

Citizen

MINORITIES FOR PRESIDENT:



Dr. Farouk Abdul Azeez



Mrs. Sarah Jubril



Dr. Abel Ubeku

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June 24 - July 1, 1991

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One republic, many democrats

Either by accident of birth or active subscription to the state objectives of the southern and northern minorities, nine presidential hopefuls have emerged in the political arena. Who are these gladiators?

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Quenching the fire

From 1981 to date no less than six religious disturbances have occurred across the northern part of Nigeria. It is in this vein, Emirs and Chiefs last week in Kaduna sat behind closed doors to find a lasting solution to this national embarrassment.

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Triumph of democracy



The wind of change is indeed blowing across Africa and sit tight dictators are not amused. A latest casualty is Gnassingbe Eyadema of Togo who through no choice of his, is to lose most of his powers.

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PREFACE

The minorities have not had a very high political profile in the last two republics. They did make a showing, more as running mates than attempting to catch the big plum. This time around, they are determined to change the equation and tilt the political scale in their favour. To prove that they are not just making spurious claims about their worth on the political landscape, the minorities are rolling up their sleeves ready for action.

What we now see is the very strong minority solidarity clique represented by the Middle Belt Forum, a body for articulating the political aspirations of the middle belt politicians. But Kwara State, the bridge between the north and the south has emerged as the most conducive terrain for grooming minority presidential aspirants. It is the home of four out of nine presidential aspirants from both parties.

Yet, in bringing you this stimulating cover story, we went beyond Kwara State and our team of Ike Okonta, Yinka Tella, Bolaji Adebiyi and Tola Sunday talked to the movers and Shakers in minority politics. Their report opens a refreshing vista into the complex arena of our politics.

B. Yusuf

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LETTERS

Students and government

Sir

I congratulate the present NANS leadership for their sense of maturity for considering the appeal made to them by fellow compatriots; and withdrawing their recent ultimatum to the federal government.

As a staff in a higher institution for over ten years, I advise my fellow future leaders to please, in future, make their genuine demands in a peaceful and mature manner, instead of threats and unnecessary bickerings. They should endeavour to solve their problems or grievances by exhausting all reasonable avenues of solving disputes, instead of emotional outburst, like the one they made recently. It is a fact that when violent demonstration starts, public buildings, students and the poor masses on the street are those that suffer most, and the authority remains intact.

Student unionism and politics are akin to the ones found outside the campuses in this country, where money and politics are mixed with bitterness, coupled with allegations that some students are being sponsored by political barons outside the campuses during elections.

I also wish to advise my fellow compatriots to please take it as a challenge to liaise with the authorities in order to eradicate the menace of secret cults, exam malpractices, rape and drug abuse in our campuses. By doing this, the authorities will respect the entire student body and it may even lift the ban on the mother body (NANS), which was banned in 1978. It is a known fact that many students were influenced into these acts right from post primary schools to post secondary institutions in the country, especially when they are far away from their parents.

May I remind present Nigerian

students, that when the economy was better, some of their recent demands were adequately met, especially when scholarship was paid to students in the higher institutions of learning and this is evidenced by the number of motorcycles and musical gadgets owned by students.

May God give you the strength to serve this blessed country after passing through the corridors of 0-1-0, 0-0-1 or 1-0-0.

Ali Kolo
Malduguri



OAU: a new awakening?

You packaged a masterpiece in your edition of *Citizen* June 10-17, 1991, Vol. 2 No. 24 in respect of the OAU conference in Abuja.

What really impressed most observers was the blunt admission of misdeed by most African leaders, especially that of ex-chairman, Yoweri Museveni, the Ugandan president who dared to tell his colleagues off in such a manner.

I cannot but marvelled at such daring comments from a person that came to power through the barrel of the gun, as you have said; Is Africa really awakening? Yes.

One reason which confirmed this is the wind of changes that is currently sweeping through Africa, especially as more countries are agitating for democracy and some through sheer will, toppled the residue of dictators left in Africa.

Another reason is the way most African heads of state came to see the role of countries like Nigeria in Liberian war as well as the on-going arms struggle in Namibia and South Africa.

It is unfortunate that most of those African leaders, particularly Zaire and Botswana and those countries within Southern Africa betrayed the liberation forces by a kind of unholy alliance with the racist regime of F.W. de Klerk. They were blasted at the summit.

My prayer and that of most Nigerians is that, Nigeria will not squander more than necessary resources on these beggar nations - African - countries who will in turn, insult us.

As you rightly pointed out, not much was really achieved by the Jaw-jawing presidents except, perhaps, the signing of the economic treaty.


Most loaders spent their time accusing one another of plot to topple the other through help offered to rebels, but how long can we continue in this kind of political theatre?

As recent edition of *The Economist* pointed out "... Africa lags far behind other continents, while hobbles chaos grips some countries, like Liberia, and others on verges of breakdown and many more from Mali to Uganda, almost all are engaged in an impoverishing race between economic growth and making babies."

The magazines of quality think alike, you have said all these in your issue under discussion.

U.T. Shua
Bauchi

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Minorities bid for the presidency

It is unfortunate that the debate over the suitable presidential candidates has degenerated to a level where primordial and geographical considerations are put above personal merit. While we recognize the place of regional blocs and interest groups in national politics, such extraneous factors should not be allowed to impinge on and directly affect the choice of an executive president for this country.

Yet realism tells us that geo-political considerations more than any other factor is going to determine who wears the crown. If it must be the most decisive element we advocate combining it with merit, an aspect party stalwarts are likely to downplay in their selection of presidential aspirant.

One other important factor that party caucuses would do well to emphasise is the need for conciliation. It is acknowledged that Democracy is a game of numbers, but the much touted tyranny of major ethnic groups which has fuelled minority clamour for presidency can be watered down by the delicate balancing act of involving all the power blocks in the allocation of power.

The candidates that emerge from both parties must be acceptable to the majority of the people. Until this is done all else will turn out to be a futile exercise in democratic governance.

At no other time is the federation more

desirous of a capable leader to reverse the present trend of social and economic inertia, a statesman capable of putting the third republic on a solid footing right from the onset. While we commend the efforts of certain individuals to broker a political settlement following the South-North face-off over the presidency issue, we feel that no useful purpose will be served by sponsoring a compromise candidate whose only qualification for the presidency is he comes from a particular area of the country. Nigerians clearly deserve more from anybody who is aspiring to lead them. Patriotism, integrity, presence of mind and broadness of perception ought to be the key elements that should inform any contest for the presidency at whatever level.

Minority elements have as much right to contest for the presidency as other aspirant from the majority ethnic groups. The impression must not be created that any particular area will be specially favoured in the forthcoming contest in a bid to correct perceived political and economic imbalances, real or imagined. The federation is still very much fragile and the imperatives of national unity demand that we de-emphasize ethnic and geopolitical cleavages and elect leaders of truly national appeal. Indeed, that is what the new two party grassroots political system is all about.

Not a NEC affair

Another sure footed step in the transition to civil rule was taken penultimate Saturday with the successful conduct of the ward congresses of the two political parties. As with the local government elections, the open ballot system featured in the 5,575 wards across the country where about 55,750 and 16,715 delegates were elected for the local government and state congresses. It is to the credit of the two parties that the ward congresses were hitch free.

The fact that the congresses were not marred by acrimony and wranglings, long identified as the hallmark of our elections should have banished the fears expressed by a cross section of citizens who have consistently advocated the involvement of the National Electoral Commission, NEC in the conduct of primaries. They argue that the ward congresses like the primaries scheduled for August 24, are vital for the success of the transition programme to be left unsupervised. According to them non-

involvement of NEC in the primaries would encourage gross violation of regulations guiding the conduct of primaries. The results would then be fraud ridden and contentious, a development that will certainly derail the transition to civil rule.

While we share the anxiety of this school of thought, we do not believe that conducting or supervising primaries should be loaded on NEC's already overburdened neck. After all primaries worldwide are strictly party affairs. The parties have rules and regulations for their conduct. Strict adherence to these laws is all that is required. We believe that NEC has spoon-fed the parties for too long and the weaning process will come to nought if it continues to stick its finger into every party pie.

From the onset the parties were established, funded and supervised by government. Their constitutions and symbols were government imposed, although the former was supposed to have

been retouched by party officials. As if all these were not sufficient examples of "too much government", the local government elections were conducted under the watchful eyes of a hawkish NEC which also imposed the Open Ballot system on the electorate.

Now the "Oliver Twist" party men are still asking for more NEC interference in what should be their first taste of autonomy. Doesn't it smack of the trappings a dependency syndrome? The parties must cure themselves of this malaise.

The appropriate role we envisage for NEC is that of an umpire, to screen the contestants in the game and ensure that they do not fall foul of the Transition to Civil Rule Degree; No. 27 of 1989. Anything in excess of that constitutes undue meddling in what should remain a party affair. Indeed if the party executives cannot be trusted with the conduct of a primary, what calibre of leaders should we expect to rule us come 1992?

The North must not burn

About a dozen northern Emirs and Chiefs met for a day in Kaduna recently to discuss ways of putting out the smouldering embers of the religious crisis in the North. After seven hours of smoking the peace pipe, so to speak, the traditional rulers thought that a lot more home-work had to be done. Accordingly, a seven-man committee was constituted. At the head of it is the Sultan of Sokoto and president of the National Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs, Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki. The rest of the committee's membership is made three Muslim leaders and an equal number of Christian traditional Chiefs.

According to retired Major-General Muhammadu Jega, Ciroman Gwandu, who coordinated the meeting, the recommendations of the committee would be turned over to the federal authorities as the traditional rulers' contribution towards snuffing out the religious fire that is not just burning in the North but is threatening to spread southwards, too. In addition, he hinted that a national conference of traditional rulers might be called. When that would happen he did not say.

The Emirs and Chiefs deserved commendation for the initiative they have taken. Critics will say they are acting rather too late, meeting two months after the riot in Katsina and after Bauchi had almost burned itself out. But still it is a lot better to act late than do nothing at all. Any true Nigerian must be concerned about the senseless killings in Bauchi State last April. The traditional rulers who met in Kaduna June 17 have not only shown that patriotism but also that they are alive to their all important responsibility as custodians of peace.

The coordinator of the meeting, Ciroman Gwandu Muhammadu Jega deserves a special mention. He is better placed than any of his compères, except maybe the Emirs of Kano and Zaria, to appreciate the danger posed to the unity of the country by religious intolerance. He was the military governor of Gongola State in 1984 when a fundamentalist religious sect chose to defy the forces of law and order. Hundreds of innocent lives were lost and considerable private property destroyed in the mayhem.

The traditional rulers had no illusions

about the difficult nature of the task they have set themselves. To have gone ahead to make recommendations to the federal government at one-day meet would have been very naive of them. Their decision to set up a committee to do a proper job of the assignment was more like it. The only regret however is that it has not been given a time table. One hopes that the crisis does not erupt again elsewhere before it has even started in.

The committee should be able to identify the root causes of what has become almost a perennial religious violence in the North. A good beginning would be to consider in earnest the observation of the Sultan while declaring the meeting open. He said that during the colonial era the North was "relatively peaceful in spite of obvious ethnic and religious differences". One could add that peace hold very well in the life time

of the late northern premier, and Sardauna Ahmadu Bello.

He erected a canopy of unity that protected every northerner, Muslim or Christian or pagan. When he died that canopy also collapsed revealing the cleavages that everyone knew were there but never pointed out because there was no cause to do so. These are the differences that the present crop of northern elites, hankering after power but lacking the stature of the late premier, are exploiting.

There are, of course, other factors like the creation of states, which Sultan Dasuki believes has tender to "segregate" Nigerians. One should not run the risk of pre-empting the work of the committee the traditional rulers have set up. Let it get down to the real task and it is one's hope that it will be able to supply that much desired but elusive key to peaceful co-existence in the North as indeed also in the entire country.

Nothing doing

The racist South African parliament on Monday repealed one of its most repressive and obnoxious laws, the Population Registration Act. Regarded as the most pernicious of the numerous dehumanising laws enacted by the racists, the Act classified South Africans at birth according to their race. The Act itself contained 16 other laws designed to stifle the rights of non-whites and enthrone the system of apartheid.

In repealing the Act, racist President F. W. Klerk, told parliament on Monday that it was not done to "curry international recognition. We are not working according to the agenda of the United State of America, Africa or Europe in order to have sanctions lifted or to gain favour, but because we wish to do right to South Africa."

Last week, when the racists unilaterally announced that de Klerk would visit Nigeria, we cautioned most strongly that Nigeria, indeed, Africa should not, in any way encourage or welcome the racists until apartheid is completely dismantled and the majority blacks, who have suffered years of degradation and humiliation, have been immediately enfranchised. We vigorously maintain that position.

Nobody, not in Africa, not anywhere in the world should contemplate re-aligning himself with the racists until blacks have the vote. We fully endorse the position of the African National Congress, ANC, that despite the repeal of the Act, the black man in South Africa, just as Palestinians in Israel and the occupied territories, is still a second class citizen without a right to vote.

Even with the repeal of the Act, two other crucial issues remain outstanding, vis-a-vis the state-sponsored violence among blacks and the release of political prisoners. Until these are achieved, sanctions should be maintained.

We say this because even before the ink dried on the repeal bill, the European Economic Community, EEC, decided to allow for cultural contact and an end to the ban on iron and steel and gold coins imports from the racists enclave. We felt that this is not only premature, but preposterous. One cannot insist on a "free world" and at the same time prop up a most despicable system that takes away the rights of man.

In welcoming the repeal of the Act, America described it as an historic moment. Well, it would be more historic if South Africa is encouraged to speedily do away with its inhuman system.

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Minorities

One Republic, many democrats

The North and South cannot agree over the presidency, so the minorities claim it

Although the 1992 presidential elections is still a good many months away, the coveted chair is already attracting the attention of many an ambitious politician. Kwara State in particular is literally awash with presidential aspirants—and the reason is not too hard to find. Southern politicians with the Western caucus of the SDP in the vanguard have served notice that they want nothing short of the presidency come 1992. We want it too, say northern politicians. While the war of words and wits rages on,



Ubeki: chances very slim

a new term has, quietly and unobtrusively, sneaked into the political arena. It is called the Minority Factor and its concrete political manifestation is best represented by Kwara State.

Kwara, commonly referred to as the gateway to the North, is a bridge between the Southern and Northern part of the country. It is inhabited by both Yoruba and Hausa speaking peoples and the two dominant religions in the country, Islam and Christianity also find a welcome home in the state. Added to these is the fact that Kwara State is also home to a myriad of minority ethnic groups—and as the North and South show no sign of arriving at a consensus on the presidency as the days go by, political activists and watchers alike are casting significant glances at Kwara and the other minority states in search of "presidential material."

This new thing, *Citizen* was reliably informed last week, is the handiwork of certain power brokers, who, anxious to ward off the explosion that might result from a head-on clash between the North and South over the presidency, are now seriously considering picking a compromise candidate from one of the minority states.



Jubril: relying on the woman factor



Abdulazeez: strength and weakness in conflict

It is therefore no coincidence that Kwara State alone parades four presidential hopefuls — Farouk Abdulazeez, a medical doctor and former chairman of the defunct Peoples Front of Nigeria, PFN, Sarah Jubril, a former commissioner, Mahmud Ojo Idris, chairman and chief executive of Daewoo Motors and Eytayo Dan Musa, a businessman. Abdulazeez, Jubril and Idris are running on the platform of the Social Democratic Party, SDP while Dan Musa is aspiring to clinch the presidency under the National Republican Convention, NRC. Gongola State also has two presidential hopefuls: Baba Adi, a lawyer, businessman and member of the defunct constituent Assembly, and Mahmud Waziri, a former senator in the second republic on the platform of GNPP and a shipping magnate. There is also Selcan Miner, a former civil servant from Plateau State. So far, only two aspirants from the southern minorities have joined the race: Abel Ubeku, former managing director of Guinness PLC (Bendel) and Patrick Dele Cole, former ambassador to Brazil who comes from River State. These nine presidential aspirants have one thing in common: they all come from minority ethnic groups and their game plan, even though most of them would not openly admit it, is best summed up by Eytayo Dan

Musa, one of the aspirants: "I am a compromise candidate by ethnicity, having southern, middle belt and northern blood in me."

