

DECEMBER 9 - 15 1991 VOL.2 NO 50

# Citizen

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## THE GOVERNORS:

# Who Wins?



BOTSWANA.....100P  
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FCA ZONE.....700CF

ETHIOPIA.....EB4  
GHANA.....C300  
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Locust beans  
now in cube form

New  
**Dadawa**  
Cubes

New Dadawa cubes come with that same appetising locust beans taste and aroma, for a tasteful difference in your okro, vegetable and melon soups.

New Dadawa cubes are specially refined and hygienically packed.



**New Dadawa** Cubes -for that unique taste of home cooking

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Will they make the right choice

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One of the latest to be arrested



Thirteen banned politicians are arraigned for violating the transition to civil rule decree

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## PREFACE

As with so many things in life, news flow has its two extremes — too little on the one hand and too much on the other. In recent weeks, last week particularly, most newsrooms have probably experienced too much — thanks to the numerous elections and their aftermaths — local government bye-elections, primaries, run-offs and NEC's interventions to sort out those that were controversial and inconclusive. The public was just recovering from NEC's bombshell of last week, when government released two more devastating ones in quick succession: First, it gave NEC the awesome power to determine who is fit to run for public office. Hitherto, it was a power properly reserved for the courts where, in principle at least, due process would guarantee fairness and objectivity. Before the public could recover from this shocker, the government did what many thought was impossible — invite 13 of the most powerful movers and shakers of society to Lagos for detention. These power brokers, who included Major-General Shehu Yar'adua, once the country's number two citizen, several civilian governors, ministers and senators, were banned from the transition politics but apparently refused to stay banned. Hence their detention.

Meantime, December 14 had been fixed for the governorship elections. Swamped by all these stories — elections, bans, disqualifications and detention of society's Who's Who — it was not easy deciding which was the most important. In the end, however, we chose the governorship race. The detentions provided more drama, and cast a shadow on the elections. Still the elections were more important because on their outcome would depend the integrity of the transition programme — or what is left of it after it has been tampered with so many times.

To assess who wins and who loses in the 30 states and one mayoralty, all hands at *Citizen* were put on deck. As a result we are giving you as a cover this week, a very thorough and comprehensive story, our longest to date. Chances are you won't read a more informed and accurate account of Saturday's election anywhere else

*Mohammed Haruna*

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## LETTERS

## Violent muslims?

Sir,

The recent carnage in Kano had come and gone leaving behind its ugly memory. Overtly sensationalized media reports (both print and electronic) have expectedly followed, giving a sorry picture of muslims "killing" and "maiming" christians. Even though we didn't find the reportings amusing, it was however expected because we are at the mercy of a christian-dominated media who will stop at nothing to pursue their undeclared war against Islam and muslims.

It is simply a case of a crusade that has been happening not only in Nigeria but all over the world. History has proved that all renowned international crises that have come to pass — the two world wars, the two Gulf wars, the invasion of Libya, the dropping of the atom bomb in Japan etc — were planned, hatched and executed by christians.

The media has deliberately failed to go beyond pre-mordial sectional interests to educate the Nigerian leadership on the remote and immediate causes of the riot.

Muhammed Hassan  
Makurdi

## Crackdown

Sir,

Professor Humphrey Nwosu's bold, courageous and decisive broadcast of last Monday, 25th November, 1991 has given us a ray of hope and optimism that the electorate may still have the opportunity to vote into office state governors of their choice through free and fair elections.

The positive measures already taken by the commission against some states and candidates must be extended to other states and candidates where gross abuses of the campaign and electoral processes

were also witnessed — Niger State NRC inclusive, where the electoral malpractices were also glaringly, arrogantly and defiantly carried out. The nation is watching and waiting.

Halilu Usman Bida  
Kaduna

## The writing on the wall

Sir,

During the first week of October, President Babangida was in New York to address the United Nations. It so happened that a "request" to visit the White House was in the air. But alas! to our greatest disappointment, the White House could not honour the "request".

This on-off again nature of President Babangida's visit to Washington DC, to me, was not all that ridiculous. What was really ridiculous was the "bashing" of the failed White House visit by the Nigerian media. What was even more ridiculous was the Vice President Aikhom's "counterbashing" of the media.

The Nigerian media, it seems had a wrong diagnosis, and thus their treatment was wrong. The cause is none other than those strategic planners and tactical programmers of President Babangida

On top of these are the political and the economic odds. Unfortunately for us President Babangida at the OAU Summit in Abuja, in his characteristic enigmatic surprise-package style, attempted to take the bull by the horn, so it seems, by calling on the West to cancel Africa's debt.

This was futile considering that with the savings and loan banking collapse, the BCCI scandal, the ongoing banking crisis — a sort of "wild fire" which has burnt down many banks and bankrupted many here in America — you can sense that it would be an uphill battle. Even mega-banks like Citibank are

not insulated from this wild fire. Citibank for the first time since it was established could not pay.

If President Babangida's strategic planners could not see the "writing on the wall" or failed to acknowledge it, it stands to reason that the White House strategists surely saw it, acknowledged it and responded accordingly.

Isa Muhammad Wada  
Washington DC, USA

## FSB/Trade Bank swindle — a rejoinder

Sir,

We wish to inform Tijani Ibrahim and others that our investigation from Federal Savings Bank, FSB shows that these schemes are in most cases deducted at source and a cheque raised for the federal ministry of state pay office or of a state office ministry. The cheque is then sent to FSB branch with the schedule of names of the workers involved.

Our source claimed that in most cases, these cheques do not come to FSB branch in the month the money was deducted. Sometimes, it takes two to three months. It is not impossible therefore that FSB had, at the time of this complaint, not received the cheques for the months of June and July 2, 1991.

Another issue raised was that these cheques might have been received by FSB but due to omission in the schedule of names e.g. account number of customers involved, the FSB branch might have no alternative than to credit the particular customers value to a suspense account pending when the customer will come for rectification.

We wish to assure Mr Ibrahim that this issue is appropriately being taken up with the FSB International Authority and who after due investigation will appropriately credit us with both capital and interest if the case is found by them to be authentic.

Trade Bank Plc  
Ilorin

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

# DEMOCRACY ENCOURAGES DEBATE NOT SILENCE

Democracy may seem loud and unruly. At times it is, especially in a democratic party as ours. But out of this process of conflict and its resolution emerges a culture in which everyone is heard.

VOTE  
**SDP**



We hold it as a fundamental principle that in a democratic party, robust dissent is much to be preferred to purchased silence.

