

Red carpet for de Klerk

April 13-19-1992 VOL 3 No 15

Citizen

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PRESIDENCY
The
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COVER STORY

Iwuanyanwu's challenge

Chief Emmanuel Iwuanyanwu stakes all for the NRC presidential ticket. What are his chances?

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PRESIDENCY
The
IWUANYANWU
Challenge

'Invading' the west

Last month, four leading presidential aspirants from the north 'invaded' the west for support. How do they rate? .

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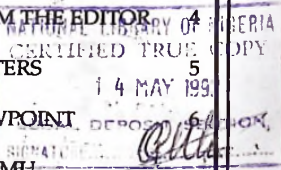
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FROM THE EDITOR

Getting Chief Emmanuel Iwuanyanwu to sit down for an interview with us was one of the more difficult things we did recently. As we said in the columns the other day, we had a similar problem with Chief Olu Falae, but with the former secretary to the federal government, the reason was understandable; before our cover story on him, one of our editors had made some complimentary remarks about his nationalist credentials and presidential ambitions and so naturally he was not sure he would get a fair and balanced coverage from us. If the reaction of his media director, Nduka Onum, is something to go by, Chief Falae has since realised that his fear was unnecessary.

With Chief Iwuanyanwu, the story was different. We had no ground to fear anything and we thought as a presidential candidate he will only be too willing to oblige as many magazines as request for an interview with him, not least a well regarded one like *Citizen*.

May be he thought so himself, but to our consternation (though with little surprise because we have since gotten used to the notion among some sectors of this country that anything southern is by definition national while anything northern is by the same token, parochial) we discovered late in the course of finishing this week's cover on him that his media men thought differently. Some of them thought and told him that as a northern-based magazine, we will not give him a fair shake.

An earlier interview he had consented to give was broken off half-way through because he had to keep an appointment in Port-Harcourt.

It was to have continued on his private jet, but this did not prove possible. It was while we were waiting for a new appointment that we learnt about the chief's fears. Somehow his judgment got the better of his fears. And so we are able this morning to give you some insight into the only man contesting for the NRC presidential ticket from the east of the Niger River. We are confident that you will adjudge our story, written by Yinka Tella with reports from Isaac Umunna, Bolaji Adebisi and Tony Oko, as fair, objective and as balanced as can be.

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LETTERS

The ideal president

Sir,

A random sample of the people's opinions indicates that Nigerians need a president that encompasses the following attributes: integrity, broad knowledge of economic predicament of the country and a well defined solution to it, public service experience, political experience, a nationalist, and above all, as someone had stressed, a president for Nigeria should be "gutsy" (I buy that).

Of all the army of contestants in both the SDP and NRC, Malam Adamu Ciroma seems to possess these qualities the most. Talk of integrity for example and Ciroma stood to be challenged on his past record as CBN governor, and no likely person but of Ciroma's kind can hold his head high and prove critics otherwise of his positive endeavours in the Shagari administration. Talk of economy of the country, he was a one time minister of finance. Three times minister is enough experience to prepare someone for the nation's number one seat.

Newbreed? I do not subscribe to them. Ciroma will use his political experience to steer us afloat. Now talk of "gutsy" and Ciroma is. His public utterances before and after his declaration to contest and his great concern for a better Nigeria suffice to substantiate that claim.

**Yusuf Ali Nande
Unimaid
Maiduguri**

Sir,

I would like personally to use this opportunity to commend Dr. Solarin for telling the truth this time around, for what he mentioned in his comment that "the next president of the Third Republic must have a certificate — not academic, but a certificate of performance i.e. of past records". I quite agree with the doctor because most of the presidential as-

pirants lack merit or clean records of national service. Definitely some among them should rather be in jail especially when going through their respective individual records.

**Usman Aliyu Kawu
Bauchi**

Sir,

The problem of the country is that these men of honour and integrity, who are always ready and prepared to offer their service to the country, are not willing to buy their way to that position of leadership where Nigeria needs them most. The consequence is that mediocres who have the dirty lucre to throw around to buy votes have always been found holding the reins of power. This has been the lot of Nigeria these past 32 years.

While other countries give merit a position of eminence in choosing their leaders, what determines our own choice of leaders are mundane factors such as ethnicity, religion, old boys association and of course the almighty Naira. Such aspirants like Dr. Ibrahim Datti Ahmad, Malam Adamu Ciroma and Alhaji Lateef Jakande will be the people's choice any day and any time in other countries where merit matters; where the political culture is not characterized by the purchase of votes; where a candidate's religion/state of origin is irrelevant. Dr. Datti Ahmad, a medical doctor from Kano, for instance, whom I have had the rare opportunity of studying at close quarters, is one of the most detribalised Nigerians.

We Nigerians know the type of people that should be our president and we also know that such people abound in the country. The problem with us however is that we have refused to give them a chance to render service to the nation because they are not prepared to buy our votes.

**Stephen W. Oke
Ilorin**

Sir,

Citizen of March 23-29, 1992 was a good coverage on the kind of president Nigerians want, an articulate story that all sundry will attest to its fascinating revelation. More grease to the robust elbows that stitched it together.

Nonetheless, I wish when next our capable surgeons will operate on such intricate case as "Nigerians," the views, the 'illiterate views' of some couple of the downtrodden, the 'kafi-zabo' lickers; students, market men and women, the 'real Nigerians' would be considerably injected. It will apart from rationalising the subject, make it more fascinating.

**Ahmad Umar Abdullahi
Box 7818,
Kaduna.**

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Why Mr. President should ignore them all

Sir,

Well done Mohammed Haruna for writing the article. The timing couldn't have been more perfect and the content — very sensible and convincing.

One cannot but agree wholeheartedly with Haruna at the logical way he presented facts in his attempt to draw Babangida's attention to the likely dangers ahead should he listen to the recent calls by Atkins and Co. to extend the transition programme.

Without doubt, the president must have read that article by now. As a "sapped" civil servant, I must say that I have no sympathy for the present administration but at the same time I am among the many who wish to see the president retire to Minna in one piece — come January, 1993.

Over to you Mr. President.
**Mohammed Bukar
Abuja**

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.

Citizen, April 13, 1992

No, not again

The rumour machine is very well oiled and, it appears, there is not a lack of willing hands to give it the push. Its direction and speed are determined by how many ears are turned to its roar and where they are.

The machine bears on its strong wheels the omen of imminent riots. Echoes of it have been heard in such places as Kano, Bauchi and Taraba states, all three having only recently witnessed killings of either the religious or communal type.

In Kano, there was, indeed, a stampede in the city centre on Monday 6, caused by the now familiar presence of armed security men in the streets. Commissioner of Police, Abdulkarim Shehu, said security reports indicated that a demonstration was planned by "trouble-makers" for that day to protest against price increases brought about by the devaluation of the Naira.

Alhaji Abdulkarim said the presence of his men on the streets was to "strengthen security and guard against eventuality." Ironically, though, the police officers on patrol, themselves, created the "eventuality" when they intimidated traders in Sabon Gari market to sell at twice lower than they were ready to.

In Bauchi, the rumour has remained just a rumour, but it was ominous enough for the state governor, Alhaji Dahiru Mohammed to warn of a threat to peace by "Jihadists", who he said have infiltrated post-primary schools. He warned that school principals, traditional rulers and all else in position of authority would be held responsible for any breach of the peace in their areas.

Governors Kabiru Gaya and Dahiru Mohammed of Kano and Bauchi states,

cannot be said to have come to power at the best of times. The hot ashes of the supposedly religious fires lit in their two states during the tenures of their military predecessors have hardly cooled. Both are likely than others to take the "message" of the grapevine seriously.

There are as many messengers of doom as are the causes that spawn them. The most tangible is economic. Millions of Nigerians have had to tighten the economic belt one or two holes everyday, and the pain in the tummy makes them flinch! Jobs are disappearing by the day. Many therefore turn to the Devil, who, it is claimed, can create 'jobs' for the jobless.

Rumour-mongers may be dismissed as not what makes their business boom. They are why we applaud the initiative of the governor of Kano State. When he heard the rumour that "some hooligans" planned to demonstrate in protest against price hikes, the governor called a meeting with manufacturers and traders.

Alhaji Kabir was able to persuade retailers, there and then, to reduce by 40% the prices of consumables. That of course included poultry. Negotiations with manufacturers would continue at a later date. The government on its part, he said, would subsidise 40% the cost of farm inputs.

That way the governor was able to nip in the bud an economic crisis that would have had ripple effects on other sensitive areas. We commend his initiative to the federal government and the other state governors. We cannot afford another spate of riots on this last lap of the race to democratic rule. What can be done should be done in good time to avert them.

the stakes are far higher.

The visit to Nigeria last week by African President Frederick de Klerk, another foreign policy move that does not appear to have been well thought-out. The government here did not even announce the impending visit until the South African president arrived; all that Ike Nwachukwu said was that it was our right to host the people in our

Blunder

The Babangida regime has established a reputation at home for surprise policy moves, not all of them carefully thought-out. To play Maradona on the domestic pitch is one thing and quite another to play same on the continental pitch, where

promote change in South Africa.

Whatever gave Nigerians the impression that we have either the full understanding of the situation or the economic, political and military muscle to "promote change" in South Africa? Certainly our limited muscle would be enhanced if other African countries are part of the endeavour, which is doubtful in the case of last week's two-day visit to the country by de Klerk. There is muscle and there is morality; the ANC, with fighters on the ground, adds to the muscle and also has most of the moral upper-hand in this matter. If it is time for de Klerk to visit black Africa, the ANC should know. It fought the war; it suffered more than most; it is negotiating the peace and it will manage the new society. He who wears the shoe, knows where it pinches.

What so-called "sovereignty" and "national economic interest" propelled us to embrace de Klerk against the advice of the

liberation movements? Has our sovereignty become so opaque as to require egotistical reassertion? Or why must anyone be rewarded for righting a wrong? Isn't it more meaningful to wait until the transitional government is in place and then, reward its leaders for fighting a just cause?

It is most unfair for Nigeria, currently leading the OAU, to admit a crass selfishness in this matter by saying it wants to grab economic opportunities by dealing with South Africa. What then becomes of Zimbabwe, Botswana, Mozambique and Angola? Or don't they want to grab economic opportunities? If the price to be paid for these kruggerand gold coins is the solidarity of Africans and the black race, is it worth it?

de Klerk gained much more than we did by his visit to Nigeria last week. That is assuming we gained anything from it.

Another war in the Gulf?

Since the Islamic Republic of Iran accepted the UN ceasefire resolution 598 that ended the Gulf War in August 1988, a no-peace no-war situation which was to last two years, existed between it and Iraq. This only ended when, in its bid to annex Kuwait, Iraq needed secure and trouble-free borders to the east, as it went south.

Iraq formally ended all hostilities and dropped all its previous claims against Iran, going to the extent of even regretting its mistake in launching the eight-year-long conflict. It all looked nice — a genuinely repentant Iraq and a self-restrained Iran set on the road to forgetting a bitter past and forging a new relationship based on brotherhood and mutual respect.

And the prospect looked good; in spite of the opportunity presented by an embattled, entrapped and weakened Iraq, Iran resisted the temptation of launching a vengeful attack against its former enemy.

Then suddenly cross-border shooting between the two was reported last Sunday. Luckily, it was not between the former antagonists directly. It was a reprisal by Iranian jet fighters against units of Mujahideen al-Khalq Organisation, MKO, but we think it is dangerous enough and unfortunate. We fear that if such ineffectual skirmishes continue unchecked a full blown shooting war may break out again. This must be avoided.

If mistakes were committed in the past, nothing said they must be repeated in the present. The bitter lessons learnt by Iran in the first conflict and by Iraq in the second ought to have been sufficient to make both realise the futility of resuming war by other, indirect means.

It is difficult to see what Iraq will gain by instigating the MKO to attack Iran. Of course, there are enough pending issues resulting from the Gulf conflicts to keep tension in the region high. The Americans still harp on the necessity of destroying Iraq's chemical and other long-range weapons and the question of payment of reparations to Kuwait has not been tackled. The Iranians still hold Iraq's planes precisely because nothing has been said about their own reparations. The issue of prisoner exchange has stalled in the absence of an agreement. But all along the guns had fallen silent; and the best thing is that they remain so.

It is clear that Iraq can hardly fight and it is even clearer that Iran should not. It will therefore be a very sad thing if they allow the MKO, whose ties to western intelligence is only too well known, a chance to ignite a new conflict, create further division that will lead to preventable bloodshed. In the face of the New World Battle, they cannot afford to go to sleep.

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ABOUT
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ADAMU ADAMU

When official declarations refused to agree with facts, there was of course nothing new. But this last instance gave the indication that faced with the choice of telling a direct lie or an indirect half-truth, the CBN would choose neither. It would rather put its faith in Nigerians' short memories or take recourse to such meaningless neo-jargon as "fine-tuning" or realistic exchange rate.

may have given the advice without actually wanting people to take it. But by just doing so he seemed to have convinced many that the culprits are the corner retailers and not the excessive devaluations of the national currency.

His greatest achievement is that he can do all these things that elsewhere will elicit spontaneous rioting but without the blinking of an eye here. Sometimes it can even go to quite insensitive lengths.

At the *Daily Times* forum, the president was reported to have said that he was surprised why the economy of Nigeria had not collapsed. We all are; but, we agree with Professor Sam Aluko that the economy had indeed collapsed. And we all thought that the president was doing more than just being surprised. If anything was so scary, it was that he sounded as if he was expecting it.

If it was the World Bank that said a realistic value for the Naira against the dollar was 18 Naira, the World Bank was telling lies. In 1984-85 the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund were asking for a 60% devaluation. Now they have 1000% and they are still asking for more. It is quite in order to suspect that their goal is not some objective realistic value but a level of devaluation beyond which the nation will kick. It is sad if we have to go on agreeing with them.

If it is because of SAP, I think we have fine-tuned it too many times. We must congratulate the government for being patient — but we expect that it will be bold enough to do the next best thing. To admit that SAP has failed and discontinue it. That appears to be the only prospect we have for improving our deteriorating standard of living.

Otherwise we may make the simple discovery that the higher the cost of living, the wider the coast of leaving. From Badagry to Calabar. And all you need is a fast ship—to escape from the economy or its turbulent waters.

Coast of leaving

The strong take from the weak, the rich take from the poor, and the government takes from everyone.

— Glomni's law

The other day General Olusegun Obasanjo said Nigeria had become a federal republic of *anything-goes*. I was very surprised, not at what it had become but at the fact that Obasanjo was trying to pretend that during his time the country was not a federal republic of *anything-went*. And many things did go.

By its very nature, the average military regime is an aberration — it prostitutes the toppled political process, it mauls the economy and it tampers with freedoms. All these, however, did not mean the general would not from time to time speak some home truths, with poker face and with appropriate phrasology. This time was one of such.