Interestingly, eight of the nine presidential aspirants are in the SDP. As they jostle for vantage positions in the political arena, leaders of the Middle Belt Forum, a political organisation comprising Benue, Kwara, Plateau, Abuja, Gongola and Niger State indigenes have emerged key players in the minorities' bid for the presidency. Initially conceived as a vehicle to represent and push for the interests of the Middle Belt during the third republic, the Forum is now virtually synonymous with the SDP and has literally hijacked the Middle Belt zone of the party. While its leadership core is still a little bit shadowy, Solomon Lar, former governor of Plateau State, Theophilus Danjuma, a retired general and Olusola Saraki, a former senator in the second republic are widely seen as the prime movers behind minorities' presidential bid — especially minority politicians from the Middle Belt.

The aspirants themselves are of course quick to deny the presence of "minority factor" considerations in their various strategies to clinch the presidency. SDP's Abdulazeez told *Citizen* last week, "personally, I do not believe it is right to over-

emphasise the minority element in our politics beyond demanding for social justice and equal opportunities. Emphasising ethnic minorities is divisive and can only foster social and political instability." Baba Adi, another presidential aspirant on the platform of the SDP agrees. "Politics is about building bridges between various ethnic and religious groups. No one ethnic group, be it minority or majority can single-handedly sponsor a candidate for the presidency and hope to win. The candidate needs the support of other ethnic and Interest groups, and that is what politics is all about — consensus and bridge-building. What this nation needs at this point in time is a Nigerian, not ethnic president."

Most minority presidential aspirants whom *Citizen* spoke with last week are not comfortable with the "compromise candidate" tag, preferring instead to see themselves as representing a new tendency in Nigerian politics that cuts across ethnic and religious lines.

Political analysts believe however that this open, and indeed near-strident disavowal of the geo-ethnic factor is part of a grand strategy to reap political dividends from minority and majority ethnic groups alike by donning the national toga in the political arena. The minority factor, analysts argue,



Cole: a token gesture



Adi: a serious contender



Waziri: enjoys Western sympathy

A parade of candidates

Baba Abu Adi, (SDP):

Baba Adi, a Jos-based attorney is the principal partner of Baba Adi & Co. He is also a director of several companies including Northern Nigeria Investments Company Limited and Afribank PLC. Aged forty-four, Adi is a 1972 alumnus of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and was called to the bar in 1973. He comes from Wukari in Gongola State and was educated variously at Keffi and Katsina-Ala.

Keen watchers of Middle belt politics say Adi is likely to get the Middle Belt Forum's endorsement for the SDP presidential bid. His main support base seem to be the younger generation of Middle Belt politicians, although two or three power brokers of the older generation have also given him the nod.

Chief (Dr) Abel Kprogidi Ubeku, (SDP)

Chief A. K. Ubeku is from Araya in Isoko local government area of Bendel State. Aged 55, Ubeku holds a bachelor's and master's degrees in law both from the University of London. He also has a Ph.D in labour economics from the University of Sussex, Brighton, England. From 1964 to 1965, was at the prestigious London School of Economics and Political Science where he bagged a postgraduate diploma in personnel management. Ubeku was the managing director of Guinness PLC from 1982 to June 1989.

Ubeku is a newcomer in the nation's political scene. A southern minority, analysts rate his chances of clinching the SDP

presidential ticket as very slim since his zone, the western caucus is determined to present a Yoruba candidate.

Alhaji Mahmud Waziri, (SDP)

Alhaji Mahmud Waziri, 55, was a prominent GNNP senator in the second Republic. He comes from Yola in Gongola State.

A businessman, administrator and politician, Waziri attended the Institute of Administration, Zaria (1953-54), North-Western Polytechnic London (1958-61) and Waterloo University, Ontario, Canada (1967-69).

A middle belt muslim, Waziri has considerable following in the western zone of the party. This fact, analysts say, may turn out to be his political joker.

Sarah Nnadwa Jubril, (SDP)

Born 6th March 1946 at Patagi to the Nupo parents in Edu local government area of Kwara State, Jubril attended Darfur College of Education, London (1967-70) for a university diploma in education and later Kansas State University, USA between 1974/75 for her B.Sc degree. In 1977, she returned to Nigeria for her master's degree in educational psychology which she earned from the University of Lagos in 1980.

She seems to be relying on the woman factor to see her through the SDP presidential primaries.

Ojo Idrisu Mahmud, (SDP)

Alhaji M.O. Idrisu, 58, is from Okene local

government area of Kwara State. He is an ex-general manager of the Nigerian Produce Marketing Company and presently, a director of the Fertilizer and Chemical Company Limited, Kaduna.

Idrisu is also the chairman of Daewoo Nigeria Limited and Risu Line. He is not altogether a stranger to politicking himself. In 1978, he was the presidential candidate of the unregistered National Congress of Progressives (NNCP). He was also deep in the governorship fray of the defunct National Party of Nigeria in 1983 when he contested against the then incumbent Alhaji Adamu Atta "just to make some noise". He is still regarded as a dark horse in the Middle Belt SDP presidential races.

Patrick Dele Cole, (SDP)

Patrick Dele Cole was born August 4, 1940 to Jack's Compound, Abonnema, Rivers State to which he is presently the Alabo (Chief). A diplomat, historian and academician, Dr. Dele Cole bagged his doctorate in 1970 at Cambridge University, England. He was from 1970 to 1973 a visiting professor with University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, USA. A fellow of the Institute of Directors, London, he has served as managing director, *Daily Times* (1976-80); Cole was until last year Nigeria's ambassador to Brazil. Political watchers see his presidential bid as "a mere token gesture".

Umar Farouk Abdula-zeez, (SDP)

Farouk Abdula-zeez, 53, came into political limelight on July 25, 1989, when he was elected chairman of the defunct People's Front of Nigeria. An elected member of the 1988 Constituent Assembly for Adavi/Okachi constituency in Kwara State, his political prouffe has been on the rise ever since.

A 1965 University of Ibadan alumnus, Dr. Abdula-zeez who graduated from the Royal College of Surgeons England in 1970 returned home to a one-year lecturing stint at the Faculty of Medicine, ABU, Zaria.

Abdula-zeez later set up shop as a private medical consultant in 1978. He remains the medical director of Okene Clinic Hospital, as well as chairman/managing director of Blo-medical Services Company Limited and Anes Nigeria Limited. A close associate of Shehu Musa Yar'adua, analysts see this as Abdula-zeez's strength as well as his weakness in the Middle Belt political terrain.

Dan Musa Eyitayo, (NRC)

Alhaji Dan Musa is a businessman from Igbaja in Ifelodun local government Area of Kwara State. To date, he remains the only element in the National Republican Convention (NRC) to have signified his intention to contest the presidency from the minority areas. An ardent sports philanthropist, Dan Musa is not regarded as a serious contender for the NRC presidential ticket in an arena dominated by such heavyweights as Umaru Shinkafi, Emmanuel Ihuwanya and Lema Jibrilu.

This is our chance — Yima Sen

On zoning and minorities bid for presidency.

This issue of zoning was strongly pushed by Aperc Aku to provide the minorities the opportunity to produce the president. This move has its merits and demerits. Merits because you are interpreting the problem of inequalities, egalitarian development in the Nigerian political economy to the nationality question. The demerits are that when you place so much emphasis on the nationality question without looking at the more fundamental issue of class as a result of social inequality in Nigerian then you are putting the cart before the horse. If you look at the major nationalities, i.e. Igbo, Yoruba, Hausa/Fulani, in as much as they have a substantial share of the ruling class in political terms the popular masses of this part of Nigeria are still the most backward and the most wretched. So when you take a strictly minoritist approach to some of these issues you might be mistaken. So really, there is a need to balance between the class factor and the nationality question. This means that minoritism is useful only to the extent that it also addresses the fundamental question of the fundamental cause of social inequalities.

On quota system and federal character

This has also been a minoritist drive which is misleading because it assumes that if you have six zones in the country and that each zone has a minister or permanent secretary or director-

consciousness that you are a leader coming from a zone which is probably backward, and that your own zone and others which are backward require special attention from the federal

not taking care of the masses of the people. Take for instance, the Middle Belt, where we have produced leaders in this country. Gowon ruled for 9 years and Babangida who has been ruling for the past 6 years and yet we are still backward. What the Middle Belt Forum is now doing is that it is saying that we want to look at the history of our movement to understand where we came from and where we should be going. We want to look critically at our contributions to national development, to national unity and to do a self criticism of what we have done to ourselves. So we are talking beyond geographical sharing of political power. We are talking about movement for justice, resolution of the nationality question and the fundamental issue of class.

Is the Middle Belt forum an effective machinery for the



general at the federal level, the people of these areas are taken care of. This is a bit simplistic and not far reaching enough. When you appoint people to represent a zone they might not really represent the zone. They might represent themselves, a few of their friends and their immediate familiar environment. There has to be an internal machinery for ensuring even development in all these areas.

Can a president from the minority likely redress these imbalances in favour of his group?

You have to have this

government. There must also be this consciousness that the problems of underdevelopment occur

If you look at the major nationalities, i.e. Igbo, Yoruba, Hausa/Fulani, in as much as they have a substantial share of the ruling class in political terms the popular masses of this part of Nigeria are still the most backward and the most wretched.

even where there are majority groups because in some cases the leaders of the majority group are

redressing of these inequalities:

The forum is unique in the sense that it is the

first from this zone to begin to raise the issues from the perspective of drawing the linkage between the class question and the problem of political, social and economic under-development. We see the Middle Belt as the bridge between North and South; the minorities and majorities; and between Muslims and Christians.

What role is the forum playing in the present transition programme.

In the present dispensation we are supporting the SDP because the party is closer to what the forum stands for ideologically. Ecologically, the forum is interested in social and economic justice and democracy. In this regard, the forum has been assisting it to ensure that leadership emerge at the local, state and national levels to begin to implement a way that the agenda of the forum is promoted not just within its own area of operation but in the length and breadth of the country.

Can the SDP implement the programmes of the forum?

The SDP comes closer to the forum than the NRC. There is no doubt that the SDP has its deficiencies but we have elected to work within it as a structure that can be transformed.

The forum is a small collection which hopefully represents the aspiration of the people. I think for now people are interested in some of these principles i.e. social and

economic justice, democracy and egalitarian development. We have argued that the forum should be in alliance with all progressive mass democratic groups throughout Nigeria. Our position therefore is that the forum can only be

Which of the presidential candidates is the forum backing?

The forum is not backing any single candidature as of now; whether the candidate is from Middle Belt or from elsewhere. The forum has indicated that it is interested in supporting a

his religious, and social origin, can become the president of Nigeria. We do not believe that it is the birth right of anybody or group to rule this country. *Olu Falae claimed that he is being backed by the forum. What's the situation?*

The forum's official position is that, that statement is completely false. It has never been discussed. No single candidate has been discussed by the forum. When the forum endorses a candidate, it will be officially announced. It is not for a candidate to announce the support of the forum.

We however encourage all the presidential aspirants to campaign, talk to our people as many have been talking to us: but as I have said we have not shown any special favour to anybody.

By Bolaji Adebisi

The forum is a small collection which hopefully represents the aspiration of the people. I think for now people are interested in some of these principles i.e. social and economic justice, democracy and egalitarian development.

effective if it has an agenda for the total change of the country and that this can only be done if we go into alliance with democratic and progressive mass-based organisations and within the present structures, SDP comes closer to this.

What is the composition of the forum in terms of membership?

It comprises people who represent different shades of political opinion: women, labour, political activists and intellectuals, spread over eight states and Abuja. In each of these states, we have leaders of the SDP as members and other notables who are not necessarily politicians in terms of being in active politics. It's a diverse arrangement which tries to represent different sections.

candidate from the Middle Belt. But for us, this is not a do or die matter. The forum believes that everybody in this country, regardless of



Unongo: power broker

is a key consideration in their political game plan and this explains the sudden surge of SDP presidential candidates from the minority ethnic groups in the Middle Belt following the disagreement between the northern and western zones of the Party over the presidency.

While the list of SDP "minority" presidential aspirants is increasing by the day, *Citizen* reliably gathered last week that leaders of the Middle Belt forum are stepping up efforts to prune down the number of aspirants in the zone to a manageable size. Following a meeting of the forum in Makurdi in

generation who understands the peculiar problems of the Middle Belt and even more importantly, is a new breed in age and political disposition. "We narrowed down the choice to Baba Adi," said the source, "and we are presently canvassing support for his candidature in the PSP and PF factions of the Party."

As the race to Aguda House gathers momentum in the Middle Belt zone of the SDP, Baba Adi, Farouk Abdulazeez and Mahmud Waziri have emerged the front runners, while Mahmud Oji Idrissu and Sarah Jubril are still being observed. Keen watchers of Kwara State politics say that Jubril's heart is not really in the race and that she merely wants to prove the point that a woman can aspire to the nation's highest office and then bow out gracefully. Even the victory of the SDP in Edu, her local government in the last council elections does not seem to impress party bigwigs who choose to attribute the feat to Shaaba Lafajai, a Kwara State SDP governorship hopeful from the area. Mrs. Sarah Jubril would have none of this insinuation however. She told *Citizen* last week, "I do not think even Shaaba as a mature person would want to allocate the success of his own family exclusively to himself, let alone that of a local government area with 16 wards. Similarly, I would not want to arrogate such to myself alone. Everybody worked for our success. Our people believe in both Shaaba and Sarah Jubril — we both complement each other." Jubril was dropped from Governor Ibrahim Alkali's cabinet as commissioner of social development, youth and sports in controversial circumstances in 1998 but she does not see this as an obstacle to her presidential ambitions. On the contrary, she told *Citizen*, that the fact that she was kicked out of Alkali's cabinet was a testimony to her tenaciousness and resoluteness

while in public office. She told *Citizen*, "during my short tenure in office, I could pass as one of the achievers. I stood out as a role model to the youths and my achievements served as a tonic to the sound minded." Jubril is anchoring her bid for the presidency on the woman factor. Analysts however believe that this will not count much in the high stake political jostling for the nation's foremost office.

Before Baba Adi joined the fray, the Middle Belt SDP presidential race was a straight one between Farouk Abdulazeez, a medical doctor and chairman of the defunct PFN from Okene and Mahmud Waziri, a prominent GNPP senator in the second republic from Yola. Selcan Miner, a bank chairman and Middle Belt Forum power broker had shown initial interest but has of late, toned down his public profile. A source told *Citizen* last week that Miner is currently being persuaded to give the other aspirants a chance. If Selcan Miner eventually bows out, the arena would be clear for Adi, Abdulazeez, Idrissu and Waziri to fight it out, and sources close to the four aspirants informed *Citizen* last week that they are already putting finishing touches to their respective campaigns.

Farouk Abdulazeez has positioned himself strategically between the Middle Belt and the far North in his bid to clinch the SDP presidential ticket during the primaries. A close friend and business associate of Shehu Musa Yar'adua, retired general and power broker of the "mainstream SDP," Abdulazeez is also consolidating his position in the Middle Belt, his home base, preparatory to launching his campaign drive in PSP strongholds in the western zone and the CARIA states. Abdulazeez made a mark for himself as chairman of the defunct PFN and the fact that the PFN was adjudged the most organised of the thirteen defunct political associations is evidence of Abdulazeez's leadership and



Dan Musa: a lightweight among giants

the second week of February, Mahmud Waziri, Farouk Abdulazeez and Sarah Jubril were asked to appear before a working committee mandated by the Forum to screen Middle Belt presidential candidates. Before the committee could get going however, younger elements in the Forum, dissatisfied with the selection of the aspirants, brought pressure to bear on Baba Adi, 44, a lawyer and director of Afribank from Gongola to join the presidential race. A member of the Forum's inner caucus who spoke to *Citizen* on condition of anonymity explained that the younger members of the Middle Belt Forum wanted an aspirant of their own

administrative capability. These credentials, his supporters say, will stand Abdulazeez in good stead when the political horse trading begins.

