27,) taxed their citizens to ensure early completion of work on the airport. As at 1990 the com-



Oguguo and Enwerem: a dream dashed?

clined Imo citizens, owning an airport has for long been a passionate but obstinate dream. The non-realisation of that stubborn dream has meant long journeys to the airports in Enugu, Calabar or Port Harcourt for anyone from the land locked state who has a reason to travel by air.

The first concrete move to give flesh to the big dream was made by Governor Alison Madueke, who on

certed efforts of the government and people of the state had yielded a handsome sum of over 22 million Naira. The money, however, accomplished little as inflation, like a voracious eater, dragged back the hands of the clock.

Discouragement started setting in. Then came Anthony Emeluwa Oguguo, a lawyer and navy commander, who swore to complete the

project before ending his tenure as Imo governor. The youthful military officer struck gold just before celebrating his first 100 days in office when President Ibrahim Babangida visited the state in December 1990 and was swept off his feet by the scale of the airport project. Shortly after the president's visit the federal government took over the airport, with a pledge to get ready as quickly as possible.

With a whopping 182 million Naira released in two instalments by the federal government, Commander Oguguo laboured desperately to redeem his pledge of completing the airport before relinquishing power and returning to the barracks. In the second week of December last year he announced to the overjoyed people of Imo that he was dead on target as far as the airport project was concerned. The airport he disclosed, would be commissioned later in the month, thus enabling him to hands off power a happy man.

Those who disbelieved the energetic governor were totally wrong over on Friday, December 20, when a plane actually landed at the airport.

Three days later the airport was commissioned amidst pomp and pageantry. General Babangida, who was flown in from Abuja for the ceremony at 10.04 am., described the commissioning of the airport as "the coming to life of this gigantic project." He noted that "Imo State has always been known as a state of high-fliers," adding "with the coming of this beautiful airport, great citizens of Imo State can truly fly high to their hearts' delight."

Like many other persons, the president expected the airport to go into operation after the commissioning ceremony. But over three months after the revelry, "the people's airport" is still as dormant as it was before December 20, 1991.

Chief Evan Enwerem, Imo's governor since January 2, is anxious to see the airport put to use. A former chairman of the airport appeal

fund committee, Chief Enwerem has paid regular unscheduled visits to the airport, which is a few minutes' drive from the government house, Owerri, since coming to power. He has also summoned the contractors handling the project to his office for talks. From his visits to the airport and discussions with the

contractors, the governor has arrived at the huge sum of 110 million Naira as what is needed to make the airport ready for use. He has assured citizens of the state of his commitment "to seeing that the airport is operational within the shortest possible time."

But the problem is where to get

the money. The state government, unable to produce the staggering amount, has gone bowl-in-hand to the federal government, which is yet to flash a positive signal. The waiting game goes on. And until the money is found "the people's airport" remains a hard nut to crack.

By Isaac Umunna in Enugu

NIPOST

Itchy fingers everywhere

Worried by the nefarious activities of its staff, NIPOST sets in motion, measures to stem the ugly tide

Those who know him intimately say he is slow to anger. But last week, Nathaniel Zome, the Nigerian Postal Services Department (NIPOST) chief executive appeared to be in a fit of anger when he gathered postal workers union officers inside the miniature conference hall at the NIPOST headquarters in Lagos.

The reason for his annoyance was the dwindling image of the department. He lamented that he could hardly defend NIPOST staffers on their involvement in mail theft. The post-master general disclosed that he "suspects NIPOST workers are responsible for the department's bad image." He announced a nation-wide reshuffle of its workers adding that: "Our investigations have disclosed that those officials who have spent more than three years in a particular place were the one involved in mail pilfering."

Citizen sources last week revealed that for months the general post office at Marina has witnessed sporadic incidence of mail pilfering by its workers. Apparently determined to fish out the bad eggs among its work force. Citizen source revealed that nothing less than 200 NIPOST workers have been dismissed within the last one month. According to the source, five area postal controllers (APC) have been

removed and recalled to the headquarters while three others were retired in furtherance of the reshuffle exercise. The controllers were those in charge of Kaduna, Kano, Plateau, Sokoto and Borno territories.

However, as the Lagos territorial headquarters embarked on its directives last week, business activities in most of the post offices visited by Citizen were in a state of confusion. NIPOST supervisors were forced to assume the duty of boxing and dispatching of letters as all the post-masters had been posted out to other stations.

Most of the NIPOST staffers who spoke with Citizen argued that the management decision will have a far reaching implication on NIPOST nation wide operations. Presently, confusion and fear reign supreme in most post offices visited by Citizen last week. This situation prompted Mr. Sola Odanye, a post-master with the Ikeja general post office, to criticise the recent measure reshuffling the post-masters as he expressed fears that postal services may suffer a jolt. "I cannot see how many of the supervisors will cope with the recent situation," he told Citizen.

However, Hussaina Ato, the NIPOST public relations manager sees it differently. She told Citizen last week in her office that the on going reshuffle exercise will go a