*Your better choice...for progress.*

# NEC's critical test

In five days time, the National Electoral Commission will face its biggest challenge so far in the transition programme as it conducts the governorship and mayoralty elections. At stake are 30 governorships plus the mayoralty of Abuja, our new federal capital.

The road to Saturday's elections has been hard and rocky. It is a road strewn with local government elections that have thrown up new breed politicians who, generally speaking, have proved of doubtful integrity and competence. Along the way, the party officials, in conducting primaries for the governorship elections have themselves raised doubts as to their ability for fairness as umpires.

Government, itself, has further complicated matters, first by creating new states and an unwieldy number of local governments rather late in the day. And then when it moved, through NEC, to sort out the muddled primaries following widespread rigging and violence, it succeeded only in muddling matters even more, by its selective nullification of elections and arbitrary banning of some of the contestants. Lately it has worsened things by giving NEC the awesome power of deciding who is fit to govern a state.

Properly speaking, this power belongs to the courts because, in theory at least, they can, through due process behave objectively. Since due process, can be time consuming and right now time appears to be what government has little of, the next best thing, was to rely on the election tribunals

with mandate to give accelerated hearing.

Government, in its wisdom, has decided instead to vest NEC with such awesome powers. Professor Ema Awa, Professor Humphrey Nwosu's predecessor at NEC has counselled caution in giving the commission such powers. His caution is now academic, except of course if government decides to repeal the relevant decree. The chances are this is unlikely.

As if all this was not enough, last Monday government arrested 13 banned politicians for allegedly violating their ban. Ten of these were reported SDP king makers, the rest being NRC.

For now, we cannot examine the merit of this development without risking contempt of the courts since the matter is already in court. Suffice it to say the arrests have already cast a shadow on the elections. Already some SDP partisans are charging government with NRC bias not only on account of the fact that the majority of those arrested are from SDP, but also because the majority of the governorship aspirants banned are also from that party — 10 against NRC's three.

Whether these charges are true or not, the real test of government's even-headedness will depend on the conduct of Saturday's elections. If NEC is given a free hand to conduct a free and fair election, the charges will prove baseless. If however NEC proves itself no better than the parties as an umpire, then we will be making the already shaky foundation upon which we are building the Third Republic even more shaky.

## Let it succeed

The next Hajj is six months away. Already a tentative time-table has been announced at the end of the meeting of the chairmen and secretaries of State Pilgrims Welfare Boards on November 6 under the chairmanship of Alhaji Zakari Ibrahim, minister of state for external affairs.

Current fares will be announced December 20. Collection begins four days later and closes May 1. All flights to Jeddah terminate June 4, the last flight on the return journey is exactly a month later. That is commendable. Ultimately, however, this will prove useful only if they keep to the time-table.

They can do this best by doing first things first. Clearly the most important resolution passed was the decision to send state representatives to Saudi Arabia to make arrangements with respect to accommodation and other welfare issues. This will save many months of headache later.

Tenders for carriers will soon be invited. This is an area where the maximum care must be exercised because it has been responsible for most of the problems connected with all previous airlifts. The great disaster of the last Hajj would certainly have been avoided if good choice of carrier was made. A first step therefore is to exclude Hold Trade and Trans Air Services and try some more capable hands.

All carriers seeking to airlift the pilgrims must submit details of the planes they wish to deploy for the exercise. These must be of acceptable standard and what is ultimately supplied must conform to that. Proper arrangements must be made not only for the airlift to the Holyland but for the return journey including the evacuation of luggage. The last Hajj ended in July and the luggage only arrived late Octo-

ber. Clearly this is unacceptable.

While the fare for this year has not been announced, there is little doubt that it will still be beyond many desiring and deserving Muslims. The Hajj — and much else of importance to people requiring substantial amounts — is today clearly out of many people's reach. For the second time we wish to call upon pilgrims welfare boards to give schemes like Hajj-by-Road a second and third look. It may hold the answer for many people and we certainly need an alternative.

During the meeting of the minister of state with NPB officials they noted with satisfaction that action had been taken through solicitors of the Directorate of Pilgrims Affairs on the payment of compensation to relatives of the Jeddah plane crash. We are not satisfied. We think the directorate must tell just exactly what was the action that satisfied them. There is yet no word on the findings of the inquiry instituted. It is a mistake to assume that this will be forgotten.

We wish Ambassador Zakari every success; and we hope this early planning and scrutiny will, for once, help spare the Muslims of a Hajj full of embarrassment and humiliation.

## Gorby in the cold

**P**oor Mikhail Gorbachev! How he must be agonising over Ukraine, the Soviet Union's second largest republic after the Russian federation, which on December 1 opted to break completely with Moscow after over 300 years tutelage.

The Soviet leader threatened and pleaded with Ukrainians to stick with him in the new union he is attempting to erect in place of the old one. But they gave him the rebuff. Not even the minority Russians whom he had banked on to oppose independence took heed of Mr. Gorbachev's warning that an independent Ukraine would bring "disaster."

His American mentors who helped him return to the Kremlin after last August's failed coup would not this time stand behind the man they once said they could do business with. Why should they? The Gorbachev of today is not a winning horse to back. He has all but lost control to the republics; and is today the leader of a country which exists only in name.

Washington, initially showed Mr. Gorbachev a ray of hope when Robert Strauss, its

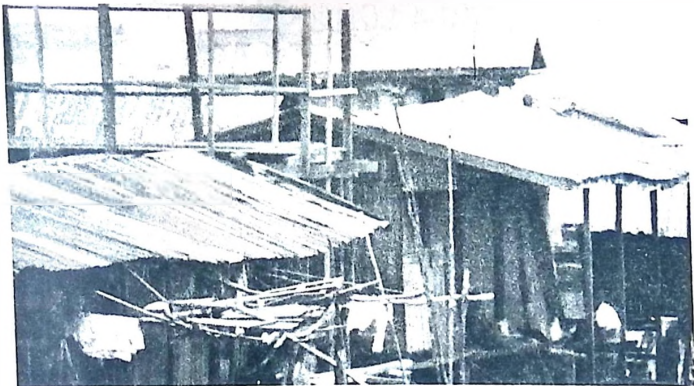
ambassador to Moscow said there would be no "precipitous" American recognition of Ukrainian independence. But almost immediately it was snuffed out.

On December 5, President George Bush despatched his assistant secretary of state Thomas Niles to Kiev for talks with the Ukrainian leadership. His mission was to secure assurances on the rights of minorities, security of nuclear weapons and Kiev's readiness to bear part of the Soviet Union's debt **Garden**. The Americans have taken the first major step towards recognition of independence.

