

June 1 — 7 1992. Vol. 3, No 22

RSD

# Citizen

**Primaries**  
**Senate**  
**results**

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## Zangon Kataf

# As the dust settles



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# Citizen

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## FROM THE PUBLISHER

A friendly critic of this magazine told us that she was disappointed with our edition of last week which you will recall, was headlined "Genocide in Kaduna". She agreed that our story was perhaps the best, the most well-balanced and objective. Her disappointment was with the pictures. "Pictures" she rightly observed "tell stories much better than words". She thought that as perhaps the only weekly magazine of quality on the ground, we should have published more and better pictures than we did.

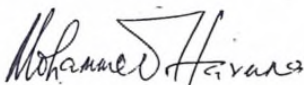
We would be the first to admit that we are not exactly the best magazine when it comes to visuals and display. Part of our problem is that we don't own our own press and the printers in town are not the best in the country. In this particular case we also faced a dilemma. We did have plenty of good pictures of the devastation of Zangon Kataf and the carnage that followed it in Kaduna. But we faced two problems in deciding whether to publish them or not. First, as a matter of policy we do not publish pictures of naked corpses. We think to do so is very much in bad taste and tends to brutalise the mind. Second, we thought to publish the many gory pictures we had could possibly incite more violence, even though publishing them would have been the best way to let the world know how beastly and evil-minded some human beings (human beings?) can be.

In the end we chose to stick to policy and to discretion. Even then we hoped that in last and this week's editions, we have been able to tell the story of the genocide in Kaduna as accurately and as objectively as any one could. The story this week was written by Bilikisu Yusuf — poor woman, she slept in the office Thursday — with reports from Mohammed Haruna in Zangon Kataf, Tawey Zakka, Abu Mommoh and Tijjani Isa.

The focus this week is the immediate aftermath of the carnage. We talked to many of the parties involved in this "human tragedy" — President Babangida's words — and went round the scenes of the carnage, from Zangon Kataf to the worst hit neighbourhoods of Kaduna. We went to workplaces to see how people were adjusting to the development and it seems obvious that things can hardly ever be the same again between the warring communities. People are talking to each other alright, but the mutual hostility is latent. It will take quite a while for the wounds to heal, but it will not heal at all if government, once again, fails to deal decisively with those who perpetrated this heinous crime of man against man, no matter how highly placed they are.

\* \* \* \*

Malam Lawal Batagarawa, a director of Citizen Communications Ltd, is fond of saying nearly two years after we started out, we have a magazine but not a company. His complain and those of a few other directors is that the managing director has concentrated his energy on editing the magazine to the detriment of the business side. Last week the board moved to rectify this perceived anomaly. The result is what you see in our imprint — Mohammed Haruna is now publisher, while Bilikisu Yusuf is now editor. Adamu Adamu and Kabiru Yusuf, in addition to their editorial responsibilities, have added responsibilities for administration and finance, and business. More editorial changes are on the way.



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# LETTERS

## The man to beat

Sir,  
 You couldn't have put it more succinctly. Malam Adamu Ciroma is the man to beat in the forthcoming presidential election. Your cover story of May 11-17, 1992 brought out the undaunted politician as the most qualified Nigerian to be entrusted with the complex administration of this country.

Looking at the pack of the other presidential aspirants, who amongst them actually and honestly comes close to Malam Adamu?

Is the inconsistent erstwhile apostle of SAP who, because he now wants to rule the country, has turned round to say that SAP is not after all the "Steady Adjustment to Prosper-

those who know him closely say the man is incorruptible. He is not given to frivolities, does not allow hangers-on around him and weigh every statement before he utters it. So what else do we need in a leader?

The present military government should give the man a chance in spite of his criticisms of their economic policies. The military needs Malam Adamu as much as, if not more than, the nation regards him because as he stands now he seems to be the only candidate who could make President Babangida realise his dream of being the last military head of state of this country.

Dan Akabi  
 Malali, Kaduna

cently won you an award, should not be thrown over board for bowl of pottage.  
 Ayo Makinde  
 Festac Town, Lagos

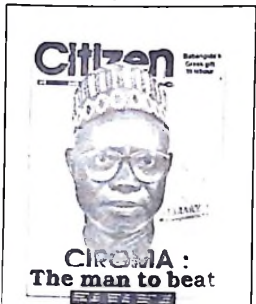
Sir,  
 Adamu Ciroma is the only one qualified to succeed the Babangida regime, because he is the only worthy candidate in the race so far.

But credible that he is, Ciroma must recognise that politics in Nigeria is about money and for those with the ready cash to dole around.  
 Festus Ajai  
 Akure

Sir,  
 It is shameful to see the kind of hopefuls rubbing shoulders with Ciroma in the coveted presidency. I say to them move over! Nigeria needs honest and forthright people who served the nation and came out with clean slate.  
 Mohammed Kabir  
 Yola, Adamawa State

Journalism as  
 chained by journalist

Sir,  
 "No matter how well you treat a sleeping child, when it wakes up it will look for its mother", the saying we here seem to always forget of "kill and the like are prophets", and him, not bring him", as we here are. A hmed Bawa  
 NIPSS, Jos



ity" that he said it was five years ago? Is it the unprincipled orator who suddenly realises the paucity of social justice in the country and now wants to be president so he can restore it? Or is it the lacklustre candidate who capitalises on his "long and harmless" tenure in the federal civil service to push his Shagari-like approach to leadership? Or is it the naive king-maker that now wants to be king? No. Malam Adamu stands out of the crowd and is the man to watch.

He is intelligent, well educated, enlightened, calculative, accommodating and above all honest. In fact,

Sir,  
 Your cover story on Adamu Ciroma is to say the least a great public relations exercise. It is at variance with the candour, incisiveness, boldness and forthrightness that has become associated with your magazine and for which you have won my patronage since your cover story on "Who will probe the military".

The very relevant and topical issue about his pronouncement over the appointment of a non indigene as the secretary to Borno State government during the Second Republic was not visited. Recent write-ups about it portray him as an arch tribalist and a bigot which, if it is true, makes him manifestly unfit to govern a diverse polity like ours, whatever might be his other attributes.

It would be a shame for such a great candidate going by your treaties to suffer the same fate as Awo, by default, if through over zealotness for his candidature, through investigative analysis of his pronouncements and activities, are glossed over thereby denying him the chance to vindicate himself.

The cherished credibility of your magazine and the acclaimed professionalism of your reports that re-

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.

**APOLOGY**  
 In our May 4 edition, we referred to Allhaji Adamu Bello, the managing director of Dan Iyau Bank Ltd as Dan Iyau. An Iyan Misau, an Iyan Misau and Allhaji Misau by — Editor  
 Adamawa. We regret that the comment caused him and Allhaji Mohammed Dan Iyau to be embarrassed. They should be referred to as Dan Iyau and Allhaji Misau. We regret this error.  
 PMB 2334, Kaduna.

## The immediate aftermath of Zangon Kataf

**W**e are truly amazed, though not surprised, that a lot of bare-faced falsehood has gone into the reporting of the recent clash between the Hausas and the Katafs which started in Zangon Kataf on May 15. One Lagos based magazine which claimed to have been on the spot in Zango said the carnage in Kaduna was on a greater scale than the original one in Zango! Another mentioned only casualties on one side. This kind of falsehood hardly helps to heal the terrible wounds that have been gaping since Kafanchan in 1987. As a magazine, we can only appeal to our colleagues to learn to report as truthfully as possible. And the truth is that the Hausas in Zangon were set upon in what was clearly a well-planned and pre-

meditated pogrom. That hardly justifies the killings and destruction in Kaduna, especially of other Nigerians who could hardly tell the difference between a Hausa and a Kataf. However, even though vengeance is God's, there can be no solution to the destruction of a fortnight ago, if we replace truth with falsehood and if we fail to face its underlying causes squarely as we enumerated last week in these columns.

Meantime the victims of this tragedy must be settled and rehabilitated quickly. In the case of Zangon Kataf hundreds of them are now refugees in Lere and nearby towns. These refugees deserve priority attention, as any one who has seen the horrible destruction visited on the town will testify.

## The ASUU strike

**L**ast Monday, members of the Academic Staff Union (ASUU) of many federal universities began an indefinite strike action to press home their demand for a higher pay and better conditions of service for university lecturers. There is no doubt that university teachers deserve a much better deal than is presently the case. A profession as noble and proud has now become but an object of derision, thanks to the pauperisation of the lecturers while their former students in the banks and other green pastures receive fat paychecks and perquisites.

True, it is not only lecturers who were pauperised by SAP, but their situation is a special irony because they are the guardians of excellence in the society. They train the elite in all its rich diversity, and yet their situation is that appalling.

Government's agreement to negotiate a higher pay with ASUU is the sign that it agrees to the need for an upward review. But what will the new pay structure be like? Government has offered what seems to be a reasonable across-the-board 45 per cent pay rise. ASUU for its part, argues for adopting

either the salary scale of Ghanaian lecturers or an African average pay for lecturers. Both suggestions appear to be reasonable, except that they were made from a dubious exchange rate of 19 Naira to a dollar. Many experts have argued that while this is the official exchange rate, it is not a true reflection of the "market sense of the value of the Naira". This is to say that if a Nigerian professor were to receive 230,000 Naira, he will live a life far richer than an American who earns 12,000 dollars.

The two sides should iron out a new, reasonable pay structure very quickly. It is regrettable that government is turning loose all its propaganda resources against ASUU, perhaps in readiness for a crackdown. It is also regrettable that ASUU defied the Industrial Arbitration Panel and embarked on the strike, thereby losing a propaganda point.

The government should make an offer that restores university lecturers to their former position vis-a-vis other middle class professions, subject to the overall dilapidation wrought by SAP. That should be the meeting point.

## Sudan at crossroads

Peace talks to find lasting solutions to the situation in Sudan opened in Abuja last week. In attendance were representatives of the government of General Omar Hassan al-Bashir, and rival factions of the Sudanese Peoples Liberation Army, (SPLA) and its splinter group, the Sudanese Peoples Liberation Movement (SPLM).

The southern Sudanese conflict is one of the continent's most intractable problems that has defied all attempts to solve. Its history began with colonial history in the Sudan and its roots lie in the British "Southern Policy" which deliberately created not a non-Islamic but an anti-Islamic environment in the mainly animist south. Christians are vocal minority.

When Britain took over the Sudan in 1899, it decided very quickly that the northern (muslim) advance must be checked. It therefore formulated the so-called Southern Policy in 1917.

Among other things, the policy ordered northern Sudanese muslims out of the south and declared the whole south a "closed district" in 1922. Northerners needed, and were most often not given, residence permits to enter, settle or trade in the south.

The educational system in the south was overturned — English was made compulsory and Arabic banned. In 1930, colonial administrators advised the expulsion of all northern Sudanese workers — and they were all sacked. In order to make interaction impossible whole tribes were moved to create a barrier of no-man's-land. However, 32 years after formulating "Southern Policy", Britain had to abandon it — and give independence six years later.

Less than a decade later, civil war erupted in 1967. The Anya Nya, backed and funded by Israel, revolted. The war dragged on for five years paving the way for the coup by General Ja'afar el-Numeiri, who later signed the Addis Ababa accord of 1982 with the Sudanese Peoples Liberation Army, SPLA. Numeiri agreed that the south (comprising Bahrel-Goral, Upper Nile and Equatorial provinces) would become a single autonomous unit, security would be in the hands of a southern government, while the

central government would rehabilitate the south.

The peace held for a decade but war broke out again when Numeiri launched his so-called Islamisation. The cost of the military struggle in the south and the burden of foreign debt saw Numeiri toppled in 1985. Since then Sudan has witnessed three governments but the situation in the south has remained grave.

Since General al-Bashir came to power, he has indicated his desire for ending the war in the south. This has not stopped him from launching offensives to gain an upper hand in the negotiations going on in Abuja right now.

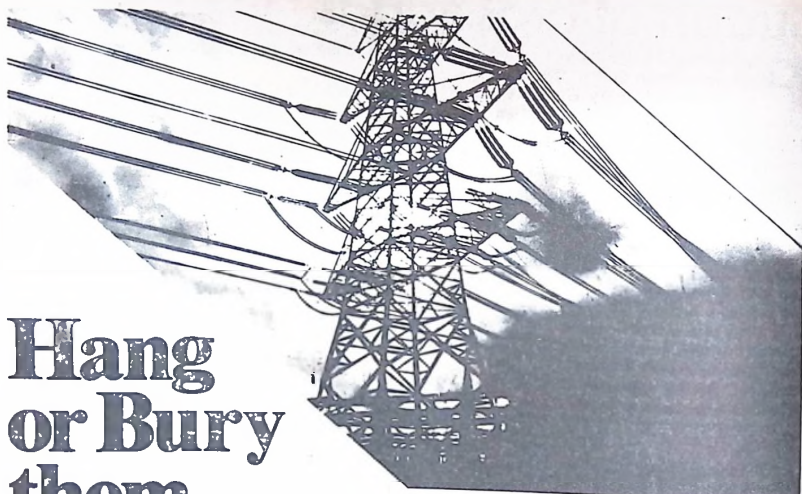
Though both parties have made concessions and compromises to come to the negotiating table and may have more to make, their opening positions give little cause for optimism. The south, itself represented by rival factions under John Garang and Lam Akol, has put forward demands largely similar to the concessions al-Bashir sent to the conference. But on the first day, the SPLA gave what amounted to an ultimatum.

It would only discuss the modalities for a secular constitution, and the question of self-determination. The rival Sudanese Peoples Liberation Movement which broke away from the SPLA because of the latter's intransigence, has only one item on its agenda — secession.

General al-Bashir must realise that the SPLA and the SPLM do not represent the majority of the people in the south, and they may not even win an election there. Even then the minority that harbours any legitimate fears must be reassured, especially after Numeiri's embarrassing Islamisation jokes.

The southern militia must also realise that they have no other country beside Sudan which they must share with the northerners. And simply because a legacy of British colonialism keeps them frightened, it does not give them a right to insist on depriving the majority of the country of its way of life.

Islam, animist beliefs and Christianity can and must co-exist in a united Sudan.



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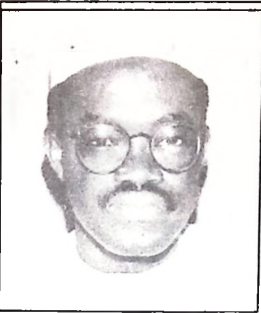


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## MOHAMMED HARUNA

me. Both Dr. Tai Solarin and Mrs Maria Sokenu, as chairman and national coordinator said I was being difficult and should move to Zango. In the end I moved having realised that otherwise the bank would never be commissioned. Today, I am told this movement is one of the examples, the Bajju and Kataf have been using to justify the murderous attack they unleashed on Zango. First, on February 6 and then on May 15.

ence. But many of them retired to their villages to farm and so had to have a ready explanation for the poverty of their people vis-a-vis their own fabulous wealth. For such an explanation, what could be better than pointing fingers at the so-called settlers who have also done relatively well for themselves?

This may not be the entire explanation for the kind of hatred that has been systematically whipped up against Hausas, meaning whoever is a muslim, but it seems to have been an effective weapon for those who think their egos have been bruised by their early retirement from the military or the public service. Inexplicably, they seem to have forgotten that perhaps even more "Hausas" have been similarly retired.

As with all battles between two giants — and Zango merely symbolises an intra-elite battle for supremacy — it was the poor that served as canon fodder in the May 15 carnage and the one before. Those who started it all were far away in their GRA houses. One retired army general who is allegedly one of the brains behind it, reportedly phoned the 241 Battalion in Kaduna requesting for army protection while his helpless kith and kin were being hunted down in retaliation for the killings in Zango.

Chinua Achebe has said it before that the problem of our country is squarely and solely one of leadership. Perhaps he exaggerates. We do have a problem of followership as well, but one must agree with him that on balance that of leadership is greater. When we have so-called leaders who are little better than demagogues, leaders who would rather manipulate and pander to popular sentiments rather than seek to banish them — admittedly a more difficult thing to do — the Zango Kataf become inevitable.

## Zango and our conscience

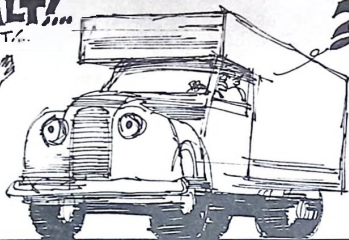
**T**wo years ago I supervised the opening of the People's Bank of Nigeria in Zangon Kataf Local Government, as the zonal coordinator of the bank on its ill-fated task force that was dismissed in April of that year. The branch was to have been the second in Kaduna State, but a stalemate ensued between me and some powerful forces in the state. According to our guideline, the branch was to be located in Zonkwa, the local government headquarters. However, some powerful people with historical connections to Zango thought otherwise. At one point, the governor at the time, Colonel Sarki Mukhtar, asked me why there were delays and I explained through the director-general of Government House. He wrote to say I should stick to our bank's guidelines. I did and went ahead to establish the bank at Zonkwa. Several weeks after we notified the governor that we were ready for opening, nothing happened. Then he called me to his office and pleaded that I should move the headquarters to Zangon Kataf because he was apparently under a lot of pressure from above. Some senior government officials in Lagos and Kaduna he hinted, insisted the headquarters must move.

I told Colonel Mukhtar it was all wrong and shortsighted. His director-general (political) at the time, Dr. Hakeem Baba Ahmed, agreed with

I have since been to see Zango for myself and scale of destruction there is simply beyond description. The scale shows quite clearly that the hatred that the Katafs have harboured against the Hausas goes well beyond the location of the Peoples Bank, or for that matter that of Zango's central market which the Katafs insisted, quite unreasonably, as the evidence before the Justice Cudjoe panel on the February 6 killings suggests must be moved out of the town. The destruction of May 15 in particular suggest a deep-seated hatred that surpasses all words. The insistence by government two years ago on relocating the Peoples Bank was the kind of short-sighted thing that could hardly reduce the hatred.

This is not to say that the decision justifies the unbelievable destruction of Zango. Nothing, absolutely nothing, can justify that kind of thing. Far from being a genuine reason, it merely served as a cover for what clearly is the bruised ego of those who see themselves as champions of minority rights in the Middle-Belt. These people, mostly retired generals, having done well for themselves, have found it hard to explain to their own people why they are so rich while their kith and kin remain in abject poverty. If they stayed in the cities, probably it wouldn't have made much differ-

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THAT WAY,  
... ANYTHING...**



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... AND BE FAST!**  
... REMEMBER YOU'RE UNDER ARREST!...



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NOW TURN BACK SO THAT  
YOU DON'T RUN INTO ROTERS!...  
... BYE!...

POLICE  
STATION



## Zangon Kataf

# As the dust settles

The scene of devastation in Zangon Kataf tells the story of the worst massacre in Kaduna's history

**F**or John Zinghina, the director of buildings in ministry of works, Kaduna State as well as his counterpart in research and planning department, Peter Adamu Chori, the days following the violent clashes between Hausas and Kafafs, which started in Zangon Kataf May 15 and spilled

into Kaduna two days later, have been very hectic and tiring. Even before the dust had started settling, they had received marching orders to provide a rough and ready estimate of the destruction to property that resulted from the clashes.

They were yet to complete the estimates for Kaduna town, when they received instructions from their

commissioner, Mrs. Maureen La'ah, to proceed immediately to Zangon Kataf, where the scale of destruction was beyond description. Two days before, President Ibrahim Babangida had gone to the town to see things for himself. What he saw shook him to the bone. One Zangon Kataf local government official swore to *Citizen* that he saw the strong-willed general and a veteran of the Nigerian civil war shed a tear or two. The official may have exaggerated, but anyone who saw the televised tour of the town would testify to the fact that the president has never looked more distressed.

Chori, who led the inspection team to Zango, has no illusion about the enormity of the job before him when he arrived at Zonkwa, the local government headquarters, for briefing by its recently appointed Sole administrator, Mr. Haruna Zock. "How many days", Zock asked him, "do you think it will take you to carry out your assignment?". Chori said it depended on the scale of destruction. "Well", said Zock, "if you work with the speed of a computer, you will have a rough and ready estimate in one week".

Chori felt alarmed for he and his men had prepared to spend less than one week. Still he hoped Zock had exaggerated. By the time he had gone round the town, he quickly concluded that Zock had grossly underestimated the scale of destruction. "We just have to send for more men, money and material if we hope to get out of this place in reasonable time", he told *Citizen*. That evening he sent an emergency note to his commissioner.

Two weeks after the town's destruction, it is now worse than a ghost town. When *Citizen* went there, there was not a living soul, save two or three people who came to remove what remained of their belongings in their destroyed town.

By last Thursday, the charred and decapitated remains of the inhabitants killed during the clash and which had littered the town had been



A mass grave of the victims of the Zangon Kataf madness

cleared. The town, itself, had been fumigated to drive away the stench of decomposing bodies that filled the air several miles around. Still a light putrid smell persisted because several bodies still lay buried in burnt down houses.

The scale of destruction of the town itself was beyond description. No one knows the total number of those killed and maimed in both Zango and Kaduna, but that of Kaduna pales into insignificance compared to Zango's. By last year's census, Zango's local government had 149,484 people. Zango is the biggest town after Zonkwa, the local government headquarters. *Citizen's* on-the-spot estimate is that the town has at least 2,000 households and a population of 20,000 or more. Less than ten buildings including the residence of the district head, the prison, the Friday mosque and a vandalised People's Bank headquarters remain standing. The rest have been completely burnt or pulled down.

**I**n the course of the destruction, many lives were claimed, but as yet there are no official estimates. Two days after the destruction, military intelligence sources were quoting 900 dead and hundreds more maimed. Alhaji Yakubu Abdulamin, editor of the *New Nigerian* who toured the town with a team led by the state governor, Alhaji Dabo Mohammed Lere, two days after the destruction, thought the military estimates totally underestimated the casualties. "I don't know what Hiroshima looked like after the Americans dropped the nuclear bomb on it," he told *Citizen* "but Zango must have looked like it. Virtually everything was destroyed and with it must have been many lives. I suspect no less than 2,000 people must have been killed from the way decomposing bodies littered everywhere. For two days after the visit, I simply could not eat".

Survivors who spoke to *Citizen* at the Nijima Hospital in Tudun Wada, Kaduna, claimed that remains of



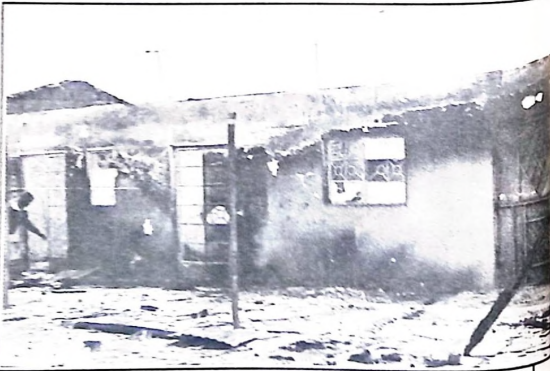
*The charred remains of vehicles belonging to the Hausas in Zango* many victims were buried in mass graves. Malam Sule Gambo, a medical personnel at the Zango General Hospital showed *Citizen* the two gun shot wounds he received on the third day of the murderous riot. He considered himself lucky not to have suffered the fate of those who were burnt alive.

He confirmed the rumour that sophisticated weapons and other advanced weaponry were used by the Katsina.

Another victim, Ushau Tanko, a primary school teacher, who had a fractured arm and a battered face said he was privy to the meeting

between the deputy governor and both sides of the Zango communities and confirmed to *Citizen* that while the deputy governor, James Bawa Magaji was trying to effect a truce, the recalcitrant Katsina shouted the deputy governor down and to his hearing promised to annihilate the Hausa.

Living up to their promise, according to Sule and Ushau, a mass grave was dug before the black Friday where the burnt remains of the Hausa were dumped and levelled by a bulldozer. *Citizen* can confirm that the governor on his visit to Zango last week was shown the spot



*One of the burnt houses in Zango*



*This Islamiyya School at Kabala West also fell*

where the mass burial took place.

Ushau said an elaborate arrangement was made by the Katak with the aid of some other influential persons to transport arms to Zango in two white Peugeot pick-up vans, and to the chagrin of the Hausa, their uncompleted buildings were commandeered by the Katak as storage.

At the Ni'ima Hospital, its medical director, Muhammad Mahdi Shehu, who received 100 victims confirmed the death of two patients from Zango Katak who died two hours after arrival in Kaduna. He told *Citizen* that his hospital started receiving

patients on Sunday, May 16. (see box). According to Shehu "we started receiving patients at 10pm when five J5 buses full of the casualties of Zango Katak arrived here. There were about 100 of them but no corpses were brought to this hospital".

The bloodbath later spilled into Kaduna as the transfer of corpses and the injured to Kaduna hospitals triggered retaliatory attacks on Katak and other southern Zaria ethnic groups who responded by attacking the Hausa-Fulani. Alhaji Adamu Baban Nura, a driver at the central motor park, Kaduna narrated events at Rigasa, one of the scenes of the

incident to *Citizen*: "I was returning home to Rigasa from Katsina on Sunday evening when I was told that fighting was going on. I left my vehicle in town and walked to Rigasa. As I arrived home, our landlord Alhaji Sani was just being slaughtered by *Katafawa* in their dozens. I managed to escape, though I was wounded by stones and an arrow. Before our landlord was killed, he managed to evacuate all our families. The *Katafawa* then burnt our house. Nothing was salvaged. The Hausa then retreated and fought them with stones for the whole night. The police arrived at 3.30 on Monday morning and shot 24 of our people. People say those were not police but "CAN police". Later in the day, another man was shot from across the road as he walked towards his brother's house. At least five of us were there and we saw the man who shot him, a policeman well known in the area, Bako. The man shot was carried away by Ali Mai Ti.

"Even by last Thursday, Hausas were still being attacked at Unguwar Television. A man called Zubairu was shot there with an arrow this morning. He was taken to the Muslim Hospital".

Ibrahim Usman of Rigachikun Village told *Citizen* that on Wednesday, May 20 he attended the funeral of 170 Hausa-Fulani victims of the Zango Katak riots. He described the incident as the most heinous communal conflict in Kaduna State.

**A**nother funeral was also attended by Mansur Mohammed of Ahmadu Bello Way who told *Citizen* that he witnessed the burial of another 187 the following morning at Tudun Wada. Most of the victims were those killed in Narayi, Sabon Tasha and Television quarters in and around Kaduna metropolis.

Alhaji Ali Mohammed, a Muslim Aid Group official of Unguwar Kanawa put the death toll at 600. He told *Citizen* that most of those who were buried on Tuesday and Wednesday morning were corpses deposited at Ahmadu Bello University

*Continued on Page 16*



*A mosque in Kabala West destroyed*

## "Most callous and outrageous scene"

Interview with Malam Muhammad Mahdi Shehu, the medical director, Ni'ima Hospital, Kaduna. Excerpts:

**Citizen:** Your hospital is one among many that are now giving treatment to the victims of Zangon Kataf incident, can you tell us when you started receiving patients from Zangon Kataf?

**Mahdi:** We started receiving patients especially those from Zangon Kataf two days after the start of the incident that was precisely on Sunday 16 May. We started receiving patients about 10 pm that night. We received five j5 buses full of casualties of Zangon Kataf. Who directed them to this hospital is still a mystery to me. I have never been to Zangon Kataf although I know it as one of the local governments in Kaduna state. So it was a surprise to me to see five j5 buses loaded with casualties at Ni'ima Hospital. It was 10pm and whatever the situation there was nothing we could do but to receive them and give them whatever treatment we could.

**Citizen:** How many were in the buses?

**Mahdi:** There was an average of 100 people in the five buses the very night they came here. We had 95 patients that

night and throughout the night we had to go and get more hands including those that were off duty. So we worked throughout the night in order to calm down the tension and administer the most urgent first aid.

**Citizen:** Were there any lead among the occupants of the j5 buses?

**Mahdi:** No, but two died about two hours later (12 midnight) after arrival due

did was that that same night we had to go and

organise some bread, because that was the only thing you can easily lay your hands on which they took after medication and subsequently, except for the public donations in terms of both cooked and uncooked food, the hospital has been shouldering

— Mahdi



Mahdi: most callous scene



Those that made it to Kaduna

to excessive bleeding which may have occurred in the vehicles.

**Citizen:** How are you going about feeding and treatment of the wounded. Is it through philanthropy or aid from the government?

**Mahdi:** You see, we are supposed to be our brothers' keepers, so what we

the responsibility of feeding the patients three times a day and the hospital spends about 6,200 Naira daily on feeding in addition to what the public has been contributing. The public contribution is estimated at about 20,000 Naira give and take a few Naira.

**Citizen:** Who topped the

list of donors?

**Mahdi:** Well, you see at the most serious time when we needed donation, Major General Shehu Musa Yar'adua came up with a donation of 30 mattresses and drugs worth more than 25,000 Naira which were distributed between this hospital and Muslim Hospital. As the medical director of this hospital, whatever comes here is shared among the two hospitals.

**Citizen:** What we see here can be termed as a refugee camp-cum-hospital and taking account of the fact that most of the patients have no homes to go back to, how do you intend to handle the situation when they are discharged?

**Mahdi:** Allah gives and Allah takes away. You understand that more than 75 per cent of the patients, as you have seen yourself, have lost everything, no home, some of the women,

no husbands, some of the children, no fathers or mothers. Therefore at the end of the day it will be an act of callousness to discharge them to the street. If after such a time they are certified fit they have not been resettled by the government, we will still play the role of father and mother, we shall continue to keep them in the hospital up to such a time when they can find an alternative home or hopefully until such a time the government makes up its mind what to do with them.

**Citizen:** Do you have hope that the government will do something about the refugees and the wounded here and other hospitals?

**Mahdi:** Well, you see I am always optimistic as is relevant to my religion. I always give people the benefit of the doubt except that I have to express my fears that, I hope I am wrong. That there won't be a repeat of what happened

in Kano during the Maitatsine riot, that of Tafawa Balewa and Kafanchan, where no compensation was given to the victims and none of the aggressors have not been brought to book and even if compensation was given, it was given to the wrong people and the unfortunate situation where judicial commissions were set up but nothing is heard

of their reports.

**Citizen:** What has the Kaduna State government done to you in appreciation of what you are doing to the victims?

**Mahdi:** The chief pharmacist or director of medical services and the commissioner of health in particular visited this hospital about five or six times when the atmosphere was rowdy and subsequently

packets of disposable syringes, 40 x 500 ml of saline, 10 packets of analgin injection, 30 rolls of cotton wools, 30 rolls of adhesive plaster, 10 rolls of crepe bandages, 50 pieces of dressing material, five tins of ampicillin capsules and five rolls of six inch crepe bandages in addition to 4 x 75 kilograms of salt, seven cartons of tinned milk and seven

government will donate, at least food items for the feeding of the victims. We also will require a large quantity of drugs and medicaments because they cannot be discharged except when and only when they are completely healed. No one wants a situation where they will have a relapse.

**Citizen:** Can you give us a general view and your hope of how this unfortunate situation can be nipped in the bud in future?

**Mahdi:** The situation is quite unfortunate and I am sure both sides are, I hope, regretting the whole episode. I have seen for myself a scene that cannot be painted by an imaginary artist, it is the most callous and the most outrageous scene of carnage that I have ever seen in my life. I hope this will be used by people to learn a lesson from and I hope it will be used to advance the cause of humanity. Certainly, if this type of madness continues the whole society may be wiped out. And I call on the Muslims to bear the situation stoically and leave to God the Almighty for justice. I also call on the Christians to shun violence and abide by the teaching of Prophet Isa (Alaihis salam). I am a degree holder in Christian theology and nowhere in the Bible is it said that an aggrieved person should resort to violence.

By Tijjani Isa



**Ikimi at the Ni'ima Hospital where he donated 10,000 Naira for the treatment of the victims**

on May 21, the chief pharmacist in company of the principal pharmacist ministry of health Kaduna State brought the following consignment to us: four packets of procaine penicillin, 10 packets of water for injection, 10 packets of gentamycin injections, 10 packets of stratomycin injections, 15

cartons of sugar. That is all we have received so far and we are grateful.

**Citizen:** Are you expecting more?

**Mahdi:** I am optimistic bearing in mind that the governor was here and having himself seen the situation I think the

Teaching Hospital, Nursing Home, and private hospitals such as Garikuwa Hospital along Sultan Road and Muslim Hospital on Kalungo Road Tudun Wada. Most of these corpses according to Alhai, All "were badly mutilated and some that were discovered later had been partially devoured by pigs". He described the killings as "the most barbaric display of intolerance displayed by the Katsinas who had lived with Hauso-Fulani of Mangon Kama for over 300 years. If a whole community can be wiped out after such a long time who then is an indigent?" he queried.

As rampaging teenagers swelled the gang on both sides they attacked indiscriminately, killing, maiming and setting cars and houses ablaze as they moved around. Sa'adiya Yusuf, a Jukan from Taraba State,

despatched some police personnel to the area but Sa'adiya claimed they were not seen at Unguwar Sarki. ASP Haruna then collected her home address and promised to send them. "But not a single police personnel came to our rescue until some arsonists crept in on Tuesday night while the curfew was on and set the house ablaze. We are lucky that nobody was killed in the fire", a shaken Sa'adiya remarked. Like many other victims, the sense of insecurity the incident has generated will remain for a long time. "I can't live in Unguwar Sarki again, although before this incident I believed it was the best and dimensionless part of Kaduna one could live in. We had established warm and cordial relationship with the people", she told *Citizen*.



Lere: "We are doing our best"

Its two markets have reopened, so have shops. Bus stops are teeming with commuters, men, women and children. Said Malam Ibrahim Musa Karaye: "It's quiet here now. You can see people out on the streets".

Last Monday as normalcy returned to Kaduna, the state governor, Al-haji Dabo Mohammed Lere invited the chief executives of all Kaduna based media organisations to a meeting during which they were briefed on the crisis and measures taken by the government to alleviate the sufferings of the victims.

The governor traced the history of the simmering crisis back to 1915, while the first outbreak of the recent rioting occurred on February 6. A tribunal of inquiry which investigated the incident is expected to submit its report soon.

With the outbreak of hostilities which spilled to Kaduna and Zaria, the state police command received reinforcement from Kano, Katsina and Plateau states. Now that the situation is under control, Governor Lere disclosed that additional plain clothes police have also been deployed to monitor events.

Malam Ibrahim, a businessman and local official of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) told *Citizen* that he was quite happy with the government's handling of the crisis, which started as an ethnic conflict and deteriorated into a religious war. However he complained that the night-time curfew imposed since



Desolate streets and what remains of it after the damage

one of the victims whose house at Unguwar Sarki was destroyed by arsonists, told *Citizen* that the marauding gang of teenagers came three times on Sunday to set their house ablaze. On all three occasions she pleaded with the gang, some of whom she recognised while other neighbours including the ward head also intervened. They dispersed. On Monday she promptly reported the case at the police headquarters and sought their protection. One ASP Y. Haruna told her that he had earlier

**D**espite the fear and insecurity the crisis generated an appreciable degree of calm has now returned to parts of Kaduna metropolis. By the weekend almost every displaced person who had a home returned to his address. Signs of a return to near normalcy were there in Zaria, a south-west suburb off the Tudun Wada express way where one of the pitched battles raged on May 18-19, public transport is running again.

May 18 had lasted too long. "People who work night shifts cannot go to work because the curfew starts at 7.30pm". Since then the curfew had been shifted forward to 11pm.

Even so, Malam Ibrahim beliqevq that extending the curfew to areas unaffected by the fighting was unnecessary. He prefers that it be restricted to worse-hit areas.

Most civil servants who stayed away from work because of the civil strife in some parts of Kaduna town, returned to work last week.

When *Citizen* visited some of the ministries last Thursday, both senior and junior officers were seen at their desks. However, the usual crowd at the ministries like ministry of education was absent. *Citizen* gathered at the ministry that it is not unusual, since it is not a deliberate policy to keep people waiting when their problems can be immediately solved.

The director-general, Alhaji Halidu Mohammed, declined any comment and directed *Citizen* to see the commissioner of education, who was said to be out on an official assignment.

Pressed for comment, Alhaji Halidu said normalcy has returned to the ministry, adding that "we are already settled". He said that even last Friday, people including himself came to work in response to the governor's broadcast in which he appealed to workers to return to work.

At the ministry of health and social welfare, *Citizen* could not reach the director-general for comment. We however gathered that most of the workers have been reporting to work since Monday.

A source who declined attribution told *Citizen* that though things have returned to normal it appears the payment of salaries for May, may be slightly delayed. According to the source the salaries should have been paid from Monday, but uptill last Thursday, the ministry was yet to release the cheques. He added that the entire state civil service is affected by the delay.

Many workers wore long faces last

## CAN

# A voice of protest

**I**t is out of love for our country and fellow country men that we call this press conference to re-iterate some basic principles about which religious leaders have spoken for many years in the past. We believe that peaceful co-existence among the diverse people of Nigeria depends on such principles. These principles are truth, justice, religious tolerance and mutual respect. Without truth and justice there cannot be peace. Without justice and religious tolerance people cannot live in peace and harmony.

We detest in the strongest terms possible the riots in Kaduna State and elsewhere that have resulted in loss in human lives and destruction of property.

We blame the Federal Government for its inability to use effective and adequate means to prevent the killing of innocent citizens and the destruction of their property.

The present unfortunate events in parts of Kaduna State are due to ethnic, religious and political reasons. To say they are solely ethnic is to refuse to face the truth. It is only the truth that will set us free and enable us to

employ effective and adequate means to find solution to our problems.

We have the following reasons to believe that the riots in Kaduna State are not due to ethnic reason alone.

1. When the crisis started in Kaduna metropolis pastors and churches were clear targets as churches were burnt and pastors such as Rev. Tachio Duniya; Rev. Bawa Bij; Rev. John Wesley and CAN Secretary, Zaria Mr. Bulus Katung, were killed. These pastors were not from Zango Katak.

Some Christians were forced to recite some Islamic quotations for purposes of identification and those who could not were identified as Christians and were either killed or injured. If the riots were purely ethnic why did government involve religious leaders in appealing to people for calm instead of appealing to the ethnic leaders of the tribes concerned?

We are now cer-

tain that our security as Christians is our own responsibility. We therefore call on all Christians to remain alert and to realise that their security is in the hands of the Lord. No Christian should be deceived in resting upon the state for his security since our experience on such dependence has led to our death in numbers. Remain alert and prayerful.

Every person has the right and duty to defend his life and property against an unjust aggressor. Therefore if public authority is incapable or unwilling to defend the lives and property of Christians, they would be right to defend themselves and their property. We are appealing to all to remain alert and prayerful.

Signed Archbishop P.Y. Jatau,  
Bishop T.E. Ogbonyomi and  
Bishop E.O. Adeboyejo

Thursday on the late payment of salaries some of them told *Citizen* that they have been living with their relations when they were forced to vacate their houses during the fracas and have exhausted their sav-

ings.

The boisterous business life, however, belies a palpable fear and mutual suspicion. People tend to speak to those who speak their own lan-

*Continued on Page 19*

# "The Hausa-Fulani must return to Zango"

Hotline publisher, Alhaji Hassan Sani Kontagora spoke to *Citizen*. Excerpts:

— Hassan

**Citizen:** *The recent crisis in Zangon Kataf has rekindled the issue of who qualifies to be an indigene.*

Kontagora: Let's set the records straight by delving into history. The Hausa-Fulani community in Zangon Kataf settled there more than 300 years ago. Nobody can dispute that. My great grandfather migrated from Sokoto together with Umaru Nagwamatse and settled in Kontagora around 1800. Today I consider myself an indigene of Kontagora and this is reflected in my name. I am yet to come across anyone who can tell me that I am not an indigene. Why then should the Kataf deny the Hausa community the right to live in Zango?

**Citizen:** *The Kataf said that the Hausa went there to dominate them.*

Kontagora: Yes, I read *Citizen* interview in which Colonel Yohanna Madaki complained of Hausa domination of the Kataf people. Now, I want Madaki to define his concept of domination. If I settle in a place, I am industrious and hard working as a result of which I became prosperous while all you know is how to drink

and make your women do the farming. Is that domination? If domination means being wealthy then Madaki is also dominating people being an affluent person, a former governor and a retired Colonel.

**Citizen:** *But the Hausas were exterminated. I don't think they will go back.*

Kontagora: What? I want the Kataf to know that trying to kill all Hausa people is not the solution. Madaki as a lawyer ought to tell his people the truth. The Hausas will return to Zangon Kataf because it is their home. The federal government should rehabilitate the town and build houses for the people. The disputed farmlands belong to the Hausa-Fulani and the Kataf have no right to deprive them of their farms. How can people live in a place and farm plots of land for centuries only to have the Kataf now plotting to dispossess them of their land? It is most unfair. Come what may, the Hausas should hold on to what belongs to them.

**Citizen:** *Madaki complained of arrogance and the reluctance of the Hausa traditional rulers to consult him on the affairs of Kataf people.*

Kontagora: Who gave Madaki the mandate to speak for the Kataf? Until the Kataf people recognise



Hassan: "everybody has a right to live"

him as their leader and give him the mandate to talk on their behalf nobody considers him to be anything other than what he is. People should not ascribe to themselves the right to speak on behalf of others like Madaki wants to do. He claimed in the interview that he must be recognised and consulted as a retired colonel and former governor. He must be suffering from inferiority complex or else he would not attempt to force himself on people. How many ex-governors do we have in this country? How many of them are consulted? If he wants to be consulted by the traditional leaders as he demanded in his interview then he needs to be identified by the Kataf people as an elder first. If the Kataf people have a case they should go to court not kill

people.

**Citizen:** *So you're suggesting that the issue should go to court.*

Kontagora: Yes, and that is why I am terribly disappointed in Madaki who as a lawyer should respect the law and inform the people he claims to speak for on the best method of seeking redress for their grievances. But the danger we face in this country is that there are too many retired military officers who were governors, ministers, etc. When they retire to their villages they complain of neglect and organise their people to cause confusion because they are dying to be recognised from their nonentity status. This trend must be arrested so that we can live in peace.

By Bilkiisu Yusuf



*In Kaduna also public utilities were made targets of attack*

guage or adherents of the same faith. Pedestrians keep looking over their shoulders to see who is behind — and whether it is a friend or foe.

Still at Rigasa, the churned remains of houses torched during the carnage are a sad reminder of the mindless bloodletting. Some women who boarded the same bus as a *Citizen* reporter to Rigasa on Thursday, beheld a long row of razed houses on Abdul-Razak Street and could

not help asking in Hausa: "Gidajen na Hausawa ne?". Other women who knew better replied: "Nasu ne", meaning, they belonged to the other side.

Altogether there were a dozen damaged houses, including a church on that road alone. A number of cars and buses destroyed along the same road have been towed away but blackened gravel still marks where they had been.

**People have expressed their desire to do so and government wants to encourage them by making their houses habitable and sinking boreholes for them to use. "We are anxious that Kaduna does not set the precedence for any community that may want to expel people it has no reason not to co-exist with".**

At Nassarawa, a predominantly non-Igbo suburb, the damage to Hausaland property was nearly extensive. Houses on both sides of nearly one half of Matazu Street were burnt. One of them was a mosque.

Malam Abdullahi Idris, a staffer of National Electric Power Authority (NEPA), in Kaduna, told *Citizen* in a mosque where he has taken up residence, that the muslim community were tricked into believing that there would be no trouble at Nassarawa. There had been a meeting at the home of the ward head where every community had pledged to keep the peace and to constitute a vigilante group to protect life and property.

"But the crowd of about 300 we saw in the night of Monday, May 18 wasn't a vigilante group, but one prepared for war", said Malam Abdullahi, a Nupe muslim from Kogi State. Abdullahi and his people fought back and he got an arrow wound on his hand. Eight houses went up in flames. There were four deaths, but the police and not the "invaders" were responsible, he said.

**A**t Kabala West off the expressway, the community's two central mosques and Islamiyyah Schools were set ablaze by arsonists.

At Television Village, the charred remains of a long luxury bus lay parallel to the express way, exactly where Iyaka Street intersects the express way. Up that street, a row of five houses was completely razed. What was left of household furniture and cooking utensils littered their fronts. Vehicles which were destroyed have been taken off the road. Laying on their backs, with the wheels up in the air they looked like nursery toys.

Elsewhere, returning refugees have been telling their experiences where they had sought refuge, mostly in military barracks. A number of Kawo residents who ran to the new headquarters of One Mechanised Division of the Nigeria Army on the Kawo-Zaria road said

# "The Hausa-Fulani must return to Zango"

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Malam Abdullahi Idris, a staffer of National Electric Power Authority (NEPA), in Kaduna, told *Citizen* in a mosque where he has taken up residence, that the muslim community were tricked into believing that there would be no trouble at Nassarawa. There had been a meeting at the home of the ward head where every community had pledged to keep the peace and to constitute a vigilante group to protect life and property.

"But the crowd of about 300 we saw in the night of Monday, May 18 wasn't a vigilante group, but one prepared for war", said Malam Abdullahi, a Nupe muslim from Kogi State. Abdullahi and his people fought back and he got an arrow wound on his hand. Eight houses went up in flames. There were four deaths, but the police and not the "invaders" were responsible, he said.

**A**t Kabala West off the expressway, the community's two central mosques and Islamiyyah Schools were set ablaze by arsonists.

At Television Village, the charred remains of a long luxury bus lay parallel to the express way, exactly where Iyaka Street intersects the express way. Up that street, a row of five houses was completely razed. What was left of household furniture and cooking utensils littered their fronts. Vehicles which were destroyed have been taken off the road. Laying on their backs, with the wheels up in the air they looked like nursery toys.

Elsewhere, returning refugees have been telling their experiences where they had sought refuge, mostly in military barracks. A number of Kawo residents who ran to the new headquarters of the One Mechanised Division of the Nigeria Army on the Kawo-Zaria road said

they were turned away by an army sentry at the gate. "Go back", the soldier reportedly shouted, muttering that "when there is trouble you run to us but when there is none you see soldiers as shit". People who had relations as soldiers were luckier, but then it meant sharing accommodation that was already bursting at the seams.

One refugee who was an unwilling guest of the army was Ibrahim Mohammed, a shoe shiner at Unguwar Kanawa who told *Citizen* that he was arrested by soldiers near the Nigerian Defence Academy where he practices his trade. "On Monday around 1.30pm I saw some soldiers in a J5 bus driving out of the Academy. They cordoned the road leading to Kawo where the conference Hall of Jamatu Nasirul Islam was set ablaze. A student who was passing by was suddenly dragged by the soldiers who beat him up. I moved nearer because I knew the boy but before I could intervene they descended on me. I sustained injuries on the head and body before I was arrested and taken to NDA where they kept me in confinement for five days without food. When they finally released me I had to go to the hospital for treatment"

At the Nigerian Air Force base, refugees were herded into the grounds of the primary school, whose buildings have had their roofs blown off by rain storm. Again, those who had relations or friends at the base got taken into safety".

The government has organised a relief package for the victims. According to the governor, food and drugs are regularly supplied to areas where the refugees are taking shelter while clothing and beddings



Magaji: his overtures were fruitless and La'ah: the counting goes on

are to be purchased for their use. To facilitate distribution of relief materials to the refugees, shelter will be provided in two centres, within the metropolis. Therehabilitation centre and a school have been prepared to accommodate those who require shelter.

Last Monday, the management of United Nigeria Textiles (UNTL) donated clothing worth thousands of Naira to the state government to aid the victims. The chairman of the National Republican Convention, Chief Tom Ikimi followed suit on Thursday with a visit to Ni'ima Hospital where he donated 10,000 Naira with a promise to "summon all the 16 governors under the control of the NRC to consider the wider circumstances of relief".

Governor Lere also disclosed that



a team was despatched to Zangon Kafaf to assess the damage and plan the rehabilitation of the place, adding that "reasonable and adequate security will be provided for those who want to go back to Zangon Kafaf. People have expressed their desire to do so and government wants to encourage them by making their houses habitable and sinking boreholes for them to use. "We are anxious that Kaduna does not set the precedence for any community that may want to expel people it has no reason not to co-exist with".

In this, the governor has a supporter in Alhaji Hassan Sani Kontagora, the publisher of *Hotline* magazine. According to Hassan, the Hausa-Fulani of Zangon Kafaf have as much right as anybody to own land in a place where they had lived for more than 300 years (see box). He called on the survivors to return to their homes because the Nigerian constitution guarantees the right of all Nigerians to live in any part of the country. Whether the victims can forget their experience and summon enough courage to return to Zangon Kafaf only time will tell.

By Bilikisu Yusuf with additional reports by Mohammed Haruna in Zangon Kafaf, Tawey Zakka, Abu Mommoh and Tijjani Isa

**Still at Rigasa, the churned remains of houses torched during the carnage are a sad reminder of the mindless bloodletting.**

## NIGERIA

## Primaries

## Going to senate

The battle for the National Assembly began penultimate Saturday with the oldbreed registering their presence forcefully

The results of penultimate Friday and Saturday's party indirect primaries for the National Assembly hold out high hopes for a strong federal parliament as men with political clout worsted their opponents across the length and breadth of the country.



Winner Babatope top and loser Bamigbetan

Although there is a preponderance of newbreed elements particularly among the House of Representatives nominees the oldbreed made a comeback to political relevance and prominence in the senatorial category. In the west, Ebenezer Babatope, a former director of organisation of the defunct Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), out-manoeuvred five other contestants including youthful Segun Bamigbetan, a newbreed politician, in the contest for Osun III senatorial district. Of the 452 delegates, 202 of them cast their votes for the ebullient Ilesha chief. In Osun II, Olu Alabi, a former Oyo State commissioner for health, clinched the Social Democratic Party's ticket. In the coastal state of Lagos, the oldbreed were able to clinch one of the three senatorial tickets of the SDP. Dr. Wahab Dosumu, a Second Republic minister of works and housing, was declared the winner of the Lagos Central senatorial district primaries. In the East, Chief Ojo Maduekwe, a Second Republic member of House of Representative was returned unopposed for his party's nomination in one of Abia State's senatorial districts. Other prominent winners include Uba Ahmed, a Second Republic senator and national secretary of the defunct National Party of Nigeria, (NPN), who got the NRC ticket for Bauchi South. Standing shoulder to shoulder with the old players are such newbreed as Chief Chris Okolie, a lawyer and journalist, who won the SDP nomination in Delta North by beating a former high court judge, Dan Azinge by 363 to 10 votes. His counterpart in the publishing indus-



Nelson: winner

try, Mr. Nduka Obaigbena also picked up the NRC ticket in the senatorial district. Last week, Okolie gave an indication of the new mood of political contest in Nigeria when



Mohammed: Soldering on

he remarked about the impending showdown between him and Obaigbena in July. He said the latter was his junior brother and he intends to treat him as such at the polls. Up north Plateau State, Isa Muhammed a retired wing commander and governor of defunct Gongola state picked up the SDP ticket in Plateau South while David

Iornem, the former publicity secretary of the SDP got his party's nomination in Benue State. Some people who lost in last year's governorship elections were lucky this time around. Wande Abimbola, a professor of linguistic and former vice-chancellor of Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, won Oyo North district, while Silas Daniyan picked up the SDP mandate in Kogi East. So also is Alhaji Tijani Ahmed, former managing director, Nigerian Ports Authority (NPA), who was elected for Kogi Central on the platform of SDP. Youthful businessman, Alhaji Musa Bello trounced 11 other candidates by polling 837 votes to pick the Kaduna Central 1 zone on the platform of NRC. Alhaji Musa Abari was elected on the platform of NRC for the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) senatorial seat while Hassan Tandayigbe won on SDP ticket. In Ogun State, Jubril Martins Kuye a prominent accountant and businessman also got his party's mandate.

Although the exercise which witnessed the nomination of the parties flagbearers for the 91 and 589 seats in the Senate and House of Representatives respectively was generally peaceful, there were pockets of complaints of electoral manipula-

tions particularly in the SDP. Lagos State SDP proved bookmakers right as loud protests emerged from the three senatorial districts. At least, the exercise was boycotted by some aspirants in two districts. In Lagos West where Bola Tinubu of the Sarumi faction was declared the winner, with 258 votes, his three opponents, Chief Oladipo Olaitan, Dr. Agboola Dominic and Chief Odu Onikosi boycotted the indirect primaries because of perceived irregularities in the accreditation of delegates. The story is not different in Lagos Central. Although Dr. Wahab Dosumu, a Sarumi sympathiser was declared winner with 156 votes, three of his opponents, Professor Simpson Ekundayo and Tommy Coker and Rasheed Shita-Bey are contesting his victory at the parties appeal panel on the ground that no election was held since they boycotted the primaries. The third opponent Mrs Kofo Bucknor Akerele who actually contested and got eight votes is also protesting because as she alleged, the method of counting and accreditation of delegates was irregular. The nomination of Tony Afuye, for Lagos east, the only district won by the Agbalajobi faction, is also being contested for similar reasons. Thus,

there appears to be in the offing a replay of the December 1991 bitter struggle between the two factions. However, party enthusiasts have dismissed this possibility pointing to the existence of a powerful appeal panel set up by the national secretariat of the party to sit over appeals emanating from aggrieved contestants. The panel made up of 15 presidential aspirants split into four zones with centres in Ibadan, Owerri, Kaduna and Jos, was announced last week by Malam Abdullahi Halilu, the secretary of the party's electoral committee. The panels were expected to dispose of all appeals and report to the executive council of the party last week Friday.