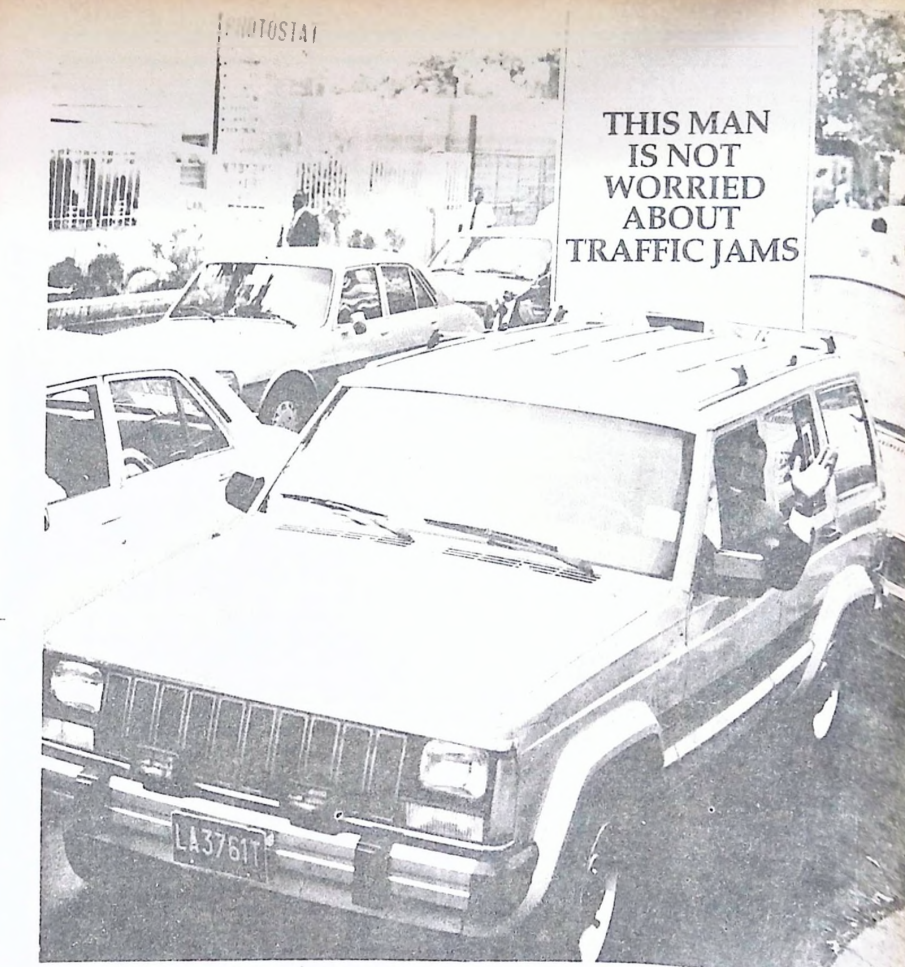


Zome: furious

long way in reducing the tendency of mail pilfering and fraud in the department. But will the the measure work? No, says NIPOST watchers who believe that the authority needs to do more than merely reshuffling its workers to bring back its battered image.

Nevertheless, Mr. A. Musa Kuta, the Lagos area postal controller told Citizen last week that NIPOST is combat ready to root out all the bad eggs in its fold. According to him NIPOST has installed electronic gadgets in all its general post offices as part of its bid to stop the mail theft. Said he: "through our galleries and electronic gadgets, we will be able to monitor events taking place in the mail office, while they will not see us." He further explained that NIPOST authority has set up an investigation branch with its officers performing tasks similar to that of the State Security Service (SSS). He told Citizen that the NIPOST authority has resolved to dismiss any of its staff found guilty of mail theft.

By Samson Ojo



**THIS MAN
IS NOT
WORRIED
ABOUT
TRAFFIC JAMS**

In the banks, that is. Doesn't he already have enough worries as it is? That's why he chose the convenient way to draw money - FirstCash from First Bank. It doesn't matter what branch he banks with; all he needs to do to collect his money is to walk into any cashpoint in Lagos and punch, punch, and out comes his money. Because... IT'S A 24 HOUR SERVICE.

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FirstCash^{ATM}
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MONEY
ANYTIME YOU WANT IT

ATM Cashpoints are installed in the underlined branches

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BUSINESS & ECONOMY

Forex

Breather for Nigerians

Federal government cuts import duty of commercial vehicles and allows individuals to import drugs and medicaments

The federal government last week released a relief package to cushion the harsh effects of the deregulation of foreign exchange procurement. A sharp fall in the value of the Naira had attended the new foreign exchange policy announced by the Central Bank earlier in the month. Consequently, there was high inflation with prices of basic goods rising within days of the reform. Expectedly, Nigerians, particularly, the middle class, who are the most hit by the effect of the reform have been outspoken about their plight under the new forex regime.

Last week, government, responding to the people's discomfort took measures to reduce the pains of the adjustment by announcing a drastic import tariff reduction on transport and health. With effect from April 1, there would be 80 per cent duty rebate on imported cars and reduction of duty on fully-built commercial vehicles from 15 to five per cent. Also, individuals are now allowed to import and use drugs outside the essential drug list.

The vice president, Admiral Au-



Ahmed: of CBN

gustus Aikhomu who announced these measures at a special press conference, also explained that "spare parts and CKD components for commercial and passenger vehicles imported between now and December will attract no duty. However, duty on all imported vehicles would be calculated according to value rather than cubic capacity rate" while spare parts and CKD components for all imported industrial machineries will be duty free. Buses will be allocated to universi-



Aikhomu: in aid of industry

ties to alleviate transport problems in the campuses. The measures according to the government were to "ensure that the short term discomfort attributed to the change will not create any prolonged hardship".

By Tela Sunday

Enugu Trade Fair

Striding to the third stanza

Enugu Chamber of Commerce, Industry, Mines and Agriculture, plans big for the forthcoming third Enugu international trade fair

The countdown to the third Enugu international trade fair has begun. What with the attendant aggressive media and promotion blitz described as first of its kind since the inception of the fair. Enugu Chamber of Commerce, Industry, Mines and Agriculture ECCIMA, the organiser of the trade fair, is already promising exhibitors and the populace the best in trade fair east of the Niger.

Incidentally, "the previous fair," says, Chris Ogakwu, vice-president, ECCIMA and chairman, planning and organising committee of the fair, "was nearly marred by the Gulf war last year". The aggressive media campaign was aimed at boosting the confidence of both local and international business community and informing them to plan ahead for the

fair."

The trade fair complex already is a bee-hive of activities with lots of constructions and renovations going on in various pavilions. Obviously, artisans are witnessing a boom with many of them working at break-neck speed under the sweltering heat



Nwaekeke: promises the best

to meet the deadline given to them by would-be exhibitors.

Some exhibitors have started shipping some furniture and other valuable that will aid them throughout the duration of the fair. Asked how much he has spent so far to erect a stand, one of the would-be participants exclaimed, "It is too early to start counting costs." But exhibitors" says Mr. Ogakwu are being assisted to build the stands and it is regarded as a good logistic".

Incentives have already been

provided for participants. Some of them are in the areas of adequate security network, constant water supply and electricity throughout the duration of the fair, scheduled for April 2 to 11. The chamber is, however, cracking its brain on what to do about the unfavourable turning of the fair which falls within the rainy season of April. Previously, it has been faced with the teething problem of attracting the foreign business community but now, says Sam Nwaekeke, trade fair manager,

"Effort at attracting foreign participation is yielding fruit handsomely."

According to him, "There are strong indications that companies from Asia will participate fully in the forth coming fair."

Certainly, it wouldn't be all business at the fair as a number of other activities have been lined up. Part of them are seminars and a beauty pageant both of which are expected to add colour to the fair.

By Tony Oko in *Enugu*

BUSINESS BRIEFS

New controller for Cadbury

Cadbury Nigeria Plc has announced the elevation of Mr. Samuel Olukayode Adekambi to the post of controller, industrial material Unit.

Adekambi, 35, last year won the company's prestigious award for excellence for consistent high quality performance particularly for the successful



Adekambi

management of the company's first business unit, the 55 million Naira cereal conversion plant (CCP).

As controller, industrial materials unit, Adekambi will oversee the cereal conversion plant, the can factory and the Jos tomato factory of the company.

He joined Cadbury Nigeria in 1983 and has since served variously as assistant accountant, internal auditor, company treasurer, senior financial accounts and business manager (CCP).

An economist and a chartered accountant, he is married with children.

Business centre for Unilag

The University of Lagos is to set up a business development centre to among other things provide assistance for the successful take-off of small and medium scale enterprise (SME).

The vice-chancellor of the University, Professor Nurudeen Alao, announced this at the opening of the third bi-annual conference of the university's faculty of business

administration.