Analysts point out however, that the Okene doctor's close relationship with Yar'adua may turn out to be his undoing, the thinking being that the Middle Belt Forum, which has not made a secret of its opposition to the far North, would not be willing to support an aspirant who is too closely associated with a powerful northern power broker, even when he is a member of the SDP. While Abdulazeez would not admit a close political relationship with Yar'adua, he told *Citizen* last week that his link with the PFN and those who were in that association has stood him in good stead in his current involvement in building the SDP. Said Abdulazeez, "I shall not like to be seen in the race for the leadership of this country as an ethnic minority candidate. I will canvass for support from all Nigerians who believe I have something to offer the country." Abdulazeez's chances at the jostling, analysts say, would depend on how well he carves out an independent image for himself as distinct from the Yar'adua-led PFN faction. Abdulazeez himself seems to have realised this and has

embarked on a lecture tour in an attempt to sell "the real Farouk Abdulazeez" to the public.

Mahmud Ojo Idrissu is still as it were, a dark horse. Political observers say that the fact that he comes from the same town as Abdulazeez who has already secured the Okene political terrain for the mainstream SDP puts him in obvious political disadvantage. Analysts also say that his NPN antecedents will not endear him to the leaders of the Middle Belt Forum who feel that the zone was shortchanged by that party in the second republic. Idrissu does not recognise the forum as a political force in the Middle Belt zone of the SDP, however. He told *Citizen* last week, "I am not for any forum. All I want is that the best candidate should emerge from the party where ever he may come from," adding, "the Middle Belt is my base. That does not mean there has to be a Middle Belt Forum."

Idrissu who feels that a minority president is ideal for the country in 1992 given the present face-off between southern and northern politicians, is banking on his close relationship with Olusola Saraki, the undisputed king-pin of Kwara politics to push the SDP presidential ticket his way. Of Saraki, he said, "we have been friendly for years. I consulted him

before joining the SDP because we usually go the same way. He (Saraki) supports my candidacy for the presidency and all his supporters in Ilorin are also my supporters." Perceptive observers are not impressed with this claim, though. They point out that Saraki is a prime mover of the Middle Belt Forum and so could not have endorsed Idrissu's candidature as he is not "properly aligned." Idrissu advocates the total exclusion of the old brigade in the politics of the third republic. Analysts see this stance as evidence of political naivete on Idrissu's part and argue that no serious contender for the SDP's presidential ticket can afford to dismiss the savvy and clout of old breed politicians.

Mahmud Waziri like Idrissu and Baba Adl, is a relatively new comer to the scene. He is not new to the rough and tumble of politics though, as he served as senator on the platform of GNNP in the second republic. Waziri seems to have devised a three pronged strategy in a bid to get the SDP's presidential nomination. A middle belt Muslim, he is very popular among the assembly of progressives following his informed contributions in the constituent assembly. Waziri is a shrewd tactician who is adept at building political bridges. He seems to have made considerable in-roads into the Western zone of SDP and is routinely mentioned, along with Olu Falae as factors to be taken into consideration when the Western caucus meets to select its presidential flagbearer. Sources close to Waziri told *Citizen* that the former senator is making much political capital out of the fact that he had no ties with the far North as represented by the NPN during the second republic. His calculation is that this will make him more acceptable to the Middle Belt Forum. Yet he is treading carefully so as not to antagonise the feelings of powerful northern politicians. To



Iketubosin and Falae: SDP strongmen

this side, Waziri brandishes his impeccable Muslim credentials. Buoyed on the crest of a considerable following from West, Middle Belt and North alike, Mahmud Waziri is presently sitting pretty and is poised to give other aspirants a good run for their money.

Baba Adi is widely seen as "the reluctant aspirant". Although he entered the presidential race relatively late, observers are already predicting that he will prove a very tough customer when the real horse trading commences. Adi has two things going for him: his youthful disposition and the fact that he enjoys the support of prominent Middle Belt power brokers, including Solomon Lar, former governor of Plateau State.

Some have seen Adi's alignment with the PSP faction of the party as indication that the far north will put up a stiff opposition to his candidacy. Adi sees the matter differently though. While agreeing that factions and interest groups exist in the SDP, the presidential aspirant informed *Citizen* that negotiations are currently going on at top levels to bridge the chasm between the PSP and PFN factions of the party. "I do not see myself as a 'minority' presidential aspirant," Adi told *Citizen* in his Lagos office last week. "The entire country is my constituency and I intend to seek the support of SDP members from all parts of the country." "This nation is desperately waiting for its take-off stage" said the aspirant. "Good management of resources is all it takes".

While Middle Belt presidential aspirants are busy perfecting their game plans it would seem that their southern minority counterparts are yet to get their act together. Patrick Dele Cole, an SDP presidential aspirant from Abonemma in Rivers State was not even at home to canvass for support for his candidates during the just-

concluded ward congress elections. When *Citizen* called at Abonemma, Cole was still being expected. A handful of SDP supporters stood in front of his home in Jack Compound and dispersed after a while when it became obvious he would not turn up.

In any case, Patrick Cole is not viewed as a serious contender for the SDP's presidential ticket. Although Degema, Cole's local government is controlled by the SDP, the NRC controls eight of the fifteen wards that make up the council. Further, the NRC controls two out of the five wards in Abonemma, one of which is in Jack's Compound, Cole's home base. The NRC's strong showing in Cole's homefront, observers contend, is evidence that he is a lightweight in the SDP firmament and thus most unlikely to get its endorsement for his presidential bid. A possible way out is for Cole to play the minority card in CARIA, the eastern bloc of the SDP. But dominated as CARIA is presently by former senator Arthur Nzeribe's surrogates, observers say that the minority factor will not carry Cole far in his presidential bid. Indeed, the CARIA states have more or less endorsed Babagana Kingibe's candidature if and whenever he is willing to resign the chairmanship of the SDP and join the presidential race. Sokari Iketubosin, SDP chairman in Degema believes that the chances of a minority element emerging president of the country are very slim. Still, Iketubosin feels it is time the minorities were given the opportunity to rule the country. "In fact, we are bent on having this chance and the majority ethnic groups should concede it to us," the SDP chairman told *Citizen* last week.

In the context of power politics in Bendel State, Abel Ubeku, former managing director of Guinness PLC and SDP presidential candidate cuts a towering image. He is also widely perceived as a philanthropist in Bendel south senatorial district. He

holds unchallenged sway in Isoko local government his home base where, through a careful and well-thought out community development programme, he has endeared himself to the people.

Ubeku's problem though is that he is yet to make any worthwhile inroads in the eastern, northern and Middle Belt zones of the SDP. Observers also say that the fact that he belongs to a minority ethnic group in the wider political ambit of the LOOBO states puts him at a disadvantage as the western zone of the party has made it clear that it will support only the candidature of a Yoruba man. Ubeku is therefore generally seen as a "political bat" of sorts, fairly popular with party faithfuls but lacking the solid support of a particular zone. This perception of him by political analysts does not bother Ubeku in



Whyte: Rivers State NRC

the least, though. Nor does he recognise the existence of factions in the SDP. "I don't know about PSP and PFN", he told *Citizen* in Isoko, his home town last week. "Government dissolved those bodies a long time ago".

As a minority presidential aspirant, Ubeku seems to be relying on his credentials as the first indigenous chief executive of Guinness to see him through. Observers are however of the opinion that this alone will not impress voters as other presidential aspirants in the party possess equally impeccable credentials. Ubeku's

problem, they allege, stems from the fact that he is not strongly aligned to either the PSP or PFN factions of the party. "The third republic has no place for middle-of-the-road politics", a top member of the western caucus of the SDP told *Citizen* last week.

Perhaps it is this realisation of the primacy of ethnic and geopolitical groupings in the politics of the third republic that provided certain leading politicians of Cross River, Rivers, Akwa Ibom and Bendel states origin the impetus to come together under a new political umbrella, CRAB. Conceived as a political platform for these minority states as distinct from the Igbo-dominated CARIA, CRAB intends to carve a distinct and definite political niche for the southern minority states in the politics of the third republic. The new organisation is yet to make any impact on Cole and Ubeku's presidential bid, though. In fact, Ubeku told *Citizen* that he is not even aware of the existence of CRAB. His words: "I am not aware of it". Iketubosin, Degema SDP chairman recognises the futility of any attempt by Southern minorities to come together. Iketubosin told *Citizen*, "as far as I am concerned, minorities anywhere are minorities. Even if you come together, you still don't form a majority."

Thus, barring any unforeseen development or the sudden emergence of a dark horse out of the blues, the political wind-vane points to the Middle Belt, Kwara and Gongola States in particular as the major theatre where the northern minorities' bid for the presidential ticket of both parties will be lost or won. For the present, the NRC front seems calm and settled as the only presidential aspirant from the Middle Belt, Eytayo Dan Musa, is widely perceived as a lightweight in a contest meant for giants.

Matters are far from settled in the SDP camp, though. Interestingly, the Middle Belt zone

has as much claim to the party's presidential ticket as any other zone. Of the 98 chairmanship seats contested for in the zone during the local government elections, the SDP won 58 seats as against 37 by the NRC, placing second only to the Western zone in terms of performance. It was however in Kwara state that the Middle Belt zone of the party outdid itself. It won 12 out of the 14 local government councils in the state — a feat which was largely attributed to Olusola Saraki's support for the party in the state.

As the various northern minority presidential aspirants strive to out-manoeuvre one another, Saraki has emerged as the veritable "beautiful bride" of Middle Belt politics. All presidential aspirants from the zone have gone out of their way to court his favour. Saraki himself is yet to make his

take lightly any attempt by Yar'adua to influence the politics of the Middle Belt. Analysts say that in the event of Farouk Abdulazeez gaining Yar'adua's support for his candidature, Saraki and other members of the Middle Belt Forum would move in the opposite direction. Danjuma, another powerful presence in the zone is yet to show his hand but there are indications that he may cast his lot with Baba Adi.

On its part, the Middle Belt Forum as a corporate body appear unfocussed and uncoordinated over the issue of a presidential aspirant for the zone. Why the hesitation to openly endorse Baba Adi's candidature? Observers say this is to be expected, given the presidential ambitions of some of its key leaders like Saraki, Danjuma and Lar who *Citizen* was



Kingibe and Ikimi: whose party gets the prize

stance public but informed sources told *Citizen* that Baba Adi and Mahmud Waziri are hot favourites. While keen observers of Kwara politics easily acknowledge Saraki's near-hallowed status in Middle Belt politics, they point out that the outcome of the northern minorities' bid for the SDP presidential ticket will depend on which direction such heavyweights as Solomon Lar, Theophilus Danjuma and Shehu Yar'adua decide to pull.

Saraki, it is expected will not

reliably informed are merely waiting for 1992 to declare their intentions. The middle belt SDP "presidential" field is therefore awash with sharks and little fishes alike and whoever emerges as the northern minorities' flagbearer must first of all work out a suitable arrangement with Saraki, Lar and Danjuma on one side, and Yar'adua on the other.

By Ike Okonta with Yinka Tella, Bolaji Adebisi and Tola Sunday.

Religious tension

Quenching the fire

Emirs and Chiefs meet to find better ways of encouraging religious tolerance

Emirs and chiefs in the north left their fortified palaces for a meeting in Kaduna on Monday, June 17. It is symbolic that the meeting took place in Lugard Hall, named after the white colonial administrator, Lord Lugard, believed to have been the creator of Nigeria (in 1914). This geo-political union today is threatened by religious intolerance. The spirit of the 'father' of the nation's 'unity' was being evoked to lend support to encourage harmony and peaceful co-existence.

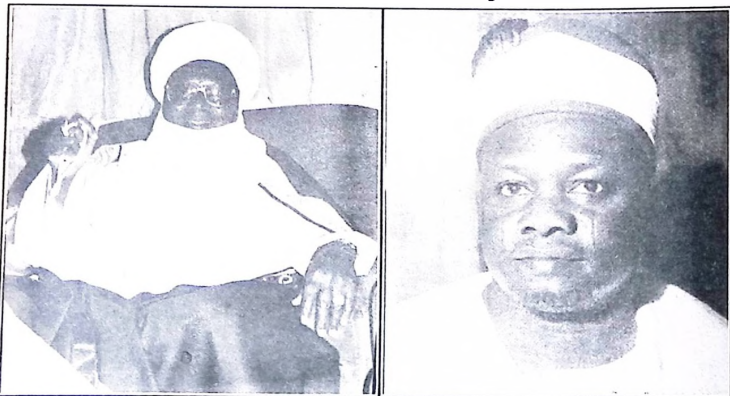
The meeting came almost two months after the religious

disturbances in April in Katsina and Bauchi states. The riot by Shiites in Katsina on April 19 claimed no life but large public property was vandalised. In Bauchi, it was a bloody clash between muslims and christians. The state is still bathing the wounds of its population bloodied by a senseless confrontation.

Critics would ask why it took the traditional rulers that long to meet. But considering the institution's inertia caused by loss of power under the country's political dispensation, that they were able at all to get their old-fashioned long

motor-cars to move them to Kaduna is a good beginning. At last they seem to be doing what for long they have neglected or failed to do properly.

The meeting held behind closed doors was addressed by the Sultan of Sokoto, Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki. He had earlier in May presided over a meeting of the National Council for Islamic Affairs in Abeokuta, Ogun State, called to discuss the killings in Bauchi. The Kaduna session lasted several hours. A communique which Major-General Muhammadu Jega, (rtd), himself a traditional leader, the Ciroman



Sultan Dasuki and Shehu El-Kanemi: seeking religious tolerance

Gwandu who co-ordinated the meeting announced that the Emirs and Chiefs decided to constitute a seven-man committee to study the religious problem in greater detail.

It is headed by the Sultan and has six other members: Alhaji Ado Bayero, Emir of Kano, Alhaji Shehu Idris, Sarkin Zazzau, Alhaji Umar Mustapha El-Kanemi, Shehu of Bomo. The others are the Gbong-Gwom Jos, Dr Fom Bot, the Tor Tiv Alfred Torkula and Malam Gwamna Awan, Chief of Kaoro. The recommendations of the committee, which was told to work at its convenient pace, would be passed on to the federal government in the form of advice, according to General Jega. The general himself was the military governor of Gongola State



Emir of Kano: Alhaji Ado Bayero



Muhammadu Jega: co-ordinated the meeting

posed by enemies of peace. Speaking on the matter when the meeting opened, the Sultan avoided calling a spade by its name. He referred instead to "civil unrests in the north." According to him, states have not been created to

issue that kept them talking for seven hours. Their communique said they also discussed the political transition programme, particularly such elements of it as the July 15 revision of the voters' register and the census.

Critics would ask why it took the traditional rulers that long to meet. But considering the institution's inertia caused by loss of power under the country's political dispensation, that they were able at all to get their old-fashioned long motor-cars to move them to Kaduna is a good beginning. At last they seem to be doing what for long they have neglected or failed to do properly.

They observed that politics remains a crucial factor in bringing about a better living saying that for that reason alone if nothing else, Nigerians should cooperate with the military government to make a success of the transition programme. On the revision of the voters' register beginning on July 15, the Emirs and Chiefs called for mass participation as a civic obligation.

General Jega pointed out more as a footnote that it was not the first time the traditional rulers were meeting on pressing national issues. There was one, it would be recalled, after the religious violence in Kaduna State in 1987. If it served any purpose at all, it was that it just managed to stave off a resurgence. Bauchi State was to burn itself in a fire of religious recrimination exactly four years after.

By Tawey Zakka with report by Kolawole Fatai

in 1984 when a murderous group led by one Musa Makaniki let themselves loose on Yola, the capital, killing and maiming Muslims and non-Muslims alike.

The communique said that the Kaduna initiative would be expanded into a conference of all traditional rulers in the country to discuss the threat to national unity

"segregate" citizens but to enhance socio-economic development. People should see themselves first as Nigerians, he said.

Though how to encourage religious tolerance by forestalling a resurgence of bloody religious disturbances was the main thing that brought the traditional rulers to Kaduna, it was by no means the only

IAR

Reaching out

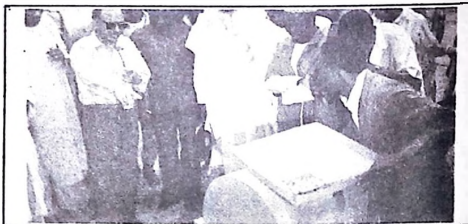
At the end of the press briefing and an exhibition, the consensus was that the government ought to do more for this institute

"Nigeria should be the newest member of the organisation of newly developed countries", a reporter said, almost at the top of his voice. Everyone else's impression ought to be verging on such patriotic verdict after, at first, a bout with theoretical bombardments from erudite researchers and then coming face to face with the displayed prototypes of farm machinery designed and fabricated by the Institute for Agricultural Research of the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria.

The institute invited the press for a briefing and an open exhibition. And, at the end of the exhibition, reporters and other members of the public agreed that Nigeria is a shouting distance away from a tremendous technological breakthrough. Moreover, most people came out of the exhibition united in their sympathy and belief that with a little more fiscal generosity from the government, the institute could be included in the list of the expected success story of the year 2000. In fact, one official of the institute said any time the government decided to grant them half of their demands, the country can begin to talk of a watershed in our developmental voyage.

A guided tour of the institute's various research departments is enough to set one wondering why government has yet to exploit its capability. In that case, what is all the noise about the institute? The activities of the institute — and the achievements — speak so loudly. As a research and extension services outfit, IAR diversified its activities

through the various units and all on the basis of "four crop programmes (cereals, legumes and oil seeds, fibre and horticultural crops) and five supporting programmes (farming systems, agricultural mechanism, food science and technology, irrigation and agricultural extension services)". These



One of the prototype machines being tested at the exhibition

programme units have ensured that IAR has been able to undertake its mandated responsibilities. The institute was in 1987 assigned the following responsibilities by the parent ministry, science and technology: (a) research into the genetic improvement of sorghum, groundnut, cowpea, cotton and sunflower (b) research into farming system in the northern ecological zone and (c) a strong extension service unit with the purpose of disseminating research results.

Fundless though, IAR looks good to dwarfed any other institute of its kind. ABU vice-chancellor, Professor Adamu Nayaya was unequivocal in saying that IAR's activities "have resulted in

substantial achievements in biotechnology, design and fabrication of prototype farm machinery and the development of various farming systems". The good news is that government, especially, ordinary farmers and the private sector are benefitting from these technologies. Extension services department farmers are introduced to various varieties of developed crops.

The various varieties developed were exhibited for all to see. IAR has therefore been able to develop — and release — three new wheat varieties (SAMWHIT 6, 7 & 8). One more example is the successful development of new improved varieties of cotton which are said to have proved to be better in terms of



Professor Yayack, IAR director

greater yield potential. The agricultural mechanization research unit has the twin-responsibilities of evaluating and developing agricultural equipment. They evaluate and pass recommendations on numerous "imported equipment as well as equipment intended for importation. And then, they also develop agricultural equipment, usually relevant small-scale farm equipment. Some of the developed equipment displayed include manually operated maize shelter, fruit picker, sorghum thresher, Groundnut decorticators, motorized maize dehusker-sheller etc. All these have been made possible on the strength of a meagre government fund.

"The fact is that research, as a tool and means to development, has generally almost always taken a back seat in the scheme of things in this country", that is the view — widely accepted — of Professor J.Y. Yayock, director of the IAR. And that is the crux of the matter. While research institutes, in this case, the IAR are rearing to go to some heights, they are slowed down by lack of government's patronage. Worse still, the singularly, most noticeable problem of all research institutes are the political issues that always meant that they get one-tenth of whatever they need. Professor Yayock says that at a time they budgeted and defended 250 million Naira, but what they got from the federal ministry of science and technology was 8 million Naira to cover their capital and current expenditure for the first and second quarters. Professor Yayock maintains that a departmental programme may need as much (or more) as 25 million Naira.

It got so boring when questions were answered with that apt albeit confusing explanation: "It's political". In other words, the political will — policy making — by the government is wanting and so the institute look as though they will have to keep going at quarter steps.

A top official told *Citizen* that politics, in practical terms, means government financial recklessness in trivialities such as protocol arrangement and the passing of crumbs to research institutes. While contributing to this, Professor Yayock told *Citizen* that research is a continuous process whose fruits always take time to come. He cited the case of crude oil which has become the mainstay of the economy; saying that Nigeria explored for it for 20 years before success came. And since then hence, we have been enjoying it. The point therefore is to keep pumping money into research so as to reap the benefits some day. Besides, Yayock insists: "agricultural research holds the key not only to national self-reliance and self-sufficiency, but it is

IAR has at necessary times been concentrating on the small-scale farmers. For instance, the institute always ascertain that it's recommendations on any of its developed products are stated in black and white for the benefit of the farmers. It also introduces various varieties of crops and when farmers applied them, as recommended, they mostly have a sweet story to tell.

Now, IAR should know the essence of pushing up their activities. Commercialisation of the research results must be followed with an aggressive media and public service campaign. Right now, institutes such as IAR should be thinking of going their own ways; by cooperation with private business and public limited

"Agricultural research holds the key not only to national self-reliance and self-sufficiency, but it is also the surest instrument and means to peace and stability".

also the surest instrument and means to peace and stability". That is quite reassuring.

Of course, all other constraints of the institute revolve around the inadequacy of funding. But, as Professor Nayaya, ABU vice-chancellor would rightly want us to believe, other problems like the manpower, i.e. the dearth of research and extension personnel particularly in specialised areas; the lukewarm appreciation and acceptance of the institute's "ingenuity and technological breakthroughs" are also serious. These two points raise the issue of the institute's relationship with farmers and other government agencies and also make a case for a strong and aggressive enlightenment of the institute's activities. First, we found out that

companies.

Talking about relationships, Professor Yayock told *Citizen*, that the institute's relationship with state governments (in the North) is not bad, but should go further than the mere issue of logistics. He says, states should earmark some funds for the IAR's research work. In fact, Professor Yayock has just undertaken a tour that saw him get some commitment from the ecological zones covered by — some states' governors.

The tune IAR is playing now is worth dancing to. They have taken the right step with that press briefing. Almost all the reporters at the occasion said they were impressed with the quality of IAR's products and its potential. IAR has reached out. Government must show its love for development.

By Rabiū Barde

Ward Congress

No surprises

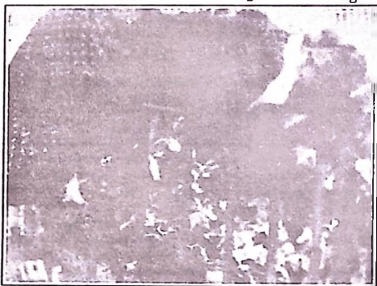
Ward congresses of the National Republican Convention, NRC, and the Social Democratic Party, SDP, to elect delegates for the local government and state congresses have been concluded nation-wide with few surprises. The ward congress, an event in the transition programme, is a runner up to the governorship primaries of the two parties scheduled for August 24. The nation was demarcated into 5,575 wards for the purpose of the congress. In all, 55,750 and 16,715 delegates should have emerged from the congresses.

Violence marked the congresses in Oyo, Ogun, Ondo and Bendel States. There were delays in starting off the elections, rigging and poor turn out in some wards. In Abuja, Niger, and Plateau States entire delegates were returned unopposed, especially in the NRC, and in Abuja, the election was marred by squabbles over the number of delegates allowed to take part in the balloting. In other states, poor turn out was attributed to membership dues, for members which were not paid by some governorship aspirants. In Gongola State, the turn out though impressive was marred by lack of membership cards and cases of under-aged persons attempting to participate in the voting.

In Lagos State, elections were marred by factional wranglings in the SDP. Some governorship aspirants had tried to snatch the supporters of their rivals. The

situation led to problems of security as the crowd became unmanageable. Nine persons were arrested for allegedly disrupting the voting, five of whom were under-aged girls who had attempted to cast their ballot. Generally, the congress could not hold in some wards while the results of some elections were cancelled due to irregularities and rainfall.

In Oyo State, fighting broke out in ward 10 of Ibadan as SDP members broke into two factions. Chairs, bottles and cudgels were



I must vote: a desperate woman scaling a wall

freely used despite the presence of security agents. Two SDP members were arrested in connection with the fracas. In Ward 1, Abeokuta, Ogun State, fighting in the NRC led to cancellation calls.

In Kaduna and Akwa Ibom States, the congress was calm with most delegates being returned unopposed except for delays in starting the elections and poor turn out. In Ward 6, the constituency of Alhaji Ibrahim Yaro Sulaiman, Kaduna State chairman of the SDP,

elections could not hold for what officials said was "failure of interested contestants to come forward and collect nomination forms."

What came to the fore during the congresses, was the apparent draw-back in the open ballot as contestants who disputed their claims in the absence of ballot papers. In some cases, delegates who had lined up behind a particular candidate and were counted, evaded security and drifted back to other candidates. In some wards across the country, no congress was held due to intra-party squabbles and, in some cases, the total absence of a membership register.

On the whole, the congresses were a success, at least as far as the Nigerian experience is concerned.

Indeed, officials of the two government parties praised the out-come of the elections. Doyin Okupe, national publicity secretary of the NRC, described the manner in which the elections were held as a positive development.

The SDP described the conduct of the elections as a "very tremendous achievement of the transition programme." David Iornem, SDP national publicity secretary said that the congresses created a "forum where sharp

division of interests and partisanship could be settled by members."

A number of people are impressed with the congresses in terms of its efficiency over secret ballot. Ambassador Babagana Kingibe, SDP, who monitored the Congress in Maiduguri described it as a huge success. Alhaji Tijani Ramalan, a high ranking member of the NRC commended the orderly manner of the congresses.

By our Reporters

NEC

One voter, one card

After two previous costly attempts NEC still can't say how many voters there are

National Electoral Commission, NEC, officials armed with paper and pen, will on July 15 try again to obtain a voters' roll that "is more credible". The operation, Professor Humphrey Nwosu, NEC chairman, says will cost 80 million Naira in men and materials. In all 500,000 electoral officers and 250,000 centres will be required. Alhaji Aliyu Umar, secretary, thinks NEC is better placed "logistically" to succeed this time around, he boasted to the *Citizen* last week.

Why did NEC's first two attempts in 1987 and 1989 fail to get its dream voters' register? Alhaji Aliyu, taken from his MAMSER job in Sokoto in 1989 and made NEC scribe, is uncharacteristically forthright in admitting failure. "No", he said, "we still have no idea of the country's voting population". Why not? He said that, in 1987 when the register was being compiled for the first time "there was over-

registration".

He said that the military regime at that time used "threat" to get Nigerians to register. It made registration a precondition for gaining access to essential social amenities. The threat worked but not the way it wanted. The large-turn-out produced a spurious roll. NEC said it issued 60 million cards at first, but these were exhausted almost immediately and a reprint was ordered, bringing the total to almost 100 million, a figure unbelievably close to the country's estimated 120 million population. Allegations of multiple registration were common-place. Indeed, Alhaji Aliyu alluded to this when he told *Citizen*: "There were pieces of paper everywhere, some with names, others without names".

The problem in 1989, when NEC attempted to revise the roll to "verify" the figures of two years earlier, was apathy, what he called a "lack of political courage". People did not have the "courage" to protest against the names of people long dead or who did not exist at all on the register. Instead they "added more names (to the roll)".

The July 15-August 4, attempt is therefore to remove the mistakes of the past, but more significantly to "standardise" the voter's card. By the time the operation begins the current card will cease to be valid, he said. He was optimistic that "a credible register, acceptable to all parties" would emerge. His reasons are that the doubts which many had

expressed about the transition programme had disappeared.

The first elections on party basis were held last December 8. The next, which is that for state and national legislators and state governors, comes up later this year. "The stakes are now higher", Alhaji Aliyu said. But NEC is doing its own homework. 40 million Naira has gone into "improving logistics capacity", he said. The list of infrastructure which the electoral body has built up is impressive. It includes 28 boats for use in riverine areas, 10 aircraft to fly men and materials to mountain areas, 10 big lorries, 300 "rugged" 4-wheel drive vehicles and 500 pick-up vans.

On emoluments of electoral assistants, Alhaji Aliyu said NEC has decided to take direct control of those. A major problem arose over that matter on the two previous occasions when state governments were asked to second civil servants to NEC and pay them. That was a mistake because many state governments did not pay up and those who did were late.

However, NEC secretary Aliyu believes payment of stipends will not be a problem this time. The states are still required, by law, to contribute staff but NEC will pay them. "We have sufficient funds to pay them directly", he said.

Despite his faith in political zeal of the average Nigerian elector, Alhaji Aliyu admits the force of law, in other words, a threat of punishment will be required if the July 15 register review must succeed. A new electoral decree, he says, "is coming to punish registration by proxy". The aim will be to "instil sanity in our political life, a new political culture.

By Tawey Zakka



Umar: NEC logistically better



Benue politics has not witnessed any significant change since the military terminated the second republic in 1983. Perhaps what may have changed are the *dramatis personae* now attired in different costumes but are certainly bearing the same message. Ethnicity remains as strong as ever in determining who makes it to the government house, Makurdi.

Like in 1979, the Tivs have made it clear that, as the majority tribe in the state, it is their right to produce the governorship candidate. This seems to have found accommodation among the other tribes in the state considering the fact that the list of the candidates of the two parties for the August 24 primaries is preponderantly in favour of the Tivs. What will now be settled is who among the candidates will carry each of the two party's flag.

Benue State

Honey combers

Already tagged an intra-tribal contest, the race to Government House, Makurdi is not without its excitement

In the second republic, the zoning policy of the NPN and to some significant extent, the influence of Late J.S. Tarka gave the coveted prize to the Tivs. That paved the way for the Late Aper Aku and Isa Odoma, to win in the state. When disagreement developed between Aper Aku and his deputy, Isa Odoma because the latter insisted on contesting the governorship seat in 1983, he was quickly dropped in favour of Sule Iyaji, another Igalala.

The status quo has remained unchanged even with the creation of the two political parties. A political observer said it is in realisation of the Tiv's ambition to contest the governorship race that the posts of the state chairmen of both parties were zoned to the Igalala speaking area.

However, the fact that the race has been reduced to a mere intra-tribal contest has not robbed it of excitement. Altogether, 24 candidates have indicated their intention to contest the primaries. Of this figure, SDP has 13 and the

NRC 11. It is not totally unexpected that the SDP has the biggest number of candidates in view of the fact that it had a good showing in December 8 local government elections.

In the SDP, major candidates are Abu King Shuluwa, Engineer Joseph I. Igbetar, Rev. Father Moses Adasu, and S.J.I. Akure. Abu King Shuluwa boasts of impressive credentials. A trained social worker, he was until the last cabinet reshuffle in the state, been serving as a commissioner. It was during his tenure at the agriculture ministry that Makurdi became a fertilizer depot serving states like Plateau and Bauchi among others. He ensured adequate distribution of fertilizer to all parts of the state. This may have endeared him to farmers who form a majority of the electorate in the state. However, the widespread abuse of fertilizer perpetrated by some workers of the state agriculture and rural development agency, BNARDA is likely to be a big minus for him.

Engineer J.I. Igbetar is by far the most flamboyant of all the candidates. His large posters adorn all the major streets in the state. *Citizen* was jokingly told in Makurdi that if the candidates are judged solely by the number of posters they are able to put up, Igbetar will win hands down. Igbetar was until recently the director of works in the ministry of works and the government's pointsman in the world bank project that handled the multi million Naira Makurdi modern market and the state rural electrification scheme. He is credited with having the best campaign outfit. He has made inroads into nearly all the local



Rev Adasu: hot favourite and Acka'a of the NRC



Igbeta: a sure winner?

governments in the state. He was supported by Paul Unongo until they parted ways over an undisclosed problem. Igbeta however doesn't seem to have suffered any significant losses.

Reverend Father Moses Adasu is one name that is on the lips of most people in the state. A clergyman, his entry into Benue politics is significant as he appears set to bring sanity into the state service which has been associated with corruption. He was the vicar general of Holy Ghost Cathedral, Makurdi; a former lecturer in College of Education, Katsina-Ala. His first contact with politics was his election into the constituent assembly representing Vendeikya West constituency. He maintains a well organised campaign outfit with offices in all the local governments. He enjoys a large measure of support not only in the Tiv speaking areas but in other local government areas.

Very articulate and persuasive, Adasu is said to have the support of Paul Unongo, who it seems has become a power broker in Benue politics. His handicap is that he has no experience in public service.

S.J.I. Akure is another strong contender. Director of National Productivity Centre, Lagos and President of Benue State Chamber

of Commerce and Industry, Akure has been in the private sector since he retired as a permanent secretary in the 1970s. A strong anti-corruption crusader, he swore to affidavit alleging extravagant spending of NPN government under Late Aperc Aku. Ironically, his belief may prove his great undoing.

From the Idoma speaking area are other candidates widely regarded as protest candidates. Going by the 1979 arrangement that zoned the deputy governorship to the Igala, the Idomas are now demanding to be heard and seen too. The candidates include George Ohemu, former general manager of the state-owned newspaper "The Voice" Makurdi, Justice A.P. Anyebe (rtd), Engineer Agbennu. Mrs. Dainah Nungwa, the only lady that indicated her interest earlier seems to have dropped out of the race.

On the NRC side, J.K. Acka'a, Joseph Ughela, Abel Gaffa,

permanent secretary, he has wide ranging experience in the public sector, including bursar, sole administrator of Ankpa local government and membership of constituent assembly in 1988.

Ezekiel Akiga, was the former head of service in Aperc Aku's government. Highly principled and imbued with the high sense of probity, he is said to have cultivated a sizable loyalty among the state civil servants, the bulk of which constitute the state electorates. He resigned in 1983 to challenge Late Aperc Aku when he wanted to go in for the second term. However, the feeling in the state is that he is in poor state of health and should go home and leave room for younger men.

Others are Professor Ignatius Ayua, the former dean of faculty of law, ABU Zaria and Abel Gaffa who may also spring possible surprise. Abel Gaffa former lecturer, University of Technology, Makurdi, is credited with having left tangible

However, the fact that the race has been reduced to a mere intra-tribal contest has not robbed it of excitement. Altogether, 24 candidates have indicated their intention to contest the primaries. Of this figure, SDP has 13 and the NRC 11.

Professor Ignatius Ayua and Ezekiel Akiga are some of the main contenders. J.I. Acka'a, a trained nurse has had over two decades of experience in the private sector. He owns a chain of business enterprises including Viewpoint Medical centre, Viewpoint Cinemas and Viewpoint Nigeria Limited all based in Makurdi. He was the first president of Benue State chamber of commerce, industry, mines and agriculture. He also enjoys a sizeable support in the state.

Joseph Kenneth Iorhemba Ughela (alias J.K.) is frequently mentioned too. A retired

achievements as the chairman of Gboko local government in 1986.

Notwithstanding the credentials of the candidates, it is believed that the deciding factor may be successful resolution of the differences between the Ichongo and Ipusu in Tiv politics. Power is said to have always alternated between two "ruling houses" in Tiv land — the Ichongo and Ipusu. Late Aperc Aku, the first civilian governor of the state came from Ipusu. The general belief is that it is the turn of Ichongo.

**By Abu Mommoh
in Makurdi**

Professional books

Publishers shy away

Scarcity as well as high cost of textbooks has become a major problem confronting the nation's educational system.

Textbooks and instructional materials are not only hard to come by. Where available, the prices are outrageous. This, of course, has turned many a parent and guardian into loyal patrons of roadside and bus-stop sellers of second hand books.

Particularly hard-hit are students who study professional courses who believe that they are the most affected by scarcity of

The scarcity of textbooks as it affects the banking profession was the focus at the Bankers' forum, which took place in the auditorium at the Bankers' House, in Lagos last week.

Ralph Osayameh, executive director of Commerce Bank, posed the question: Why are professional and publishing houses shying away from going into publishing of professional books, particularly in

Osayameh, however conceded that banking is the field that is most well written about among other professions in Nigeria.

The bank executive is worried that the bulk of these books rely rather heavily on foreign definitions, concepts and experiences which have no relevance to the Nigerian business environment. Hence, he believes that there still exist vast areas and aspects of the operations of the Nigerian banking industry which have not been adequately and objectively looked into.

These among others, include the effect of the prudential guidelines within the context of what constitutes a sound asset base, the licensing of banks, bank-customer relationship and the determination of adequate capital.

These areas, Osayameh believe are where experienced professionals could still write on. Osayameh is also not happy that the bulk of convention and popular sources of information on banking and finance in Nigeria are financial newspapers and magazines, the primary sources of which are in several instances the bankers themselves.

While not denying the usefulness of such information, the bank executive said that they are usually instantaneous in nature, not error-free and the views expressed are selective and may portray the view of an individual rather than an institution.

If there are few textbooks on banking and finance, the situation of journals, another important source of information, is pathetic, observed Adedoyin Soyibo, another contributor to the forum. According to Soyibo of the department of economics, University of Ibadan, only one journal has so far been published by the Chartered Institute of Bankers since inception.

If Bankers have no funds to publish books who else will, queried Soyibo.



Participants at the "Bankers' Forum"

textbooks. Gbeja Adegbenro, a part time student of Accountancy in the University of Lagos told *Citizen* that most Nigerian publishers are not keen on professional books. Explained Adegbenro, "we have to rely on imported books whose prices depend on the value of the Naira".

the areas of finance and banking?

According to Osayameh, the market is presently dominated by novels and biographies of notable personalities. In 1991 alone, out of the 28 books so far launched, Osayameh observed that only one was on banking and finance.

The managing director of University of Lagos Press, Bodunde Bankole, also agreed with Osayameh's observation that publishers are shying away from professional books. Bankole told *Citizen* that until recently, professional books had a limited readership in this country. And, because the publishers are in the business to make money, they had

focused their attention on textbooks with large readership potentials.

The managing director however absolved publishers from the blame of publishing such books. According to Bankole, "Investing on a book is like planting a cocoa beans which takes some years to grow" adding that no bank would give loan to a publisher.

To solve the problem of

textbooks scarcity, the minister of education, Professor Babatunde Fafunwa has inaugurated a task force on textbooks, to implement the decisions of the ministerial committee on textbooks.

However, Ayo Olanrewaju, a school headmaster at Opebi, Lagos told *Citizen* that the public is yet to feel the impact of government efforts.

Banking

New measures harsh, but timely

The 1991 annual dinner of the Chartered Institute of Bankers of Nigeria CIB, took place at the Banquet Hall of the prestigious L'Hotel Eko Meridien, Lagos last week. The dinner was the climax of the 1991 Bankers Forum which started earlier in the day with a colloquium.

It was attended by top bank executives, financial experts, diplomats, industrialists, businessmen and women and representatives of the academia including Alhaji Mohammed Ida, former commissioner of finance, Katsina State, Dr. Doyin Soyibo of University of Ibadan and John Hall, managing director, Societe Generale Bank (Nigeria) Limited who was the guest speaker.

In his welcome address, Femi Adekanye, president and chairman of council, Chartered Institute of Bankers, expressed the council's appreciation to the past presidents of the institute for their contributions towards the growth of the banking profession.

The guest speaker at the occasion, John Hall, described the 1990 Banking Prudential Guidelines as "a landmark by imposing harsh penalties on risk provisioning and effectively removing this source of

profit and balance sheet manipulation". Hall said that the measures might be criticised for being too severe in not taking due account of local Nigerian factors, but they must be acknowledged to be fair and necessary.

The dinner also witnessed the decoration of the council chairman, Chief Adekanye with a new badge of office. An investigation panel of the Institute was inaugurated at the dinner under the chairmanship of Chief S.I. Adegbite, the immediate past president of the institute.

Commenting on the dinner, R. Bello of Societe Generale's head office told *Citizen* that after the hectic work in the bank, bankers needed a day like this, to exchange ideas, friends and well wishers.



Adekanye, invested with new badge of office

By Tola Sunday

CBN Profit up 27 per cent

The total deposits at the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) as at December last year stood at 47,604.00 million Naira. According to the latest edition of CBN report, the amount represented an increase of 10,270.3 million Naira or 27.5 per cent over the previous month.

The increase was as a result of the 12,945.0 million Naira or 46.6 per cent increase in the deposits of governments. Meanwhile, the total currency in circulation as at March was 16,657.3 million Naira, the CBN monthly return of assets and liabilities has shown.

The report shows that

the total external reserve is 41,505.2 million Naira. foreign government securities account for the majority of the reserve followed by Gold, IMF Gold Tranche and Special Drawing Rights.



Ahmed

Seminar for bankers

RADOX Investment Company Limited is to run a five-day intensive course with effect from July 2. The programme, organised by the company will focus on corporate banking personnel, credit officers, finance company executives, branch managers, expert desk officers, foreign exchange officers and other officers in the international departments of banks and other financial institutions.



Olowe

Businessmen gets club

A new club, Business Club Ikeja which aims at providing a conducive forum where business people can come together and exchange ideas on matters which affect their business has been formed by business men and women in the Ikeja Industrial Area. Chief S.O. Bolarinde, chairman and chief executive of Vitafoam PLC, said its aim is to develop, in consultation with government and quasi-government agencies, infrastructural facilities essential for the well being of the business community.

Business Club Ikeja, according to Kevin Ejirofor, corporate affairs

manager of Cadbury Nigeria PLC, is a serious, high profile association with membership restricted to chief executives, directors and general managers of member companies. Cadbury Nigeria PLC chief executive, Dr. Christopher Kolade is the first president of the club.



Chris Kolade

Coastal Travel introduces shuttle

Travellers who arrive the three airport terminals in Lagos now have a cause to smile as Coastal Services introduced airport shuttle to its wide range of operation.

The Airport Shuttle provides two luxurious 16-seater buses for conveying passengers from the airport terminals to major hotels in Lagos. The hotels include Sheraton, Stop-Over Motel, at Ikeja, Durbar

Hotel at Festac, the Federal Palace and Eko Meridian at Victoria Island. Other facilities on board are newspapers, magazines, hotel manuals and airline time tables as well as light refreshments.

A statement from the office of the travel agency said the introduction of the airport shuttle service was to alleviate the transportation problems usually encountered by travellers at the airport terminals.

By Tola Sunday

Togo

Triumph of democracy

President Eyadema bows to opposition, accepting a national conference that will see most of his powers disappear

Gnassingbe Eyadema, Togo's strong man since 1966 was one of the few African presidents (Paul Biya of Cameroun was another) who braved political trouble at home to attend the summit of the Organisation of African Unity, OAU, in Abuja earlier this month (June 3-5). He showed that he had a big heart but one not altogether too hard to resist any more the desire of the Togelese for multiparty democracy.

In 1986 Eyadema survived a coup, not due to his own smartness but because the plotters bungled it. Four years later, loyal troops violently broke up a demonstration

In early June this year he returned home from the OAU summit to be met by hundreds of protesters at Lome airport. But he did not allege outside conspiracy. Troops were called out, not to kill but to remove a statue of the president after the crowd had defaced one. Six days of strikes followed to demand Eyadema's resignation or, failing that, a national conference to debate the future of the country.

The president capitulated and at a meeting with the opposition Front for Democracy, FOD, on June 12 he accepted to hold the national conference this Monday, June 24. The two parties agreed that the agenda would include "a debate on the political, economic, social and cultural life of the country". They also agreed to set up new institutions, a transition period, constitute a transitional government headed by an interim prime minister who the national conference would elect. There would be a legislative organ to arrange elections.

The national conference will be similar to the ones called in neighbouring Benin in February and Congo in March under which their two leaders saw their powers taken away from them. When the conference was announced residents of Lome poured into the streets in jubilation. Reports said that they "embraced and congratulated one another for what they considered a triumph for democracy".

To be sure, the president did not throw in the towel without a fight.

Tacitly he admitted he was swimming against a political tide but refused, at first, the idea of a sovereign national conference that would make him just a ceremonial head of state, with his powers transferred to an elected interim prime minister. That would amount to "a civilian coup d'etat". But at the same time he recognised that the alternative would be his overthrow, such as had happened to former Malian president General Mousa Traore in April this year. He toyed with his own proposals of multiparty elections and a "national forum" but only for a time. He was forced to drop them.

General Eyadema came to power three years after the assassination in 1963 of Togo's first president, Mr Sylvanus Olympio in an attempted coup. As head of the army he turned down an invitation by a dismissed member of the provisional government of Nicolas Grunitzky to overthrow it. Infact he put down the demonstration masterminded by Noe Kutuklui. Two months after he fled Lome, General Eyadema warned his way to power.

In 1975, he along with Nigeria's one-time head of state, General Yakubu Gowon, initiated the formation of the Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS. It was a major diplomatic plus for him. But at home his regime turned ever repressive, culminating in the killings of October 4, 1990.

By Tawey Zakka
with reports



Eyadema: getting the heat

in Lome, the capital, against the trial of two men sentenced to five years imprisonment for distributing anti-government tracts. On both occasions the government alleged an "international plot".

South Africa

No blacks, no whites

After forty-one years, the Population Registration Act is repealed

South Africa's racially segregated, tricameral parliament met last Monday to decide the fate of one of the key legislations supporting apartheid, the Population Registration Act. On the table was a motion sponsored by the reformist cabinet to repeal the law; by an unanimous vote each, the Indian and mixed race chambers of the parliament voted to repeal it. In the constitutionally all-powerful white chamber, however, there was a split. Thirty-eight MP's of the opposition Conservative Party voted against repeal, while eighty-nine MP's from the ruling National Party and the liberal opposition Democratic Party voted to pass the bill.

President F. W. de Klerk, architect of South Africa's overdue reform process, said soon after the vote that the repeal of the Act has "liberated all citizens of South Africa and the nation is irreversibly on the road to negotiations for a new and just constitution." De Klerk was quick to deny that the repeal of the Act was a ploy to end the country's international isolation. "It is not intended for any particular gain from Africa and the US", he said, "but we wish to do what is right for South Africa." The president is expected to sign the repeal measure into law a few days after the vote.

The Population Registration Act was first enacted by the Parliament in 1950, two years after the National Party came to power on a programme of racial segregation. The law soon became one of the key pillars of apartheid, and its repeal has long been demanded by the

ANC. With its repeal last week, any child born in South Africa will henceforth not be classified according to race. However, the forty-one year old "Population Register," maintained under the old law, will continue to be in force until the constitution itself is changed. Stated another way, it means the no-blacks

also joined the ANC in expressing reservations. This party, whose MP's had voted in parliament for repeal, is a fusion of the old Progressive Federal Party with liberal defectors from the National Party. Last week, its spokesman Jannie Mombberg said remnants of racial segregation still remain in the coun-



De Klerk: no black no white?

electoral register will still be used for elections.

The ANC last week welcomed the vote in parliament. Its spokesman Trevor Manuel however warned that the Act's repeal does not mark the end of apartheid just yet. "Apartheid will not really be gone," Manuel said, "until there is a shift in sovereignty. That is the bottom line; a shift in sovereignty from the white government to an interim one that represents all the people."

The liberal Democratic Party



Mandela: still no vote

try. "The last apartheid law is the Constitution of South Africa Act," Mombberg said. "Only when this is scrapped will South Africa finally be free of apartheid."

Peter Hendrickse, member of the Coloured chamber of parliament, also complained that the repeal does not go far enough. "Apartheid is dead; long live apartheid," Hendrickse said. "Officially, I have stopped being coloured, but I will still be treated as one."

By Mahmud Jega with reports.

WORLD

India

The devil you know

India's voters return the congress party to power

When voting resumed in India's suspended general elections ten days ago, the huge Congress Party of India expected that a wave of sympathy will propel it to power following the assassination on May 21 of its leader, Rajiv Gandhi. Congress hopes were not unreasonable, since the party had recorded a landslide victory in the elections of December 1984, which came in the wake of the assassination of Rajiv's mother, Indira Gandhi. The present elections, which began on May 20, were suspended following Rajiv's assassination.

By mid last week, Congress had gained 136 of the 233 seats thus far declared in the general election. Among the victorious candidates was Rajiv Gandhi, who was re-elected to his seat from Amethi, in the northern state of Uttar Pradesh, a seat he held since his first election in 1981. Election officials were due last week to present Rajiv Gandhi's election certificate to his widow, Sonia, and then call a bye election. Overall, Congress was expected to win up to 250 seats, or 23 seats short of an outright majority in the 545-seat lower house of the Indian parliament, the *Lok Sabha*.

Congress failure to record a more convincing victory was due to the strong performance in the populous, Hindi northern states of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which finished ahead of Congress in Uttar Pradesh and was second nation wide. In Bihar state, the country's second largest, Congress was also defeated by the Janata Dal's breakaway faction led by provisional prime minister Chandra Shekar. It was only in the southern states that Congress

reasserted its traditionally invincible position. Ironically, it was here that Rajiv Gandhi met his death last month.

Indian president Ramawasmy Venkataraman was expected to name a prime minister last week. Since the president traditionally nominates the leader of the party with the largest number of MP's in the *Lok Sabha*, Congress was expected to get his nod. That means the 106-year old party, which has ruled India for all but five years since independence in 1947, and which was last voted out in December 1989, will once again return to power. Party spokeswoman Margaret Alva last week said the party was ready to resume power, but was not yet sure who its allies would be. In all probability, however, it would be the liberal National Front and its several left-wing allies, one of which is the Communist Party of India.

With power within its grasp, the large but disoriented Congress still has the problem of electing a parliamentary leader, whom President Venkataraman will appoint as prime minister. The choice may turn out to be former foreign minister Narashimha Rao, who was chosen to lead the party after Rajiv's widow Sonia turned it down. Some elements within the Congress, desper-

ate for another magical touch of the Nehru-Gandhi dynasty, are also courting Rajiv's 19-year old daughter, Priyanka. The young girl was said to have shown greater stoicism during her father's cremation than



Gandhi: an asset even in death

either her mother or older brother did. Priyanka is at least six years away from prime ministership, however, since the minimum age for election to parliament is 25.

With or without the Nehrus, however, India's voters have stuck fast to the Congress. Not that the party represents stability and progress any longer, but it is, in Indian eyes, less dangerous than its many rivals.

By Mahmud Jega with reports

Phillippines

The volcanoes speak up

Pinatubo may have laid low for 600 years, but this is not to be confused for inaction

Mount Pinatubo in central Phillipines, erupted for the first time in recent times on June 9. A thick cloud of ash and a huge pall of smoke shot into the air with the force of an atomic explosion, and then the volcano rested. Two days later, on June 11, Pinatubo again exploded, spewing out a deadly mixture of molten rock, boiling mud, noxious fumes, scalding steam and volcanic ash for 30 kilometres into the sky. The explosion was seen in Manila, 100 kilometres away, and neighbouring villages received a rain of ash.

Six persons were confirmed to have died in the first few days of the blast. Casualties threatened to multiply, however, as a typhoon approached the volcano and was expected to send mudslides roaring down the mountain. Casualties were low because more than 40,000 people had evacuated in the run up to the blast. Of these, 14,500 were American troops and their dependents. When Mount Pinatubo, dormant since the 13th century, began

to recover last April, the US rushed down scientists, who installed seismometers and tiltmeters in the area. Most of the American equipment disappeared last week when the volcano erupted. The American purpose was however served because the eruption, restricted to the volcano's north west flank, spared Clark Air base, to the east of Pinatubo. Col. Ron Rand, base spokesman, told reporters that sirens were activated at the base and an evacuation was ordered when the volcano erupted.

The eruption of Pinatubo came only a week after Mount Unzen-dake of Japan also exploded, killing 35 people. Most of the dead were journalists and volcanologists who rushed to the scene while everyone else evacuated. Both volcanoes that exploded this month are part of the infamous "Ring of Fire", a belt around the Pacific Ocean that has three-quarters of the world's 540 active volcanoes.

Several of these have erupted in recent times. In 1980, St. Helens exploded in the US, and was followed by El Chichon of Mexico in 1982, Nevado del Ruiz of Colombia in 1985 and the Redoubt of Alaska in 1989. Between 1500 AD and 1914, volcanoes killed an estimated 190,000 people. This does not include the thousands of people who died due to sea waves and mudslides caused by volcanic eruptions. The Unzen-dake, which exploded early this

month, last erupted in 1792, generating streams of mud that killed 10,452 people. In 1783, the volcano Laki of Iceland had exploded, showering nearby towns with ash and smoke that caused a famine and an epidemic and killed 10,000 people. Also notorious was Mount Tambora of Indonesia, which erupted in 1815 and showered rocks on nearby villages, stoning 12,000 people to death.

In 1883 the famous Krakatoa exploded in Malaysia, generating a sea wave that drowned 36,000 people. In 1902, the volcano Kelud of Java erupted, in the process emptying 18 million litres of water that had accumulated as a lake in its crater, in the 18 years since it last erupted. Some 5,000 people were drowned.

Africa is relatively safe from volcanoes; most of them on this continent are found in the East African Rift Valley. A volcano becomes active when two continental plates collide and one is pushed underneath. Due to extremely high temperatures in the earth's interior, this rock melts, and the molten rock, or magma, rises up through fissures, thus generating tremors which can be detected by scientists. If the magma is very thick, it may solidify near the surface and plug the fissure. This turns the whole volcano into a pressure cooker, which might explode with a force often greater than an atomic blast.

Some volcanoes are already extinct and may never explode again. Other volcanoes are now entering the "active" stage and may soon explode, whereas some active volcanoes, such as Pinatubo, may lie dormant for hundreds of years. Every now and then, they speak up.

By Mahmud Jega With reports



President Corason of the Phillipines

Middle East Israel defies the world

The Jewish state rejects PLO representation

Last week, Egyptian president, Hosni Mubarak, told Israel that there would be no peace in the middle east as long as Israel insists on obtaining peace on its own terms and keep erecting permanent structures in the occupied Hebron and Gaza Strip.

The Egyptian position is curious for two reasons. First, it was Anwar Sadat, with Mubarak as his deputy that signed a "peace" accord with Israel that caused so much anger in the Arab world leading to the ostracising of Egypt for many years. Secondly, Egypt firmly and directly participated in the destruction of Iraq alongside America and Israel.

This sort of ambivalence serves to bolster Israel to be more belligerent than the world should allow. Last week, as international effort to find "peace" in the region gathered steam, Israel rejected, out of hand, an American proposal for Palestinians to choose their own representatives for the proposed talks on the Middle East.

Israel officials close to Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir insisted that the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, PLO, be denied any role in the Middle East peace talks.

An American state department spokesman, Richard Boucher, had remarked that a joint Jordanian/Palestinian delegation could represent residents of the occupied territories in the proposed talks.

America and Israel had agreed to the composition of a joint Jordanian/Palestinian delegation to take part in the talks, but the two differ on who should represent the Palestinians. Israel however appear to have over-played its hands. As reports emerged that the Jewish state plans to build 30,000 more houses at Hebron and Gaza Strip, this year,

and 130,000 in the next two years, President George Bush, said aid to its client state would not be released until Israel puts a hold on the scheme.

Soviet Union

Gorby, Yeltsin: Friends or foes?

Yeltsin answers the question. "I don't like him"

The June 12 election for the presidency of the Russian Federation, Soviet Unions' largest republic, produced a not so startling outcome. Boris Yeltsin, outspoken opponent of the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, had been predicted to win. So he did, beating six other candidates, including former Soviet prime minister Nikolai Ryzhkov, backed by the Russian Communist Party.

Yeltsin won the election with nearly 55 percent of the vote, making a second ballot unnecessary. The votes for him came mainly from the cities, including Moscow and Leningrad, where his supporters also elected mayors. But he did also well in the conservative rural areas, traditional base of the party. Voters in Leningrad also voted to have the name of the city changed to St. Petersburg, created in 1703 by Peter The Great. The change though symbolic, is seen as the "clearest sign yet of the rejection of communism at the grassroots."

Yeltsin wanted a direct election to "boost his political legitimacy" and give him a strong hand in dealing with his boss in the Kremlin. Mr Yeltsin himself said after his election that the Soviet president should submit himself to a direct election.

Also on Tuesday, June 18, the first day of his visit to the United

States, he made no secret of his intention to chart a different course than Mr. Gorbachev is doing. He said that he did not like the Soviet president to a large extent because of his "inconsistency" and for giving in to opponents of reform.

By Muhammad Bomoji with reports

reports

Yeltsin also said that he wanted to pursue an independent foreign policy and would open Russia to unfettered foreign investment. Western firms could buy Russian businesses or set up theirs without restriction, he said.

Though his post-election remark includes a mention of cooperation with Gorbachev, his unpromising speech in Washington seemed to have given the lie to his sincerity. The Soviet leader's reaction to developments in the Russian Republic has been rather guided. He has said nothing other than to tell Yeltsin to accept his congratulations. He himself will be going to London later this month for the meeting of the group of seven industrialised nations. That should be an opportunity for him to gauge the extent to which the West is warming up to Yeltsin. This and developments at home will decide whether the two men would want to improve on the thaw in their relationship now or break up altogether.

By Tawey Zakka with reports.



KABIRU YUSUF

would fall on the story of Samuel Osaigbovo Ogbemudia.

Ogbemudia was also helped by the press to build the image of a candidate administrator. Twice Governor of Bendel State and after a few, apparently unsuccessful, years as a private businessman, he bounced back to public service as the chairman of

locomotive engine" known as the "IBB revolution" was built in its workshop. The Peugeot J5 bus (which is certainly assembled in Nigeria) was reconstructed and mounted on rail chassis to enable it operate on rail. It was christened, like the engine, "IBB Spirit I".

It took the strike of railway workers late in May to wake everyone to reality. The "achievements" which made the news, as a recent *Newswatch* report puts it "appeared to be a flash in the Pan". Meanwhile what happened to the millions meant for revitalisation?

An Internal commission of Inquiry set up by Ogbemudia himself and headed by S.M.R. Wilcox, NRC's director of engineering, reported that items not central to the operation expenses were incurred on supporting items not central to the operation of the corporation. Whereas the corporation spent 345 million Naira on general stores items, it spent only 69 million Naira on mechanical and electrical works which involve mainly refurbishing of coaches and wagons.

Contractors and suppliers were making brisk business and money was changing hands, while workers, salaries and meal subsidy were not paid. No wonder they took to the streets demanding: "Ogbemudia where is our 400 million Naira?" So far there has been no answer to that question except threats of retrenchment and closure.

Meanwhile "the cat with many lives" has been appointed chairman of Nigerian Wrestling Board of Control (NWB of C). May be it is a signal that Ogbemudia is being moved to an area he knows best sports. As for the railways, give it back to a solid and experienced railway man to head. There are many good and honest Nigerians in all walks of life, but they can rarely be found in the pages of our newspapers.

Save us from redeemers

Nigeria has precious few genuine heroes, but the media has created a few of its own. There are some people, it seems, who do no wrong, who can make the most inane remark and get copiously quoted. Some of it is our of habit; I mean Tai Solarin, Wole Soyinka and Gani Fawehinmi have been around for sometime and they have done a lot of good work to deserve their exalted status. Even when they slip from grace, after a flurry of rationalisations, some lingering doubts, the drumboys soon return to their jobs. How satisfactory was Solarin's handling of the looting that he himself said took place in People's Bank? So Wole Soyinka does not receive salary as Federal Road Safety Corp chairman, but what use is a salary when you are sitting on top of a large public-financed agency run by your hand-picked lieutenants? Hero-worshipping frowns at posing such tough questions.

It is the same with men of the system who try to carve an independent image either as critics or as doers. Tam David West took all the system could offer and then tried to buck it. It was predictable who would end up in Bama. Fedelis Oyakhilome tried to rally back for the fatal blow struck by Miss Jennifer Madike, but the old cop knew that when the game was up you slicked back into the shadow. It will be interesting to see how the curtain

the National Sports Commission (NSC). Two years later he was appointed sole administrator of the Nigeria Railways Corporation (NRC).

The drumming reached a new frenzy, because this national assignment came with millions of Naira to "revitalise" the railways. Soon NRC and Ogbemudia were permanently in the news. A commuter train service was launched in Lagos with much fanfare on May 2 1989, with plan to do the same in Enugu, Port Harcourt, Kaduna, Ilorin and Zaria.

As for the railways, give it back to a solid and experienced railway man to head. There are many good and honest Nigerians in all walks of life, but they can rarely be found in the pages of our newspapers.

Reporters were taken on free rides to witness the excellent services on the "express" trains that run between Lagos and Kano, Port Harcourt and Maiduguri. What the corporation called the "first made-in Nigeria

Citizen

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June 24 — July 1, 1991

All the news in perspective

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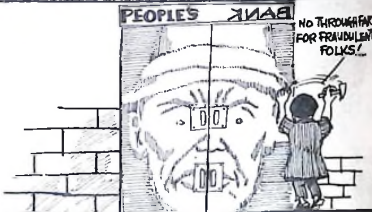
Citizenship

BY LALITA AGRAWAL

STRONG!...
SOLID!...
...JUST LIKE THE
GAMJI TREE!...



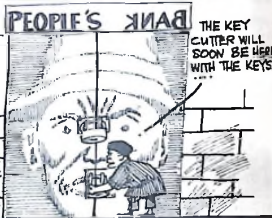
NO THROUGHFARE
FOR FRAUDULENT
FOLKS!



WELL DONE SIR!.....
....FINE ARTISTIC DOOR!..WELL CARVED!
.....AND STRONG!.....



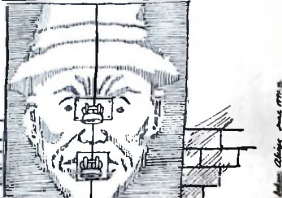
THE KEY
CUTTER WILL
SOON BE HERE
WITH THE KEYS.



IT'S ALRIGHT!... WON'T WASTE
YOUR TIME. WE'LL USE THE
BACK DOOR!..



PEOPLE'S BANK



Bank's bad boys

Reshuffle

A disenchanted but dynamic minister in the ministry of money and loan procurement requires the urgent services of the following:

(a) Axing Consultant

A proven track record of fishing out reckless spenders among bankers. A sound university degree in Victimisation, M.A. in bank fraud detection will be an advantage.

The Job

To identify and clip the wings of executive directors in 12 FCN owned banks who must first explain the bank frauds, reckless spending, excessive salaries and fringe benefits in the organisation. The candidate must also compile a list of non-performing board members of these banks for firing. Ability to down play sentiments and a sprinkling of ruthlessness is a must.

(b) Senior Rehabilitation Officer

A psychologist of high professional stature with a good university de-

gree in rat race or an HND in conspicuous consumption with 5 years experience in industrial group dynamics.

The Job

To conduct a study of the Bank's Bad Boys (BBB) among the executive directors who set aside fat salaries and fringe benefits for themselves, award contracts to their kith and kin, buy flashy sleek cars and accumulative assets worth 20 years of their annual salary. The study should concentrate on halting the rat race among the executives through indepth analysis of their behaviour pattern. It should also include an effective plan for the proper rehabilitation of BBB executive directors who will be axed in the impending reshuffle to enable them adjust to the economic realities of the day i.e. life without sleek cars, posh villas and extra fat salaries with minimum fuss and inconvenience.



Remunerations: Very attractive

How to apply: Send three copies of C.V. to:

**Triple A,
Minister of money
Ministry of money and loan pro-
curement,
Disenchantment Avenue,
Lagos.**

To reach him by 20th June, 1991

The Barons

At various northern states capitals and abodes of influential people in the northern states especially at Kaduna.

Baron Nakawu (an indigine of Sokoto State). *Assalam Alaikum Baron Bahago* (the left handed one).

Baron Bahago — *Allaikum Salam*. You are welcome to my modest home in Sokoto, the state capital but more importantly the capital of the Dan Fodio Caliphate. Be comfortable as this is your home. Have you brought good tidings from Kaduna the nerve centre of activities?. How are the other Barons?

Baron Nakawu — (*Deferred to his senior by bowing and saying*) sir, they are

well and hearty and send their greetings to you.

Baron Bahago — Well, well, I have been expecting a visit from someone in Kaduna since the presidents dawn broadcast of 23th Sept 1987 in which he declared us outcasts; the guilty and the not so guilty.

Baron Nakawu — I have been mandated by the group to visit you and the rest of our so called banned colleagues resident in Sokoto State. The barons living in Kaduna — will be attended to by the coordinators.

Baron Bahago — You are talking Greek to me. What's happening? Have you started mobilising already?

Baron Nakawu — Yes sir. I am on recruitment tour — that is to contact and brief our colleagues and sympathisers regarding political

developments in the country. Precisely, how to face the challenge posed by the military rulers.

A conclave of super Barons, met under the chairmanship of our leader — the Archbaron, Maitasbi, the Sardauna of our day and decided that we should form a group to face the menace of the military.

Baron Bahago — You will recall the trials and tribulations we had to endure and the long prison sentences passed on some of us by the kangaroo courts headed by non-legal military personnel. We lost freedom, property and dignity. We became pariahs in our own land. And now we are prevented from participation in the governance of our dear country. Is life worth living when it is stripped of all those things that make it tick — especially politics?