His comment was apparently a reaction to the decision by the Central Bank of Nigeria to adopt the black market rate as the ruling rate in the official foreign exchange market. That move amounted to about 80% devaluation of the national currency. The CBN of course had all along insisted that the value of the Naira was being determined by market forces, yet it was not market forces that decided that we adopt the black market rate. It was the CBN.

Without jargon or double-speak, the situation today for the majority of the people (and the majority are those who draw no salaries) is that the struggle to feed, if successful, leaves neither time nor resources to look for health, or pay for transportation or educate the children. If there's any wonder in the country today, it is how these people survive.

For those who draw salaries, each Naira acts like a curse that multiplies the drawer's miseries without successfully solving any of several problems facing him. But there is nothing surprising in this reality.

Since the beginning of the structural adjustment programme, SAP, the Naira has undergone a total devaluation of about 1000%, while real value of incomes has declined. And while nothing visible was being done, inflation went from bad to worse. After adopting the black market rate as the realistic rate, the inflationary wave was massive and immediate.

This reportedly made President Ibrahim Babangida to advise people to resist against arbitrary price increases. The governor of Kano State seemed to have overruled this advice of course. Yet to many there was nothing more arbitrary than the government's own financial policies especially the way it fixed Naira value. The president, in any case,

THE LIFE CYCLE OF THE NIGERIAN POLITICIAN
AS AN INFANT, HE **CRAWLS.**



AS AN ADOLESCENT, HE
SCRAWLS.



**MUST
GO**

AS A LEGISLATOR, HE **BRAWLS.**



IN HIS OLD AGE, TIRED, SPENT AND WITHOUT A
ROLE, HE

DRAWLS.



ABDUL
UMAR



Iwuanyanwu: a renewed vigour to clinch the presidency

COVER STORY

Presidency

Iwuanyanwu's challenge

As a frontline philanthropist and businessman, Chief Emmanuel Okechukwu Iwuanyanwu stakes all for the NRC presidential ticket. What are his chances?

If the name Emmanuel Iwuanyanwu attracts extraordinary attention after the presidential primaries of the two political parties billed for August 1, to September 19, it would be for one of two possible scenarios. The story could be told of how a man, powerful and wealthy by all accounts, emerged as a lone star from the east of the Niger only to lose a

lifetime opportunity to preside over the biggest black nation on earth. Alternatively, moonlight tales could emerge on how that same man succeeded in brushing aside the scars of a bitter civil war to convince all segments of the Nigerian society that the federal government's policy of the three R's — Reconciliation, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction — can as well apply to the highest public

office in the land, 22 years after the setting of the Biafran sun. Either way, political watchers agree that the emergence of Chief Emmanuel Iwuanyanwu, 50, an engineer and industrialist from Atta-Ikeduru, a small town on the outskirts of Owerri, Imo State, as a major force in the NRC presidential contests is of "considerable historical significance," said Dr. Funmi Adewunmi, a senior

"I have secured my base"

— Iwuanyanwu

Citizen: Many people look at you as someone who is first and foremost a businessman. How do you intend to combine your business pursuits with the political leadership of this country?

Iwuanyanwu: I am not first and foremost a businessman. First and foremost I am Emmanuel Iwuanyanwu. I studied Engineering. I am an engineer basically. I am also interested in education. I am an academician also. Eventually, I went into business. What I would say is that by the grace of God, what I have done, I have done it very well. As a student, I excelled, as a businessman, I excelled and I hope in politics too, I would achieve excellent results.

Citizen: Actually, there is a moral angle to that question. If you become president now some of your companies may not be able to bid for certain contracts. Would you close your business for politics or something?

Iwuanyanwu: Well, you see this is what people do not understand. Companies are legal entities and a company that is very well-organised can function without the founder. My companies have been structured in such a way that they can operate whether I am here or not. After all, even if I die the companies will continue to function. Anybody who sets up a company in such a way that any

particular individual is indispensable, that company cannot survive.

Citizen: Your first major outing as a member of the NRC was the 1990 national convention of the party where your sponsored candidate, Ibrahim Mantu, failed. Have you

in the belief that once you make a commitment you must keep to it. That was what my father and mother taught me. And I didn't regret at all. There was nothing to regret. The

to that view? What would you characterise as the problem of the Nigerian economy and what are your solutions?

Iwuanyanwu: I think that was the view of the president. I still have a lot of confidence in the Nigerian economy. First of all the structural base of the Nigerian economy is very big. We have a lot of potential — mineral potentials, agricultural potentials, even oil. Above all, we have enormous amount of human potentials which is the most important element of any economy. So based on all these I am confident but unfortunately the productivity of Nigerians is very very low. The starting point in making any economy sound is by improving productivity of the individuals, productivity in the company and in government. Most Nigerians are not very productive. And this also has to do with discipline and ethics. Nigerians have completely distorted values. Most people want any short cut to make money. That is why you hardly see many Nigerians having patience to invest in a business that would take time to yield. Nigeria economically is basically based on imports and trading. Somebody goes to the bank, he orders goods, sells it. Such business actually



Iwuanyanwu: "no set back"

overcome that initial setback?

Iwuanyanwu: I don't see it as a setback. I did not contest an election personally. I supported somebody who lost. I don't see any setback in it at all. One thing about me, I believe in principles. When I make a commitment to you, my word is as good as a bond. Mantu came to me and told me before any other person that he wanted to run for the post. Since no other person came early enough, I made a commitment by the time many other people were facing other directions, I could not change because I had been nurtured and brought up

election was fought and won, somebody would lose. In that case, Mantu lost. But once we lost the election does not mean that I lost in all life's endeavours. And as events later on turned out, even that made me stronger as many people came to respect me, many people came to realise that I am somebody who is dependable and somebody who keeps to a commitment, so there are all points that you cannot actually value in terms of money.

Citizen: One of the main issues today is the economy which the president himself said has defied all logic. Would you subscribe

don't contribute much to the GNP. They are only bringing in other people's goods and marketing them. Much contribution on such businesses is to the country from which the goods are imported. That is one problem Nigeria has. In fact when you look at the amount of foreign exchange allocated, you discover that most of them even when people claim they are going to be used for raw materials, they are not used for these. Some of them are used to bring in finished goods, finished products which are sold in Nigeria. So this pretension must be seriously addressed. The Nigerian economy must be changed from that of import based to manufacturing of goods which we can also export so that other countries im-

exchange would be reduced. We must also diversify our revenue source. A lot of attention is focused on oil. Agriculture offers a lot of opportunities in this country — but successive governments have failed to address the issues.

If we are able to mobilise and harness to the fullest our agricultural potentials we would be able to produce enough food to feed our teeming population, in which case we can save all the money we would otherwise have spent on importing goods. I know that in our trade with some countries, Nigeria is having deficit. Nigeria, for example is trading with Japan on a deficit. If we have other products apart from oil, we would be able to give these countries some of these products. So, that also will improve our

I believe that government should regulate the means of production, but government should not participate. It should create conducive environment for investors or businessmen to take over all industrial and commercial business. But our own history is slightly different. Since independence, because of economic and financial limitations of the indigenous business entrepreneur, Nigerian government has rightly participated in many businesses which should otherwise be undertaken by the private sector. Now Nigeria has reached a point when the individual businessman has acquired

intervals of 4 years. Government, by holding this, should not control the board of directors. It should appoint a supervisory body that would monitor these companies. Government may have a seat on the board but the chairman and the managing director must be appointed by the public shareholders. So that the public has absolute control. It's not a question of government appointing a chairman based on political patronage. Most of these industries being privatised cannot actually be sold at a cheaper cost than they were estab-

"And as events later on turned out, even that made me stronger as many people came to respect me, many people came to realise that I am somebody who is dependable and somebody who keeps to a commitment"



Nwodo: not a lost friend

port from us. Once we have reached that stage, then we have taken the right step. And of course if you get to that point, it means the severe demand on our foreign

economy. And since some of the raw materials in these industries are agro-based, we would be able also to produce most of the raw materials for our industries without having to import them.

Citizen: There was a time, you actually criticised the Technical Committee

on Privatisation and Commercialisation, TCPC. What informed that kind of action?

Iwuanyanwu: Yes, I want to make it very clear. I believe in free enterprise and

financial capability to be able to take over and manage the industries. Now government has decided to privatise, which is good. I support the idea fully. But there are moral and other issues. The moral issue is this: these industries were built over the years with the wealth of the country and in fact, there was the boom period of the '70s a lot of them were established at that time; government should not advertise all these industries in one stroke. Government can privatise 50% of the industries and hold the other 50% on trust for the next 20 years to be given out at

lished because a lot of things have gone in which if somebody is establishing, now, would cost so many times more. **Citizen:** There was this statement credited to you on the issue of total reintegration of the Igbo into national politics. You were quoted to have said that "the presidency might be last step in the integration of the Igbo into national politics." Many people actually think that you are fighting against historical odds in your bid for the presidency.

Iwuanyanwu: What odds?

Citizen: Like for example, the NRC, can be traced back to NNC. The NNC itself can be traced to the NPN. The NPN again can be traced to NPC. Never in the history of this country had a southerner, been presented as a presidential aspirant of any of these political associations. How do you intend to fight that?

Iwuanyanwu: The logic is not quite right. You forget we have only two political parties. In the past, we have had so many political parties. In the second republic we had five. People have fused themselves into these two parties based on ideologies. One is to the right, the other to the left. I know that my total belief is based on free enterprise. These two political parties are based on ideologies and it is wrong for anybody to trace them to NPN or NPC. I think it is quite wrong. I reckon that NNC formed 80% of NRC. I was the leader of NNC. I have never been in NPC or NPN. In the first republic, I was a Zikist. In the second republic, I was in NPP. Today I have joined this political party. The issue is that the picture has changed. Even if you look at the performance of the parties, take for example Igbo land, Igbos have historically been NCNC, first republic NPP, second republic, and third republic, I came out early enough to announce my political ambition under

NRC. And that was actually the driving force that pushed many Igbos into NRC. Now, when you look at the performance of NRC, the north cannot claim to be more in NRC than the Igbos. Igbos are more in NRC than any part of the north. In Igboland, we lost only one state to SDP, and that one state was due to internal crisis within the NRC. I have made it abundantly clear to some people even including the NRC who believe that presidency must come from a particular place in the party, that they cannot, because I have worked harder than all other aspirants from NRC. And I want to challenge any aspirant who thinks he has done more work for the NRC than myself to come forward, I believe that people should reap whatever they sow.

I participated in building the house of the NRC. No human being can say because I come from a particular place, that I cannot live in a house I built, in fact, it is not possible. We have performed better in demonstrating the ideals of the party, there is no way we have been found wanting in the party and also our people in the east have made it clear to Nigerians that this time we want the presidency. And immediately I came forward they all supported me. I will like to make it very clear that in the east our people supported the NRC, not just for the fun of it but because they are ready to take the seat of

the presidency. Anybody who is telling you that they are just supporting NRC for fun is a liar; It is because I came out very early and told them I was running for the presidency and they wanted to make sure that Nigerians do not have any excuse whatsoever, of denying eastern Nigeria, the presidency

but most of them when they realised I am in the race and when they know, I can do the job, of course, they think, it is better for us to present a common front. So that is the position and signal we are giving to other Nigerians.

Citizen: Sometime last year you said that you



Man of diverse empire

this time. That is why they have done everything to demonstrate their support for the party. I have only one vote, so I couldn't have actually won all the victory, but my people who realise that I am running for the presidency supported that party, shows amply how much they accommodated to my cause, and of course you know also that in order to make it easy, they have avoided a situation where they will have many candidates coming out from the east, in the eastern-Nigeria, up till now I am the only candidate. It doesn't mean that there are no other people who are qualified. Many other people are qualified to be president

have much more supporters in the north than in the east, you still stand by that assertion? Iwuanyanwu: Well, somebody was giving the impression, that my support is mainly from the east and I wanted to let him know that I have as much supporters from the north as I have in the east because I am a candidate who in fact has travelled round the whole country. As a leader of NNC group during the time of registration of political parties I visited nearly every local government area. I visited nearly every state, so among all the candidates today, I am the only person who can

boast of having visited almost everywhere and I have made friends wherever I have gone. And of course it is very clear from the type of reception I am getting all over the place. Wherever I have gone in Nigeria, I have got most of my old friends, those who have met me and those I have helped and supported when it was not clear I was going to run for presidency. Now I do believe that these people are going to help me and support me. So I have a lot of support from the north, that doesn't underscore the fact that my support from the east is total.

Citizen: *There is also time issue of unanimity. When you talk of your support from the east being total, one is aware that people like Joe Nwodo and some other top shot of the NRC, are supporting some of your opponents and one is also aware that Hyde Onuguluachi is yet to mend fences with you, and he is actually in Shinkafi's campaign team. So how unanimous is the east?*

Iwuanyanwu: You have

just mentioned a case of people who are supporting certain aspirants. You must realise that people are free to support any aspirant. It has happened several times, you can go back to the time of NPN. During the time of NPN, there were many Igbo who supported NPN against NPP (but) at the end of the day NPP won. So just watch and see when the result will be out. The taste of the pudding is in the eating; when the result is out then you will know who is wrong and who is right. You will prove me right. I am telling you when the chips are down, all these people you have mentioned here will rally round me. I know the nature of our people. Let nobody be deceived by Igbo having acrimony on the surface. At the end of the day you will be surprised that these people you have mentioned are going to lead my campaign. We know how we solve our problems. So far no Igbo person is a threat to my ambition. They are in fact going to be the champions of the cause at the appropriate time and will soon come.

Citizen: *Some of the presi-*

dential aspirants from the west, east and the north are being backed by their traditional rulers and they have set up various bodies to do that, do you enjoy similar support from royal fathers in the east?

I will like to make it very clear that in the East our people supported the NRC, not just for the fun of it but because they are ready to take the seat of the presidency.

Iwuanyanwu: I have total support of everybody in the country. I want to present myself as a credible president for the country. I don't want this idea of caucus or traditional rulers here and there saying they are going to support me. No! I am presenting myself to Nigerians. Wherever I go, I see the Obas, I see the Emirs, I see the Ezes and all of them have listened to me. I am telling you that they are all saying without any exception that at this time we want the presidency to go to the south. It is very clear. Anybody who says the opposite is deceiving you. Anybody who tells you that as a southerner in this country that the south should

not get the presidency is not telling you the truth. You see all these people, they have sycophants from the south who go to deceive them and say "Oh, you are permanently going to rule, we

are not ready!" They are deceiving them! The truth or the position is that every southerner today feels that there is dignity in human personality and that if you have something with somebody and he keeps it all the time then it looks as if he doesn't recognise that you are his colleague. A relationship should not be that of a master or servant. It should be that of colleagues, that of associates. That is why the south feels that at this time we have credible candidates who can run the affairs of this country who should be given a chance.

By Yinka Tella

lecturer at the University of Ibadan: "Within the context of intra-elite and inter-regional power struggles in the country, Iwuanyanwu's presidential ambitions is capable of unbottling tension. How that tension is handled is likely to have far-reaching implications on the future stability of the nation."

For Chief Emmanuel Iwuanyanwu who holds an honorary doctorate degree from North Carolina University, U.S.A. among others, the move to transcend

the domain of his massive business empire which spans banking, insurance and brokerage, manufacturing, advertising and marketing, aviation, brewing, agriculture, real-estate construction and publishing, and move into the uncertain terrain of politics began with calculated surefootedness. Barely 24 hours after President Ibrahim Babangida's May 3, 1989, nationwide address which lifted the six year old ban on partisan politics, a press statement issued in Owerri announced that he

would be participating in the politics of the Third Republic.

By May 5, he was in Kaduna to attend the maiden meeting of the Federalist Movement, a group which had Alhaji Ahmadu Kufi, a former executive secretary of the then Federal Electoral Commission (FEDEC) as protem secretary. Considering that Iwuanyanwu had never hidden his position as a conservative rightist, his association with the federalists did not particularly strike Nigerians as odd. For

them, surprise number one was reserved till four days later when Iwuanyanwu, without any significant political antecedent, save a back-seat role as an NPP sympathizer in the Second Republic, became the protean chairman of the Nigerian National Congress (NNC) which had emerged from the federalist movement. As Iwuanyanwu revelled in the warmth of such prominent federalists as Chief Jide Oki (Lagos), Chief Nwajor Francis, Chief Omorotomwan (Rivers), Dr. Dalhatu Tafida (Kaduna) and Dr. Ademola Adebo (Ondo), one group which felt left in the lurch was Onwuka Kalu's New Movement which, as Liberal Convention, was later to dissolve into government decreed National Republican Convention by October 1989 after dissolution of the 13 political associations. The liberals, having reportedly benefited from a 500,000 Naira donation by Iwuanyanwu during the period of uncertainty prior to the lifting of the ban, had naturally expected him to join forces with them. But Iwuanyanwu, indicating a latent potential to play the politician had shrewdly distributed his eggs amongst many baskets.

Although that strategy paid off when elements of the Liberal Convention (LC) and the Nigerian National Congress (NNC) flocked together into the NRC after President Babangida's October 7, declaration, Iwuanyanwu did not indulge in double speak during the maiden national convention of the NRC in July 1990 where election of officers into the national executive committee of the party was high on the agenda. Iwuanyanwu, sensing that his ride to State House would be better enhanced if a northerner emerged as the party's national chairman, cast his lot with Alhaji Ibrahim Mantu, a muslim from Plateau State. When he sensed that powerful forces within the NRC had perfected a counter political offensive to push the chairmanship seat southwards,

a disappointed Iwuanyanwu went to town charging the north of "insincerity."

This drew the ire of the northern establishment which fought back. Replied Alhaji Ahmadu Kurfi, "I am not criticising Chief Iwuanyanwu but we (north) cannot pretend to be happy with him after his blanket accusation of insincerity of the entire north... We have never promised anybody or group anything and later reneged. Why should he accuse us of insincerity when he does not have anything concrete to back up such devilish allegations."

In the ensuing battle of Abuja, the northern caucus was able to install the incumbent NRC chairman, Chief Tom Ikimi who had majority of votes from 12 states. A bruised Iwuanyanwu subsequently withdrew into his shell quietly lapping up his defeat and cultivating grassroots support in the east as a lever for a renewed onslaught in the presidential race. He also intensified his philanthropic activities. He reportedly donated 2.1 million Naira for the take-off of Abia State among others.

To galvanise Igbo mass appeal, he did not just rely on his soccer outfit,



Kalu of the dissolved New Movement fights once the primaries are done with.

Similarly, such political foes as Hyde Onuaguluchi, the disqualified Enugu State SDP governorship aspirant, and Dr. Joe Nwodo his NRC counterpart in the ill-fated primaries in the state are also known to be routing for other candidates. Neither is Iwuanyanwu seen to be making overbearing use of party structures. Chief P.O. Okeke, Enugu State NRC chairman told *Citizen* that there was no decision for the branch

The near-total sweep of the eastern states by the NRC during the last governorship elections, *Citizen* gathered, is one of the reasons for the presidential aspirant's renewed verve.

Iwuanyanwu Nationale, alone. Drawing from the experience of ex-Imo State governor, Chief Sam Mbakwe, who rose to prominence through his famous dramatisation of the Igboes over the abandoned property issue, Iwuanyanwu continued to burn a lot of energy and resources to the Imo Airport project. He also consulted widely with Igbo leaders of thought, although the extent of his success cannot be easily measured. Chief Sam Mbakwe, for instance, is on record as having promised to support Umaru Shinkafi's presidential campaign ef-

to support Iwuanyanwu. "Even then," he continued, "we appreciate the courage of Iwuanyanwu. The east should not play second fiddle in the sharing of the national cake."

Iwuanyanwu however sought to explain these obvious cracks away last week, arguing that not even the much-advertised history of acrimony between Onuaguluchi and himself can stop all his "so called adversaries within the east from rallying" to his ticket at the appropriate time. Indeed, *Citizen* was able to observe that Chief Iwuanyanwu showed visible traits of somebody

The many lives of Iwuanyanwu

Chief Emmanuel Iwuanyanwu, the NRC presidential aspirant, means many things to many people. For his supporters spread across the country, there will be no shortage of reasons for which to queue behind him during the presidential primaries on May 2. Apparently, the main reason why many of Iwuanyanwu's admirers will vote for him is because he has proved to be an achiever.

The NRC power broker has his hands in many business pies stretching from banking to oil exploration. But it is in construction, soccer, publishing, aviation and philanthropy that he has made the most impact. As an engineer, Chief Iwuanyanwu has proved to be a pride to his professional calling and more than justified the years he spent at school seeking to master the secrets of successful engineering. As a

matter of fact, it was as an engineer that he first made a name for himself. His company, Hadel and Enic, ranks as one of the most successful indigenous civil construction companies. It employs thousands of workers and has its headquarters at Orji, a suburb of Owerri, the Imo State capital, and a few minutes drive from Chief Iwuanyanwu's home town, Atta — Ikeduru.

Way back in the early '80s, Chief Iwuanyanwu discovered the truth in the saying that "all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy." He demonstrated this by buying over Spartan, an ailing national football league premier division club-side, from the Imo State government. He has since totally transformed the team by pumping millions of Naira into it without expecting any immediate financial returns. His investment has paid off handsomely, as the club, now christened Iwuanyanwu Nationale of Owerri, has emerged as a

leading football club in the country, and one of the best in Africa. For three years running, from 1988, the club won the national league and shone brilliantly in the Africa Cup of Champions, which it lost narrowly in 1988 after

since grown to include a monthly business magazine and a twice-weekly sports newspaper.

Floating private airlines, one of the new attractions to the super rich in Nigeria, recently won over the NRC top

shot. His Oriental Airlines is one of the latest private airlines in the country.

Chief Iwuanyanwu, along with Bashorun M.K.O. Abiola and Chief Gabriel Igbinedion, probably form the best known philanthropic troika in the country. His

most recent major achievement in this regard was the donation, two months ago, of a 10 million Naira children's centre to his alma mater, the University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

By Isaac Umunna in Enugu



Man of industry and letters

reaching the finals.

The newspaper business, with its many risks, has not failed to arrest Chief Iwuanyanwu's adventurous spirit. He surrendered to the lure of the industry in 1988 when his *Daily and Sunday Champion* hit the newsstand simultaneously. The *Champion* Group, based in Lagos, has

who is growing in confidence. The near-total sweep of the eastern states by the NRC during the last governorship elections, *Citizen* gathered, is one of the reasons for the presidential aspirant's renewed verve. It was also authoritatively gathered that the endorsement of the chief as the sole NRC presidential candidate of the Committee for Unity and Understanding (CUU) in a grouping which consists of opinion leaders from the western, eastern and Middle-Belt areas of the country may constitute a big boost to his campaign efforts. Last week, CUU secretary, Ayo Opadokun, confirmed

Iwuanyanwu's choice to *Citizen*.

According to Opadokun "The council will work and talk to the people within the areas to work for the success of Emmanuel Iwuanyanwu".

When confronted with this last week, Iwuanyanwu chose to be non-committal referring *Citizen* instead to the fact that the Cattle Rearing Association of the Northern States and other similar interest groups had endorsed him in the past. He also attempted to explain away the Abuja debate two years ago as a victory of sorts considering the fact that the eastern minorities maintained the

same voting pattern with the core Igbo states in the former Imo and Anambra states for the first time.

Despite Iwuanyanwu's infectious optimism many political watchers believe that the NRC presidential ticket can only succeed through an act of omission by that what they call the "northern establishment". Said Abdulahi Bello, an NRC member: "There are simply too many candidates from the North, Ciroma, Shinkafi, Bamangar-Tukur, Lema Jibrilu. It is confusion. If Iwuanyanwu works hard he may just pull off a surprise but are you sure he is not actually eyeing the vice-presi-

dency?"

Indeed, speculations that Chief Iwuanyanwu might be using the presidential contest as a bargaining chip for the vice-presidency have been rife for some time now. *Citizen* can reveal it dates back to May 1989, when Iwuanyanwu was said to have told an Owerri meeting at which Code of Conduct Bureau ex-chairman, Alhaji Isa Kaita, Alhaji Adamu Ciroma, Alhaji Uba Ahmed, Alhaji Lawal Kaita and Alhaji Sule Katagum were in attendance, that he would be available for the number two seat. More recently, he has also been quoted as saying that there is no way himself and the interest he represents would not be part of the presidency. This was, of course, taken as a veiled reference to the vice presidential seat but Iwuanyanwu told *Citizen* last week that any talk of his being interested in the vice-presidential seat is sponsored. "None of my fellow contemporaries" boasted Iwuanyanwu "has the guts to approach me with such proposals. They know I am more qualified than they are."

Dr. Godwin Dabo, chairman of Benue Agricultural Corporation agrees with him. "Iwuanyanwu is a

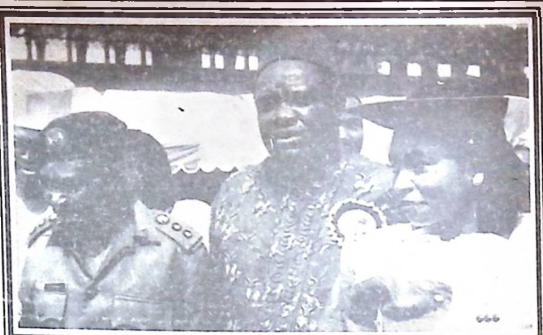
credible candidate. He is untainted. He is a man who has climbed to the top through the ladder of integrity and hardwork. He should be supported and encouraged."

Others do not think so. Augustine Uzodinma, a Lagos based salesman believes that Iwuanyanwu is too unpredictable to be president. "He can't relate well with the grassroots. He is just a rich businessman. Let him continue to mind his business. Politics is

not his turf."

Be that as it may, analysts are agreed that the NRC political chessboard is bound to offer interesting insight into the possible complexion of the inter party contests in December mainly because of one man and the forces he represents. That man is Emmanuel Okechukwu Iwuanyanwu.

By Yinka Tella with additional reports from Isaac Umunna, (in Owerri) Bolaji Adebisi (in Lagos) and Tony Oke (in Enugu).



Iwuanyanwu (middle) with Colonel and Mrs Nebo



Humane and kind: Iwuanyanwu (left) at the burial of K.O. Mbatwe in 1990

BIDA YOUTHS MOVEMENT BACKS MAKAMAN NUPE'S PRESIDENTIAL BID.

It was as if chapters of a new political consciousness suddenly sprang up across the political map of Nigeria, with the announcement that the Makaman Nupe, Alhaji Shehu Musa has joined the presidential race.

Here is a self made man, who by dint of hard work, combined with academic brilliance, rose from grass to grace. He also acquired along the way, all the painful nuances of the life of a typical ordinary Nigerian. He hardly fits the stereotype Nigerian banana politicians, especially at this period in time, when Nigerians are consumed with a scathing contempt, for what is seen as the ineptitude, corruption and hypocrisy of the politicians.

Most Nigerians are convinced that the politicians are not only corrupt, but are also unconcerned with ordinary people's pre-occupations: more jobs, better housing, medicare, less crime, better schools etc: They are always pre-occupied about keeping themselves warm and comfortable in power.

Shehu Musa has traversed the entire length and breadth of this country in his selfless service to the nation. He has far more gritty know-how in national geo-politics, and a far more big time government experience than most do. He is sure-footed, engaging and

totally at home with intellectuals as he is with the illiterates. He has remained in the corridors of power for as long as one cares to remember. This has given him the needed insight into the intricacies of governance.

The Makaman Nupe, has remained for years, Chairman and member of various national and international organisations. He is among few Nigerians who were distinguished with national awards — The C.F.R. He also received international awards too numerous to mention here.

All these assets give Shehu Musa a legitimate shot at capturing the presidential ticket. The no nonsense manner with which he handled the issue of the population census is the litmus test of his 'Modus Operandi'.

Like all great men, Shehu Musa did not escape the sting of cynics. Immediately it was clear that he was going into the presidential race, there was a frenzy of activities to thwart his efforts, because his rivals know that with his formidable assets, they are up against a master of tact and a charismatic rival. There was political stone-walling and other pen barrages, as to why he should enter the race.

One particular laughable write-up, questioned why Shehu Musa should want to become the next president, when it is clear that he came from Niger State with President Babangida. The argument is that, General Ibrahim Babangida's seven long years rule should automatically pre-close the presidential ambition of any other Nigerian, at least for now.

This line of argument is completely laundered of logic, what is wrong in producing competent and needed presidents repeatedly from one region? If God in his infinite wisdom, chose all his prophets from the Middle East. Middle East is not as populous as Europe, North and South America or even Australia, yet God selected his prophets without recourse to geographical balancing. Who are we, mortal ones to reject this holy precedence.

The world is replete with examples of statesmen and women, coming repeatedly from one region to rule their countries. Take India, for instance, The Gandhi family have held sway for a long time, or take the Kennedys of the U.S.A., The Buttos of Pakistan and Duvaliers etc.

The ideal thing is not who and where deserves the presidency, but which type of president does the nation need, at this critical time of our nation's existence. We congratulate Shehu Musa, because his records of service stands tall and untainted. Even his detractors saw nothing bad or ugly to gloat about. The only oppositions to his ambition has remain a futile cosmetic scratch. Especially at this period when most presidential aspirants are riddled with political bullet holes.

Our call to Shehu Musa to join the presidential race, is not based on emotional politicking, but purely out of genuine conviction that he has what it takes to lead this nation out of the woods. We therefore call on all Nigerians to support Shehu Musa in his presidential bid, just as they supported him during the population census.