He stressed that under the current economic situation in the country, students of business administration and social sciences would be exposed to courses on entrepreneurship in the final year of their degree programmes, adding that the faculty of business administration is working hard to get the new centre off the ground.

TCPC hosts national workshop

The Technical Committee on Privatisation and Commercialisation (TCPC) will on Tuesday 7th, April hold a national workshop on "the essentials of commercialisation of public enterprises."

The workshop, which will take place at National Assembly complex — House of Representatives chambers, Tafawa Balewa square Lagos, will be officially opened by the vice president, Admiral Augustus Aikhomu.

It will deliberate on

the essential features of the commercialisation programme, prioritisation of its implementation and other relevant issues.

Speakers will include Dr. Hamza Zayyad, chairman TCPC, Mr. George Akamiokhor, director general, Securities and Exchange Commission and member TCPC, Mr. Bernard Verr, director general, TCPC and Dr. Shamsudden Usman, executive director (International Banking) United Bank for Africa Plc.

Adiorho joins NNSL

Mr. Joseph Adiorho has joined the Nigerian National Shipping Line (NNSL) as assistant chief information officer.

Mr. Adiorho, 32, was until his appointment a staff writer on the Business Desk of *TELL* maga-

zine.

A product of University of Nigeria Nsukka, he has worked in various media organisations in the country as reporter, features writer, staff writer and production co-ordinator.

AFRICA

Libya Loosening the noose

Tripoli gains respite in the war of nerves against Western adversaries

Libya's strongman Colonel Muammar Gaddafi before March 23, looked like he would buckle under the tremendous pressure being put on him by the United States, Britain and France to turn over two Libyans accused of bombing an American airliner over Lockerbie, Scotland in 1988. Over 500 people were killed.

Just when it mattered most, the Arab League, grouping 21 Arab states, some sympathetic to Libya and others not too sympathetic, offered Gaddafi a respite and a way to delay the tightening of the noose. An emergency meeting of the league's foreign ministers at its Cairo headquarters on March 23, chaired by Libyan foreign minister Ibrahim Mohammed Al-Beshari, adopted a resolution urging the United Nations Security Council to postpone a debate on sanctions against Libya if it fails to deliver up the two men.

China, one of the five permanent members of the Security Council, significantly, said that it did not approve of sanctions. The flourish of diplomatic moves has come in the wake of a draft resolution by Washington, London and Paris, urging a ban on air links and arms deals with Libya and a reduction of its diplomatic staff abroad. The Security Council is expected to vote soon on the draft.

In Cairo last week, Gaddafi appeared to have pulled off a diplomatic *coup de maître*. Though the Arab League's resolution fell short of adopting a Libyan draft which said Arab states would reject UN sanctions, Tripoli, observers say, should be happy that, at least, the foreign ministers met it half way.

The Cairo resolution, said to be greatly watered down by Egypt and other Arab members of the American-led coalition against Iraq in the Gulf crisis, urged the Security Council to hold fire until the International Court of Justice at the Hague rules in the case brought by Libya. Its first session opened on March 26, and a verdict is not expected for sometime. League Secretary-General Esmat Abdel-Maguid, speaking about the resolution, said, "we are not seeking confrontation. We want a solution satisfactory to the parties involved."

Arab diplomats were quoted as saying after the meeting that UN Secretary-General Boutros Ghali had hinted that Libya might agree to hand over the Lockerbie bombing suspects to the league, which would then deliver them over for trial in Scotland. An earlier proposal that the two men be turned over directly to the UN was said to have collapsed. Last weekend it looked as if Tripoli was going to hand over the two intelligence officers.

That prompted the Americans, British and French to say they were prepared to delay for "a short time" moves to impose sanctions against Libya and the Arab League to dispatch a delegation to confirm the report. In the event, the offer did not materialise. The League delegation returning from Tripoli during the week reported that there had been no agreement on the handing over of the two Libyans.

Dr. Abdel-Maguid was quoted as saying, however, that discussions were continuing. Libyan foreign minister Al-Beshari confirmed it, saying that a committee of



Gaddafi: gaining respect
seven foreign ministers and league secretary-general has been set up to discuss ways to end the crisis.

Tripoli, it seems, is pinning its hope on the action it initiated at the Hague. But Washington, London and Paris have said there is no connection between the case before the international court and their demand for the extradition of the Libyans accused of 1988 Lockerbie bombing. They said they would not abide by a ruling entered in Libya's favour.

At the court's first session on March 23, Libyan and British officials were said to have been engaged in a heated debate. A Libyan official accused Washington and London of using threats against his country to try to force it to turn over the two accused Libyans. He asked for an injunction to stop any use of force against Libya. Britain, on its part, said Libya was "trying to wriggle out of its obligations."

Meanwhile, it is understood that Britain and the United States, aware that Tripoli is not going to turn over the accused men, have decided that they would put their act together by this Friday. According to a report, they will not only be pressing for the release of the Libyans for trial but also Libya's compliance with other aspects of a Security Council resolution passed last January. It demanded access to the accused by a French judge, compensation by Tripoli for victims of the Lockerbie bombing and that it sever its links with international terrorism.

By Tawey Zakka
with agency reports

Sierra Leone

The people want change

Dr. Alusine Fofona, 40, chairman of the National Democratic Party, NDP one of the opposition parties formed after the abolition of one party rule was in Kaduna three weeks ago and spoke to Abu Mommoh on the situation in Sierra Leone. *Excerpts.*

Citizen: *The transition programme provides that parliamentary elections take place not later than 90 days after October 1, 1992. So naturally one expects that election time table should have been out by now. Why hasn't government released the time table?*

Fofona: The government has given the rebel situation as excuse for not releasing the timetable for elections. That is why Sierra Leoneans today are questioning government handling of rebel incursion. It is a fact that people are fed up with the APC government. The most disturbing aspect is that many people in Freetown today feel that the government is exploiting the war for its own political advantage.

Citizen: *What is the extent of destruction in Sierra Leone since the rebels struck last March? And how true is the Libyan connection?*

Fofona: The destruction in Sierra Leone is massive. It has taken back the country by 20 years in terms of economic development, because the areas of the country affected, the East and the South are the 'bread' basket of Sierra Leone. We are worried that government is prosecuting the war in total secrecy. It must open the files on the rebel situation for all the parties to contribute their ideas. This is a war that cannot be won by a handful of people. I do not know whether or not Libya is behind the rebel activities in Sierra Leone. We have no such evidence to support them. What we know for sure is that Charles Taylor is behind it. We also know that some Sierra Leoneans led by Corporal Foday Sankay are behind the rebels.

We also do not have evidence

to back the government's claim that it is spending one billion leones monthly to fight the war. We can't see how that much is spent when soldiers are complaining of hunger and lack of basic equipments.