Government and democracy

Democracy and human rights have found new levels in our list of priorities. Although all regimes make sweeping claims about their respect for human rights, admiration and commitment to nurturing democracy, not many live according to what they preach.

Should we, brother?

(For victims of Pro-democracy in Africa)

Should we, should we brother
Continue to agitate for human rights
When we'd asked for human rights
They gave us wormy rice!
An' when we'd asked why?
They gave us bullets
In the boulevard of Liberia, of Togo,
Of Cameroun
All over Africa
Should we continue O'brother
Should we have a feeling of power,
of freedom, of liberty
Should we then ask for human rights
Not minding that
Demon in them 'll be crazy
'Cos of our democratic guest
What do we benefit
From our tax money but bullets
Should we be manly enough to ask
Why?
police brutality from political brutality.

Obynna Chylekezi

How to kill A Mosquitoe

Send him to Gushau
No
Kill him, let him die
Like Dele Giwa
No
Ehen, ehen...!
Yes give him a job
Euruka!
Yes give him a job
An' employ his cohorts
To drain the coffer
Whilst his dotage mind is not cognisant
From disco-buzzing of erstwhile

Brethren

Then naked him skeleton of his skin:
Stay put in office shamefully
Or leave office shamefully
He will have for garland
As his petly *chichidodo* already
Is silenced

Obynna Chylekezi

They are back again

Let's give the squirrel a chance to rule us
He asked the land to snuff out
The dawning flame of our fate;

Let's give the hyena a chance to rule us!
He held the communal war-horn yesterday
Let's give the tortoise rule us
And blasted out ear-splitting elegies;
He has been our blood enemy.
Asking us to fashion new life from stones;

Let's give doomsters their golden chance
To rule us with treacherous wisdom...

Hyeladzira A.B. Shaffa

Transition

And the gold they turn
A desolate weapon make
Unhopeful hope harden their look
Covering their mordant melancholy stick
Scarcity sound knocks every door
Decaying squalor looking sore
Sombre doom nurse every face
Mawkish men ever in growth
Man and men engage in vice

As ants it is said they were
Voices say they had a writ
Industrious buzzing bees they were
Quaters say they had their art
Time a passing gentle wind lament
"Once the Dome the Home of light"

Now the golden glamour gone



Eyes dim that sought and gun
A brighter sun that tease above
Work well hard and toil
Alas trailed a mountain wolf
through
A golden coin reflect and rove
perfectly relect they fall
And a dark smoke
Oh no its cloud
Enmity as rain starts to descend
Purposed to wash and through.
Maikudi Z.S.Z Samba

Confidence

When you lose a Naira; bad,
You struggle to get one.

When you lose a hand; pity,
You finish your life with one.

When you have a fracture; hardluck,
The doctors are there, call one.

Suffering from a broken heart?; look
round,
You may still get someone

Confidence lost? hell,
You may end with none

Remember—

Repairing a broken leg;
Is very tasking
And rehabilitating a broken heart
Is equally much more trying
But, lost confidence;
Is the hardest thing to regain

Ibrahim Isa Abba

Beating Diabetes (II)

The number-one weapon against Type II diabetes is a low-calorie, balanced diet because four times out of five, obesity triggers the onset of the disease. The "Diabetes in America Study" conducted by the National Diabetes Data Group revealed that people 10 to 15 percent overweight have nearly twice the chance of developing Type II diabetes, as compared with those who are overweight by 25 percent or more are at over three times the risk.

"Obesity seems to lead to diabetes by increasing the body's resistance to insulin," says Norman Ertel, M.D., chief of medical service at the Veterans Administration Medical Centre in East Orange, New Jersey. "Although the body produces a normal amount of insulin. To compensate, the pancreas works extremely hard to make addi-

By Arnold Schechter

tional insulin. But some years down the line, insulin production falls and diabetes results."

Simple weight loss can improve both insulin production and the body's sensitivity to insulin. This



heart disease. No more than 30 percent of calories should come from fat, and cholesterol should be limited to 300 milligrams daily. Saturated fat (primarily animal fat) should be limited to 10 percent of calories.

Higher carbohydrate intake. This also seems to reduce the risk of blood-vessel and heart disease. No more than 5 percent of carbohydrate calories should be from sucrose, the simple sugar that is the sole nutritive component in many soft drinks and candies. Sucrose can drive blood sugar up too quickly. The emphasis should be on unrefined complex carbohydrates such as fruits, dried beans, vegetables and oats. These fiber-rich foods have several significant benefits.

Culled from Modern Maturity

alone can reverse the development of diabetes or reduce its severity.

While weight loss is the top priority, the types and proportions of food eaten by a Type II diabetic can greatly affect his or her already high risk of developing complications. The American Diabetes Association (ADA) has been studying this crucial topic, and last year revised its nutritional guidelines for the first time since 1979. They now call for:

Lower protein intake. This may decrease the risk or severity of kidney disease. The ADA recommends 0.8 grams of proteins daily per kilogram of body weight—about 44 grams for a 120-pound person and 54 grams for a 150-pound person.

Lower fat intake. This is to reduce the risk of blood vessel and



"How I made my millions" (II)

Dangote said he is aware of "rumours" about how he made his money. The charitable ones say sugar, but some uncharitable people even mention another powdery substance that you cannot put into your tea. "People want to incite you so that you can come out and say your secrets. But even Indians come here and make money. There is no secret formula. It is just hard work and good luck. People do not believe with your young age that you can have money. Society is changing, there are some young people with money, it is becoming normal".

Dangote Group of companies is literally into everything. "Sugar is what people know us with. But we are into textiles manufacturing (Dangote textiles) cotton ginning in Kankara (Katsina state), into export of cocoa, gum arabic, cashew nuts and ginger. We import tyres, chemicals and salt depending on availability of foreign exchange. People believe all our money we made from sugar, but between 1985-86-87, we did more vegetable oil import before it was banned. Dangote said the span of his business empire shows that "we believe in Nigeria" and his companies have people from all parts of the country in its top management.

He admits, however, that he has not put all his eggs in the Nigerian basket. "People look at the money we make here, but they do not know what business we have abroad. I cannot tell you everything, but I have other investments abroad. I am too smart to put all my eggs in one basket. As small as Lome (Togo) is we have operations there. We have property investments in the US, but majority are in Europe. Look, on sugar imports alone we deposit 11-12 million Dollars monthly. We can

hardly raise half of that here, so we have to fund ourselves from our investments abroad. For example, if you go and play in the futures market abroad you make more money than even the sugar people



Dangote

say we make money from here".

With all these millions flying around, how much is he worth? A slight pause. "I can not tell you how much I am worth. I have substantial

But even Indians come here and make money. There is no secret formula. It is just hard work and good luck.

investments, but it is in millions". So, okay, how much did it cost to build the glass and marble mansion he recently moved into in Victoria Island? "I do not know the worth of the house really. While building it I did not compute figures, because it is not a commercial property. I did

not want to continue paying rent in Victoria Island which I did for eight years".

Dangote said he does his bit in helping the less fortunate. "As a Muslim you have to give two and a half per cent of your wealth to the poor. I do that religiously every year. But that is an obligation. In addition, we contribute to building mosques and Islamic schools, but it is not something I will come out and shout about. People can say whatever they want to say, but as long as your conscience is clear there is nothing to worry about".

Someone had said, that more tears are shed over answered prayers, than over unanswered ones. Only half-way through life, it seemed all of Aliko Dangote's dreams have come true. What next? Again the pause. "At this early age, if I retire from business what will I do? The question is not just making money, but achieving your target. All the time you are achieving. Money is not enough for anybody, no matter how much you have. I have got most of the things in life. I pray to God for long life and prosperity".

He said among his future business "targets" are establishing a sugar cane plantation with the Leventis family in Sokoto and he is also talking to some Indians about making machines in Nigeria. Despite all he has, the young man is still driven. But he looked relaxed and organised for someone overseeing a vast and varied business empire. He said a gym in his house helps him to keep in shape. He also jogs and plays squash on Saturdays and Sundays. And he enjoys a sauna bath when he wants to let off steam. I cannot get him to say if he enjoys other forms of recreation.

By Kabiru Yusuf

Theatre

A parable for two

Two Famous Afro-American human rights activists meet on the stage and act out the American dream

The play started innocuously enough. The director worked up the stage then beckoned on the two principal characters: Martin Luther King Jr and Malcolm X. They stand on either side of her. A coin is tossed to determine who speaks first. King wins. Gingerly, Charles O'neil, playing King, moves to the dais on stage right, the American flag fluttering behind him. His philosophy is briefly expounded: non-violence; integration; tolerance; and love for both blacks and whites. He exits with head held high. Next, Tunde Euba, (Malcolm X) mounts the rostrum, the Islamic flag with the legend: "Fruit of Islam," in the background, denoting his belief. His speech is fiery. Blood has to be returned for blood. Blacks have had enough and must fight back, he intones. His disdain for non-violence is total. The atmosphere becomes charged as he takes his leave.

So what happens when these two disparate people meet? An air of expectancy fills the hall as Malcolm X now in his sparsely furnished guest room, talks of King coming over to see him. For a split second, the subterranean world of violence in which he is immersed, comes alive as Rashard, his bodyguard, enters, gun drawn, moving from one part of the room to the other in search of enemies. Once, he prevents Malcolm from going too near the window! Finally, he puts the gun in his holster but not before berating his boss for arranging a meeting with "the king of love". Martin Luther King enters at that moment.

Jefi Sinton's "The meeting" is a fictional encounter between Mal-

colm X, popularly known as Black Moses and Martin Luther King, a Baptist minister, turned civil rights activist mostly remembered for his famous speech "I have a dream"; Luther King and Malcolm X are two of the greatest black Americans that ever lived. Both espoused different philosophies on the black cause. Both had their disciples. In real life, they never met, for resentment for each other ran deep. In an ironic twist of fate, both purveyor of violence and apostle of non-violence violently assassin's bullet. But the cause for which they stood endured.

In the play, the author explores a meeting point for the two. He hinges this on the total emancipation of blacks in America. Both leaders want the best for the blackman in a white-dominated society. On this there can be no disagreement. It is only in the method of achieving this grand objective that they differ. This, too,



Ms Gay: fulfilled dream

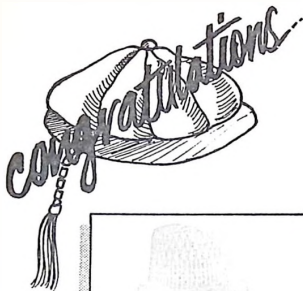
thins out as they meet. As King asks, "don't we want the same things?" Malcolm answer is a weak, "no," betrayed by his agreement that unity amongst blacks was a necessity. While King wants to prove "hate wrong", Malcolm would rather prove "hateless wrong". King on his part asks for just as Malcolm, explains that violence as espoused by him did not mean indiscriminate Killing. "You try to make white people stop hating us," Malcolm tells King, grasping his philosophy, "I try to make us stop hating ourselves." But it is King that seals the new found understanding: "and the lion shall walk with the lamb," he says, embracing Malcolm.

How true. In the arm-twisting contest that they engage in, for instance, to find out who is stronger, Malcolm wins only once. Twice they draw. And the words of King kept ringing even as the curtain fell: "Just imagine what we could have achieved if we joined together." A pity they never did in their life time.

Directed by Sandra Gay, an African American, from Brooklyn, New York, who confessed that "my dream is to one day come to Nigeria," the play scores high, technically. Contrast in character accentuated conflict. Burly built, Charles O'neil, as Martin Luther King, has the frame of the famed Baptist minister and carried himself as such. Bespectacled, Tunde Euba, diminutive as ever, could not have depicted the fire brand Malcolm, any better. Prince Cliff Igwe as Rashaad, was the vigilant bodyguard he portrayed, ever alert to his duties.

"The meeting", the fifth in the series of collective artists, Season of African American and Nigerian Dramas (SAND), is a play worth watching. The season is sponsored by United States Information Service and 7UP Bottling Company.

By Oji Onoko



The Management and Staff of JUDSONS INTERNATIONAL LTD and JIBCO LTD wish to congratulate their Chairman - Group Capt. [Dr] Usman Jibrin [rd] on the occasion of the conferment of Doctorate Degree on him by the NewPort University of California in the United States of America. The conferment of the Doctorate Degree particularly in the country as far away and important as America is a clear testimony of the immense contribution the Chairman has been making towards many aspects of his country's development in particular and the upliftment of human dignity the world over.

We therefore rejoice with you on this historic occasion and we wish you safe return from the United States of America.

Ilhan
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Victory for the watchdog

In a landmark ruling, the Industrial Arbitration Panel asks *The Republic* newspaper to reinstate its sacked journalists

It would have been a week of celebrations for the Sani Zorro — led Nigeria Union of Journalists, NUJ, as the union won two major victories last week. The first was against a Lagos-based press house, the Republic Press Limited and the other, against the Lagos state. But the appeal filed by the Republic Press Limited against the ruling of the Industrial Arbitration Panel, (IAP), making some awards to Lanre Arogundade, the Deputy Editor of *Sunday Republic* and 23 other journalists in the establishment, is now a joy killer.

The IAP had June 3, ruled in favour of the union in a dispute between it and The Republic Press Limited, publishers of *The Republic*, a Lagos-based daily newspaper, over the "arbitrary termination of appointment of Mr. Lanre Arogundade and the dismissal of 23 other workers of the company" in February this year. Specifically, the panel ruled that "the termination of the appointment of Mr. Arogundade was high-handed, unfair and unjustified (more so) when it is not unconnected with his Trade Union activities". It also held that "the dismissal of the other 23 workers after the Honourable Minister of Employment, Labour and Productivity had appointed a conciliator for the purpose of settling the trade dispute, was in complete disregard and contravention of S 13(1) of the Trade Dispute Decree, 1976, as amended".

The panel therefore ordered the management of *Republic* to withdraw the letters of dismissal served on the 23 workers and pay them their four months salaries covering the period of their purported dismissal, within 30 days. The ruling is historic because it reinforces the principle that union activism is a legitimate right of Nigerian worker and he is not to be victimised or intimidated for exercising this right. Secondly, the point is made that while the em-

In 1984 for instance, the *Guardian* newspaper dispensed with the services of Owei Lakemfa, then chairman of the *Guardian* Chapel of NUJ purportedly for inciting the newspaper's journalists against the move by the company to cut their pay as a result of what management called "unfavourable business climate". The NUJ leadership under Lakemfa opposed the pay cut because as they put it, "when the company was making profits, nobody's salary was increased". In the crisis that ensued, Lakemfa was reportedly physically removed from the company's premises by security men on the orders of the Publisher Alex Ibru himself. Owei never received redress.

Following the ruling of the Panel, a delegation of the NUJ led by its national president, Sani Zorro met with the management of *The Republic* Press Limited June 6, but the meeting was adjourned till June 13 to enable the management to sort out itself. However, unknown to the NUJ, the *Republic* management, rather than make arrangements to pay the four months arrears of salaries, to the workers, filed a notice of appeal, Friday June 7, against the IAP awards. By this development, the NUJ and the workers will now have to await the decision on the appeal before they can continue with their jubilation.

By Bolaji Adebijol



Zorro: a plus for the NUJ

ployer has the power to hire and fire, such power cannot be subjected to abuse through arbitrary exercise of the management's discretion. The *Republic's* case is indeed a landmark in the history of Nigerian journalism because this is the first time a Nigerian journalist will receive remedy for unjust dismissal.

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SPORTS

FIFA graded referee

"What have I done?"

He made Nigeria proud in China, graded and honoured by FIFA; yet, Nigeria, it seems, wants none of him.

Cast your mind back to 1985. That was the year Nigeria successfully took on the whole world to become the world champion for the median Under-17 World Youth Cup, in China. The euphoria of that victory might have then swept whatever side achievements; but Nigerians can certainly not forget the face of an ebony-black man with the referee's regalia on — and officiating, in one of the significant matches of that tournament, the semi-final between Brazil and West Germany. He did a fine job of it. The man is recognised — graded — by the game's world governing body, FIFA; the man even made history, when last year he officiated the final match of the F.A. challenge cup between eventual winners, Stationery Stores and Enugu Rangers. Throughout the 90 minutes normal and the 30 minutes extra times of play no cards were shown. And no one complained.

Six years after the 1985 Under-17 World Cup in China and not quite a year after the 1990 Challenge Cup Alhaji Abdulhamid Salahudeen is now almost anonymous. He may remain so indefinitely, if, as he puts it, the "Sports ministry did not take up my case and save the situation". Alhaji Salaudeen who was graded by FIFA a decade ago, is not only going to be missing the vigorous and controversial role of being the arbiter at the centre of the football fields internationally, but also locally. That is the wish of some powerful people in the Nigerian Referees Association, NRA — and, it is now, almost a command to all connected with governing football in the land.

Salahudeen's problems started in Kaduna. Here, he started his refereeing career, as far back as 1968, under the tutelage of Mr. R.O. Owoyemi. Through Owoyemi, he got his Grade 3 and even Grade 1 certificates. He certainly had a father figure. All that changed, just because he dared suggested in 1975,



Salahudeen

that "since he (Owoyemi) has been the chairman of NRA, in the then North Central State for 7 years, the post should be democratically contested". It was then, Salaudeen continues, "that I realised I was up against a man who hates dissenting views, detests opposition and fathoms disagreement with his opinions". He maintains that that was where his problem started. His words: "I became a subject of hatred and outright victimization, that was carried even outside the shores of this land."

By 1983, things refused to change — or rather, they changed for the worse. Then he knew he had to do something. He went to Owoyemi,

Son-father manner, to beg for forgiveness. Owoyemi could only forgive on only one condition: that Salahudeen writes an apology letter stating all his sins. He refused; first, because, "I think I have committed no sin" and second, because it would have been "suicidal" to hand over such a letter to a man who openly loathes you. That obviously decided the course events were later to take. They got worse. Being a warrant officer in the army he reported the case to the Army Public Relations office, which then "peacefully invited Owoyemi to a sort of reconciliation meeting". Owoyemi rejected all entreaties to leave Salaudeen alone. Instead, he reported to the national body of the NRA that Salahudeen ordered his arrest. That earned Salahudeen a suspension. It also brought him face to face with the powerful members of NRA who were all Owoyemi's friends.

Actually if not for the irregular support he got from the NFA chairman, Tony Ikhaboboh and the present chairman he would have been "finished with long ago". The national NRA tried all manner of victimization. They fed the media with false stories defaming his character. At a point "I even almost sued the *Champion* newspapers for being notorious in carrying negative and libelous stories against me". But, "my commandant advised against it". Everything has now degenerated. His colleagues jeered at him, cast aspersion on him openly.

Fortunately for him, FIFA invited him to officiate in the China World U-17 championship. Funny, it is now to China that he looks to, when thinking of the manic ways he worked for the nation. He wonders how a man who spent sleepless nights to pass secrets of opposing teams to the Nigerian camp could be easily cased out, while the nation watches. Salahudeen offers an insight: "since Festus Okubule was the chairman of NRA and is still influential in the NFA; and as long as he remains—with his

cronies, I will never know any peace", he says despondently. He maintains that since Owoyemi set him up against the NRA in Lagos, Okubule took everything personal.

The nadir was when they clashed in far away Zaire in 85/86 when he was appointed the centre referee with Okubule and Ladipo as linesmen. Okubule tried to assert himself and almost escaped with a mischief: Salahudeen completes the story thus: "I never take alcohol, so it was a shock to find the bill to my room shored up by the cost of beer in-take. It was later found that Okubule used a forged signature to indicate that I incurred the bill".

Furthermore, Okubule allegedly insisted on taking from him the sum of 1500 dollars being the Zairean Football Association's refund of the BTA paid to the referees by Nigeria to enable them undertake the journey. For these, and not to mention his unpatriotic acts in a foreign land, Okubule was never cautioned or warned by the NFA. Since then, Okubule has promised to see Salahudeen removed from FIFA's list. And it seems he has had the last laugh, for Salahudeen has been excluded from the list of referees to officiate international matches.

How was he removed from FIFA's list? It started, Salahudeen says, "when my name was excluded from the list of the annual cooper test for Grade 1 referees in search of FIFA grading. Even when NFA chairman Yusuf Ali intervened, I later found form withheld until about a day to the test. I complained to both Sani Toro and Momodu Kadiri. I finally attended the test and came out successful"—or so he thought. Earlier, Okubule the test chairman had told "me that, I will never pass to the hearing of many officials", he says, continuing that "it was then that a release appearing in newspapers that I lobbied for the test, which is untrue, because considering that I am only 39 years then, 1990, and that I am in charge of physical training with the army, there was no cooper test requirement that I can-

not meet up".

He thought that the fact that a Ghanaian top international referee, Major George Lamptey exposed the misdeeds of Okubule before NFA would signal better days ahead for him. He is instead still in the cooler. He stays dropped from FIFA's list.

He hardly officiates local matches (only officiated twice, since the beginning of the 1991 season). All these are gnawing at his heart. He now live a miserable life. And has been left on his own as if he has never served the nation "sincerely and to the best of my ability. I certainly don't deserve this treatment".

So what is he after now? "I want a fair deal. Even though I believe there are two exits in life—life and death—I still think that I am still strong enough to continue. Even if I will be removed, I believe it should be done with honour. Besides, I have never had any case of bribery and corrupt practices with any club in Nigeria. Moreover, I will like the nation to know that, Nigeria's FIFA graded referees dropped to 4 from 7 because of the escapades of Okubule and his cronies. The NFA and indeed the Sports Ministry must investigate this matter."

By Rabiu Barde

Weightlifting

Grooming for greater tomorrow

Experiment, turning out to be a giant leap that could change the face of sports development

A hush fell on the audience inside the Indoor Sports Hall of the Kwara State Sports Complex, Ilorin as 17-year-old Patience Iweka from Kwara State approached the weightlifting platform with an athletic gait. The female weightlifter, barely five feet tall in the 52 kilogramme class, was on the verge of making history. She was going to attempt what no female lifter in her weight category has ever done in the country.

With resolute countenance, she divested herself of all the feminine daintiness, moved to the state with the agility of a prize fighter, and threw the auditorium into a roaring ovation and eclat having set a new national record in the snatch event. She lifted on first attempt 67.5 kg to erase the old national record of 65 kg, set last year by Esther Oyeko of Rivers State at the Fourth All Nigerian Women Weightlifting Championship. But Iweka was not done yet. She was to make the evening of Sat-



Yola: Zonal Coordinator

urday June 15, the most memorable of her sporting career yet, when less than an hour later she returned to the Indoor Sports Hall to create another sensation. She recorded another historical feat by lifting 80 kg in the clean and jack event, a new national record which sent to the archives the old one of 77.5 kg set last year by Bosede Otemade of Lagos State.

That historic performance by Patience Iweka, brought to a beautiful climax the first Intra-Zonal Men and Women Weightlifting championship for zone seven of federal ministry of youth and sports comprising Niger, Sokoto and Kwara States. The championship which turned out to be one of the keenest weightlifting championships ever staged in the country, brought together cream of lifters from the three states. The championship spanned three days (June 13-15), and by the time the curtain was drawn on it more than 60 weightlifters from 44 kg to 110 kg categories had struggled to put the names of their various states on top of the medal table. By the close of events on Saturday evening, Kwara state, fast becoming the sporting giant of zone seven romped to the top of the table by hauling 39 gold, 14 silver and 3 bronze. Sokoto State came second with 15 gold and 5 silver while Niger State took the rear with 3 gold, 6 silver and 15 bronze.

The championship was significant not because it was a thrilling success far more than what was probably envisaged by its organisers, but because it afforded upcoming weightlifters opportunity for improvement through exposure to keen competition. On the whole, the first intra-zonal male and female weightlifting championship which was bank-rolled by ADKAF Engineering company based in Ilorin, was another visible demonstration of the positive impact of zonal system on the country's sports development.

According to zone seven coordinator Alhaji Abba Abdullahi Yola, the idea for the championship arose partly out of the urgent need to fish out hidden talents and partly out of the craving desire to keep the athletes under the zone constantly on their toes for any national and international competitions. "After the 9th National Sports Festival in Bauchi, everybody went his or her own way, but we decided to do something to keep the athletes in top form and fish out for talents from the grass-

roots. That is the reason for this weightlifting championship", he said. The dazzling success of the weightlifting championship is also propelling the zonal headquarters in Minna to break a new ground in its hunt for athletes of merit by proposing to stage the first Intra-zonal Armed forces and Police games in Sokoto in July.

From the Ilorin experiment, it has become clear that constant championships and competitions at state and zonal levels can do far more for



Gov Kazir of Kwara State

upcoming athletes than the annual sports organised at the national level. The national weightlifting chief coach Bulgarian born Ivan Canev said as much in his reaction to the impressive performance of the weightlifters from the three states. He told *Citizen* that he was highly impressed by the high standard displayed by the weightlifters. It is his belief that Nigeria could soon become a force to reckon with in the sport if other zones under the federal ministry of Youth and Sports can initiate such championship. The coach believes that if such championships are staged quarterly throughout the seven zonal headquarters, it would serve as a good avenue for selecting top class weightlifters to international sporting meets like the All-Africa Games, the Commonwealth Games and the Olympic Games. The Kwara-state weightlifting coach Mr. Samuel Balofin also agreed with the national coach on

the need to improve the skills and forms of our weight lifters through exposure to tough competitions.

For Patience Iweka the teenage-girl who abandoned short-put for weightlifting in 1988, it was the beginning of making a reality of her fantastic dream. When in 1988 a friend convinced her to switch to weightlifting, she had vowed then to make a good job of it and become a national champion. She told *Citizen* that her next target now would not only be to emerge the best but to improve on her current standard and set a national record that can stand for many years. The only way she can achieve this target according to her is to constantly get the kind of opportunity of the Ilorin championship so that "I can compete among the best weightlifters and improve my performance."

Another area that the zonal sports policy is rapidly changing the pace of sports development in the country is provisions of sports facilities. The zonal headquarters, as the pivot of the current sports development drive have been distributing weightlifting, table tennis, judo and boxing equipment to the state under them. Zone six, comprising Kaduna, Kano and Katsina, and zone seven have also been conducting periodical coaching clinic and workshops for athletes and coaches in order to further raise the sports awareness in the grassroots, in addition to the provision of these sports facilities.

But the zonal headquarters still have greater challenges to address their efforts. According to the Kwara State Governor Colonel Alwali Kazir, some of these states lack the befitting sports halls to install these facilities. The governor therefore, called on the federal ministry of Youth and Sports to construct an ultra-modern weightlifting gymnasium in the state not only to house the weightlifting equipment sent to the state by zone seven headquarters but also to "provide a conducive atmosphere for the maximum training of our athletes.

By Joe Olajuwon

ADAMU ADAMU S

DEFINITIONS
IN HUMOUR

Matter over mind

The human being, this enigma of creation, the best of forms — in physical beauty and spiritual possibilities — is still an unknown quantity. The other day I read an account by a scientist of some new immeasurable bodies being discovered in space one after the other. Now they have discovered that the cosmos is a beehive of invisible activity — in infra red and ultra violet. One astronomer saw a giant mass of plasma streaming across the sky with the energy of 100 trillion suns! Wow! Congratulations.

Yet this man doesn't know whether he has a mind or not. Quasar, black holes, neutron, rotating stars, Jupiter pubes, he knows them all. Only himself remains to be discovered. While I try to invent not the telescope, but the *manoscope* to help us look over *man*, let us take *mind* apart. What is the mind like?

Some minds are like concrete — all mixed up and permanently set. A very terse and useful saying, I dare say, through which everyone can see the face of those whose opinions he detests.

Some minds are like bead, as Dan Kwairo said, or like sponge, as you would say — they contain nothing but air and suck up every liquid rubbish. Other minds are like the septic tank — they suck everything foul, and in them it is like the civil service — the big drunks always rise to the top. Their possessors talk of nothing but the apex.

Some minds appear better. They are like a borehole — narrow, deep and dark. The water soon dries up

and they atrophy. Others are like Nigeria's oil wells — numerous lush, productive, full of light crude, surrounded by poverty.

Some minds are like the road — long, windy and rough. If it is not a bump, it is a pothole. You go forward a little, you go up and down more. You will ultimately reach the point at issue but it will take you ages.

But some few minds are outstanding and great. They may be defined as follows:

What's the matter? Never mind.

What's mind? No matter.

That's what I call a case of matter over mind. Veiled!

Philanthropy

There is great merit in giving — even if unwillingly. Some people practise philanthropy in order to beat the taxman because they can always take shelter under the umbrella of charitable organisations. Even then it is probably better to give because it is not impossible to beat both the taxman and the needy.

If there is such great merit in going, does it follow that there is greater merit in having first? I can't know, having grown up in the tradition of Abu Zarr. But find out from these definitions of charity's steps drawn up by Maimonides, the great rabbi:

The first and lower degree is to give — but with reluctance or regret. This is the gift of the hand but not of the heart.

The second is to give cheerfully, but not proportionately to the dishes of the suffering.

The third is to give cheerfully and proportionately but not until we are solicited.

The fourth is to give cheerfully, proportionately and even unsolicited; but to put it in the poor

man's hand, thereby exciting in him the painful emotion of shame.

The fifth is to give charity in such a way that the distressed may receive the bounty and know their benefactor, without their being known to him.

The sixth, which rises still higher, is to know the objects of our bounty but remain unknown to them.

The seventh is still more meritorious, namely, to bestow charity in such a way that the benefactor may not know the relieved persons, nor they the name of their benefactor.

The eighth and most meritorious of all is to anticipate charity by preventing poverty, namely, to assist the reduced brother either by a considerable gift, or a loan of money, or by teaching him a trade, or by putting him in the way of business, so that he may earn an honest livelihood and not be forced to the dreadful alternative of holding up his hand for charity. This is the highest step and the summit of charity's golden ladder.

Politics

According to a director of the National Institute of Policy and Strategic Studies, the ideological centre in the country is too far to the right. News. I didn't know we had either ideology — according to the president we don't — or centre, because the parties are either to the left or to the right. He also said the government must assure Nigerians (reassure, he said, as if we are already assured) that the two parties are not an extension of the civil service. So what are they with all those directives coming from the top?

A little-to-the right, a little-to-the left and now a little to the top. Doesn't this remind you of De Gaulle? Asked what his political leaning was (rightist or leftist?), De Gaulle said, "De Gaulle is not of the right; nor of the left. He is not of the centre. De Gaulle is above". And what have you to say?

PEOPLE

Writing is not the easiest way to make money: "Minorities Champion" Ken Saro-Wiwa found that out early enough.

A shrewd man, he quickly switched over to commerce. For ten years, he ran a grocery store, sold imported foodstuff and kitchen equipments dutifully investing his profits in real-estate. "You have no idea how hard I worked in the 10 years" he says in-between of his trademark pipe.



That break must have been good for him. From an obscure writer of a radio-play, "*The Transistor Radio*" in the early '70s, Saro-Wiwa, 49, returned to centre-stage in 1985, holding prime-television audience spell-bound with his hilarious soap-opera "*Basia and Company*".

When he is not writing or making money, Ken Saro-Wiwa champions the case of the minorities. "This country has not been very fair to them", he says.

A curious man, he believes that job satisfaction is the most important aspect of a man's life. His greatest delight? To see women deliver healthy, bouncing babies.

Dr. Alex Eneli, 50, is not just the third leg of the tripod that makes up EKO Hospital, Ikeja-Lagos. He is the chairman and chief medical officer of the high-brow health clinic.

Eneli, an obstetrician and gynaecologist, was made a Fellow of the Royal College in 1984. Four years later, he was again admitted into the prestigious Fellowship of

the International College of Surgeons.

Eneli's leisure hours is divided between the Argonauts Society of Nigeria and Ikoyi Club 1938. He is married with five children.



Abubakar Gimba, 41, an executive director with Union Bank PLC is not just your run-of-the-mill banker. Having authored three novels, he conveniently fits into the exclusive club of writers. Unusual, you might say. But Alhaji Gimba, who is also a contributor to the trail-blazing *Media Review* says banking is not an encumbrance to good writing.

Gimba did join up with the Association of Nigerian Authors last year. He reckons that young writers would overcome rejection slips more easily "if they drink from the spring of wisdom of the older writers in the Association".

By Yinka Tella



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