Not for them the adage "a friend in need is a friend indeed." Self-interest has taken over. Americans are in an election season, and it must be a politically naive President Bush to want to antagonise his country's large ethnic Ukrainian population by withholding recognition of Ukraine's independence any further.

For Gorbachev, the options have not changed. He either resigns now or stays on to bury the corpse of a comatose Soviet Union.

**A hole. Not a home.**



**The good life means having a good  
roof over your head.**

What every Nigerian needs is a home not a hole. Housing has remained a nagging problem in our country, forcing most Nigerians to live under subhuman conditions that evoke pity. People live in

squalor, in dilapidated buildings that neither guarantee safety nor comfort. NRC wants every Nigerian to sleep and wake in comfort because you have a right to decent housing.

**NRC will ensure good housing.**



**VOTE**

**NRC**

*the party that will guarantee you the good life*

FOR THE ATTENTION OF THE NEWBREED POLITICIAN  
THERE ONCE WAS A SLIM **NECK**  
THAT DEVELOPED A LONG  
THROAT...



GOVT.  
HOUSE

... RUSHED HIS PAPERS IN AND WAS  
CLEARED BY **N.E.C...**



... RAN A **NECK TO NECK** RACE TO  
THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE...



.. QUICKLY GREW THE **FAT NECK**  
HE TOOK ALONG TO DO  
TIME IN THE  
**NICK !**



ABDUL  
UMAR '91



## ADAMU ADAMU

infatuated with Israel's idea of a harmless homeland, was kept out. US President Bush is not Ronald Reagan, he didn't declare members of the delegation *personae non gratae*; he only had their visas delayed.

What looked like a face-off was developing. US policy makers had set December 4 as the meeting date. The Israelis said they wouldn't go. The Arabs said they would go, and

mincemeat of Aziziya barracks in a minute. And our colonel knows he is a lonely man.

Algeria and Tunisia are busy with the same agenda — trying to obliterate Islam. They might need help from the West and Israel. Therefore you can predict that soon Zionism will cease to be racism — at the UN.

If this is the only victory that Israel will record at the peace conference it will be worth it. But that will only be the beginning.

Israel will eventually keep the Golan Heights. Incredible as it may sound, it was Hafez al Assad who gave it to them. Since 1973 he has been talking about getting it back without doing anything about it. It is impossible to believe he is serious.

And how can anybody ask Israel to liberate Gaza and the West Bank? Who can guarantee its security? Yassir Arafat? Yes. He has done so since 1965, and it will certainly continue out of the force of habit.

But Israel is too security conscious. If it will invade Lebanon to create a so called free zone, why should it let go of the freest zone it already controls? There is no point at all.

So officially Israel is not attending the conference. The only Israel in attendance — an aide to Shamir — is under orders to talk only to Bush. And why not? He is not there to waste his time talking to inferiors who know not what they are doing. He speaks only to the US president — to give him orders from Tel Aviv.

When Israel sneezes whoever is in the White House catches asthma. Now it is threatening to sneeze again, and a defeat in US presidential elections is worse than asthma. No wonder the tail keeps wagging the dog. From time to time a dog may bark at its tail but it can never bite it. It will be too painful an experience.

## Tail wags dog

After the charade in Madrid, Spain from where the Jews were once expelled, the self-congratulations followed and the venue for the Middle East conference shifted to Washington, or so at least they said. Spain was where Jews and Muslims were expelled in the 16th century. The Jews were able to go back; the Muslims could not. If the Arabs saw the irony of trying to recover lost ground on a lost ground they never showed it.

By day's end the only achievement was the one registered by Israel. All its Arab enemies were vying for its recognition. She surveyed them carefully and granted recognition very selectively — and excluded the group with the grudge. Surrender terms were never dictated by the loser. The Palestinians were pushed to the sidelines. But everyone thought that being central to the crisis, Israel must come back to them.

Israel did what it wanted. And now it is the Palestinians who are coming back — along the rest of the Arab horde. They all arrived in Washington dutifully on time. Israel, as if in a joke, had declared before hand that it would keep away. It had a way of emphasising that the negotiations did not unduly worry it. The Palestinian team, which is a group of westernised liberals, non-PLO, and

they did. All the others came. At last Israel sent in a new date — December 9, the very day on which the *intifada*, the spontaneous uprising by Palestinians against Israel, began. If it was a ploy against Palestinians, it was a snub against President Bush who decided for once to punish this recalcitrant ingrate of a country.

He said, by way of punishment, he was seeking the repeal of the equation between Zionism and racism established and adopted by the United Nations in 1974.

And good thing it was. Who now dared oppose this reality among the terrified Arabs looking for Israel's recognition?

Egypt, the fair maiden of Israel, will not even think of doing so. And Boutros Ghali will not fail to create a good enough atmosphere for the quick resolution of a gospel truth that has suddenly become an anomaly.

Lebanon is already half Israeli. Syria has been panhandling about its stolen Heights. Jordan has been busy trying to be the good boy. Saudi Arabia and Kuwait have no views. Theirs are made for them in Washington, where the conference is taking place.

Out on the flank, Libya can't say a thing. The Weasel and the F16 in a Weisbaden hangar can make a

# Governors Eye on the government house

Sixty two candidates are poised to slug it out in the December 14 governorship and mayoralty elections

If the current governorship race were a television movie, film critics would have readily dubbed it "a blockbuster." There was plenty of high drama, suspense and behind-the-scene intrigues. Rigging, thugery, back-stabbing and acid-throwing were also thrown-in for good measure. Last week, as the governorship contenders approached the homestretch, perfecting their strategies for the December 14 elections, the federal government brought the exciting "movie" to a stunning climax by hurling 11 banned politicians before the transition to civil rule tribunal.

For pundits, the sudden incarceration of such political heavyweights as Major General Shehu Musa Yar'adua (rtd), Dr. Olusola Saraki, Alhaji Lateef Jakande, Chief Arthur Nzeribe and Alhaji Abubakar Rimi was the civilian equivalent of a coup d'etat, throwing their crystal balls, at least tempo-

rarily, out of focus. Coming on the heels of the National Electoral Commission, NEC's stunning disqualification of nine governorship aspirants, the political terrain, as far as the governorship contest is concerned, is no longer "cut and dried."

How would the arrest of these influential political figures affect the fortunes of their favoured candidates in the governorship elections? Would there be a major shift in voting patterns or would the aura of the banned politicians still be strong enough, even while they are cooling their heels in detention, to resist attempts to alter the political equation?