Citizen: *In what way is the NDP different from other parties registered for the coming elections in Sierra Leone?*

Fofona: Ours is the most popular party in Sierra Leone. It is a party that cuts across tribal, sectional lines, sex and occupation. It is the only party without the old discredited



Dr. Fofona: of NDP

politicians who have destroyed our economy and for that reason alone people are looking forward to working with us. All other parties have been associated with the APC for the past 20 years and have all contributed in the destruction of our economy.

Citizen: *What is your impression of President Momoh's seven years rule?*

Fofona: There is no area of commendation for the current regime. They are corrupt, incompetent, greedy and very unpatriotic. They are not working in the interest of Sierra Leone.

Citizen: *How do you assess your*

party's stand in the coming general elections?

Fofona: In a fight you must not underestimate your opponent. But independent observation suggests that we are doing well and the aspiration of Sierra Leoneans is that NDP is the party of a new people, a party that will bring new direction. Sierra Leoneans are ready for a change.

Citizen: *The government recently issued arrest warrant on you. What is the reason for this? What is your response to this development?*

Fofona: I learnt from my editor-in-chief, George Khoryama that the *New Breed* newspaper, which I am the proprietor, published on January 8, a document about the rebel situation in the country. The document is a minute of a secret meeting held in the office of Inspector General of Police, Mr. Bambay Kamara. Supposedly they discussed a lot of items; importantly to delay the prosecution of the rebel incursion until the ruling party has gained strong political footing to win reelection. They know they are not in good book of voters, so they are trying to create a new image. They also discussed about other political parties.

My response is simple; I will return to Sierra Leone to face the music. I have no fear about it. As far as I am concerned, Sierra Leone is about returning to jungle justice. If a newspaper Editor-In-Chief publishes something, you arrest the proprietor of the paper. Are they now saying that I should be responsible for all that has been published in the paper for the past two months I have been away?

By Abu Mommoh

WORLD

Britain

Dirtiest campaign

Labour and Tory both abandon the brass tacks and go for the sentimental

British politicians, in an era when there is no telling between the two major parties, the ruling Conservatives and opposition Labour Party, are behaving like the Edwins and Canteloupes in the novelist Simon Raven's *Friends in lowly places*.

The April 9 general elections, observers are predicting, will be the closest ever fought between the two main parties in many decades. Their reason is that there has been an increasingly blurring of the ideological divide between Labour and the Conservatives. The Labour Party, beaten in three consecutive elections, has, under its present leader Neil Kinnock, shed its image as party of the left and inched nearer the ideological centre.

Both Kinnock and incumbent Prime Minister John Major, who took over from Margaret Thatcher in November 1990, are presenting themselves as "efficient and trusty managers." In terms of principles, this means that the electorate does not have an easy choice between the two men. As Hugo Young, biographer of Margaret Thatcher, observes, victory will go the way of the one who knows "how his juices move, including how he handles impudent scrutiny of the trivia of his life."

To be sure, personal attacks have not surfaced yet but the brass tacks of the campaign have surely been abandoned for easy, vote-catching emotivism.

Prime Minister Major delayed announcing his budget until when he was ready to call an election. He had hoped to gain politically by bringing the two events as close as

possible. This has not happened. Labour, too, had expected political capital from its "alternative budget," which sought to slam Tory as the party that will suck in more imports, thereby pushing the economy back into recession. Said Kinnock: "They



Major: tough time

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The prime minister told them what to do. "We have now got 17 days to safeguard Britain's future", he said. A day before the news conference, he had called on his predecessor, Thatcher to bolster a floundering Conservatives campaign. One report said that her appearance with Major on the same platform, released the "loose canon," which roused enthusiasm. By week's end, the Conservative party had shot its way to the top of the polls.

The Harris poll published in the *Daily Express* put the Conservatives at 43% and Labour at 38%, a clear 5 points advantage. It was at this point last week that the two parties dropped all scruples and went for the jugular of the other. Labour caused a big row with a broadcast which was intended to show up the Conservative government's neglect of the national health system.

The broadcast aired on Wednesday March 25 contrasted the cases of two school girls with a similar health problem — an ear infection. One suffered a year of pain and deafness waiting out her turn at a public hospital because her parents could not afford the cost of a private clinic. The other was operated "within days" because her parents could pay.

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To quote Raven again, the two parties are "like Nature itself — having few liberal sentiments and no moral ones." The British voters, though, will not "find this singularly refreshing."

Tawey Zakka with
agency reports

France

Bad news

The ruling Socialist Party suffers a set back in regional elections

Fear of the ruling Socialist Party's defeat in France's general election is probably stronger now than at any other time. A clear indication came when at the Sunday March 22, regional elections, the Socialist Party came a distance third, winning only 18 per cent of the votes behind the opposition Conservative Alliance and the extreme right National Party with 33 per cent and 14 per cent respectively. Even the Ecologist with only 14 per cent was propelled into the political scene establishing them as party to beat for the control of many regions.

The result of the elections, the Socialist worst score in nearly 25 years, however, did not come as a surprise. Opinion polls before the

receiving 100,000 French francs as campaign funds from Urba-Gracco, a private company. The scam known as *frusses factures* or phoney invoices came into the open following the publication of dismissed Police Inspector Antonine Gaudino's book *Impossible Inquiry*. Mr. Gaudino claimed to have found evidence of the sum of 22 million French franc or \$5 million of 'dirty' money raised by corrupt practices which helped President Mitterrand's 1988 campaign.



Mitterrand: setback for Socialist Party

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Although government put up spirited defence saying that President Mitterrand was not involved in under hand deals directly and indirectly, not many French men were convinced of the government's incorruptibility, and last week they showed their displeasure voting against the socialists.

The appointment of Ms. Edith Cresson as premier last May has not helped matters. An avowed

socialist and strong supporter of President Mitterrand, Ms. Cresson ten month old unpopular government has alienated many of the socialist sympathisers — more so that her economic policies have failed to curb the twin problem of unemployment and inflation.

Expectedly, party hawks have blamed their defeat on the premier and have asked her to resign. Ms. Cresson has however countered the suggestion insisting that the result of last week's regional elections had not undermined the legitimacy of her government. But as the general election is only months away, many believe that President Mitterrand may come under severe pressure to make cabinet changes and possibly sack Ms. Cresson. Yet, a new prime minister at this time may be unwise. Perhaps, the vote last week reflected boredom with President Mitterrand who many believe has been in office for too long.

President Mitterrand was elected for the first time in 1981 and immediately nationalised the major industrial concerns. Before his re-election in 1988, Mitterrand reversed most of his economic policies giving way to market reforms.

By Abu Mammoh
with agency reports

WORLD

Britain

Dirtiest campaign

Labour and Tory both abandon the brass tacks and go for the sentimental

British politicians, in an era when there is no telling between the two major parties, the ruling Conservatives and opposition Labour Party, are behaving like the Edwins and Canteloupes in the novelist Simon Raven's *Friends in lowly places*.

The April 9 general elections, observers are predicting, will be the closest ever fought between the two main parties in many decades. Their reason is that there has been an increasingly blurring of the ideological divide between Labour and the Conservatives. The Labour Party, beaten in three consecutive elections, has, under its present leader Neil Kinnock, shed its image as party of the left and inched nearer the ideological centre.

Both Kinnock and incumbent Prime minister John Major, who took over from Margaret Thatcher in November 1990, are presenting themselves as "efficient and trusty managers." In terms of principles, this means that the electorate does not have an easy choice between the two men. As Hugo Young, biographer of Margaret Thatcher, observes, victory will go the way of the one who knows "how his juices move, including how he handles impudent scrutiny of the trivia of his life."

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By Abu Maznunoh
with agency reports



KABIRU YUSUF

good authority of Mr. Paul Unongo, a presidential aspirant, that the Middle-Belt Forum was "formed by a group of young people, most of them military, who through their experiences within serving Nigeria and government want to aggregate and advance the cause of what they perceive as their own political inter-

eral Adeyinka Adebayo representing the West

So it was not surprising that a few days later, *Daily Champion* said both Ukiwe and another retired general, David Jemibewon, have "spoken forcefully on the need for a southern president now". The paper quoted Ukiwe as saying, that the "political domination of the north" is responsible for all the problems in the country. Jemibewon, and Air-Commodore Dan Suleiman, reportedly spoke in similar vein at the occasion. Only Ukiwe disowned the report the following day, saying that "while I did emphasise that Nigeria needs a competent and experienced president at this time, there was no reference at all to the geographic origin of the president".

Ukiwe and company

We live in times that try men's souls. The animal is coming out of the political man. Good men, who had reached lofty heights, have now crept back into the jungle ready to defend their "territory". They speak not for all creatures, but for their own kind, not for what is good for the forest but for what will feather their own nest.

Not surprisingly, this struggle of the fittest is led by the fittest: the army of ex-military officers who are retired but not tired, who had wrested power and tested power, and who now seem to have transferred these predatory skills from the barracks to the political arena.

Retired generals were not prominent in the Second Republic but then there were fewer of them. They seem to dominate the politics of the Third Republic. A few brave ones have offered themselves for election, and while there is genuine concern about a serving general handing over to a retired colleague, let the electorate decide whether Generals Olutoye and Yar'adua can win an election. Of far greater worry is the activity of senior officers (rtd) who play politics as if they are planning a coup.

The leading clandestine politician is probably General Theophilus Danjuma (rtd). We have it on the

est."

Nothing wrong with that. But as Unongo told the *TSM*, the problem is not the Forum but how it operates. "They sat down to campaign with beautiful girls, in air-conditioned places in Makurdi supplied obviously by the wonderful candidates they selected. The meeting was over and they started to go. You tell me they are the leaders of the Middle-Belt. General Danjuma is a Jukun, Paul Unongo is Tiv, then they are sitting together, Danjuma is saying I cannot stand elections. We cannot tell our people (i.e. the Tiv and Jukun in Wukari) to stop fighting. I feel sorry for Nigeria".

What the general has not succeeded in doing for the Middle-Belt, he is trying to do for Nigeria. Last week newspapers reported that another forum called "Council for Unity and Understanding" (CUU) had met in Lagos to screen presidential aspirants from 22 states of the West, East and Middle-Belt. The idea said the *Tribune* is "to pick the most outstanding of the lot to face aspirants from the far north. The meeting of the council was held after a thanksgiving service to mark the 74th birthday of Chief Adeniran Ogunsanya. All three of the co-chairmen were retired generals: Danjuma for the Middle-Belt, Commodore Ebitu Ukiwe for the East and Gen-

However, is Commodore Ukiwe a member of the CUU? And should unity and understanding be fostered among some states in Nigeria to the exclusion of others? What will happen if retired generals from those states that are kept out (and there are many of them), form their own front and began secret meetings with politicians? Will there be more unity and understanding in Nigeria?

Generals are people too, so you cannot insulate them from politics. Some of them, like Ukiwe, have bitter memories from past association with power. But then there are two gentlemen called Buhari and Idiagbon, who were also dethroned by colleagues (including Ukiwe), but who have kept a dignified silence. There is a lot that is wrong with Nigeria, and most of it was caused by various military regimes, including the present one. Danjuma and Ukiwe are national leaders who have much to contribute in our never-ending search for solutions. It is painful to see some of our leading lights, retreating into the twilight zone of parochial politics.



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PRIVATE EYE

Leave us alone, bo

Two news items caught my eye in the *Nigerian Tribune* and *The Reporter*: both of March 21. One was about Chief Afe Babalola advising government, I suppose, on "how to retrieve our stolen money from Swiss banks" and the other about Number Two's threats to deal with profligate presidential aspirants.

Number Two is bitter that some of the presidential candidates are throwing money around.

Number Two is also irked by the behaviour of the aspirants. Adjusting his glasses on the tip of his nose and his *Ikini*-for president cap in place, he thundered, "it is absolutely wrong for the aspirants to act and behave as if they were independent of the two parties."

On the other hand, Chief Afe Babalola, a Senior Advocate of Nigeria, SAN, strongly believes that Nigeria can retrieve the money, supposedly stashed by Nigerians in Swiss banks to pay "our huge external debt."

He said that Switzerland, worried about our parlous and squalid existence, had consented to a request by the Christian Association of the World on behalf of third world countries whose wealth had been plundered to release such monies.

The Swiss accounts, if handled properly, can actually reduce Number Two's blood pressure. But first,

Unfair snake

It was really only a matter of time, but even then, that snake was most unfair. I refer of course to the case between Sergeant Vincent Ahokegh of the Kogi State Police Command.

According to *The Herald* of March 24, the good Sergeant, was as usual in new states, taking a nap under a tree (for lack of accommodation, what else?), when a snake sneaked to where he and other police were resting their bones and bit him.

I'm convinced that the snake was

Number Two. What makes him think that Nigerians are anxious to put a ten foot pole between themselves and the profligacy he talked about? It was the government that set the ball rolling by declaring a surplus when it started off its two parties with huge sums of public money. It then proceeded to dole out cars to shield its own from the adverse effects of SAP.

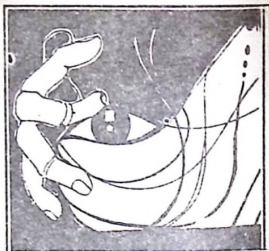
The rest of us loyal citizens are merely obeying the demands of "market forces." Posters, even impostors, have to be printed. Someone has to be paid to nightly deface public buildings. Indeed, by spectacularly engaging in a game of now you see it, now you don't with the transition programme, the government cannot seriously expect the "moneybags" to attract votes by merely flaunting a handsome face or decent behaviour.

By the same token, the aspirants cannot but be independent since neither of the two parties can be expected to shoulder the campaigns of 70 or so Nigerians seeking the presidency. Surely, a candidate can only be openly supported by a party when he or she wins the primaries. I'm not aware that government has set aside money for any Nigerian who may wish to contest the primaries or decreed that our lot should elect only those aspirants who are clean-shaven. If Number Two insists that

put up to it. How else could one explain the choice of the victim or even the location of the crime? Hundreds of civil servants work and live under tree shades from Lokoja to Damaturu, why the Sergeant?

I know. The sneaky criminal is trying to decimate the number of our police so that they cannot have the strength to deal with the rising wave of crime. No doubt about it, that subversive was a 419er disguised as a snake.

It was only the quick intervention of the commissioner of police who



they submit to "party discipline and supremacy", then the government just has to be the "moneybag" itself.

As for retrieving Nigeria's money from Swiss accounts, Chief Babalola, is absolutely right. I would even go further to suggest that a presidential task force be set up pronto headed by the chief to draw up a list of those with Swiss or any other foreign account, but our request for repatriation should be forwarded to the London, Paris or any of those clubs that screen our money before allowing it to trickle down to us. That way, the IMF and the World Bank cannot accuse us of hiding some of our foreign earnings and be off our backs.

All these people should leave me alone, bo to make my posters and impostors, stickers and be a political thug. I am no "moneybag", a presidential aspirant or a debt collector. Chief Babalola should know that neither me nor a lot of the 88.5 million Nigerians signed any loans. Eating sand is not new to me.

personally bought an anti-snake vaccine that snatched the Sergeant from the fangs of that vile creature.

Shame on you 419ers. The police are alert and well equipped. You can't see the wards of the hospitals for the mountain of drugs stocked in them. You are wrong to think that the police were sleeping under trees for lack of accommodation. It was a strategy. In a room, it would have been most difficult to have detected that 419 snake. You can turn into anything to subvert our police force, but it would not succeed!

POETS' NEST

Festive mood

Celebration should bring a ray of hope into the life of all citizens. But there are lessons to learn from religious festivals. They are a period of stock-taking and season of goodwill to all. Happy Sallah!

ID EL-FITR

You are here with us
Once again,
A revered visitor
Uplifting us both
In spirit and emotion.

Id El-Fitr

You are the first rain
After drought, and
This is first morsel after fasting
Consoles our hearts.

Id El-Fitr

You who bring happiness
In the wake of sacrifice,
For the martyred cow
Has let cherished blood
To enliven our laughers and souls.

Bubbling with happiness

The young and the old
In their perfumed new dresses
Moved up and about
In and out
Visiting and feasting
Laughing and dancing
All basking in the glory
Of your sanctity and bliss.

O! Id El-Fitr

Will I be alive next year
To welcome you with fanfare again?
Shehu El-Hafiz

God's glory

By the four seasons
By the raging oceans
By the calm lakes
By the cascading waterfall
By the union of the birds in flight to

summer realms

By the cattle and the egrets
By the lamb and the ram
By the fowls of the air
By all that lives in the life wild
By the snowy mountain passes
By the cold winter breeze
By the winter light
By the autumn nights
By the springs dews
By the blazing lode star
By the countless constellations
By the awful presence of the all seeing eye of vision
By the powerful wink of the stars
By the wild flowers
By the running geese
By the teeming populace
By the birds of paradise
By the lofty hills
By the lush valleys
By the tallest trees
By the fruitful vineyard
By the fairy orchard
By the enveloping greenery
By the peaceful stream
By the lightening flight of the Jinns
By the torrential rainfall
By the power of the omniscient, omnipotent, omnipresent one
By whose throne all the great ones aspire, I affirm eternal gratitude to the wisdom of love, the beauty of the unseen and the unknown, yet made manifest are all these in the inner most being of humanity that wondrous beauty which remains unknown to the multitude manifest is it to the glory of the One.

Henry M. Balogun

Read!

Be a star too, dear friends,
And come out of the dark;
Drag illiteracy to an end
And make learning your mark.

Learn to read, learn to write,
Learn to live the happiest way;
For, learning is in your sight,
Make it in your head stay!



Come forth, too, and shine,
There is no inhibition in it;
Come and join the forward line,
In the classroom to sit.

And know that no one
Who knows not shall lead;
So be a star, moon or sun
And let be taught to read!

Don't say you are old -- age
Must not to you be a stoppage.
Yes, you can start this very day
Repelling that darkness away!

Ibrahim Sheme

Great leap

The years sped away
As the seminal fluid
Clotted into blood
Gurgling creation
to emerge struggling
submissive rebellious

As the years sped away
Fading specks of resistance
withering what is gathered
As the years sped away
like winds winnowing
time like sand heaped on life

Then is this creation
gray experience
that may teach little
of what life may seek to know

Maikudi Sambo Z.S.Z

MEDIAWATCH

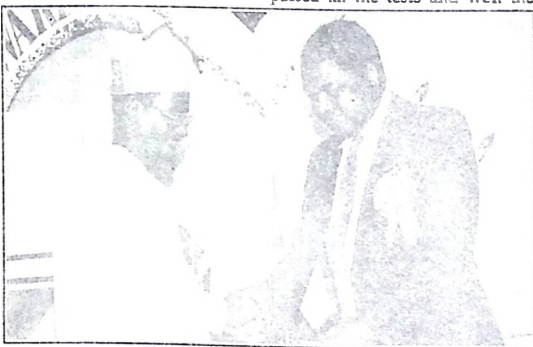
Citizen

A toast to excellence

Citizen, your favourite weekly beats all comers and runs away with the First Diamond Award for Media Excellence in political reporting

It was *Citizen's* finest hour. As Kabiru Yusuf, executive editor (South) stepped out to receive the trophy, the hall erupted in applause. The occasion was the presentation dinner for the First Diamond Award for Media Excellence (DAME) instituted by Diamond Publications Limited, publishers of *Media Review*, and the venue was the Lagos Sheraton Hotel. The spacious hall was filled with dignitaries including Vice President Augustus Aikhomu who was the special guest of honour, Alhaji Hassan Adamu, chairman of the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria, (MAN) and Alhaji Alade Odunewu, the famous columnist amongst others.

The business of the day proper



Celebration of excellence. Kabiru Yusuf executive editor (South) receiving the award from Patrick Dede Cole

Not only did *Citizen* win the award for excellence in political reporting, the magazine was, in the words of the assessors, "clearly ahead of the others".

started after Vice President Aikhomu delivered his speech. There were awards for eight different categories; best designed magazine, editorial cartooning, action photography, keep fit/health reporting, financial reporting, political reporting, informed commentary and reporter of the year. According to Mr. Lanre Idowu, editor-in-chief of *Media Review*, the various awards were instituted for media professionals as the journal's own way of enhancing professionalism within the industry. Idowu explained that the eight awards were sponsored by Diamond Publications Limited (reporter of the

year), Alhaji Hassan Adamu (financial reporting), Alhaji Alade Odunewu (informed commentary), David Dale (editorial cartooning), Ivory Health Company (health reporting), Femi Ogunsanwo (political reporting), Pace Publishing Company Limited (best designed magazine), and Sandi Smart-Cole (action photography). A panel of assessors was assembled to screen the entries and they included some of the leading lights in journalism, commerce and advertising. Leading the pack of 17 "wisemen" was Moses Ihonde, diplomat and former press secretary to one time head of state,

General Yakubu Gowon.

Not only did *Citizen* win the award for excellence in political reporting, the magazine was, in the words of the assessors, "clearly ahead of the others". The political reporting entries were scored according to their level of language, depth of coverage and objectivity. *Citizen* passed all the tests and won the

award with its cover story of August 5-12, 1991, *Igbos Are Angry*. The story was scored by the committee "as a well-presented, in-depth analysis of a political issue". Other award winners were Mr. Inabini Spiff of *Timesweek* who won in the financial reporting category for breaking the Umunnah Umunnah story, *Tell* for best designed magazine and Yomi Ola of the *Daily Times* for best editorial cartooning. Sam Olusegun of *Lagos Life* won the action photography award for his photograph *Home, Sweet Home* Dorothy Boyd of *Vanguard* for health reporting while Adebimpe Afonka, who retired from active journalism in January emerged the reporter of the year. Dr. Olatunji Daze of *The Guardian* Editorial board clinched the prize for informed commentary for "his ability to explore fresh angles to an issue using sarcasm to achieve his purpose".

By Ike Okonia

ARTS

Theatre Honour from beyond

Two years after his death, the Hubert Ogunde Foundation award for dramatists comes on board



The master dramatist (Ogunde) at his best

It was one wish he could not see fulfilled in his lifetime. For 46 years he bestrode the Nigerian theatre scene like a colossus launching theatre, which before then was a free for all affair, into the commercial market: coming in the process the sobriquet "father of the Nigerian theatre." From his earliest play *The Garden of Eden* and the *Throne of God* produced at the Glover Memorial Hall in 1944 to *Yoruba Ronu* banned in 1964 for being too "political" to Mr. Johnson for which he was flown from his sick bed in London to participate in 1989, Chief Hubert Ogunde throughout his career cultivated a large followership. When he veered into the film industry in 1979 churning out in quick succession *Aiyé*; *Jaiyesimi*; *Aropin N'tenia* and

Ayanmo, his audience went with him, making the pictures box office hits. Recognition came by way of awards and government appointments. From the University of Lagos and Obafemi Awolowo University Ile-Ife, he got honorary doctorates of letters; the Ogun State government gave him an award for excellence in the field of arts and in 1986, the federal government appointed him consultant and artistic director of the nascent National Troupe of Nigeria. Before now he had headed several federal government cultural delegations abroad.

In January, 1990, the idea of starting a foundation in his name which would among other things give out an annual award to those that distinguished themselves in theatre struck him. His immediate family members were intimidated. Just as the modalities were being worked out, the theatre patriarch succumbed to the cold hands of death in April. The mantle fell on his progenitors.

On March 29, 1991, at the National Arts Theatre, Lagos, the Ogunde Foundation was formally launched to the delight of arts lovers. The Ogunde family, showing their seriousness of intention, donated the sum of 100,000 Naira, to the foundation besides proceeds of the Ogunde films exhibited which came to 108,000 Naira. At a later

launch in Ogun State, 50,000 Naira was realised. Oyo and Ondo states governments were later to donate 100,000 Naira each. With other private donations, the foundation garnered a total of 512,000 Naira.

And in line with the wishes of the theatre grandmaster, the foundation would be dishing out its first awards to dramatists come May 9, at the National Theatre in different categories with cash prizes to boost! Actor and actress of the year, six thousand Naira apiece; dance troupe, traditional drumming group and cultural/theatre arts department of the year, 10,000 Naira each while television drama series as well as stage play of the year are attracting 15,000 Naira each, all coming to 72,000 Naira.

Isn't this a tall order especially as the amount is to be drawn from the foundation whose purse is still too meagre to sustain the award on an annual basis? Replies Olayinka Ogunde, co-ordinator of the award: "the award ceremony is to act as a relaunch of the Ogunde Foundation. We didn't have enough time for the first launch.

We are now reaching out to more people for support." Continuing she says, "the award is the most visible way to make people aware of the foundation. It shows the commitment of the foundation to the welfare of artistes."

But the annual award is just part of activities envisaged for the Ogunde Foundation whose secretariat is being planned for Abuja at the cost of 20 million Naira. "Eventually, we expect the monitoring and statistics unit, the arts development division, the administrative department and the corporate affairs section to be fully functional with a complement of highly qualified staff", Olayinka explains.

And just when would this be? She smiles. "As soon as the secretariat is ready."

By Oji Onoko

SPORTS

Barcelona '92

Who is fooling who?

Nigeria's preparation for the Barcelona Olympic Games may be badly affected by current controversy between NSC and NOC



NSC chairman, Akinyele with Chima Ugwu

It is like playing to tradition the current controversy dogging Nigeria's preparation for the forthcoming July Olympic Games in Barcelona, Spain. Hardly has this nation prepared for any major international sports meet without one form of disquiet or another. So it is in line with our age-long, although damaging tradition, to see the Nigeria Olympic Committee shadow-boxing the National Sports Commission over the brand of athletes or the number of sports that Nigeria should enter for the Barcelona Olympics.

The storm began when the NSC boss, Chief Alex Akinyele, who has not hidden his determination to wipe off some dirty sides of our

sports, disclosed that only six sporting events in which Nigeria was strong enough to win some medals would be taken to the Olympics. Akinyele categorically stated that three events, swimming, handball and table tennis would not be included even though Nigeria has qualified to represent Africa, because the country's medal prospects in those events are nil. Akinyele further stated that he took this stand in the interest of the country's sporting image. The era of jamboree and disgraceful outing like in Seoul 1988 Olympics, he said, was over. And based on the recommendation of the technical committee on the preparation for the Olympic Games headed by Mr. Jimmy Omagbemi, the NSC

boss gave a nod to six sports — athletics, boxing, taekwondo, judo, weight lifting and wrestling.

But NOC would not hear of it. Immediately after Akinyele's pronouncement, NOC sent delegation to the Force Road headquarters of NSC in Lagos to persuade (or pressurise) Chief Akinyele to change his mind and include Table Tennis, where our most outstanding star Atanda Musa is rated 95th in the world, handball and swimming, two events where our athletes are not even rated. The argument of NOC, whose members include chairmen of the three associations, was that Nigeria's failure to enter for events it has qualified to represent Africa could warrant imposition of certain sanction on the affected association by the International Olympic Committee. Surprisingly however, NOC was not forthcoming on the specific sanction to be imposed on Nigeria, and surprisingly too NOC, according to Chief Akinyele has refused to make its charter available to it so as to verify what the so-called sanctions are.

Not surprisingly the same NOC came out in a more combative posture sometime last week to tell the world that Nigeria has not remitted about 50 per cent of the money required to book accommodation for its athletes after the deadline given by IOC had closed.

Closely examined, NOC does not seem to take the interest of the country into consideration in its current campaign of trying to brow-beat NSC to give in to its wishes. Akinyele is dead right by insisting that Nigeria should enter for sports in which our athletes can elevate the image of the country, by emerging among the Olympic victors. It will amount to nothing but adverse publicity and a massive waste of taxpayers' money if about 60 athletes that are to compete in those three events go to Barcelona and flop. A seasoned sports administrator who happened to be one of the members



Olukoju (discuss thrower), inset NOC's Adejumo

of NOC confided in *Citizen* on condition of anonymity that those who are campaigning for the inclusion of the three sports may be doing so purely out of selfish interest. "By the time you calculate the huge sum of money that goes into sending these athletes and their officials from the three sports to foreign tours and their accommodation and allowances in Barcelona, you will realise that the total sum will be up to ten times whatever fines IOC or any international sporting association may impose on Nigeria, and I can bet none of them will go near winning any medal for Nigeria," said the NOC member.

It also sounds phoney that NOC is making so much noise now when the association has done nothing to ensure that Nigeria did not fall into the trap of competing to represent Africa in the Olympics in the sports it has no medal prospects.

Article 2, section G of NOC revised *Citizen*, March 30, 1992

constitution charges it "to ensure, through the National Amateur Sports Associations in Nigeria, the representation of Nigeria by the best available competitors in the Olympic games, Commonwealth games, All-Africa games and all other international games ..." There is no evidence to suggest that NOC advised those three associations against competing for the African zone of the Olympic qualifying series since NOC is well aware that their athletes have not yet been groomed to compete effectively against the best in the world.

On the issue of the country's failure to meet its financial obligation for the accommodation of its athletes, before IOC deadline, it seems NOC has forgotten about article 2 section 1 of its constitution when it came out to accuse NSC of negligence. The portion made it the responsibility of NOC "to assist in the provision of adequate funds for the worthy representation of Nige-

ria in the Olympic, Commonwealth, All-Africa and other international games, thus enhancing credible performance towards achieving world standards and to safeguard negligence or irregular disbursement of such funds". And according to NSC boss, the money in NOC account as shown by its current balance sheet, is put at over four million Naira. It is quite clear who is guilty of negligence.

The exigency of the preparation for the Barcelona Olympics should have informed NOC to stop its current confrontational posture towards NSC. The best thing to do at this crucial stage when the world's most competitive games are at the door step, is for NOC to live up to the dictate of a section of its constitution which demands of it "to cooperate with the National Sports Commission and all national organisations established for the promotion and development of amateur sports." The Olympic committee should realise that our preparation for the coming Olympics started very, very late, and the less it constitutes a distraction for NSC, the better. It should cooperate with NSC towards proper grooming and participation of Nigerian athletes in the Barcelona Olympics, and where the NOC is not ready to do that it should not frustrate the honest intention of NSC or try to force its whims on the national sports interest.

Sadly, Chief Akinyele who said that only sports with medal prospect would be entered for Barcelona, seems to have given in to NOC pressure and lobbyists when he announced last week that handball, swimming and table tennis should be included. "I am fielding all qualified sports not because it is my will to do so but I have to obey the rules of the IOC", the NSC boss was quoted as saying. One can only hope that athletes competing in the three events will prove Akinyele wrong and win some medals for the country in Barcelona.

By Joe Olajuwon

ADAMU ADAMU S

DEFINITIONS
IN HUMOUR

Books

"I visit my friends occasionally," remarked the book lover, "merely for the purpose of looking over my library."

The speaker — from 10,000 Jokes, Toasts and Stories — must have struck a responsive chord in you, if you are a book lover and a book lender. You must be if you can tolerate definitions. When I read that, my mind, like his, wandered all over the place, wondering where my other two copies of 10,000 Jokes were. I still haven't visited the friends who borrowed them. I hope if they see this they will return them or at least let me know.

In 1988, when I returned from a trip I had more 200 volumes, many of them difficult to find, many fascinating and a few current non-fiction bestsellers. When last I checked my library there wasn't even a single one of them. Sometimes I badly wish to go through some of them, especially those on historical revisionism, but I have no recollection of their whereabouts.

Please if anyone has finished I would be happy to receive it back. If none has yet finished I would be glad to borrow from whoever can spare. I promise to return it. About the joke book I have long ago given up hope.

So you can imagine my happiness when a friend came with a brand new copy of it for me last week. Since then I hardly find time — even to break my fast. So here you are:

Senator — "Haven't your opinions on this subject undergone a

change?"
"No," replied
Senator X.

"But your views, as you expressed them sometime ago?"

"Those were not my views. Those were my interviews."

Politician — A man who divides his time between running for office and running for cover.

Aspirant — "Some of your constituents are disagreeing with you," said the trusted lieutenant.

"Well, keep a tab on them," replied Senator X, "when enough disagree with me to constitute a reliable majority, I am going to turn round to agree with them."

Alliance — In international politics, this is the union of two thieves who have their hands so deeply inserted in each other's pockets that they cannot separately plunder a third.

Election — The only thing we learn from a new election is we learned nothing from the old.

Liberal — A man who has both feet planted firmly in the air can be safely called a liberal.

Conservative — A conservative is someone who believes nothing should be done for the first time.
— Dane

Experience — No man undertakes a trade he has not learned, even the meanest; yet every one thinks himself sufficiently qualified for the hardest of all trades — that of government.
— Socrates

Diplomat — To deceive a diplomat speak the truth, he has no experience with it.
— Greek proverb

Moderation — Be moderate in everything, including moderation.
— Porter

Peace — When monarchs (or superpowers) through their blood-thirsty commanders, lay waste a country, they dignify their atrocity by calling in "Making Peace" (or a New World Order).
— Tacitus

Politics — A strife of interests masquerading as a contest of principles.
— Devil's Dictionary

Opportunity — A favourable occasion for grasping a disappointment.

Humour — Fear not a jest. If one throws salt at you, will receive no harm unless you have sore places.
— Latin proverb

Autobiography — An autobiography, said a perceptive young girl who may grow into a definition humourist if she is not careful, is the history of motor cars.

Business — There are two reasons why some people don't mind their business. One is that they haven't any business. The other is that they don't have any mind.

Revolution — At 20 man thinks he can save the world; at thirty he begins to wish he could save part of his own salary.

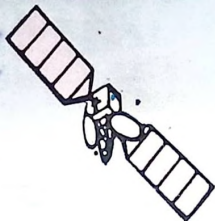
Divorce — People wouldn't get divorced for such trivial reasons if they didn't get married for such trivial reasons.

Jury — Twelve men chosen to decide who has the better lawyer.

Ignorance — A policeman rose in a Western court to testify against a prisoner. "Wot's this here feller charged with?" the magistrate demanded.

"Bigotry, judge," the police answered, "He's got three wives.

"Three!" cried the magistrate. "Why, you ignoramus that ain't bigotry. That's trigonometry.



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