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Citizen

JUNE 29 - JULY 5 1992 VOL. 3 NO. 26

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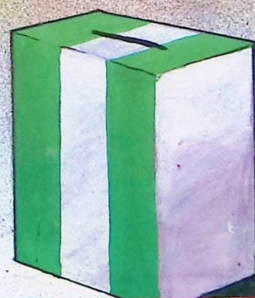
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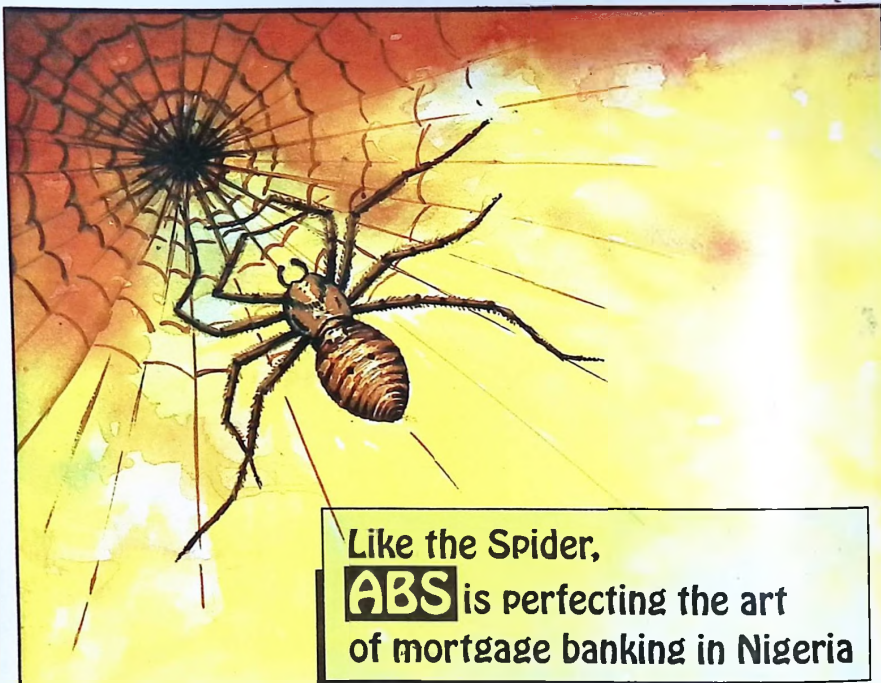
BATTLE FOR THE SENATE

WHO WINS, WHO LOSES?

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Citizen

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FROM THE PUBLISHER

This week's story had a long gestation period. At one of our weekly editorial meetings last month, the House of Representatives and senatorial primaries was proposed for cover. Several of us including myself thought we should hold on for the real election scheduled for July 4. We toyed with the possibility of covering both Senate and House of Representatives but that would mean covering 589 local governments and 91 senatorial districts. The rather tedious assignment and the unwieldy story that was sure to result from it, discouraged us. Instead, we settled for the Senate. Being the upper house and with the calibre of the contestants, ranging from former governors, ministers, former senators, a deputy speaker of the defunct House of Representatives and many defeated governorship aspirants, the battle for the Senate was set to be a battle of the titans in several constituencies.

Indeed, the two parties are again trying to out-do the other in their campaigns. The lively radio jingles, punchy newspaper adverts and colourful launching of national campaigns light up an otherwise mellow affair.

Our report peeped into the inner recesses of the parties, unearthed the wheeling and dealing going on behind the scenes and assessed the strength of the contestants. Many of our predictions for last year's governorship elections came true. The same may happen again.

The story was anchored by Bilkiu Yusuf, with additional reports from Mohammed Haruna, Adamu Adamu, Mahmud Jega, Bolaji Adebisi, Yinka Tella, Abu Momoh and Moyo Akoshile.

Citizen (ISSN 1115 2389) is published by Citizen Communications Ltd. G11 Unguwar Kanawa, PMB 2334, Kaduna. Tel. 230165 Fax. 210037
Telex. 71704 Lagos Office: 10A Acme Road, Agidingbi, off Isheri Road, P.M.B. 21742, Ikoja. Tel: 821389 Telex: 27061.
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LETTERS

Jukun war/The third front

Sir,
On the conflict between the Jukuns and the Kutebs, your report tilted in favour of one tribe. Journalistically, once a story lacks balance, it has lost one of the basic ingredients of perfect and dynamic journalism. I expected that such an unbalanced report shouldn't have gone into such a reputable magazine.

Indeed a more serious, unbiased reporter should revisit the area for objective reporting or else the people of the area would never forgive your magazine.

Abdu Abubakar
Wukari

Sir,
Just like the previous two on the Zangon-Kataf, Zaria and Kaduna, this one is so vivid that one is shocked out of the presumptuous view that black on black violence, with government acquiescence and covert involvement, can only be happening in South Africa and never in Nigeria. As for Shehu Musa, one wonders why he dumped NPC to aspire for the presidency. It is at variance with his past records of not hustling for any office but being recognised and selected. The difference is clear.

Ayo Makinde
Festac Town, Lagos

Sir,

The reference to the sad Tiv-Jukun war, which had for about six months raged like wild fire, is unwarranted and its relevance misplaced because it ended with its lessons and benefits. At any rate, it is no historical fallacy to mention the fact that even the Kutebs in Jenuwa Kogi village had skirmishes with the Tivs in no distant past.

It is therefore on this ground that I believe the main aim of the so

called media coverage and panic measure to portray the Jukun people in bad light, as unfriendly neighbours and war mongers is merely diversionary

Basho Ali
Bauchi

The road to Hell

Sir,

The Justice Rahila H. Cudjoe's panel succeeded in bringing to fore the polarisation in most societies in Nigeria. Almost all the crisis that happened in the country particularly north, have religious undertone rather than tribal.

I always wonder why the chairmanship of the panels in all the riots



with religious roots is always headed by a christian but never a muslim.

Since we know the riots have religious undertone, the government, as a matter of urgency should create a ministry dealing specifically with religious matters, and report directly to the head of state.

U.T. Shua
Bauchi

Sir,

Citizen sent Adamu Adamu to

cover the riots in Bauchi because he is a Bauchi man, Kabiru Yusuf covered the Kano riots because he is a Kano man, Tawey Zakka covered Taraba State riots because he is Kuteb from Taraba. Yet when it comes to Zangon Kataf, *Citizen's* publisher, Mohammed Fiaruna covered the events. His credentials? He was in Zangon Kataf once to open their branch of the Peoples' Bank. Is it any wonder I suffered bouts of intermittent hiccups while reading your cover story on those events? Come on folks, you know the score I am sure.

Rev. Fr. Matthew Hassan
Kukah
Abuja

Sir,

If the purpose of government is to guarantee the peace and security of its citizens, then this task has since been thrown to the dogs. Or how will you explain why individuals and groups go to the press to admit inciting or sponsoring massacre in the last six years, yet these people are still going about their own business, as if there is no law and order in the country?

Today reported Bishop Okogie on 23/1/88 as having said that they will burn down this nation, at the same time General Sani Abacha was raising alarm that many army "stores" including arms have been looted from various military formations in the country. Recently a one time dismissed army colonel, Yohanna Madaki and a defeated governorship aspirant Dr. Yusuf Bungon justified the repeated carnages in Zango Kataf with pomp and pageantry.

If the citizens have to rely on government to enforce law and order and guarantee security, such confessions leave nobody in doubt as to who precipitated the riots.

Bashir Isyaku
NOCACO,
Kaduna

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.

Sir,

This Zangon Kafat violence is more than just "tribal violence" or even religious fanaticism gone berserk. It touches on that other great issue that has also been declared 'off-limits' by the military: chieftaincy. Nigerians need to decide what kind of a society they want to live in: a monarchy or a republic. Are you a collection of little chieftaincies under hereditary rulers, or are you autonomous citizens ruled by freely chosen representatives? This was an issue in the first republic, it led to the 1981 Kano rampage, and it has now led to deaths in Kaduna. I think that unless you decide how to move forward, instead of being perpetually fossilised by Lugard's "indirect rule", you will always be prisoners of your past.

Prof. John Edward Philips,
Akita City,
Japan

Sir,

The recommendations of the Cudjoe commission did not come to many as a surprise; rather they only confirm the fears the Kafat and other well meaning Nigerians expressed before the commission started sitting. How could some of the members of the commission sit in judgement over matters in which they had vested interest?

Previous commissions elsewhere failed to unearth the truth just as that of Cudjoe has just done. The real grievances of the people (never mind that you don't see them as human beings too) must be discussed with the people using their identified and appointed leaders. These leaders need not receive the recognition of the government nor that of the Hausa/Fulani nor that of parochial and ethno-centric media organisations such as yours.

Ibrahim Bonat
Zankwa,
Kaduna State

Sir,

Our leaders should stop sowing the seed of discord in the minds of

our youths.

Nigerian societies are experiencing these crises under military regime and I wonder what will happen when civilians have completely taken over the mantle of leadership. The federal government should not allow few individuals to take the law into their hands. Nigeria is greater than any interest group no matter how powerful.

It should as a matter of urgency bring to book those involved in committing such genocide against human race no matter how highly placed they are. This is the only way to avoid future occurrence.

Madu Masaya
Box 306
Potiskum

Sir,

The tribalism displayed by the Kafat was barbaric. As a result property worth millions of Naira have been lost, hundreds of parents have been massacred, thousand of innocent kids are now orphans.

Zangon Kafat must be reconstructed at once; the victims must be compensated and their safety must be assured.

The world is fully aware of the enormity of the crime committed by these enemies of the Nigerian federation. Government must never compromise justice to the detriment of peace and unity. They must be made to face the music.

Shehu El-Hafiz
Zaria

Sir,

What we witnessed between the Hausa and Kafat in Kaduna State is another version of the protracted carnage between the Tiv and Jukun in Taraba State.

The basic issue in both cases is the economic insecurity among the natives towards the seemingly industrious settlers of over two centuries. The outbreak of hostilities at the slightest provocation can be traced to the current socio economic hardship that has introduced lines

of stress and cut-throat attitude in communities which hitherto pursued their various economic interests peacefully. Government should prevail over the matter without favour or emotions and the two sides should be given a fair hearing.

Son Gyoh
Gboko

Sir,

Hassan Sani Kontagora in an interview in *Citizen* magazine said that the Hausa who have lived in Zangon Kafat for 300 years, should enjoy all rights accorded the Kafats. Secondly he is bitter about the alleged domination of the Kafat by the Hausa as opined by Col. Y. Madaki (rtd). In his opinion, (Hassan), the Kafat are envious of the industry of the Hausa that have brought them prosperity and accuses the Kafat of laziness and drunkenness. According to Hassan, a society where only the women labour while the men spend their time drinking, cannot prosper.

However, it may be observed that industry and prosperity are relative terms, construed differently and closely associated with exploitation of the oppressed, a situation which in many circumstances end up violently.

The issue of the Kafat envying the industry and prosperity of the Hausa does not even arise. The Zangon Kafat riots do not reveal cases of mass looting as witnessed in Kano, Bauchi, Kaduna, Jimeta and Jalingo by the Hausa against the most industrious Nigerians.

The unjustified attacks by Hassan Kontagora on Colonel Madaki (rtd) simply because he spoke for his people, is spiteful. It only goes to show that Kontagora and others detest the emergence of progressive leaders among the Kafat community, a situation suitable for the dwindling Hausa-Fulani hegemony in Nigeria.

Amos D. Chorok &
Bitrus M. Bawa
Box 632, Maiduguri

The July 4 election

Coming Saturday's elections into the National Assembly is another important milestone in the transition programme. The elections are important not only because the National Assembly is the national law making body but also because how elections into it are conducted will reflect on the final phase of the transition programme.

There are some reasons for apprehensions on the freeness and fairness of the elections. First, like the governorship elections before it, it is being conducted amidst allegations of interference by senior government and party officials in the primaries. Second, NEC is being accused, unfairly we think, of bungling the recent voters' register, mainly because it predetermined the size of the electorate on the basis of the 1991 census. Our information, however, suggests that few, if any, states exhausted the voters cards sent to them by NEC, much less ask for more.

Third, the elections are coming against the background of last Wednesday's call by a leading SDP presidential aspirant, Mr. Francis Arthur Nzeribe, that President Babangida should extend his transition programme by

as much as three years. The call can only increase fears that the military wants a malleable National Assembly that may urge President Babangida to stay on.

Last but by no means the least, NEC, as we pointed out last week, is yet to come up with a modification of the open ballot system which will give voters the secrecy essential for free choice.

All these are cause for worry. However they should be seen by all involved — NEC, the parties, the candidates and the voters — as challenges rather than insurmountable obstacles. Voters should come out en masse and conduct themselves peacefully so as to make the chances of rigging difficult. Candidates, on the other hand, should be prepared to acknowledge defeat after a free and fair election. Above all NEC and party officials must eschew partial conduct. With all hands joined together we should get a National Assembly that can be relied upon to perform its constitutional responsibility of giving us sensible laws and checking the enormous powers of the Executive.

For a differential salary structure

Not for the first time, civilian governors have lately been loudly protesting their dwindling share of the so-called national cake even as their burdens seem to be increasing. Now numbering 30 instead of 21 under a year ago, they have to share 24 per cent of the federation account as opposed to 25 per cent last year and even 30 per cent before then. The immediate cause of their loud protests was the relief package for federal civil servants announced recently by Vice-President Augustus Aikhomu. Even though some union leaders have said the package is inadequate, it is pretty obvious that few employers, in both public and private sectors, perhaps even the Federal Government in the long run, can afford them.

Citizen thinks the governors' protestations suggest a basic but widespread misunderstanding of the federal system. Admittedly, the misunderstanding is understandable. Be-

cause we have been ruled more by soldiers than by elected civilians, we have been a de-facto unitary state, even though in law we are a federation. Flowing from this we have run a unified salary structure since General Gowon's days. Since then only very feeble attempts have been made to change this structure to reflect our federal character. The last time such an attempt was made some two years or so ago, it was laughed out of court and described by some critics as an "apartheid" pay structure.

Now Aikhomu's relief package has indirectly revisited the issue. With most of the governors saying "we can't pay, we won't pay," President Babangida has stepped in to say that actually they don't have to, if they can't. Critics will say the president's position is hardly helpful since workers, no matter who employs them, go to the same market.

The criticism sounds reasonable. The problem, however, is that it ignores the fact that markets are not uniform throughout the country. The cost of living in Lagos is not the same as in Kaduna, is not the same as in Sokoto, is not the same as in Damaturu. Similarly, state governments are not uniformly endowed. Niger State simply cannot afford these things that Lagos, Delta or Kano states can.

Agreed it won't be easy persuading one's employees to accept the logic of the varying cost of living in the country, but the state governments have no choice but to keep on

pressing this logic. The important consideration is not the size of the pay packet but what it can buy. And what 10 Naira can buy in Minna, 30 Naira may not buy in Lagos. This is what should guide state governments in deciding what wages and perks to pay their workers.

As for the federal government, the sooner it officially acknowledges that the Udoji Unified Salary Structure is long dead and buried, the better can it help the cause of a differential salary structure which is the only sensible thing in a federation.

De Klerk's cross

Walking out to freedom in 1990 after 27 years in jail as a political prisoner, African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela described state president Frederick de Klerk, the man who let him out, as a "gentleman". Today, two years after, and in view of the massacre of ANC supporters in a squatter camp in Boipatong township on June 17, Mandela may have changed his opinion of de Klerk. Anybody would.

First, though giving an impression of wanting to talk peace with the black leadership, the South African leader has unleashed his murderous security forces, using the gullible Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) as a convenient front, against the black population. Since 1985 over 14,000 blacks have died in township violence, instigated by the police force, most of the deaths occurring in the period de Klerk has been president.

He denies his government's complicity in the violence. Yet the president would not allow international investigation, demanded by the ANC. But there really must be one to rule on the culpability or otherwise of the minority government.

Even the so-called independent judicial commission appointed by the government to investigate the township fighting has had its interim report twisted by the government to absolve the security forces of blame. The judge heading the commission had to come out to give de Klerk the lie, thereby exposing him as the fraud that he has become.

The constitutional talks begun last year under the Conference for a Democratic South

Africa (CODESA) to lay the groundwork for transferring power to the majority blacks have stumbled over obstacles after obstacles, put up by de Klerk, until they were derailed altogether in mid-May.

Negotiations broke down over Pretoria's insistence that any constitutional arrangement must receive 75 per cent approval. The ANC which wanted a two-thirds majority approval suspected that the government wanted "some form of veto power for minorities".

The government also opposed ANC's demand for an elected sovereign constituent assembly to draft a new democratic, non-racial constitution.

Then came the Boipatong killings of June 17th and 20th, truly exposing the evil flanks of the government. It is against this backdrop that we must read the decision of the ANC to withdraw from the talks. It was a difficult decision to take, aware as the ANC was, that de Klerk has warmed his way into the embrace of the international community and any rash action would leave it standing alone.

To the dismay of de Klerk's government the ANC's action has drawn both its leadership and the rank and file closer together than in recent times, with the later asking for a return to the armed struggle. The breakdown of CODESA has vindicated the ANC's cautious dealings with the government, the refusal of the radical Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) to take part in the negotiations, which it called "a fraud". On the other hand, African leaders who have been only too glad to shake de Klerk's hand and ask him over to dinner should be regretting their action.

MOHAMMED HARUNA

more because he seemed to be the quiescent sacred cow. Of course Alhaji did have his own list of "crimes". There was the forex scandal in far-away Switzerland years ago over which many newspapers, *Nigerian Tribune* in particular, wanted Alhaji's head. Even before then there was the Bi-Water affair in Niger State for which the federal

do not have the final word. That is the prerogative, first of the President-in-Council and, in some cases, of the AFRC.

Because ministers do not have the final word on policy matters, it does not mean that Aminu and Alhaji should not have gone. As our crisis of management deepens it is obvious that many ministers, not just

Aminu and Alhaji as scapegoats

Not surprisingly the departure of Professor Jibril Aminu and Alhaji Abubakar Alhaji from President Babangida's cabinet has been greeted with jubilation in some sections of the country. For years, the two have been portrayed by these sections as your typical arrogant northern hegemonist whose stock-in-trade was to champion federal character at the expense of merit. In time the two became the favourite punch-bag of many a reporter, editor or critic in a hurry to build a reputation as "fearless", or whatever.

Unsurprising as the jubilation are, they must give cause for concern to any right thinking person for at least two reasons. First, the jubilation symptomise the widespread Nigerian disease of attacking the outward manifestations of an illness while leaving the illness itself severely alone. Second, and no less worrying, the jubilation betray a prejudice against a section of the country which, like all prejudices, is based on a stereotype, which like all stereotypes, are distortions of a far more complex reality.

To take the first point. For years now President Babangida has come under tremendous pressure to sack both Aminu and Alhaji — Aminu, because he was regarded as having a hidden agenda of promoting northern ascendancy, first in education and then in the oil business. Alhaji, on the other hand, was wanted out

ministry of finance with Alhaji as permanent secretary, guaranteed a dubious foreign exchange loan from the London based Morgan Grenfell in 1980 for a water project, even before the loan had been properly negotiated. When, three years later the project collapsed in spite of more than 95 per cent payment to Bi-Water, a judicial panel of inquiry recommended that Alhaji along with several others should never be allowed to hold any public office for at least 10 years thereafter.

Alhaji survived all these stigmas and the subsequent calls for his head. Not only that, he seemed to grow ever more powerful with each call. Naturally this exasperated his foes, no end.

By now we all know that Aminu left partly because of the May fuel riots, while Alhaji was promoted sideways to London as high commissioner because our finances have been in shambles. Their critics' assumption clearly is that the two were solely responsible for much of our problems and so if they were sacked those problems would go away. The assumption may have a basis, but it is not only basically flawed, it is also grossly unfair. True, the two, like all ministers, must bear vicarious responsibility for their charge, but they alone cannot be held responsible for the mess we are in. To hold them solely responsible is to misunderstand how policies are made. Ministers may take the initiative, but they

Aminu and Alhaji, have become part of our problem and as part of the problem, they can hardly be expected to solve it. However, whereas their departure was a condition for finding the solution to the problem, it was hardly sufficient. The trouble with those who have been celebrating the demise of Aminu and Alhaji is that they seem to think it is. And so now that they are out our problems will simply vanish. Of course they won't. Scapegoating has never solved anybody's problems and never will.

It is bad enough that we seem to blame Aminu and Alhaji alone for all our ills. What is worse is that the two are not even blamed as individuals but as representatives of a section of the country. The conventional wisdom now is to blame "northerners" for ruining this country. The most obvious and crudest manifestation of this is the campaign in certain sections of the media that a "southerner" must rule the country in the next republic or the nation must come apart. Because it is inconvenient, those who peddle this rubbish do not stop to ask themselves why is it that the northerners who have ruined the country for their own benefits do not own most of the banks and financial institutions and factories in the country and still constitute the smallest fraction of the federal bureaucracy in spite of Aminu's alleged hegemony and Alhaji's princely airs?

COVER STORY

Senate

Battle royale

The Social Democratic Party and National Republican Convention return to the polls to test their strength as the National Assembly elections come up next Saturday

The flamboyance and excitement associated with electioneering campaigns crept back into the nation's political landscape penultimate week, as the two political parties, the Social Democratic Party, SDP, and the National Republican Convention, NRC, rolled out their campaign drums for the National Assembly election coming up this Saturday, July 4.

First to hit the road, was the SDP which launched its campaign June 17, at Aba, the commercial nerve centre of the eastern states. The event was marked with pomp and pageantry. Right from the moment the campaign train led by the party

chairman, Ambassador Babagana Kingibe, touched down at Port-Harcourt International Airport, the East knew that the horse carrying the banner of "change and progress" was in town. The team which was welcomed by a motley crowd of party faithfuls moved in a motorcade from the airport to Aba where 'operation clean sweep' was launched. Aba township stadium, the venue of the momentous event was filled to the brim. In the crowd were Chief Odumegwu Ojukwu, *Ikemba of Nnewi*, former governor of Imo State, who is now running for the senate, Chief Sam Mbakwe, former governor of Bendel and Kwara states, Major-General Agbazika Innih and former governor of Cross Rivers State, Brigadier J.T Esuene. Four presidential aspirants, Arthur Nzeribe, Patrick Dele Cole, Olu-sola Saraki and Olabiyi Durojaiye were also present.

Babagana Kingibe was visibly delighted by the huge turnout. For him it was an opportunity to reach out to the East with his party's message of hope for a people who last December turned out in large numbers to cast their votes for the opposing NRC. Kingibe explored the theme of the party's new-found unity. He told the cheering crowd that his party will this time around humiliate the NRC. He was confident this would be achieved, July 4, "with our party firmly poised to win and bring hope and confidence to our people". He told them to vote SDP on Saturday because the party has been faithful to the electorate by implementing its welfare programmes in its spheres of influence. Amidst cheers of "SDP progress" Kingibe reeled out some of the party's achievements as "the provision of free and qualitative education, proper and adequate health care, rural electrification and mass transport and plenty affordable food."

Four days later, another "operation" was launched in yet another commercial nerve centre, Kano. This time around, it was the NRC. At the head of the campaign dubbed "operation grand slam" was Chief Tom Ikimi, chairman of the party. He too, had a big crowd to talk to. Ikimi made an issue of the much-maligned Structural Adjustment Programme, SAP, saying its desirability is beyond debate. He told party faithfuls that NRC's main concern was "how to provide food for our people, wealth for our people and efficient transportation for our people." Some of the dignitaries that listened to Ikimi were the 16 governors of the NRC controlled states including Chief Evans Enwerem, of Imo State whose election was put in abeyance by a court last month. Ikimi appealed to the people to vote NRC again because according to him it is the winning party which will guarantee them hope for the future.

As the campaign train moved around the nook and crannies of the



Kingibe and Nelson: better life



Augie and Okolie: The Pen wielders

country last week with the traditional long list of promises for the people, analysts say the contest would be keen in several states. Presently, in terms of spread, the SDP appears to be the party on the ground. Of the about 8,939 elected public servants in the country today, 4,738 of them are SDP, the latter controls 18 out of the 29 houses of Assembly in the country. The SDP also has a lion share of members of Houses of Assembly, (626) councillors (3,765) and local government chairmen (315) to NRC 541 legislators, 3,360 councillors and 274 local government chairmen. It is against this background that the SDP is insisting that contrary to NRC claims, it is the winning party. In fact, the SDP claims that but for the intra-party disputes over the governorship primaries which led to protest voting against it in the December '91 general elections, the party would have won the governorships of Lagos, Cross Rivers, Imo, Enugu, Katsina, Kano and Adamawa states. Now the SDP says it has kept its house in order and is joining battle with the NRC, as one closely-knit family.

Lagos State may provide the party the opportunity to improve this point on Saturday. As in the governorship primaries, the battle line has been drawn between the Femi Agbalajobi and Dapo Sarumi camps, after several peace overtures failed to reconcile the two factions and get them to separate candidates for the May 23 primaries. Eventually, the SDP group got two senatorial districts —

Lagos West where Bola Tinubu defeated Agbalajobi's Alhaji Rasheed Shitta-Bey, and Lagos Central where Dr. Wahab Dosumu who beat Agbalajobi's Dr. Dominic. The Agbalajobi group got Lagos East, through Chief

Anthony Afuye, erstwhile party chairman of Shomolu Local Government who defeated Sarumi's Olorunfemi Bashorun. Mountains of protest greeted the primaries and in a deft move to forestall a replay of last December's debacle, the national executive council of the party, decided June 4, to uphold the election of all candidates returned at the polls to, as party officials put it, make the contest less controversial. This became the more necessary as the NRC in the state had carefully managed protests emanating from its own primaries that saw Mrs. Onikepo Oshodi, Mrs. Kemi Nelson and Mr. Ademola Seriki, emerging as the party's flag bearers for Lagos East, West and Central respectively.

There is yet a third reason why Lagos may be a safe place of the SDP namely, the Lateef Jakande factor. The theory is that for Jakande, who is a chieftain of Lagos politics, to enhance his presidential ambition, he must not lose Lagos a second time.

Dark horses are in the running for the senate in Taraba State. Political analysts say it is only to be expected. Taraba is a new state, and everything about it ought to be new, they say.

Though new to party politics, the "newbreed" candidates fly impressive credentials, including a university education, professionalism and "experience" in public service.

Barrister U.J. Yohana, the Social Democratic Party, (SDP) candidate running for the Taraba south senatorial seat against the National Republican convention (NRC) candidate, Alhaji Waziri Salihu Mamman,

has been a practising lawyer for over a decade. His political platform is "unity and morality". Both candidates are from Donga Local Government Area. Neither has held political office and both are unknown. Yohana may win, belonging as he is in the ruling party in the state, the SDP.

For central senatorial zone, the NRC has Musa A. Wakil as its candidate, and he is running against Abdullahi Kirm of the SDP. Again little is known about either candidate. The deciding factor, again, will be the SDP incumbency and its solid structure.

An NRC chieftain told *Citizen* in a telephone interview during the week that the party might not fare well in the senatorial election for a number of reasons. First, the internal squabbling which cost it the governorship last December is still plaguing it. Second, it has to worry about the incumbency factor.

The ruling SDP has a relatively efficient campaign machine, well-oiled by state resources. The state does not have newspaper, nor a television, but the NRC candidates can rely on the NRC government in neighbouring Adamawa State for media access.

In Adamawa, the battle for the senate is sure to be exciting. First, there is a clear ideological divide between the two parties. Second, the candidates are well known political titans. But perhaps Mubi senatorial district will provide the greatest drama.

There the SDP candidate is Dr. Bala Takaya (SDP), the leftist politician who was stopped by the National Electoral Commission (NEC) from standing in last December's governorship election. The ex-university of Jos lecturer could have won the SDP ticket and gone on to win the governorship. Against him, the NRC is presenting Mr. Paul Wampana Vimtum, speaker of defunct Gongola State house of assembly.

Mr. Wampana is an articulate and astute politician, but he is regarded as a rolling stone that gathers no

ness. In the Second Republic he pitched his camp with the Great Nigeria People's Party (GNPP). This time people thought he was a "natural material" for the SDP, but he confounded all by going over to the more conservative NRC.

Another fight to watch will be Numan senatorial district, where the gladiators are Dr. Jonathan S. Zwingina and Second Republic senator Manassa T.B. Daniel. Dr. Zwingina, a former MAMSER director in Plateau, is outspoken, flamboyant but "politically confused." Even his friends consider him unorganised. His close link with his erstwhile MAMSER boss, Professor Jerry Gana, an SDP presidential candidate, may not help his bid.

Mr. Manassa has an ace in his brief stint in 1983 senate, where he claimed to have been instrumental to creation of the Nigerian Airforce base in Yola. "I want you to send me back there to complete the assignment," has been his campaign call. Also, the NRC's perceived consorting with the feudal Adamawa establishment may clinch the seat for him a second time.

All things being equal, the NRC seems set to take a overwhelming majority of the House of Assembly seats and all three senatorial seats in Niger State. In the mainly Hausa-speaking senatorial district comprising Wushishi (where President Babangida is originally from), Magama, Rijau, Borgu and Agwara local governments, the NRC candidate, Alhaji Halliru Dantoro, from Borgu is virtually guaranteed a walk-over. There is some bitterness among supporters of Alhaji Umaru Babangida (from Wushishi but no relation of the president) who lost the primaries to Alhaji Halliru, because he (Halliru) was an eleventh hour draftee into the race, but there is no disputing his (Halliru's) qualifications and experience for the job. During the Second Republic, Alhaji Halliru served as a presidential liaison officer in Kwara State, as well as a minister of cabinet rank. Besides his experience, the former NPN stalwart is rumoured to have the support of the Establishment in and

outside the state.

In Niger South district comprising the Nupe-speaking Gbako, Bida, Lapai, Agaie, Lavun and Mokwa local governments, the fight is between Alhaji Dangana Ndayako for NRC and Alhaji Isa Mohammed Zhitu for SDP, both of them newbreed politicians. Again as in Niger Central, the NRC seems positioned to win handily. Ndayako is of royal blood, being a younger brother of the *Etsu Nupe*, Alhaji Umaru Sanda Ndayako. During the primaries the state NRC Establishment tried to engineer his defeat by exploiting the rural/urban dichotomy in the area, but somehow it did not succeed mainly because he had mounted perhaps the most credible and penetrating senatorial campaign in the state. He had formidable rivals in AVM Yisa Doko (rtd) former Chief of Air Staff and Alhaji Muhammadu Dab-

ban, a former deputy-speaker of the State House of Assembly and a commissioner. Still Ndayako won. Since his victory, AVM Doko has congratulated him, but Dabban has remained somewhat embittered. There are

rumours that those who supported him may try to persuade his supporters to cast their lot with the SDP, but the chances are that the NRC will close rank and ensure Ndayako's victory come July 4.

If the SDP has any chance to win a senatorial seat in the state, it is in Niger East district comprising the mainly Gwari speaking local governments of Suleja, Gurara, Paikoro, Chanchaga, Shiroro, Bossso and Rafi. Here the contest is between Alhaji Idris Kuta, former deputy speaker of the House of Representatives during the first four years of the Second Republic. His opposite number is Alhaji Ibrahim Ishaku, a

lawyer and deputy governorship candidate of the SDP in the last election. The election would have been a no-contest for Kuta, but for the fact that he is widely seen by the Gwaris to have pitched his camp with the Hausa-speaking minorities in the senatorial district. At the same time there is personal animosity between him and Alhaji Ibrahim Aliyu, secretary to the government of Alhaji Awwal Ibrahim and a disqualified candidate for the last governorship election who conducted perhaps the best governorship campaign in the country before his disqualification by NEC.

However, inspite of his "Uncle Tom" image, the former deputy speaker of the House of Representatives, may still win easily. Not only does he have the blessing of the Establishment, just like Alhaji Halliru Dantoro, Kuta is a wily politi-



Ndayako



Iyehen

cian and a fighter.

For retired Colonel Ahmadu Ali who is gunning for the Kogi East senatorial seat on the platform of NRC, it is a return to a familiar turf. Colonel Ali was a two-time senator on the ticket of defunct NPN and took active part in both the party affairs and national assembly.

Perhaps, he is best known for his staunch support for the creation of Kogi State. Though this did not materialise before the demise of the Second Republic, he is known to have quietly worked in the background until it was eventually created last September. There are some who believe strongly that were it not for the ban then, Colonel Ali might

have been the ideal candidate to govern the new state.

His opponent is Lt. Colonel Garba Zakari also Igala from Ankpa. Little is known about Colonel Zakari's political ambition, when he was retired after the Orkar's abortive coup in 1990. His entry into politics under SDP is the product of resentment of Ankp people against Colonel Ali's candidature and perceived Idah domination in Igala politics. Colonel Ali is from Idah. *Citizen* learnt that before the primaries, NRC and SDP allegedly zoned the senatorial seat to Ankpa. Governor Abubakar

The battle for the Kogi Central, is clearly between Alhaji Ahmed Tijani Ahmed, on the ticket of SDP and Dr. Usman Obatemi. A.T Ahmed, a former managing director of Nigerian Airport Authority is a kingmaker in Igbirra politics and a stalwart in SDP. The NRC won governorship election in the area because of the meddlesome attitude of the state party big wigs. In an attempt to break Ahmed's stronghold on the politics of the area, the youths brought in Dr. Usman Obatemi, a medical director in Kaduna, on the platform of NRC. Incidentally, elder Obatemi is a strong supporter of A.T. Ahmed. The calculation is that

Dr. Obatemi may be able to split the votes — but pundits say, there is no stopping Alhaji Ahmed now.

The political scenario in Kogi West senatorial district promises a lot of drama where erstwhile twofriends on the political divide,

Chief Silas Daniyan, former managing director of the Nigeria Industrial Development Bank, NIDB and a defeated governorship aspirant under SDP squares up with Chief Sunday Awoniyi of NRC. Chief Awoniyi, a retired seasoned administrator and one time pro-chancellor and chairman of ABU governing council cut his political teeth in the Constituent Assembly in 1977.

Both men hail from Mopa, in Yagba West and they seem out to settle a political score once and for all. Already tagged battle of the titans, the vote may go either way. It is however important that whichever of the two men emerges winner may seal the political coffin for the other.

In Kwara Dr. Olusola Saraki, an SDP presidential aspirant remains a king maker. He has cultivated a network of influence in the state through his philanthropic activities over the years.

There is however a problem of

the factionalisation within the SDP. The PSP/PF factions are bitter over their marginalisation in the state government and it is expected that senatorial aspirants believed to have been sponsored by Saraki may not have a smooth ride on July 4. The outcome of the election may prove whether or not Saraki's total hold on Kwara politics has slipped or not.

For Kwara Central, SDP's Abdullahi Babatunde Kassim will slug it out with Alhaji Ayinla Olumola of NRC. Both of them served in Adamu Attah's government, but while Alhaji Olumola was in Saraki's faction, Kassim stood behind Adamu Attah/Oniyang faction and was in detention briefly, when Buhari took over.

Although, Saraki's candidate, Aremu Yahaya failed to win the primaries, he is expected to throw his weight behind Ayinla.

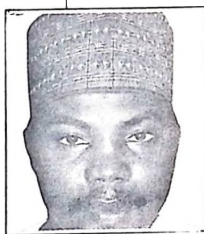
In Kwara North, Alhaji Idris Haliluru Kiama a retired administrator is contesting on SDP ticket. Alhaji Haliluru Kiama's success at the primaries came about because of alleged attempt by Dr. Saraki to impose Dr. Alimi Abdul Razak, a defeated governorship aspirant. Since then, it has not been easy in the senatorial district. First, the chairman of the SDP in Moro Local Government was suspended for anti party activities and it is obvious that should the intimidation continue, Alhaji Farouk Yusuf of the NRC may emerge the winner.

Chief Michael Bisi Oyewo and Alhaji Akin Bolaji, in SDP and NRC are pitched in the battle for the Kwara South comprising Oyan, Offa, Ifelodun, Irepodun and Ekiti. Alhaji Bolaji, a management consultant, hails from Ifelodun. He was a youth leader of the defunct NPN. He participated briefly in the formation of proscribed Liberal Convention and was recently persuaded to run for the senate, apparently because of the people's resentment over the imposition of SDP candidate by Dr. Saraki.

Chief Oyewo is an experienced politician and was a youth leader in the defunct UPN and is very popular. Although a predominantly SDP



Sheriff



Gacha

Audu comes from Ofu/Olamaboro/Idah axis. Colonel Ali's entry into politics did not go down well with the mainstream NRC.

Secondly, large sections of Igalas are not happy with Ali's role in the citing of the state capital at Lokoja instead of Ankpa. They also hold him responsible for his inability to uplift the area in terms of infrastructural development. For instance, neither the bridge linking the state capital with the western most part of Igalaland nor the 71 kilometre Shintaku-Dekina-road has been rehabilitated for nearly 23 years. However, Ali rode through the storm and like the political horse, he is soldering on. Ali has two things going for him. Of the six local governments in the senatorial district, four of them are predominantly NRC, except Idah and Ankpa. Secondly, Governor Abubakar Audu is also rooting for him, giving Ali a clear lead in the race.

The candidates for Senate

States & Territories 1. Abuja Abuja South Abuja Central Abuja North	SDP Rev. Dr. Mark Nwulu Chief Dr. Maduakwe Ogonnaya Ashiechuku	NRC Chief Max Okpugo Prince (Eng.) Onyika Okorofor Nwaka, Emmanuel C.
2. Adamawa Adamawa North Adamawa Central Adamawa South	Dr. Eka Takaya Basindwa Ibrahim Dr. Jonathan Zwingira	Paul Wampana Hamman Balo Mohammed Marassa T.B. Daniel
3. Anambra Anambra North Anambra Central Anambra South	Dr. Mike Anah Chief Ebenezer Ikeanya Chief N.M. Okwuma	Charles Mochbe A. F. Nwando V. U. Nwanwa
4. Anwar-Ibom Anwa Ibom North East Anwa Ibom South Anwa Ibom North West	Idongest Udo Udo Dan Ebone Udo Eng. Eprims Udo	Chief Aneta Odon Chief Etang Umoyi Chief Akanyene Lufana
5. Bauchi Bauchi Central Bauchi North Bauchi East	Dr. Ibrahim Waziri Ali Umaru M. Mah Adnana Yaro	Dr. Ibrahim Tahir Mohammed Uba Ahmed Dr. Belo Kitagum
6. Benue Benue South Benue North-West Benue North-East	Senator Anah Beula Hon. Valentine Iorim Prof. David Iorim	Enyi Okande Joseph I. Nyam Prof. I. Hagher
7. Borno Borno Central Borno South Borno North	Halisi Koo Kinebe Anel Abubakar Mahdi Atay, Abba Hassan Sadiq	Ali Madu Sheriff Abu Kadri Gaddama Umaru Yaro B'Ja
8. Cross River Cross River North Cross River Central Cross River South	Dr. Paul Udo Mr. Pius Tai Tawo Mr. Eric Edeh Traore	Mathias Okechobe Bam Loyal O Imoke Patrick Oniang Ahi
9. Delta Delta North Delta Central Delta South	Chief Chris Oble Chief Ekechaye Dr. Tom Egbuwaku	Mr. Nduka Obabekwa Dr. E. J. Sowho Owa Agbagha Okedy (Mrs)
10. Edo Edo North Edo Central Edo South	Mr. Albert Leggege Dr. J.O. Orla Prof. Sunday Iyehen	Dr. Raymond Dokupe Barr. Eddy Okpabhe Martha E. Okaebo (Mrs)
11. Enugu Enugu East Enugu Central Enugu North	Chief Polycarp Nweta Dr. Sam Ory Dr. Emmanuel Ojayi	Innocent U. Chma Mr. Collins Ndu Fidelis Omore
12. Imo Imo South East Imo North West Imo North East	Prince Pat Abi Jay Nwanan Chief Samuel Mbaeke	Martin Aghazo AH, U.M. Maduagwu Chief C. C. Anyanwu
13. Jigawa Jigawa West Jigawa Central Jigawa East	Ibrahim Musa Kazaure Musa Bako Mohammed Shuaibu	Abba Kassim Yusuf Sani Mohammed S. Magama
14. Kaduna Kaduna North Kaduna Central Kaduna South	Anay, Musa Abdulahi Ma. Gani Gire Baccie Makari	Abayi Tsoho Abubakar Abayi Musa Beto Sylvester Sarkey

15. Kano Kano North Kano Central Kano South	Engr. Magaji Abdulahi Aminu Inuwa Ahmadu Rufai	Dr. Falzu Batta Aminu Labaran Baba Col. Isa Kachako (rtd)
16. Katsina Katsina Funtua Mam	Alhaji Ibrahim Salana Alhaji Musa Musawa Engr. Mahmoud Bello	Dr. Isyaku Aliyu Alh. Abu Ibrahim Abdu Haro Mashfi
17. Kebbi Kebbi North Kebbi Central Kebbi South	Alhaji Abdullahi Kamba Mustapha Sarki Khardi Dantani Muta RBah	Alh. Adamu B. Ausge Aliyu Mohammed Bata Talidan Yawuri
18. Kogi Kogi West Kogi East Kogi Central	Chief Sias Danyan Lt.-Col. Garba Zakan (rtd) Engr. A.T. Ahmed	Chief S. B. Awonyi Col. Ahmadu Af (rtd) Dr. O. Usman
19. Kwara Kwara North Kwara Central Kwara South	Alhaji Idris Halliru Alhaji Ayinla Olofela Chief M. A. Oyewo	Alh. Faruk Yusuf Alh. Babalunda Kazeem Alh. Hallu A. Bolaj
20. Lagos Lagos Central Lagos West Lagos East	Dr. Wahab Dosumu Mr. Bola Tinubu Chief Anthony Aliye	Mr. Demola Seriki Chief (Mrs) Olukeni Nelson Chief (Mrs) Onkepo Oshodi
21. Niger Niger North Niger South Niger East	Alhaji Isa Shaba Abdulahi Isa Mohammed Zillu Ibrahim Isyaku	Alh. Halliru Dantoro Alh. Dangana Ndayako Dr. Idris I. Kuta
22. Ogun Ogun Central Ogun West Ogun East	Chief Babatunde Oshelawye Chief S. A. Orogbola Dr. Jubril Martins-Kuye	Chief Olasenri Ayorinde Chief Ololekan Ojo Ounba Fatal Bashorun
23. Ondo Ondo North Ondo East Ondo South	Mr. Olawole Adewumi Chief Oluwemi Okuninboye Mr. Adebisi Adekeye	Chief Peter Adeleye Mr. Ometosho Michael Chief O. Olowofela
24. Osun Osun I Eastern Osun II Osun III	Chief Omitani Olayinka Dr. Ababi Olu Chief Ebenezer Babalope	Engr. R. A. Akunjimi Not available Not available
25. Oyo Oyo North Oyo Central Oyo South	Chief Ayantayo Ayandole Prof. Wande Abimbola Alhaji Rasheed Ladoja	Dr. Saka Babogun Chief Teriola Oyewo Mr. David Abinuwasa
26. Plateau Plateau North Plateau East Plateau West	Jacob Isandu V. K. Dangim Isa Muhammed	Yap Hannatu Cholom Amos Y. Glze Alh. Tanko Baba
27. Rivers Rivers West Rivers South East Rivers East	Engr. Vincent Echrkwa Dr. Ibapuyee Yellowe Hon. Boniface Amegua	Mr. Felix Oboro Ngazi J. Dentan West Chief Hekare Ajunu
28. Sokoto Sokoto East Sokoto North Sokoto South	Sani Gusau Alhaji Aliyu Gigane Alhaji Aliyu Abara	Alhaji Saidu Idris Samaha Sule Galadima Alhaji Ladan Abdulahi Shuni
29. Taraba Taraba North Taraba Central Taraba South	Alhaji Abdulahi Kinn Alhaji Ibrahim Goge Gassol Barrister U. J. Yohanna	Alh. Babayo A. Umar Musa N. El-Waki Alhaji Waziri Salihu Mamma
30. Yobe Yobe South Yobe North Yobe East	Adamu Abubakar Nikau Umar El-Gash Maina Engr. Lawan Gani Guba	Muhammadu Bante Alh. Saleh Gache Alh. Shattima Kidaj
31. Federal Capital F.C.T. Abuja	Hassan Tadayigbe	Alhaji Musa T. Abari

area, the most populous local government in the district are Irepodun, Ekiti and Ifelodun, where Alhaji Ayinla comes from. The vote may swing either way.

To fight it out in the Benue East senatorial district are the former SDP national publicity secretary, Dr. David Iornem and Professor Harry Iorwuese Hagher of NRC. At the primaries last May, Professor Iornem's candidature was disputed by Mike Aki, who claimed widespread irregularities. The appeal panel upheld Iornem's election to the chagrin of many SDP supporters, who believed Aki, a more favoured candidate was robbed of victory by Iornem strongly suspected to enjoy Governor Moses Adasu's support. Some people believe, Iornem would do better for his state if he had remained in his post.

Professor Hagher, who was in the senate briefly in 1983 was returned unopposed by the NRC. Hagher, who resigned recently as a lecturer from the University of Jos (Unijos), is a great grassroots mobiliser and is regarded as a home boy. His entry into politics has been given SDP nightmares and barring malpractices, Professor Hagher may clinch the seat.

In Benue Central, Joseph Inna Nyam who was returned unopposed on the platform of NRC may have easy ride over Dr. Iorchia Ayu of the SDP. Nyam who was an aide to the former minister of Internal affairs, Brigadier John Shagaya assisted many of Benue indigenes into the customs and immigration departments. He has solid support of all the local governments in the district because they are bent on getting their son into the senate.

Dr. Ayu, a former lecturer at Unijos, chairman Benue Broadcasting Corporation and a radical, won the primaries by default. He had earlier lost to Valentine Iortim but Ayu complained of irregularities. His petition was upheld largely because many believe, he is being sponsored by Governor Adasu. Governor Adasu, who appears not to have made any remarkable stride in his

six months in office seems to be a bad name for any candidate.

In Benue South, the battle line is drawn between Mr. Enyi Obande of NRC and Second Republic senator, Ebute Ameh. Obande enjoys the support of Steve Lawani, the deputy national chairman of NRC, who is also eyeing some top government post. Mr. Obande also has his reputation to worry about. Obande who worked as an accountant with Kano State Oil and Allied Products Limited was allegedly sacked in 1984 for misman-

which saw SDP's Odigie Oyeugun through as the governor over NRC's Lucky Igbinedion, the contest was keen. Again, the 14 local government areas were shared seven each way. Oyeugun got majority votes in seven while Igbinedion got the other seven. Overall Oyeugun bettered Igbinedion by a mere 2.66 per cent of the total votes cast. In the legislature, the NRC has 10 of the 28 members. This parity of power and strength is what analysts, say will make Edo State one of the hot spots



Gadzama



Mahdi

agement. This has forced the party to rescreen Mr. Obande, abruptly to forestal the likelihood of the SDP failing to win the seat at the polls.

The courts in the area recently nullified the election of three NRC chairmanship on the ground of irregularities. Should Mr. Obande be able to weather the storm of allegation, he will take the seat, Idoma land being an NRC strong hold. Ex-senator Ebute Ameh was outspoken during the Second Republic, where he was elected on NPN ticket. His recent romance with SDP is surprising, though many say his chances are slim.

Since the return of partisan politics in 1990, the Bendel area has stood in the middle of conservatism and social democracy. For instance in Edo State, between the SDP and NRC, the contest has been even. At the last count, both parties shared the 14 local governments, seven each way. During last December general elections

of Saturday's battle. But Social Democrats Citizen spoke to last week in the state radiate confidence for three major reasons. They spoke of the enviable performance of Governor Oyeugun in allusion to his provision of free education and medicare and mass transportation for the people. Said Air Iyare, a social critic and party man, "Those who were in doubt that SDP and Oyeugun were the better choice have had their doubts cleared". The second thing going for the SDP is the brutal murder of George Idah, an NRC chieftain and Oredo Local Government boss, in February. Since preliminary police investigations fingered top NRC officials as suspects, the SDP has been making huge political capital from it. It has successfully pushed the issue into the front burner of political campaign in the state.

Yet there is a third factor against the NRC. The Oba of Benin. The Edo people have not forgotten the humiliation of their monarch during the judicial contest over the state's governorship. The SDP used its control of mass media organs in the state to successfully put the blame on NRC and this may translate to votes in its favour on Saturday.

But analysts have argued that whereas the first factor may influ-

ence the voters statewide, the last two may well be localised in Edo South. Professor Sunday Iyehen, the party's senatorial candidate admitted to *Citizen* in Benin last week that his seat is a safe one contending however that apart from the prevailing socio-political situations in his favour, his credentials as a Second Republic senator representing the same areas and his association with the district for about 21 years will stand him in good stead over NRC's candidate, Miss Martha Amasasan. Last week, when *Citizen* visited Benin, only SDP's candidates posters were on the streets.

The battle in the state will be fought in Edo Central and North. The former made up of Esan East, Esan Central, Esan North-East and North-West, is the home of political heavyweights in the state: Tom Ikimi NRC national chairman; Alfred Aikhomu, NRC state chairman, and Augustus Aikhomu, vice president. The SDP parades John Izbili, state chairman and Tony Anene. The NRC has a big stake here. The national chairman Ikimi still smarting under his failure to deliver the state in the governorship election will definitely not want to be beaten again. Both parties are strong in the district. In the December show down, the four local governments went two each way with SDP winning Esan North East (63.96 per cent) and South East (56.71 per cent). The NRC got massive votes from Esan Central (60.33 per cent) and West (56.86 per cent). In terms of total votes cast in the district, NRC got an upper hand with 63,437 to SDP's 62,409. The parties flagbearers are Dr. John Oriafio (SDP) and Barrister Eddy Okpiabbele (NRC).

The battle for Edo North will be equally tough. Last December in spite of the fact that the SDP's deputy governorship candidate hailed from this district, NRC gained the upper hand with a popular vote of 88,335 to SDP's 81,532. Also, the former had three local governments — Etsako East (59.08 per cent) Owan West (52.02



Afikuyomi



Barde

per cent) and Owan East (52.26 per cent), to the latter's two, Akoko Edo (53.02 per cent) and Etsako West (52.41 per cent). Analysts are however still unsure of where the scale will tilt. The NRC candidate Raymond Dokpesi is strongly favoured though. It is generally agreed that Dokpesi is very popular in Etsako with extensive connections and financial clout to carry the day. Aware of the odds against it, the SDP went to Ubeke-Ekperi, five kilometres from Agenebode, the home town of Dokpesi to pick a candidate. He is Albert Legogie, a lawyer and former managing director of New Nigeria Salt Company, Oghoreki. Legogie does not possess the wealth of Dokpesi, but has the backing of formidable people like Agbazika Innih, the former governor of Bendel state. Innih told *Citizen* last week that, new realities such as the SDP's government performance in the state will see his candidate through. Dokpesi himself confessed to *Citizen* recently that things might not be as easy for him as people think. He identified incumbency factor and the desire of Edo and Delta to capture the nation's top seat through Abel Ubeoku, an SDP presidential aspirant, as the major hurdles on his way to the senate.

The Delta contest, analysts seem to agree, would be an easy ride for the SDP in Delta South and Central, the home base of Governor Felix Ibru and Abel Ubeoku. Last December, the party scored over 60 per cent of the votes in the area. The contention is in Delta North, the Igbo-speaking area of the state where two jour-

nalists, Chief Chris Okolie and Nduka Obaigbena, are engaged in a neck to neck struggle. The odds against the SDP are real. The party picked up 10 of the available 14 legislative seats in the district. Analysts have attributed

to the fact that NRC's Eric Opia hails from Ndokwa in addition to the successful NRC propaganda that if the people returned a Delta South candidate as governor, He may not develop Asaba the state capital and will marginalise the north. They point to the advertised bitterness of the south over the citing of the state capital at Asaba as evidence of the south's aversion for the north. Unfortunately events since January has not helped matters as the SDP government of Ibru has not been able to dispel these fears. Evidence of this was the March 30 riot in Asaba in protest against the perceived political and economical marginalisation of Delta North in the citing of the administrative headquarters of Delta State University in Abraka, the slow pace of work at Awani Campus, Asaba transmitting station of the state broadcasting corporation and the negligible number of the districts indigenes in the state government's top positions. Nduka Obaigbena, the NRC flagbearer has continued to sustain these sentiments promising to fight for an Anioma state.

Okolie, his opponent, has however sought to elevate the level of debate by taking time to re-educate the people. He told *Citizen* last week that for him, the issue is not how to get a new state, but how Anioma people would capture political power in the state. He failed to see how the SDP government has refused to develop Asaba or has developed the south at the expenses of the north reminding the people that the state budget is yet to be passed

into law how much more implementing it. Okolie was confident that he would, on the basis of his personal records, defeat Obaigbena whom he insisted is yet to pay his political dues. Indeed, there are many who believe that Okolie's reputation as a fearless journalist may see him through. Okolie hails from Oshimili Local Government Area.

The contest in the East according to analysts, would be as dicey as in Bendel. Political pundits are tipping the NRC to sweep the polls in Akwa Ibom, seen in political circles as the Sokoto of the south, and Rivers States which have traditionally voted conservative not for the love of its philosophy but out of fear of Igbo domination. The core Igbo states are however expected to witness a tough battle particularly in Imo, Enugu and Anambra states where a realignment of political forces has seen notable Igbo leaders pitching their tents with the SDP. It would be recalled that Enugu and Imo states were lost to the NRC owing to Arthur Nzeribe's CARIA movement's imposition of unpopular candidates on the party. Now there is a new rapprochement between the various factions culminating in a relatively rancoeur-free National Assembly primaries. Apart from Anambra North, where the party is, at press time, yet to resolve the impasse between Anambra State government (controlled by SDP) preferred candidate, Chuba Okadigbo and Arthur Nzeribe's Michael Arch, the party appears set to go into battle as one.

That Abia State will go to NRC is almost a foregone conclusion as the party controls 25 of the 34 seats in the legislature. Another hot spot in the region is Cross River State, where although the NRC controls the executive, the SDP with 15 members has the upper hand in the 28 member legislature. The general verdict of bookmakers last week is that, the scramble for the east may not be a "clean sweep" or "a slam" by any of the parties.

While the East may not be a clean sweep, the West, barring any

electoral wonder, will definitely be for the SDP. From Ogun through Oyo to Osun states the coast appears clear for a Social Democratic victory. In Oyo the party is relying on its popularity and that of its candidates. A prominent candidate is Wande Abimbola, a professor and political adviser to the governor of the state.

Other states are equally secured. In Osun State where Ebenezer Babatope, former director of organisation of defunct UPN, is one of the

He told party faithfuls that NRC's main concern was "how to provide food for our people, wealth for our people and efficient transportation for our people."

flag bearers, the SDP presently controls 42 of the 46 seat legislature. The party's control of Ondo State, Obafemi Awolowo's most fanatical supporters, is equally firm with 45 to NRC's six seats. In Ogun State, SDP control is 99 per cent.

In Kano State the ghost of the controversial governorship primaries is still haunting the political landscape. It is the only state where three defeated governorship aspirants are contesting Saturday's senatorial elections under the platform of one party, the SDP. They are the three musketeers of Kano politics, Magaji Abdullahi, Aminu Inuwa and Ahmadu Rufai representing the Independent, *Santsi* and *Tabo* factions of the SDP.

Magaji Abdullahi of the SDP who contested and lost the governorship to NRC's Kabiru Gaya was returned unopposed. The former works commissioner and managing director of Water Resources, Engineering and Construction Agency, WRECA will not lock horns in Kano north with NRC's Dr. Faizu Baffa, a medical practitioner and managing director of Faby Clinic. Abdullahi enjoys considerable goodwill. In-

deed he was set to win the governorship elections until internal wranglings split the SDP. The PSP faction of SDP, *Santsi*, then pulled the carpet from under his feet and cast their votes for NRC giving incumbent governor Alhaji Kabiru Gaya a surprising ride to government house in a state that is the hot bed of northern radicals.

For this, Abdullahi is expected to benefit from sympathy votes. Added to this is the fact that his opponent Baffa is a reserved and little known new breed politician. Magaji's prospects of winning are bright.

In Kano Central the contest is between Aminu Inuwa of SDP, a former executive of National Trucks

and Aminu Labaran Baba of the NRC. With his political exposure and the support of party loyalists who were on his campaign train during the governorship primaries Inuwa has an ace over his namesake from NRC, a business man with strong connections from the Wali faction of the NRC.

Alhaji Ahmadu Rufai, agriculturist and former general manager of Hadejia-Jama'are River Basin Development Authority has had a chequered political experience. He was thrice declared winner of controversial governorship primaries last year. With the loss of that election he contested the governorship election as Magaji Abdullahi's running mate. He also lost that as indeed he was again declared loser of the senatorial primaries held in May where Alhaji Garba Abba Samaila, a director general narrowly defeated him by polling 314 to Rufai's 310 votes in Kano South senatorial district. After some protest, Rufai was approved to contest the SDP ticket with Colonel Isa Kachako (rtd) of the NRC as a formidable opponent. Kachako

pered well in the senatorial primaries where he polled 889 votes to defeat Alhaji Mas'ud Jibrin and Mahmuda Sirajo who scored 472 and 165 votes respectively. If he maintains this impressive outing Col. Kachako is set to win the elections in what in anyway is considered an NRC sympathy district.

Kaduna state is an NRC state, departing from its Second Republic posture of a radical state with conservative legislature. The contest may favour the NRC which is set to benefit from the incumbency factor. In Kaduna Central made up of Kaduna north, south, Chikun, Igabi, Giwa, Kachia and Birnin Gwari oil magnate, Alhaji Musa Bello, NRC, and chairman of Mubeco petroleum and Alhaji Baba Mai Garin Girei, a farmer, in a contest that could swing either way. Kaduna North which has Zaria, Soba, Ikara, Sabon Gari, Lere and Makarfi promises to be an easier victory for NRC's Alhaji Tsoho Abubakar, a businessman who is contesting against SDP's Alhaji Musa Iya Abubakar, a successful farmer.

In Kaduna South comprising Kauru, Kaura, Zangon Kataf, Jaba and Jema'a, Mr. Sylvester Sankey of the NRC locks horns with Mr. Babale King former SDP public relations officer, in a contest the SDP is set to win.

Jigawa State is predominantly NRC but the SDP won the controversial elections after the results were upheld by the elections appeal petition tribunal.

Laxity on the part of the NEC cost the NRC the loss of Jigawa governorship chair in an election where it was alleged the NRC candidate Barrister Buba Aliyu was informed of NEC approval for him to contest only at midnight, a few hours before polling began.

After the NRC candidate was disqualified, Buba Aliyu had only a few hours to campaign and his poster was missing at the polling stations.

Now, the NRC is set to correct this by fielding a former governorship aspirant, Alhaji Yusuf Sani who was elected unopposed at Jigawa central senatorial district. He has consider-

able edge over his little known challenger, Alhaji Musa Bako Auvara. In the Jigawa west sector, Alhaji Ibrahim Musa Kazare of SDP locks horns with Alhaji Abba Kassim of the NRC in a contest that could go either way. Alhaji Muhammed Shuaibu Kaugama of SDP is contesting against Alhaji Muhammed S. Magama.

The senatorial race in Plateau state also promises to be interesting. Contesting on the platform of the SDP in Plateau West is the controversial former governor of Gongola State, retired Wing Commander Isa Baba Mohammed. Wing Commander Mo-

led PRP in the old Kaduna State. It was in Funtua, however, that the SDP met its Waterloo in last year's election following the defection to the NRC of its strongman in the area, Abu Jelli Gambo. Alhaji Abu Jelli, known in Katsina to be a consulate tactician, is now Barda's commissioner for agriculture. A confirmed foe of Major-General Yar'adua, the moving spirit of the Katsina SDP, Alhaji Abu Jelli is presently directing his new party's campaign. Running against Musa Musawa is Alhaji Abu Ibrahim, who contested the NRC primary against Barda but withdrew before the vote. In Katsina itself, the SDP candidate is Alhaji Ibrahim Safana, former sec-



Bello



Babatope

retary to the state government. Alhaji Ibrahim will however have a hard time defeating the NRC's Dr. Isiyaku Aliyu, for Katsina Central is the main stronghold of the NRC. During the 1990 local elections, the SDP fielded another former SMG for chairman of

hammed's constituency is the area where the NRC is strongest in Plateau and its candidate Alhaji Tanko Baba will give him a tough fight. In Plateau North, the NRC is fielding Yop Hannatu Chollom, the elegant Birom lady who lost her party's gubernatorial primaries last year to Bagudu Hirse. Although the SDP won last year's governorship contest, the NRC roped in some 600,000 votes in the state.

The Katsina state SDP is eagerly awaiting this week's vote. The party has long contended that the NRC "stole" the governorship, which Alhaji Sa'idu Barda won with a narrow margin. The SDP failed to convince the courts that it won the contest, but is seeking a convincing win this time. Its candidate in Funtua is Alhaji Musa Musawa, the articulate leader of the Aminu Kano-

led PRP in the old Kaduna State. It was in Funtua, however, that the SDP met its Waterloo in last year's election following the defection to the NRC of its strongman in the area, Abu Jelli Gambo. Alhaji Abu Jelli, known in Katsina to be a consulate tactician, is now Barda's commissioner for agriculture. A confirmed foe of Major-General Yar'adua, the moving spirit of the Katsina SDP, Alhaji Abu Jelli is presently directing his new party's campaign. Running against Musa Musawa is Alhaji Abu Ibrahim, who contested the NRC primary against Barda but withdrew before the vote. In Katsina itself, the SDP candidate is Alhaji Ibrahim Safana, former sec-

Katsina local government, and he lost. The SDP is much stronger in Daura, although NRC control of the state may have considerably weakened it.

Although Borno is an SDP front, the NRC will give it a good run for its money. In Borno Central the competition will be tough with Hajija Kolo Kingibe wife of the SDP chairman, Ambassador Babagana Kingibe contesting against a new breed millionaire Ali Madu Sheriff of the NRC. It is a stray NRC constituency with three of the local governments Bama, Dikwa and Ngala for NRC and Maiduguri for the SDP. There are strong indications that the NRC will capture this seat. Hajija Kolo Kingibe, as a woman contesting elections in a conservative area has immense amount of goodwill but will require

more than that to win this tough contest. If NRC's campaign in Maiduguri metropolitan yields fruit Sheriff will have a smooth sail since it was votes from Maiduguri town that halted NRC's march to the Government House.

Unlike Borno Central, the south is a less certain terrain for both parties. Here Alhaji Abubakar Mahdi from Gwoza and Abdulkadir Gadzama from Askira are running under the SDP and NRC respectively. But with SDP controlling four of seven local governments, Mahdi might with hardwork and luck win the contest.

Both contestants in Borno North are relatively unknown, Abba Has-

Abdullahi Shuni from Shuni. A commissioner during the Second Republic, Alhaji Ladan has since become a wealthy businessman and last November was turbaned the *Dan Masanin Sokoto* by Sultan Ibrahim Dasuki.

The most hotly contested seat in the NRC primaries was that of Sokoto East which was ultimately clinched by Alhaji Saidu Idris, popularly called "Samaho". Among those who lost to him were Alhaji Yussa'u Anka, former general manager of Superphosphate Fertilizer Company, Kaduna, and retired Brigadier Yaro Maru, deputy chairman of the NRC in the old Sokoto state. Both opponents quickly alleged that Samaho used his prodigious wealth to win the election, but the victor countered that he entered the race first and campaigned hardest; he won, as a result, all but one local government in the district.

The most controversial election, however, was for



Ikimi and Kingibe: one winner only

san Sadiq for the SDP and Umaru Yaro Bida, NRC. This constituency is a sure banker for the SDP because none of the local government is controlled by the NRC.

Sokoto State is the traditional "stronghold of NRC stongholds", and during last month's party primaries, it was the NRC's primaries in the state that attracted the most attention. Many people tended to view them as the real election. In one district, Sokoto Central, the unopposed candidate was Alhaji Ladan

Sokoto North. The party's returning officer had returned Alhaji Garba Ila Gada, a Second Republic commissioner, duly elected. The results were announced on both the state radio and NTA. However, a few days later, the state NEC office cancelled the election in Silame Local Government and conducted a fresh one, as a result of which Alhaji Garba was defeated by Sule Galadima. Sokoto NRC chairman Attahiru Bafarawa protested NEC's action and Alhaji Garba himself charged



Nwosu: How ready is NEC?

that it was masterminded by Governor Yahaya Abdulkarim, whom last year, lost the NRC primary in Garba Ila's stronghold of Gada. The final list of NRC candidates cleared by RECA, obtained by *Citizen* last week showed that Galadima is the party's candidate.

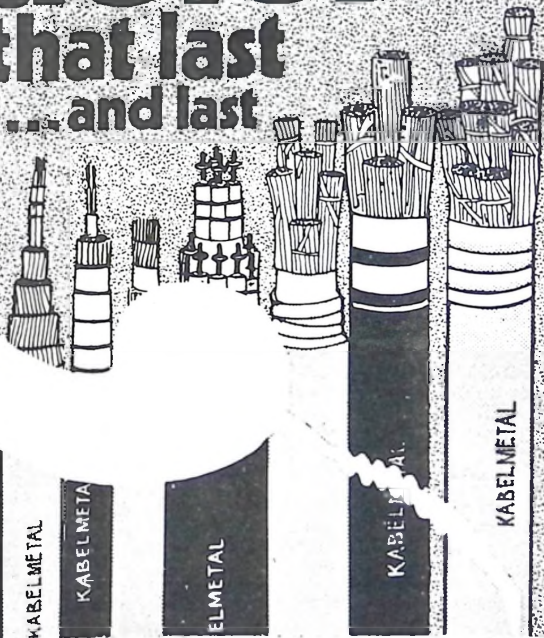
The disorganised and demoralised SDP in Kebbi state is not expected to defeat the NRC in any of the three senatorial districts. The NRC's star candidate in the state is the veteran broadcaster Adamu Augie who is running in Argungu. He had won the primary after his leading opponents withdrew at the last minute, charging that Governor Abubakar Musa had intervened on behalf of his old friend. The NRC's candidate in Birnin Kebbi is Aliyu Nasarawa, a retired airforce officer, and in the South, Alhaji Bala *Tafidan Yauri*, is the party's candidate. Alhaji Bala, a Second Republic commissioner, had defeated in the primaries, Alhaji Aliyu Jibrin a former director of the Central Bank and NRC national auditor, largely because the race mirrored last year's governorship contest in which Jibrin challenged Governor Musa.

By Bilkiisu Yusuf with reports from Mohammed Haruna, Adamu Adamu, Bolaji Adebisi, Yinka Tella, Abu Mommoh, Moyo Akoshile, Tawey Zakka and Mahmud Jega.

He was confident this would be achieved, July 4, "with our party firmly poised to win and bring hope and confidence to our people".

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Presidency

Incumbency factor and all that

This discourse is in the main, a response to Malam Mohammed Haruna's article "the presidential race and the incumbency factor" that featured in the *Citizen* of June 15th, 1992.

Incidentally the *African Concord* of the same week carried a cover story asking whether Jerry Gana and Shehu Musa must be allowed to run.

I think the issue is more the fact that some of these candidates might have benefitted unduly from their last appointments and used it to great advantage in achieving visibility and less the issue of "incumbency advantage."

For I do not see how advantages being secretary to the government and minister of finance under a government that is being accused of clamping SAP on Nigerians will be to Falae.

In fact, Olu Falae now finds himself having to explain why his presidential ambition should not be scuttled on account of his heavy involvement with the SAP programme of the present administration.

Fact is, being part of this administration has been a great liability to Falae and I think he would have fared better if he had not sullied his career by being the "architect of SAP" as most people want to put it.

Similarly, Shehu Musa is facing a lot of bad press these days on account of his last NPC assignment. In all honesty, the NPC assignment might end up being a set back to his political ambition because even his Nupe kinsmen are accusing him of undercounting them. Not to talk of the loud and bitter criticism from the southern states especially the west.

All three candidates are within the precincts of their rights to seek elective office. That I am in agreement with Mohammed Haruna but what I have been unable to compre-

hend in his write-up is where he posited that "while Gana's record at MAMSER is patchy, no one can deny that the public records of the first two (Olu Falae and Shehu Musa) speak well for them".

What makes Gana's record at MAMSER patchy and Olu Falae's and Shehu Musa's outstanding? What is the touchstone of performance? Is the mere opportunity to serve as secretary to the government an outstanding achievement? What are the criteria of measurement of success? Did Olu Falae's tenure contribute to the upliftment of the happiness index of the people of the country?

Unfortunately by the nature of MAMSER's job description and specification, it will be difficult, if not nigh impossible to try to measure its achievements or successes in tangible terms unless we are able to look less casually, more deeply and less sentimentally.

For instance, we all know that Professor Gana transformed MAMSER from a critic's and cynic's delight to a respectable and credible institution to the extent that it is somebody in the calibre of Mohammadu Gambo that is being asked to succeed him.

When MAMSER premiered, few people thought the idea was plausible because the socialist option advocated by the political bureau headed by Dr. J. Coakey was rejected by the AFRC. But the government didn't think that the baby should be thrown away with the bath water and therefore retained MAMSER.

MAMSER was to inculcate in Nigerians, a new political culture which will ensure discipline, loyalty, patriotism, commitment, dedication and accountability. This assignment was to be done through persuasion, not coercion. In other words, he was to impart on Nigeri-

By
Sam Nda-Isaiah

ans a natural propensity towards excellence.

These are tall assignments to give anyone especially in present day Nigeria.

But on account mainly of his personality, people listened to what the professor of geography had to say and not because they believed in the conception of MAMSER.

So in a sense, it was Gana that made MAMSER and not the other way round. That in itself is a major achievement.

Which is why I get puzzled when I hear people say that Gana should be disallowed from contesting because his MAMSER job must have unduly given him exposure. Most of those saying this were the same people that had a field day criticising MAMSER when it was established.

Therefore to describe MAMSER's achievements as patchy will be unfair if not outrightly ungrateful. I think Professor Gana deserves better than that at this point.

MAMSER's achievements can also be measured by the fact of acceptance of the two political parties (NRC and SDP). At the onset, it didn't make sense to most Nigerians including this writer that the government should establish political parties. Not to talk of drafting manifestoes and even inviting politicians to join who are then expected not only to defend but even to promise the implementation of these manifestoes. The whole thing sounded so far-fetched and absurd.

But with MAMSER's preachments, the two parties have not only developed into full grown political parties but can even boast of some kind of *esprit de corps* existing amongst members. This would have been impossible without MAMSER.

Not also forgetting that MAMSER brokered a peace meeting between the leaders of the two major religions; what was earlier thought to be almost impossible at that time, when religion threatened the corporate existence of this country.

It is on record that Gana worked very hard travelling day and night to all nooks and crannies of the country, talking to different interest groups including market women, politicians and even soldiers, and wherever he went, people listened to him. He preached to everyone without exception to do whatever he or she is doing well; that, according to him is the only way Nigeria can achieve the much desired greatness. Nobody was to be left out in this crusade of excellence, not even the commander-in-chief who was also advised to "chiefly command well".

But you have to agree with me that MAMSER's ultimate successes will have to be circumscribed by the degree of multiple standards existing in the country. There is a limit to which you can tell the masses to be patriotic when they know that their leaders are not above board and when they see that the pains and sacrifices of SAP are not evenly shared.

Now, back to the main topic under discussion. I had earlier said, the main issue at stake is not one of incumbency advantage but of unduly gaining exposure and visibility as a result of privilege government appointments and this should go beyond the present government.

Incumbency factor will not be an advantage to anybody as it is more a liability to be associated with the present government which even though attained a lot of successes in several other fronts has contributed much more than any other government before it in lowering the standard of living of its people.

I therefore cannot see how any candidate is going to accrue any benefits by being part of the govern-

ment. This is because everybody, in pandering to the emotions of the moment will associate all the perceived ills of this government with anybody who is seen to be part of it.

See how our brilliant Olu Falae is trying hard, with little success to wriggle out of the SAP altercations and how badly our enormously experienced and respected Shehu Musa is doing with the controversies surrounding the released census results.

And if exposure and visibility is what we are talking about and Jerry Gana has to be banned for it, then but not only Shehu Musa and Olu Falae will have to go with him but even the likes of Shehu Yar'adua, Umaru Shinkafi, Adamu Ciroma and indeed Mohammed Haruna, if he ever decides to seek public office.

Shehu Yar'adua at the mere age of 33, was appointed the chief of staff supreme headquarters as a reward for taking part in an illegal act (a coup d'etat), far ahead of many of his superiors. By that appointment, he became the bonafide vice president of Nigeria and it is because of the high visibility and exposure that he got at that time that he now has the temerity to contest the presidency. Alhaji Umaru Shinkafi was not only a minister in the Obasanjo government, he became the NSO boss under the Shagari administration and that gave him tremendous exposure and even access to privileged information on almost all Nigerians of substance including many presidential candidates on the scene today. A case of undue advantage.

Malam Adamu Ciroma's case is even more keen. After acquitting himself creditably as the first editor and subsequently managing director of *New Nigerian* and transforming it into what many believed was Nigeria's most authoritative paper, he was appointed to the esoteric post of governor of Central Bank without anything in his past or even career experience preparing him for the world of high finance. In this position, he also gained tremendous visibility.

Malam Mohammed Haruna, the publisher of this magazine if he ever decides to seek public office should be confronted with the fact that at the age of 29, barely out of university, he was appointed the editor of *New Nigerian*, albeit, in an acting capacity and even though acquitted himself excellently and catapulted the newspaper to greater heights in spite of his age, should be discountenanced from contesting. This is because by accepting the highly visible post of editor of the most influential paper in the country at that time, he had unduly attained a national exposure and visibility and therefore should be punished for it.

How does that sound? A case of rewarding good with evil. But fortunately, all decent societies recompense good jobs and that is probably why Mohammed Haruna became the managing director of the newspaper and even after that, the magazine he established gained so much ground and influence within a very short time, on account, mainly of the publisher's antecedents. Paradoxically, and perhaps poignantly, *New Nigerian* is fast losing its prime place to *Citizen* in the north.

To ask particularly Jerry Gana to put his presidential ambition on hold, as Mohammed Haruna did in his article, after selflessly serving this country, will be akin to the American people asking Generals Powell and Schwarzkopf to bridle whatever political ambitions they might have because having selflessly served in the Gulf War, they have achieved tremendous exposure and visibility amongst the American people. We all know this cannot happen.

The press should allow the people, the ultimate repository of power, to decide whether to accept or reject any of these candidates at the polls.

The only way the government should come in is to ensure a free and fair election.

Sam Nda-Isaiah, writes from
Kaduna

NIGERIA

Nzeribe

Acting treasonably?

Apostles of the "hidden agenda" thesis appear vindicated as Chief Arthur Nzeribe, billionaire SDP presidential aspirant, calls for an extension of the transition programme to 1996

Francis Arthur Nzeribe, an Oguta red-cap chief and presidential aspirant on the platform of the Social Democratic Party, SDP, is regarded in press circles as one man who thrives on controversy. Not surprisingly, the NUJ Lighthouse at Victoria Island, Lagos, was filled to the brim, Wednesday, June 24, when he was due to address "a world press conference". And when Nzeribe, began by talking about "a decision to reorder the priorities" of his "personal political

cal ambition which, he admits, "burns like a roaring fire", endorse somebody else's candidature as proof that "Nigeria always comes first" with him and thereby ruffle more than a few feathers in the SDP presidential line-up?

The hall was all ears. Nzeribe's bombshell, when it came, was however of a different kind even though it had a familiar ring to it. Beginning from the premise that fraud, corruption and mismanagement, rather than poverty and hunger are the

basic problems of Nigeria, Nzeribe dismissed as fraudulent the hope that "a new leader and a new administration will feed the people, abolish hunger and spread the national cake". Argued the SDP politician and businessman, "For one thing, not all the political aspirants of today can convince the Nigerian people that they have very clean hands. Most of them have been

strated because they know and we know that these evils have been with us in its present severe form for at least two decades".

But Nzeribe, who says he is "a democrat, a progressive and anti-military by all measures" was not done yet. He said there was need for a war against corruption, in the militant mould of the War Against Indiscipline, WAI, to be spearheaded by General Ibrahim Babangida before final abdication of power. According to Nzeribe "Babangida has an unfinished business in this critical area ... unless it boldly excise these cancers, the military would have bequeathed to us, like previous regimes before it, a new edifice built on the old, rotten foundation of moral decay... We will continue the tragedy where a man who earns 10,000 Naira will steal from the man who earns 1,000 Naira".

Absolving the Babangida administration of blame for the nation's economic and political woes, Nze-



Nzeribe: the mysterious Atkins?

aspiration if, in doing so, Nigeria as a nation can benefit", the air of expectancy in the hall thickened. Was the man about to jettison his politi-

tainted. The other reason is that no sincere political aspirant can ascribe our problem of fraud, corruption and mismanagement to one admini-



Babangida: will he succumb?

strated said the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) remains the only key to Nigeria's economic recovery which would be endangered if not

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- Is the people's choice
- Will never forget his dear people?

If your answer is "YES"

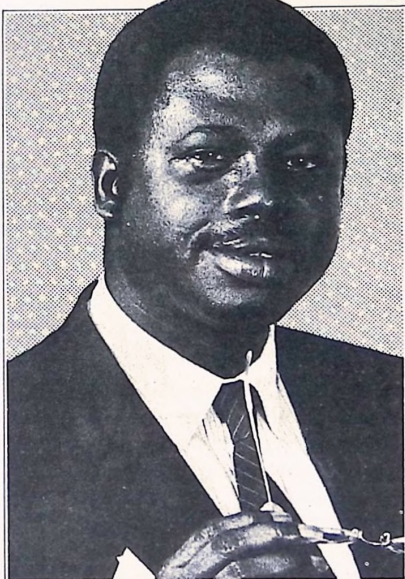
On July 4, 1992.

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SDP



I am sure we do not want someone who

- Is a baron
- Is without any visible means of livelihood
- Is reckless and a spendthrift
- Is a "Disco" Boy, who will not have time to adequately represent our people's interest in the Senate
- Is incapable of managing even a small business, and is therefore not qualified to represent the intelligent and sophisticated people of Ika, Oshimili, Ndokwa and Aniocha.
- Is hostile and antagonistic to the Delta State Government and constituted authority, thus incapable of attracting amenities to our people

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On July 4, 1992

vote

CHIEF CHRIS OKOLIE mni.,
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for Delta North

The fearless journalist and lawyer who cannot be gagged.

allowed to be pursued to its logical conclusion by the "military which preganated and gave birth to it". He berated the political class for having "learnt nothing and forgotten everything" as obvious from the "scandalous" local government elections of 1990 and other elections held to date. Nzeribe's conclusion was that it would be "irresponsible and even unpatriotic" of Babangida to abdicate power come January 1993. What "majority of Nigerians want", according to the presidential aspirant, is "for Babangida to remain and create more states and local government areas, make some necessary boundary adjustments, and ensure proportional representation in the Federal House of Representatives and the Senate, thereby eliminating these inconsistencies, inequities and loopholes in the transition programme". Urging the president to seriously consider extending the transition programme for at least "another year, two or three as deemed fit", Nzeribe quickly chipped in a curious caveat. "Should the transition programme continue on the present time-table,

make no mistake about it that I am ready, willing and able like hell to

win the presidency of Nigeria".

The immediate fall-out of Nzeribe's press conference last week was the resurrection of the "hidden agenda" controversy by critics of the Babangida administration who have always maintained that the whole transition programme is built on a booby-trap. More specifically, the ghost of an advertisement carried in major Nigerian newspapers last February by a faceless "Association



Kingibe: what reaction?

for Better Nigeria" led by a certain Dr. Keith Atkins was exhumed by

The immediate fall-out of Nzeribe's press conference last week was the resurrection of the "hidden agenda" controversy by critics of the Babangida administration who have always maintained that the whole transition programme is built on a booby-trap. More specifically, the ghost of an advertisement carried in major Nigerian newspapers last February by a faceless "Association for Better Nigeria" led by a certain Dr. Keith Atkins was exhumed by analysts last week.

analysts last week. The two page advert titled "The Quest for Democracy in Nigeria: An Agenda for Political and Economic Stability", had striking similarities with the address presented by Chief Arthur Nzeribe last week. Not only had the Atkins advert called for a War Against Corruption (WAC), it had also attacked the new breed political class which it said, should be further schooled "to be in position to pilot the Third Republic to a successful sail". The Atkins advert suggested 1997 as the handover date and warned the military very stridently "not to hand over a poisoned chalice to a rag-tag civilian administration under the guise of democracy". The advert was later traced to a prominent politician in the East who was discovered to have made the placements through an Ikeja-based advertising agency.

Could Nzeribe by any stretch of imagination be that faceless Dr. Keith Atkins? No, Nzeribe emphatically told *Citizen*: "I do not know who they say Dr. Atkins is and you will agree with me that from my records and my books, if I want to say something, I say it straight in black and white".

That may well be so, but legal experts who spoke to *Citizen* last week said Nzeribe may be running foul of the law. According to section 8 of Decree No. 19 of 1987 any person "who organises, encourages, plans, aids cooperate or conspires with any other person to undermine, prevent or in any way do anything to forestall or prejudice the realisation of the political programme" may well be on the way to a five year term in jail without an option of fine. At a time when five human rights activists — Dr. Beko Ransome Kuti, Baba Omojola, Chief Gani Fawehinmi, Segun Mayegun and Femi Falana, are being tried for treason for craving the "alteration" of the political transition programme, it remains to be seen if government will also let Arthur Nzeribe taste a little of the "treason" medicine.

By Yinka Tella

DISCOURSE

House of cards

The composition of the National Assembly to be elected this week will be *unfederal*. In so far as federalism has been enshrined in section 1 of the 1989 Constitution as the administrative system of the country, the assembly's composition promises to be *unconstitutional*.

If those who framed the 1989 Constitution knew what they were talking about, and I have no doubt they did, then federalism as a system is an artful arrangement specially designed for ethnically heterogeneous societies, such as Nigeria is. Within a federation, the two competing principles of equality of component states and numerical strength are both accommodated. The two-chamber structure of a federal parliament is meant to accommodate both principles. There is a senate, in which each state, without regard to population size, sends an equal number of senators. It is therefore within the understanding of the constitution that Lagos, Kano, Taraba and Yobe should send three senators each to Abuja.

Equality of states is obviously an undemocratic principle; its effect, in Nigeria, is that 1.9 million people will elect one senator in Lagos while less than half a million people will elect one in Yobe. This inequality of the opportunity to become a senator should however be seen as a concession made by inhabitants of large states in order to live in a federation with the inhabitants of a small state. The Americans do the same; Califor-

By
Mahmud Jega

nia, Texas and New York elect two senators each, as do Alaska, Hawaii and Vermont.

But why should Abuja elect a senator? Didn't the constitution say it is not a state? Washington DC does not elect a senator.

The House of Representatives is a different kettle of fish. Representation here is supposed to reflect numerical strength. Thus, the 1979 Constitution provided that federal



Aniagolu: Assembly *unfederal* and *unconstitutional*

districts be created on the basis of population, provided no local government constitutes less than one federal district. Now, this qualifier itself was *unfederal*; if a local government has less than the popula-

tion required for an electoral district, so be it. Readers are familiar with the American malpractice of gerrymandering, named after Governor Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, a direct consequence of the regular redistricting of constituencies according to population figures.

Here, though, there is an anomaly. The 1989 Constitution provides that each local government area shall constitute a federal district. This was all okay when the 1989 exercise created local governments according to 1979 federal districts and thus, roughly, according to population. Local governments increased at the time from 300 to 453.

The several local government creation exercises of 1991 departed completely from this principle. The country's population is put at 88.5 million. If a local government must equal a federal district, then there should be roughly 150,000 people in each local government, but this is not what we find. Calabar Municipal has 321,000; Kaduna South has 374,000; Dala in Kano has 496,000 and Ojo in Lagos has one million people. In contrast, Ola Oluwa in Osun has 43,000; Ibeji-Lekki in Lagos has 25,000 and Abaji in FCT has 23,000 people.

The number of federal districts per state is also anomalous. While each 150,000 people should have a federal representative, there is one representative to 166,000 people in Kano and one to 379,000 people in Lagos. In contrast, 121,000 people in Kebbi chose a representative, only 118,000 people do so in Imo, and in Akwa Ibom any 98,000 people have one representative.

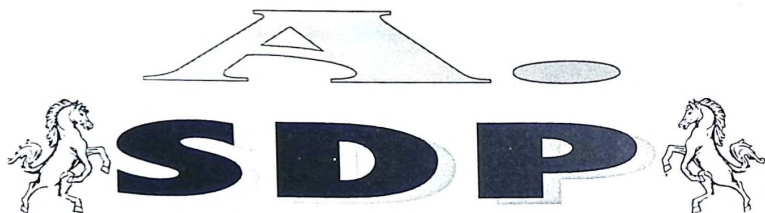
Residents of Lagos and Kano therefore have far less say, per capita, in the National Assembly than residents of Akwa Ibom and Kebbi states.

The National Assembly to be elected this week is therefore a house of cards. Pray no wind blows from the direction of the Supreme Court.

Equality of states is obviously an undemocratic principle; its effect, in Nigeria, is that 1.9 million people will elect one senator in Lagos while less than half a million people will elect one in Yobe.

Q.

Which Party is really the winner?



Take a look. The record is clear.

ELECTION	SDP	NRC
* Councillors	3765	3360
* Members of the States Houses of Assembly	626	541
* Governors	14 (One By-Election)	15
* Control of Local Government Chairmen	315	274
* Control of States Houses of Assembly	18 (One tie)	11
TOTAL	4738	4201



Now compare the records.
These are FACTS. Not lies.
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achievements, the difference
is clear.

SDP is the winning Party.

Continue to vote for **SDP** ... the better Party for change and progress.

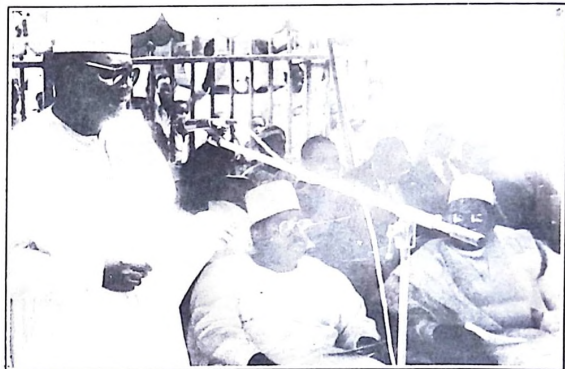
BUSINESS & ECONOMY

Ensure adequate collateral security

Banks in the country have been enjoined to tailor their credit policies in line with prudential guidelines by ensuring that their loans and advances portfolios are backed by adequate collaterals that are easily convertible to liquid funds.

The Edo State governor, Chief John Oyeogun gave the advise at the commissioning of a new branch of Savannah Bank in an address read on his behalf by his deputy, Reverend Peter Obadan. Governor Oyeogun urged banks to constantly evolve new corporate policies and strategies that would adequately deal with the dynamic changes in the environment, stressing that banks that are unable to effectively cope with the new environment would be forced to go under.

He decried the astronomical hike in interest rates by banks in reaction to the economic climate, stating that it could lead to the unanticipated consequence of customers' refusal to borrow. The result of this according to the governor would be that while banks are made to pay



Savannah Bank director, Dr. Ighalo reading the chairman's address while Edo State deputy governor Peter Obadan and the MD of the bank Alhaji Yahaya look on

high interests on savings and deposits, not much would accrue to them from borrowed funds which could lead to massive reduction in their profitability levels.

Governor Oyeogun then urged banks to be innovative and embark on aggressive marketing of new prod-

ucts and services.

Earlier in his welcome address, read by Dr. J.I. Ighalo, the chairman of Savannah Bank, Alhaji Mohammed Omar, expressed the bank's commitment to transforming Edo State into a viable and prosperous commercial appendage of Nigeria.

BUSINESS BRIEFS

NNPC

Direct sale is best

The Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) has been called upon to ensure that the products of the Eleme plant are sold directly to plastic manufacturers at reasonable prices.

The chairman of Abplast Products Plc, Chief Oladipo Odunjinrin made the call at the An-

nual General Meeting of the company in Ijebu Ode, Ogun State last week. He observed that the use of middlemen would add to production cost.

According to Odunjinrin, the heavy dependence of the plastic industry on imported raw materials had not been healthy to the industry adding "We hope that

there would be a respite when the Eleme Petrochemical plant begins operation."

Meanwhile, Abplast products Plc recorded a turn-over of 5.53 million Naira in 1991 representing an increase of 10 per cent over that of 1990. Profit before tax was 557,000 Naira while the profit after tax is 477,000 Naira. The chairman of the company congratulated the management and staff of their modest achieve-



Okonguwa

ment urging them to work harder for better performance.

LBN records 1.2 billion Naira turnover

In spite of the difficulties in the business environment, Lever Brothers Nigeria Plc recorded a turnover of 1.235 billion Naira in 1991 trading year. Profit before tax went up by 33 per cent to a figure of 248 million Naira while profits after tax increased from 120 million Naira to 163 million Naira,

representing an increase of 36 per cent.

The company's earnings per share increased from 53.7 kobo to 72.6 kobo, while net assets per share increased from 243.9 kobo in 1990 to 373.3 kobo in 1991. Shareholders of the company are to receive a dividend of 45 kobo per share as recommended by

the directors of the company.

The chairman and managing director of the company, Chief Rufus Giwa told the shareholders at their 67th ACM in Abuja that the company has been able to sustain its image of high product quality in most-cost effective manner. He described the introduction of nine new brands of products into the market as the most

important achievement of the company in the year under review. This includes Brilliant, Breeze and Ox laundry soap. Chief Giwa said the company will continue to intensify its efforts at local sourcing of raw materials and import substitution. He expressed sincere appreciation to the management, staff and shareholders of the company for their dedication, loyalty and support.

Gulf Bank records profit

Gulf Bank of Nigeria Limited recorded a profit before tax of 14.1 million Naira during the last trading year ended March 31, 1992. This represents an appreciation of 69.75 per cent over that attained in the previous year. It recorded a profit after tax of 12.19 million Naira.

Details of the bank's financial position were unfolded at the second Annual General Meeting held at the Banquet Hall of L'Hotel Eko Meridian Lagos by its chairman, Oloye Oladotun Okubanjo. He disclosed that out of the profit made during the year, 3.6 million Naira has been transferred to the statutory re-

serve account in fulfilment of the financial institutions decree No. 25 of 1991.

The chairman attributed the spectacular performance of the bank, against the background of harsh operating environment, to the dedication of management and staff of the bank and the tremendous patronage of its numerous customers.

The bank's sharehold-

ers unanimously agreed that the sum of 10 million Naira be set aside from the retained profit and distributed among the existing shareholders as bonus issue of one share for every two already held. It also agreed that the authorised share capital of the bank be increased from 50 million Naira to 100 million Naira through the creation of an additional 50 million Naira shares of 1.00 Naira each.

Washing with ease

As part of its expansion and diversification programme, National Industrial and Domestic Cleaners recently opened a self service laundry centre in Kaduna. The launderette

located at 1A Sabon Birnin Road, Kawo New Extension, caters for wide ranges and sizes and weights of clothes, towels, beddings etc, at a minimal cost. The firm has offered huge discounts to customers.

The business manager, Mrs. Margaret Iyanlu who spoke on the prospect of the centre, said the launderette will end the washing problems experienced in many homes, stressing that a situation where items are left unwashed for several days because of general shortage of wa-

ter, domestic staff and tight schedules in many homes is "very sad".

The centre was formally declared open by Kaduna State commissioner for works and transport, Mrs. Maureen T. La'ah.

By Tola Sunday and Abu Momoh

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AFRICA

South Africa

The bottomline

ANC first suspended talks with the government, then last week it withdrew altogether

The African National Congress (ANC), the main black anti-apartheid movement engaged in constitutional talks with the minority white regime in Pretoria, had complained a great deal about the slow pace of the talks on South Africa's future. Then in mid-May, President Frederick de Klerk's government unceremoniously placed the Conference for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) in a limbo.

Again the ANC and its allies at the talks cried foul, but still showed a willingness to negotiate. On June 15, the anniversary of the 1976 Soweto massacre, the ANC leadership opted for a programme of "mass action" of strikes, demonstrations and boycotts to try to force the government to hasten the process towards a majority rule in South Africa.

Then came the event of June 17. Over 2,000 gunmen descended on an ANC squatter camp in Boipatong, a black township south of Johannesburg and massacred 42 squatters. The following Saturday, June 20, President de Klerk visited the camp but was chased out by angry residents. Security men escorting the president shot and killed two people.

The ANC, whose patience had been sorely tried, saw the twin incidents as the last straw. On June 21, its president, Nelson Mandela announced the suspension of talks with the government. Two days later, the ANC's national working cabinet, a 26-man shadow committee resolved to withdraw from the 19-party constitutional talks altogether and bilateral negotiations with the government.

This is how Mandela explained the ANC's action: "I can... no longer explain to our people why we continue to talk to a government and a regime that is murdering our people, which is conducting war against us". The ANC has persistently accused the De Klerk government of instigating the violence in the black townships. Most of the 14,000 deaths recorded so far took place in the pe-



Mandela: de Klerk's regime is murderous

riod De Klerk has been in power.

However, a member of the ANC executive council said that the door had not been closed on "a genuine negotiation for the establishment of a genuine democracy in South Africa". But "it is not left ajar to crooked negotiations, stumbling blocks, to deadlocks based on an attempt to read into (a new) constitution a minority veto".

The ANC last week gave a number of conditions which must be met before it would consider returning to the negotiation table. They include a commitment by the govern-

ment to non-racial elections, a stop to all secret operations by the security forces, culprits of the Boipatong massacre must be tried and punished, release of all political prisoners, abolition of all private security forces and an international monitoring of the township violence.

To Chris Hane, head of the ANC's military wing, these conditions form "the bottomline of negotiations".

The government's reaction was prompt. Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who acted as state president last week during De Klerk's private visit to Spain, described the ANC's decision as unfortunate. Constitutional minister, Roef Meyer, who is the government's chief negotiator at CODESA said it would be "a tragedy" if the talks stopped completely at this stage. He said it was necessary to get the talks going again.

Last Wednesday, President De Klerk called a meeting of his cabinet and later announced that he wanted a two-day meeting with the ANC to discuss "some" of its demands, particularly the issue of international investigation of the Boipatong massacre. ANC president Mandela said he would meet De Klerk, but only to formally present the ANC's position and not to restart CODESA.

Meanwhile, the ANC intends to wage its campaign for an early handing over of power to the black majority on three fronts. Domestically, it intends to carry on with demonstrations and strikes, started on June 16 and internationally it would attempt to get the United Nations Security Council to intervene and also start talking to all other anti-apartheid movements in an attempt to isolate the Pretoria regime. Already the radical Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), which had described CODESA as "a fraud", had endorsed the ANC's decision. So did African foreign ministers who met in Dakar, Senegal last week to prepare for the summit of heads of state and government of the OAU.

Tawey Zakka with agency reports

Cote d'Ivoire The battle of Houphouet Boigny

Opposition turns down President Boigny's peace gesture

Perhaps the holiday did it. Cote d'Ivoire's ageing leader, Felix Houphouet Boigny flew back to the country after four and half months of holiday in Paris last week holding out hands to the opposition groups to make peace. In a conciliatory message, the president said he was ready to talk about the country's problems with all the interest groups. Apparently, the president must be referring to the political turmoil currently going on in the country. He realised that unless the festering political crisis is quickly settled, the path to economic progress will be stalled.

The opposition was however indignant in its response. In a statement signed by deputy leader of Cote d'Ivoire's Popular Front, (PF) Abou Drahmane Sanagare, he rejected President Boigny's peace overtures, and demanded the resignation of Prime Minister Allassane Quattera obviously to pave way for a six month transitional government.

It said the interim government is to draw up a new constitution and electoral code and to prepare for multi-party elections. In addition, the opposition also brought to the fore the touchy issue of the role of the country's army. It said this must be addressed and stressed that the army is a source of fear to ordinary Ivoirians.

Observers said the entire statement was outright indictment of government policies. More so, the statement released on the eve of the appeal court verdict in the case of the jailed opposition leader, Laurent Obagbo and 14 others, is seen as a warning by the opposition that it

would not accept government amnesty for the opposition. It said it wanted only the court to decide unconditionally the freedom for the opposition movement.

Mr. Laurent Gbagbo and 14 opposition leaders were jailed for their leading roles in students demonstration last February.

The violent students demonstra-



Boigny: *The carrot and the stick*

**Observers said
the entire state-
ment was out-
right indictment
of government
policies.**

tion was in response to the refusal of President Boigny to sack the army chief implicated by the inquiry into the attack on students halls of residence in the University of Abidjan, May last year. The report had accused the soldiers of highhandedness against students including the raping of female students. The students demonstrations were joined by the opposition, in which several hundreds were injured in a confrontation with the loyal troops and police. In a hurriedly signed legislation, by the holidaying president in Paris, he said leaders of the opposition are 'criminally liable' for their supporters' violence.

The opposition has however countered saying the soldiers who were responsible for the riots at the university in the first place have been left unpunished. It said by condon-

ing the soldiers' acts, the government is jeopardising the future of the country. No one expects the octogenarian Houphouet Boigny to commit political *harakiri* after two decades in power.

The political climate in Cote d'Ivoire became sour in 1990 after the FPI scored minimal surprises in the country's first free elections.

The opposition claimed there was extensive rigging. At least 75 opposition activists have been jailed this year alone provoking protests by European countries including France. Houphouet Boigny, Africa's longest serving president insists that Prime Minister Quattera's economic policies are bearing fruit and blames the crisis on falling prices of cocoa and coffee.

*By Abu Mommoh
with agency reports*

WORLD

Afghanistan

Labour pains

The struggle against the then common enemy, Soviet Union may have been won but the child may come out a still birth

The Islamic struggle waged by the Mujahideen in Afghanistan was supposed to have been delivered safely on April 28 when Professor Sibghatullah Mujaddidi triumphantly entered Kabul and snatched power from President Najibullah. That is the theory; the reality is that the struggle is still in labour. Now many Afghan watchers fear that it may lead to still birth.

After 14 years of jihad against the then superpower, Soviet Union, and the series of puppets it installed in Kabul, the Mujahideen finally entered the capital. General Boris Gari-mov, the last Soviet military commander in Afghanistan, ran for dear life February 15, 1989.

But Najibullah was able to hold out until this year primarily because he had also formed his own Mujahideen—100,000—strong Tajik militia under the control of General Abdul Rashid Dostum. Dostum helped fight off the assortment of Mujahideen closing in on Kabul on all sides until March 18, 1992 when he switched sides. On April 15, Najibullah went into hiding. A fortnight later Mujaddidi entered Kabul. Later a truce was worked out between rival Mujahideen leaders to prevent a bloodbath as each looked poised to take over the capital.

However, instead of the promised Islamic order the result of this victory is beginning to look more like secular disorder.

When Ahmad Shah Mas'ud, the commander of Professor Burhanuddin Rabbani's Jam'iat-i-Islami's militia, signed the peace treaty on May

25 with Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, the inflexible commander of Hizb-i-Islami, it was agreed that General Dostum, the communist lackey, would be sent out, elections would be held in six months, and that



Najibullah: What use is his ouster?

Mujaddidi would step down after two months for Professor Rabbani. Rabbani was expected to stay for four months as head of the 51-member interim council until elections were held.

Instead, this is what happened: Mujaddidi promoted Dostum from colonel to general, and dubbed him an Islamic hero. On May 4, Mujaddidi said people had advised that he stayed on. Exactly a month later fighting broke out. The Iran-backed Hizb-i-Wahdat, composed mainly of Hazara tribesmen, clashed with the Saudi-backed, Pathan-based Itihad-i-Islami. The fighting lasted a whole week and left 100 people dead and more than 1,000 wounded.

In an effort to mend fences, Turki al-Faisal, head of Saudi intelligence,

went to Afghanistan and tried to mediate. But even while al-Faisal was in Kabul, ultimatums and threats were being issued. And carried out.

Hikmatyar threatened to resume the fight to drive Dostum out of the capital; and forces clashed June 24, with forces loyal to Dostum south of Kabul. After the skirmishes, Hikmatyar ordered his troops to prepare to take over the capital.

But Dostum's men outnumbered all Mujahideen put together. In addition, Mas'ud, defence minister and commander of the militia of the slighted Rabbani, is likely to try to even the score for his boss. Another series of clashes look inevitable.

Mujaddidi, reversing his earlier decision to hold on to power, said he would hand over the reins of the government to the interim council which he heads.

Meanwhile, the interim ruling council looks helpless. Comprising 30 military commanders, 10 prominent ulama and ten representatives of existing acceptable political parties, the council has been bogged down unable to enforce the law setting it up. While what is happening may surprise distant watchers who regard all the mujahideen to be Islamic warriors, the truth is that the Afghan struggle bows before many interests.

Some of the groups are religious—of various sects and inclinations; others are nationalists, monarchists or ethnic and even anti-Islamic. Dostum's for instance was formed for the defence of Najibullah's communist regime.

Hikmatyar's Hizb-i-Islami fought for an Iran-style Islamic republic. His inflexibility and what some say is sectarianism led him to fall out with Iran. He said he was forced to close his Teheran office in 1985. On the battlefield, he retaliated by massacring Shiite muslim groups. A break-away faction of the Hizb-i-Islami is led by Moulani Mohammad Younis Khalis.

Abdul Rab Rasool Sayyaf's Itihad-i-Islam is a militant pro-Wahhabi group that also struggled for a Saudi-style Islamic government. Mujaddidi who once headed the Saudi-funded Islamic Cultural Centre in Copenhagen, controls the smallest group. A nationalist, he favours the return of King Zahir Shah.

The lesser known Harakat-e-Thawrat-i-Islami (movement for Islamic revolution) is led by Moulavi Muhammad Nabi Muhammad.

Syed Ahmad Gilani's Islamic National Front is said to be neither-national nor Islamic while Rabbani's

Jami'at-e-Islami can lay claim to being national. Its commander's name is a household word and his helper — the illiterate General Dostum — is the most powerful man in Afghanistan today. Barely three months ago his men were little more than looters and rapists. Now they are protectors.

Today Afghanistan stands more disunited than even under the Soviets, when then under the threat of a common enemy, united ranks and gave focus to the efforts of the Mujahideen. Attempts to isolate and marginalise some commanders at

the end of the day will probably do the struggle no good.

Unless all groups are represented in the new government, the Mujahideen will soon learn the virtue of knowing why it is better to sit still than rise and fall again. Sooner or later the people will begin to ask whether it was all worth the effort. And as many of the Mujahideen leaders are beginning to find out, the only time left to right wrongs is now.

By Adamu Adamu
with agency reports

Israel

Doves fly in

To the relief of Arabs and George Bush, Likud hawks lose the election

Opinion polls taken a day before the Israeli general elections on June 23 predicted a dead heat; they projected that Labour will win 43 seats and Likud will win 32, forcing Israel's two major parties to form a government of national unity, as they did in 1984. In the event, this did not happen. With most of the votes counted last week, the center-left Labour Party led by former prime minister Yitzhak Rabin captured 45 of the Knesset's 120 seats. Its allies, including the Somet party led by former Israeli Defence Forces chief of staff Rafael Eitan and the Arab Meretz party captured another 17 seats, thus achieving a simple majority. Labour could also count on the support of at least one of the country's religious parties to consolidate its position.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, 76, immediately announced his resignation and added that his long political career was at an end. Mr. Shamir had fought the British as an underground terrorist in the 1930s and 40s, and had been a leader in the Likud opposition ranks until 1977, when the coalition, then led by Menachem Begin, captured power

for the first time. Shamir rose to become foreign minister in 1979 after the resignation of Moshe Dayan, and in 1983, he succeeded Begin as prime minister and Likud leader. He reverted to his position of foreign minister in the 1985-87 national unity government led by Labour leader Shimon Peres, after which he regained the premiership and held it till last week.

Mr Yitzhak Rabin, 70, who began forming a government last week, announced that he will intensify the search for peace in the Middle East. The new government's top priority, Rabin said, will be to establish Palestinian "autonomy" in the West Bank and Gaza. Rabin also said he will "review" the law that banned Israeli citizens from contact with PLO officials and he will "stop using government money to build political settlements" in the West Bank, a pet Shamir project. Actually, it was Labour's opposition to the building of more Jewish settlements in the occupied territories, and its willingness to trade Arab land for peace, that won for it the private endorsement of Arabs and the Bush administration in Washington. It also won

for the support of recent Jewish immigrants, whose support for Labour helped to upstage the Likud appecart that brought them into Israel.

From Tunis, the PLO issued a statement welcoming Labour's victory. In Cairo, the Egyptian government also welcomed it as "a unique opportunity for peace" in the region. However, Dr. Hanan Ashrawi responded with caution; months of tough negotiations still lay ahead, she said. Ashrawi's cautious note was informed by the political record of the new prime minister. As defence minister in the Likud-Labour unity cabinet in 1987, Yitzhak Rabin had responded harshly to the start of the Palestinian *intifadah*. Rabin had ordered troops to break the limbs of demonstrators, a policy much criticised outside Israel. In fact, it was Rabin's credential as a hawk among Labour doves that led to his election in April to replace Shimon Peres as party leader.

Israeli businessmen also welcomed Labour's victory. On Tuesday, there was a wave of purchases on the stock market. Businessmen expect Rabin's freeze on settlement construction to unblock 10 billion dollars in loan guarantees from the US. Besides, it will increase Israeli investment in industries and welfare services. It remains to be seen whether Mr. Rabin will fulfil so many hopes.

By Mahmud Jega
with agency reports

BILKISU YUSUF

power and are willing to buy it at whatever cost. Competent, articulate and extravagant in their campaigns, they command the support of a cross section of society. Many of them are wealthy, some are not but others for expediency, are wearing the pretentious garb of penury. One has watched this glut on the presidential spot market long enough to predict that the cartel must act fast

that the wealthy aspirants have courted disqualification with their money.

But money is the stuff of lively politics and Nigerians are inherently materialistic voters — never mind the fact that many will dispute this. One proof of society's descent into materialism is the constant reminder directed at aspirants like Adamu Ciroma to give up because they have



Presidential retrenchment

The 80 presidential aspirants come in different shapes and sizes with diverse motives for seeking power. There are the jokers who, but for the fact that democracy is a free for all game, should not even be in the race. Lacking a constituency, monetary resources and political exposure, they give an infantile or clownish posture to an otherwise serious affair.

Then we have the spoilers, mediocre politicians with some clout and wealth but bereft of finesse or principles. They are in the race as a reaction to the presence of better qualified aspirants. Their aim is to mess up the terrain by splitting votes, convinced as they are of their unsuitability for the post. Their motto: If you can't have it, spoil it. Reliable sources identify some internal and external pressure groups as sponsors of these spoilers.

Of course the serious candidates still remain the issue despite the unhealthy diversion from the last two groups. Some of them are influential inside-outsiders of government, while others being consistent critics attract aversion from officialdom. Still, others were groomed by government, to take over. It is not unusual for regimes in power to build comfortable lives for a favoured clique; where public money has been used to cut a name, preen an image and fortify private lives. Now these monied technocrats are no longer contented with the boredom of affluence in their fortresses. They want

to shore up prices and restore value to the post.

When the cartel finally did last week, the National Electoral Commission with cooperation of the two parties was given powers to probe presidential aspirants' sources of funding and disqualify any aspirant with questionable sources of finance. Clearly, government is floundering and one can detect unseemly squabbles brewing behind the scenes. Just what is the limit for presidential campaign fund? Government has no answer but it expects aspirants "to take care of what governs the parties today on how much an individual can contribute. It then follows that there should be a limit to the amount an individual seeking elective office can spend."

Secondly, what is considered "questionable" in this era when illegality has been legalised and corruption sanitised is also debatable. Yet, the big unknown is whether this campaign fund probe and consequent disqualification is not a premeditated attempt to weed out government adversaries and clear the path for its favoured, blue eyed boys. Sadly, the bulk of those who should be retrenched — the jokers and spoilers — can not be disqualified on this ground. On the other hand, the serious aspirants are most likely to fall victims of this open ended and nebulous policy. There will be those who out of envy, not being monetarily endowed or genuinely detesting the whole idea of monied campaigns, will be gleeful

no money to throw around, the presidency being a money game. It is a paradox that the Ciromas in the race — though eminently qualified — have no money to buy votes because they were upright civil servants and men of honour even in retirement. They remain poor and honest out of choice and not for the want of opportunities or dearth of connections to exploit. Now, the new wave of materialism is set to make them sacrificial lambs, as if honesty and integrity are crimes to be punished. Undoubtedly, politics and morality are strange bedfellows.

Perhaps nothing captures the materialism cancer better than the admission by Alhaji Shehu Musa, also an aspirant, that money works wonders in these austere times. A realist, Shehu Musa when asked at *Citizen* platform to comment on the unhealthy effect of money on presidential campaigns, called on voters to accept money whenever it is offered but vote for the candidate of their choice. This suggestion is sound on logic but it is plainly absurd and impractical because the open ballot allows for monitoring of voting pattern.

Obviously, government's war against monied politics is a lost one since it has not been able to prevent the people from being mass-tricked by money bags who are still calling the shots. Grand visions of that sort require an enlightened and less materialistic society where issue oriented politics has germinated. We are surely a long way off from that.

PRIVATE EYE

Women palaver

They are everywhere. You just can't stop them. They want not only to be seen but also to be heard. When they started this their war for a better life, not many people took them seriously. Some of their detractors called it bitter life for rural women. Other pessimists swore it was better life for ruler women. Anyway, which ever interpretation you give it, the campaign is becoming so real, so all encompassing that every aspect of life is infected with it.

Can you imagine why women are no longer contented with cooking meals, hewing firewood, drawing water and happily doing all these menial jobs they used to enjoy? It is all because they want better life and power. And if they can't get power through the ballot box because they don't have money to pay for it, they are ready to snatch it as the guys in khaki have been doing with unceasing monotony. *Chineke!*

And so we now have the Association of Women in Uniform (AWIU). The AWIU does not only exist but it is already a year old!! Dangerous! So who are the members? Of course women from the Army, Navy, Airforce, Customs, Immigration, Prisons and State Security Services. Ah! the temptation is to dismiss AWIU as just another socialisation forum, knowing women and their insatiable desire to organise *parapo* bodies. After all female bankers, lawyers, doctors, journalists, pharmacists, engineers, wives of legislators, soldiers, police, navy etc, are busy ganging up to perfect the apartheid of the sexes. But I tell you that this AWIU is different *bo*. I can see female coupists on the horizon somewhere in *Wazobia* country.

Now just what is AWIU up to? According to the secretary of the forum, one of the objectives is to combat crime among women and children. This secretary should



know, being a commissioner of police, that it is the pursuit of life more abundant by all means, straight or crooked that gave rise to female drug couriers and the female Anini accomplices.

So if AWIU believes it can fight the Association of Female Couriers, AFEC and the Nigeria Armed Robbers' Wives Association NARWA, it has set a tough agenda for itself. What can one say but wish them luck and watch them from the privacy of my eye? Oh! these women *sha!*

Hajj for all by the year 2000

Wallahi, some governors are God sent. One of them is governor Maina Ma'aji Lawan of Borno State. He does not believe in beating about the bush. When he identifies a problem, he wastes no time in solving it. Take the multi-dimensional problems facing this country: runaway inflation, toilet paper value of the Naira, communal violence, corruption in high places, a coup prone and politicised armed forces; the list is long and boring. So when a governor inherits an almost empty treasury and all these problems have to be addressed what can a realist do?

Brave Maina was quick to real-

ise that the problem is beyond human beings and the solution lies in spiritual re-armament. He therefore sponsored 126 indigenes to perform Hajj this year at a cost of 10.3 million Naira. After all an SDP government is the peoples government, so what harm can there be in sponsoring 126 pilgrims to go and pray for the alleviation of the numerous problems facing this country and Borno State in particular? But the ingrates at the Borno State house of assembly are raising a storm over this. They are demanding an explanation from Maina on why 10.3 million Naira was spent for government sponsorship of hajj when drinking water is

not available in Maiduguri town — the state headquarters. But these legislators just don't want to understand that people do not need drinking water when they can go on pilgrimage and pray.

While in the holy land the pilgrims will not only pray for abundant rainfall and beautiful harvests but they will also pray for the legislators too! And if every Borno indigene can perform hajj before the year 2000 who cares about drinking water? For this reason, governor Maina had my full support when he told the legislators to shut up and that next year he intends to sponsor ten times the number of pilgrims who went this year. That comes to about 1,260 pilgrims and 103 million Naira. What is 103 million Naira in the service of God? — Peanuts! Ride on governor Maina, your reward is in heaven.

POETS' NEST

Voice of penury

Affluence oftentimes lulls people into the warm embrace of contentment. Rosy pictures of posh life shield the eyesore of the slum. Life of ease for the minority easily obscures the want and deprivation of the majority. But stifled voices of protest find expression in poetic verses. They reflect their world of degradation and poverty, jolting the rich from their cushion of affluence.

Resuscitation

All of a sudden,
Things began to take their shapes again.

The sky blind-folded by the
Opacity of an incessant storm-cloud,
Started to show its face.

And man drowning in the
Misery of times frustrating
And times unbearable,
Became awake and resuscitated.

Yet memories remain;
Not forgotten but only repressed.
Memories of cupfuls of bitterness
drunken

As a consequence of paternal miser-
liness.

Memories of piles read
and knowledge not put to use.
Memories of jobs sought
And jobs not secured.

Memories of people depending
And people wasting.
But at least, with this appetiser
That comes once in a full phase,
Man like a reanimated cadaver,
Has a place in the sun.

Emmanuel Ekpevwru

Hunting for souls!

When nothing is affordable
Life becomes unbearable
Nothing seems possible
Life no longer has meaning
You seize being a being
You see no reason for living
You become a beast
All you want is to feast

Without minding the taste
All you know is you
Without minding who's who
And now the scourge
It's fun
Hunting for souls.

Marcus Anthony Kogi

SAP — The messiah that never was

It exasperates me
It makes me sad that these are hap-
pening
It is disheartening to learn that the
so-called "No alternative economic
messiah" had failed us
It is confusing to see the apostles
stand firm on their deadly policy
They refuse to concede defeat

It makes me sad
It irritates me that the 'Giant' is
weeping
It drives me mad that the richest in
the black
continent is now about the poorest
It is a slap to the face of every con-
cerned citizen that we are the 13th
poorest nation of the world
If that is allowed, we shall be the
poorest

by the end of this decade
It is bad
Very bad to see and hear of millions
missing from the public treasury
Very bad to hear of people dying of
hunger and starvation
Very disgusting to learn that the rich
live in haughty
Luxury and the poor wallow in
hunger and degradation
SAP and its apostles must go

Arinze Obi

Molition in notion

Like plants after famine
they come by
hard and enduring
yet fragile as chinaware
they come by
stricken multitudes



through endless bouts of fights
they come by
through the forests and the plains
like the mice instinctive and re-
sourceful
they come by
through deserts of grief and disap-
pointments
like camels that live on thorns
they come by
assinine sometimes hoarding wealth
they come by
silently like the night
phasing out their days
they come by
here converged
at the confluence of life

Maikudi Sambo

Desert tree

The future makes my heart to bleed
Of my nation going bleak
My eyes will never sleep
And my love will never flee
I will remain your cooking tree
The enduring desert tree
As your child I won't steal
In the bright lights of Tee Vee
The job of making others glee
I am down on my knee
Bodily exposed to stinging bees
Sipping my bitter tears as tea
boiling hot like a blazing sea
And forever I am never free
I ask you to pay no fee
It is my mind's subtle plea
God knows, He knows and you're
three
Try hard to bottle your seed
In you where no one will peep.

Musa Jibril Dansadaw

MEDIAWATCH

NUJ/NMMA

Much ado about a prize

NUJ heads for the law court in a bid to stop the Nigeria Media Awards

The verbal exchange between the Nigerian Union of Journalists, NUJ and Ideas Communications — organiser of the Nigerian Media Merit Awards — reached its climax last week, as NUJ filed a suit at a Lagos High court challenging the validity of the awards instituted in 1990 by a Board of Trustees appointed by the latter.

In the suit filed by its counsel, Chief Mike Ozekhome, NUJ is praying the court to declare the awards as "unlawful, irregular, wrongful, invalid and a violation of its legal rights." NUJ president, Malam Sani Zorro, who prayed the court to restrain Ideas Communications from giving the award to any member of the union, said the NUJ did not give its consent to the respondent's decision to institute the awards.

What has however set tongues wagging is that the NMMA trustees, which include such icons of Nigerian journalism as Dr. Babatunde Jose, Alhaji Lateef Jakande, Alhaji Alade Odunewu, Dr. Christopher Kolade and Mr. Vincent Maduka, were also joined in the suit as co-defendants.

Ideas' Akeju, who maintained that "the media award is not a Union affair", said the calibre of professionals who constitute the board of trustees is enough to confer credibility on the awards. "These are people whose existence, livelihood, commitment and social responsibility revolve round the media profession," he noted, arguing that "they have contributed more than anybody to the development of media practice in their respective areas."

This does not however appeal to Sani Zorro who argued that NMMA was initiated by Ideas Com-

munications in violation of NUJ's professional rights and that highly respected veterans of the profession were merely invited to discuss issues that had been finalised. Zorro told *Citizen* that the NUJ was also



Zorro: the award is dubious

invited in September 1991 to administer the "dubious" award when Ideas Communications had concluded the professional aspects but realised that it can not administer the awards alone. Ideas Communications came to the NUJ when it was "too late", he said. For Akeju however, "students don't set their examinations and then go ahead to assess their scripts." He explained that it was the trustees' decision that the NUJ should be involved in the award ceremony but not in selecting any of the winners. Said he, "policy guidelines cannot be influenced by practising journalists. An award based on excellence must have certain parameters that should be jealously guarded."

Akeju also dismissed the allegation that Ideas NMMA is an usur-

pation of NUJ's professional rights. "Is the British Press Award organised by the Union of British Journalists?" he asked rhetorically adding "what of Pulitzer Awards in the United States?" But NUJ's fear according to its president, is the tendency to commercialise the media awards. "If the organisers cannot institute same for lawyers, engineers or other professionals, why journalists?", Malam Zorro asked.

However, while the battle line has been drawn, other members are reluctant to comment. Ladi Lawal, Lagos state chairman of NUJ, told *Citizen* that he was not competent to comment on the issue. "The challenge of Ideas media award is a national executive council decision and not a Lagos affair," he insisted. The chairman of the Board of Trustees of NMMA, Dr. Babatunde Jose could not be reached, but Chief Dayo Duyile, another member of the board, would not comment. He told *Citizen* that "the chairman is in a better position to comment."

While the war of legitimacy rages on, dark clouds are in the horizon on whether or not the awards will come up July 11, as planned. Akeju is however optimistic it would hold as scheduled. And he seemed to have based this optimism on the avalanche of entries that have been received from practising journalists for the various awards. Hence, he advised that "NUJ should sort out its grievances with the award trustees who are respectable media veterans in Nigeria."

But Sani Zorro told *Citizen* "the awards can never hold". He also seems to be banking on the precedence laid by Lagos NUJ chapter in 1988. The state chapter had compelled UAC Plc to virtually hand over the media award instituted by the company to the union. Perhaps that incident would be re-enacted. Perhaps not. But the question is: what stops the NUJ from instituting an annual media award of its own?

By Moyo Akoshile
with Samson Ojo in Lagos

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SPORTS

Nigeria's suspension

FIFA is wrong

Sports experts believe that FIFA's recent attempt to suspend Nigeria indefinitely has ulterior motives behind it

The axe man of the Federation of International Football Association (FIFA) was briefly on the prowl last week. Its prey was no other country than Nigeria, one of the most successful African countries in FIFA organised competitions. Nigerian football scene reverberated with shock and confusion when on Saturday June 20, the Zurich-based football governing body announced to the world that the country has been suspended from its membership indefinitely. But just at the time of going to the

take, a deliberate embarrassment or mere intimidation by the world football ruling body? Answers to these puzzles are yet to be provided, but it is quite certain that more facts will emerge in the days to come.

In recent times, Nigeria has been at the receiving end of FIFA's punitive measures. Although Nigeria is one of the most successful African countries in FIFA organised competitions especially the age-group ones, the country seems to have received more punitive sanctions from the association than any other African country:

a two-year ban from FIFA age group competitions in 1989, constant denials of the right to host the junior world cup competitions since 1987 and to cap it all, the five-day embarrassing suspension by the world football governing body.

What were Nigeria's sins to warrant the recent FIFA suspension so soon after the expiration of its two year-ban



Adamu: "FIFA must apologise"

press on Thursday, June 25, National Sports Commission (NSC) chairman, Chief Alex Akinyele announced that the suspension has been lifted. Speaking to newsmen in Lagos, Akinyele said the lifting of the indefinite ban was communicated to his office on Thursday morning. He also added that FIFA had acknowledged the receipt of Nigeria's letter of intention to host the 1995 junior World Cup. Was the suspension a false alarm, a mis-

which really did so much damages to the then flourishing growth of the country's youth football? There was no immediate statement from FIFA as to what Nigeria had done wrong. This lack of immediate clarification gave room to wild conjecture that it might be unconnected with recent dissolution of the crisis-infested board of Nigeria Football Association (NFA). The guess work was not to go on for long. Guido Tognoni, FIFA spokesman explained why the

association took such action against Nigeria. "We had to suspend the Nigeria Football Association because FIFA can not basically accept government interference into sports bodies".

Owing to the commanding attention to football by Nigerian sports followers, FIFA's suspension has generated a lot of reactions. Some people who accepted the suspension uncritically believe that Nigeria deserves such punitive action. Most of the people in this group however are past sports or football administrators who had fallen victims of one dissolution or another. This group, among who are former NFA chairman, Sunday Dankaro and Sports Writers Association (SWAN) chairman, Fan Nwubuoke, who was a member of the recently dissolved board, promptly hailed FIFA's action, saying that it would instil sanity to football administration in the country by putting an end to constant dissolution of the football association's board.

Other sports experts who have critically examined the recent suspension of Nigeria by FIFA and its action against the West African country since 1987, believes that the latest development smacks of ulterior motives. Dr. Musa Chado, head of department of physical and health education, Ahmadu Bello University, (ABU) Zaria, explained that FIFA had a hidden agenda for suspending Nigeria. That agenda, according to the university don, is to use the ban as a ploy to prevent Nigeria from hosting the 1995 junior World Cup, which the association has provisionally awarded to Nigeria. Dr. Chado, a member of Amateur Athletic Association of Nigeria (AAN), disclosed that there was strong suspicion that FIFA had concluded arrangement to award the hosting right of the 1995 Junior World Cup to South Africa at the expense of Nigeria. "We should recall that we were banned in 1989 to give Portugal opportunity to host

the Under-21 Junior World Cup. Now wear-being suspended to give South Africa the chance to host Under-21 Junior World Cup", said Dr. Chado.

The ABU lecturer who believes that FIFA was merely intimidating and victimising Nigeria, said it was strange that Nigeria was being singled out for punishment when many countries in Africa, Europe, Asia and Latin America dissolved the boards of their football associations whenever they deem it fit without FIFA doing anything to them. "Why was Cameroun who dissolved her football association about the same time as Nigeria's not suspended by FIFA?" Dr. Chado asked. Dr. Chado also told *Citizen* that FIFA's action amounted to an interference in the internal affairs of Nigeria. According to him, it is wrong for FIFA to accuse government of interference since in fact government only dissolved the crisis ridden board to give room for sanity.

The physical and health education lecturer attributed the perennial problem of NFA to organisational structure, adding that the association will remain adrift unless government finds a lasting solution to its endemic problems. Dr. Chado also advised the federal government not to be rushed into re-constituting a new board without finding a fundamental solution to the structural problem of NFA. He also expressed fears that some disgruntled individuals who had been found wanting and thrown out of NFA in the past might have directly or indirectly instigated FIFA to take such action.

The secretary-general of the Supreme Council for Sports in Africa (SCSA) Nigerian born Dr. Awoture Eleyae also condemned FIFA's action. "The dissolution of the (NFA) board", explained Dr. Eleyae, "is entirely Nigeria's problem which might not in any way affect the development of football at international level". The SCSA secretary-general further explained that Nigeria, as an affiliate of FIFA has the sole

authority to organise her football the way she deems fit.

The sole administrator of the NFA, Dr. Amos Adamu who travelled to Zurich last week Tuesday was full of anger over the action of FIFA. He made it clear before he left Lagos that the football governing body had greatly embarrassed this country. He explained that FIFA had no right to suspend the country for dissolving its NFA board. Dr. Adamu dis-

closed that he was heading for Zurich to demand for unreserved apology from FIFA "for the embarrassment caused the country". The NFA sole administrator also reinforced the wild speculation that FIFA might have hidden agenda for its action, when he said, "there are many possibilities for whatever they are planning to do, and the earlier we go there to preempt them, the better for our football".

Sports seminar Sporting women

The venue is the modestly-furnished conference hall of the Murtala Mohammed Square, Kaduna. The gathering had women in the majority, which suggested that the event at hand must have more to do with the fairer sex. Indeed it has: it was the opening ceremony of the first national seminar on women and sports participation in the 90s. The two-day seminar was held last week Wednesday and Thursday. The seminar which was organised by the Nigerian Association of Women in Sports (NAWIS) was to identify problems confronting female athletes and how such inhibiting difficulties could be overcome with a view to enhancing their performance in

open by the wife of the Kaduna State deputy governor, Mrs. Grace Bawa Magaji, who stood in for Hajiya Hadiza Dabo Lere, wife of the state governor. Mrs. Grace Bawa Magaji commended NAWIS for packaging such a very important seminar which she said would further foster better chances of women participation in sports. She also charged the association to embark on programmes of educating women on the importance of sports.

On his part, the executive adviser, Kaduna State directorate of youth and sports, Mr. Joel Giwa who chaired the occasion, urged the discussants at the seminar to proffer solutions to the psychological and socio cultural problems militating against female participation in sports through out the country with a view to improving their practical performance.

In her own address, the national president of NAWIS, Dr. (Mrs.) F.B. Adeyanju explained that apart from its commitment to the promotion of sporting excellence among women, the association, she said "is working relentlessly to disabuse people's minds about popular myths and taboos that militate against women participation in sports."

By Joe Olajuwon



Participants at the NAWIS seminar in Kaduna sports.

The seminar which featured eight key papers from both scholars and sports administrators, was declared

ADAMU ADAMU S

DEFINITIONS
IN HUMOUR

Blank

Everybody's business is nobody's business. Everybody is supposed to do something about desertification, for instance. Nobody does anything except when the occasional opportunity comes to make some money out of tree-planting foreign loan.

Nobody does anything about death-traps on our roads — most of those who will do anything fly. Nor is the sky safe — near misses multiply — nobody does *nothing* because flyers only itch to land in order to land something bigger.

The educational system today is the only one that seems to be receiving sufficient government attention, funding and goodwill — in order to produce drop-outs. Children of policy makers have dropped into foreign schools and colleges or expensive private schools at home. So nobody cares. Injustice goes unchecked because it is done on behalf, or for the benefit, of those responsible for stopping it. And so does embezzlement.

The Nigerian government must be the most resilient in wealth: everyone aspires to dip his hands into its coffers. Many do. More than three quarters of all educated rich men owe more than 60 per cent of their wealth to that source: and they can't account for the remaining 40 per cent either. And you laugh, he laughs, she laughs, they laugh; we laugh. You might even have coughed because most often you were not well because there is little care for

health.

But the question of food is paramount, isn't it? Everybody is supposed to do something — anything. Nobody does anything, but somebody may — when there is nobody to benefit from it.

LARGE SCALE AGRICULTURE — Key to large-scale misery and lock to agricultural production.

FERTILIZER — The perfume of agriculture. It gets rarer and costlier by the day. It may be seen every-

where but on the farm.

MECHANISATION — When the farmer behaves like a mechanic and adopts his method — *trial and terror*.

The farm may pick up but it will ultimately break down

SEEDS — Before they improved our seeds, groundnut in pyramids, was aplenty. After seed improvement you could hardly get enough for oil.

MIDDLE MAN — The large-scale harvester who makes profit coming and going — he doubles fertilizer price and hoards produce. Just like a Nigerian!

EDUCATION — The following conversation between a fresh medical graduate and a townsman gives a good indication of how ordinary people look at our universities nowadays.

Townsmen: Where have you been for the last five years?

Doctor: At ABU taking medicine.

Townsmen: And did you finally get well?

NIGERIAN — When a Nigerian father spank his child, he took him to one side to console him.

Said the dad, "I did not spank you for stealing the can, my boy, but for leaving your finger prints."

In other words, do it but don't get caught.

Humour

The other week I submitted my draft for definitions — and there was no draft. I had written just one sentence saying, "There is nothing worth laughing about in this country — if you can cry." I withdrew it

because, first, I feared that some people will think it is only a victory for deadline in our never-ending battle. Second, I decided I must invent what is laughable or lesson-bearing because since the military took over power in the country there was in reality nothing funny. Third, my goal is not the bared teeth but the wagging heart.

WOMEN

Recently, my friend Dr. Teller Vault wrote a nice observation about women. Women, she wrote, are talkative. If some people needed a subject to bore you, many women can manage to do that without any subject. But I thought I knew women who are quite quiet, sober, shy, and have business to mind. Many disagree.

Copeland said, "Instead of teaching our little girls domestic science, they would have done better teaching them domestic sillstrate." The following observations illustrate what he means more clearly.

- * When two women suddenly become friendly, it is a sign that some third woman has lost two friends.

- * Do you know why we call our language Mother Tongue? Because Father never gets a chance to use it.

- * Mirrors reflect without speaking and women speak without reflecting.

- * When a bunch of girls get together, the Lord pity the first one who leaves.

- * The goodness of gold is tried by fire, the goodness of women by gold, and the goodness of men by the ordeal of women.

TAIL PIECE (for large-scale farmers):

A farmer is a man who makes his money on the farm and spends it in town. An agriculturalist is a man who makes his money in town and spends it on the farm.

A middleman (or middlewoman) is a man (or woman) who makes his (or her) money everywhere.



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