If government's intention in detaining the banned politicians is



SDP's chief helmsman; Kingibe

to whittle down their influence on the outcome of the governorship elections, it left the matter rather late if the Lagos political scene is anything to go by. A few hours after NEC Chairman, Professor Humphrey Nwosu, announced the



Ikimi of the NRC

disqualification of Dr. Femi Agbalajobi and Chief Dapo Sarumi, the two contending SDP aspirants, Agbalajobi and other key members of the PSP faction of the party hurried to Alhaji Lateef Jakande's office on Acme Road, Ikeja.

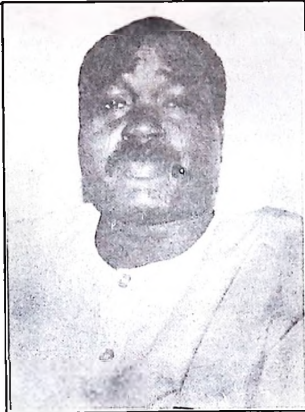
For over five hours they discussed the new development and mapped out fresh strategies. Two days after Nwosu's announcement the faction presented Prince Abiodun Ogunleye as its choice for the SDP governorship ticket. By the time he hit the campaign trail Monday last week, Ogunleye was widely seen as Jakande's candidate. The Sarumi camp, after a series of closed-door meetings with Chief Yomi Edu, endorsed his candidature.

**A**lthough Dr. Tokumbo Awolowo-

Dosunmu has indicated her intention to run again, her chances are very slim indeed. The fight for the SDP ticket in Lagos State is therefore a straight one between Yomi Edu and Abiodun Ogunleye. The victorious candidate would have to face Chief Micheal Otedola, the NRC flagbearer.

Yomi Edu appears to enjoy the goodwill and support of the national leadership of the SDP. Babagana Kingibe, national chairman of the party is his personal friend and colleague in the defunct Patriotic Front, PF. He has also come to an agreement with Dapo Sarumi and his supporters. All these will count during the primary election. Ogunleye on the other hand enjoys the support of the old LPN machinery in the state controlled by Lateef Jakande. Recognising the fact that he is not from Epe (which was originally slated to produce the next civilian governor) is a major political disadvantage, Ogunleye moved swiftly to tap the vast resources of goodwill which Agbalajobi enjoys in the area.

Although Lagos is regarded as a traditional SDP area, the results of the recent local government bye-



**Igbini Odunsi: double lucky?**

elections indicate that the internecine warfare within the party is taking its toll. The NRC got the better of the SDP in the chairmanship elections by clinching seven seats against the latter's three, although the SDP has more councillors. This does mean however that the NRC candidate, Michael Otedola will present a formidable challenge. Whoever emerges the SDP flagbearer between Yomi Edu and Abiodun Ogunleye will most likely



**Otedola: uphill task**

become the next civilian governor of Lagos State.

As for Kaduna State, the NRC would seem to be on a roll. Before the creation of more local governments, both parties were neck-and-neck in their control of local governments. Things have changed since then with NRC controlling 13 local governments to SDP's five. Not only this, the SDP in the state has remained crisis-ridden since primary elections.

The party declared Professor Ango Abdullahi, former Vice chancellor of Ahmadu Bello University, the winner in the primary but nullified the elections when his opponents petitioned on grounds that he did not win one third of votes in at least 2/3 of the local governments. A run-off was ordered which he won handily. However, his rival, Mr Adamu Maikori charged that the election was rigged and went to court. He was granted an interim injunction barring Professor Ango from parading himself as SDP governorship candidate. Ango then sought to be discharged from the injunction. The courts were yet to rule last Friday as we prepared to go to press.

In the event that he wins, Abdullahi would have only five days to campaign as against several days during which his NRC rival, Dabo Mohammed Lere, has been campaigning. As if all this was not enough, the federal government has detained Shehu Musa Yar'adua, probably the most important power broker in SDP. "This development" confessed a governorship candidate in the state who declined attribution, "is bound to demoralise our followers and affect our last minute financing of party activities. These arrests were clearly calculated to frustrate the SDP on the eve of governorship elections."

Dabo Mohammed Lere, the NRC candidate reportedly enjoys the support of the Wazirin Jema'a and Secretary to the Federal Government, Alhaji Aliyu Mohammed, himself said to have an eye on the

presidency. The speculations are that the SFG would pull all stops to deliver the state to the NRC in order to gain a leverage for laying a claim on Aguda House next year.

In spite of all these odds, Ango Abdullahi, the SDP candidate remains optimistic. He is persuaded of SDP's hold on people at the grassroots. "One thing is sure," he told *Citizen*, "I will beat Dabo in



Osuji: *banned*

his own local government." Only December 14 will decide whether his optimism is justified.

If the NRC seems on a roll in Kaduna State, the same is truer in Niger State the home state of President Babangida and several members of his kitchen cabinet. Here, however, unlike in Kaduna State, the SDP is not in any serious crisis. The party's problem would stem from the well-known fact that NRC is the party of the establishment in the state. Inuwa Musa, who won the party's ticket in rather controversial circumstances, enjoys the support of the Emir of Minna, Alhaji Farouk Ahmadu Bahago. Not insignificantly he is also a kinsman of Major-General Muhammadu Gado Nasko, the powerful minister of Abuja.

It may not be smooth-sailing for him though. He has the "Nupe factor" to contend with. The Nupe, the largest ethnic group in the state and the most dominant in the public sector, have felt alienated by the authorities in Lagos over the recent creation of local governments whereby they were given only six out of 19. This feeling of alienation was heightened by what Inuwa's NRC rivals have described as his "imposition" from Lagos.

Musa, a former commissioner in the state and a senior staff of Sokoto University Teaching Hospital, joined the race only a few days to the primaries, having paid his employees in lieu of the mandatory one month notice of resignation. The net effect of all this is that the Nupes are reportedly rooting for Alhaji Egba Enagi, the SDP candidate who is from Lavun local government.

Ultimately,

however, the "Nupe factor" may prove merely an irritant as Musa heads for government house, Minna. As one observer said, a Nupe block-voting cannot be guaranteed, especially given the fact that Musa has a few leading Nupe among his backers. More importantly, said the observer, there is no guarantee that the elections may be free and fair and even if they are, the results declared may not reflect the popular will.

In Edo State the race is straight between John Oyejuna, a former federal permanent secretary for the SDP and Lucky Igbinedion, eldest son of the Benin-based millionaire, Chief Gabriel Igbinedion, NRC. If results of the local government by-elections is any strong indicator,

John Oyejuna would win the governorship election.