**I**n the NRC where at least two women secured their districts' mandate for the senate, the dispute is much less. In Lagos State, Mrs. Oyinkan Doherty who lost the Lagos West bid to another woman, Mrs Kemi Nelson, has dispatched her protests to Chief Alaba Williams, the state sole administrator, alleging electoral malpractices. Williams has since assured her that she will receive justice. The other women who scaled through are Mrs. Onikepo Oshodi, Lagos East and Mrs. Florence Ita-Giwa, Cross Rivers State. In the SDP, Hajia Kolo Kingibe, wife of the party's national chairman, Ambassador Baba Gana Kingibe clinched the party's senatorial ticket for Borno Central. Hajia Kolo Kingibe will square up against Alhaji Ali Sheriff of NRC on July 4 senatorial elections for Borno Central. Alhaji Sheriff a multi-millionaire and a formidable business magnate was returned unopposed at Saturday primaries.

As the two parties prepare their campaign machinery for the general elections on July 4, NEC and state security officials began preparations for the screening of the candidates. As usual, the two agencies will scrutinise the candidates' papers to ascertain whether they are worthy to contest the election.

By Bolaji Adebisi with Samson Ojo and Abu Momoh



Ahmed and Bello: oldbreed and newbreed

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Alhaji Dangana Ndayako

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## Osun State Peace at last?

Osun State Council of Obas brokers a peace meeting that holds promises of ending the crisis in the state but danger signals prevail

When Governor Isiaka Adetunji Adeleke, the Osun State governor and his deputy, Prince Adesuyi Heastrup stepped out of the miniature conference hall of the government office on Monday, May 25, not a few of the dignitaries who had just met with them were convinced that peace had finally returned to the crisis-torn state. The meeting which was brokered by the traditional rulers council was arranged to find lasting solutions to the five month old political rumpus in the nascent Osun State. Chaired by Oba Okunade Sijuwade the Ooni of Ife, the Monday parley, the second in one month, was attended by all the principal actors in the crisis that had enveloped the state since the inception of the civilian administration.

Prior to last week's meeting, there had been two deadlocked meetings on May 7, and 15, respectively, when the state executive and the legislature could not reach a compromise on how to resolve their differences. The two previous efforts were apparently fruitless. It was obviously the desire to make May 25 peace settlement, the "end of all crisis" that made the royal fathers invite some of the close relations of Governor Adeleke and Prince Adesuyi Heastrup, the leading players in the crisis, to participate in the efforts to bring peace to the state.

Amongst those invited were Chief Gani Adeleke, reportedly a major financier of the governor during last year's governorship election, Prince Adewale Heastrup, a wealthy businessman and brother to Prince Adesuyi Heastrup. Chief

Dotun Phillips, the Ogboni of Ijeshaland and a close confidant of the deputy governor was also present. While the peace settlement lasted, *Citizen* gathered that all the parties to the crisis were made to give an undertaking that they will resolve their differences in the interest of peace in the state.

The success of the May 25 peace settlement was evidenced by the response from some of the actors in the state imbroglio.

Said Adeleke to *Citizen* last week: "The whole crisis has been resolved, everybody in the state including the speaker, governor and deputy governor are now one." When reminded that he had earlier made such a promise, he replied: "I tell you this is going to be the last time." Mr. Wole Afolabi, the state house of assembly speaker also enthused that "everything is over, it is a political problem and it has been resolved."

The governor and speaker's optimism about the efficacy of the peace meeting was given royal stamp by Oba Okunade Sijuwade. "It is finished. We have succeeded in returning peace to Osun State," an elated Sijuwade told *Citizen* adding that "It has never happened in the history of the Yoruba obas, for them to sit down for a period of nine hours, deliberating without food and drink." Thereafter, he appealed that peace should be allowed to reign so that the government can redeem its electoral promises to the people of the state.

However, if Oba Okunade Sijuwade and others are optimistic

that peace has come to Osun State, Prince Adesuyi Heastrup, the state deputy governor was not quite sure the crisis has ended. He told *Citizen* in an interview that he will rather wait for further developments on the matter, before he can actually decide whether the peace meeting has finally resolved the crisis between him and Governor Adetunji Adeleke. He however explained, "We seem to have a comprehensive settlement, I hope the peace will hold."

Notwithstanding, a source from the Osun State government house, however, revealed to *Citizen* that



Adeleke: the crisis is resolved

Prince Adesuyi Heastrup's scepticism about the efficacy of the peace meeting was due mainly to the term of the peace settlement, which were obviously more in favour of Governor Adetunji Adeleke. *Citizen* gathered that Prince Heastrup amongst others was not happy that his request for immediate reinstatement of the five officers of the state house of assembly who had earlier resigned their leadership position was not granted.

With this discontent it remains to be seen how effective last week's parley will be.

By Samson Ojo in Oshogbo

## Health

## Protecting womanhood

**National Task Force on Vesico Vaginal Fistula (VVF) calls for moral and material support to save more than 100,000 women from the VVF scourge**

**F**or Dr. Jemila Yusuf-Sada, a consultant obstetrician and gynaecologist, the "battle cry" is not that of equality with the male gender. But for the chairperson, fund raising committee, National Task Force on Vesico Vaginal Fistula (VVF), the battle is to save womanhood from an avoidable stigma associated with the noble task of procreating.

According to Dr. Yusuf-Sada, VVF is a severe disability that results from complications of labour during childbirth. The affected woman is said to lose all control of her bladder functions and continuously leaks urine and stool in cases of associated recto-vaginal fistula. Explaining further, Dr. Yusuf-Sada added that VVF "commonly occurs in girls who are given away early in marriage below the age of 18 and sometimes as early as before the onset of menstruation". As a result of the incomplete growth of the pelvis, there is an obstructed labour which results in the VVF defects. It is however not restricted to underaged mothers alone said Dr. Sada. Women whose growth are stunted as a result of undernourishment and are of short stature are also affected.

According to the reports of the National Task Force on VVF, there are over 100,000 victims nationwide and states mostly affected are Akwa Ibom, Cross River, Borno, Bauchi, Kano, Kaduna and Sokoto. Dr. Irene Thomas, a member of the committee, also added that VVF was also very common in the western part of the country but it was eradicated in the late sixties.

Although a non-infectious disease, VVF patients according to Dr. Sada, suffer a strong social stigma because

of the constant leakage of urine and the associated stench. "The victims are not able to socialise, they become social outcasts", added Dr. Sada. Consequently, the victims are said to be rejected by their husbands and families making them to resort into renting cheap dilapidated accommodation and living in groups.

The task force also highlighted that child marriage which is a major



Kuti, health minister

cause of VVF is a common feature in all parts of the country. Said the chairperson of the fund raising committee, "It is deeply rooted in the tradition of the various ethnic groups who erroneously hold on to the belief that girls should be given out early in marriage. This is done to preserve their virginity for the husband, or to forestall promiscuity and sometimes for monetary reward to the parents".

The task force which was inaugurated in February 1991, has been trying to achieve its objective of

eradicating VVF by harnessing available human and material resources, and has initiated educational and health programmes aimed at updating the knowledge and skills of medical and para-medical practitioners. To this end, adequate infrastructures necessary for prevention of the ailment, treatment and rehabilitation of the VVF patients are being created. So far, two doctors are being trained in Fistula surgery at Babangida Fistula Centre in Katsina and 18 nurses are presently undergoing training in Uyo. Also, about 400 surgeries have been carried out at the various centres.

Although many people blamed the escalation of VVF on some traditional and religious institutions especially in the northern part of the

country, the task force revealed last week that emirs, district heads and ward heads have been of tremendous help to it. Specifically, Hajija Amina Sambo, spoke of the concern of the Emir of Kano, Alhaji Ado Bayero, who has been physically present at some of the VVF campaigns. Apart from the emirs, according to Dr. Irene Thomas, traditional rulers have also been in the forefront of campaign for women education, another strategy against the embarrassing ailment.

Perhaps, with this moral support from the traditional quarters, things may improve. Meanwhile, with over 100,000 patients, the task force has appealed for greater material support from all well meaning Nigerians to enable it train about 10 doctors and 100 nurses in fistula surgery and management annually. In addition to this, existing facilities like hostels and rehabilitation centres to accommodate the teeming number of victims have to be expanded.

By Aluko Akinyele

# Impact of deregulation on the banking sector

By Alhaji Mansur Sodangi

Since 1986, the profile of the banking industry has transformed in various dimensions and particularly development in term of numbers has been quite phenomenal. The general deregulation policy invariably induced the lifting of restrictions on registration of more banks. The objective of this move was to create room for greater competition, promote banking habit and ensure better and efficient service delivery.

Available data indicates that the number of banks has grown by over 150 per cent from 40 per cent in 1986 to over 125 per cent by end of 1991. The number of commercial banks grew by about 50 per cent from 1991 while merchant banks grew by over 200 per cent in the same period. This growth pattern shows a higher weighting on the proliferation of merchant banks, a development not necessarily the best, since merchant banks by their nature do not operate with many branches.

For instance, while the total number of banks grew quite significantly, total number of branches grew by only 37 per cent from 1394 in 1986 to 1910 by December 1989.

The need to licence more commercial banks because of their propensity to open several branches and therefore serve a wider spectrum of the economy is buttressed by the country's low bank branch network rating by international standards. About 73,000 Nigerians share a bank branch as compared to 17,000 in Cote D'Ivoire, 27,000 in Kenya, 31,000 in India, 6,000 in United States and 5,000 in Britain. The internationally accepted standard is thought to be between 15,000 - 17,000 people to a bank branch.

The licensing of new banks was suspended since 1991 to enable the authorities assess the performance and behaviour of the existing

ones in relation to policy objectives. Whenever the licensing is resumed, there is need to consider the existing problems so that the banking sector can effectively play its role and discharge its functions in the adjustment process.

## Impact of deregulation on the banking sector

Competition was accentuated in the banking sector by the general deregulation pursued un-



Alhaji Mansur Sodangi

der the adjustment programme. The unprecedented proliferation of new

banks was decidedly a factor, but the real stimulant for competition was the transfer of all public sector funds to the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN). The directive for this transfer was issued in May 1989 and resulted in withdrawal of over five billion Naira from the banking system. An enormous liquidity squeeze was experienced to the extent that the survival of some banks was threatened. Competition for deposit was heightened and became very stiff. Banks developed all kinds of innovations to have an edge over each other. Interest rates shot up to an all time high with lending rates at between 35 and 40 per cent.

Other measures which increased competition in the industry include the abolishing of the practice of granting credit facilities with the backing of foreign guarantee. Others were the introduction of stabilisation securities, increase in liquidity ratio and minimum reserve ratio. The resultant competition has been good for the economy because service delivery was greatly enhanced. The increased number of banks also implied easier access to credit. New products like weekend banking, free life insurance for savings account holders etc, also emerged all in an effort to gain a competitive edge.

The proliferation of banks

For instance, while the total number of banks grew quite significantly, total number of branches grew by only 37 per cent from 1394 in 1986 to 1910 by December 1989.

however, visited the problem of manpower shortage on the banking sector. The new banks source virtually all their manpower from the existing ones. Staff without good working experience found their way to the top in new banks by changing jobs frequently. In many cases, sensitive positions were filled by unsuitable personnel. The manifestations of which include weak internal control, poor credit decisions, contravention of statutory regulations and enthrall ineptitude.

The adjustment of the Naira exchange rate and the explosion of interest rates of lending had the undesirable consequence of affecting the quality of lending portfolio of many banks. Many borrowers became unable to service rising interest obligations and the number of non-performing accounts therefore increased. While on the other hand an across-the-board increase in demand for credit to finance larger working capital requirements. To compound the problems, there were credit growth constraints, higher liquidity ratios and stabilisation debits from Central Bank of Nigeria to cope with.

**T**he deposit insurance scheme introduced in 1988 also had a far reaching impact on the banking sector. The vehicle for implementing this scheme is the Nigeria Deposit Insurance Corporation (NDIC) which principally seeks to protect bank depositors who are perceived as being exposed to more risk, especially in the light of increasing deterioration in quality of bank lending portfolios. Two significant areas of concern in the operation of this scheme are the volume of insurable deposits and quantum of premium payable. Section 20 of the Nigerian Deposit Insurance Scheme (NDIC) decree provides that all deposits of a licensed bank or any other financial institution shall be insured with the corporation, although exceptions

have been made in respect of insider and counterclaim deposits. The decree defines deposit as all monies lodged for safe keeping or for the purpose of earning interest. The intention is therefore, to insure the



*Alhaji Abubakar Alhaji, Finance Minister*  
 centre deposit of the financial system.  
 Fiscal measure under the struc-

government's decision to disinvest in several businesses. This exercise has been handled by the Technical Committee on Privatisation and Commercialisation (TCPC). The sale of shares to the public was affected through several banks and has been a source of activity for them. Not only this, several banks provided loans to their customers for purchase of the shares.

Other impact has been in respect of the borrowing of the privatised companies. Many of them owed banks substantial amounts and the debt was bad in most cases but the privatisation exercise facilitated total repayments or in some case reschedulements. The privatisation has, therefore, to an extent improved the lending position of some banks.

This paper has examined the impact of the fiscal and monetary policies of deregulation on the banking sector. Although there have been both successes and failures in several areas, the general indication is that policy implementation has been in the right direction. However, policy fine tuning is a strategic imperative for the full actualisation of the objectives of the adjustment process.

## Fiscal measure under the structural adjustment programme also had an impact on the banking sector. Notable among these is the government's decision to disinvest in several businesses.

structural adjustment programme also had an impact on the banking sector. Notable among these is the

*Alhaji Mansur Sodangi is the managing director/chief executive, Bank of the North, Kano.*

## INTERVIEW

## Mamman Daura

## The federal solution

About two years ago, Malam Mamman Daura, former managing director of New Nigerian Newspapers Limited and now chairman African International Bank, gave an interview to the moribund *Pressworld* magazine. Among other things, he spoke on national unity, politics, minorities and state creation. We reproduce excerpts against the background of the last violence in Kaduna. The interview would not have been

more apt

*PW: Do you see Nigeria as a united country?*

**D**aura: It is not easy looking at the country to say it is united or disunited. It is the degree of unity that we should care about. There are some countries which are fairly united and there are some that are on the verge of disintegration. Let me give two examples: Lebanon is one country on the brink of disintegration, Australia is one country unlike Lebanon where everyone is trying to split the country. I think Nigeria is halfway on this continuum between total unity and virtual disintegration.

*PW: Having agreed with you that we should be con-*



*Daura: Separatist tendencies result from bad economic situation*

*cerned with the level of unity in the country, would you say the present level of unity in the country is adequate or inadequate?*

Daura: The degree of unity in any country is never satisfactory. There is always room for improvement. You should always try to make your countrymen come together. You know our Creator says in the Qur'an: "I have created you differently so that you could understand one another." So all of us from different parts of the country, from different faiths and from different ethnic groups should try and link up with other people so that we understand and know each other better.

Nigeria is very peculiar. If one section feels that in one respect it has not got a fair deal, spokesmen for that section call for confederation or regionalism or call for partition. For example in 1966, there was a military upheaval and one section of the country felt that if they cannot be on top, then they better leave the country. However, the rest of the country resolved that nobody was going to leave the country then or at any other time. This was one time when the greatest number of Nigerians were united on one fundamental issue.

The usual scenario (as witnessed in Constituent Assembly) is that sections of the country will come together on certain issues; then this coalition will break-up and as soon as another issue comes up a different alliance springs up. So the sum total of what I want to say is that our unity is by no means assured, therefore all of us, individuals and groups, we have a duty to see that our country becomes more and more united and journalists have a greater responsibility than most in this respect as their write-ups influence opinions of the Nigerian public.

*PW: Do you see the country's level of unity growing stronger by the day or deteriorating since the amalgamation of the northern and southern protectorates in 1914?*

Daura: We go through phases, sometimes the country is on an even plane and this is usually so when the economy is good. Everybody has enough to eat and the benefits go round, then everybody becomes reasonably satisfied like during Gowon's regime. After the civil war, we were trying to reconcile ourselves with our brothers. It was the period of oil boom and its accompanying multiplier effects. So nobody talked about disintegrating the country. People were reasonably happy, doing business and so on. Roads were built, people were getting licences to do business, scholarships were given out. But as soon as the economy became bad, people from all parts began to ask "what is the use?" People from Bendel and Rivers states began to say that the oil comes from their land but how come they were suffering? "Can't we get out so we can corner the oil for ourselves?" Now a lot of the demands for confederation or regionalism come about as a consequence of economic downturn. If our economy goes down, you can be

sure that separatist tendencies will surface. People will look for scapegoats. You will hear people say, "I am from Bendel, I can not get a school in Kaduna or Sokoto. Why? And with our money! It is our money! If it is our money, why don't we break off and stay on our own." Then people from Kano and Oyo will say "we fought the civil war on the proceeds of groundnut and cocoa and now they do not want us to share the oil proceeds. What kind of unity is this?" So the greater the economic prosperity, the greater the feeling of oneness and the lesser the divisive tendencies. The level of unity in Nigeria is a function of the economic situation. Mark you, I am not saying this observation has universal application, there are examples like Canada where the economic performance is high and separative tendencies are also high. But our own case study suggests that economic performance is a factor in agitation for a break-up.

*PW: Do you agree with some sections of the society who express the wish that the country would have been left in its separate ethnic entities as independent countries instead of being amalgamated?*

**D**aura: Absolutely not. Rightly in my view we are together. This is because the result would have been little tiny states and none of them viable, and who would keep fighting each other. We can see such examples as the Balkans; what unsettling effect they had on Europe. And just a few decades ago the effect of a cluster of non-viable states had on south-east Asia. Suppose Nigeria breaks up, how would you clearly demarcate the boundary lines? At which point does west stop and east start? Where does north begin, where does it end? As soon as you have the country split up,

you would start to have border clashes. No, I feel that Nigeria under federal system is the best for us, as is entrenched in the constitution of 1989. It is the most ideal system as it caters for our differences and also caters for our unity. I don't think there is a case for confederation. Once you have a confederation then you have the beginnings of separate countries, would mean permanent border wars and disputes with great power involvement. So in spite of the difficulties, I feel that we are on the correct path. It is the right thing to have states as opposed to regions so that everyone can do certain



Awolowo, *The big three stand out*

things in his state and go to the centre for common pursuits.

*PW: Do you see state creation as one solution to the problem of unity?*

Daura: No. Creation of more states will destroy federalism and ultimately unity. Nineteen states was just about right, although a few were not viable but it has been done. Now we have 21 states. Any more states would make them into local authorities — everything will go to Lagos. Even now, which is viable? Oyo perhaps, Kano and Lagos and a few others by reason of their large population and commercial concentration. It is a joke to call some states but because of the strength of the feeling of the people, they have been created. I think if we go any further, there would be too many states and it would become a unitary system and that will be bad for the country. There is a case for abolishing the states on the ground that they constitute a fearful resource trap, but that is another issue altogether.

*PW: Do you not think that fears of minorities being dominated in a state can be dispelled by granting them a state?*



Ahmadu Bello, *The founding fathers did well*

**Daura:** The question is who are the minorities in a state? As soon as a state is created, a new minority would emerge. It is either ethnic minority, geographical minority or political minority. Take Katsina State for instance. It is considered as one of the homogeneous states in Nigeria. But the Daura people are alleging domination by Katsina people. In Katsina itself, southern Katsina people are complaining of oppression by northern Katsina. What do you do? Create a Daura state and go and split Katsina again into north Katsina and south Katsina? Now, clear lines should be drawn and the people should not stampede the government into any more hasty decisions. Complaints of oppression in states would never end and if each is to be solved, then state creation will be reduced into an absurd exercise. We should let the present 21 states go on for 30 years and see how it works. With time the business of state will assume less importance. In America now, who cares whether California is more populated than Milwaukee. It really does not matter to many Americans. They move from one place to another and vote where they are. So there is no particular attachment to certain states.

**PW:** *Would you say the colonialists caused disunity or unity?*

**Daura:** It was not the business of colonialists to foster unity. Their business was to control a place so that they could pursue their own interest. Their primary purpose was to set up an administration where they control and exploit our resources. So amalgamation was not done to foster unity but to help them administer and exploit the territory.

**PW:** *Did our nationalists contribute to unity or disunity? Which individuals or groups rank highest in their contribution to unity?*

**Daura:** After amalgamation, the question then was not fighting for unity. The preoccupation was the demand for rights of Nigerians and this graduated into right to self government. Everyone and group was used in fighting for this right. But those individuals who stood out from all in their daring struggle against the colonisers were Dr. Azikiwe, Chief Awolowo and Alhaji Ahmadu Bello. The fullest credit must be given to our first and second generation political leaders because they worked against great odds and at great risks to their lives, freedom and families for the independence which we are enjoying now. They deserve our greatest respect for their efforts.

**PW:** *It is believed some nationalists introduced ethnic rivalry in Nigeria through the introduction of ethnic politics into the country. What is your opinion on this?*

**Daura:** Politicians will take the shortest cut to gain

power. What issues could they interest the voters with? They could not promise voters roads, light, water or education because it was not in their capacity to do so. So they could only appeal to ethnic sentiments to gain a power base. In politics, party formation starts basically with local interests. You think of what will interest a particular locality where the party will take shape and sprout. It follows therefore that when a party is formed it will be on the basis of aggregates of local influences. It will naturally have a local bias. But time and experience have brought socio-economic issues more to the fore and tribal or local politics recedes to the background. It is a long process and not something that happens in a short while. You cannot have a baby in three months. Dr. Azikiwe was ahead of others in espousing nationalist goals and politics in the 50s and 60s, so much so that he earned the appellation of 'Zik of Africa' in recognition of his nationalistic outlook. Unfortunately he fell back to local politics in 1978/79. He degenerated into espousing an Igbo party. A thousand pities.

**PW:** *What recipe would you recommend to a would-be ruler in speeding up the feeling of oneness and national-*

**Dr. Azikiwe was ahead of others in espousing nationalist goals and politics in the 50s and 60s, so much so that he earned the appellation of 'Zik of Africa' in recognition of his nationalistic outlook. Unfortunately he fell back to local politics in 1978/79. He degenerated into espousing an Igbo party. A thousand pities.**

*ism in Nigeria?*

**Daura:** I would recommend the pursuance of economic policies where the greatest number would benefit. Where there is less want, where there is justice in the distribution of amenities, there is less likelihood of disaffection. The more you get from your own country, the more satisfied you are and the less likely you are to disrupt that country and 'check out' like Andrew.

**PW:** *Do you see federal character as one of the measures that could foster unity?*

**Daura:** The idea of federal character and quota system is sound. It is a universal concept. I went to a foreign university on a colonial quota. Many of our first and second generation generals also went to military training overseas on colonial quotas. There were more qualified English people than me, but they were not given admission but I was given. What do you say to that? Stick to what you call 'merit' then you will end up having a group of people from a particular place dominating everything and this will create more problems, such as disaffection, sabotage and outright rebellion. When I

was the editor of the New Nigerian Newspaper during the civil war, we made a quick census and found that 30% of the staff was from what was called North, 60% from West. I broke everything down to states and found that there was none from Cross River State. So I told the deputy editor to look for staff from Cross River and Rivers states so that the whole country could be represented. We soon found a suitable person in the town library and employed him at once. He proved very useful a few days later. This was when he helped rewrite a garbled war report from the Calabar sector sent by telex. Being from there and familiar with the geography and names, he was able to give us the correct names and the correct geographical positions. This trivial example I pointed to the rest of the staff as a small benefit of federal representation. I assure you that federal character is normal in any set-up in the world, and Nigeria and other Africa countries are no exceptions. Even in USA where people do not attach importance to state of origin, major appointments are made on the basis of states for the government to satisfy their federal character. Every Nigerian should continue to support the idea of federal character and quota system although there may be occasional complaints and disputes on particular appointments. It is a fact that if a census were conducted in government ministries and parastatals and even commercial houses a lot of imbalances and distortions will be found in appointments. It is therefore the job of each successive government to do its utmost to correct these imbalances at the bottom and also at the top especially in government departments and in the strategic corporations.

**PW:** *Is it true the allegation that the implementation of federal character is grossly abused in favour of a particular section of the country?*

**Daura:** No! What happens is that there may be a preponderance of people from one part of the country in a particular institution and in trying to correct this imbalance there is uproar. Imbalances cannot be ruled out from time to time and it is the job of any government to correct them.

**PW:** *Would you say our politicians of both first and second republics failed in their attempt to foster unity?*

**Daura:** Time is never given to politicians. If there had been no coup in 1966, we would have perhaps been near where India is now. We would have been far more developed and politically experienced than we are now. This is my feeling because India never had a coup. Although the soldiers wanted to take power at one time, they decided against it and so the experiment was allowed to continue. There were mistakes and people were annoyed at the conduct of certain governments but they had a chance to vote them out. You know Mrs. Gandhi was thrown out and now her son has also been voted out. In the next election, probably, he will win. So by trial and improvement you get a better political track record. Nigeria's First Republic lasted for five years

and the second for four and half years. So there has not been enough time, if you are a political scientist, to say that our experiment has failed, it is better to say it has not been allowed to succeed. Nigerians are very impatient. **PW:** *Don't you see the intervention of the army as being timely, seeing the trend of events as at the time?*

**Daura:** Politics all over the world has its nasty bits and violence. But this is no excuse to have army intervention in politics. India had worse socio-political upheavals but they persevered and they are the better for it today. They have made some political progress. If you allow the military to intervene and the people get dissatisfied with the military and revolt against them the resultant casualty would be far more catastrophic than a revolt against a civil system. **PW:** *Do you agree that frequent switching from one political system to another does not enhance the development of our political culture?*

**Daura:** I agree with you. We started with a parliamentary system and changed to the congressional (or presidential system). We should stick to the congressional because it is nearer the African mode than the parlia-



**Dr. Azikiwe:** *African nationalist for a time*  
mentary. In Africa, the man-in-charge is the chief who is guided and restrained by the chief's council, an equivalent of the president and the National Assembly. This represents emotionally the basic form of government in most of Africa. This is why I prefer it to the parliamentary variant. It is much less advanced and I suggest the Third Republic should continue on the basis of the congressional or presidential system and we should allow it to work for two or three generations. We will have good presidents and bad presidents, good national assemblies and bad ones. As time goes on the national psyche will appreciate a good government when we are lucky to have one.

## BUSINESS &amp; ECONOMY

# Railways Trouble on the tracks

**Workers down tools to protest non-payment of salary arrears and worsening conditions of service**

**C**ash-strapped Nigerian Railway Corporation (NRC) experienced further revenue loss last week when its over 24,000 work-force embarked on a work-to-rule action.

The action, begun last Monday, was in protest against unpaid four months salary arrears totalling about 74 million Naira. The NRC spends 18.5 million Naira monthly on wages. Besides, the corporation is owing its workers 33.5 million Naira in meal subsidy allowance from January 1988 to December 1990; 4.3 million Naira in leave grants; 3.4 million Naira in overtime; 7.6 million Naira in cooperative society contributions, tax deductions and union dues for 15 months. It is also owing workers retrenched between 1988 and 1989 2.5 million Naira redundancy allowance.

By the industrial action, the financial woes of the corporation have further worsened. Although its chief public relations officer, Mr. Ndakotsu, would not say how much it would have lost during the crisis period, he admitted the NRC would suffer a staggering loss from the absence of business activities. He told *Citizen* "It is unfortunate that this action is happening now when the corporation needs funds badly. And this is why management is doing everything to get the workers back to work." *Citizen* gathered that last week alone, the corporation may have lost over two million Naira from passenger and freight charges.

Last week's strike was the climax of a seven-day ultimatum given the NRC management by its workers and the Nigeria Union of Railwaymen (NUR). The NUR had demanded that the corporation abide by the May deadline given it by the

National Industrial Court to pay all salary and allowance arrears owed workers. At the Ebute-Metta headquarters of the corporation, a staff told *Citizen* that "Since both the Industrial Arbitration Panel and the National Industrial Court had asked our employers to comply with the terms of our employment and this was not done, we have no option but to go on strike. We are starving".

On Tuesday the management met with the NUR to resolve the impasse. At the meeting, it is learnt, a desperate appeal was made to the workers to call off their sit-down

**"Since both the Industrial Arbitration Panel and the National Industrial Court had asked our employers to comply with the terms of our employment and this was not done, we have no option but to go on strike. We are starving".**



*Nwajei: concrete actions now*

strike while the corporation accentuates efforts to pay their salaries and other entitlements. Ndakotsu expressed hope that the workers would co-operate.

But obviously, the workers

seemed not ready to resume duties until their grievances are met: When *Citizen* visited Iddo terminus mid last week, stranded passengers were still observed, with complaint of non-availability of trains to their destinations. And at the headquarters, workers were seen milling around idly. At the Ekololu Street, Surulere secretariat of the NUR, one official who spoke in the absence of Mr. Joseph Nwajei, the union's secretary-general, maintained that the strike would be sustained until workers are paid. "Only concrete action in real terms and not appeals will make us call it off, he insisted.

Embattled senior officials are understood to be striving to ensure its debts are paid to assuage the workers' plight. The corporation's director of administration, Alhaji Mahe Dange was in Abuja last week to intimate government of the situation and press for urgent assistance.

If this effort succeeds, the corporation may eventually get the 40 million Naira grant being negotiated by the federal ministry of transport and communications with the Central Bank of Nigeria. Reliable sources however informed *Citizen* that the corporation recently collected 12 million Naira from the government to offset salary arrears. Confirming this, Ndakotsu said the amount, insufficient to settle all outstanding arrears, was used in paying January salary.

In spite of the present constraints, NRC top officials are positive of brighter days when the corporation becomes fully commercialised. There are extensive plans for its overhauling in preparation for this move. Engines are already being purchased to strengthen the corpo-

ration's fleet. Only in May, four new engines, out of 10 ordered last June from Hieschel of Germany at a cost of 240 million Naira, arrived Lagos to increase the total number to 40. The corporation's chief spokesman said drivers for the engines are already being trained and very soon, they would begin operations. Five more engines are expected this month from South Korea while 15 are to be delivered in September.

When all the engines are delivered there are high hopes that the NRC would be viable once again. A business plan drawn up by the management, projected for 30 months, shows that the corporation would earn no less than 15 million Naira monthly, operating with at least 45 locomotives.

Cheering news from the World

Bank on the approval of a 1.8 million Naira loan has rekindled optimism. If the loan is eventually received, realignment of rail tracks and purchase of essential spare parts and communication equipment are high on the priority list of projects to be tackled. It is also learnt that new rail links between Lagos and Benin, Katsina, Kano and Abuja — Kaduna may be constructed.

**A**lthough observers see last week's strike as a necessary action that would spur management to address the workers plight, it is also feared that proposed plans to prune the corporation's staff strength from 24,000 to under 12,000 might be

speed up as commercialisation plans reach the conclusive stage. Work on the enabling decree to give legal muscle to the commercialisation is at an advanced stage at the ministry of justice, according to an NRC source.

Already a sum of 520 million Naira has been set aside to pay off workers to be retrenched, according to Dr. Hamza Zayyad, chairman of the Technical Committee on Privatisation and Commercialisation. When the commercialisation takes effect, the NRC will cease to exist. Instead it will consist of three companies: the Nigerian Railway Track Authority; the Nigerian Railway Company Limited and the Nigerian Railway Engineering Services Limited.

By Tayo Odunlami

## BUSINESS BRIEFS

CBN

### Remoulding credit policy

**T**he Central Bank of Nigeria CBN last week announced a review to the 1992 monetary and credit policy.

The review now requires banks to invest only 10 per cent of their liquidity assets in government securities.

The previous guidelines prescribed that commercial and merchant banks maintain a minimum of 20 percentage point out of the stipulated 30 per cent liquidity ratio in treasury bills and certificates.



Ahmed: CBN governor

The measure according to the CBN, was expected to reduce the adverse impact of excess liquidity on the economy as well as pave the way for the introduction of market based instrument of monetary control.

### Parastats sign performance agreement

**T**hree parastats, Nigerian Telecommunications Limited (NITEL), Nigerian

Airports Authority (NAA) and Nigerian Ports Authority (NPA) last week signed performance agree-

ment with the Technical Committee on Privatisation and Commercialisation (TCPC).

TCPC chairman, Dr. Hamza Zayyad, described the performance agreement as "a revolutionary measure aimed at ensuring that our public enterprises particularly utilities, perform their supportive roles to the national economy".

A major plank of the performance agreement is the corporate plan developed by each affected enterprise, taking a long term view of the enterprise especially in the areas of growth in profitability or generation of surpluses.

While the NPA — now Nigerian Ports Corporation Plc (NPC) and NITEL are fully commercialised, NAA is partially commercialised under the

scheme.

Dr. Zayyad said at the ceremony that the board and management of the three enterprises would ensure an improved financial and operating performance in returns for enhanced autonomy. According to him, the agreement is intended to have an initial tenure of three years during which the clauses and performance target will not be modified.

The new status of the enterprises has removed their conditions from the civil service structure.



Zayyad: of the TCPC

## Cadbury 102 million Naira profit in the till

**C**adbury Nigeria Plc has recorded a profit before tax of 102.8 million Naira in 1991. This represents an increase of 176.2 per cent above the 37.221 million Naira recorded in 1990.

The company's annual reports and accounts for 1991 shows that turnover increased by 56.9 per cent from 458 million Naira in 1990 to 719 million Naira in 1991 profit after taxation similarly increased by 118 per cent from 27.6 million Naira in 1990 to 60.2 million Naira last year.

As a result of this impressive performance, the company is this year paying a dividend of 24.6 million Naira, subject to approval by shareholders, a 75 per cent increase on the 14 million Naira paid

out last year.

The managing director and chief executive of the company Dr. Christopher Kolade, last week in Lagos attributed the improvements of the company to astute manage-

ment and proper execution of plans by Cadbury Nigeria's management and staff.

He assured that the management would improve

on this record in the next financial year.

The 1991 AGM of the

company comes up on June 3, at the NICON NOGA Hotel, Abuja.

As a result of this impressive performance, the company is this year paying a dividend of 24.6 million Naira, subject to approval by shareholders, a 75 per cent increase on the 14 million Naira paid out last year.



Onosode and Kolade of Cadbury discussing the cheering news

## Coca-Cola/Sprite 20 million Naira money bag blast

**B**eginning from today (June 1), Nigerian Bottling Company NBC, makers of Coca Cola/Sprite will begin a roller-coaster promotion in which millionaires will be made every two weeks.

The promotion titled Coca Cola/Sprite 20 million Naira Money Bag blast is in two parts; the six millionaire raffle draws, where one millionaire would emerge every two weeks and the under-the-crown instant wins of cash prizes and millions of free Coca-Cola and Sprite. Six

millionaires are expected to emerge during the period of the promotion

ective Bashorun A.A. Adesanya, the promotion is aimed at giving "all Nigerians the chance of not only enjoying their favourite soft drinks Coca-Cola

their dream of a life time to become millionaires".

Also it is aimed at creating lots of excitement amongst all Nigerians within all socio-economic

The promotion is aimed at giving "all Nigerians the chance of not only enjoying their favourite soft drinks Coca-Cola and Sprite, but also the opportunity of realising their dream of a life time to become millionaires".

(June-September). According to NBC chief ex-

and Sprite, but also the opportunity of realising

groups in the country.  
Tola Sunday

## AFRICA

## Ghana

## A messy affair

Opposition parties kick against registration laws and call for a national conference

Unless the impasse between the Ghanaian government and the country's opposition parties over the new political party registration law is quickly resolved, the country's return to multi-party democracy slated for 1993 may not be realised. The danger signal came last week as a high court said that it had no jurisdiction to rule on the claim by the opposition political parties which tender that the new registration law is unconstitutional and unfair. The ruling anxiously awaited came as a major disappointment to several people who expected it as a test case in dictating the direction of the country's democratic transition.

The opposition leaders said they took the legal action because the government refused to listen to their demands to resolve their differences on a round table discussion. Apparently, the opposition is irked by several provisions of the new constitution that regulate and restrict how the party operates and raises funds.

The new constitution particularly forbids political parties from receiving and soliciting for funds from abroad. It has also put ceiling on the amount members of the party would contribute. In addition, the party membership must cut across ethnic and regional boundaries. As a break from the past, no new parties are allowed to adopt names and slogans associated with the previously proscribed political parties in the country.

Obviously, the designers of the new constitution have been guided by the need to chart a new path for the country and to prevent individuals or a group of people from

hijacking and teleguiding the parties. Observers said the parties' grouse is centred around the registration and funding of the parties. Their argument is that the government in designing the new law wants to exclude the various critics of government outside the country, many of whom have formed new political parties.

They pointed out that these clauses like the one giving legal immunity to members of the ruling Provisional National Defence Council, (PNDC), are stumbling blocks for the fourth republic. Kamate Agbedi Gbema, a former member of late Dr. Nkrumah's ruling party CPP, and a key figure in the opposition, accused the government last week of planting a guided democracy when he asked rhetorically "what kind of democracy are we trying?"

He also said last week that though the high court said only the Supreme Court could adjudicate in the matter, it is sheer waste of time.

A hurriedly held meeting took place on Tuesday on the next line of action and failed to reach a consensus — as the widely divided opposition held divergent opinions forcing the government to shelve it till last Wednesday.

Last Wednesday, the opposition leaders agreed to convene a national conference. They said the issue raised a fundamental question of control over the transition process which can only be resolved by a national conference.

The question last week is: who is to convene the national conference. Agbedi Gbema, an opposition leader however, said the conference would take place in the next two weeks.



Rawlings: In good faith?

The ruling PNDC has not reacted to the opposition demand. It is however, strongly suspected that Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings would not accede to a national conference likely to strip him of his executive power as it had happened in Benin and Togo. The country's electoral commission said it would not convene registration of political parties until the issue is resolved.

Rawlings who handed over to an elected government of Dr. Hilla Liman after taking power in 1979 coup, came back in 1981 and immediately banned parties, arguing that they breed corruption and mismanagement. After nearly a decade under his "no party" PNDC, protest mounted and series of national debates indicated Ghanaians were hungry again for a multi party system. Unlike 11 years ago, Rawlings' government's popularity has taken a nose dive. Many Ghanians have become impoverished despite the government's meticulous implementation of IMF inspired economic measures. There are also allegations of corruption against some government officials.

Despite Rawlings' argument not to transplant a western style democracy, a new constitution modelled along the US strong executive presidency, was widely adopted in a national referendum last April. Now many people say Rawlings' government and other opposition parties should iron out their differences if a stable fourth democracy is to take off.

By Abu Mommoh  
with agency reports



In 1990,  
4,380 of the deaths on the highways resulted from

**OVERSPEEDING,  
OVERTAKING AND  
OVERLOADING !**

What a shame ?  
What future for our children ?  
What future for our country ?

**OBEY SPEED LIMIT REGULATIONS NOW Before it is TOO LATE !**



PUBLIC ENLIGHTENMENT DEPARTMENT,  
FEDERAL ROAD SAFETY COMMISSION

## WORLD

# The Vatican Can they do business?

## Archbishop of Canterbury meets Pope John Paul II but who will be the first to bat an eye?

**D**r. George Carey, the archbishop of Canterbury, head of the church of England is not a Patrick Kalilombe nor an Emmanuel Milingo. Both are African bishops who at different times tried to rock "monolithic church structures", by attempting to "root Catholicism in African culture". For doing that, Kalilombe, a radical Malawian cleric, lost his Lilongwe bishopric.

Archbishop Milingo, the maverick Zambian, was moved out of Iwaka to the Vatican as "punishment" for holding healing ceremonies or mass exorcism". Archbishop Carey, who replaced Runcie late last year, was "nervous" about his first meeting with Pope John Paul II, the first non-Italian pope in 456 years, for a different reason.

The purpose of his meeting the pope, he announced before his departure, was to work towards a reconciliation between Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches. Anglicanism is a branch of Protestantism, which broke with the Roman Catholicism some hundreds of years ago.

Two issues have made reconciliation impossible. One, the Catholic church's objection to artificial

birth control, particularly the use of contraceptives, and the other ordination of women.

Roman Catholics have stuck to the Biblical tradition of keeping women outside the priesthood. It has been the preserve of men. Said the Pope when he received the Archbishop on Monday May 25. "The ordination of women has been a grave obstacle to reconciliation". Since the second Vatican council in the mid-1960s, the Catholic Church has been through significant changes. But its

opposition to women becoming priestesses has not wavered.

Equally, the church has been firm against the use of contraceptives which it banned in 1963. This attitude was much criticised by the Archbishop of Canterbury prior to his visit to the Vatican. Two weeks to the visit, he said population explosion contributed towards global poverty and environmental hazards and that the twin problem was "a challenge" to the Catholic church. He said he had no regret for making the criticism.

Archbishop Carey, when the visit drew near, however, softened his high brow tone. He told the world that the Anglican church recognised the "primacy" of the Pope as the head of all Christian fellowship, what Jehovah witnesses refer derogatively as Christaindom.



Pope John Paul II: Still the head

**The purpose of his meeting the pope, he announced before his departure, was to work towards a reconciliation between Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches.**

Also, while in the presence of the Pope, the Archbishop chose to listen rather than set the agenda. That way he managed to salvage a parley that already was heading for the rocks. Whether the two were any nearer their objective after the May 25, talks was not immediately clear.

By Tawey Zakka with agency reports

# Thailand Peoples' fury boils over

## Military rule was dealt a death blow when pro-democracy protesters sent their leader crashing

**B**efore General Suchinda Kraprayoon succumbed to the wishes of the people by resigning his position as prime minister, the peace brokered in Thailand to contain the violent anti-government demonstrations assumed a wafer thin status. The protesters had threatened to resume their pro-democracy demonstrations. It was an event everybody was anxious to prevent.

Life in central Bangkok was disrupted for several days as police confronted about 25,000 pro-democracy protesters who were demanding the resignation of General Suchinda, the unelected military leader who 15 months ago led the coup against the civilian regime. On assuming power he had promised to lay solid foundations for a lasting democratic government. This promise had particular attraction for Thailand's politicians who have had to tolerate an overbearing presence of the military in politics. When Suchinda tried to renege on his words by usurping the post of prime minister without contesting in last March elections, the people's fury boiled over. Demonstrators, mostly students and the middle class, took to the streets. Forty people were killed and 600 injured in the protests which only stopped when the Thai monarch intervened by appealing to demonstrators and opposition parties.

The parliament then yielded to the wishes of the people by unanimously agreeing to amend the constitution. The amendment is to prevent an unelected politician or military officer from assuming the post



**Narong:** the nominated prime minister before the coup

of prime minister. A specific clause already discussed for inclusion in the constitution makes it mandatory that anybody aspiring to be prime minister must be an elected member of parliament. When Suchinda could not prevent the amendment from sailing through, he tried to maintain

protests until Suchinda was removed.

The legislature also incurred the wrath of the people by granting general amnesty to all military commanders that gave instructions to troops who opened fire on demonstrators.

Embattled Suchinda then suffered another unexpected attack from no less a person than his own minister, who passed a vote of no confidence in his leadership. Mr. Pongpol Arideksarn, the foreign minister wept as he called for the prosecution of Suchinda accusing him of causing the death of protesters.

As opposition against the government heightened, the Law Association of Thailand also issued a statement in support of the demonstrators by describing the amnesty granted to the prime minister and other commanders who ordered troops to open fire on protesters as illegal. The lawyers called for thorough investigation of the shootings and the lifting of the state of emergency declared at the peak of the crisis. They also called for a re-organisation of the senate to rid it of army dominance.

Faced with opposition that refused to budge, Suchinda finally resigned last Sunday. The Legislators immediately called a meeting to elect a new leader. Lasting peace it seems will return to Thailand when the

## Faced with opposition that refused to budge, Suchinda finally resigned last Sunday. The Legislators immediately called a meeting to elect a new leader.

his hold on power by arguing that the amendment should not be applied retroactively. Seeing through his ploy the demonstrators threatened to resume anti-government

legislature disentangles itself from the unholy hold of the military on its institutions.

**By Bilkisu Yusuf**  
with agency reports



## BILKISU YUSUF

cation with those at home.

As I reflected over the spate of destruction reported, news of the air traffic controllers' strike added another dimension to the problem. Prompt and safe arrival at home could not be guaranteed if the strike continued. I pushed the thought to the back of my mind. As the carnage spread to surrounding cities of Kaduna and Zaria my anxiety

That was what happened during the Zangon Kataf massacre. The Kataf sealed off the Hausa Fulani enclave after Friday prayers. Their settlement was then surrounded until the heinous mission was accomplished.

The retaliatory killings in Kaduna also followed the same pattern with high Hausa-Fulani casualty in areas with concentration

# Zangon Kataf: Living with insecurity

Perhaps it is premature to conclude that my trips abroad are jinxed, yet two events have happened to make me entertain such fears. Last September, while I was away attending a conference on religion and peace in Washington, the Kanô riots erupted. My flight was diverted to Accra, due to the closure of the airport. Mid May when I left Kaduna for Lagos to collect my travel documents and board a flight to Europe, I got stranded in Ikeja for several hours unable to reach Lagos Island because of the fuel riots. Life in the city remained paralysed for almost a week as the riots spread to other areas. By the time I left the country, there was a lull in the riots and traffic flowed freely into and out of Lagos Island. I had a premonition that all was not well. And the worst did follow.

The recent bloodbath in Zangon Kataf took place while I was attending an International Press Institute, IPI, assembly in Budapest, Hungary.

News of the incident reached me on Monday as the IPI parliament was about to open. It spoils my day. As I sat in the architectural masterpiece of the Hungarian legislative house, the marble and rare wood interior that would have excited the artist in me blurred my vision. The anxiety I felt from the time I heard about the incident increased with the daily update gathered from CNN, Herald Tribune and communi-

heightened. For the past four years Kaduna has been my home. Its status as an old regional headquarters and the accommodating spirit of the founders made the city a haven for many retired public officers, captains of industry and a curious political mixture of liberals, radicals and conservatives. It had room for everybody. A perfect example of birds of different feathers flocking together. I was at home there but now I have been forced to modify or re-interpret my pet theories on Kaduna's mellow and cosmopolitan appeal. In the light of bewildering developments in this hitherto peaceful city, many residents who used to retire into a cocoon of safety now feel terribly insecure.

Wild gyrations of explosive ethnic conflicts, matched with equally destructive religious intolerance have combined to make life and property unsafe in any part of the city. One's protection now depends on being a majority ethnic or religious group in any quarters of the town.

Before long, Kaduna like New York and Lebanon will soon have its equivalent of Jewish quarters, Harlem, Chinatown, little Italy and Christian East and Muslim West sectors. It is a tragedy that ethnicity should determine where people may now live. Even that pattern of settlement has its disadvantages since an invading force will then find it easier to demarcate its area of attack.

of Kataf and other non-Hausa-Fulani groups.

Areas like Unguwar Television, Unguwar Rimi, Sabon Tasha, Narayi, Rigasa have now been identified by Hausa Fulani as hostile territories. For Katsafs, unsafe areas include Unguwar Sarki, Unguwar Shanu, many parts of Tudun Wada, Zaria city where the Hausa-Fulani broke into the prison, released inmates and killed the Kataf who were taking refuge there. Both sides cannot justify these horrendous crimes against humanity.

Sadly, a recurring nightmare of what happened in Tafawa Balewa, Bauchi State was resurrected in the Zangon Kataf incident when uniformed men sent to quell the riots took sides. When they intervened they opened fire on people.

Others according to official records disappeared only to re-appear when the massacre of Hausa-Fulani had been completed in Zangon Kataf.

The people's confidence in the police and the army as impartial crisis manager has evaporated while seeds of mutual distrust among neighbours have been sown. The healing process will certainly be long and painful. This incident has ruffled the feathers of peace which has now flown out of Kaduna. We the residents who desire peace are now the nervous casualty, forced to live in fear and lick the wounds of this senseless massacre that has spared no one.

## PRIVATE EYE

## Of ghosts and phantoms

**T**all tales and miracles sometimes go together. In those days when we, as gullible kids were told stories of haunted houses and ghosts we believed every bit of it. As we got wiser we threw away all those bogey tales.

Now the ghost stories are back, not tall tales this time around but stark naked reality.

Niger State became a haunted house last week when the government discovered some ghosts among its employees. So hang up were they with making money that they rose every month from their graves to continue collecting the salaries they used to take home when they dwelt amongst us. This development made me grey with anxiety, perhaps SAP with all its vicious poverty inducing tentacles has not spared even the departed ones. That ghosts came from the world beyond to collect earthly peanut salaries does not tell a good story.

Yet these phantoms turned up unfaithfully to get paid for doing nothing until the government started worrying about the drain the bonanza was costing the tax payers. A trap was then set for the elusive extra-terrestrial beings last month when the Niger State Audit and Manpower Rationalisation Committee decided to pay all workers cash instead of issuing cheques. The human beings turned up but the ghosts remained in their graves and haunted houses. You can trust the supernatural beings when it comes to assessing the implications of collecting salaries they did not work for.

Over one million Naira was left unclaimed by the ghosts, with 697,689.00 Naira recovered from parastatals and 391,857.71 Naira from the salary schedule of ministries. If in April alone government saved over one million Naira, think of all the months these spooky



419ners had turned up to collect salaries. Perhaps they are millionaires already!! Well, whatever the case, the committee intends to keep its ghost trap intact for the months of May and June. That way, it hopes to get even with the smart phantoms and has warned that all those human beings who aided the pillaging of earthly resources by ghosts would be brought to book. When the heads start rolling you can count on me to keep my private eyes wide open to see the "ghosts" defend themselves!

## Conmen and 419ners

**T**hey come in all shapes and sizes, the smooth talking, name dropping fake businessmen. They brandish cards introducing them as importers and exporters, forwarding and back-warding? agents, manufacturers representatives and general merchants. With such a lengthy list of what these whizz kids can do, you begin to wonder what they can't sell or peddle. And when they talk to their victims, they hold them captive.

The targets of these conmen seem to be expanding from the "loaded" millionaires whom they love to milk to include unwary strugglers like your's sincerely. So it came to pass that one of them sent me, yes, my humble self, a thinly veiled 419 mail. It was neatly typed on a company paper with an Ibadan address and a logo. The letter which intro-

duced the company as a job placement outfit with particular emphasis on inter governmental agencies was signed by one joker of a chief executive called D.O. Akasomething. As if it is not bad enough for a 419ner to think he can make a ready victim out of sharp eyed me, this unscrupulous D.O. also wants me to advertise his money swindling outfit to you my faithful readers — the big bellied bully! Bent on tempting "Sapped and devalued" Nigerians, he has cooked up the most unrealistic pay packet and incredible fringe benefits. Listen to this: "There are opportunities for all types of occupations, skilled trades, a wide range of professionals and technical personnel..

The benefits usually offered in these positions are extremely generous. These include:-

- Higher salaries ranging from 40,000 to 50,000 in US dollars
- No local income taxes
- No federal or state income taxes
- Free or subsidized meals
- Free travel cost for the employee and his family on appointment
- Free furnished accommodation or generous housing allowance
- Dependency allowance
- Language allowance
- Installation allowance
- Post adjustment allowance
- Free use of car

The package extends beyond these outlandish lies which applicants are expected to buy at 2,000 Naira!!! When SAP is taking its toll even conmen will miss their road and think they can milk honey out of stones! So when you receive these 419 mails don't hesitate to do with it what garbage deserves.

# Future hope

**A**nxiety about tomorrow fuels the search for better and greener pastures. In the midst of the long tortuous search for what tomorrow promises the wayfarer passes through the barren land, climbs, maintains and scales all odd to reach the promised land of hope and touch silver lining of the still grey clouds. Our poets this week share their experiences with us.

## Watchman

You there, with sharp eyes  
Peering into the dark:  
What do you see —  
Is it the emaciated ants  
Or those belching rats and rats?  
And listening with pricked ears:  
Do you not hear the groans  
And jeering guffaw from velvety voices?  
You there, with heart  
Boiling and slamming and fluttering:  
Splintered soul down the drain!

Peer well, and see  
Filled-out cheeks joyfully necking  
Listen well, and hear giggles  
Amidst compliment and pleasantries.

And while this amorous intercourse rages on  
You stand outside alone and dispirited  
Peering and listening and sighing  
With mosquitoes singing merrily about you.  
Then realisation comes crashing in:  
"Here now I am, a hanger-on, keeping vigil  
On fat fattened on the loot of state..."  
Shehu El-Hafiz

## Our new dawn

Watch,  
Peoples' struggles,

Awaiting,  
A new day.

Strain,  
Ears the ancient  
Listening  
Whisperings of hope.

Listening,  
Echo 'o distant drums  
heralding  
our new dawn.

Olufemi Sunmonu

## Tomorrow

Children jingled back home  
From school with ruler  
And pencils preparing to  
Write tomorrow  
The tomorrow that is  
Long written, but not  
With golden pen  
And it still stands  
Despite the long stay  
In the archives  
You are writing tomorrow  
Tomorrow that is free  
Of pretext and sycophancy  
Free from all the rubbish  
And I bet you write  
Diligently for progress and  
Stability  
The hope lies on you  
Umar Bello Katagum

## A broken home

It was a "tabula-rasa"  
The future pregnant with calamities,  
Haven't known the harsh coming realities.  
A folk-tale of the past, loving, dearful times,  
With those days.  
He knows not and knows,  
When a handful dictum, affection are passed.  
Separated, becomes a disinherited moral



Integrated mob at school they call;  
Deviancy and or, malajusting  
Leisure tells it wrath with home peers,  
A deprived physique fitness,  
Nor, that of a little easy and or, least comfort  
A legacy bestowed,  
Of sadness, melancholy, hatred,  
the thought with those days,  
The yearning; nostalgic  
maketh so lean  
Like the adult blood-sucking insect  
Cometh from a weary distant zone,  
light,  
of self-dependancy; mind actualisation,  
And, the most of it fear of Allah.  
Auwalu Sani

## Wayfarers

In the forest  
Heavy load on their back  
Going to the land of milk and honey  
To dwell in Ivory towers  
Then there was a noise,  
A growl and sound of breaking twigs  
Were they being stalked?  
Then like a quarrel violent noises  
Determined they kept going  
When they arrive at the city  
It was dusk  
And the milk is sour  
And the honey is spilled  
Kabiru A. Muhammad

## SUPPLEMENT ON BAKORI LOCAL GOVERNMENT

# Bakori's success story

Successes recorded during the stewardship of the administration of Chairman, Bakori Local Government, Alhaji Nasiru Tanimu Kabomo from January — May 1992.

Gentlemen,

It is a pleasure for me to invite you so as to give an account of my stewardship as chairman on the administration of Bakori local government, since I



Alh. Nasiru Tanimu Kabomo  
Chairman, Bakori L.G.A.



Malam Ibrahim Abdulkadir Kakum  
Vice Chairman, Bakori L.G.A.

assumed office five months ago.

When I assumed office we inherited debts of 1.5 million Naira from the last administration, out of this amount we have so far paid out 800,000 Naira and efforts are being done to settle the remaining balance of liabilities of 716,000 Naira so that we can be able to execute our programmes promised to the electorates during our campaigns with — out much problems.

### Administration department

As you may be aware this department co-ordinates the general activities of the whole departments in the local government, in conjunction with the office of the chairman, secretary, and the legislative arm.

These arms initiate programmes and policy execution for the effective running of the local government activities which is our main concern.

On staffing, the local government recruited 30 staff on various disciplines and posted them to appropriate departments to ease shortage of staff.

On security, the local government purchased uniform materials for various vigilante groups in the area at the cost of 70,000 Naira and very soon they will be distributed to the groups in the villages.

Under this department also, contract for the consultation services, to construct Bakori market and motor park has been paid at the cost of 750,000 Naira and compensation for projects earmarked in the local government for developmental projects has been paid at the cost of 250,000 Naira and very soon real work on the construction of Bakori market and motor park will soon commence to give it a befitting structure.

The construction period will run for three years, the first phase will be for the construction of the motor park/ grain market and after completion the work on the market will commence.

Already a committee has been set up to look into paying compensation to people affected by the construction.

On workers welfare, a total of 150,000 Naira has been disbursed to workers as vehicle loan.

Also supply of direct labour materials and equipment to the Kabomo village, drainage construction at the cost of 114,170 Naira was done. An assistance of 5,400 Naira to the victims of the fire incidence at WTC Kabomo was also given. Also victims of petrol fire incidence at

Bakori were assisted with 31,000 Naira.

Rehabilitation and complete supply of equipment and furniture at the new extension administrative block at the cost of 300,000 Naira was made, and two service vehicles were purchased at the cost of 250,000 Naira and very soon we will furnish the two senior staff quarters for rehabilitation, and provide more office equipment.

The local government is now training 2,500 adults under the Mass Literacy Training Programme. So far, it has spent 47,000 Naira for purchase of training materials and payment of allowances to supervisors and instructors is being made, and this will cost the local government 59,000 Naira before the end of the training programme this year.

This is in line with federal government policy of literacy for all by the year 2000.

The information unit which is the mouth piece of the local government, will soon be provided with a cinema and public address van for the effective public enlightenment campaign on government activities. The seven new constructed television centres will soon be equipped with television boxes and generators and commission them for use so as to keep the people informed on government activities.



Sa'adu Abdullahi Kurami  
Speaker, Bakori L.G. Legislature



Alh. Aminu Bakori  
Secretary, Bakori L.G.A.

On community development, the local government will continue to assist those that are willing to embark on community development projects, so as not to rely solely on government as it can no longer provide them with all their needs.

### Works department:

In order to provide the people with good drinking water, ten new contracts of open wells were awarded in areas where they are lacking in drink-



Alh. Nasiru Tanimu Kabomo briefing the people and the press on the successes of his administration in the last five months, on his left is the vice chairman, Malam Abdulkadir Ibrahim Kakum and the district head of Bakori, Alh. Tukur Idris listening.

## SUPPLEMENT ON BAKORI LOCAL GOVERNMENT

ing water each at the cost of 10,000 Naira totalling 100,000 Naira. In addition to this 20 old open wells were also rehabilitated at the cost of 80,000 Naira, seven drifts were also constructed at water logging areas at the cost of 16,530 Naira.

A feeder road lay-out Kaladi new lay-out residential area was executed at the cost 24,500 Naira. The local government also awarded contract on rehabilitation of Bakori—Guga—Kakumi feeder road at the cost of 147,435 Naira this will include filling and construction of retaining walls washed out by rainfall so as to make the road easily accessible to rural dwellers.

The local government also intends to rehabilitate the Bakori — Tsiga — Barde and Kwantakwaran road at the cost of 87,000 Naira, also improving the

**Alh. Yunusa Abdul-Wahab**  
Treasurer, Bakori L.G.A.

supply of electricity was done at the cost of 120,000 at M/Danja. Drifts at Yanlambu and Tsiga and Tsiga/Maikafi road was constructed, and the one at Barde was rehabilitated at the cost of 35,000 Naira. fifteen culverts were constructed in the local government area at the cost of 6,000 Naira each totalling 90,000 Naira.

An 87 metre drainage was constructed at Layin Nabukka road at the sum of 10,440 Naira. Also an overhead tank will be constructed at the local government secretariat to ease water shortage in it at the cost of 150,000 Naira.

In the same vein, the local government has constructed earth



**Alh. Muntari Salefe Baure**  
H/Agric, Bakori L.G.A.

scheme purchased worth 200,000 Naira and distributed them to clinics, and dispensaries, and the comprehensive health centres in Bakori town for medication free to patients.

A contract has been awarded to construct dispensaries at Unguwan Nabukka, Kurami Gari, Unguwan Lamido, and Unguwan Kanawa at the cost of 200,000 Naira. Very soon another supply will be made before the available one run out of stock.

Also as a result of minor outbreak of Measles and C.S.M., vaccines worth 30,000 Naira were purchased for immunisation to the affected people, and 9,500 Naira affected people from those diseases were immunised, and only one death was recorded.

Also for the house numbering exercise for the primary health care programme, materials were purchased worth 23,000 Naira for the worth plan of the first phase.

In the same regard, for taking care of the people's health, the local government intends to purchase infusion equipment and drugs at the cost of 300,000 Naira, and the E.P.I. van will be put on good condition at the cost of 36,770 Naira, also four motorcycles were purchased at the cost of 66,000 Naira for house - to house exercise.

**Education department:**

Because of the deplorable condition of some schools in the local government, ten primary schools have been renovated at the cost of 212,240 Naira.



**Alh. Lawal Bature II**  
Head of personnel, Bakori L.G.A.

Also five No. of two — two classroom blocks are now under construction at Tudun Wada, Dawan Musa, Kwantakwaran, Ruwan Kun, and Unguwan Yanshuni. More classroom blocks will be constructed at Unguwan Yandudu, and Unguwan Yanshuni each at the cost of 160,000 Naira.

Four hundred No. of junior desk/table to old and new primary schools will be provided at the cost of 100,000 Naira, will be spent to construct a main — store in the department by direct labour, and a rehabilitation work was

carried out at the cost of 100,000 Naira at Unguwan Kanawa primary school which was burnt by fire.

Chalks, and various text teachers copy books and exercise books for pupils will soon be purchased at the cost of 175,000 Naira and general stationaries at the cost of 150,000 Naira will be supplied to the department, and office furniture and equipment were purchased at the cost of 25,000 Naira.

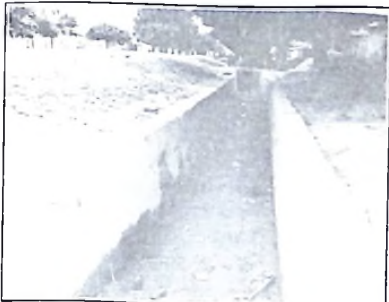


**Chairman (arrowed) Alh. Nasiru Tanimu Kabomo of Bakori Local Government opening sales of fertilizer to farmers in the area.**

dams at Guga, Kandarawa, Kakumi and Jargaba at the cost of 140,000 Naira, out of this, two has been completed and remaining two are now under construction, which will include dredging, expansion and reinforcement of the embankment work, one slab at Yankwani was constructed at the cost of 15,000 Naira and 100 metres drainage contract also at Yankwani will soon be awarded at the cost of 80,000 Naira to ease water logging.

**Health department:**

As the saying always goes (HEALTH IS WEALTH) The department with drug revolving/subsidiary fund



**One of the drainages constructed at Kabomo**

# SUPPLEMENT ON BAKORI LOCAL GOVERNMENT

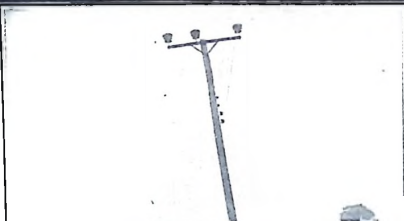
A Pick-up van for distribution and delivery of education materials will be purchased at the cost of 180,000 Naira, leave grant for all teachers in the local government for 1992 year was paid and 70 teachers were also recruited out of 100 approved for the year. And up to date all teachers are getting their salaries on



**M. A'do Abdullahi**  
Education Sec. Bakori L.G.A.  
Naira on behalf of farmers.

The local government also made a subsidy by transporting the commodity of 690 tones to the door steps of farmers at the cost of 342,000 Naira and sold to them at government subsidised rates of 40.00 Naira per bag for this year's farming season, and more than 300 tones are being awaited for distribution to the farmers.

Also vaccines and veterinary equipment were purchased at the cost of 39,000 Naira for animal treatment in the local government, and



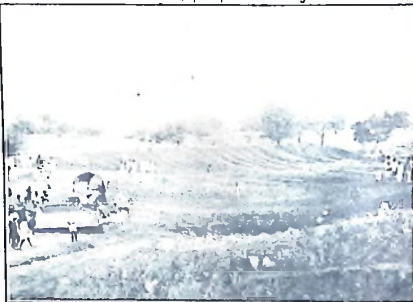
**Improvement of electricity supply at Mararraban Danja**

time with no arrears.

**Agricultural and natural re-**

In this department a total of 690 metric tons of fertilizer was procured at the cost of 6 6 0 , 0 0 0

**ment, spare parts were bought at the cost of 31,850 Naira and we intend to purchase one or two more.**



**A dam under construction at Kakumi**

A tank will also be constructed at the Kabomo nursery to supply constant water at the cost of 10,000 Naira.

A cattle market will be constructed at the cost of 50,000 Naira in Bakori town and compensation to the affected farmers will soon be paid at the cost of 54,000 Naira.

**Treasury department:**

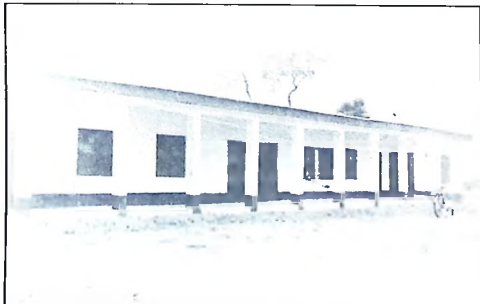
This department which takes care of the finances of the local gov-

ernment, pays salaries and allowances, and other contracts amount.

It also collects local revenue on behalf of the local government. From January — May, 1992, 163,457 Naira was collected. Also in this regard, a task force has been formed to generate more revenue to the local government to supplement the statutory grant being received from the federal government for provision of basic social amenities to the people.

Alhaji Nasir Sheriff called on the state government for the immediate construction and tarring of Bakori — Guga — Kakumi road, and Tsiga — Barde — Kwantakwaran road so that the roads could be made easily accessible to farmers in that area for bringing their food and cash crops to the market.

He then appealed also for the immediate release of fertilizer to farmers by the state government as he put it, time is running out for other areas that need the fertilizer right now, this he said when done will ease the hardship farmers are encountering in getting the commodity for their farms.



**Newly constructed two class room blocks at Tudun-Wada**

nursery materials for raising seedlings were purchased/supplied at the cost of 35,680 Naira.

Home Economics materials such as Sewing machine, Knitting machine, Gas cooker, Refrigerator, Cooking pots etc, were purchased at the cost of 29,290 Naira for improving the Better Life Programme for women in the local government. Also the local government intends to give out work bulls and emcort plough as loan to farmers at the cost of 102,300 Naira of which the contract has already been awarded.

**Compiled by :**  
Information Officer,  
Bakori Local Government,  
Katsina State.

**Signed:**  
(Abdul Ilbo)  
Information Officer,  
Bakori Local Government,  
Katsina State.

## TRAVELOGUE

## Budapest: IPI '92

## A trip to the east

**T**he International Press Institute, IPI with 2,000 leading editors and publishers from 70 countries as members held its 41st annual general assembly from May 17-24, 1992 in Budapest Hungary. The president of the Newspaper Proprietors' Association of Nigeria, NPAN, Bashorun M.K.O. Abiola, led the Nigerian delegation to IPI '92. He was accompanied by Dr. Doyinsola Abiola the managing director of Concord Newspapers.

The governor of Ogun State, Chief Segun Osoba, an IPI director for several years and publisher of Magnet Newspaper was also in attendance. Other publishers from Nigeria included Alhaji Ismaila Isa, the vice president of NPAN and managing director of Democrat Newspapers, Felix Adenaike of Liberty Media, Olusola Oyegbemi, Sketch managing director, Tola Adeniyi, Daily Times managing director and Niyi Oniororo of Peoples News. Also present were chief executives of media organisations, like NTA's director-general, Alhaji Muhammed Ibrahim, Yemi Ogunbiyi, Faruk Umar, Daily Times, Peter Ajaiyi, Tribune, Tunji Oseni, Voice of Nigeria, Yusuf Turundu of Vienna based OPEC News Agency, Tolu Fatoyimbo of FRCN and Mike Awoyinga of National Concord. Below is the diary of the visit.

**Saturday May 16:** Delegates from Murtala Muhammed Airport, depart Lagos by KLM to Amsterdam at midnight. The airport is particularly busy tonight despite the fuel riots that had dampened business in Lagos for the past few days. An extremely resilient lot, Nigerians have apparently recovered from their 150 per cent fare increase of April 1st. Many passengers are seen at the check-in counters of airlines like Swissair, British Airways and

Ethiopian Airlines.

**Sunday May 17:** We arrive Amsterdam's Schipol airport at 7am local time, an hour ahead of the Nigerian time. As transit passengers we have a few hours to kill, resting in the lounge, window shopping at the attractively arranged halls spilling with assorted consumer goods. At Amsterdam, we board another KLM flight for the two hour journey to Budapest. On arrival we notice the modest airport building which does not compare with the gigantic structure in Lagos. While waiting for luggage discharge many of us



*Saint Stephen's Basilica*

approach the rather deserted currency exchange cubicle to obtain some Hungarian money. The forint notes come in denominations of 1,000, 100 and 20 while the coins are of smaller denominations of one, two, five, 10 and 20. One US dollar is equivalent to 75 forints.

IPI members from the host country are waiting to meet us and we

proceed to Budapest Inter Continental Hotel, venue of the event and Forum and Hayatt hotels where additional accommodation has been reserved for delegates. All three hotels are within walking distance and sited on the picturesque bank of the Danube River overlooking the historic town of Buda. At 170 dollars (3,250 Naira) per night the hotels are more expensive than their five-star counterparts in Nigeria. Standard Room rate for Lagos Sheraton is 2,331.51 Naira and Abuja's Nicon Noga Hilton 2,500 Naira. The latter beats the Budapest hotels in the size of rooms, quality service and interior decoration. Perhaps Hungary's newfound capitalist ethics can justify her hunger for foreign currency, I thought as I survey my room. I settle down before going to the IPI secretariat for registration. The programme for today includes a concert by the Liszt Ferenc Chamber Orchestra at Vigado Concert Hall and a reception. Neither is my show. Instead I settle for a stroll on the bank of the river, absorbing the Sunday crowd milling around the open-air souvenir shops. I retire after an early dinner.

**Monday May 18:** Official opening ceremony of IPI '92 is scheduled for 10 o'clock at the Parliament House. Cushrow Irani, chairman of IPI reads his brief welcome address, Peter Galliner, director of IPI introduces the prime minister of Hungary, Dr. Jozsef Antall declares the conference open with a marathon speech that could have passed for a lecture on Hungarian history and its role in the contemporary world, then guest speaker Sir Ralf Dahrenhof, warden of St. Anthony's College, Oxford presents a paper on contemporary politics and the media.

**D**elegates walk across the street to the Museum of Ethnography for a buffet lunch hosted by the Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, Dr. Geza Jezenszky. News of the Zango Kataf massacre in Kaduna filters in courtesy of CNN. Lunch over, IPI business session opens and members elect new directors. Bashorun Abiola is one of the new directors. The first panel session is on foreign and ethnic minorities — emerging violence and the media: The day ends with a buffet dinner at the Hungarian national gallery.

**Tuesday May 19:** Events listed on the programme today are two plenary sessions on Europe, nationalism, regionalism and integration and the communications revolution, two sessions on press freedom reports where journalists from different countries brief delegates on the state of press freedom in their terrain. In the last eight months in Columbia seven journalists were assassinated, 10 kidnapped in a combination

of drug and guerrilla violence. In February after the coup in Venezuela, the elected government has imposed censorship and raided newspapers and magazines. In Haiti journalists have been killed and harassed since the deposition of President Jean Bertrand Aristide in 1991. Severe repression of local and international journalists is also taking place in Kenya where president Daniel arap Moi is harassing journalists who are acting within the

Kenyian constitution and UN chapter on human rights. After these depressing reports, a dinner dance at the Gelert Hotel is the last item on today's programme. Perhaps it could offer delegates an outlet to dance away their blues.

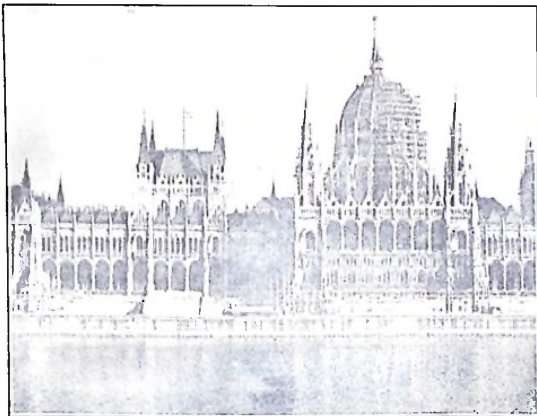
**Wednesday May 20:** Part of this morning is devoted to IPI business and I am tempted to go and attend the programme for accompanying persons (most of them are women, since not many men will accompany their journalist wives to conferences) which is scheduled to take them to the Hungarian countryside. I approach the guide who is simply known as Magdelene to ask how long the tour will take. The weather is getting colder and windy. A look

is good with plenty of sunshine to tempt pavement salesmen and women. They display their wares on city side streets with a heavy concentration around the metro stations, bus stops, city squares and parks. An assortment of consumer goods, garments, cassettes, books, souvenir, bags, perfumes, cosmetics, grocery, confectionery tempt workers as they flood out of offices at lunch time and closing hours. I look at the goods and their prices, do a quick conversion to dollar and Naira — no its not worth it. With the same amount one could get better quality goods at Lagos' Balogun market. So for the kids I pick up a few T-Shirts with the Budapest logo and buy some folklore souvenir. The excitement of discovering a beautiful city on foot and visiting the shops is taking its toll so I sit in a park near a school to read with the noise of the traffic and kindergarten pupils as background music. I return to the hotel refreshed from my long stay outdoors to rest and pack.

**Friday May 22:** I check out of the hotel early in the morning to catch a Malev Hungarian Airline flight to Amsterdam at 8am. Throughout the two hour flight I agonise over the crisis at

home — fuel riots in Lagos, the air traffic controllers' strike, the Zango Kataf massacre which spilled into Kaduna and Zaria. If what CNN and the two paragraph news item in the International *Herald Tribune* convey is true then no one is safe from the rampaging mob. Nobody's security can be guaranteed in what used to be the northern state's most cosmopolitan centre. From Amsterdam I take the KLM flight to Kano.

By Bilikisu Yusuf



*The parliament building*

at the grey clouds and when Magdelene replies "nine hours", I change my mind. The fifth plenary session on Media and Democracy: Ownership, Independence and Government controls, is a major attraction for me. After it comes the closing ceremony and the farewell dinner at Hilton Hotel with the President of Hungary, Arpad Gonez as guest speaker.

**Thursday May 21:** I spend the day exploring the city. The weather

# Frame up

**Title:** *Sunset for a Mandarin*

**Author:** *Abubakar Gimba*

**Publishers:** *West African Book Publishers Ltd.*

**Pages:** 294

It is simply the question of good versus evil that is addressed. On the forces of good stand tall and unbending, Hamzah, Kidendo State director-general for the treasury. His opposite number is unwavering Waleefa, secretary for agriculture and livestock services. At stake is the favour of the state's new military administrator, Commander Sayyid Abdud. For Hamzah, his position as confidant of just posted administrator, Major Khalid stood him in good state. The new man just lapped him up based on the recommendation of the Major. He is consulted to write the inaugural speech. Asked also for his opinion while considering a cabinet reshuffle by the administrator there was virtually nothing he was not made part of.

Meanwhile, he unflinchingly faced his job as the state's chief financial executor. But that is where his problem emanates from, seized suddenly by the predatory, Waleefa, whose initial attempt at warding off Hamzah from the administrator by terming his speech "a rehash of the Major's" and therefore casting the Commander in his predecessor's shadows failed, thanks to the intervention of the Head of Government Services (HGS). This time, of course, he ensured no such fate befell him.

Actually it was a minor matter of payments for items not in the administrator's approved list and delayed payments approved by the administrator, which occurred during the period he was indisposed, in his department. The administrator had wanted the officials summarily dismissed but he had insisted on

carrying out a thorough investigation hinting that such procedure was not unduly out of order. It was the opportunity Waleefa was waiting for. And he seized it, pointing out to the treasury to the ministry of health even before a full inquiry is set up to ascertain his guilt or otherwise. Because he is seen celebrating the "elevation," by Waleefa, who reports same to the Commander, he is within 48 hours posted out again to the obscure Archives unit as titular head, even as nothing incriminating is found by the panel investigating him. He resumes his new job without let or hindrance determined to do his best in the circumstance. But then....

The administrator invites him and he is handed a letter of dismissal from service with a charge of misappropriating 14.2 million

Songhai dollars hanging over his head. Dazed, he runs to the Major in far away new Timbuctu, the nation's capital for advice. He is trailed there by security operatives, thrown into detention on trump up charge of riding a "stolen car" and when released returns to Deindy City, his state capital and home only to have hoodlums who, fuelled by the rumours of the millions he had embezzled, come in at night to take their own share of the "booty." His inability to "produce" earns him a

fractured skull, a battered neck and a broken jaw. It is in hospital that he recovers consciousness....

"Sunset" is a story of blackmail, treachery and downright witch hunting set in Kidendostate of Songhai, a country that may as well be Nigeria where the military have perfected the art of governance so much so that state administrators hardly settle down before they are posted out for "further military assignments" regardless of the plans they have on the ground.

The new hands, untutored in civilian ways, lean heavily on career civil servants, who have their whims and caprices. In such situations, the Waleefa's, eternal eye servers, hold



Gimba: the author

sway and conscientious workers like Hamzah ever remain victims.

The novel is beautifully written with enough flashes of "tension" to heighten interest. The language is simple, hence recommending it to all strata of the society. However, cast in the "good guy, bad guy", mode, the characters are hardly developed. But this distracts very little from the enduring lesson the novel presents to all.

By Oji Onoko

## SPORTS

## National league

## Chaos holds sway

Crisis of confidence is threatening to throw the national league into chaos

Chaos is looming in the national football scene and unless something is done fast to put it on hold, the on-going football season may end inconclusively. Reason: while members of the Nigeria Football Association (NFA) and the professional league board are still locked in bitter personality rivalry, discontentment flares in various stadia across the country over the manner referees, club officials, and partisan fans are pushing the three year-old professional league to untimely liquidation.

Events of the past three weeks have given much credence to the heightening fears that referees, who are expected to be part of the group that have collective responsibility of nurturing the league to maturity, are the people contributing to its stagnation. Officiating in the pro-league matches in the past four weeks have led to abandonment of matches and fracas in various playing ground in the country.

What began as occasional incidents since the league kicked off in February, reached a crisis stage by the time the league was 10 weeks old. From week one to week nine, sporadic incidents were witnessed in division one pro-league matches played in Calabar, Maiduguri, Jos and Onikan Stadium, Lagos. The situation however degenerated in week 10 when Stationery Stores supporters went wild in Ijebu-Ode over alleged bias by the referees who handled their league tie against host team, Obanta United of Ijebu-Ode. Week 11 was far from being trouble-free. A massive fracas engulfed Ahmadu Bello Stadium,

Kaduna, as Ranchers Bees supporters let loose their anger and frustration on referee Tayo Ayodele and his two linesmen for what they regarded as the match-officials high handedness against the home boys in their pro-league division one tie against Obanta United of Ijebu-Ode. The match was aborted by the fracas.

Those who hoped that the crisis of



FIFA graded referees

confidence between referees and clubs would calm were rudely jolted at the end of week 13 league matches by the shrill voices of protest, accusations and violent reactions over the way referees, the umpires of the league, conducted the affairs of those matches. Accusations of unprofessional conducts and open bias were levelled against match officials who handled matches in Kano, Lagos, Benin and Owerri. Bendel Insurance refused to continue their match against Kano Pillars at Kano Township Stadium when centre referee,

Ahmed Mohammed from Kaduna State gave two red cards to two players of the visiting team. At Onikan Stadium, Lagos, the usually erratic Lagos fans repeatedly booed referee Olatunji Arogundade for disallowing what they decried as two clean goals scored by Calabar Rovers against host team ACB of Lagos. In Owerri, BCC Lions of Gboko described their 1-2 defeat by Iwuanyanwu Nationale as the gift of the centre referee. According to BCC Lions' chief coach, Zakari Baraje, "The referee aided Nationale with an unjustified penalty".

One discernible thing about the ugly incidents during pro-league matches is that they are triggered off by accusation of the referees bending the rules to favour home teams. This unethical practice is euphemis-

trically called home advantage. But the damaging consequence of such unprofessional conducts by the referees is that the partisan fans and officials of the aggrieved teams usually take the law into their own hands. Two factors are responsible for the questionable and controversial decisions sometimes taken by referees on the field of play. One, is that some of the referees are incompetent. These set of referees are either not in proper grasp of the rules of the game or they are too old to apply them properly on the field of

play. The other factor is that some referees with itching palm allowed themselves to be bought over by clubs who are bent on winning at all cost.

The problem of poor officiating currently threatening both the professional and amateur leagues being unwittingly aided by the NFA and the pro-board. Since this year's season kicked off, NFA and pro-board have meted out stiff penalties to players, clubs and their officials who were found to have transgressed the rules of the game. Surprisingly, the pro-board and NFA have not dim it fit to punish any erring referee. Or to put it differently, the pro-board, who announced at the beginning of the league that it would send independent assessor to monitor the match officials, have not announced that any referees have been found wanting in spite of the series of accusations levelled against the men of the



**Emetiole: Kano Pillars' coach**

whistle.

Keen observers of the game of football opined that all the parties concerned with the organisation of the pro-league should do something to save it from collapse. First, NFA and the pro-board, who are currently neck deep in personality wranglings, must first put their house in order and put heads together on how to rescue the league. The pro-board,

analysts say should not hesitate to flush out referees found to have deliberately twisted the rule of the game for selfish reasons. Names of such referees should also be published to serve as deterrent to others. The public relations officer of the Nigerian Referee Association, NRA, Chief Moses Oyadiran was closer to the heart of the matter last week when he observed that "if referees desist from favouring home teams in matches, the need for hooliganism may not arise".

The solution however does not end at the doorsteps of referees, NFA and pro-board. Clubs and their fans must change their attitude. Some clubs and their supporters believe that they must win whenever they are playing at home. To this end, some club officials go out to buy referees to secure victory for them. Those clubs who could not buy over match officials use their supporters to intimidate referees to bend the rules in their favour.

## CAF Cup

# 3SC's double trials

**T**he Shooting Stars Sports Club that went to Burkina Faso to tackle USCB last week for the CAF Cup, was not a united house. Shooting Star's attention was divided between the internal squabble triggered off by the sudden removal of their chief coach, Joseph Ladipo, known in football circle as Josy Lad, and their first leg match against the Burkinabe club



**Toro: pro-league secretary**

which was decided in Ouagadougou last Saturday.

There were fears and concerns that the Ibadan based club who won for Nigeria her first international football trophy (Mandela Cup) in 1976, might not perform well because of the magnitude of their internal problems. Professional league board secretary, Alhaji Sani Toro, cautioned the club against the dan-

ger of divided attention and loss of concentration before they left for Burkina Faso.

The pro-league secretary, who is also in-charge of international clubs competitions, observed that it amounted to sacrificing national interest for selfish rivalry for the 3SC board members, who are simply divided over the removal of the coach, to involve themselves in internal feud barely a week to their continental match. Alhaji Sani also appealed to the warring board members to sink their differences in the interest of the club and the nation.

At the time of going to press, result of 3SC match against USCB was still being awaited. But should the Ibadan-based pro-league division one outfit loses, they will have to play and snatch a decisive victory against the Burkinabe team to advance to the quarter-finals on Saturday in Ibadan. Else, Nigeria will bear the pain of seeing how another country will lift the giant trophy donated to Confederation of African Football by Chief Bashorun M.K.O. Abiola.

By Joe Olajuwon



**Awoyemi of 3SC**

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DEFINITIONS  
IN HUMOUR

# Professionals

**T**he other day someone defined a consultant as an unemployed practitioner. And when you recall that every profession is a conspiracy against the laity, then it becomes clear why a consultant is an unemployed conspiratorial practitioner. His victims are you and me.

Take doctors and lawyers for example. Both are having a boom. Since the beginning of the dawn of this era of consulting clinics (where you find consultant clinicians), doctors' earnings and *torsos* have been bursting at the seams. Meanwhile, you have no earnings and all you get is a *sore toes*.

Lawyers, have had more than their fill. They *foam* at the mouth, *fume* at the nose and *fumble* with their hands as they write the report, the deed and details of the case. Sooner or later, the pouch sprouts and the fat settles between the back of the ears and the apple of Adam disappears as chin meets chest. Meanwhile, your own pouch is inward and bedecked by visibly countable ribs, your ears touch each other and of your throat, only the apple remains.

## Lawyers

**Rule 1:** A case is brought, argued and won by the lawyer. So also are the damages.

An old man was charged with stealing and he stood alone at the dock. "Where's your lawyer?" the judge asked.

"Ain't got none, judge," he said. "But you ought to have one", said the judge. "I'll assign one to defend

you."

"No, sir, no, sir, please don't do that, please, please", begged the accused. Why not?" persisted the judge. "It won't cost you anything.

"Why don't you want a lawyer?"

"Well I'll tell you, judge", whispered the old man — confidentially

— "I want to enjoy dem' chickens myself".

**Rule 2:** Lawyers confuse — they can't win a fair contest.

*Lawyer* — "Now, sir, did you, or did you not, on the date in question or at any time, say to the defendant or any one else that the statement imputed to you and denied by the plaintiff was a matter of no moment or otherwise? Answer me, yes or no.

*Bewildered witness* — Yes or no, what?

**Rule 3:** Lawyers are pathological liars — even when not in court.

A successful old lawyer tells the following story at the beginning of his professional life:

"I had just installed myself in my office," he said, "had put in a phone and had preened myself for my first client who might come along when, through the glass of my door, I saw a shadow.

"Yes, it was doubtless someone to see me. Picture me, then, grabbing the nice shiny receiver of my new phone and plunging into an imaginary conversation. It ran something like this:

"Yes, Mr. Smith, I was saying as the stranger entered the office. 'I'll attend to that corporation matter for you. Mr. Johnson had me on the phone this morning and wanted me to settle a damage suit, but I had to put him off, as I was too busy with other cases. But I'll manage to sandwich your case in between the others somehow. Yes. Yes. All right Good bye!

Being sure, then, that I had duly impressed my prospective client, I hung up the receiver and turned to him.

"Excuse me, sir", the man said,

'but I'm from the telephone company. I've come to connect your line.'

**Rule 4:** Even when lawyers leave law, it never leaves them.

A prominent lawyer who had retired from the court to the shop was giving his sibling some sound business philosophy.

"My boy", said the magnate to his son, "there are two things that are vitally necessary if you are to succeed in business".

"What are they dad?"

"Honesty and sagacity".

"What is honesty?"

"Always — no matter what happens or how adversely it may affect you — always keep your word once you have given it."

"And sagacity?"

"Never give it."

**Politics** — Politicians everywhere are the same, it is only the names of their parties that change.

**Military** — Soldiers are trained to do only two things — to kill and to avoid being killed. And they never learn anything afterwards.

**Aspirant** — Hood's advice is: Be sure the brain is engaged before putting the mouth in gear.

**Law** — If you are looking for a criminal lawyer, grab the one nearest to you.

**Observations**

**Merskey:** In the hospital, more deaths occur in bed than out of bed, so get the patient out of bed.

**Wain:** If you didn't have problems, you wouldn't need people to help solve them. Conversely if you didn't have people around, many be you wouldn't have problems.

**Malkin:** The more things you own, the more you are owned by things. **Firestone:** The best investment opportunities are encountered when you are broke.

**Dalgish:** Good judgement comes from experience; experience comes from bad judgement.

**TAIL PIECE:** Thou seest two bricks baked together, from the same clay and furnace. One shall be laid on top of a minaret, and the other at the bottom of an outhouse. — Moasi



WACW

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