Alhaji Saba Aliyu Nagenu — Chairman
 Alhaji Ndawoba Imam — Vice Chairman
 Mohammed Y. Dwale — Secretary
 Barrister Mohammed Awal — Coordinator

NIGERIA

Politics

Haggling for the west

Last month, four leading presidential aspirants 'invaded' the West for support

Four leading National Republican Convention, NRC, presidential aspirants moved their campaign trail to major cities of Western Nigeria last month, selling themselves to their party faithfuls, traditional rulers and governors. The aspirants in the south Alhaji Umaru Shinkafi, Malam Adamu Ciroma, Alhaji Bamanga Tukur and Dr. Lema Jibrilu, who political analysts see as birds of the same feather given their political base, canvassed basically similar campaign issues — agricultural development, diversification of the national economy, rehabilitation of the Naira, promotion of national unity and provision of basic social infrastructures for the people. The campaign, no doubt afforded the candidates a first hand opportunity to gauge their hold on the party in the west. Perhaps that even explains the coincidence in the timing and issues of the campaign. And since they returned up north, tongues have been wagging on their individual

strength in the area noted for its rigid partisanship.

Umaru Shinkafi, whose presidential aspirations went public three years ago, appeared to have established the strongest and most enduring structure to fight the contest. His campaign machine, Choice '92, headed by his fellow federalist and friend, Dr. Ademola Adebo, is well organised and financed. Many political analysts *Citizen* spoke to in Ibadan readily agreed that Choice '92 remain the most formidable campaign organisation rivaled only by Major General Shehu Musa's People's Front, PF, of the Social Democratic Party, SDP, stock. Going for it and its candidate is their early entry into the race, an advantage which enabled them to garner the support of most of the heavy weights in the conservative fold. In fact, when the contest was between Shinkafi and Jubrilu, the conservatives support for the former was total. Now that there is a floodgate, they have dispersed among the big four.

"In spite of this, we have remained stronger than our opponents. Shinkafi still has not just a majority, but an absolute majority, at various levels of the party structure," Bayo Olagunju, a former secretary of the defunct National Party of Nigeria, NPN, in Oyo State and now with Choice '92, told *Citizen* last week. He is probably right given the array of heavies behind Shinkafi. They include such conservative chieftains as Ahmed Kusamotu, Remi Fani-Kayode, defeated NRC governorship candidates of Oyo, Ondo, Ogun, and Osun states, Alhaji Yekini Adejo, Chief Ayo Ogunlade, Chief Alani Bankole and Alhaji Adebayo Salami respectively. Others include



Shinkafi: selling agriculture and industry

Rasheed Baruwa, who chaired the campaign team that installed Michael Otedola as governor of Lagos State, and Ajibola Afonja a grassroot mobiliser in Oyo.

All of them, *Citizen* gathered, are leading members of Choice '92 in their various states. This is why Olagunju is confident that in the impending presidential primaries, August 1 — September 19, the longest queue is assured for Shinkafi since members of his Choice '92 are practised and tested "warlords."

But according to Yinusa Dada, a staunch supporter of Ciroma, that would have been so if his mentor had not entered the race in February. Before then, the contest was



Ciroma: man of integrity



Jibrilu: wizard of industry

clearly between Shinkafi and Jibrilu and it was one sided. In fact two years ago when a faction of Choice '92 led by Alfred Aikulola, the former NRC chairman in Oyo State broke away and pitched their tent with Jibrilu, they were worsted. The alliance membered by Bosede Osinowo (Lagos), Kayode Osibote (Ogun) and Jegede (Ondo) took on Choice '92 frontally, but now, they are all off their powerful chairmanship position. It may well be that there were other contributory factors to their fall from power, but the recent defeat of Aikulola in the Osun State NRC chairmanship election by Bakare Ogunsola, a Choice '92 sympathiser tend to strengthen the belief that Choice '92 may have engendered trouble for them.

Dada however insisted last week that the entry of Ciroma and consequently, Tukur has blunted the sharp edges of Shinkafi's prospect. His evidence: erstwhile backers of Shinkafi such as Suliat Adejeji, Toye Coker and Alhaji Lasisi Bakare have since shifted their loyalty. Also, the likes of Olaniyan Alawode and Abiola Ogundokun, who were frontline NPN politicians, and who had not been quite visible in the new dispensation have now come into the open and are routing for Shinkafi's opponents.

But of the three, the most formidable opposition is Ciroma behind whom the old NPN structure nationwide is regrouping. Specifically in the west, his major and most conspicuous backer is Suliat Adejeji. Also in his camp *Citizen* gathered, are Olaniyan Alawode and Abiola Ogundokun. When *Citizen* visited Ibadan last month, Suliat was always beside him. The crowd though not fantastic was significant. Olagunju, who tried to down play the possible impact or significance of the old NPN structure said last week: "The bulk of Ciroma's support is the old NPN structure which is not necessarily the bulk of NRC. Even the NPN structure is shared..." This, however, does not fully ex-

plain the lack of a thick crowd on the Ciroma trail. *Citizen* can authoritatively reveal that the major reason, is his opponent's religious and political propaganda which paints him as morally unreliable. The people were told of how Ciroma asked Shinkafi to run for the presidency with a firm promise of support only to renege on this by contesting himself. They told NRC supporters, the bulk of whom are muslims, that it is anti-Islam to make a promise and break it. Even Tukur was roped in. The



Tukur: Mr Ports

people were told that he joined the race to spite Ciroma because the later reneged on his promise to back Shinkafi. So serious was this particular aspect of the propaganda that Tukur himself had to deny it openly when he went to canvass for support.

The political aspect centred around two issues. Ciroma's anti-military campaign and his Second Republic political blunder when he opposed the appointment of a non-indigene of Borno State as the state's secretary to government. On the former, people were told that the military could not possibly give clearance to its avowed antagonist, so why back him? As for the latter, Ciroma was simply painted as a tribalist.

Although the source of his propaganda is not known, *Citizen* learnt that it is nevertheless far reaching and effective. What is however clear is that Shinkafi, Tukur and Jibrilu are going to benefit from its fallout. This was a belief voiced by Tunde

Olona, an NRC activist in Ibadan citing the favourable response they received from the ancient city's monarch as a sign of good things to come. True, Tukur and Jibrilu must not be written off for the moral support they received from traditional quarters last month, may indeed be sign posts to victory. Bamanga Tukur, to whom Aliko Muhammed lost his western zone co-ordinator, Chief Akintunde Rotimi, last month, bagged the honorary chieftancy title of *Asipa Bashorun of Ibadanland*. Moments after the installation, Tukur made a deft political move to corner the support of soccer fans when he donated 35,000 Naira to the famous 3SC Football Club of Ibadan.

Oba Oloyede Asanike, also honoured Jibrilu, whose campaign co-ordinator is Chief Adediran Bioku, the running mate to the defeated NRC governorship candidate in Oyo State, with the traditional title of *Aare Atobase of Ibadanland*. Asanike said he honoured Jibrilu for his monumental contribution to economic and industrial development of Nigeria.

Apart from this, time may well be their friend. Government persistent shifting of the dates of party primaries has continued to be to the advantage of Ciroma and others. This is a fact Adebo attested to recently. "There is no doubt that this will work to the advantage of our opponents since it affords them more time to organise themselves," he told *Citizen* in the wake of National Electoral Commission's, NEC, announcement shifting the primaries from May to August. But Olagunju, while agreeing with Adebo still insists that Choice '92 as a political group is strong to maximise its initial advantages. Hear him "Ciroma, our candidate's strongest opponent, will need to spend three quarter's of his total campaign time in the west before he can achieve a quarter of what Shinkafi has already got." Bold words you would say, but is that the situation? No one can say with absolute finality. Only time can tell.

By Bolaji Adebiyi in Ibadan and Lagos.

Police Please come back

Increase in car theft forces Lagos transport owners to call for the return of mobile policemen.

They asked for it. They got it. Now they no longer want it. Early in the year, February to be precise, the Inspector-General of Police, Alhaji Aliyu Attah, ordered mobile policemen off all police check-points. The order was sequel to the mass protest and demonstration by bus drivers in the Lagos metropolis, against the killing of one of them, Yekini Ganiyu, by a police sergeant. Aliyu's decision was perhaps necessary to save the police the embarrassment associated with incessant killing of defenceless Nigerians at police check-points. But just as his decision was bearing some fruits of sort, for there has been no reported case of "death by accidental discharge" since the order, Lagos public transport owners are asking for return of mobile policemen to the check points. Their argument: Since their withdrawal from the checkpoints, there has been an escalation of car theft in Lagos.

In fact, last week, the National Transport Owners Association held talks with the state commissioner of police, Mr. Yemi Odubela, to "request for his command's prompt intervention to stem the tide of car theft in Lagos." According to Major Yemi Akintola (rtd) the vice-president of the association, they had to approach the police for "partial re-



Attah: as you were

turn of mobile policemen" because "some members of the association have lost more than 30 vehicles to armed robbers in the past two weeks". Making the plea for a partial return of the mobile police, he said: "the total withdrawal of anti-riot police has put everyone in danger, it has led to an upsurge in armed robbery." This situation he explained, will jeopardise their business. When asked whether their

request does not amount to an indictment of regular police who still keep watch at the check point, Akintola replied: "It is the belief of the association that the regular police cannot cope with the present rate of armed robbery."

Akintola's position is strengthened by his Lagos chapter president Mr. Ganiyu Adetola, who told *Citizen* at his Ketu office last week that the occurrence of car theft has since the withdrawal of the mobile police, gone on the increase. Glancing through a file on reported car theft by members of his association, Adetola revealed that more than 250 vehicles have been stolen within the last two months in Lagos State alone.

But drivers, who usually are at the receiving end of police brutality, have a different opinion. Their president, Alhaji Shamsudeen Abayomi Adelaja, told *Citizen* last week that he finds the request very absurd and promptly dissociated his association from any move to have the mobile police back at the nation's checking-points. Their contrary view is that regular police are more effective in combating the problem of car theft. He attributed the recent increase in crime rate to the nation's bad economic situation. He, however, called for a fortification of the regular police.

Interestingly, the Lagos State police command's, public relation officer, Mr. Isaac Olusegun Akinmayode, expressed similar feelings with Adelaja. He told *Citizen* that his command does not support the view, that regular policemen are not capable of stemming the tide of car theft disclosing that between February 22 and March 20, his command recovered 42 stolen vehicles. Akinmayode does not think that is a performance that should warrant the return of the mobile police. He told *Citizen* that for now, the police is not thinking of acceding to the transporter's request, but how the regular police would be fortified.

By Samson Ojo.

"It is the belief of the association that the regular police cannot cope with the present rate of armed robbery."

Aviation

A blow below the belt

As the new air fares take effect, activities at Murtala Muhammed Airport grind to a near halt

The Murtala Muhammed International Airport, last week, was a ghost of its former self.

The usual heavy human traffic was absent. Only a few uniformed and non-uniformed workers paraded the long corridors of the airport building. Walkie-talkie-wielding security operatives, a common sight in the airport, were nowhere to be seen. No queues of intending passengers anxiously waiting to be checked into an already over-booked London or New York bound plane were in sight.

At 11.00 am last Tuesday, when the Nigeria Airways flight to London Heathrow was announced, the departure counter remained deserted. It became apparent that Nigerians who loved overseas travelling have been hit below the belt as a result of the 290 per cent increase in air fares announced in March.

The Nigeria Airways is not alone in the scarcity of passengers that attended the air fare hike. Sources at the international wing told *Citizen* that the Lufthansa flight that departed around midnight, last Monday, left with only about 50 passengers, while the British Airways that departed on Tuesday midnight left with less than 40 passengers.

Airways spokesman, Mr. Chris Aligbe, however, told *Citizen* last week that it is too early to comment on the effect of the new airfares. Said he, "Obviously people will balk, that is what happens when increases are announced." At the Tafawa Balewa Square office of Obokun Travels Limited, the accountant, Mr. Olujare Soroyewun told *Citizen* that business has been in the doldrums. According to Soroyewun, "Before the announcement we used to have a minimum of 20 to 25 passengers in a week, but so far we've had just three".

The fear of what becomes of the national carrier in the event of the close competition that the new fares had caused between the Nigeria Airways and foreign airlines, was dismissed by Aligbe and Soroyewun. Aligbe who told *Citizen* that the management of the airways is doing everything possible to improve its services on the ground and in-flight, said the national carrier cannot be the loser. Said he, "Many Nigerians are still interested in the Nigeria Airways even with the new air fares, because Nigerians feel much more at home in Nigeria Airways planes unlike in some foreign airlines."

If the airlines have been hit by the fare hike, hangers on at the airport have been worst hit. Touts who thrive on helping desperate passengers to secure boarding passes said they are not enjoying the situation. One of the touts, who said he has been working in the airport for three years told *Citizen*, "There is no business at all, for two days now I have not gone home with a kobo."

Sources close to the airport securities further told *Citizen* that even airport officials like immigration and custom men who thrive on helping travellers with fake papers and passports a.k.a. "Ori-Olori" were hard hit. "Many of them have decided to go and close the large pockets they sew on their uniforms" our source added. Parallel market currency dealers around the airport also complained to *Citizen* that business had dropped to the lowest ebb. According to Alhaji Bashir Isa, a currency dealer, "government should review whatever they have done so that business can go on."

But Soroyewun does not think that is necessary for he thinks "People will eventually readjust to the new fares because they don't have op-

tions, one cannot trek to London or New York." However, this may be for people who have legitimate business that would yield sufficient returns for them. *Citizen's* investigations revealed that before the increase in air fare, very intricate human traffics into Italy and Milan for prostitution thrive in the airport in connivance with security officials. *Citizen* also learnt that, citizens of other West African countries, trying to exploit the relatively cheap Nigeria air fare and the nefarious activities of Nigerians who steal other people's passports only to fake it for others have turned the gateway into the country a haven. According to



Ige, communications minister

the airways spokesman, Chris Aligbe, "the Nigeria Airways is always being made to pay fines on these people when they are caught in London or New York. The airline hopes that the prohibitive increase in fare will save it of these hassles."

Citizen also learnt that government may be trying to achieve its goal of reducing the demand for foreign currency through the fare hike. According to sources close to the government, "If frivolous travelling is reduced, frivolous demands for foreign currencies will also reduce".

Whatever the fare hike is aimed at achieving, aviation sources said many planes may be forced to be flying empty and at a loss for the next couple of weeks.

By Aluko Akinyele.

UNICAL VC

Wanted dead

Professor Charles Effiong, University of Calabar vice-chancellor, battles to beat a death sentence passed on him by retrenched staff of the varsity

Authorities of University of Calabar, UNICAL, last week finally moved to end six dangerous months occasioned by the sacking of some 400 non-academic staff of the institution. The rationalization exercise, carried out last September 30, was aimed at drastically slashing running costs in order "to save the university from imminent collapse as a result of excess staffing."

UNICAL authorities insist that indiscipline and declining productivity were the yardstick used to determine those who were retrenched. Most of the victims, especially the Ibibios from the neighbouring Akwa Ibom State, however, alleged that they were given the boot because they come from a different tribe and state. Professor Charles Effiong, UNICAL vice-chancellor since October 1, 1988, is an Efik from Cross River State.

Since the mass sack of non-academic staff, UNICAL has never been the same again. The vice-chancellor nearly lost his life when some of the retrenched staff stormed his office and turned him into a punching bag on October 24, last year. He was rescued by students and later treated at the University of Nigeria Teaching Hospital, Enugu, before being flown to London for treatment for internal injuries.

On his return from London, Professor Effiong returned to his beat early last month, only to find a death threat waiting for him.

In a letter dated February 27, and copied to UNICAL registrar, Mr. Emmanuel Akpan, some of the retrenched staff warned the vice-chancellor to secure the immediate

release of all their members arrested and being tried in court for the attack of October 24, or face the music.



Fafunwa, education minister

They also ordered him to quickly pay all the sacked staff their entitlements in his own interest. The ex-UNICAL staff, masquerading un-

He explained that most staff of the university are Ibibios from Akwa Ibom state, and so "anything good or bad that happens is bound to affect this large majority in similar proportion."

der the cover of the Ibibio Community League, advised the vice-chancellor "to read the handwriting on

the wall ... withdraw as soon as practicable, your family and persecution(s) and prosecute all the retrenched staff of Akwa Ibom State indigenes, and to pay forthwith all their respective entitlements lawfully due... their entitlement with respective arrears forthwith.

Failure to do so, according to the letter of threat, would result in the massacre of "you (Charles Effiong), your household, the vice-chancellor and town you hail from, and (other key officials) of UNICAL. The death threat has been

demanded by both UNICAL authorities and the UNICAL branch of the Non-Academic Staff Union of Nigerian Universities.

Mr. Moses Abang, UNICAL Information Officer, told *Citizen* in Calabar that the entitlements of the retrenched staff complained of in their letter were actually shared. The letter falls in the payment made to some of the sacked workers. He said that the balance would be offset from March to April 1. The UNICAL

spokesman, however, denied that tribalism was ever used as a basis to determine those who were sacked by the rationalization exercise. He explained that most staff of the university are the Ibibios from Akwa Ibom State, and so "anything good or bad that happens is bound to affect this large majority in similar proportion."

Mr. Abang hoped that with the payment of the shortfalls, the total payment to the retrenched staff would be over 10 million Naira, UNICAL would have spared the tension and distrust it has experienced in the past few months. Security, he disclosed, is being tightened around the university to foil any further attempt at aggression. He said that the aggrieved rationalized staff either the vice-chancellor or his aides and family members.

By Isaac Umunna in

Citizen, April 1

DISCOURSE

Jedda Crash: Compensation question

I write to thank you for your above captioned article in your *Citizen Magazine* of April 6 — 12, 1992 Vol. 3 No. 14 at Page 21-23 for bringing to the fore the plight of ordinary people who in their state of loss know little to nothing in how to address their newly found state of confusion other than rest their case with Allah.

I wish to comment on the legal procedural process upon which the article gathered some comments. I am not holding any one's brief in this matter although as a citizen and a legal practitioner, I have more than a passing interest in the way the issue of compensation is being pursued and how it gets eventually settled to the satisfaction and accord of all concerned.

I wish to comment in particular on the authoritative statements of Alhaji Usman Dangogo with respect to his comment regarding lawyers soliciting for cases, and that the matter of compensation of survivors of the victims of the air crash is exclusively a matter for the government who according to him "their first agent is the government."

The impression given by Alhaji Dangogo regarding lawyers is that their interest and action in this matter are parasitic, self motivated, monetary and exploitative of the victim survivors solely on the grounds that they are not supposed to solicit for cases. I am however of the view that very restrictive ethical prescription of lawyers' practice is archaic conservatism. The lawyers in Nigeria practise dual professions; as solicitors, and as barristers. While it is true that we in Nigeria have inherited the English practise which decries advertisement and soliciting, we are in many ways different from England in historical evolution of our culture and in our social

By Major-General (rtd) I.B.M.
Haruna

and economic environment.

In latter jurisdictions like the United States of America, lawyers do advertise in all forms of media and solicit for legal and lawful business. Moving with time and circumstances in my view should not be regarded on its own as offensive. I believe that lawyers in Nigeria have a far wider scope of role in our Nigerian society than that expected of say, an English solicitor or barrister.

The second issue touched upon by Alhaji Dangogo is that the survivors of the victims of the air crash ought to rely upon government as their agent for settling their compensation in the first place, and the at the survivors' entitlements to compensation is dependant upon their taking letters administration of the deceased victims estate. I wish to disagree with Alhaji Dangogo on the grounds that that is partially true, because, in the first place compensation is a right which the claimant survivors of victims are entitled to as of their own right. The compensation payable in this instance of accident may not be part of the estate of the deceased but a sum payable to his dependants who have suffered a loss by reason of the accident. They have been deprived of their source of sustenance. In Islamic jurisprudence where *diyya* is liable, it is not paid as inclusive of the estate of the deceased. It is separate from compensation. The issue of letters of administration as basis of the survivors right to engage in a process to settle compensation to them as losers is to my mind irrelevant. Consequently, rightful survivors entitled to compensation have a right to engage themselves or their agents (by way of powers of attorney if

— *a rejoinder*

need be) to pursue and receive on their behalf compensation for their loss.

It is portent argument to say that the pilgrim has contracted with the government, and government is the principal carrier and the airline is its agent. Consequently, the government is principally liable on the contract and should be liable on the compensation arising out of a mishap on its contract. Of course government may well be indemnified by the carrier airline (its agent or contracting party) and by insurers. The fundamental question is, with whom lies the pilgrims contract: The government, the chatterer of the aircraft, the supplier of the aircraft, the carrier airline or with all of them? Whatever be the case, government is an interested and adverse party to the claim of compensation. Hence it cannot be the first and the best or sole agent to pursue the matter of compensation to survivors of the victims.

It is admitted that things could go wrong more so where money is involved and skepticism and suspicion allow good reasoning to the abandoned. Lawyers in private practise not only those in government deserve to be given a chance to practise alongside their government colleagues in the interest of the general public and not shut out on the grounds that their charges are suspectingly exorbitant or the monies may be misdirected. For such mispractise by lawyers, there is remedy but where justice is shut out and bolted by the all powerful and overriding, the common man is not seen and cannot be said to have fairly or justly treated.

Thank you.

BUSINESS & ECONOMY

SAP

As a suffering pill

As Nigerians groan under the deregulatory policies of government, there appears to be no end in sight

Faced with the economic downturn in the 80s, which was characterized by deficit, balance of payment position, growing external debt, government fiscal deficit, dwindling export earnings, high level of unemployment, low capacity utilisation in the industrial sector and inflation, something urgent had to be done to save the economy from collapse. Thus, when President Ibrahim Babangida took over the leadership of the country in 1985, he was confronted with two hard options: Either to go ahead with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) loan of \$2.4 billion which former President Shugu Shagari had applied for in April 1983 or chart an independent economic path. After a stormy national debate on the conditionalities of the loan, it was rejected.

To correct "distortions" in the economy, the Babangida regime introduced the structural adjustment programme (SAP), in July 1986, as a "home-spun" two-year policy measure to reduce Nigeria's import dependence through a more realistic exchange rate—deregulate the economy, privatise commercial interests of government, stimulate research and increase local sourcing of industrial inputs. Its other objectives were to encourage self-reliance in food production, bring about new inflow of foreign investment and enhance exports.

To achieve these, government cancelled import licensing, introduced de-regulation, debt equity swap, trade liberalisation and debt rescheduling.

But, if government was con-

vinced that the programme would restore the economic glory of Nigeria, economists treaded a more pes-



Alhaji: SAP as antidote?

simistic path. In fact, from its inception, they assailed it as an unreliable policy in the circumstance of Nigeria. One of them, Professor Sam

Latin America.

He contended that since inception Latin America has gone from inflation to hyperinflation—depression to deeper depression from debt to greater debt. Coming back nearer home, he pointed out that "none of the 33 African countries on which the IMF, the World Bank and Western creditors have foisted SAP has made it or revamped its economy, unless SAP's concomitant dignities were served."

from the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), which criticised some of the key tenets of adjustment policies in Africa as either inappropriate

Economists generally agree that the programme is an unmitigated failure. Evidence: the Naira. From 1976 to the US dollar in September 1986, the Naira now exchanges for not less than 19 Naira to the dollar. Similarly, from 6.21 Naira to a pound sterling at the same period it now exchanges for 32 Naira to a pound sterling.

Aluko, observed that SAP had never benefited any third world country giving the example of its failure in

or insufficient and launched an alternative which challenged the policies of the IMF and World Bank.

The document argued that exchange rate policies — which invariably involve substantial evaluation does not take proper account of the fact that most African economies depend on primary product exports subject to quotas and sold at prices externally determined and trade liberalisation impossible because of protectionist policies of industrialised countries.

According to the document, privatisation in Africa is based on the incorrect assumption that the indigenous private sector is strong enough to take over state enterprises.

The document concludes that "the real issue is not whether to adjust or not but what kind of adjustment." However, the criticism failed to deter government from implementing the programme. The nation was told at every opportunity that SAP was a "painful but inevitable" programme of adjustment.

Six years after, how has the economy fared under SAP? Economists generally agree that the programme is an unmitigated failure. Evidence: the Naira. From 4.62 Naira to the US dollar in September 1986, now exchanges for not less than 19 Naira to the dollar. Similarly, from 6.21 Naira to a pound sterling at the same period it now exchanges for 32 Naira to a pound sterling. This downward fall of the value of the Naira has engendered inflation with serious consequences for the manufacturing and industrial sectors.

Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (MAN), said SAP has meant high interest rate, increased cost, inadequate tariff protection and liquidity squeeze, which have severely dampened the productive capacity of many companies. MAN estimated that companies now operate at 25 per cent and 30 per cent capacity. The high exchange rate, rapid inflation and poor purchasing power of the workers have affected savings and investment.

Dr. Mashud Fashola, an economics lecturer at the University of



Aluko: stop SAP

Lagos, said "SAP has not had the desired impact on new investments and foreign inflow, rather it encouraged capital outflow." Trade liberalisation has made the country a dumping ground for foreign goods that could be produced locally thus, threatening the local industries.

With regard to agricultural development, Dr. Gbenga



Familoni: liquidate debt now

Awosanni, assistant general manager, Folawiyi Farms, told *Citizen* that devaluation of the Naira, high interest rate, and infrastructural problems have led to stagnation in the agricultural sector. For example

agricultural tractor H.P 110 which was 47,000 Naira in 1986 now costs 400,000 Naira, urea fertilizer which sold for 200 Naira per ton in 1986 now costs 1,500.

The effect, Dr. Awosanni said is that agriculture has not been able to play its expected role in the economy. He said, "it has not been able to produce the necessary raw materials for the small scale industries, neither has it been able to contribute to the foreign exchange earning of the country." As observed in the 1992 budget, petroleum has continued to be the major source of foreign exchange earning. Despite the introduction of the National Directorate of Employment NDE, unemployment has not drastically reduced. Looking at the economic indicators of the country, World Development Report published in 1990, ranked Nigeria as the 13th poorest nation in the world with a per capital GNP of 270 dollar down from nearly 1,000 dollar in the early 1980s. "The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) which recorded 6.9 per cent between 1965-80, has slumped to 1.1 percent between 1980 and 1988."

Dr. Segun Osoba of the University of Ibadan observed that after five-and-a half years of SAP, everyone including IBB's "chorus boys and girls" can see clearly how SAP has turned a somewhat sick economy into one that is literally dying on its feet.

Banks which obtained their foreign exchange at the official rate of 10 Naira to a dollar sell at the parallel market or bureaux de change rate of 18 Naira to a dollar thus creating a wide gap between the official market rate and the parallel market rate up till February ending.

The existence of such a wide premium which, economy watchers believe, benefits only the users of foreign exchange and some bank officials led to the deregulation of foreign exchange market by the government last month. The deregulation which abolished the old system of allocation of foreign exchange to banks, based on predetermined

quotas prompted a further depreciation of the Naira resulting in high inflation.

The government however responded to the flaring signs of discomfiture with the announcement of a relief package to "ensure that the short-term discomfort attributed to the FOREX reform will not create any prolonged hardship." The relief measures include zero-duty on spare parts and CKD components for commercial and passenger vehicles imported between now and December, duty on all imported vehicles to be calculated according to the selling price rather than on cubic capacity rating, while spare parts and CKD components for all imported industrial machineries will be duty free.

Others include allocation of buses to universities and tariff adjustment of some food items and drugs. Despite these measures, many believe that Nigerians are in for a more difficult time while the economy is far from being in the path of recovery as promised by SAP. They argued that the relief measures might not have any positive effect after all. Mr. Lawrence Adekunle, director-general of Nigeria Association of Commerce Industry, Mine and Agriculture, NACCIMA, said "the

problem is not only inability to put policies in shape but to see to their judicious execution."

He is not the only one concerned with the issue of the exchange rate. Chief Isaiah Olunloyo, honorary life president of NACCIMA told *Citizen* that the massive devaluation of the Naira will lead to further hardship. But Mr. Tunde Banjo assistant general manager of Coment Merchant Bank absolved banks from the high interest rate. Rather, he said that government monetary policies are responsible for high interest rate.

Unfortunately, industrialists are unanimous that unless there is growth in the industrial sector to reduce foreign consumption, SAP may not lead us to the promised land. Without any significant improvement on the economy of the country, should the government continue with SAP?

President Ibrahim Babangida reaffirmed his belief that SAP is painful but inevitable in the 1992 budget.

Sam Aluko and Chief Anthony Enahoro believe that SAP should be stopped. Alternatively, Dr. Kayode

Familoni of University of Lagos wants the government to liquidate the country's debt, and establish realistic exchange rate for the Naira. He told *Citizen* that government cannot continue to emphasise market forces because of its hard economic pains.

NACCIMA's Lawrence Adekunle wants Nigerians indulging those in government to curb their tastes for foreign goods because most of our foreign exchange go to importation of unnecessary foreign goods.

For now, economists believe that SAP may not redeem the economy while many Nigerians would continue to suffer. They anchor their anxiety on the fact that while government announced a relief package there were simultaneous increase in air fares, prices of tyres, parts and some other goods and services. These, they argued would neutralise any positive effect of government relief package. Besides, deregulation of the economy has never worked in any society and Nigeria cannot be an exemption.

By Tola Sunday with additional reports from Samson Ojo and Aluko Akinjide

Enugu traders Striking back

Irate traders, protesting Onoh's alleged excesses, bring business life to a virtual halt in Enugu

Political heavyweights are seldom objects of physical attack. Thursday, March 26, witnessed one such unusual attack in Enugu, and for two nightmarish days, business activities in the Enugu State capital virtually came for a standstill.

On that day, irate traders of Ogbete, the biggest market in the state, did the unthinkable by mak-

ing Chief Christian Onoh, a Second Republic governor, the butt of their anger. Onoh, the undisputed guardian angel of Enugu's over three million Wawas, lost property worth thousands of Naira when the protesting traders visited the sins of his son, Gabriel Onoh, on him.

The trouble started on Wednesday, March 25, when the traders took over the major streets of Enugu and

abruptly brought business activities to a standstill in many parts of the city. Their annoyance stemmed from a suspicion that Gabriel Onoh, chairman of Enugu North Local Government Council, was moving to divert the Holy Ghost Motor Park from the market into stalls. Suspicion was given added impetus when the traders arrived at the market on the morning of March 26 to find building blocks, which had apparently been transplanted under the cover of darkness, in the park. After ascertaining that not the traders knew anything about the blocks, officials of the Ogbete Market Association mobilised the traders to smash them to bits.

The demolition job over the market traders marched to the nearby government council headquarters where they were informed that

chairman was absent. From there the angry traders took to the major roads in the coal city, chanting war songs and blocking traffic. Campaign billboards, including the ones with which the local government chairman successfully sought re-election last year, were ripped down and burnt on the main roads. Refuse and old tyres, thrown in for full effect, gave added fury to the bonfires. The police, with Mr. Y.Y. Tarfa, the Commissioner of police for Enugu State in control, battled well into the evening to quell the riot.

The next day the battle became more personal, as the traders, took the fight to the senior Onoh. The old man's two-storey building along Silversmith Avenue, which houses his law chambers and business offices, was vandalised. Hundreds of crates of Reno brand of soft drink produced by Onoh's company at the outskirts of the town, were hurled out of the warehouses, the drinks drained, bottles broken and crates burnt. The nearby Akwata police station was razed and several anti-riot policemen injured. The police reacted with several tear gas canisters, making close to a hundred arrests.

Citizen learnt that even though

the traders had no evidence that the building blocks were deposited at the controversial Holy Ghost park

by either Gabriel Onoh or his agents, they decided to strike because they had for long suspected him of plan-



Onoh: what are his sins?

ning to build up the park. Besides, the local government chairman had for quite some time been in the bad books of the traders for his alleged excesses. His decision that the traders should pay for water, while coughing out more money for each stall, has made him unpopular with the traders. His other offence includes allegedly seeking to castrate the market and park unions by unilaterally removing their chairmen on flimsy ex-

cuses. As one of the traders said, "Onoh has been sticking his fingers into the eyes of the traders for a long time".

The local government chairman has, however, denied the allegation of high-handedness levelled against him by the traders. He expressed regret that the traders did not see it fit to talk with him before going on rampage.

Business had, however, returned to normal in the coal city, with the restive Ogbete market gradually crawling back to life. The Enugu North Local Government authorities and leaders of the traders have already gone into a dialogue, with a view to ironing out their differences.

By Isaac Umunna in Enugu

Their annoyance stemmed from a suspicion that Gabriel Onoh, chairman of Enugu North Local Government Council, was moving to convert the Holy Ghost Motor Park in front of the market into stalls.

AFRICA

South Africa

Supping with apartheid

The Nigerian government, ignoring ANC and PAC protests, hosts De Klerk

The South African aircraft conveying President Frederick de Klerk to Nigeria touched down at Abuja airport at 5.15 pm on Thursday. On hand to receive Mr. De Klerk and his wife, Marika, were General Ibrahim Babangida, Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, members of the AFRC,

often confusing information regarding De Klerk's visit. The earliest hints that the Babangida administration was about to undertake a major foreign policy change of gear were dropped in Lagos on Sunday when minister of External Affairs, Ike Nwachukwu briefed media executives. Major General Nwachukwu's

Nwachukwu also said that Nigerians are now free to do business in South Africa, thus ending a sacrosanct national policy that once resulted in the nationalisation of BP in Nigeria.

If the Nigerian government hedged, the South Africans were blunt; a statement released in Pretoria said De Klerk will visit Nigeria on Thursday and will hold talks with Babangida. The announcement caused consternation within the ranks of the liberation movement.

In Lagos, ANC Chief representative in Nigeria George Nene said "ANC is amazed to see from newspapers about the visit. We are happy about the way the whole matter has been handled." ANC headquarters in Johannesburg did not comment on the proposed visit, though its opinion could be speculated; last week when De Klerk visited Kenya, ANC leaders were so angry that they refused to read a goodwill message sent by their national conference by President Daniel Arap Moi. Nene said last week that Nigeria should await the installation of an interim government in South Africa widely expected to open in June.

The Pan African

Congress, PAC also frowned on the visit. Reggie Kumalo, its acting representative in Lagos, said "Regrettable, we feel it is premature to stage for this high level of contact."

The liberation movement allies in Nigeria also frowned on De Klerk's visit. Speaking for the



"Sovereignty" is it?

ministers and the civilian governors of Kwara, Kogi, Niger, Plateau and Kaduna states. The army fired 21 guns to salute the visitor, who also received a bouquet of flowers and inspected a guard of honour mounted by the Brigade of Guards.

The impressive airport ceremony culminated several days of

briefing was not categorical; he said the government was ready to "open her doors to whoever is working towards the elimination of apartheid." One such person known to be eager to visit Nigeria is President De Klerk, who wishes to break out of his country's international isolation invited by its policies of apartheid.



Babangida, Marike and Mariam inspecting the guards of honour

ria — ANC Friendship and Cultural Association, NAFCA, John Odah said the visit contradicts statements made at the UN by Nigeria's permanent representative, Ibrahim Gambari, calling for the continuation of international sanctions until apartheid is totally dismantled. "Hosting De Klerk at a time when none of the preconditions for the admission of South Africa into the community of nations has been met," Odah said, "only goes to strengthen the forces of apartheid and weaken the liberation movements." NAFCA feared that reaching out to embrace De Klerk, such as Nigeria did, might enable the white leader to portray the ANC as intransigent at the CODESA. Other Nigerians knowledgeable in the matter also took a dim view of government's action. Sully Abu, for many years *The Guardian's* correspondent in Southern Africa, described the visit as "premature." Abu said "the South African situation is yet to pass the litmus test of irreversibility." He also accused the federal government of wrecking the OAU's "consensual approach to major questions" by going it alone in embracing De Klerk.

The public debate over the visit peaked on Thursday, the day of De Klerk's arrival, when all the major newspapers took positions for and

against it. The liberal *Guardian* opposed the visit; "now that (it) has become a *fait accompli*," the paper said, "the least that the Nigerian government can do is to tell the leader of the apartheid regime the truth about the

In nearly 20 years as apartheid's foreign minister, Botha had visited several countries, but last week he said the trip to Nigeria was the most important in his career. The BBC also thought so, arguing that the visit, coming as it did while Babangida is OAU chairman, effectively ends the international campaign for isolation.

feeling of Nigerians." This "truth" is that "nothing short of majority rule is acceptable".

The country's leading daily, *National Concord*, urged that "a handshake, not an embrace" should be accorded De Klerk. It said the visit "must be regarded as a first handshake, not as an all-time embrace."

The government's own newspapers bent over backwards to welcome the visit. The *New Nigerian* argued that "De Klerk is not just another South African leader. He came to power to bury apartheid and definitely not to praise it." Still, the paper said "the visit now can only be meaningful if the fact can be

pressed home to De Klerk that impressive as his efforts have been, apartheid must be dismantled in its totality." The *Daily Times* argued that South Africa's racial diversity is comparable to Nigeria's ethnic diversity; it also drew a parallel between Nigeria's transition to civil rule and South Africa's transition to majority rule. At the end of the tepid editorial, the *Daily Times* said "we welcome De Klerk to Nigeria." NTA's network television also went out of its way to justify the visit, enumerating various stages of De Klerk's reform process.

A day before De Klerk arrived, his foreign minister, Roelof "Pik" Botha flew into Abuja and the next day held talks with Major General Nwachukwu. In nearly 20 years as apartheid's foreign minister, Botha had visited several countries, but last week he said the trip to Nigeria was the most important in his career. The BBC also thought so, arguing that the visit, coming as it did

while Babangida is OAU chairman, effectively ends the international campaign for isolation. Nwachukwu tried to deflect criticisms by turning attention back at South Africa; he said his talks with Botha was an opportunity to "address pressing issues in South Africa."

On Thursday evening, President Babangida said at a banquet in honour of De Klerk that the South African president is "a man Africa can trust." Thus assured, the two leaders were expected to hold bilateral talks on Friday before De Klerk departed for home.

By Mahmood Jega

WORLD

Britain

A Major victory

The Tories are jubilant in a fourth consecutive victory, while Labour snarls in defeat

Torbay constituency in south-west England on the night of April 9, kept its track record as the first to declare its result of a general election. Thursday night's was its third record first.

At exactly 11.11 pm (Nigerian time), the returning officer declared Rupert William Simon Allison, winner of this "safe conservative seat", with 28,624 votes. The Labour candidate came a distant third, with 5,503 votes after the Liberal Democrat Sanders, who polled 22,624. A standing ovation greeted Allison's victory, though his majority vote went down from 9,000 in 1987 to slightly over 6,000.

Mr. Allison's success was to presage what the BBC's early dawn news said was "an astonishing victory" for Prime Minister John Major's Conservatives. With just few votes yet to come in at press time it was clear that a majority of British voters had decided to put their faith in the devil they knew well, rather than the one they had forgotten.

With almost all the results in, the ruling party may have lost its 89-seat majority in the old parliament but they would still have a working majority of some 17 seats, enough for them to form a government on their own. The Tory victory appears to have confounded political pundits, polsters and perhaps the Conservatives themselves.

Since the election campaign began almost a month ago, poll after poll had put Labour led by Neil Kinnock consistently ahead of the Conservatives. However, few days to the polls the latter's campaign appeared to have been suddenly rein-

vigorated. A BBC exit poll conducted on the eve of the election predicted for Mr. Major and his fellow Conservatives 305 of the 651 seats in the new House of Commons. Another exit poll conducted for ITV gave them 301 seats. Both polls allowed for a 15-seat margin, which could go either way.

With this victory, the Conservatives have secured a fourth consecutive five-year term, a run begun by former prime minister Margaret Thatcher in 1979. Their success, in many ways a personal triumph for Mr. Major, has proved history and Washington's *Time* magazine wrong. It reported March 23 that "Never since the 1880s has a British party won four consecutive terms". To the magazine, the prospects were not too good for the Conservatives.

Indeed, victory was considered nearly impossible for the Conservatives to pull off, what with their very dismal economic performance. Their inability to use their 13 years in office to pull Britain out of its worst recession since the global depression of the 1930s was not a record a party would want to take into an election.

To be sure, even in victory the Conservatives suffered big losses, losing ground to the opposition Labour Party in many parts of the country. Their chairman, Chris Patten, lost his seat, so did Lynda Chalker, a senior Tory minister and many others. But for the moment, what matters to Mr. Major is that he and his party have another five years "to put into place those policies we set out in our manifestoes, those things for our future, that nature of



Major: a come back

society that we have set out to create and that standing in the world that we wish to sustain and build on."

What was Major's "moment of triumph," was easily Kinnock's moment of demoralising defeat, perpetuating his party's 13 years in opposition. He did everything that could possibly be done to make his party, if not himself, electable. He had eased Labour away from its erstwhile left-of-centre position by abandoning its former policies of unilateral nuclear disarmament, nationalisation of important industries and opposition to British membership in the European Community.

Those policy changes, said one political commentator, made Labour "such a formidable challenger" to one that hoped earnestly for victory on April 9. The hurdle in the path of victory, however, some observers pointed out, was the man who engineered those policy changes. He was thought to be "ruthless," "opportunistic" and lacking leadership.



Kinnock: hope dashed

ship qualities. Before April 9, his popularity rating was put at 35% to Major's 55%.

However, Labour did take some seats off the Conservatives. The Liberal Democrats, led by Paddy Ashdown did not do as well as had been expected.

The Liberal Democrats campaigned for proportional representation in parliament, a drastic departure from the present electoral system which distributes seats on the basis of a simple majority win. Mr.

Ashdown thought it unfair and, in its place, he wanted seats distributed on the strength of votes scored.

He had hoped that in the event of a hung parliament this party would become a power broker, holding the balance of power. He would then use his electoral platform as a condition for joining either of the two dominant party in a coalition government. The result, however pulled the rug from under him.

Mr. Kinnock in admitting defeat, put on a bold face. Speaking in

a subdued tone, he declared that he was "strongly disappointed", not for himself, but for "many people of our country who deserved better than they have got on the night of April 9, 1992". He said "we will work to ensure that the day will come when with a Labour government the country will get better in its spirit, in its souls and its fortunes."

By Tawey Zakka
with agency reports

Iran

Gulf War III?

Those who do not remember the history of battles are condemned to repeat them; and in this case the repeat performance may have begun Saturday April 4. That was the day when, according to Iran, units of the outlawed Mujahideen al-Khalq Organisation, MKO, attacked two villages in western Iran killing four civilians and wounding seven more and taking many others hostages.

The following day Iranian fighter planes retaliated. According to the MKO, 12 Iran Air Force F-4 bombers made five raids against its base near the Iraqi town of Ashraf to the north-east of Baghdad.

The following day Tuesday April 7, the battle continued, but this time in European and North American capitals. Demonstrators claims to be members of the MKO in Paris, London, New York, Ottawa, Bonn, Hamburg, Stockholm, Oslo and The Hague surrounded Iranian diplomatic missions chanting and scrawling anti-government slogans. In Paris, they broke embassy doors and windows and at Iran's UN mission sensitive equipment were destroyed. In Ottawa, staffers were manhandled while demonstrators carted away documents and boxes. Many arrests were made.

Meanwhile, Iraq protested the Iranian raid and sent appeal to the Arab League and the Organisation of Islamic Conference. Iran defended its action describing it as an act of self defence.

The fight between Iran and MKO is an old one. Back at the dawn of the Islamic Revolution, the Mujahideen al-Khalq, more popularly known in Iran as *Munafiqeen* (Arabic for counter-revolutionary hypocrites) had, along with the more shadowy *Furqan*, (the criterion) the motor bike assassins, unleashed a wave of urban terror directed at the *Ulama* class, the most visible representatives of the new Islamic order.

They had admitted to the kill-

ing of Iran's leading scholars including Ayatollahi Murtaza Mutahhari, widely regarded as the greatest philosopher in Iran and one of the leading ideologues of the Islamic Revolution. Others who fell to their bullets or bombs included Ayatollahi Muhammed Hussein Beherhti, along with the entire leadership of the Islamic Republican Party and host of Friday prayer leaders in several Iranian cities.

The MKO, which was supposed to be Marxist, had known links with Americas' CIA and French intelligence community, and for a long time Paris, where its leader Masoud Rajavi lived, served as the group's headquarters. When Abul Hassan Bani Sadr, Iran's first elected post-revolution leader, was dismissed it was to Paris that he returned to join forces with Rajavi, who was later to marry and divorce Bani Sadr's daughter.

Following the 1988 rapprochement between Iran and France, Rajavi, along with MKO's leadership, was expelled from France and he settled in Iraq, then at war with Iran. Since then not much was heard from him or the MKO. The question now is whether this skirmish is the prelude that comes before the real thing. Fearing this, the security Council of the UN expressed concern over the dangerous situation and the office of the Secretary-General undertook to take steps to avoid a further escalation of the situation.

By Adamu Adamu with
agency reports



Rafsanjani, Iranian president



KABIRU YUSUF

decided that its tinkering with "market forces", has not gone far enough, and instructed the Central Bank to let the market alone decide the exchange rate of the Naira. The result was predictable. Those who must exchange Naira for dollar (including Indian and Lebanese 'bizmen') still bought it at the new rate, but manufacturers and market

it belonged. The management of foreign exchange market by federal government "is a failure which had worsened the economic plight of Nigeria". The workers they are now the poorest paid in the world, and called on the government "to introduce without delay realistic living wage that would match the rate of inflation in the country".

Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) members, are now locked in marathon negotiations with the ministry of education over improved wages. The USS paid to university teachers was introduced a decade ago. It has long ceased to be realistic, even before the recent devaluation of the Naira. Will the government agree to boost the pay of university teachers in real terms, and face similar demands from other sectors? Or will it settle for a token increase and face unrest from both staff and students in the campuses?

It is now no use preaching patriotism to anyone. People are hurting and they can see that while they tighten their belts tightened, some Nigerians are exploding at mid-section. Also government is carrying on, it has no care in the world. As Professor Sam Aluko observed last week, "if you go to Lagos now, cannot find five ministers on the street. They are all running around world like locusts." Vice-President Augustus Aikhomu just returned from Geneva where he tried to solve the crisis in Liberia. President Babangida, inexplicably hosted President Frederick de Klerk so he can be "briefed directly on South African situation".

I say, forget Liberia, South Africa and the OAU. Or at least them on the second rung of priority. We have an economic emergency at home. Stop the donations, the junkets and other games. Address the people on what touches them the most. Or face their wrath.

Economic emergency!

We are in dire straits, but it seems that in his splendid isolation at Abuja, President Ibrahim Babangida is not aware of this. One does not have to quote back his recent *Daily Times* interview at him, to prove this, especially as he did not mean to create the impression that things are adrift. It is not so much what our leaders say, it is what they do, that reinforces the feeling they are losing the initiative. Worse, they do not know this. Practiced palace courtiers shield them from "bad news", while making sure that the whispering campaign that only Babangida can save Nigeria reaches his ears. Adulation leads to delusion, and if care is not taken, to disaster.

Less than nine months to the end of his tenure, a lame-duck president should leave things as they are, so that his successor is not saddled with the consequences of major policy initiatives. This the president seems incapable of doing. Last year, in a major political restructuring on the eve of governorship elections, the government created nine new states and 130 local government areas. The political elites quickly adjusted to the new reality; state assembly and governorship elections have miraculously been held and won. The elections tribunals have disposed of most of the controversial cases in a swift and effective manner.

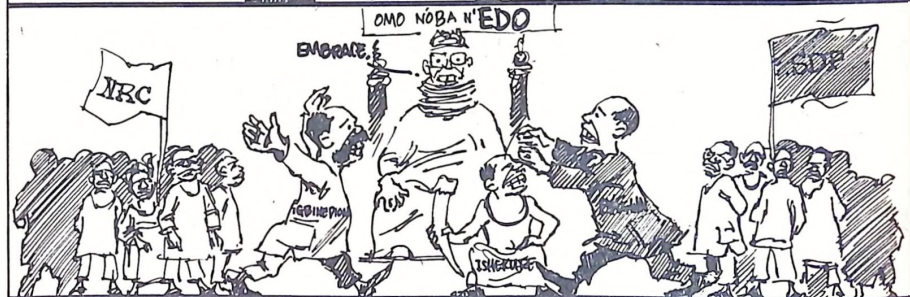
Last month the government

women increased their prices and inflation shot to intolerable levels. Government rushed in a new SAP-relief package, which like all fire-brigade measures come too little too late. The citizenry is becoming agitated. In Kano, the police raided a market to force traders to cut prices of their goods. Instead there was a near-riot and looting of goods. Police Commissioner Abdulkadir Shehu, said later, that mobile police and detectives will continue to man strategic positions in the city in anticipation of riots over price hikes by

**Stop the donations,
foreign junkets and
other games. Address
the people on what
touches them the most.
Or face their wrath.**

traders! Talk about blaming the victim!!

Meanwhile, a report in the *Vanguard* newspaper, said that 13 industrial unions have asked the federal government for a new minimum wage. It took the NLC years to win a new minimum wage, with a base of 250 Naira but at a stroke, the devaluation of the Naira has made this meaningless for millions of workers. As the 13 unions argued, real wages in the country have collapsed and they put the blame where



PRIVATE EYE

Pilgrims' progress

A reader sent me a letter in which he explained at length why Nigerians should not persist in villifying Nigeria Airways, its touts, whoops, staff etc. Our other readers, I believe, should share in the joy of this lonely supporter of the former flying elephant.

The letter read: "I was among those who desired to perform the lesser Hajj, *Umra*, from the Aminu Kano International Airport, but was prevented from doing so by the callousness of Nigeria Airways. A great number of those who had bought tickets did not perform the *Umra* because a boarding pass which is free, went on sale for 3,000 Naira.

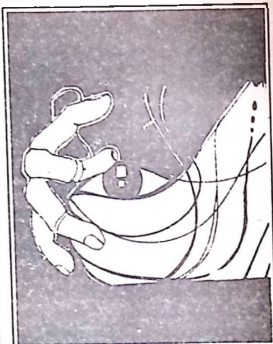
"I discovered to my great cost that the staff of Nigeria Airways have planted their agents to sell the boarding pass. After several complaints, government stepped in and sent some of the staff on compulsory leave. We all thanked government, but it turned out to be a temporary relief. The staff that replaced the rodents that ate through our pockets were even more vicious.

"On March 29, a plane returning from Jedda dropped some passengers and headed for Lagos. By the time it returned, boarding passes had been sold to well-placed passengers, so the poor ones like me

(about 2,000) were subjected to all sorts of demeaning checks by Customs and Immigration staff to buy time for the moneybag passengers to get on board. The condition at the checking counter was like a Gestapo concentration camp. There was no place to stand a broomstick, let alone a broom! We were kept there from 2pm to midnight, then all hell broke loose. Passengers were asked to board the plane. People were beaten up, but the worst was yet to come. In the stampede, you could hear cries of "my head, my legs, my son". A child was yanked from its mother's back and trampled to death. An elderly passenger's ribs were cracked. He was rushed to hospital where he died.

"On getting inside the plane, we discovered that it was already full! Those who were able to secure the few seats available were rudely asked to vacate it for the wealthy ones. After a while, the pilot ordered the door of the plane shut. The villagers, the weak, the poor and the innocent were left stranded.

"Those who were desperate to perform the *Umra* were duped by airport staff who collected between 1,000 to 2,000 Naira with a promise to secure a seat for them. My calculations showed that the officials must have made at least 150,000 Naira on



a single flight.

"To add salt to injury, when Nigerians were being denied a seat on the plane, about 20 foreigners from Cameroun and Benin Republic with Nigerian passports were allowed a safe passage on the plane. You don't need to be told they were foreigners because they boldly spoke French or their local languages. Some were even bolder; they said it aloud that they were not Nigerians, that they knew how much they spent to obtain our passports and the precious boarding pass."

The reader's letter showed that he had sent his observations to the minister of transport and the station manager at Kano. I will advise both of them to ignore him and instead take *Sevarcid's Law*. It states that the chief cause of problems is solutions!

Political FOC

NEC has truly clapped a clapper on the necks of those aspiring to be in the National Assembly. If you remember, nobody seemed to know when state legislators were elected to state assemblies because attention had focussed on the most plum office - governorship. We just saw them there. The state legislators, mostly colourless men and women anyway, rode on the back of the governorship elections,

as it were, to get to where they are without spending a Kobo even on posters.

If you ask me, that's why the legislators had to immediately start breaking the mace on each others' heads, paralyse activities at the assembly, sack office holders, and generally stand the House Standing Order on its head to attract any attention at all.

Well, NEC is not having all that

with the national assembly elections. There will be no political FOC. It has distanced it from the presidential primaries so that not only the mace is preserved, until another military regime takes over, but to get the aspirants to share their good fortune with printers, landlords, carpenters, thugs and sticky-fingered government and electoral officials.

There is a paradox in all this, but it is Abilene's, not mine. It says that people in groups tend to agree on courses of action which, as individuals, they know are stupid!

POETS' NEST

The African soldier

Our poets look at the place of the soldier in modern times but deal with the dilemma of the African soldier who, having tasted power via coups, lacks the will to wash his hands off the business of government and return to the barracks permanently.

Lone soldier

Dressed in full battle regalia
At attention you stand
Your gun by your side
You have climbed the steps
And reached the podium
But to come down
From your lofty height
You dare not
Where, O soldier,
Lies your much-vaunted power?
Twenty four hours each day
On duty you are
Battling furiously
To maintain the status quo
Lonely giant made of clay
What would you do
If trouble broke out?

Isaac Munna

Active

When our guns shout
To silence the voice of oppression
And the applauding tyranny
They grow quiet
Banished to oblivion
When our boots
Ka—ka—kaed athundering
And khaki ours shine
In an effulgent light,
Poised our bayonets erect
Like charging rhino's horn
and our tanks' trot
With stout determination
towards enemy trenches
and artillery guns thundered
Shells liquidating corrupted souls
Of incorrigible stature
Smashing, exterminating vice,
vileness
Crushing corruption's vain structure

And missiles', rockets'
Lightening like strike
at heart of despotism
Jets' ours roars and zooms warwards
With rockets missiles
In their quiver wings
Dodging ack-ack
Venomed serpent spits
And dogfighting dribbles
Knocking down enemy
hunting birds of prey
surface to surface
Air to surface
Air to air

Target: Imperial—neocolonial ideal
Kabiru Abubakar Muhammad

Giant in the sun

Giant — Giant quotes the small
For some a second home
Home away from home
Earthly heavens
Some use the function of
Their eyes to discover a destination.
Some use the inner prophecy of
Their mind to be among the inhabitants

This fauna sovereignty herein
Lives habitat and inhabitant,
Each admires habitation
Public house, public club
Hospitality

Test a jam world in the game
On a sunny lusty day all and
Sunday converge on religious feast
And art to please the guest
Fragment of our civilisation to blend
He who kills mother natural is
an enemy of the society
Flowery of inn. Even house wave
house
Quotes tradition.

Ahmed Ladan

A poet dreams

Your bed-chamber masked
You unmasked your secreted
thoughts



And sang songs
As a wind whistled through the
willows

In your dream
You were consort to Queen Amina,
or Emotan
Or beside Sundiata, or Shaka
As each went conquering, annexing;
And supped with griots
Whom your heart did answer
The skillful plucking of their strings

In your dream
You slew the monster
That terrorized the neighbourhoods
And freed the people from his shackles
And dreamed with them in their
freedom

After the feats
Your dreams caught
on the tips of the potters' fingers
on the hands of the hewers of wood
in the throats of the gariots
in the lungs of the flutists
in the will of the warriors
in the farmers' sinews

You were there when the earth began
Masked in your bed-chamber, but
communing
Your secreted thoughts in dreams
Unmasked — you were awake!

Hyeladzira Shaffa

Anguwar Jatau

In limbo

Residents of Anguwar Jatau protest new land rates; Railway Corporation sticks to its guns

Before Pa Gomina Adeshina finally retired in 1972 from Nigerian Railway Corporation, NRC, after 36 years, he had planned to settle down at Anguwar Jatau village or Down Quarters Kaduna as it is popularly known, for the simple reason that this was the place he knew best as home. From his meagre salary he was able to build a modest two bed room mud house for members of his family.

Anguwar Jatau, a sprawling village located in Kaduna South, has over the years become home to thousands of people many of them retired railway workers. This equalled settlement mainly built of mud-bricks stands in sharp contrast to the outlining and imposing cold and neat block of flats that house the railway workers.

Here, tap water is non-existent and men rely mainly on well water or scramble for water from the railway quarters. What the village enjoys is constant supply of electricity. Talk of drainage is a misnomer because of its unplanned pattern — blackish water meanders endlessly through the village.

Until lately, default in payment of land rates has been unheard of. Recent developments however indicate that the residents are not prepared to stomach what they term naked exploitation and extortion anymore. Late last month, the 25,000 strong residents through their development association took their case to the state and federal governments urging them to pre-vent the management of the rail-

way corporation to rescind the increase on ground rents.

The Anguwar Jatau Development Association of which Pa Gomina Adeshina is chairman, expressed dissatisfaction with the new corporation's ground rents. It said it could not understand why a mud building of about six rooms should attract between 600 and 864 Naira per annum as ground rent. The association said although the payment of annuity to the corporation was nothing new it did not complain in the past because the charges were nominal.

The association's chairman then re-emphasized the association's position rejecting the new increase in its entirety and warned that any attempt by the "NRC officials and their agents" to eject them would be stiffly resisted.

Members of the association started noticing the arbitrary increase the first time in 1983. At the



Pa Adeshina: "we shall resist"

time, some occupants were asked to pay between 300 to 500 Naira, which many were unable to comply with. Then came 1989, and the corporation made another increase resulting in the rent going up as high as 1,000 Naira.

The association was then asked to make representation to the management of the corporation in Lagos. In recent letters to the Kaduna State government and the management of the corporation dated February 17, 1988, the association complained that its members were un-

able to pay the new rates and asked for a review. Management of the corporation on its part wrote promising to review any 'unjustifiable or arbitrary fixed temporary occupation licence fees,' advising the residents to continue paying the old rate. The letter was signed by J. N. Ukoh.

The situation however took a new turn when early this year, a new tenement rate was communicated to the members of the association in one of the letters in possession of *Citizen* dated 30th December, 1991 and addressed to one Musa Mamman entitled Rent Review on temporary occupation of Railway land at Down Quarters, Kaduna South, a Lagos firm of estate surveyors and valuers, Eku Makama Etudo and Co. wrote claiming that they have been "appointed managing agents of all Nigerian Railway properties." It went further, "the rent on the above property you occupy was (recently) reviewed at 929 Naira per annum, and advised that you let us have your cheque — covering rent for the period 1st January, to 31st December, 1992." The letter was signed by one Bamidele Alo.

This indeed was the last straw which most of the residents described as the latest ploy by the corporation to take over their land.

The resident district manager in Zaria, Alhaji Abdul Abubakar has however blamed it on apparent misunderstanding by the residents on their status, stressing that the letter of allocation signed by tenants specifically stated that the NRC reserved the right to review its rent at anytime.

In what may appear to be a life saver for the beleaguered tenants, Alhaji Abubakar disclosed that the corporation is seriously considering converting the squatters to temporary occupants. This is a welcome development for the 25,000 residents whose fate appear now to be in limbo.

By Abu Momoh

Folktales

From the countryside

Dokun Abioye's comic magazine, *Folktales* recaptures moonlight stories for children and adults alike in a refreshing manner

In the villages, it is a common occurrence. Children gathered in droves listening to stories spun by adults. Most of the stories bothering on the fantastic find the children gaping and always asking for more. Beyond the sheer allure of these stories, however, are lessons which the children are usually asked to draw at the end of each. With this, a strong moral base is fashioned for the children. Unfortunately, as migration to the cities began, so disappeared this culture and with it an erosion of moral rectitude. The pornographic magazines such as *Ikebe Super*, *Lolo* and others which are within the easy reach of children only made matters worse.

It is therefore a welcome relief, that Dokun Abioye, a 1983 graduate of Yaba College of Technology, who studied graphic arts with a bias for illustration, is coming out with *Folktales* to "uplift the moral standard of the youth" at this point in time. Envisaged a monthly, the comic magazine will be drawing from the pool of village folk stories.

The first offering, "Errand for the King" is a simple story of disobedience and its attendant effect. No one is supposed to eat the new yam until the festival holds. Tortoise, a wily animal that stalks humankind in most African folklore, breaks this law. In punishment, he is sent to fetch from the dreaded forest beyond Ipetuland, the elusive flower of wisdom. His adventure, lavishly illustrated, forms the core of the story—with a lot of humour injected to maintain fluidity. The town crier, asking the people to spread his message, tells them: "The domestic rat should link his bush rats friends".

Explaining why he broke the laws of the land, tortoise says to the king: "The town crier compounded my problem when he knocked at my door and 'Oshiki' soup came through my nose". The chief of Ipetuland whose daughter's marriage cere-

And asking his wife not to worry about his impending journey, tortoise reassures "When I come back, I'll not eat pounded yam again..."

Infact, the cover illustration is an insight into the racy 20 page comic. The king, eyes popping sits majestically on his throne, as an adviser bites his fingers while the aides stare mouth agape at tortoise, arms outstretched, deliberately commanding the king! Having brought the flower of wisdom, his simple request is for the king to go get him his shirt kept in his custody while embarking on his journey!



Abioye: recapturing the past

This in counter to the king's decree that he now embark on another trip to get "a monkey with three tails, alive" unless tortoise has an errand for him!

"Errand" drips with suspense, and is a must read for all who have lost touch with village life. It vividly recaptures its serenity and more.

With a cover price of 10 Naira, *Folktales*, which is targeted at every youth of African descent should be able to be at every home. "Our ancestors started folktales because they wanted to imbibe morality in the youths. I

Dokun Abioye is coming out with *Folktales* to "uplift the moral standard of the youth" at this point in time.

mony had to be stopped four times because of a rampaging snake, refers to it as "that hopeless snake".

think this should be maintained, the publisher, Dokun says. And why not?

Oji Onoko

SPORTS

Pro-league

Ishola, the goal monger

Ranchers Bees goal merchant and the current top scorer in the league says he will remain unstoppable.

He is bad news to defenders and goal tenders whenever he is starring for his club.

His name never caught anybody's fancy or stirred up any special admiration among the teeming followers of the king of sports, until some weeks into this year's football league. But six weeks after the 1992 soccer season rolled off, he has created so much sensation that his name has become part of the tale of the division one professional league matches that are being decided in different playing pitches across the country every weekend.

Enter Ishola Babatunde, the fleet footed Ranchers Bees striker who is currently the hottest name in the on-going premier division of the professional league. The nimble-footed, shy-looking player is on top of the scorers-chart with six goals six weeks into the league, an average of one goal per match. But what makes Babatunde's performance spectacular and outstanding was not the fact that he scored six goals in six matches, but the fact that his next rival for the highest goal scorer award in pro-league division one has just two goals to his credit.

The 27 year old player however looks far younger than his professed age, and for those who have not seen him, he does not fit into the muscular, thick-set image that might have been popping in the mind-eyes following his current sensational exploits. He is slim built, but what he lacks in physique he makes up for in speed and abundant football skills. A man of many years' experience in football, he is

not only sleeky and skillful with the ball, he operates in the wings and the midfield with the ease and comfort of an eel in the water. And what is more, he is always at the right places when it matters most and has little problem converting set-pieces



Ishola: shooting direct and hard

that have proved daunting task to many a striker.

But Babatunde's marvellous outing in the on-going football season does not just come out of the blues; it is not a lucky break either. In an interview with *Citizen*, Babatunde attributed his peak performance to the 11 year experience that had seen him playing for Mighty Jets of Jos, IICC (now 3SC) of Ibadan, J.I.B Rocks of Jos, El-Kanemi of Borno, Highlanders of Jos and finally to Ranchers Bees of Kaduna where he is spending his third year. But the utility player says that his experience of many years and natural football skills

are just coming to bloom because he is at peace with himself and he feels at home in Ranchers Bees, where he is currently the team captain.

Football followers may not have seen anything yet from the lethal boot of division one top scorer, and in fact goal keepers and defenders trying to stop this goal scoring machine may never realise their dreams by the time the season ends. Babatunde says about one trying to mark him out of any match is labouring in vain.

"I don't believe I can be marked out of any match by defenders. I believe I can play well and score against any club", he said adding that constant threats by the opposing teams' defenders does not mean a thing to him. "Any time we are going to the field for a match people will be saying that today, we will mark you out or that they will do this or that, but I don't believe them"

The Ranchers Bees skipper whose ambition is to cut a popular image within and outside the country with his football exploits, says that the secret of becoming a good footballer is to train hard, be in good physical condition and be at peace with yourself. "Football is no magic. If you want to be a good player, you have to work hard, train hard and keep yourself fit always."

The Jos-born player also disclosed that his best is yet to come. He is keeping it until he has a shot at the national team, the Super Eagles. If given a call to play in the national team, "I won't have much problem there. I believe I will do better than I am doing now in the national team". But Ishola Babatunde, who wants to take his club to capture both state and national football honours this year, said his goal scoring exploits would not have been possible without the cooperation of his team mates. "Football is a team work. If I can't score on my own effort, my team mates will create chances for me to score or I will create chances for someone else to score".

Sports development

Yola's blueprint for ABS

Abba Yola promises to restore the lost glory of Ahmadu Bello Stadium

The long period of neglect that Ahmadu Bello Stadium (ABS), Kaduna has been going through since it was closed down for renovation in 1987 and stripped of its aesthetic beauty as one of the best stadias in the country may soon come to an end.

The new zonal co-ordinator of the National Sports Commission zone six, Alhaji Abba Abdullahi

pearance in a matter of weeks.

Some of the immediate facilities that the new zone six co-ordinator promised to either put in place or renovate to save lives and property in the stadium include the resuscitation of two of the five exit gates which are not functioning at the moment, the provision of manual score board, reserve benches at mainbowl, adequate

watering of the pitch and the renovation of the dressing rooms which are presently in bad shape.

The former zone seven co-ordinator, disclosed that his vision is to restore the

lost glory of ABS "by using what we have to get what we want". But his plan to restore ABS to first class stadium that used to be a bustling venue for many important national and international sporting competitions is not going to depend entirely on the NSC headquarters in Lagos. "We will try as much as possible from the little subvention and from the little revenue we are getting out of this place to provide the basic facilities that will put ABS back to a befitting standard". He also expressed optimism that NSC which has the mandate to put all the stadia pencilled down for the 1995 junior world cup in line with FIFA's standard would soon begin a major work on ABS.

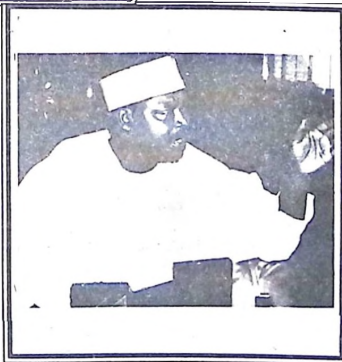
Alhaji Abba Yola also has a blueprint with which he hopes to elevate sports to a greater height in zone six which comprises of Kaduna, Kano, Katsina and Jigawa states. He told sports writers that while he would try as much as possible to improve on the achievement of the former zonal co-ordinator, he would try to break a new ground by decentralising the sporting programmes of the zone so as to reach the grassroots effectively. He said that the zone will still vigorously carry out such programmes as coaching clinics, workshops and seminars to speed up sports development at the grassroots but they will be arranged in such a way that "each state will run its own programmes while the zone will provide the fund and supervise the exercise". The zone

six co-ordinator also promised to work hand in hand with states directors of sports so as to ensure that the zonal sports programmes continue to record impressive success. "I will have to involve all the four states directors of sports, because I believe that without their cooperation and that of the local government chairmen, we will not achieve any meaningful success as far as sports developments at the grassroots level is concerned".



Yola: a new look ABS

Yola, has promised to ensure that the stadium which is currently serving as the headquarters of the zone and is being used as venue of the professional and amateur league matches of clubs based in Kaduna, is provided with adequate facilities and security befitting its status. Alhaji Abba Yola, who took over from Malam Tijjani Yusuf, who has been transferred to NSC headquarters in Lagos, told sports writers in a press briefing last week that ABS, which is one of the five stadias being proposed for the hosting of the 1995 junior World Cup, would start wearing a befitting ap-



Akinyele: NSC chairman

By Joe Olajuwon

ADAMU ADAMU S

DEFINITIONS
IN HUMOUR

Rough-free

According to Mohammad Bomo — a sports enthusiast of no mean sitting, yeah, he normally begins and finishes his sports in an armchair — a referee is actually a *rough-free*, someone free to rough it on others. He likes to watch — soccer, tennis, and do video wake-keeping *sucker, ten-knees, digital supplication*.

In the following definitions, adapted from *10,000 Jokes*, you are the *rough free*. Each is a humorous, but also serious and even accurate, look at some professions that have now assumed importance — unfortunately.

Police — A man who was wanted by the police had been photographed in six different positions and the pictures were circulated among the police.

A few days later the DPO in a local government headquarters wrote the Zonal AIG saying:

"I have received the pictures of the six criminals whose capture is desired. I have already arrested five of them; the sixth is under observation and will soon be apprehended."

Moral — The police in that local government are alert.

Doctor — A doctor, who had taken up as his speciality the treatment of skin diseases, was asked by a friend how he happened to select that branch of medicine.

"There were three perfectly good reasons," replied the physician.

"My patients never get me out of bed at night; they never die" and

holding onto your brother so tight for, sonny?" said one of them.

"So that he won't join the army," the youngster replied without blinking an eye.

Moral — This proves that a donkey has nothing to learn in the army.

Editor — Editor: So you wish a position as a proof reader?

Applicant: Yes, sir.

Editor: Do you understand the requirements of this responsible position?

Applicant: Perfectly sir. Whenever you make any mistakes in the paper, just blame them on me, and I'll never say a word."

Moral — The editor is always *write*.

Lawyer — They had reached a juncture in the trial when the judge advised the lawyer to withdraw his client and give him the benefit of the best advice he would think of.

After fifteen minutes the lawyer returned to the court room without his client.

"Where's the prisoner at the bar?" asked the judge.

"He's skipped," replied the lawyer. "I told him to run away, that's the best advice I could give him."

Moral — Lawyers are good advisers.

Armed Robber — A visitor to a prison struck up a conversation with Anini.

Visitor: And you always did your daring robberies single-handedly? Why didn't you have a pal?

Anini: Well, sir, I was afraid he

they never get well."

Moral — This story has only *immoral*.

Army — A small boy, leading a donkey, passed by an army camp. A couple of soldiers wanted to have some fun with the kid.

"What are you

might turn out to be dishonest.
Moral — You need honest companions even if you are not. Hal hall!

Nursery Whenever I asked my kid what they taught him at his nursery school, he would first ask me why I couldn't pronounce it properly. I always say *nurse-ry* while he always says it is *noz-ry* — a very good indication of what is happening to the kids nowadays.

Nursery

Nursery — A zoo where they keep *nurses*, and children are taken each morning to have a good view.

Also known as *noisery*, where they teach children to make noise.

Primary — *Pry-marry*. Used to be a two stage affair. You *pry* — and then you *marry*. Now they only teach you the first part and prevent the second.

Now meet Johnny, an innocent, funny, nursery school pupil, let's assume, in an upper middle-class New York family, the type that will fret if you hold a fork in your right hand.

Irate Mother (at dinner) — Johnny! I wish you'd stop reaching for things. Haven't you a tongue?
Johnny — Yes, mother, but my arm's longer.

Teacher — Johnny, can you tell me how iron was discovered?
Johnny — I hear Dad say yesterday that they *smelt* it.

Teacher — I have went. That's wrong, isn't it?
Johnny — Yes, Ma'am.
Teacher — Why is it wrong?
Johnny — Because you ain't went yet.

"What is cowhide chiefly used for?" the teacher asked.
Johnny raised his hand. "I know, ma'am. To keep the cow together," was the reply.

Teacher — Johnny, why don't you wash your face? I can see what you had for breakfast this morning.
Johnny — What was it?
Teacher — Eggs.
Johnny — Wrong, teacher. That was yesterday.



Heisthesecretary-general, Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), an alliance of 14 industrial unions with membership that runs into several millions. The tough talking 37 year old labour leader, Jay Naidoo, was in Ni-

geria recently to attend the 15th general council of the Congress of the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) that held at Abuja. Said he on the eve of the referendum in South Africa: "There would be unprecedented bloodbath and mass action throughout South Africa in the months ahead, unless the white minority chose the road of peace by pitching their tent on the side of reforms." Thankfully, they did just that by a massive yes vote to President Frederick de Klerk's new deal.

Barely two months ago, he was the helmsman at the United Bank for Africa, one of the big three... A position he held for two years. Now, he is at the first among them, First Bank of Nigeria as managing director and chief executive. For **Joseph Oladele Sanusi**, 54, who trained at South West London College and Kingston College of Technology (1961-65), holding the professional appellation of FCCA, FCA and FCIB, banking has always been in the big league. Between 1988 — 1990, he was deputy governor, domestic, monetary and banking policy, Central Bank. Before this he had served as executive director, Se-

curities and Exchange Commission (1978); deputy general manager (Finance), First Bank, (1979-84) executive director, monetary and banking policy, Central Bank (1985-88)...



Even with the demise of the bastion of socialism, USSR, **Baba Omojola** still emits fire as a socialist — humanist. "Yesterday and tomorrow I regard my part to be to support socialism, humanist and democratic, as the most sure avenue to peace, progress and equal opportunity for all Nigerians," he maintains. And the planning — economist established the school of appropriate tech-

nology to give vent to his belief, offering free services to such people's organisations as Nigerian Labour Congress, Women in Nigeria, Nigerian Tenants Association, Maroko Action Committee... Between 1974 to 1986, he settled in 12 rural communities over prolonged periods in the old 12 states learning "the structure and motive force of the bulk of the most denuded Nigerian population." In 1991 he was detained (for his satanic ideas?) for five weeks. "I was asked why I offer free services to mass organisations", he smiles. The priestlike robe? He adorned it a few days after his release. Surely, the robe does not the monk make.

By Oji Onoko





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