SDP won seven of the 12 chairmanship seats leaving the NRC with five. In the two new local government areas carved out of the old Okpebho local government, Chief Tom Ikimi, chairman of the NRC played a key role in delivering them to his party. Indeed, observers see the combined weight of Ikimi and Alfred Aikhomu, elder brother to



Edu: *bright prospects*

the vice president and the party's new chairman as a formidable factor in favour of Lucky Igbinedion.

Others however point to the fact that Igbinedion does not enjoy the goodwill of the powerful Benin royalty. Two weeks ago, Nosakhure Isekure, a Benin prince and key NRC figure in the state decamped to the SDP. John Ogbide, another key member of the party who lost the governorship ticket to Igbinedion, also crossed over to the SDP, alleging that the Igbinedions had turned the NRC into "a family affair."

Before the advent of Delta and Edo States, Lucky Igbinedion had his main support based in the Delta area comprising the Ijaw, Urhobo and Itsekiri. The creation of Delta State therefore dealt a fatal blow to

his political fortunes. Oyegun had, right from the outset, assiduously cultivated the Benin monarchy. This, combined with the SDP's strength which is largely a carry-over of the UPN political machine in the state, is likely to favour Oyegun.

**I**n Kebbi State, the battle appears to be one-sided in favour of the NRC. This is not surprising given the history of the former Sokoto State where Kebbi was part. This is despite the strong presence of Abubakar Koko, the SDP chairman in the former Sokoto State. Alhaji Abubakar Musa, a former director of Customs and Excise, clearly holds all the aces with his near total win over four other rivals.

Even though there are charges and threats of en masse decampment to the SDP, his strong follow-

He has had to face many of the leading candidates in the old Sokoto who had had a head start. Two of them, Bello Alkali and Yahaya Maigari are former SMC's. Another, Adamu Augie, was well-known broadcaster. Yet another, Aliyu Jibrin, was executive director of the Central Bank of Nigeria, CBN, and shared Abubakar's base of Yauri.

SDP's chances are slim, but they have a fighting chance. Abubakar Koko, *Sarkin Yakin Gwandu*, 54, who clinched a place to contest the governorship race, has forcefully put the stamp of the PF on the old Sokoto state's SDP.

While the *Sarkin Yaki* reigns supreme in the Kebbi SDP, the party's own standing in the state has been tenuous at best. Votes cast during its October primaries were far less than those cast in the rival NRC

Bello Alkali as his running mate. If that happens, assuming the two NRC chiefs carry all their primary supporters to add to Koko's and assuming independent voters do not alter the balance, then Abubakar Koko may likely enter the spartan government lodge at Birnin Kebbi.

Sokoto State is also expected to fall to the NRC. It has a controversial candidate in the person of Yahaya Abdulkarim, 47. He has already chosen a running mate from the volatile area of Gusau, perhaps to assuage the feeling of Zamfara who feel cheated out of a state by the Sultan of Sokoto, Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki. Of course, this is not the first time a Gusau son would be picked as running mate. The late civilian governor of the state, Shehu Kangiwa, run with an academician, Dr Garba Nadama, who eventually became governor after his death in 1981.

Some of Yahaya's opponents have said that he rigged. Most people in Sokoto however laughed slyly and said there was no rigging at all; instead, he was the product of an unusual compromise by all of Sokoto's power-brokers. Former president Shehu Shagari, Sidi Mamman and, finally the Sultan of Sokoto. Even Zamfara's power-broker, Isa Mayana, the pillar of Abdulkadir Sani's campaign, later bolted to Yahaya.

The SDP, regarded by a majority of Sokoto people, like the GNPP before it, as a "rebel party," would have a tough time making any impact at all. Indeed, the choice of Zubairu Sarkin Magori, who joined the race a week to the primaries and remarkably swept the votes, seem to reinforce this dim view of the SDP. The fact of the matter is that most Sokoto people regard Zubairu as a proxy of his father, Umaru Sarkin Magori, who in the second republic was national treasurer of GNPP.

More importantly, the SDP regards itself to be under siege. Early this month, the party's state chairman, Abubakar Zahara, told news-

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## Would there be a major shift in voting patterns or would the aura of the banned politicians still be strong enough, even while they are cooling their heels in detention, to resist attempts to alter the political equation?

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ing transcends the four emirates of Gwandu, Yauri (his home), Zuru and Argungu, home of Bello Alkali, whose disastrous outing is linked to an ill-advised bid for the Sokoto government house in the old Sokoto State.

Abubakar Musa, 51, the *Garkuwan Yauri*, has already chosen a very able running mate, Sani Aliyu Augie, who is from Argungu which shows that he would try to forge unity in Kebbi State, diffusing the tension generated by the near marginalisation of Argungu people by past administrations. A seasoned public servant, Abubakar Musa is strong-willed and dedicated.

primaries. Before the recent bye-elections, the SDP controlled only one local council, Bunza, and that too courtesy of a court verdict. But in last month's council bye-elections, it appeared that the SDP rallied back. The party grabbed Abubakar Musa's home council of Koko-Besse, and went on to win in Arewa and Wasagu-Danko as well.

The visible reason for this the turn-around was the crisis in the Kebbi NRC following the victory of Abubakar Musa in its governorship primaries. There were speculations in Birnin Kebbi that Bello Alkali and Yahaya Maigari would declare for the SDP, and that Koko will choose

men that his party protests the open meddling of traditional rulers in party politics. Abubakar cited as evidence the launching of a book at the Sultan's palace November 15, at which two NRC presidential aspirants, Lema Jibril and Umaru Shinkafi, were co-launchers. The SDP, Abubakar said, was up against the chiefs, not the NRC. Despite the alleged meddling however, Zubairu is confident of victory.

**B**efore Professor Eric Opia joined the Delta State governorship race on NRC's platform, an SDP governor was a forgone conclusion. In the December 1991 local government elections, the SDP swept the polls, winning eight of the 12 old local government areas including the Igbo area.

Although the bitter wranglings that attended the SDP primaries caused considerable bad blood be-

tween supporters of the two contestants, Isaac Ighovojah and Felix Ibru, it is expected that the differences would be resolved in time to present a united front against the NRC. However, with the dramatic entrance of Eric Opia, five days to the NRC primaries into the scene, the Delta political equation has altered.

A new term, the "Asaba factor" has emerged in the arena. The citing of the capital in Asaba caused considerable resentment among the Itsekiri, Urhobo and Ijaw who not only felt that the new capital ought to have been cited in their area but that the Igbo-speaking people have no business being in the new state.

After their campaign to make the government relocate the capital failed to yield fruit.

The Urhobo consoled themselves with the thought that they would produce the next civilian governor, numerically, they are the largest ethnic group in the new state and they could also rely on the support of the Isoko and Ijaw speaking people. It was these considerations that propelled Chief Felix Ibru, an Urhobo into the Delta governorship race.

At first the general impression was that there was an agreement to cede the governorship to the

mains in the firm control of the SDP, other Igbo area like Aniocha South, Aniocha North, Ndokwa East and Ndokwa West, Opia's home base have swung over to NRC, Warri South and North, in a bid to distance itself from the Urhobo dominated SDP, have also gone to the NRC.

It is therefore evident that there is a major re-alliance of political forces in Delta State, but whether this will translate into an NRC victory remains to be seen.

To battle it out, in Plateau State are Fidelis Tappun for the SDP and Bagudu Hirse for the NRC. The 46-year old Tappun from Shendam is a

retired director-general, had been sole administrator of Jos Local Government Council and general manager of the Plateau Publishing Company.

He joined the race early and consequently beat Professor Umar Gomwalk, Umar Shit-



Hirse (NRC) and Igbeter (SDP) Middle Belt comes alive

Ughelli-Warri axis. Ibru and Godwin Omamuli, the NRC aspirant were therefore seen as the serious contenders for the government house. The story soon changed when Eric Opia defeated Omamuli in the controversial NRC primary. Opia, an Ukwaaani Igbo from Ndokwa Local Government area began to pass subtle hints that he had the support of some powerful members of the AFRC and that he entered the governorship race mainly to safe-guard the status of Asaba as state capital and also protect the interest of the Igbo-speaking people of the state.

Although the Asaba area re-

gion and Michael Bot-Mang. His success in the primaries, he said, came from hardwork and efficient campaign machinery. His immediate priority is to unite the people and develop the rural economy.

Tappun is not known to be linked to banned politicians and is confident of walking into the government house. His confidence appears to rest in the populist appeal of the party programme and the implicit trust of citizens of the state. He strongly believes that personality and the ability to deliver will see him through.

Tappun will also have to contend with Bagudu Hirse, the NRC

candidate who had been a permanent commissioner in the federal civil service, is from Mangu-upland or north. The politics in the north/south is that the south had been providing the governors; this time it ought to go the north. Whether this will be a strong factor remains to be seen.

Hirse was a journalist, had edited *Sunday Standard* and did not have a cat's chance in hell of winning the primaries, but surprised many. His strategy is to concentrate on agricultural development and the provision of in-puts. Bagudu brandishes his 10 years of service in the federal service and strongly believes that the deciding factor is not the party but personality.

In a state where religion is a strong factor both candidates are christians, but while this may work for Tappun, it may undermine Hirse because though a christian, he is married to a muslim from Sokoto and opponents are pointing out that he is a secret muslim, an allegation he has had to denounce as demagoguish and a blackmail. How much he has been able to convince the voters, December 14 will tell.

He was able to deliver his local government - Mangu in the November 23 primaries, but the SDP has maintained a clear margin over the NRC. The SDP seems to have an edge largely because it has been spared the intra-party wrangling and factionalisation.

The contest in Ondo State appears resolved in favour of SDP's Ambassador Bamidele Olomilua, a 51 year old Awolowo loyalist. His NRC counterpart, Chief Ayo Ogunlade, though popular and articulate, will be fighting hard to displace the political tradition of the state. Awolowo's greatest support base was Ondo. In the 1979 and 1983 general elections his party, UPN picked 99 per cent of the total votes cast in the state. The party's structure and support base which has remained intact since the demise of the second republic in 1983 is now

being placed at the disposal of the ambassador. It worked for him in the SDP's primary where he trounced his opponents by polling 225,284 votes. His closest rival, Dr. Kunle Olajide got 91,708 votes. Analysts have pointed out that if he repeats this performance on Saturday, he is sure to occupy the coveted government house seat in January next year.

**O**lomilua, who is allegedly backed by Olu Falae, an SDP presidential hopeful, may profit from the manoeuvring that is going on at the national level.

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## Although Lagos is regarded as a traditional SDP area, the results of the recent local government bye-elections indicate that the internecine warfare within the party is taking its toll.

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There are four presidential aspirants from the state, Chief Falae, Professor Modupe Olatunbosun, Major General Olufemi Olutoye, and Dr. Frederick Fasehun, all of whom are believed to be putting everything into ensuring that the SDP wins Ondo State since it is an unwritten law that those who want the party's presidential ticket must "deliver" their home-base before coming forward for the plum job. There are indications that this is already paying off. At the just concluded local government bye-elections, November 23, the SDP picked up six chairmanship and 53 councillorship positions against NRC's one and 24 respectively.

In spite of all this NRC's Chief Ogunlade remains optimistic. His view is that the choice before the electorate on Saturday is himself and not the NRC. "My support" he told *Citizen*, "transcends party line."

True, Ogunlade is popular but as one SDP faithful puts it, "his popularity was seriously compromised the moment he decided to pitch his tent with NRC" where it is linked with NPN.

In Yobe State, the question for NRC in the race to the new government house and the enormous task that awaits the winner has been reduced to a question of when, not if. Even though what is now Yobe had largely voted GNPP in the second republic, it was more a protest vote, sentiment, the hegemony of the majority group and the covert support of the civil service rather

than any serious disagreement with the establishment.

Historically however, the people that had constituted the old Borno which included Yobe, had rather been anti-establishment. The Borno Youth Movement, for instance, had posed a challenge, which only the skillful manoeuvre of the late Ahmadu Bello, had resolved in favour of the establishment.

Actually, *Citizen* learnt, a decision was taken by a section of the toddler state to concede the governorship to the people north of Damaturu in a bid to create the right atmosphere for socio-economic development and harmony and to further block any chance of distracting interference by the majority group in the old Borno. As a result, the October primaries for the NRC was a contest of concession within an accepted group rather than that

of inter-cine conflict which had bedevilled that part of old Borno again and again in the second republic.

The decision to concede the governorship to one particular area though did not go down well with the younger generation of politicians in that part of the new state. They had made a strong bid for the governorship before being calmly told by "elders and the traditional authority to take it easy. Thus, it was with this that Abubakar Sadiq, a 50 year old banker, emerged as the NRC flag-bearer. But the party has very poor organisation which the SDP can cash on. Part of the problem is the imposition of caretaker party officers from outside the state who have little or no inkling about local politics.

**T**he SDP posed a threat to the NRC insofar as Yobe State was part of the old Borno State. Unless the SDP is able to between now and election time to map and carry out a strong campaign, victory for Bukar Abba Ibrahim, the SDP candidate seems remote. The PF/PSP squabble that is so transparent in the SDP in other states did not have a chance to play a decisive role in choosing Bukar Ibrahim, largely because of time factor and

the concentration of such politics in the old Borno.

In Borno, though the NRC has a clear edge, it has to fight so many issues, that have their roots in the past, simultaneously. Before state creation, the strong contenders in the NRC were Abba Gana Terab, Mustapha Bulama and Ibrahim Ali. The emergence of the other candidates was more or less a violation of an unwritten agreement that the candidate should emerge from Dikwa, a part of the state that had been strongly pro-establishment Shuwa Arab, but who had never had the chance to produce a governorship candidate.

It could have been a straight issue but for several factors that got in the way. The younger generation had been in favour of a young lawyer/banker who had served as a civil commissioner. The business class, the civil service and the powerful power brokers did not object to his candidature. Problem was a majority of them had pledged their support to Abba Gana Terab, an experienced civil servant and former civilian Muhammadu Goni's hatchet man as the general manager of Borno Radio Television, before the emergence of the lawyer.

Another was that Abba Gana

himself was unacceptable even in some parts of his local government for the role he played in Goni's administration. Just before state creation, he was able, with the aid of a few seasoned hands to get even the most hostile areas to agree to back him. Whether it would succeed was aborted by state creation which also somewhat enhanced his chances.

The strong factors now against him are party loyalty, the Babagana Kingibe card and the most serious, political disenchantment in the minority areas of Kwaya Kusar, Biu, Gwoza and Shani. These areas records very high voter-turn out as against the low voter-turn out in Abba Gana's own constituency. Departing political gurus from Yobe had warned him that any marginalisation or disaffection resulting from these areas would cost him the governorship. Right now it is causing him sleepless nights. The SDP in Borno, like in most states, has been facing intra-party squabbles that greatly reduced its chances. The most popular candidate did not have the backing of either the party or the PF/PSP faction. The PF faction candidate, Maina Ma'aji, who eventually emerged victorious from the October primaries, was fa-

voured by SDP backer far outside the state.

This support, ironically, is hinged upon design by powerful power-brokers to up whatever plans of the party's national chairman, Ambassador Babagana Kingibe Ma'aji is therefore not Kingibe favourite candidate.

The strong sentiment that propelled Muhammadu Goni to Maiduguri government house 10 years ago is favour of Babagana Kingibe, and by association, Ma'aji. This is



Osoba and Yar'adua: on a sure footing

threat to an NRC out-right win.

If it is certain who the victory dancers in Ondo will be, it is not so in Oyo where SDP's Chief Kolapo Ishola, a former local government chairman and NRC's Alhaji Yekini Adeoyo are engaged in an eye ball to eye ball struggle for the state's top job. In terms of party cohesion the NRC has the upper hand probably because it went through a less acrimonious primaries. Alhaji Adeoyo went through the October 19 primary on the first ballot separating himself from his closest rival with a massive 117,844 votes. This meant that the party has had more time than its opponent to organise its campaign for the Saturday showdown.

**Sokoto State is also expected to fall to the NRC. It has a controversial candidate in the person of Yahaya Abdulkarim, 47. He has already chosen a running mate from the volatile area of Gusau, perhaps to assuage the feeling of Zamfarawa who feel cheated out of a state by the Sultan of Sokoto, Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki.**

The SDP was less lucky as it had to recall two contestants for a "game of death" ballot October 26, before it could decide its flagbearer. As it turned out, the acrimony that greeted the run-off election was even stiffer than the first ballot. Chief Ishola who eventually emerged winner over Robert Koleosho, discovered that his party men are not good losers. The coalition of losers which he faced at the primaries have since refused to join forces with him.

The effect of this coalition led by Chief Koleosho's bad faith showed at the last local government bye-election, November 23, when the NRC, which before now was less visible in the state, managed to win 33 councillorship seats against the

SDP's 44. The chairmanship contest was even closer. It picked up five of the available 12 seats.

Alarmed at the bad prospects before it in the Saturday face-off, Chief Layi Balogun, an SDP presidential hopeful, last week called a round-table conference of the contestants in the primaries pleading with them to close ranks so as to ensure the party's victory at the polls. Balogun's concern may be another case of enlightened self interest.

Like his counterpart in Ondo, he has to deliver Oyo before he can step forward for the party's presidential ticket. The SDP's electoral chances were further dimmed last week when two of its alleged main backers were put on trial for partici-

ple the October 26 coalition who comes from Oyo North as his running mate. The problem though, is the religious lopsidedness of the ticket. Both candidates are muslims, but it is believed that this will not affect the party's chances since religion has never really been a strong factor. However, the party's success in the state would depend on how sufficiently the two other erstwhile governorship aspirants are rehabilitated.

Lam Adesina, an Awolowo loyalist, and Professor Wande Abimbola, former vice chancellor of Obafemi Awolowo University are believed to have the backing of a wealthy traditional ruler in Osun State. *Citizen* gathered last week that the NRC is not folding its arms. Desperate efforts, it is learnt, is being made to get these two top shots to cross over to the NRC. If the NRC's stratagem yields fruit then Kolapo Ishola would have to contend with a reinvigorated and more formidable Alhaji Adeoyo, in which case the coveted laurel may swing either way. Still, as things currently stand, Ishola is tipped to emerge victorious.

In old Gongola State the old politics are being replicated in Adamawa and Taraba all over again. Just as in the old state, religion and ethnicity are the main platforms the political players are playing on.

Somehow, the government played into the hands of those who sought to exploit the issue to what political advantage they saw in it. Consequently, when NRC and SDP were formed by government, it was immediately dubbed "Muslim" and Christian respectively.

As was expected, it gained a strong foot-hold in Christian areas of the state. In last December's local polls, the SDP put forward largely Christian candidates and the NRC predominantly muslim. The only exception is Takum which though Christian, was an NRC strong-hold. The reason was that the two major ethnic groups in the area have been

pating in partisan politics contrary to the provisions of Decree 23 of 1987. They include the second republic governor of Oyo State, Chief Bola Ige, who has repeatedly chastised the authorities for not paying particular attention to the loopholes in the electoral decrees as they relate to electoral malpractices. The second is Alhaji Lamidi Adedibu. A grass root mobiliser of repute, Adedibu, was before his trial and detention last week, well known for his support for the SDP in the state.

Last week, the party leadership was engaged in a series of manoeuvres to bring all dissatisfied groups together. There are indications that their efforts are paying off. Ishola was persuaded to pick Alhaji Hammed Gbadamosi, a member of

strange bed-fellows. When the Kutebs noticed that the Jukuns had gone over to SDP, they pitched their camp with the NRC. The results of the elections showed the two parties running neck-and-neck. The NRC got 11 chairmanship seats to SDP's 10. The fine outing of the NRC surprised even its leadership, crippled by NEC, which, with only a month to the election, removed its state chairman from office. Political observers say that it would have been very difficult to predict which of the two parties would have taken the old Gongola State.

**W**hen Adamawa and Taraba were carved out, the two parties moved quickly to establish their presence in the virgin Taraba. The SDP, perhaps, was the luckier. It conducted relatively smooth governorship primaries in October. Rev Jolly Nyame, a Baptist cleric from Zing local government in Muri zone, beat three others to pick up the SDP baton. Last week, he picked one of the three, Samuel Gani, a former federal permanent secretary from Wukari to the south, as running mate. Rev Nyame said he chose Gani "to allay the unfounded fears of the people from the southern area that a person from the northern part of the state will neglect them."

The NRC, though apparently the stronger of the two parties, blundered through its own primaries which went into a run-off. Even so, it took a petition to its headquarters in Lagos to produce a winner, Dr. Andokari Shiaki, from Takum. The NRC flag-bearer made a most remarkable recovery from a severe set-back he suffered early in the year, when an elections appeal tribunal removed him from the chairmanship of Takum, which he had pocketed easily in the last December 8 elections.

This situation improved his image and people began urging him to run for governorship. At first he was reluctant, as *Citizen* gathered

because he found the campaign cost beyond what his medical doctor's job could fetch him. In the end, he was persuaded by "friends and well-wishers" who promised to put up the campaign money. In the October primaries, Dr Shiaki did very well, leading seven other aspirants, but a former political science lecturer, Dr Ahmed Jalingo, his closest rival, forced a run-off which was preceded by a vicious campaign in which Shiaki was alleged to have threatened to replace all muslim natural rulers if he became governor.

Eventually, his name was entered as the NRC candidate by the national secretariat after an attempt, including forging his signature on a document purporting that he had withdrawn, was over-ruled.

He picked Dr Ahmadu Jalingo as his running mate in a show of reconciliation. Questions are however being asked, even by NRC stalwarts, as to whether the two could hit it off given the acrimony over the primaries. However, a Shiaki-Jalingo ticket, many agree, will be more than a match for the SDP ticket in Rev Nyame and Gani, regarded as also-runs.

In Adamawa, the SDP, for a time, had seemed the party to beat. But then it walked, eyes open, into a political quagmire. First, the face-off between the PSP and PF, main factions in the SDP, split the party right down to the grassroots. Leaders as well as the rank and file were pitched against one another in an intercaste struggle for control of the party apparatus.

Eight candidates went into the race, but it turned out to be a straight fight between Dr Bala Takaya, representing the minority PSP strand and Abubakar Atiku, a PF candidate. Takaya, the populist former university of Jos teacher and member of the government politburo, had been widely expected to gain the SDP ticket but when the results of the primaries came out, it was Atiku who won.

Pandemonium broke out.



Enwereem: NRC Imo

Takaya's supporters took to the streets in protest and the loser headed for court where he obtained an injunction restraining the SDP from adopting Abubakar Atiku as its candidate. The case had not been disposed off when NEC intervened last week by ordering a fresh primary in Adamawa and banning the two protagonists altogether.

With their exit, those left in the field are largely also-runs. Even if the SDP is able to come out with a candidate without a run-off, it will have lost considerable ground to the NRC, which has a strong hand in Abubakar Saleh Michika. In him the NRC appears to have found a suitable replacement for the Major



Isemin: NRC Akwa Ibom

Aminu Dahiru (rtd), who died in a motor accident early in the year.

Concerned SDP followers seem to have seen where their party is headed for and are calling for a reversal of fortunes. A Reverend S. Jatau on November 25, placed an advertiser's announcement in the National Concord in which he said the "current wrangling over an SDP choice for governorship elections is disturbing." He appealed to party members to "close ranks."

The SDP is the dominant party in Ogun State, without an atom of threat from its opponent, the NRC. The SDP has remained cohesive, sitting by to watch NRC top notches dissipate their energy on intra-party conflict. Part of the reason for SDP's cohesion is the total manner in which Chief Segun Osoba, the party's flagbearer routed his opponents in the October 19 primary. He got 87,599 out of 126,090 party members to queue behind him. What he left for the remaining six contestants to share was a paltry 20,000. Last week, Osoba said he was waiting anxiously for January 2, to begin his programme of action for the people of Ogun State.

His NRC counterpart, Chief Femi Coker is just not in the picture at all. Osoba's votes alone in the SDP completely dwarf those of all the NRC contestants put together. But Coker's calculation was that he would be able to drum up support from the Ijebus who constitute over 50 per cent of the population of the state.

His hope was that Doyin Okupe, the party's national publicity secretary, will mobilise his fellow Ijebus on his side. But what happened on November 23 has reduced this to mere wishful thinking. On that day, the Ijebus trooped out to queue behind the stallion in the local government bye-elections. The SDP won the chairmanship elections in Ikene, Shagamu, Ijebu-Ode, and Odogbolu in addition to Abeokuta North and South.

Between these five Ijebu local government areas, the party picked

up 55 councillorship seats to NRC's five. Overall, the SDP garnered 87 councillorship seats to NRC's 10. As for the chairmanship, the NRC simply has no reply to its opponent's winning streak as the SDP collected all the six seats at stake. With the situation on the ground Osoba and the SDP's chances on Saturday barring any "maradonic" hitch is a foregone conclusion, what with his close association with the Awolowo family. Since he made his intention to vie for the state's top seat public, Osoba has forged close ties with the Awo political clan.

**L**ast month when Chief (Mrs.) H. I. D. Awolowo clocked 76, Osoba was in the

They have maintained the six local government-structure in the old Benue State as against 10 in the old Kwara State.

While the NRC has succeeded in picking Abubakar, the SDP is still locked in vicious disagreement as the run-off between Steven Achema and Alhassan Yakubu, both Igala, is yet to produce a candidate. