

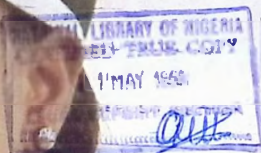
I fear Kaduna mafia—Aliko

May 13-20 1991 Vol 2 No 20

# Citizen

**THE TIV.**

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**"Beautiful bride"  
Many Suitors**

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## PREFACE

The Tiv form a crucial link in the political equation of the country. This four million strong ethnic group constitute a powerful force in the middle belt, a beautiful bride of Nigerian politics. A bride with too many suitors all promising to live happily ever after in sickness and in health until death do them part.

Yet the Tiv despite their vantage position have not had the best of the bargain. Benue State, their home, remains a rural state with very few industries and poorly developed infrastructure. This they blame on the neglect of the state by past governments. The issue however must be viewed from the fact that the Tiv never lacked representation in past governments prominent politicians like late senator Joseph Tarka, Isaac Shaahu and Paul Unongo made their mark at the national level. With the dawn of the third republic just about to break, politicians from the two political parties are doing more than ogling the Tiv they are wooing them. Which of the suitors will win the hand of the beautiful bride? Ike Okonta, our principal correspondent combed the nook and corners of Tivland to tap the views of this powerful pressure group. His report, a stimulating piece makes our cover this week.

Citizen (ISSN 1115 2389) is published by Citizen Communications Ltd. G11 Unguwan Kanawa, PMB 2334, Kaduna. Tel. 212165 Fax. 210037 Telex. 71704 Lagos Office: 10A Acme Road, Agidingbi, off Isheri Road, P.M.B. 21742, Ikeja. Enugu Office: 21 Edinburgh Road, Ogui New Layout, Enugu. Copyright Citizen. All rights reserved.

## LETTERS

## The enigmatic governor

Sir,

So far, a lot had been said and written about Governor Yahaya John Madaki of Katsina State. It is rather disgusting, however, that most "social critics" have been firing off the mark because they seemed to have misunderstood him. I think the most honest commentary on the style of leadership of this wonderful "jungle administrator" was that of Bilkiisu Yusuf titled "Enigmatic Madaki" (*Citizen*, April 22, 1991). As she pointed out in her column, "All those who deceive themselves into believing they are indispensable to Katsina state will have to make a u-turn, depart from their arrogant posture or face the music. There are (no longer) sacred cows". Nothing is more current, apt and relevant.

Before Madaki, it was those same "sacred cows" who sought and hoarded power both in the former Kaduna state and now in the three-year old state. Within so short a time, Katsina had acquired an unedifying reputation of having the most corrupt civil service around, in which individuals played dirty power games for selfish ends. Even among members of the "sacred clique" there has always been a scramble for "juicy" positions. Wasn't that why a certain DG refused redeployment to a hospital where, being a doctor, his services would be most needed?

Whenever necessary, Madaki should use his cane liberally — on defaulting contractors, despotic DGs/commissioners and all cooks and orderlies that constitute a nuisance. As for dealing with willing "martyrs", the governor should, as Bilkiisu said, appreciate his limit and respect it. It is the best way to cleanse the Augean stable and make our leaders more responsible. That was what Buhari and Idiagbon tried

to do for the whole nation.

Ibrahim Sheme  
Kaduna

## Madaki VS deputy

I had long expected that one major Nigeria's magazine will one day make a cover story on the rum-pus of Governors and their Deputies; you scored a credit on your cover story of Katsina's Governor and his deputy (*Citizen*, Vol.2 No. 17 of April, 22 - 29), it is an eye opener.

Right from the on-set, the combination of having a khaki at the top

ply because he came from the locality.

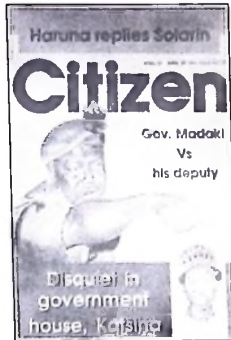
If the present administration really wants to achieve a relatively stable Third Republic, there is need to disengage the services of the present governors and allow their deputies to run the government as a kind of test-run, for at least six (6) months with Babangida as the president.

It is also my humble opinion that most causes of frictions between governors and their deputies have to do with delegation of power and wrong choice of partners for most governors since their opinions were not sought before making the appointments.

The Governors should see their appointments as another military postings; which will make them insulated from the local politics of their respective states.

If the present government needs a stable polity, it may as well do away with the military attitudes in a civilised civilian society.

I had the feelings that many states in Nigeria have the Katsina state type of problems, but none is willing to show. I therefore suggest that it is either a civilian governor with civilian deputy or none at all.

Umaru Talba Shua  
Bauchi

and agbada as the second fiddle was unusual, in fact, it is a marriage of inconveniences (if there is anything like it).

It was only in Nigeria that this queer system of government works, but this is only because most Nigerians were fed up with the civilian government albeit with some reservations.

It is also very difficult to have an indigene of a state playing a second fiddle to another who came from another state simply because the fellow is a military man; the deputy governor is put in tight corner sim-

Sir,

Your article, "THE ELEPHANTS FIGHT" in your April 22nd-29th issue explains why Katsina state, despite the cream of talents in all professions, will go along way in achieving any meaningful development. But as the fighting continues, who will suffer? It will be our sons and grandsons who will suffer the devastating blows of the current unnecessary infighting. So wake up, the present generation, and dont join in the fight.

Maiwada Zubairu  
Kano

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



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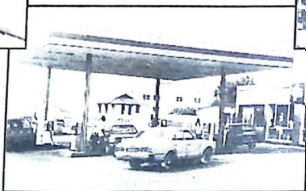
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# The Tiv: Who will the bride marry?

The Tiv people of the Middle Belt constitute the seventh largest ethnic group in the country. Also, by virtue of their geographical location they form a bridge between the northern and southern parts of the country. However, with the advent of the two grassroots political parties and given the rather unfortunate tendency for party politics in the country to assume an ethnic colouration such that the southern part of the country is almost always exclusively pitted against the north and vice versa, the Tiv people and indeed the Middle Belt as a whole have emerged as a buffer zone of sorts, a political bride whose favours are now being sought by politicians from both sides. While the artificial north/south has been unduly manipulated by all sorts including the soldiers, it is nevertheless a political reality, though totally needless.

Political alliances constitute a vital part of the power-game, for good or for bad. It affords politicians from different camps but who share certain views and programmes — an opportunity to come together and work for the ultimate benefit of the nation. Alliances also make for broader participation in governance. They reduce tension in the society and friction between opposed political players. It must however be pointed out that political alliances are beneficial to all only to the extent that they are informed by objectivity, fair play and genuine progressive and nationalistic ideals. An alliance founded on, and informed by vendetta, ethnic chauvinism and the fuelling of perceived injustice is potentially dangerous and can easily snap the strings holding the federation together. On several occasions, the Tiv people have complained of marginalisation in the political and economic scheme of things. In the first republic, the late Joseph Tarka, formed his own party along with others who felt that they were being treated as "minorities" — called

the United Middle Belt Congress, UMBC. Although the Tiv are not the only groups to have complained along similar lines, they still have every right to air their grievances and to seek political as well as economic alliances that promises to correct the backward state of the Tiv economic landscape. If both can be achieved by political identification, so be it though trade-offs must however be clearly not be opportunistic, but centre on those issues that could be achieved within the framework of national unity and accommodation. To indulge in divisive rhetoric or entertain political suitors with less than altruistic designs would neither address the problems of the Tivs nor spur nationalistic aspirations in others.

The identification of the April 22 coup attempt because it was led by Major Gideon Orkar, is unfortunate, but as the wounds heal, it behoves on the Tiv people to lend their weight to the renewed determination to keep the nation united during the transition to civil rule and beyond.

Now that the Third Republic is round the corner and the Tiv have emerged the political bride of the new dispensation, they must take care not to allow themselves to be lured away by sweet-talking suitors whose motives are less than honourable. At no other time is this nation more desirous of a dedicated, honest and visionary leadership to help guide her out of the current economic doldrums. The Tiv can greatly contribute to this historic national task by casting their lot with the progressive and genuinely democratic forces in this country. The late Joseph Tarka was a Tiv leader with foresight and took the right decisions at the right time. The current Tiv leadership should not fail him. Anything to the contrary would amount to giving a helping hand to those who constantly seek to dynamite this country.

## Local government power

The last six months have witnessed several changes in the structure and responsibilities of the third tier of government — the nation's 453 local government councils. The most innovative, politically, has been the adoption of the presidential system at this level. The chairmen of the councils now have at their disposal a cabinet of their own choice, comprising supervisory councillors, as distinct from legislature of elected councillors. Whether this cumbersome arrangement will work in practice remains to be seen. It is also regrettable that the details of this new order were not made public prior to the December 8 Local Government elections. Voters may have been more circumspect had they known all these.

With the new arrangement also came more responsibilities; the most onerous is the running of primary schools and payment of teachers' salaries. Although the councils are supposed to receive more money in order to discharge these duties, there are already disturbing reports that teachers' salaries are not being paid in some local government areas, particularly in Rivers State. There are also fears that many state governments do not in reality respect the new powers of the local councils. This attitude is not only inconsistent with the federal concept and the presidential setting, it may easily transform into a problem of great magnitude in the Third Republic. It is noteworthy that while the constitution has provided for the resolution of conflicts arising from concurrent jurisdiction of federal and state power, it made no such provision for conflicts that may arise in the concurrent

exercise of state and local council power.

Part Two of the constitution titled "Powers of the Federal Republic" Section 5 states that "If any law enacted by the House of Assembly of a state is inconsistent with any law validly made by the National Assembly, the law made by the National Assembly shall prevail, and that other law shall to the extent of the inconsistency be void." This is quite clear. What is also clear is the likelihood of the bad experiences of the second republic repeating themselves in the Third Republic.

One other area of conflict in the second republic, for instance, was not so much the delineation of legislative functions among the tiers of government, but the selfishness of those entrusted with the task of executing the letter and spirit of constitutional provisions. Thus, whereas local governments were allocated a certain percentage of the national revenue, state governments, either out of greed or the use of state resources to unjustly influence political allegiance or both, denied local governments their part of the revenue. One result was the tough time teachers, parents and the entire primary school system went through. We are somewhat relieved that the current constitution has made clear provisions on the disbursement of the federal revenue. What remains is its strict observance by all the tiers of government. We do not want a situation where the constitution is made a matter of uncommon interpretation by its operators.

We urge the military government to head off this problem before handing over power to the civilians.

## For hitch free Hajj

The hajj season is just round the corner. For an annual activity that has been performed from time immemorial, the chaos that accompanied last year's hajj operations was indefensible. The airlifts to and from the holy land were tortuous and stressful with pilgrims spending weeks

stranded at airports. So disorganised were the flights that most pilgrims never located their luggage as those destined for Maiduguri were delivered to Lagos and vice versa. The frequency with which the only aircraft that handled the airlift retired to the hangar for repairs told a lot about its

airworthiness. Apart from the inexperience displayed by Holdtrade, the company that won the hajj contract, officials of the Nigeria Pilgrims Commission, NPC did their damn best to frustrate the operations through abuse of complimentary tickets, appointment of inefficient welfare officers and outright neglect of pilgrims. Certainly all these lapses combined to make hajj '90 the worst in 25 years.

From arrangements made for this year's Hajj the federal government seems determined to correct the perennial problems that militate against successful operations.

The first step was the dissolution of the NPC with the responsibility for hajj now vested in the Ministry of External Affairs and the various state pilgrims boards. Apart from reducing administrative cost, states handling of pilgrim affairs should inject efficiency into the exercise. Secondly, airlift of pilgrims has been decentralised with three agencies, Nigeria Airways, Holdtrade and TransAir

services awarded contracts for transportation. Pilgrims will now depart from five centres, Lagos, Kano, Sokoto, Maiduguri and Kaduna. However, hitch free hajj can only become a reality if the states pilgrims boards charged with collection of fares, processing travel documents and appointment of welfare officers are efficient in discharging these functions. Already many are PPlugging behind in fare collection while the airlift is scheduled to begin on May 25. The delay in payment can not be divorced from the high cost of fares ranging from 19,720 naira to 20,000 naira which is beyond the reach of average muslims. This is why we believe other safe but cheaper means of transportation must be explored.

Already, the National Committee on Hajj by Road, NCHR successfully performed a trial trip last year. Such private initiatives should be encouraged while government should not relent in its determination to make performance of this obligatory religious duty

## Angola's broken china

Angola, with any luck, should in late 1992 hold its first ever multiparty election since wresting political independence from Portugal in 1975. Who wins is not as important as the new spirit of reconciliation the divided population has committed itself to. However, it will require both the human effort and luck, but certainly more of the latter, to bring peace to this country that "began its independent life with a civil war".

The human striving toward peace began over a year ago. Late last year, Jonas Savimbi, leader of the UNITA rebels fighting the MPLA government in Luanda announced to his war-weary compatriots after talks with the government that a cease-fire could be in place early in the new year. But that the hope he raised soon petered out in the wake of renewed fighting.

Last week's provisional peace accord envisages a formal cease-fire on May 15, merger of government and rebel armies, an electoral law proposed by the government and acceptable to the rebels and election in late 1992, watched by foreign observers. On

the merger of armed forces, both sides agreed that Portugal, the US and Soviet Union, the three "participatory observers" should help out. The United Nations, too, has been given a role, as yet undefined, in this respect.

The Lisbon agreement should be greeted *cum granos salis* but for one significant element it has which previous accords lacked: the support of Washington and Moscow, who until now, had provided the gunpowder that kept the civil war going.

The Soviets have announced a stop to arms supplies to the MPLA government, just as the Americans have said they would no longer oil Unita's war machine. Good tidings, but Angolans have not had time to celebrate.

Just as the agreement was being announced in Lisbon, Unita rebels struck. Their goal, presumably, is to take "control of strategic areas" before a ceasefire comes into effect. This is the catch in last week's accord. Expectedly, the government in Luanda has cried foul and nobody should think it beyond the government to retaliate. But it shouldn't, if only to let the whole world know which side is the dove and which the hawk.



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Every  
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## ADAMU ADAMU

wine, brandy, whisky, *burkutu*, *gogoro*, perfume and — who knows? — perhaps drugs. You had to take all that stuff and stay sober. Ah! it was that you were man enough — and a member.

Now someone is trying to pretend that he founded a noble brotherhood. It was possible when everything was under wraps. Now of

(SSS? We hope this variety will do better than hound innocent, law abiding citizens). The service will go after and flush out sponsors of clandestine activities in institutions of learning.

Like most other things nowadays, all this concern with campus cults and the suggestions on how to deal with them are very interesting but is this the best attitude?

Dr. Isa Hashim, the vice rector of Kaduna Polytechnic, has managed to rise above the din. Recently, when all attention was still almost exclusively focused on secret campus cults, he sang a slightly different — and probably the only right and proper — tune. Why all the fuss, the sound and the fury on campus cults when the society at large was at the mercy of bigger, more organised, deadly and more vindictive cults? One will entirely agree with Dr. Hashim and wonder why?

While there are no ready statistics to show how many fall victims to cult societies year in, year out, we all are aware of the preponderance of missing persons day in, day out. We are aware of the different orders of secret cults, the exploits of materialistic, money—spinning black magicians and the so-called dealers in human parts. Certainly Nigerian campuses have not yet degenerated to these levels, or have they?

These cults without doubt pose a greater threat to life in our society than the phenomenon on the campus. If our concern with the loss of lives on campus due to cult activities is genuine, we should be more worried about the activities of secret societies in the larger society. But Dr. Hashim may not know, many people believe these cults in the larger society are untouchable. It should not be difficult to see why?

## “Secret Cults”

The so-called secret cults on campus are neither secret, nor are they cults in the tradition of free masonry and its variants whose inspiration gave birth to all. But they are a menace nevertheless. And thank God the society is finally becoming wiser. It is now desirable to abridge the almost absolute freedom we all accorded our brothers, sisters, sons and daughters on campus to indulge in all deadly, culturally distorting activities in the name of free inquiry and human rights. We all conveniently shut our eyes to the fact that human being who should enjoy any rights must be the one who has carried out all his human obligations. The cults deny these students the chance to be human — and therefore leave no place for either rights or obligations or time to enjoy either. They are all living in their own pollution.

Cults have certainly polluted — further polluted — the atmosphere on campuses but it is wrong to say they became dangerous only recently. Many of us were around in Ahmadu Bello University when the Pirates Confraternity caused death on campus in 1973. (Odas is odas, isn't it?) And isn't it also the new era of freedom?

At that time it was said that the invitation ceremony consisted in imbibing a concoction of gin, beer,

course, everything is out there on the side walk. Attention, naturally is all focused on it. Almost in disbelief.

At the 25th convocation of the university of Calabar, President Ibrahim Babangida reiterated the determination of his administration to wipe out secret cults from our campuses. This of course had been said before, and it would almost certainly be repeated. Indeed before the president, some people had even proffered solutions.

At the 15th convocation of the Institute of Management and Technology Enugu, the chairman of its governing council, Chief Philips Orji Ume-Ezeoke, gave what looked like the most detailed solution to the campus cult menace.

Chief Ume-Ezeoke among other things called for the establishment of courts with special powers in all tertiary institutions to handle cults and cult-related issues. According to him, the decisions of these courts should not be subject to appeal; and no other courts should have jurisdiction over the affairs of secret societies. He said existing law and law enforcement agencies had failed. And so indeed they have.

Ume-Ezeoke now wants something entirely different. He has accordingly, proposed the establishment of special funds to finance the setting up of a Secret Society Service

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## ADAMU ADAMU

wine, brandy, whisky, *burkutu*, *gogoro*, perfume and — who knows? — perhaps drugs. You had to take all that stuff and stay sober. Ah! it was that you were man enough — and a member.

Now someone is trying to pretend that he founded a noble brotherhood. It was possible when everything was under wraps. Now of

(SSS? We hope this variety will do better than hound innocent, law abiding citizens). The service will go after and flush out sponsors of clandestine activities in institutions of learning.

Like most other things nowadays, all this concern with campus cults and the suggestions on how to deal with them are very interesting but is this the best attitude?

Dr. Isa Hashim, the vice rector of Kaduna Polytechnic, has managed to rise above the din. Recently, when all attention was still almost exclusively focused on secret campus cults, he sang a slightly different — and probably the only right and proper — tune. Why all the fuss, the sound and the fury on campus cults when the society at large was at the mercy of bigger, more organised, deadly and more vindictive cults? One will entirely agree with Dr. Hashim and wonder why?

While there are no ready statistics to show how many fall victims to cult societies year in, year out, we all are aware of the preponderance of missing persons day in, day out. We are aware of the different orders of secret cults, the exploits of materialistic, money—spinning black magicians and the so-called dealers in human parts. Certainly Nigerian campuses have not yet degenerated to these levels, or have they?

These cults without doubt pose a greater threat to life in our society than the phenomenon on the campus. If our concern with the loss of lives on campus due to cult activities is genuine, we should be more worried about the activities of secret societies in the larger society. But Dr. Hashim may not know, many people believe these cults in the larger society are untouchable. It should not be difficult to see why?

# "Secret Cults"

The so-called secret cults on campus are neither secret, nor are they cults in the tradition of free masonry and its variants whose inspiration gave birth to all. But they are a menace nevertheless. And thank God the society is finally becoming wiser. It is now desirable to abridge the almost absolute freedom we all accorded our brothers, sisters, sons and daughters on campus to indulge in all deadly, culturally distorting activities in the name of free inquiry and human rights. We all conveniently shut our eyes to the fact that human being who should enjoy any rights must be the one who has carried out all his human obligations. The cults deny these students the chance to be human — and therefore leave no place for either rights or obligations or time to enjoy either. They are all living in their own pollution.

Cults have certainly polluted — further polluted — the atmosphere on campuses but it is wrong to say they became dangerous only recently. Many of us were around in Ahmadu Bello University when the Pirates Confraternity caused death on campus in 1973. (Odas is odas, isn't it?) And isn't it also the new era of freedom?

At that time it was said that the invitation ceremony consisted in imbibing a concoction of gin, beer,

course, everything is out there on the side walk. Attention, naturally is all focused on it. Almost in disbelief.

At the 25th convocation of the university of Calabar, President Ibrahim Babangida reiterated the determination of his administration to wipe out secret cults from our campuses. This of course had been said before, and it would almost certainly be repeated. Indeed before the president, some people had even proffered solutions.

At the 15th convocation of the Institute of Management and Technology Enugu, the chairman of its governing council, Chief Philips Orji Ume-Ezeoke, gave what looked like the most detailed solution to the campus cult menace.

Chief Ume-Ezeoke among other things called for the establishment of courts with special powers in all tertiary institutions to handle cults and cult-related issues. According to him, the decisions of these courts should not be subject to appeal; and no other courts should have jurisdiction over the affairs of secret societies. He said existing law and law enforcement agencies had failed. And so indeed they have.

Ume-Ezeoke now wants something entirely different. He has accordingly, proposed the establishment of special funds to finance the setting up of a Secret Society Service

## Third Republic: The Tiv factor

# Wooing the bride

The setting was the installation of the new paramount ruler of the Tiv, but the presence of heavyweights of both the SDP and NRC indicated that all want to catch the eye of the bride

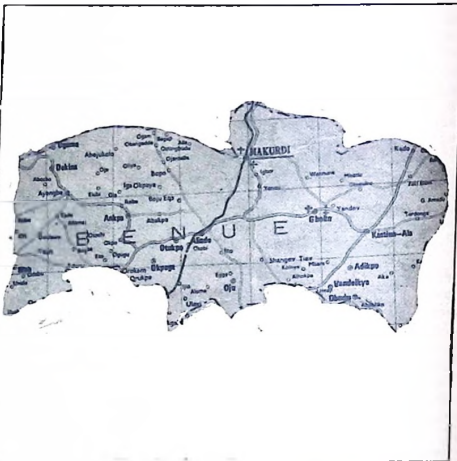
**O**n this bright Wednesday afternoon, Gboko, the traditional capital city of the Tiv people was quiet and seemingly devoid of life. Only a handful of motorists and pedestrians were about, and even then, they moved about with a languor and lethargy that suggested that they were in no hurry to accomplish whatever task they were pursuing. A calm and serene atmosphere pervaded the entire town.

This serenity is only on the surface, however. For in truth, Gboko is literally boiling. The Third Republic is round the corner, and for politicians seeking to win the block vote of the four million strong Tiv, Gboko has become their political Mecca. With the advent of the two government sponsored grassroots political parties, the political equation has taken a dramatic new turn. The local government elections had been lost and won, but far more important to the two political parties, SDP and NRC, was the picture which the pattern of votes presented. It is now obvious that the middle belt, and the Tiv vote particularly, depending on which side it is cast, will make or

mare the fortunes of the two political parties in the forthcoming governorship and presidential elections. Thus, overnight, Tivland has become the new bride of Nigerian politics.

"Yes, we are indeed a bride, and

a beautiful one at that," David Akaazor, zonal coordinator of the SDP campaign in the nine Tiv local government areas of Benue State told *Citizen* in his Gboko residence last week. As proof of Tivland's new high profile status in the nation's



The beautiful bride, Benue State today

political terrain, Akaazor pointed to the fact that the installation of the new paramount ruler of the Tiv, His Royal Highness Orchiviligh Alfred Akawu Torkula, the fourth Tor Tiv on April 22 attracted political heavyweights who will likely turn out to be the shakers and movers of the Third Republic. "Everybody that is somebody in the politics of the Third Republic was here to witness the colourful and historic ceremony," Akaazor told *Citizen*.



*Tiv paramount ruler Alfred Torkula*

The lingering after effect which the installation of the new Tor Tiv has on the Tiv people, long after the event itself had gone is a sudden awareness of their new political importance. This feeling is clearly evident and pervasive, even down to peasant farmers and road side mechanics in Gboko. If there was any lingering doubt about the Tiv people's new found political clout, such notions were quickly dispelled when such eminent personalities like General Shehu Yar'adua, the SDP Kingmaker, Ambassador Babagana Kingibe and Chief Tom Ikimi chairmen of the SDP and NRC respectively and a long-retinue of followers showed up in Makurdi for the installation ceremony. Such presidential hopefuls as Chief Olu Falae, Dr Abel Ubeku and Alhaji Farouk Abdulaziz, all prominent contenders for the SDP presidential ticket were also there — and it was obvious that they did not travel all the way to Makurdi merely to watch Colonel Makka, governor of Benue State present the staff of office to the new Tor Tiv.

Analysts have always watched

self determination has always been a priceless goal, the quest for which had pitted them against many an opposing, and often, more powerful political force and with grave consequences. During the First Republic, the Tiv pitched their tent with Chief Obafemi Awolowo's Action Group, in the hope that their dream of a Middle Belt region, distinct from and independent from the far North would be realised. Looking back to these heady and turbulent days, Isaac Shaahu, a prominent Tiv politician and former minister of communications in the Shagari administration still insists that the Tiv



*Tarka: a shaker and mover in his days*

the Tiv political scene with keen interest. Traditionally the hot bed of Nigerian politics, a quality it shares with the old western region, the Tiv people of the middle belt, right from the advent of the First Republic had always grabbed newspaper headlines as they pursued, in their usual dogged fashion, an independent course of political action. For the Tiv, autonomy and



*Unongo: all seek his counsel*

people's decision to ally with Chief Awolowo against the Northern People Congress which held sway in the Northern Region at that time was a wise move. Shaahu, who describes himself as "a peasant farmer," told *Citizen* in Gboko last week that the Tiv people have always maintained a consistent political course. "Some people have tended to create the impression that



Governor Makka of Benue State



Shaahu: Awo was sincere

we are politically rudderless. But nothing can be further from the truth," explained the former minister. "The Tiv joined Awolowo because they saw in him at that time, a sincere and forthright political leader. You must not forget that of all the three regional leaders, it was only Awolowo that allowed the Midwest to be carved out of his domain. The North and East had

their own fair share of minorities but they did not grant them self-determination. Awolowo set a commendable example and that is why we followed him at the time".

■ The brief romance with

Awolowo's Action Group did not yield the desired fruit. In any case, whatever fruits it might have yielded were aborted when Major Nzeogwu and his yellow coupists struck on January 15, 1966 and triggered the chain of events that culminated in the present 21 states of the federation. But the dream of a strong, autonomous and winner-directed Middle Belt region still smouldered in the hearts of the Tiv and they made yet another try during the Second Republic. In 1978, just before the ban on party politics was lifted, J.S. Tarka, easily the most prominent of Tiv politicians had granted an interview to the BBC in London. Tarka announced that he intended to return to Nigeria where

he would form a political party with which he would seek the presidency of the country. Together with some associates, he formed a quasi-political organisation, the National Movement with himself as chairman. Tarka's intention was clear from the outset. An unrepentant champion of self-determination for the people of the Middle Belt, Tarka was largely instrumental to the alliance with the Awolowo-led Action Group in the First Republic. The Second Republic presented him another opportunity to carve out a distinct political niche for the Middle Belt people. The impression then was that Tarka would be the new political organisation's presidential candidate. However, by the time the National Movement metamorphosed into the National Party of Nigeria, the political equation had changed. Other players, no less powerful had joined the fray and by the time the dust settled, Tarka found himself clinging to the modest post of senator.

The dominant feeling among prominent Tiv politicians and ordinary people whom *Citizen* interviewed last week was that their late hero, Senator J.S. Tarka and the Middle Belt generally was short-changed during the Second Republic. Indeed, they have come to view themselves as the underdogs of Nigerian politics, a situation which they are determined to reverse come the Third Republic. Interestingly, there seem to be a unity of purpose, at least at first glance, among prominent Tiv politicians as to what political direction to follow. While revelling in their new status as "a beautiful bride" most Tiv politicians are quick to tell you that they are not about to tend themselves to either the northern or southern part of the country as a mere complementing force. If anything, they would want an arrangement whereby the Middle Belt emerges as a political force in its own right only going to

either of the three other regions of the country for support in its political programme. Julius Achi, political editor of *The Voice*, the Benue State government-owned newspaper, sees this as the only credible political course of action open to the people of Middle Belt. "It should no longer be a question of supporting one political bloc against the other and making do with the crumbs. What the Middle Belt should do now is to seek to occupy the master's table itself".

The Tiv, not unexpectedly are the main advocates of this new political thinking. And they seem to have found two eloquent spokesmen in Paul Unongo and Isaac Shaahu, two Tiv politicians who played key roles in the Second Republic. Since the sacking of the Second Republic in which he served as minister of steel, Paul Unongo has been leaving a quiet life, moreso with the blanket ban on former politicians. The Orkar Coup brought him to the limelight again, albeit momentarily. Unongo was arrested and detained briefly after the coup on the suspicion that he

may have had a hand in its planning. To the ordinary Tiv man, Paul Unongo's detention was yet another evidence of the series of attempts to intimidate and silence outspoken Middle Belt leaders. Unongo himself proved a most elusive customer to interview, but when *Citizen* finally 'cornered' him in his Gboko residence after making endless trips to Unongo, his village, he refused to comment on present political developments in the country, adding that "President Babangida has decreed that people like me should be only seen and not heard till 1992".

**O**n matters relating to the Middle Belt and the Tiv however, Unongo was most eloquent. Like Isaac Shaahu, Unongo believes that the time has come for the people of the Middle Belt to assert themselves in the Nigerian Scheme of things. "The Tiv constitute the seventh largest ethnic group in this country," Unongo told *Citizen* last week. "Ideally, they should constitute a formidable political force with all the attendant

perquisites. In the past, some Nigerian politicians chose to act as if they were ignorant of this fact, but I think all that is now over. You saw the number of dignitaries who attended the Tor Tiv's coronation. Of course it was purely a cultural event but the presence of very important personalities from all over the country is significant". Unongo explained that the wooing of the Tiv and the Middle Belt by other political blocs in the country was "inevitable". According to the former minister, the efforts of the late J.S. Tarka himself a Tiv and other Middle Belt politicians to propel the region to its proper political pedestal was thwarted by certain politicians in the far North who saw the emergence of a strong and united Middle Belt as a threat to their own political fortunes. "But you cannot hold a people down forever," said Unongo, "and recent developments have proved me right".

One dominant feeling which seem to cut across the entire length of Tivland, especially among the political elite is a sense of anger at



Tilley Gyado and son, a veritable force in Benue politics?

## Tivs open, fairest — Unongo

### *On life after Second Republic politics.*

I am not a professional partisan politician. I am a trained Psychopathologist. I taught it in the University and did a lot of research in it. I write. I have a company that does business and I was in business before joining politics. So, whenever I have no role to play in the politics of the nation I go back to what is the more natural thing that I am supposed to be get back to being the psychologist that I am and running my hospitals and also collect and assemble materials which I want to use to write books. So I will say life has been routine-go to work, come back, meet friends.

### *On the eminent personalities that attended the installation of the new Tor Tiv*

The Tiv people appear to be important and perhaps are important in Nigeria and to Nigerians. People coming from outside for this great cultural event of the Tiv people is an indication that Nigerians recognise the Tiv people

as an important integral part of their society and they are doing a basic thing that is non-partisan. People come around so that they can be seen to identify with the cultural interest of the Tiv people. Also, you notice that the transition programme of the present administration ends next year and all kinds of people are going around the country creating friendships and making alliances so as to advance their political interest and the Tiv people have a vote. They are a large group in Nigeria. They are the seventh largest ethnic group in this country. So they are important politically. Also, the Tiv are not in the minority in the geopolitical area known as the middle belt; infact they are the largest and so they are the most critical component in the Middle Belt. It must not also be forgotten that it is the Tiv that gave birth to the area now known as the Middle Belt. This was the area of the opposition to the uniformity of political perception within the

then Northern region. The Tiv created the United Middle Belt congress.

### *On Joseph Tarka*

The late Senator Joseph Tarka was a large political figure in the Nigerian political scene. He is a hero of the Tiv people and the Middle Belt in general. He spearheaded the quest for a different political consideration for a unique people in the then large Northern Region

The Tiv has a system that allows for very free expression; they can very violently express their views and once a decision is taken, every person abides by it. Culturally, the Tiv are a complete nation to themselves. They are inward-looking; they seem self-sufficient which is very sad in terms of modern developments because they don't look outside and say-those

**We were treated as though we were of little consequence. Politicians of the far North allocated to only themselves and their people resources which were originally meant for the Middle Belt.**

known as the Middle Belt. Indeed, the very name of Tarka is held with the utmost reverence in these parts.

### *On the Tiv as a people*

I am a Tiv man so from a selfish point I think they are a very wonderful people. The Tiv people are very unique in Nigeria. I think they are the friendliest people in the whole federation. I think they are the most open and fairest people.

people are at this stage and we should strive to be like them. Again, we have competitions within and amongst ourselves and this is one attribute I don't like. This had tended to produce some very pedantic kinds of thinking and acts that are not very nice. The Tiv are egalitarian to the level that it can become destructive.

**By Ike Okonta**

**The Tiv constitute the seventh largest ethnic group in this country," Unongo told *Citizen* last week. "Ideally, they should constitute a formidable political force with all the attendant perquisites. In the past, some Nigerian politicians chose to act as if they were ignorant of this fact, but I think all that is now over.**

the way the Middle Belt was treated by the far North. Their grouse is

that although they were part of the former Northern Region, they were

treated as second class citizens and deliberately deprived of social amenities. "Northern domination" is one issue which Isaac Shaahu discusses with anger in his voice. "For years we were maltreated and deprived of basic amenities. We were treated as though we were of little consequence. Politicians of the far North allocated to only themselves and their people resources which were originally meant for the Middle Belt. The inevitable end result is what we

have now, an economically backward and disadvantaged Middle Belt". The average Tiv youth is also likely to blame "the far North" for his personal woes. Macdonald Kumba, 28, contested for councillorship in Gboko South Central and lost. Now jobless, he ekes out a living mending shoes. "We do not have industries here and that is why most of the young people you see around are jobless. The northern politicians are to blame for the widespread poverty in Tivland", Kuba told *Citizen*.

**I**n Makurdi, one term that seem to be on every lip is the Middle Belt Forum. Floated in 1986 by prominent Middle Belt politicians and leaders of thought, the Forum's avowed mission is to carve out a distinct political niche for the

democracy in Nigeria. There should be greater dignity and respect for Nigerians irrespective of their ethnicity, religion, region vocation or social status".

Informed sources told *Citizen* in Makurdi last week that the Middle Belt Forum's real agenda is to mobilise the people of the area with the Tiv in the forefront against what Dr Sen himself described in a recent magazine interview as "the feudal system which gave recognition and special benefits to some people or individuals by virtue of their connection — social or birth, to the Sokoto Caliphate". Initially, the Forum paraded itself as non-partisan, but recent developments indicate that it is solidly backing the SDP. An SDP top notcher who does not want to be mentioned told *Citizen* in Makurdi that the

down the aspirants to a manageable number.

In Makurdi, the consensus among political players and watchers alike is that the Middle Belt Forum carries a lot of clout in the area. Explained Dr Emmanuel Ochigbo, a senior lecturer in the University of Agriculture, Makurdi and a keen watcher of political events in the Middle Belt, "SDP's run-away success in Benue State and the Middle Belt in general is the handiwork of the Forum. Its leaders are men of some importance and because they endorsed the SDP, the people went that way". But no where else has the Forum demonstrated its power and omnipotence than in Tivland where SDP candidates swept the polls in the council elections last December. A triumphant Akazor, SDP zonal



Akure, (centre), another heavyweight who wants to be 'King'

Middle Belt in the Third Republic and put an end to the area's domination and exploitation by the other political groups in the country. These words, credited to Dr Yima Sen, Secretary of the Middle Belt Forum and displayed prominently in the paste-up room of *The Voice* newspaper in Makurdi, sums up the Forum's mission. "What the Middle Belt Movement means is that there should be greater

installation ceremony of the Tor Tiv afforded the leaders of the Forum an opportunity to come together to fine-tune their game plan for the gubernatorial and presidential elections. While the Forum is yet to make up its mind as to who to sponsor for the SDP presidential ticket, indications are that leaders of the movement have drawn up a list of gubernatorial hopefuls in the Middle Belt with a view to pruning

coordinator in the nine Tiv local government areas told *Citizen*, "to deliver nine solid local governments, indeed the entire Tivland to one political party is no mean achievement. But we did it, and we shall do it again during the gubernatorial elections".

Presently, the SDP is sitting pretty in Tivland. During the new Tor Tiv's coronation, SDP leaflets and posters adorned the streets of

Gboko and Makurdi telling all who cared to listen that "Tivland is SDP land". Prominent Tiv politicians are also beginning to reap handsome dividends from their association with the SDP. In Makurdi, all discussions of the forthcoming governorship elections begin and end with Tiv candidates. In the SDP, the major Tiv gubernatorial aspirants are Engineer J.I. Igbetar, Abu King Shuluwa and Reverend Father Moses Adasu. On the NRC side, Professor Ignatius Ayua, Abel Gaffa and Chief J.K. Acka'a are the main contenders. Political observers however see SDP's Reverend Adasu, a Tiv, as likely to clinch the coveted price. Informed sources in Gboko and Makurdi told *Citizen* that Adasu has a formidable ally in Paul Unongo. According to the source, Unongo had previously supported Igbetar but later shifted to Adasu when problems developed between Igbetar and himself.

In Tivland, Unongo is widely regarded as the inheritor of J.S. Tarka's leadership mantle. Prior to the council elections last December, an impeccable source told *Citizen* that all the SDP aspirants went to seek Unongo's endorsement and blessing before they presented themselves to the people. Tarka's name is also regularly invoked by politicians of both parties in Tivland in their bid to win votes.

Isaac Shaahu sees this as an indication that all Tivland and the people of the Middle Belt have come to accept Tarka as their hero, and endorse all he stood for when he was alive. "Tarka fought to free the Middle Belt from northern domination. He is indeed our hero", said Shaahu.

The concept of "the beautiful bride" is not new in Nigerian politics. Indeed, the term was first coined by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, leader of the defunct Nigeria Peoples Party during the heady and turbulent days of the Second

*Citizen* that "unlike the NPP which was the junior partner in the NPP/NPN alliance, the Tiv and the people of the Middle Belt intend to be the senior partner in any alliance we will go into. The days of underdog politics is over and we intend to be masters of our own destiny as from now on"

**B**rave words, no doubt. But how united are the Tiv in their bid to carve out a distinct political identity for themselves? Are they carrying the other ethnic groups in the Middle

**However hard we may try to deny it, the truth is that we are more familiar with the far North and its politicians, after all we all belong to the defunct Northern Region. Of course we were not fairly treated by the far North, but we still regard the Yoruba and Igbo politicians as an unknown quantity. So where do we go from here?**

Republic when the party was wooed by both the Unity Party of Nigeria and the National Party of Nigeria. One enduring lesson of the brief romance between the NPP and NPN during the Second Republic is that the beautiful bride does not necessarily emerge winner in any given political marriage. The Tiv, basking in their new status as the bride of the moment, are no strangers to the quick sands of Nigerian politics however. If nothing else, their encounter, through the defunct United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC), with the Action Group during the First Republic and the NPN in the second will probably serve them in good stead when the real political bargaining commences next year. Indeed, prominent Tiv politicians are quick to remind you that there is a fundamental difference between the old bride (NPP) and the new one (the Tiv people). Chief Victor Kugba, a governorship candidate on the platform of the NRC told

Belt along with them? Do the other groups have any cause to fear an impending Tiv domination? On the surface, the present wedlock between the Tiv and the SDP seem solid and indissoluble. The Middle Belt forum, a reincarnation of the defunct United Middle Belt Congress also presents an aura of unity and singleness of purpose. There are a few discordant notes in the Tiv political arena, though. For instance, Akaazor, a former SDP councillor in Gboko does not think the leaders of the Middle Belt Forum have any real followership. "They are mere political upstarts and opportunists out to feather their own nests", Akaazor told *Citizen* in Gboko last week. "These so-called leaders can not even win an election to the village assembly in their respective homes. So where is the credentials they are talking about?" Paul Unongo also points to the egalitarian traits of the Tiv, and their tendency to be too inward-looking as factors that are likely to impede



*SDP's Kingibe: a clean sweep*

the Tiv march towards self-determination in the Third Republic. Explained Unongo, "the Tiv have a long history of republican democracy. They are a fiercely individualistic people, and in extreme cases, seek to pull down their fellows to their own level. Individualism and egalitarianism are in themselves positive traits but they can be harmful when taken to extremes". Isaac Shaahu feels however that the on-going internal petty squabbles and rivalries does not present any significant threat to the larger goal of the Tiv people. Explaining away the on-going squabbles, Shaahu sees it as the symptom of a people who had been enslaved for so long. "You must remember that you are dealing with a people who have just regained their freedom as it were. You have to give them some time to adjust".

The Tiv constitute about 52% of the entire population of Benue State. They also have considerable representation in Gongola and Plateau states. Indeed, they straddle the entire Middle Belt area so much so that the word Tiv is sometimes used interchangeably with "Middle Belt".

Interestingly though, the Tiv have been able to manage the political terrain in Benue State where they constitute the majority, in such a manner that the other ethnic groups, especially the Igala and Idoma do not feel marginalised. Julius Achin, political editor of *The Voice* readily acknowledges this. "To the best of my knowledge, there is no politics of domination in the state, at least

for now. Each group in is accorded its own respect and attendant privileges and I am yet to hear any of the groups complaining".

As they stand on the threshold of yet another political dawn, the Tiv, at least the enlightened ones among them, are beginning to be aware of the magnitude of the responsibility that has been thrust on them courtesy of the new two-party system. They are the bridge

beyond choosing between the North and the South. "It is no easy choice to make. However hard we may try to deny it, the truth is that we are more familiar with the far North and its politicians, after all we all belong to the defunct Northern Region. Of course we were not fairly treated by the far North, but we still regard the Yoruba and Igbo politicians as an unknown quantity. So where do we go from here?"

An important question desperately begging for an answer.



*A representation of a beautiful bride: who will she marry?*

between the South and North of the country, and which ever side they decide to tilt will alter the nation's political terrain, perhaps for all time. While most prominent Tiv politicians will not readily admit it, the truth is that they are in a dilemma as to what choice to make. For the common folk, like Alexander Gyado, a Makurdi newspaper vendor, the issue goes

But as the stripped white and black national flag of the Tiv people flapped gaily over the new Tor Tiv's palace in Gboko last week, it seemed to cast an aura of hope, assurance and self-confidence over Tivland. The bride has come of age, but who will she marry?

By Ike O'   
 in Gboko and ?

## Tafawa Balewa

## April 22 massacre

How Sayawa killed muslims, a memorandum submitted by Ibrahim Musa of the Bauchi State Polytechnic to Governor Abu Ali.



Gov Ali of Bauchi State

The root cause of the trouble in Tafawa Balewa revolves around the issue of who owns the town. The town was founded by the Fulanis perhaps before Danfodio's Jihad of the 19th century. The phrase "tafawa balewa" derives from the Fulani language meaning the huge black rock. The town was named by its earliest settlers, the Fulani, who described the location near the huge black rock, situated about a kilometre to the south of the town near the bank of the river along Bagoro road. The surrounding land, a plain, provided good pasture for the cattle of the Fulanis. Other villages around Tafawa Balewa which were founded by the Fulanis were Durum to the east and Unguwar Ruga to the west.

The second settlers of Tafawa Balewa were the Kanuris while the third were the Angas from Chika or Amper in Plateau state. Then came the Hausas. Two groups of Sayawa tribes migrated from Dungan Galadimawa and Bazanashi from across the river. They settled at Unguwar Dunga (near Durum) and Unguwar Ruga respectively. Before 1960 there was not a single Sayawa house in Tafawa Balewa other than those at Dunga and Unguwar Ruga. The inhabitants of Tafawa

Balewa maintained a very cordial relationship with their two neighbours. However, the situation began to change with the influx of other Sayawas into Tafawa Balewa in the 1970's. At about the same time the Jarawas from Dass and Bununu arrived in Tafawa Balewa and settled at Sabon Layi. They bought plots both within and on the outskirts of the town and built their Church near the primary school in the same period.

The leadership of Tafawa Balewa town ideally should have gone to the Fulanis, its founders. However, because of their migratory life, the leadership went to the next earliest



The devastation aside of human slaughter



*Fleeing for dear life*

settlers, the Kanuris and the Angas. Thus, Ari, its first leader (wardhead) was Kanuri. So were Bukar and Wazirin Ghazim. Then the leadership went to Malam Boyi, an Angas. The Kanuris then became leaders through Balwai Baba and Musa. The last Sarkin Tafawa Balewa, Aliu, who was murdered and burnt to ashes on 22nd April, 1991, was an Angas.

**T**his proves that Tafawa Balewa is not a Sayawa town. While it is true that the Sayawas are the major tribe surrounding the town most of their villages are located in Bogoro and Lusa Village areas of Bogoro district while Tafawa Balewa is in Wai Village Area of Lere district. Thus the common denominator between Tafawa Balewa and the neighbouring Sayawa villages is its being the headquarters of Lere district which, with the creation of Bogoro district excluded these villages. Once again the only common denominator between Tafawa Balewa and the Sayawa villages is its being the headquarters of Tafawa Balewa Local Government Area, which also entitles other tribes and villages to lay the same claim over it as the Sayawas. Any Sayawa man who lays claim to Tafawa Balewa can thus be traced to a village other than Tafawa Balewa. The practice of affixing Tafawa Balewa after names came to the fore only in the wake of agitations to expel other inhabitants from the town which gained momentum from the early 1970's with the increased influx of the Sayawas from Bogoro District.

The crisis in Tafawa Balewa is first and foremost religious. The tribal and political questions are only secondary to it. The religious dimension could perhaps be traced to the divide and rule policies of colonial rulers. To win the hearts of the surrendering tribes, the Sayawas were taught that the Hausa-Fulanis had enslaved their

ancestors, exploited their labour and expropriated lands. That these assertions were not true can be borne by the fact that the Hausa-Fulani in their midst were not farmers of renown. Rather they were traders and herdsmen. The importance of the latter to the farming practice of the Sayawas cannot be overemphasised as the cow dung had been a very good to the soil. Nevertheless, the Sayawas were made to believe that their Muslim neighbours had been the cause of their economic woes and therefore they must be expelled at the appropriate time. This negative attitude towards the Muslims had assumed such a dimension that it is not uncommon for a Sayawa child to always tell his Muslim counterpart, "you settlers (*volti-gali*) will one day be sent packing back to where your ancestors came from".

That the crisis in Tafawa Balewa was primarily a religious one can be attested to by the fact that during the massacre of April 22 Sayawas who embraced Islam were the first target of attack. In Tafawa Balewa there seemed to be a wrong concept of religion among the Sayawas which equated it with particular tribes. Thus any Basayi who embraced Islam was regarded as a traitor. He becomes a Hausa-Basayi or *volti-na-zari*. Christianity, to the Sayawas, is their religion while Islam is for the Hausa/ Fulani.

The Political question also is related to the religious. The Sayawas must never be in the same political party as the Muslim. They would always wait and see which party the Muslims join so that they would join the opposition. The extent of hatred for the Muslims is such that were they to embrace Christianity in its entirety the Sayawas would become Muslims in their thousands.

There have been countless instances of atrocities committed by the Sayawas against the Muslim community in Tafawa Balewa in the past 32 years. A few:

(a) Around 1959 Sayawas from scores of villages in the present Bogoro District invaded Tafawa Balewa and inflicted heavy casualties on its innocent and defenseless inhabitants. This invasion could have been the first and the last had the then Bauchi Local Authority taken the issue seriously by recommending to the then Northern Nigerian Government to set up a commission to look into the issues that led to the crisis. Unfortunately the authorities handed down a kangaroo judgment where the invaded inhabitants, in self-defence, became the victims. They were sent to various terms of jail while the invaders went home triumphantly.

(b) Aggression against the Muslim community continued with even greater vigour in the 1960's. On several occasions, the Sayawas would plan to attack the Muslims on Sallah days when they went out to pray but the plan would be uncovered and the Muslims would go to the mosque fully armed.

(c) The Bauchi Emirate Council had made attempts to solve the problem albeit with very little success. One of the attempts was the appointment of Aliyu Wulum Dadi, a Basayi to succeed Alhaji Adamu Tafawa Ba'

as District Head of the old Lere district. However, his appointment was received with mixed feelings by his tribesmen because he was a Muslim. To them nothing short of a Sayawa christian district head was good enough. The situation worsened when Aliyu was removed by the Emirate Council, and a Muslim Fulani, Alhaji Bakari Dukku was appointed as Acting District Head pending the appointment of another. Once again, the situation went back to square one when Haruna Yakubu, formerly the village head of Bogoro was appointed as substantive District Head. The question in the minds of most Sayawas seemed to have been "why could there not be for us a Christian District Head"? Haruna was from their tribe. His only blemish was that he was a Muslim. (d) The Bauchi Emirate Council might have thought that the problem of Tafawa Balewa would be solved if a new district was created for the predominantly Sayawa areas of the old Lere district. Thus there was born Bogoro district comprising Bogoro, Lusa, Boi and Gambar village areas. Tafawa Balewa remained the headquarters of the new Lere district which comprises Wai, Kardan, Lere and Tafshin village areas. Haruna Yakubu was transferred to Bogoro to head the new District which comprised his former domain while Mallam Abubakar Bawa, village head of Lere was elevated to the rank of District Head of new Lere.



Emir Adamu of Bauchi

**T**he reaction of the Sayawas to these changes was spontaneous. They not only threatened Haruna Yakubu with death if he dared to cross the river to Bogoro, but also plotted and killed Abubakar Bawa, an octogenarian in his sleep. Some of the plotters of this heinous crime were tried and executed while one of the suspects, Kyauta (alias Kenkeso) from Unguwar Dunga was set free only to continue his acts of instigating the Sayawas against the Muslims of Tafawa Balewa. This man was said to be the brain behind the setting ablaze of a number of houses, including those of his immediate Muslim neighbour on 20th April, 1991.

(e) The Sayawas exhibited the same negative attitude to the creation of Bogoro local government area during the Second Republic as they did to the creation of Bogoro district. The underlying reason behind all these is that they were determined to resist any attempt by the "feudal lords" in Bauchi to drive them away from Tafawa Balewa. To many of them there must always be one indivisible Tafawa Balewa from which they would sooner or later drive its "alien settlers".

(f) Around 1984 the Sayawas began another "crusade" over the issue of the day on which the Tafawa Balewa market would hold. For over a century the market had been held on Sundays. However, to the newcomers to the town Sunday must be changed because it is a day of their worship. Rather than pursuing this cause through consultations with all those concerned, the Sayawas arbitrarily changed the market day to Friday,

the holy day of the Muslims so that they might be provoked. Ordinarily, Friday would have been the choice of the Muslims as well as that would give them double advantage of solving their economic as well as spiritual issues. Nor was the arbitrarily change the main concern of the ever patient muslims. What they would not concede was the use of the prayer time by the Sayawas to attack them from the rear. They eventually sought and got the intervention of the emirate council which changed the market day to Thursday.

(g) The increased hatred of the Muslims by the Sayawas in Tafawa Balewa took another turn when they planned to boycott them in the economic sphere. When this proved almost impossible they changed the strategy by engaging in all the economic activities that hitherto were known to be monopolised by the Muslims. These include the selling of all sorts of foodstuffs. What agitated the Muslims most was the practice whereby these women litter the whole market square including the frontage of their houses with cooking pots. However, for them to demand for fair play was to invite trouble. They must make every effort to absorb as much of the provocation as possible.

The last straw was the issue of the slaughter house (*Kuata*) and the meat market (*Mahauta*). Traditionally the Hausa butchers (*Mahauta*) monopolised the meat trade in Tafawa Balewa as in most other towns in the country. They even used to slaughter for the Christians their animals on Christmas days. However, with time, this monopoly was challenged by the Sayawas as being a show of religious superiority of the Muslims over them. Gradually, they began to agitate for the right to slaughter their animals in the same slaughter house as the Muslims and sell them in the same place with the Muslims. The local government authority had advised the Sayawas against carrying their demands too far.

However, while they rescinded the decision to slaughter their animals in the slaughter house they continued to sell the meat in the common market.

Such was the position of things up to April 20th. On that day, a Fulani man unsuspectingly bought pork *Suya* from a Sayawa boy who was hawking it in the central market. Another Muslim accused the boy of selling pork to a person whose religion prohibited him from eating it. The boy abused the Muslim who, in turn slapped him. Some Sayawas who were around supported the boy and a quarrel ensued which was to transform into a national conflagration. The police who were attracted to the scene were said to have started throwing tear gas into the houses of the Muslims instead of becoming impartial arbiters. Soon the Sayawas began to set people's houses on fire and to break into their shops looting their property. They rushed into the town in their hundreds shouting "enough is enough, an end has to be brought to the insolence of the settlers." The Muslims never challenged the Sayawas in return.

The following evening, April 21, the Local Govern-

ment army of men and women almost ten times the size of the Muslim inhabitants of the town invaded it with all sorts of weapons: rifles, dane guns, bows and arrows, daggers, spears, sticks, stones and cans of petrol and boxes of matches. They approached the town from three directions. The fourth, the eastern direction was made a safety valve for the Muslims, thanks to the police post which was situated there. The carnage lasted six hours. At the end of it all the Muslims were completely routed. Many of them were either killed or maimed. Those who survived watched their houses and property set ablaze as they took refuge in the police station.

During the killings, the Sayawas showed no mercy. Their code seemed to have been: "thou shalt slay thy neighbour or thy closest acquaintance". Inhabitants from neighbouring villages of Zwall, Shall, Bununu and Bogoro (about 10 to 20 kilometres apart) could see the flame of the fire at Tafawa Balewa. What the fire could not destroy were physically damaged. That was the recompense of the over a century old "settlers" who now had no alternative than to go back home and resign themselves to their fates.

#### List of those who lost their lives

The list given below for those who lost their lives at the "battle field" does not include those of strangers whose corpses could not be identified as well as minors.

- 1 Alhu, Sarkin Tafawa Balewa
- 2 Mallam Gambo
- 3 Isa London
- 4 Taslu Garba
- 5 Mallam Yahaya Kuturu
- 6 Alhaji Mallam Tanko
- 7 Sirajo Alh. Mallam Tanko
- 8 Yahaya Mai Kwano
- 9 Bakoji Dankanawa
- 10 Danladi Reza
- 11 Yakubu Tela
- 12 Alh. Mallam Ori
- 13 Almojirin Mallam Ori
- 14 Danjuma Sarkin Koli
- 15 Mallam Saleh Dankoli
- 16 Mallam Kawu Idrin Bunzun Kura
- 17 Alhaji Hashimu Dan Bidda
- 18 Mallam Talle Mai Tebur
- 19 Shugaba Mijinyawa
- 20 Mallam Abdu Daguji
- 21 Ibrahim Yalwan Dass, Revenue Officer
- 22 Danlami Kurma
- 23 Muhammadu Bakutunbe
- 24 Alhaji Madugu Mahauchi
- 25 Saidu Mai Rakke
- 26 Idi Mallam Ori
- 27 Jikanyar Danlawan (minor, female)
- 28 Alin Baban Yakumbo
- 29 Danjuma Dan'asabe Miko
- 30 Mallam Hassan Mai Kananzir
- 31 Mallam Hassan Garba Maha
- 32 Kwandon Dallatu
- 33 Mani Musa Mahauchi
- 34 Ahmadu Mai Jaki, Ladan
- 35 Kurma Dan Ahmadu Mai Jaki
- 36 Kurma Wan Ahmadu Mai Jaki
- 37 Hudu Mai Jaki

**The crisis in Tafawa Balewa is first and foremost religious. The tribal and political questions are only secondary to it. The religious dimension could perhaps be traced to the divide and rule policies of colonial rulers.**

ment chairman, Habila Bako Lumana said the situation had been brought under control. This made the Muslims to believe that all was over but nothing had yet started. The "mother of all troubles" had only just begun. Some observers had seen some of the Sayawa leaders being extraordinarily busy. They must have been sending messages to all nook and corners of the local government where there were Sayawas to hurry up towards Tafawa Balewa so that they would arrive before day break on Monday, April 22nd, to launch the mother of attack on the insolent Muslim population. An end had to be put to their insolence, exploitation and domination. They must be taken unawares and taught the lesson they would never forget. It must be a war that had never been witnessed because it would not spare the sick, the old, and the infant and the women. The wives of the Muslims must be taken captive and made concubines, their farms, houses and property must be looted and taken over. Tafawa Balewa of the Muslims must from this day be only in the annals of history. It must be burnt to ashes and built anew by the inheritors.

And so by 6.30 a.m on Monday, April 22, 1991 an

38	Mato Sarkin Zagi
39	Waziri Masijan Barde
40	Mal. Adamu Mai Gadin Masallachi
41	Garba Nafada
42	Umaru Simple
43	Mallam Buba Jambil
44	Yakubu Jambil
45	Dan Luti Mallam Habu
46	Danlami Hassan Makera
47	Uhale Kafi
48	Dadanmu Dantsoho (female, octogenarian)
49	Musa Mburwat
50	Dan Alhaji Gambo Dass
51	Madaki Hassan Dillali
52	Mallam Ibrahim Mai Jirgi
53	Baraya Sule Mai Gemu
54	Muhammadu Leda Leda
55	Almajirin Alaranma
56	Matan Alh. Madugu Mahauchi (Female)
57	Adamu dan Dako (Basayi)
58	Kurman Alti
59	Isa Nabawa
60	Sarki Dambe
61	Dangaba Mahauchi
62	Garba Inuwa Dan Chal
63	Inusa Makeri Zwall
64	Ardon Pancipan
65	Kanin Ardon Pancipan
66	Limamin Pancipan
67	Alhaji dan Chamma Boi
68	Alhaji Saidu Garba Boi
69	Abdu Gajere Boi
70	Abdu Mai Katafila
71	Mallam Talle Bogoro
72	Danliti Talle Bogoro (minor)
73	Another Son of Talle Bogoro (Minor)
74	Mai Kwari Mahauchi
75	Mallam Ilyia Mahauchi
76	Mallam Yushu'u Dispenser
77	Dan Inuwa Turkul
78	Shehu Direba
79	Malam Mai Damisa
80	Hassan Musa (Basayi)
81	Mallam Musa (Basayi)
82	Alhaji Jatau Barangel

83	Abdu Bakanike
84	Almajirin Mallam Ado
85	Yakubu Safe
86	Malam Inusa Bakanike
87	Shualbu Wanzami
88	Isa Shoeshiner
89	Bako Bakanike
90	Dan-Borno Mai Gadi
91	Dan Alhaji Bala Mai Goggle
92	Dan Muhammadu Zarara
93	Two Old Night Guards
94	Other Unidentified persons.
95	Alh. Mohamadu Bar (Arabic teacher)

#### List of Burnt down vehicles

S/No.	Make
1	Peugeot Pick-up Van
2	Toyota Pick-up Van
3	Bed Ford Lorry
4	Steyr Tractor
5	Peugeot Pick-up Van
6	Nissan Datsun C.20
7	Nissan E.20 Bus
8	Peugeot Pick-up Van
9	Peugeot 504 SR Saloon

#### Plate No.

Not Known
Not Known
Not Known
Not Known
BA 276 AR
Not Known
Not Known
Not Known
BA 11 CN

#### Name of owner

Alhaji Mayau
Alhaji Mayau
Alhaji Danladi
ASHaji Danladi
Alhaji Sani Gambo Dass
Alhaji Korau Danbaba
Alhaji Muhammadu Taro
Alhaji Chinade, Educ. Sec.

### The role played by the Tafawa Balewa Police in the crisis

**T**here are enough evidence to show that the police in Tafawa Balewa did not play the role of impartial arbiters in the crisis, some of these instances are as follows:-

(a) The Police were said to have indiscriminately shot tear gas into the houses of the Muslims on April 20 1991. This writer was in Tafawa Balewa when the trouble started and he had a fair share of the tear gas. On the contrary not a single canister had been thrown at the Sayawas who had gathered in their hundreds in the football field of the central primary school from where they later marched into the town shouting "enough is enough".

(b) On April 22, the police threw tear gas at the Muslims when they attempted to ward off the onslaught of the Sayawa mob that had come to annihilate them. No tear



One of the burnt vehicles

gas was thrown at the mob.

(c) The police folded their arms and watched Muslims being butchered and their property being looted and their houses set ablaze.

(d) The police disarmed the Muslims who attempted to take up arms to defend themselves while they left the Sayawas to pounce on them with all their deadly weapons.

(e) They deliberately refused to defend the District Head's palace where many Muslims went to take refuge. With only a single entrance and a very high wall, the palace could have been easily defended by a few armed policemen had they wished to do so. Their refusal to do so led to the great number of killings in the palace.

(f) There was not a single policeman who was wounded in attempting to protect the lives and property of the Muslims. This shows the extent of levity with which the situation had been handled by them. When the Sayawas overcame the Muslims and burnt their houses and property they headed for the police station with the aim of extirpating the rest of the Muslims who had taken refuge there. Had it not been for the siren of the fire service vehicle and the arrival of the mobile police in the afternoon the entire Muslim community in Tafawa Balewa would have been completely wiped out.

(g) The fighting on April 22, started at 6.30 a.m. It lasted till around 1.00 p.m. All this time no reinforcement came from Bauchi. This situation gave the people the impression that either the police had refused to inform its headquarters about the gravity of the situation or someone in the headquarters had refused to act.

(h) On the individual ground the police in Tafawa Balewa did not hide their contempt for the Muslims. One of them told a "refugee" at the police station who had requested for water to go to his "Allahu Akbar" to give him back the water.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS

**S**ir, by now you may have been aware that all the Muslims who survived the crisis in Tafawa Balewa had deserted their houses, perhaps never to return again. They have become refugees in their own country. To alleviate the situation and perhaps forestall future occurrence of this ugly situation I wish to make the following recommendations:-

(a) Government should make efforts to assist the victims of this crisis by giving compensation to those whose relatives were killed or their houses and property were destroyed.

(b) A detachment of the Army and the mobile police be permanently stationed at Tafawa Balewa, preferably at the bank of the river on the road to Bogoro.

(c) All persons found to be involved in the planning and execution of the invasion of Tafawa Balewa should be made to face the maximum penalty. The victims of this crisis know their invaders, many of them by name, and

they will be too willing to give a maximum co-operation for their arrest and trial.

(d) Government should set a machinery in motion to enlighten the people on the need for peaceful co-existence. One way to do this is to encourage the setting up of multi-religious and multi-ethnic associations in the area. A similar thing had been started here in Bauchi when the defunct local government care-taker committee was making efforts to launch an appeal fund towards the connection of Tafawa Balewa with the NEPA National Grid sometimes in 1990. For the first time elites from the local government, cutting across ethnic and religious barriers met at the state polytechnic to discuss not only the issues of electricity but also other issues of common interest.

(e) At the state and national levels, government should set up councils on religious affairs comprising religious leaders at village, local, state and national levels. These councils will help to bridge the communication gap that exists between followers of different religions and sets. As much attention should be given to the councils as is given to such government agencies as MAMSER, NEC or National Population Commission for peaceful co-existence in more important than elections or national headcounts.

(f) At the state level, and especially in the state headquarters, government should make every efforts to compensate innocent people who lost their relatives and

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**The police in Tafawa Balewa did not hide their contempt for the Muslims. One of them told a "refugee" at the police station who had requested for water to go to his "Allahu Akbar" to give him the water.**

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property in the crisis that followed the trouble in Tafawa Balewa.

(g) At the national level, in order to ensure that no particular section of the society dominates the other in the police and the army; recruitment should be strictly based on quota on local government basis. All local governments areas that have excess should have their recruitment suspended until such a time when those that have deficiencies have filled their quotas.

I find it necessary to write this memorandum to inform you about the true situation of the crisis in Tafawa Balewa which unfortunately led to a series of disturbances especially in the Bauchi metropolis. I am Hausa by tribe. My family settled at Tafawa Balewa around 1894. It has become necessary for me to write in order to erase possible misinterpretation of the root causes of the disturbance that led to the massacre of innocent lives and loss of property in Tafawa Balewa.

## Tragedy

# Little angels disappear

Two families remain in the dark on the whereabouts of their daughters

One p.m. is closing time for pupils of Navy Primary School, Navy Town, Ojo, Lagos. As usual on Thursday May 2, Tomi Makinde (6) and Bisola Savage (6) both pupils at the school were picked up by their driver for the usually smooth drive home to mummy. They must have been looking forward to mummy's delicious lunch. Along the way, hoodlums

zen last week, that the sheer thought of whatever condition the little girls are being kept or whatever has happened to them was driving him mad, "the hell they might have indeed seen" he exclaimed.

For now he said "I am still in the dark as to whether the kids are alive or not". This is the cruel suspense and excruciating pain the families of Makinde and Savage have been

towns along the borders in an attempt to locate the children without success. Already according to Savage the two families have appealed to the robbers, who ever they are, to free their innocent daughters promising to pay a handsome reward to anybody with any clue that could lead to the whereabouts of the kids.

Meanwhile, the Police are working on the theory that the kids' captors may be extortionists who intend to hold the kid's parents to ransom. Festus Ademola, a police officer at the Ojo police station explained that "the gangsters might be detaining the kids in order to intimidate their parents into giving them huge amounts of money before releasing them".

Lt. Commander P.C. Amaechina, the headmistress of Navy Primary School, who expressed concern about the continued disappearance

of the kids and police's inability to trace them, asked the families to keep hope alive. Said she: "It is saddening to have missed the two pupils in such a dramatic way. But we must continue to pray that no harm will come to them".



The snatched kids, Tomi and Bisola

carrying guns, knives and cutlasses, aborted their journey home. After killing the driver, the robbers drove off with the two kids. Two weeks after this dramatic disappearance, parents of Kehinde Makinde and Tunde Savage are still in the dark about the fate of their children.

Dr. Kehinde Makinde told *Citi-*

thrown into since the disappearance of the two kids.

Tunde Savage told *Citizen* last week that his major worry is the fear of death that hangs menacingly over the two kids. He said that the two families have searched all the nooks and corners of Lagos State and have even gone to Idi-Iroko and other

By Samson Ojo

*Citizen*, May 13, 1991

## NIGERIA IN BRIEF

**Lagos:** High courts in the country now have the power to order bye-elections to resolve electoral disputes. A press release issued from the office of the vice-president on Tuesday stated that following the amendment of the local government amendment decree of 1990, the current practice of automatically installing the candidate of a rival political party with the annulment of an incumbent officer no longer obtains. The amendment, among others, also gives a 30 day deadline to all local government chairmen, beginning from Wednesday, May 8, to appoint supervisory councillors for individual councils.

**Lagos:** The Federal Government has invited the National Union of Road Transport workers (NURTW) for dialogue in a quick move to avert the contentious 200% fare hike being contemplated by commercial vehicle operators. The meeting is expected to provide the operators means of refurbishing their broken down vehicles, the main reason they have proffered for the need to increase fare rates. NURTW has promised to suspend the action pending the outcome of talks with the government. No date has been given for the dialogue.

**Enugu:** A five year jail term awaits persons found to have rigged elections. Professor Humphrey Nwosu, the chairman of NEC who gave the hint said that the very stringent laws to be made public soon would erase the option of fine in sanctions for rigging when the draft law is passed.

**Rivers:** About 10,000 primary school teachers in Rivers state are on strike in protest against non-payment of April salaries. Some of the striking teachers complained about the inability of the state to pay their salaries regularly since the take over of the funding of primary education by the councils. The principal secretary of the state branch of the Nigerian Union of Teachers, Mr. Gideon

Braide, confirming the development, said the councils' excuse of lack of funds, was not tenable. Governor Godwin Abbe is reported to have directed some of the councils to pay teachers' salaries rather than con-



Bafyau

tractors.

**Lagos:** The Standards Organisation of Nigeria (SON) is working out stiffer penalties for manufacturers of inferior and fake products in the country. The measure which is intended to reform industrial practices will convict producers of sub-



Magashi

standard goods to a fine of between 50,000 and 100,000 naira or a five year jail term. Sellers of such products are also to be fined between 10,000 and 20,000 naira with an option of a two-year jail term.

**Lagos:** Asra foods Nigeria Limited, makers of Eja Dadi tinned fish has folded up due to its inability to operate under the structural Adjustment Programme. The company owned by Indians found production difficult with the increase in tariff for fish and tin plate and stopped production in 1989. Although the 1991 budget reduced the tariff from 50 to 30 the company still could not face the challenges competition in this industry brought.

**Sokoto:** At least 1,200 officials of the Sokoto state primary School management board seem to have lost their jobs for good following the transfer of the funding and running of primary education to the local governments. The state government is said to have absorbed 17,000 officials of the board while 1,200 others have not been fortunate to get new jobs. Other ministries which deployed some staff to the board at its inauguration are yet to reabsorb them like they have been directed to do. About 1,000 of this category of staff are therefore, still awaiting redeployment letters.

**Jos:** The Nigerian Bar Association (NBA) ended its two-day human rights workshop in Jos, with a call on the Federal Government to review the cases of all former public officers affected by the purges of the 1970s and 1980s in order to restore the rights of innocent victims. Criticising the recent restore of military ranks to eight former officers convicted by the investigation panels set up after the 1975 coup, the NBA in a communique signed by its president, Mr. Charles Idehen, described the decision as discriminatory and urged government to review all other cases as well.

Dan Iyan Misau

# That 38 billion Naira debt!

**Aliko thinks it's insignificant but indicts our leaders for being irresponsible enough to have accepted creditors' terms**

"I don't know", Alhaji Aliko Mohammed, a chartered accountant of repute and past president of Nigerian Stock Exchange, NSE, said when asked at a *Citizen* platform what he thought should be done about Nigeria's 'disputed' 5.6 billion Dollars (about 38 billion Naira) trade debt. Should it be repudiated, as has been suggested in some quarters? He laughed at this suggestion, paused, then with all seriousness, pronounced a judgment on the government and Nigerians.

Said he: "It's about time we Nigerians accepted there is a difference between the misdemeanour of our people and that of our partners. Is it the fault of Americans or the British if we became irresponsible, borrowing money for a roadwork we did not do?"

Alhaji Aliko holds the government responsible for all the false claims Nigeria's creditors are claiming in connection with the trade debts. First, it allowed importers to open letters of credit and pay the naira equivalent of the costs of the goods they wanted to import. He agreed some importers never brought in anything, while others were involved in over-invoicing. But the real culprit was not the importer, who "has discharged his responsibility", nor his business partner but "the government that did not set up the machinery to make sure the imports are genuine".

Repudiating a debt that "was knowingly taken by a legitimate

government" would put this country in a dire "credibility situation", Alhaji Aliko warned. He said Nigeria's credibility already has taken a serious battering since "our president woke up one day (1981) and said all letters of credit have been cancelled". Alhaji Aliko argued that even in a war situation that was not done. For instance, Saddam Hussein of Iraq did not cancel letters of credit between his country and the United States with which it went to war in January this year over Kuwait!

Still on the trade debt, he thinks Nigerians are unduly worried about it. A debt of 5.6 billion Dollars (a 1989 figure), he said, "is nothing really. It is not something we should be bothered about. It's not something serious". His reason is that Nigeria is a very wealthy nation.

Alhaji Aliko also spoke on the relative weakness of the Naira against the soaring value of the American Dollar and the British Pound Sterling. He saw three things as being responsible. First, there are industrialists who are prepared to pay any amount of Naira for foreign exchange with which to buy raw materials and machinery to get their factories functioning. Second, there are foreigners in this country who disdain the Naira so much that they will accept any value for it to convert it into foreign currencies and third, some rich Nigerians without much faith in their country tend to take their money abroad to save it for "a rainy day".

He thinks the government can

handle the first 'factor' by "channelling more resources into the foreign exchange market to reduce pressure on the Dollar". What he is not sure about is whether the government can take on the disdainful foreigner or the unsure rich Nigerian who would rather keep his hard currency away from home.

Speaking on corruption, Alhaji Aliko has this to say: "I think, for as long as Nigerians will only talk about it and do nothing about it, it will continue to grow". It is a bad thing, he says. But what can be done about it? "I do not know", Alhaji Aliko admits. What he knows is that "we all know it is there, we see people who practice it. The people



Aliko: nations credibility in dire situation

## "I also fear the Kaduna Mafia" — Aliko

**A**lhaji Aliko Mohammed, *Dan Iyan Misau*, describes his life as one "full of intriguing things." So it is. A blue blood, he contemplated becoming a sanitary inspector. What could be more mean! Yet he went in and it took six months for him to realise that it "was not the sort of thing I would like to do". So he quit and did odd jobs here and there, before "coming back to the treasury here in Kaduna," where the urge to become a chartered accountant took hold of him.

Then there is this intriguing figure 'four'. Alhaji Aliko was born in Misau, in what is today

Bauchi State in 1934. In 1964 he returned from his accountancy study in the UK and in 1974 he left the civil service! Unfortunately, he did not explain why 'four' is such a fascinating figure to him.

Perhaps the most "intriguing thing" is that he didn't get the Central Bank governorship, a position many of his admirers have thought him ably qualified to hold. His reaction: "I wish I had," but he is not regretting that he missed the opportunity. "I think the man who is doing it is far better than me," he said in all modesty.

Since retiring in 1974

as investment manager of then Northern Nigerian Investment Limited, an investment affiliate of NNDC, Alhaji Aliko has served on a number of organisations: 16 years as director and chairman of Bank of the North, five years as chairman of *Daily Times* board and seven years as chairman of the board of the Nigerian Insurance Company, NICON,

Is he a member of the Kaduna mafia? The question evoked a handsome measure of laughter. Then came an answer. The mafia is "an amazing myth" which he said he has come to live with, if only because he

has "lived all my life in Kaduna," specifically on Jabi Road around Sultan Close, considered the mafia's lair. To him, the myth has grown around "a group of friends who have come up from the Sardauna days as junior civil servants into the middle cadre. Of course you grew up (together), knew each other, you think alike and tend to consider problems in the same vein."

A myth may-be it is. But it does instil considerable fear, doesn't it? "But I also fear them (the Kaduna mafia)," he replied, effectively blocking further probing.

By Tawey Zakka



Ahmed: doing a nice job at the CBN

who would shout about it would do the same if they got the chance."

On the civil service reform, he is downright skeptical. He fears that "it has not followed the way envisaged". First, we have not reached the stage where a government comes in with its civil

servants and leaves with them. This politicisation of the civil service will deprive it of its sinews — experience. Second, politicising the position of secretary to the government has knocked protocol askew. According to him, with the secretary to the federal government placed ahead of ministers "it is now imperative that whoever comes in as president or governor will sack the SMG and appoint another". At this point he became resigned: "Only time will tell whether it (the reform) will succeed".

He spoke prophetically that subsequent elections would be based on the open ballot, even before the government had made its position public on the matter. *Citizen* told him so but he laughed away its persistent protestation. In the end, what he said turned out to be the government's position. Curiously, even though Alhaji Aliko said he preferred the open ballot to the secret one, he did not vote in the December 8 local

government poll. Why? He was out of town. But the real reason, as he was later to reveal, was that he felt it would not be "nice" to stand on one side of the political divide while his house-help is on the other, much worse if his side is not the winner.

### Aliko Mohammed spoke to *Citizen*. Excerpts:

**CT:** In other words it is not suitable.

Aliko: I think it's suitable. For the first time the ordinary Nigerian public had an opportunity to exercise their right-if they wished to. They could have done so without being molested. I've always felt that the secret ballot system has never been successful in this country. The truth is really that in most cases ballot boxes were already full by the time polling started.

**CT:** What are your hopes on the Third Republic? Do you think it will succeed in view of the frequency of

*coups in this country?*

**Aliko:** I very much hope that it will succeed. But I have my worries. It appears that politicians have not learnt anything. For somebody who was toppled from power and jailed for five years to come back with the same politics can only mean that he hasn't learnt anything. Economically, we still have some few years of difficulty to go. I think 1995 will be about the year that we'll start seeing a break-through in the economy. Before then the economy will need military-like decisions to turn it around. Thirdly, if, as it appears to be the case, the present military regime is going to keep money in reserve to hand over to civilians, I'm afraid, we are going to see 1979 all over again. If politicians haven't learnt their lesson, I don't think that anybody can stop another coup.

**Citizen:** *Dan Iyan Misau, what is your view about the traditional leadership institution? Some people have suggested an outright abolition of it. Others have talked about 'democratising' it.*

**Aliko:** I can't see how you can democratise something that is in the blood. Hausa has a saying: *Karambani talaka zabin sarki*, meaning the people have never chosen their Chief or Emir. It has always been a small clique that decides who is going to be Emir and that has been accepted throughout the over 100 years the institutions have been in existence (since 1804). To suggest that an Emir be chosen by open ballot is therefore unthinkable. I also believe in the institution, may be because I'm part of it. It has a lot of use provided it is funded properly.

**Citizen:** *What do you have to say about the civil service reform?*

**Aliko:** It hasn't followed the way it was envisaged. I think that we haven't reached a situation in which a government comes in with its civil servants and leaves with them. We still need the experience of civil servants and I think politicising them will even make the situation

worse.

**Citizen:** *That seems to be in consonance with the presidential system you come with your team and go with it.*

**Aliko:** Yes, but you are talking about America where they have a reservoir of people. There you have a choice of picking your team outside your party. But here at home, you're in the private sector earning some fat salary and somebody comes and says, look! come and be my director-general on a very meagre salary. How many people will jump at that? It is very difficult. The question presupposes an American situation where you can duplicate any office several times over. In Nigeria, I don't think we have reached that sort of situation.

**Citizen:** *Sir, why, do you support creation of more states? Or do you go along with those who advocate abolition of states, preferring two tiers of government — federal and local governments?*

**Aliko:** First of all, I support (maintaining) the states. They are historically linked and to abolish them is to make almost impossible, coordination at the federal level. It should not be contemplated at all as it portends chaos. I think that the local governments as they are should be tried first. Over 400 local governments and 21 states we have. That's quite a number. The only exception is Bendel, which I think should have been split into two, for economic reasons. Otherwise, I think the three-tier system should be kept.

**Citizen:** *But Bendel has always been a small area—may be that's why its structure hasn't ever changed.*

**Aliko:** But then it became a central problem because of an economic reason. What they are getting now is not even enough to renovate their schools. I think it should have been broken on economic grounds.

**Citizen:** *What do you think of private ownership of the electronic media?*



**Okongwu of the economic planning ministry**



**Alhaji, finance minister**

**Aliko:** This is a world-wide trend today. But it is very expensive only very serious and wealthy private individuals can set up news media. Usually, they would not go into it if they found out that it wouldn't pay. Generally, there is nothing wrong about private ownership. It should be allowed if only because of the competition private media will present to government media. There is the problem of poor remuneration of staff of government media. That is just one problem and, of course, they don't

have equipment, etc.

*Citizen: What is your assessment of the New Nigerian after 25 years?*

**Aliko:** Happily I was involved when they started it. One has seen its glory and problems. The Sardauna government wanted a newspaper closer to the seat of government in Kaduna. Since *New Nigerian* was set up it has become a very authoritative paper in the country. I recall a time when all governments looked up to it. Its problem has always been political. In the Second Republic, for example, certain appointments were made that reflected a political thing—a deviation from its laid down policy. It enjoyed a good measure of independence, then something went very, very wrong. But now they are trying to right it.

*Citizen: What do you think of the federal government's take-over of the newspaper in 1976?*

**Aliko:** The federal government didn't take it over. It was handed over to it. The owner northern state governments complained about the high cost of running it. They wanted the federal government to take responsibility of its funding since it was taking over *Daily Times* but the federal government didn't want it initially. They wanted financial relief from the centre but thought the federal government wouldn't have to tamper with *New Nigerian's* basic northern character.

*Citizen: We thought at that time what happened was that Murtala reasoned since he was taking over, more or less Daily Times, a situation was contrived to make the take-over of New Nigerian expedient.*

**Aliko:** Actually, it wasn't Murtala who took that decision (to take over *Daily Times*). No, it was Yakubu Gowon. The Federal Government under him set up a committee made up of Wanike Briggs, Enahoro, Babatunde Jose and I. It should go to London to discuss with the *Mirror* Group about the sale of their shares (in *Daily Times*). That was during the indigenisation (period). Of

course, there was somebody, a politician, who wanted the newspaper. I don't want to mention any name but I'm sure you know about it all.

*Citizen: How was Murtala able then to solve the problem that Gowon faced over the take-over of Daily Times?*

**Aliko:** What he did was typical of him. Simply, he called me and Alhaji Babatunde Jose one morning and said: "We want to take 60% of that. You go and work out the details.

*Citizen: But somebody could challenge it?*

**Aliko:** Nobody has for the last 15 years and I don't think it will happen. He said just go and do it.



Murtala: "We want 60% of Daily Times"

OK, the detail of how people lost their shares for the government to get 60% was not done by government but by us.

*Citizen: Sir, what is your assessment of SAP and its social costs?*

**Aliko:** First of all, I believe in SAP. It is a right policy which we ought to have to break the dependence of our economy on outside (handouts). Any attempt to make it self-sufficient, even in a small way, is desirable. Of course, if you are going to allow market forces free rein there is bound to be a situation where

some will laugh while others will writhe in pain. In that case, government intervention is necessary. It should be able to say, beyond this point we'll not allow. You don't allow market forces all the way. We are not America.

*Citizen: Sir, as a fellow of the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Nigeria, were you worried that (President) Babangida gave audience to ANAN?*

**Aliko:** No, I wasn't worried. If they maintain the standard of the accountancy profession, I don't see why they should not be recognised. ANAN is made up of government accountants with diplomas who have risen to senior positions and now want recognition. People may accuse ICAN of professional bigotry, but we are worried about the maintenance of standard. ANAN, on the other hand, tends to want to take a short cut. What I'm saying is let's have a joint examination or let their students take an equivalent examination. Are they afraid of an examination? Let them be trained. Then we can work together. I don't see why we should have problems. There is enough work for all.

*Citizen: Finally sir, many people believe that you would have been a good Central Bank governor...*

**Aliko:** I wish I had. I didn't have that opportunity but I don't regret it. I think the man who is doing it is far better than me.

*Citizen: There was a time that your name was mentioned as the likely replacement for the then retiring incumbent.*

**Aliko:** No, No. I think I've missed the role a long time ago. I don't think I can be a good one. As I said having retired and started doing other things it would be very difficult for me to go back to a full-time job at the moment.

By Tawey Zakka. Interview by Mohammed Haruna, Bilkis Yusuf, Adamu Adamu, Mohammed Bomo, Mahmud Jega, Delia Nzekwu and Abu Momoh.

# More bagful of change

Worried by the short life span of the Naira note CBN finds a substitute in the coins

The much awaited currency reform by the Central Bank of Nigeria, (CBN) was effected last week with the release of new coins into circulation. The new coins which are in one, ten, twenty-five and fifty kobo and the one Naira denominations would replace the existing equivalent currency units, while the half and five kobo coins are being phased out. According to a CBN statement issued last week, the bank said "in order to ensure an orderly transition, the CBN will circulate the new coins alongside the old notes and coins, until May 3, 1992" when the affected old currency units would cease to be legal tender. The CBN admonished the public not to panic or rush for the new coins saying that the withdrawal of the old currencies is for a period of twelve months.

The CBN said the introduction of the new coins is part of the comprehensive currency reform programme designed to put in place an optional currency structure that is efficient, cost-effective and responsive to the changing needs of the economy. The latest currency reform is the third since the nation's independence. The first came in 1973 during the Gowon's regime when the Pound and Shillings inherited from the colonial government was changed to Naira and Kobo. The second reform was in 1984 when the Buhari regime changed the colour of the currency.

The public has received the currency reform with mixed feelings for varied reasons. The Managing Director of JOKAS International Ltd, Kasali Alo commends the economic wizardry of the federal government in introducing the coins equivalent of the fifty Kobo and one Naira

denominations. He argues that since the life span of the coins would be longer than the notes, it would reduce the frequency and cost of printing.

He however appealed to the CBN to release sufficient coins into circulation to avoid inflation. A taxi driver Elijah Nwabueze says the coins equivalent of the fifty Kobo and one Naira would be too heavy to carry in the pocket. "Perhaps", he

and cost of minting the fifty Kobo and one Naira notes, he maintains that their replacement with coins has defeated one of the qualities of money which is portability. He wonders how one would carry one hundred Naira in coins.

To him, the currency reform does not make any economic sense as insufficient supply of the coins would further increase inflation in the country. But the CBN



The old Naira note and the new coin

says "the government want us to be taking all our money to the bank". In anyway the taxi driver believes that the currency reform might improve the saving habit of the low income earner. But, the deputy manager (corporate affairs) of Silver Financial Services Ltd, Emmanuel Sidi believes that the currency reform is not worth the trouble.

Although he appreciates the objectives of the government in making the reform, that is to prevent unscrupulous Nigerians from diverting the coins to other purposes for which they were meant and reduce the frequency

spokesman Tony Ede in an interview with *Citizen* justified the currency reform arguing that the shortage of the former coins was as a result of the dubious activities of some unscrupulous people who diverted the coins to other uses. He also submitted that the inability of the one Naira and fifty Kobo to stand the heavy usage was as a result of inflation and that the reform is justifiable because while the notes last for only about 6 months the coins could last for 25 years. To him, the introduction of fifty kobo and one Naira coins would in no way cause inflation.

By Tola Sunday

## Nigerian Railway Corporation Cracks on the rails

Junior workers down tools to press for their salaries, meal subsidy and leave grant

A five month old effort to manage a brewing industrial crisis in the Nigerian Railway Corporation (NRC) snowballed into a strike last week as junior workers embarked on work-to-rule action. Their demand: an immediate payment of their meal subsidy and leave grant allowance approved for them in 1989 as part of their own Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) relief package.

The strike which started last Monday has been peaceful claiming as its immediate casualty railways commuters who have been stranded in their thousands all over the country. At the Ebute-Metta headquarters and Iddo terminus of the railways, workers were seen milling around in groups discussing their "worthy action in support of a legitimate demand". Stranded passengers too littered the passenger hall of the terminus bemoaning their fate.

David Ndakotsu, the corporation's chief public relations officer, told *Citizen* last week that "management had forwarded some urgent demands to the ministry and we are happy that the government is giving us favourable consideration". A management and union meeting scheduled for last Tuesday could not hold because the union asked for an adjournment to enable them hold consultations with appropriate union organs and tidy up their proposals for the resolution of the conflict.

The strike and request for adjournment of the Tuesday meeting notwithstanding the NRC management appears to have preferred diplomacy to war as it has continued to express its appreciation of the legitimacy of the workers action. "We recognise that the worker's demands are legitimate. They have been very hard working and sympathetic to the corporation's problems and I want

to assure you that we are doing everything possible to accede to their demands immediately we have funds" said, Ndakotsu. The present action was initiated in a 26 November ultimatum to management, after what the workers called "a prolonged and disturbed patience on the non-payment of the meal subsidy arrears and other related allowances". Management did nothing concrete, at least so it seems to the workers, until the ultimatum expired 14 December. In keeping with labour law requirements the union extended the ultimatum by another seven days. Now convinced that the workers were serious about their demands and threat to strike, management agreed to meet their union officials 19 December on which date management agreed to pay the meal subsidy arrears between January and March or 30th April this year. Although in a series of correspondence flowing from Dr. Ogbemudia's office to NUR president S.A. Oduunuga and Nwajei its secretary, management continued to raise the union's hope that the pledge would be honoured, union officials said their confidence was jolted when by mid-April, management made no concrete moves to pay the arrears. The implication of this was clear to them. The workers did accept the breach of faith with stoic silence. The union wrote strongly worded memorandum to the Sole Administrator, 22 April, reminding him that 30th April was eight days away and that he should not fail to honour his management's commitment to railways workers. By this time too, the workers were yet to receive their March salary. Perhaps to soothe the officials temper, the Administrator replied their letter by fixing a meet-



Osunde: fully in support



Nwajei: believed in NRC's credibility but...

ing between them and management for 30th April - the day workers were expected to receive their arrears. By now it was clear to the workers and their union that 30th April was no longer realistic. A series of equivocation on the part of the sole Administrator between 26 April and 30 April, confirmed their apprehension. Eventually, on the appointed day, according to

sound out the Sole Administrator on the industrial action was not successful as his chief of Protocol, Mr Oyeleke, told us that he was busy with efforts to end the strike. However, Ndakotsu told *Citizen* that management failure to honour their commitment was not deliberate but was engendered by practical problems of the corporation which he said were well known to the

funds to take care of its commitments both to its workers and passengers.

**B**ut things have not always been like this for the corporation. And as far as the workers are concerned management and government must pick up the blame for the prostrate state of the railways for it was its neglect of the sector over the years that has kept it (railways) on its knees. And there is evidence even from the testimony of one of its officials. Dr. Ogbemudia, in a paper he presented June 14, 1990 during the annual conference of the corporation said "in the 1950s and up till 1963, the NRC was not only breaking even, it made substantial profit that was invested in the future of the Railway corporation. It did this with 219 locomotives and a 29,000 workforce and a railway Track kilometrage of about 3,000km. Between the locomotives, they covered over 10 million km in a year." But several years of neglect has turned this around. According to Ndakotsu, the locomotive stock dwindled to about 15 in 1989 with a workforce of 26,000. Although since Dr. Ogbemudia took over in 1989, efforts have been made to reverse this trend, Ndakotsu, believes that, they need time to be able to reap more profits from Ogbemudia's initiatives. Some of

## "Workers will not go back unless..."

-Osunde

**Dr Lasisi Osunde, NLC General-Secretary**

*Citizen:* What is the NLC stand on the ongoing strike action embarked upon by NUR workers?

**Osunde:** The Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC) is fully aware of the strike action. And it is fully in support of the action. The N.U.R. has earlier wrote the secretary to inform us about their grievances which includes non-payment of their salaries, non-payment of gratuities for retrenched workers and planned retrenchment of more workers.

The NLC, then had on April 12 sent a letter to the N.U.R. to engage in a dialogue with their

management, which they did, but to our total dismay the management, refused to yield to the workers' demands. Thus in a situation like that the workers have to resort to the last option, and the NLC has expressed its support for rail workers' action.

*Citizen:* For how long will their strike action continue?

**Osunde:** There is no need of asking how long, everything depends on when the management answers to the workers' demand. The strike may be on for a month, a week, all depends on the man-

agement's position. But one thing is sure, that is, the workers will not go back to work unless their demands are met.

To the NLC the management act is a flagrant breach of the International Labour Organisation enactment of 1988, for not paying workers SAP relief barely three years after other workers elsewhere have been collecting the same (relief package). The NLC will continue to liaise with the N.U.R. on the necessary steps to be taken in pursuance of their grievances.

By Samson Ojo

Nwajei, the management failed to meet them and rather fixed another meeting for 6 May. A feeling of betrayal forced the union's Central Working Committee (CWC) to an emergency meeting where it was decided that if by 6 May, the management continued to renege on its firm pledge of 19 December, the workers would down tools. And so last Monday, following the management's inability to meet the workers' demand the workers made good their treat. *Citizen's* efforts to

workers.

He gave a gloomy picture of the corporation. "We pay about N13 million as salaries monthly but we are only able to generate between 7 million Naira and 9 force million Naira monthly. to pay three years arrears to railways 26,000 workforce would require a huge amount of money. Ndakotsu said, the corporation is handicapped by its inability to secure more locomotive engines and wagons with which they can generate more



Ogbemudia: handling NRC maturely?

the efforts to reactivate the corporation include the refurbishment of the grounded locomotive engines and wagon. About N1 billion went into this effort. Through this, the locomotive stock has appreciated from 15 in 1989 to 45 today. The corporation also embarked on mass transit programme on 2nd May 1989 when it launched the Agbodo/Iddo/Apapa mass transit train. Since then it has also launched rail mass transit in Enugu, Port-Harcourt, Kaduna, Zaria, Minna and Ibadan. The corporation has been reaping some money from this sectors. For instance, when it started in 1989, it carried about 272,167 passengers and earned 193,000 565.55 Naira in Lagos in May alone. In April last year in the same area, it commuted 132,501 passengers and raked in 114,561.50 Naira. On Enugu - Port-Harcourt route introduced 26 May, 1989, it carried 123,344 passengers and earned 433,234 Naira in the month of October, 1989. In April, 1990, 108, 223 passengers were commuted on the same route smiled to the bank with 495,907 Naira. On the Kaduna-Zaria route

corporation's wagons in October. It earned 29,149 Naira from them. But there was a decline in April '90 with 6,127 passengers on board with an earning of 12,187 Naira.

Incidentally, it is these same earnings figures that have made the workers to agitate their believe that given prudent and effective management, the railways can break even, make profits and pay them humane salaries and allowances. They point to the fact that before 1989, salaries used to be in arrears of three to four months, but now although its still not very regular, they are able to get their salaries in less arrears of time, a feat attributed to some sort better handling of matters by Dr. Ogbemudia. But they insist that these figures indeed justify their demands for the subsidies since its they who generate the quoted revenue. Frantic efforts are now being made to acquire more locomotive engines. According to Ndakotsu, government has paid for the procurement of 15 more locomotive at the cost of 20 million Naira each. "If things work out well, these engines are expected in November

this year" he told *Citizen* last week. Although this will still fall short of the minimum of 150 and maximum of 300 locomotive engines which Ndakotsu said would be needed for optimal operations of the corporation, he never-the-less opined that it would make an appreciable impact on its earnings.

Meanwhile, desperate efforts are being made to pacify the striking workers who seem bent on continuing their action until management accede to their demands. There are indications that government may rush in some grants to the corporation to pay the arrears. Apart from the arrears of meal subsidy and other allowances, another item that may have to be addressed is the prompt payment of salaries to workers. Presently, as the strike rages on, April salary is pending. Said one worker to *Citizen*: "I always wonder why it is only in railways that payment of salaries is news. I think government must find an effective means of solving this basic problem".

By Bolaji Adebisi  
with Samson Ojo

## BUSINESS BRIEF

# RIMS rolls a winning dice

At two RMB has shown how the young can grow

**R**ims Merchant Bank Limited has declared an after-tax profit of N12,722 million at the end of the financial year 1990. This is 216.8 percent higher than the 4,016 million Naira posted in 1989. And with a pre-tax profit of N46,033 million Naira as against 8.7m Naira recorded in 1989, the two year old bank's gross earnings rose from 37,893 million Naira in 1989 to 68.08 million Naira in 1990 representing an increase of 79.9 percent. The increase earning came mostly from interest, commission and lease fi-

nance.

While the total assets of the bank increased from N219.6 million in 1989 to 441.1 million in 1990 representing 100.8 percent: it has declared a dividend of 3.0 million Naira for its shareholders at 20 kobo per share. Similarly, the authorised share capital of the company has been increased from 15 million Naira to 40 million Naira by the creation of an additional 25 million Naira ordinary shares of one Naira each.

According to the chairman of the

bank, Alhaji Abdulahi Ibrahim (SAN, OFR) the impressive performance of the bank in the year under review was due to the dedication and hardwork of the management and staff. He added that "given the present economic situation in the country, I have no doubt in my mind that the challenges in the years ahead remain formidable and our success will largely be dependent on the calibre of staff and how they can respond to future challenges".

By Tola Sunday

## AFRICA

## South Africa Crackles in townships

President Frederick de Klerk scurries into action to beat ANC's ultimatum

May 9th was the deadline the African National Congress, ANC, gave South African President Frederick de Klerk to end the growing violence in the black townships. If there was no "positive response" from him by this date ANC would withdraw from further talks on the future of the country. Who wouldn't be bothered by the violence? Not in the least the ANC, whose members have been at the receiving end of the unholy alliance between the rival mainly Zulu Inkatha freedom movement and security forces. About 10,000 blacks have died in the township fighting since 1984, most of them ANC cadres. Mr de Klerk initially had his own idea of how to deal with this situation. He wanted a multiparty conference to discuss it and scheduled the meeting for May 24-25. But ANC disagreed, saying his government has the power to stop the killings without further discussion. Its ultimatum therefore should be seen

as a protest against what it sees as Mr de Klerk's "inaction against people who are behind the violence". The ANC's demands were really several: a ban on use of traditional Zulu weapons carried by Inkatha supporters, reform of the single sex hostel system for migrant workers, ending police partiality towards Inkatha and removal of the ministers of defence, law and order. The fear of the ANC has been that the security forces have been infiltrated by death-squads.

Though adamant that the constitutional talks must go ahead, Mr de Klerk moved quickly to head off ANC's planned mass action campaigns which would have started May 10. Two days to the deadline he "summoned" Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthe-lezi to Cape Town for "discussion". After the meeting, it was announced that the two reached "a broad consensus" on how to end the escalating violence. A joint statement said Mr.

de Klerk told Buthelezi about measures to curb the use of traditional weapons.

Mr. de Klerk followed it up with two days of meeting with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela on May 8-9. It produced probably not the kind of "movement" ANC wanted, but "positive response", sufficient to pacify its frayed nerves, in a way. After five hours of talks between President de Klerk and Mandela, law and order minister Adrian Vloex announced "operation stabilise" aimed to improve security in the townships.

It includes a ban on carrying of weapons at public gatherings, extra deployment of troops and police in eight townships around Johannesburg, a 14-day ban on open air gatherings and a change of the system of single sex hostels for migrant workers. There was nothing said about ANC's demand for the removal of the two ministers. Not that it really expected Mr. de Klerk to yield any ground on that point. "It's part of an overall package of demands", a spokesman said. He said ANC was prepared to "look at that again" if Mr. de Klerk gave "a positive response" to the other demands. Mandela himself is yet to respond to "Operation stabilise".

By Tawey Zalka

Score... in the  
**LIPTON**  
**TREE TOP**  
**DUO-SCOOP**

March 25 - June 28, 1991



Star  
Prizes

2 VIDEO CASSETTE  
RECORDERS



Star  
Prizes

4 REFRIGERATORS

Mid-way draw  
Kaduna-May 1991

## Cameroun

## "Infantile disease"

Students have opened another stage of the multi party democracy demonstrations

A week after the cosmetic political reforms announced by President Paul Biya after the emergency session of the Camerounian National Assembly, unrests have been reported at the University of Yaounde campuses. The students are calling for far-reaching political changes and the release of their colleagues who have been in detention since the beginning of the pro-democracy rally earlier in the year.

In the latest unrests, security forces clashed with the rampaging students who repeatedly re-grouped after being dispersed. Many of the students are reported to be under arrest. That, observers fear may fuel once more, the pro-democracy rallies that have subsided since the ruling of the national assembly. The current unrests are also seen as a sign of the failure of the government to satisfy the demands of the opposition, which students seem to be part and parcel of.

It was in response to the demonstrations that President Paul Biya called for an extra ordinary

session of the Camerounian national assembly. The legislators decided that the post of prime minister be reintroduced and that all political detainees be released. Obviously, while Biya quickly appointed a prime minister and instructed him to form a new government, the same can not be said for the release of political prisoners. Students who have become leading dramatis personae in the pro-democracy lobby form a large part of the latest detainees.

The students are just echoing the words of opposition parties who regarded Biya's consensus as not enough. They argued that while the government keeps screaming that it is allowing pluralism, it has either stopped or isolated them when taking political decisions. They site the appointment of the prime minister as one instance where the government, acting — unilaterally, appointed her own candidate.

The opposition is worried, most of all, by the government's refusal to allow a national conference to take place. They believe that only such a

conference will give the people the appropriate forum to discuss the political future of Cameroun. Why the Biya government is against the national conference is still not clear except of course the shadow of Mathieu Kerekou is still looming large in Cameroun's political horizon. The opposition is unyielding. The students' background clamour is deafening and the people have other



Biya: consensus not enough

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By Rabiou Barde

Star Prizes

40 TABLE FANS

4000 T-SHIRTS

Contestable Prizes

### To Win

Buy Tree Top/real fruit drink and peel off the Label. Or a pack of Lipton Tea and cut off the top panel  
Send the Tree Top Label Or Lipton top panel with your name and address clearly written on the back to

### LIPTON/TREE TOP DUO-SCOOP

Lever Brothers Nigeria PLC,  
15 Dockyard Road,  
P.O. Box 15, Apapa, Lagos.

OR

The Lever Brothers Office nearest to you

OR

Any MDS Depot:

and you qualify for one of the two draws. The mid-way draw to be held in Kaduna in May or the final draw coming up in Lagos in July, 1991

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Final-draw  
Lagos-July 1991

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Hurry send as many entries as you wish accompanying each entry with either a Label or Tree Top or the top panel from a Lipton pack you could win a fantastic prize in the LIPTON TREE TOP DUO-SCOOP.



LBN

Lever Brothers Nigeria  
A mud in every home

## Britain

## Tough times for Tories

All is not well with Major as he needs a boost to rally British electorates to the ideals of the Tory party

Last week's defeat of the conservatives in local council elections in Britain provided Prime Minister John Major testimony of the much Tories need to do to improve the party's political image. Early results of the elections from 369 local councils which depicted a 5% slide in favour of the opposition labour party was proof of the growing discontentment of the state of the nation's economy in a government led by the conservatives.

But the loss was not unexpected. The Tories visibly began falling out of favour with the populace in Margaret Thatcher's tenure, when as prime minister, her tax policy and the country's lapse economically worsened the living standard of the poor. More than any other domestic problem, therefore, the introduction of a uniform poll tax on adults from 18 years and above in place of tax in accordance

with income gradually brought Thatcher down and out of 10 Downing Street. The conservatives' loss at the polls last week has been largely attributed to the issue of poll tax.

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Labour leaders are resuming their criticisms of government more virulently. Seeing the need to concretise the policies of the party, labour leader, Neil Kinnock who last year promised a cancellation of the poll tax where a labour led

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So, as less insignificant as local council elections may be perceived in determining the outcome of general elections in Britain some say, the just concluded council elections in which the Council Democrats and the Labour Party won seats in Tory constituencies is a strong indication of what may unfold when the general elections are held. Major is alert to his party's impending fall. He is aware a lot needs to be tidied up. He may take more time in calling for an election.

By Delia Nzekwu



Major and Kinnock in battle of survival

## Bangladesh

## Death country

As water recedes, survivors are still helpless and corpses take over the place

Over 150 thousand people must have been killed by last week's cyclone that guts some parts of Bangladesh. Relief workers and government officials put the figure at about 125 thousand, but considering that over 75 thousand people were feared dead in Chittagong alone, the 150 thousand figure could be a conservative estimate. This is more so as relief workers are still finding it difficult to go through some affected areas. And people from some affected areas are still complaining of neglect by the government. They complain that unlike those that have died through direct effect of the disaster, they the survivors are now being threaten by death because of the inability of government to organise effective relief measures. The disaster was reported to have hit 16 of the 64 Bangladeshi disaster prone areas. Indeed, survivors face untold nightmare ahead. It was estimated that 700 thousand homes and 90% of crops, marine life and industrial areas were completely devastated.

People's fears about the government's inability to organise a successful relief operation, were confirmed. At first, there was nothing any kind of sophisticated technology could have done. Water just begun receding few days ago and even when the government appealed for helicopters, they got only 5 out of the 20 needed.

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## KABIRU YUSUF

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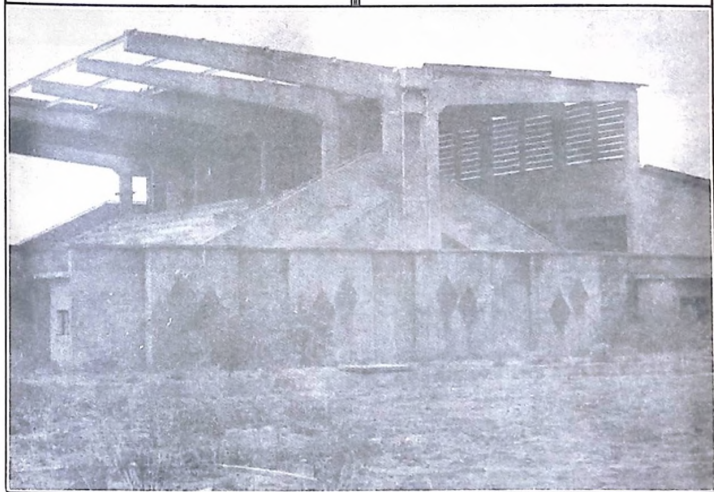
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# Citizen

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*One of the abandoned facilities at the ABS. Page 47.*

## South Africa Crackles in townships

President Frederick de Klerk scurries into action to beat ANC's ultimatum

May 9th was the deadline the African National Congress, ANC, gave South African President Frederick de Klerk to end the growing violence in the black townships. If there was no "positive response" from him by this date ANC would withdraw from further talks on the future of the country. Who wouldn't be bothered by the violence? Not in the least the ANC, whose members have been at the receiving end of the unholy alliance between the rival mainly Zulu Inkatha freedom movement and security forces. About 10,000 blacks have died in the township fighting since 1984, most of them ANC cadres. Mr de Klerk initially had his own idea of how to deal with the situation. He wanted a multiparty conference to discuss it and scheduled the meeting for May 24-25. But ANC disagreed, saying his government has the power to stop the killings without further discussion. Its ultimatum therefore should be seen

as a protest against what it sees as Mr de Klerk's "inaction against people who are behind the violence". The ANC's demands were really several: a ban on use of traditional Zulu weapons carried by Inkatha supporters, reform of the single sex hostel system for migrant workers, ending police partiality towards Inkatha and removal of the ministers of defence, law and order. The fear of the ANC has been that the security forces have been infiltrated by death-squads.

Though adamant that the constitutional talks must go ahead, Mr de Klerk moved quickly to head off ANC's planned mass action campaigns which would have started May 10. Two days to the deadline he "summoned" Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthe-lezi to Cape Town for "discussion". After the meeting, it was announced that the two reached "a broad consensus" on how to end the escalating violence. A joint statement said Mr.

de Klerk told Buthelezi about measures to curb the use of traditional weapons.

Mr. de Klerk followed it up with two days of meeting with ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela on May 8-9. It produced probably not the kind of "movement" ANC wanted, but "positive response", sufficient to pacify its frayed nerves, in a way. After five hours of talks between President de Klerk and Mandela, law and order minister Adrian Vloex announced "operation stabilise" aimed to improve security in the townships.

It includes a ban on carrying of weapons at public gatherings, extra deployment of troops and police in eight townships around Johannesburg, a 14-day ban on open air gatherings and a change of the system of single sex hostels for migrant workers. There was nothing said about ANC's demand for the removal of the two ministers. Not that it really expected Mr. de Klerk to yield any ground on that point. "It's part of an overall package of demands", a spokesman said. He said ANC was prepared to "look at that again" if Mr. de Klerk gave "a positive response" to the other demands. Mandela himself is yet to respond to "Operation stabilise".

By Tawey Zakka

Score... in the  
**LIPTON**  
**TREE TOP**

**DUO-SCOOP**

March 25 - June 28, 1991



Star Prizes

2 VIDEO CASSETTE RECORDERS



Star Prizes

4 REFRIGERATORS

Mid-way draw  
Kaduna-May 1991

## Cameroun

## "Infantile disease"

Students have opened another stage of the multi party democracy demonstrations

A week after the cosmetic political reforms announced by President Paul Biya after the emergency session of the Camerounian National Assembly, unrests have been reported at the University of Yaounde campuses. The students are calling for far-reaching political changes and the release of their colleagues who have been in detention since the beginning of the pro-democracy rally earlier in the year.

In the latest unrests, security forces clashed with the rampaging students who repeatedly re-grouped after being dispersed. Many of the students are reported to be under arrest. That, observers fear may fuel once more, the pro-democracy rallies that have subsided since the ruling of the national assembly. The current unrests are also seen as a sign of the failure of the government to satisfy the demands of the opposition, which students seem to be part and parcel of.

It was in response to the demonstrations that President Paul Biya called for an extra ordinary

session of the Camerounian national assembly. The legislators decided that the post of prime minister be reintroduced and that all political detainees be released. Obviously, while Biya quickly appointed a prime minister and instructed him to form a new government, the same can not be said for the release of political prisoners. Students who have become leading dramatis personae in the pro-democracy lobby form a large part of the latest detainees.

The students are just echoing the words of opposition parties who regarded Biya's consensus as not enough. They argued that while the government keeps screaming that it is allowing pluralism, it has either stopped or isolated them when taking political decisions. They site the appointment of the prime minister as one instance where the government, acting — unilaterally, appointed her own candidate. The opposition is worried, most of all, by the government's refusal to allow a national conference to take place. They believe that only such a

conference will give the people an appropriate forum to discuss the political future of Cameroun. While the Biya government is against a national conference is still not clear except of course the shadow Mathieu Kerekou is still looming large in Camerouns political horizon. The opposition is unyielding. The students' background clamour deafening and the people have other



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Consolation Prizes

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Lever Brothers Nigeria  
A must in every home

LBN

Final-draw  
Lagos-July 1991

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But the loss was not unexpected. The Tories visibly began falling out of favour with the populace in Margaret Thatcher's tenure, when as prime minister, her tax policy and the country's lapse economically worsened the living standard of the poor. More than any other domestic problem, therefore, the introduction of a uniform poll tax on adults from 18 years and above in place of tax in accordance

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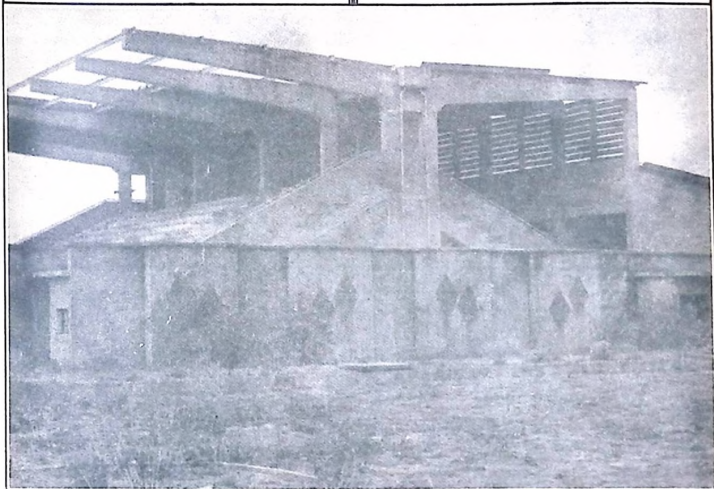
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*One of the abandoned facilities at the ABS. Page 47.*

QUENCH  
THIS FIRE!  
O CREATOR OF  
ALL!



-A-A-AMIN!  
AMIN!



?!?



A-A-AMEN!  
AMEN!



AMIN!  
AMIN!  
AMIN!



THEY SOUND SO MUCH  
ALIKE! WHY THE FIRE  
THEN? WHY?... I WONDER  
WHAT



AMEN!  
AMEN!  
AMEN!



NO WONDER  
THEY WON'T  
LET ME  
WORSHIP  
IN PEACE!



!?!?



# VIP prisoners

**I**t is not surprising that rules are bent backwards to accommodate the rich even in the most disciplined society. After all privileged *Citizens*, taste should always differ from that of the masses. And this must be highlighted and never forgotten even on those rare occasions when the former find themselves sharing prison cells with the latter.

That is why, warders at any of the nation's 130 prisons now rent out "special" cells to the rich prisoners who can afford to make 100 Naira or 200 Naira quarterly payments. Of course the cells are special because disease infested commoners among prisoners are prevented from rubbing shoulders with privileged jailbirds. And for a millionaire convict, what difference does 100 or 200

Naira make to the loot stashed away in anticipation of better days after release from prison?

The ever reliable sources that informed my exclusive eye also made it clear that this side business by the warders has been sustained because the goodies sent to them by relations of convicts, in appreciation for special cells and other special facilities also trickle down to the lower cadre. The package for the VIP (very irresponsible prisoners) includes mail and food trafficking while the news hungry ones among them (don't dare make the mistake of calling them journalists) also get a transistor radio smuggled to them.

I do not intend to go and visit these prisons, at least not while infectious diseases have found abode there. These are occasions when not



seeing is believing. However, I can swear by the sanctity of my eye that high class prisoners like oily Tam Westerlys, the Kilas of corpses fame and all those who have dipped their hands too deep into our public kitty can still have a taste of luxury in prison.

Verily, those who say money can't buy anything do not know where to shop. They should try the prisons.

# The Barons

**D**espite the decree promulgated by the Federal Government which banned the barons from participating in politics they still met in secret.

The barons met with Baron *Maidauri* (recalled from his southern abode) as chairman. He invited *Maiyasin* to say the opening prayers, who however requested another baron to do so. That done, the meeting proceeded.

**Baron Maidauri** — We all know the purpose of our meeting — to deliberate on the recent developments brought about by the latest presidential broadcast, the outbursts or tirades against our class. He not only castigated us in very strident language but to add insult to injury we were caged. We are prevented from participating in the game we know best — politics, the clean or dirty brand of it! What do we do now? Shall we wash our experienced

hands off it and leave greenhorns to practice it to the detriment of our dear fatherland? Or shall we confront the military by mobilising the masses to demand for justice and enthronement of true democracy that permits all citizens to participate in the governance of their country? I reserve my comments until later in order not to prejudice the discussion. The floor is open.

**Baron Maiyasin** — Alhamdu Lillahi (praise be to God S.W.T.). When the regime made its debut in August 1985 and released most of us from dungeons we clapped our hands for them. Shortly after, the government promised to hand over power to the civilians — to us, being the true, authentic representatives of the people of Nigeria — just as SWAPO (South West African Peoples Organisation) was for the Namibian people — we showered encomiums on the khaki boys, in particular our new military president — the smiling Sarki (King). Amidst this euphoria some of us expressed mixed feelings

as to what will be our fate under the new dispensation. Our fears are now justified. The military have now cast us into the dust bin of Nigeria's political history. Shall we fold our arms and quit the stage for the so-called newbreed?

**Baron Maisaje** (Stroking his beard cut in to say) how can we abandon our teeming admirers leaving them to be manipulated by the unholy alliance of the khaki boys and their drinking mates — the new breed who invariably are the soldiers age mates, classmates, playmates etc. We must continue to participate in politics come rain or shine. I cannot do without it. It has been in my blood for the past 15 years. My ancestors have been playing the power game for generations. The chairman — I have been in it since the introduction of the Macpherson Constitution in 1954, that is for over 30 years. Though I am being compulsorily retired I am not yet tired of playing this noble game — It is not dirty as some people claim.

# Pleasure of love

**E**rotic expressions of love are not unusual with poets. They communicate their depth of emotions to their loved ones and to anyone who can spare the time to read meanings into their lives

Today I discern the beauty in God's hand from behind the veil,

Spritty, warm and Soul elevating.

Ishaq Ali-Agan



## The love I want

There is only one path of love  
That is understanding  
I want a love that understands me  
that I understand  
So we will be like  
the dove and the sky  
We will be so high  
In height above deceptions  
So high above hatred and selfish-  
ness  
That the banner is not tethered  
and souls are not  
subjugated by ill-feelings  
We make the sky our bed  
The moon our pillow  
We shall be not in darkness  
Light in the day, and at night  
While the breeze will blow  
away our misunderstandings  
and leave us with the cherished  
understanding  
And in this flight  
banner of humanity will be so  
spread  
from one end of the earth  
to another  
For this race and the next to see.

Olawale Okunade

## Concert II (for Khadijat)

There's divinity  
in God's testament

Dream, vision in art  
behind the veil.

There's greatness  
unknown behind  
the anointed veils  
of light,

Wondrous as mystic  
beauty, milky, cool  
and satiating;

## For a missing alterego

Some call their girls Baby,  
While others call their's Babe,  
But me I tagged you "my love".

That day came and you left,  
I was walking by your left,  
Escorting you my love

I waved taxi stopping,  
But, you just kept standing,  
He reversed and picked you my  
love

To home you said you were going,  
I don't know where he's heading,  
Later, kidnapped you my love.

I remembered those smiles,  
When we were about parting,  
Adieu forever my love.

You being picked up by the bandit,  
I can't go to the "audit",  
For they can't help you my love.

Are you dead or alive?  
How I wish am to dive?  
To release you out my love

Ibrahim Isa Abbas

## The university bride

The varsity bride  
The maiden damsel  
The symbol of academia  
The epitome of modernism  
The undergraduate per se

Creeps into the varsity  
Crawls into the citadel  
Citadel of intellectualism  
Core of academic excellence  
Central seat of research

Finding solace in guesthood  
Preserving that her chastity  
Retaining that her dignity  
Piercing through a mission  
Knowledge excellence fame

No sooner than she settles  
Down she begins to fancy  
And cherish the exigencies  
Of campus conglomeration  
Associative of galloping influx

The cherishable elegance  
The over stretched indecency  
The scintillating winters  
The tantalising summers  
The fascinating realisms

The exuberance and gorgeousness  
The flamboyance and glamour  
The conspicuous la belles et al  
The fine and good tidings  
The ugly and indirect mindings

Fanciful indeed in need  
What are these experiences?  
She seem to query herself  
Is this a freedom fence?  
She must make a choice

Not too much pondering  
Not very many reflections  
No sufficient re-thinking  
No more considerations  
Nor any anticipations

She just tilts for the  
Stultifying and assimilating  
Dilapidating and jawbreaking  
Degrading flabbergasting  
Disenchanting and disturbing

Abubakar Abba Tahir

# Occupational stress II

By Kayode Ogungbemi

There are many practical guides on prevention of stress but just two of such guides will be discussed in this article. First, recognition of the symptoms of stress: People under stress become more irritable, show a change in sleeping pattern, increase drinking and smoking behaviour and become increasingly tired and restless. They develop feeling of inadequacy and self doubt. Their memory and power of concentration function less. They may also develop some psychosomatic ailments such as headaches, indigestion before full blown stress related disorders.

If we recognise symptoms of stress we can take steps to introduce early therapeutic intervention. Our mode of reaction to stress de-

pends on the basic defence mechanisms we have acquired in coping



with anxiety. The most important of these are psychological defence strategies such as avoidance, repression, denial and projection. These are used to protect ourselves from day to day stress. They become pathological when the responses are excessive or inappropriate. For top executives, it will be appropriate for them to consult experts in stress management so that they could identify likely sources of stress and develop appropriate prevention or prophylactic plan. In addition, relaxation, exercise and physical fitness are important.

A wise and intelligent man will not neglect his personal asset—his health in a bid to get to the top or remain at the top. If he does he will retire early because his health will fail him when he needs it most.

## Ten tough jobs

Only recently have consultants and psychologists begun to study workplace tension in depth. They have discovered that the most trying professions are those involving danger and extreme pressure—or that carrying responsibility without control. The symptoms of stress have been found to range from frequent illness to nervous tics and mental lapses. The most common tips for dealing with it focus on relaxation. But sometimes the only answer is to fight back—or walk away.

### 10 Tough Jobs

Inner-city high — school teacher  
Police officer

#### Miner

Air — traffic controller  
Medical intern  
Stockbroker  
Journalist  
Customer service/complaint department worker  
Waitress  
Secretary

### Warning signs

Intestinal distress  
Rapid pulse  
Frequent illness  
Insomnia  
Persistent fatigue  
Irritability  
Nail biting  
Lack of concentration

Increased use of alcohol and drugs  
Hunger for sweets.

### Ways to Cope

Maintain a sense of humour  
Meditate  
Get a massage  
Exercise regularly  
Eat more sensibly  
Limit intake of alcohol and caffeine  
Take refuge in family and friends  
Delegate responsibility  
Stand up to the boss  
Quit.

American Institute of  
Stress Management.

# Home makers on the high table

Women converge in Ilorin for a national workshop on the lot of the Nigerian Women



Awe: Women folk still derogated

The high-table for instance was electrified with the high-voltage presence of the wives of three service chiefs. Maryam Ibrahim, president of the Nigerian Army Officers Wives Association (NAOWA), Zainab Nyako, president, Naval Officers Wives Association (NAVA) and Mrs. Atta, president of the Police Officers Wives Association (POWA). There were also the hosts; Hajija Hajarat Kazir, wife of the Kwara State military governor and Alhaja R.O. Sanni, Director-General of the State's Women Affairs department.

Emily Aig-Imokhoude, president, National Council of Women Societies (NCWS), Hajija Toma Ibrahim, the only female commissioner in the National Electoral Commission, irrepressible Hajija Abibatu Mogaji of the Lagos State Marketing Women Association, Dr. Doyin Abiola, Mrs Enyatu Ifene, the N.C.W.S. Executive Secretary, Professor Zulu Sofola, Sarah Jubril among other eminent personalities also formed part of the crowd that made the day for elated Professor Bolanle Awe, Chairman of the National Commission for Women.

Not surprisingly, Kwara State Deputy Governor, Mr. E. O. Oyeipio whose assignment it was to declare the workshop open on behalf of his boss Colonel Alwali Kazir, said he was frightened by the sheer array of the "homemakers of our nation" who have distinguished themselves in their various professional callings present at the workshop.

The chairman of the National Commission for Women, Professor Bolanle Awe was however full of lamentation for the derogated position of women folk in the country. Said she, "they are confronted by a legacy of structures of inequality

which are reinforced by misperceptions that produce a seemingly unending cycle that retards the pace of their own personal development, relegates them largely to the reproductive sphere of life, affords them minimum chances or fails to harness their full potential for national development". Professor Awe, who recalled that an advisory committee was set up to study and recommend strategies for combating discriminatory practices against widows as a follow-up to the commission's Owerri workshop, also hinted at the establishment of a consultative committee on non-governmental organisations soon.

Highlights of the Ilorin meet which had as its theme "Women and non-governmental organisations — Catalyst for the Integration of Women in National Development" include the rendering of progress reports by various women organisations in the country.

A 12-point communique released at the end of the workshop stressed the need for further empowerment of the National Commission for Women "to be more effective and efficient in meeting the needs of women".

The only discordant note was sounded by the leader of Lagos State Market Women Association, Alhaja Abibatu Mogaji. While admitting that the Better Life Programme has attempted to broaden the horizon of women participation in issues affecting them, she said that most women organisations stand accused of elitism. She charged; "How many of those who participate at national seminars give feedback to their people back at home. How many of them have visible links with toiling women?"

By Olaide Tella

**T**hroughout Nigeria, the new song is catching on. Hitherto, the popular wisdom had been to stress the unseen hand of the woman behind the glittering accomplishments of "every successful man". Such "tokenism" does not seem to cut a dash with Nigerian womenfolk anymore. They now take opportunity at every appropriate public forum to stress that not only are women actually beside their successful men, they are prepared to go further.

For two days last month, women converged in Ilorin from all over the federation for a workshop on "Women and non-governmental organisations. Catalyst for the Integration of women in national development" organised by the national commission for women, the workshop held at the posh banquet hall of the state-owned Kwara Hotels from 17th to 28th March, 1991, the talk shop was used to showcase the new found spirit of oneness amongst Nigerian women.

# Abandoned facilities dare Kure

Kure's official visit to Kaduna brings him face to face with multi-million Naira sports facilities wasting away under his ministry

The visit of the minister of Youth and Sports Major General Yohanna Kure (rtd) to Ahmadu Bello Stadium and Murtala Mohammed Square, both in Kaduna, last Thursday was like opening up a festering wound. The minister, who came on inspection tour of facilities and staff of the headquarters of the federal ministry of youth and sports zone six, certainly had far more problems to contend with than he had ever imagined. Like a critically-ill patient left unattended to, the Ahmadu Bello Stadium (ABS) which was pulled down in 1987 for the abortive world youth soccer championship Nigeria was bidding to host, met the minister with lamentation of anguish. But the stadium is not alone in its travail of sorrow. Also suffering the same fate is the abandoned multi-million Naira sports complex beside the stadium, and the Murtala Moham-

med Square which was meant to serve the same purposes as Abubakar Tafawa Balewa Square in Lagos. But nay, the once magnificent edifice is falling apart every day, becoming more of a repulsive sight than the elegance of beauty it was initially.

Inanimate object they were though, they found a voice to channel their grievances to the honourable ministers through the zone six co-ordinator Tijjani Yusuf. The zonal coordinator relayed to the minister the deplorable state of these major facilities which, if they were in good shape, would have been breeding first class athletes for the country. Yusuf said the ABS "which used to rank as number one not only in the North but the country at large is now a shadow of itself". The same plight befalls the multi-millions Naira stadium sports complex, which was to host the 1977 national

sports festival but, according to him, is now hosting criminals and reptiles. "My heart bleeds whenever I take a look at a gigantic project which was abandoned at the last stage of completion." He further explained that the pulling down of ABS has cost states like Kaduna, Kano, Katsina and Sokoto dearly because some of their athletes have had to travel to Lagos on several occasions



Kure: shocked



Peters: assures victory



One of the abandoned facilities

to train on tartan tracks.

The sports minister himself made an on-the-spot assessment of the facilities which were rotting away at the zonal headquarters. The first port of call was the sports complex. And like many sports ministers before him, witnessed how rare sporting facilities of international standard were wasting away. Like a silent observer he took note, and occasionally, asked some questions as he was being conducted round but did not make any definitive statement on what would be the plight of the complex where works were 70 to 80 percent completed before it was abandoned. He simply described the situation as very unfortunate. It was not surprising when some zonal staff and press men who had accompanied many past ministers to tour the complex several times, described the exercise as a ritual in futility. Some of the skeptics even joked openly that they would repeat the same ritual with the next sports minister in the next civilian regime. midst the multiples of problems that were chasing the minister right and

people had erected buildings and other structures on the stadium's landed property. The squatters were so daring that they even chased away officials and contractors of the federal ministry of youth and sports who were to fence the stadium. The same squatters forced the construction of the zone six gymnasium to be sited on the practising pitch of the stadium because the most convenient place for it has become a subject of litigation. An official of the Kaduna State Urban Planning and Development Authority (KASUPDA) however, cleared the air on the issue in a response to the minister's enquiry as to who approved plans or gave out certificates of occupancy for the portions taken over by the encroachers. The KASUPDA official told the minister that those structures were illegal, because there were no approved plans for them. The encroach-

ment is however bound to cause some delay to the construction of the gymnasium because the minister did indicate that work should be temporarily halted until the issues were cleared and a suitable site acquired for it.

Earlier in his speech, Major General Kure said the new zonal policy was too young in operation for anybody to criticise or praise it. He, however, told the ministry of youth and sports zonal staff that it would be a failure on their part if the policy was to be reviewed after a short period of its operation. He urged the zone to help realise the federal government's dream of hunting for talents in the grass roots by offering technical assistance to all the sports councils under their jurisdiction.

By Joe Olajuwon

## Boxing

# Heavier than a fly

The heavyweight category is being outweighed by boardroom shuffles and lack of men with heavy hearts

**A** left, he was still able to find time to attend to the junior national team, the Flying Eagles, who are currently in camp in ABS hostel, Kaduna where they are preparing for their All-Africa Games qualifying match against the Young Elephants of Cote D'Ivoire in Abidjan on Sunday. He congratulated them for their victory against Togo and charged them to go out in the same gallant spirit and secure a ticket to the All-Africa Games by beating Cote D'Ivoire, their last opponents in the Cairo race. James Peters, Flying Eagles chief coach, told the minister that his presence was a great moral booster and assured him that they would do everything possible to qualify for the All-Africa Games.

Another problem that put a lot of strain on the sports minister was the issue of encroachment on the ABS land. The minister was told by the zonal coordinator of how some

**W**hat then is the guarantee that retired and aged heavyweights like Ken Norton, Joe Frazier, Mohammed Ali and even Joe Louis, would not be staging a comeback? As long as senior citizen, the punching preacher, George Foreman continues to impress the mad circle of the sweat science, there is no hope for us. Heavyweight boxing needs a redeemer since Larry Holmes decided to decentralise it by accepting to assume the championship of the International Boxing Federation, IBF, and even the brutish, yet embarrassing reign of Iron Mike Tyson. Each time we watch or discuss a heavyweight bout, we get understandably nostalgic. George Foreman — Larry Holmes' started retracing his steps too — would not let such feelings pass by without a physical statement. At the first break he has

pummelled 23 modern day warriors to submission. The last one couldn't beat him (Foreman) like Muhammad Ali did when they rumbled in the jungle of Zaire in 1974.

Boxing fans are supposed to be sad over Foreman's performance against undisputed champion, Evander Holyfield last month. They are. The sympathy and accolades were not inspired by the "future" Foreman has, nor for boxing's future, but for the filial ingratitude exhibited by Holyfield in beating a senior citizen, a preacher even. With sympathies aside, we all agreed that big Foreman has told us that our present heavyweights are not just giving us value for money. The fear is that George Foreman may have opened a floodgate of come backs: foremost is the fact that Foreman is being seen by promoters as a sure money spinner anytime. It means he is now

about guaranteed two more fights with Larry Holmes and then with the winner between Tyson and Holyfield.

Undoubtedly, with the exception of Larry Holmes, no heavy-weight, beginning from 1980, can get on the list of any boxing writer or historian's Top 10 (Ten) all-time greats. Tyson almost elbowed his way in there. He wouldn't have lasted more than two rounds with brutes like him — Frazier, Sonny

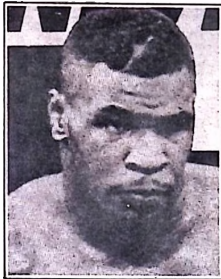


*Holyfield: back to the pretenders club*

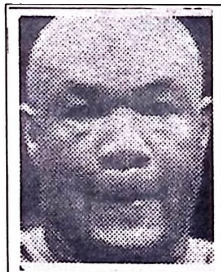
Liston, Ken Norton and George Foreman, or even Joe Louis, Rocky Marciano and Jackson — in their prime. Evander Holyfield for his intelligence might only be a spot if he beats Tyson comprehensively. But why is it so bad, even though the

money is still going up. Yeah, it is the money that today's boxers fight for. For the money also, they have become politicians, or better put, shrewd business managers. The escapades of Don King are well known. Bob Arum is not doing badly too. The regular ratings are now disregarded when considering opponents for champions; these three (excluding WBO) boxing organisations, each proclaiming superiority. In the mid-eighties Michael Spinks, Tim Witherspoon and Trevor Berbick all fret the stage as world champions. And when Tyson finally unified the titles

by beating Tony Tucker (1988), Tony Tubbs (1987) and Berbick 1986, Don King has just got himself a money-



*Tyson: a gold mine for all*



*Foreman: impressive at forty*

spinner he uses anyway that pleases, usually to the denigration of the other contenders. Sadly too, most of the contenders also cherish going into the ring with Tyson to last a round and still grin to the bank. Michael Spinks, Carl Williams, Trevor Berbick and Tony Tubbs all fell within two rounds. Then a certain miracle took place at the Tokyo Dome, Japan in February 1990.

James 'Buster' Douglas unheralded won, stopped larger than life Tyson after ten rounds to post arguably the biggest boxing upset of all-times. Don King even brought to bear his political mischief and almost succeeded. Thank God boxing

was saved from such a monumental humiliation. But we all knew Tyson "got beaten" by a nonentity among the rated fighters. We expected Douglas not to last. And it happened, for he was sent back to a place we all thought he belonged — pretenders' club. We welcomed Evander Holyfield just like we did Douglas when he beat Tyson — and even more. Evander "Real Deal" has been an uncrowned King since his cruiserweight days, so expected him to take over the ultimate title. We also expected that he is going to last, we thought he is going to bring the old credibility back to the scene. But with his first defence against 42 year old George Foreman, we are not sure anymore.

It is not so irredeemably bleak. Although, the top-ten fighters are not quite assuring us of a return of the good old days, we think, in 2 years the scene will witness heavy activity. The Ring's April Top-Ten line-up looks like this: Evander Holyfield, Mike Tyson, Razor Ruddock, Buster Douglas, Tim Witherspoon, Carl Williams, Francisco Damiani, Riddick Bowe, Ray Mercer and George Foreman. However in the last two months heavyweights boxing future looks as though it will have to be predicated on four impressive youngsters: Bruce Seldon, Lennox Lewis, Riddick Bowe and Ray Mercer. The last three are all Olympic medalists. Briton Lennox Lewis is now the European champion after beating Garry Mason (KO-R7), Riddick Bowe recently beat former WBA champion, Tony Tubbs while Ray Mercer knocked-out big Italian Francisco Damiani.

Baring any disappointment, the most significant fight in boxing history since the 1978 Larry Holmes — Ken Norton bout, is the Evander Holyfield Mike Tyson fight. Meanwhile, you can bet your bottom Naira on any among the quartet to be the subject of multi-million-dollar fights. Most certainly, one of them should be a world champion by the second half of this decade.

By Rabi Barde

ADAMU ADAMU S

DEFINITIONS  
IN HUMOUR

## Sleeping genes

"People ask me who I support for president", Art Bachwald said in 1984 "And I am happy to tell them: as a humour columnist, I prefer (Ronald) Reagan. I have to think of myself before my country." That's what I call honest, level-headed patriotism. But what can one call such a president? Better let sleeping dogs lie. Lets see what happens when they are woken up. Most often sleepings dogs won't lie, they will tell the truth. Ha! ha!!

Once an Arab nobleman and a Bantu dignitary were disputing about genealogy. The Arab race is the purest and the longest, and the only one continuously unbroken, the Arab said boastfully.

No, the black race is the most unadulterated the Bantu said. It is the mother of all races.

"Tell me, my dear", the Arab asked, "have you ever had your family connections traced?"

"No, not exactly," the Bantu replied forgetting the point of the argument he truthfully added, "well, but the police did once trace my brother as far as Morocco."

Realising what he has just done, the Bantu growled and menacingly stared at the Arab. "I didn't come

here to be insulted," he said sharply.

"Why, where do you normally go?" the Arab asked.

"Have you had your family tree traced? You know each one of us has it"

"Yes of course. When mine was traced I found all of us living on it."

"That's what I call monkey business."

"Now are we to believe the prophets or do we believe Darwin?"

"It is difficult to say. The choice is between man as a fallen angel or man as a promoted ape."

"I side with the prophets—I intend to rise up."

## Abattoir

After house-hunting for a tenth of a decade I know all the horrors of landlords, landladies, estate agents and other loafers. Most often the lord is also the neighbour (*nay-bar*, but it has nothing to do with the *Abattoir* that you may have to take to adequately asses what havoc an abattoir can cause). Get it? Right, then you must listen to what I regard as the ultimate neighbourly relations between a lord and his tenant. Some say it is a true joke: I'm not a judge of jokes.

When I lived in lodgings my landlord kept some animals in the yard at the back of the house.

The first day I was there, one of the chickens died, so we had chicken soup.

The next day, the sheep died, so we had mutton chops.

The following day, the duck died, so we had roast duck with tomato sauce.

The next day the landlord's wife died—and so I left".

## Marriage of inconvenience

SDP Chairman King Ibe (Ib) (Ah that's politics of royalty and new breeding) and NLC, Not National Lepublican convention but Nigerian Labour congress) Chairman Bafyau appear to be locked in a marriage—of inconvenience to the other side. But it will probably end in a bitter moon, in any case.

On the other hand, NRC chairman Ikimi seems to think he is in charge of the Nigerian Railway Corporation, NRC and not a political party of similar acronym. No wonder he acts as if he is a sole administrator. But who says he is not?

A Thomas is a Tom; a yes-man is a yes-man' and never the twain shall meet. And as they do a yes-man will always say "Yes". Leadership, they say (and they are right), is the art of being told what you want to hear in a language that you will approve.

And soon it will be the art of bravery facing what you have meticulously planned to resist. NRC and SDP are children of President Babangida, aren't they? Well they are now after his job can you beat that for showing gratitude?

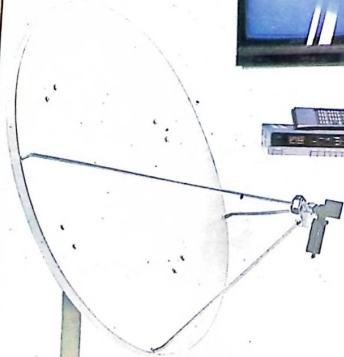
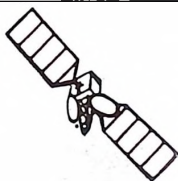
Like poles attract; unlike poles repel. Unlikely poles, vault. This is what I call giving electromagnetism a whiff of athletics.

And that is only the beginning. When you add gravitation (the natural political force that snatches) you get the elixir political physics, which is athletic, magnetic (*Mayen Karfe*) and an accomplished snatcher. Here therefore is the first rule of electropolitical magnetism.

In the limit as the slight increment in time approaches zero, unlikely poles will vault leaving space free, and the political prize can be isolated, insulated, signed, sealed and snatched.

Ha! ha!!





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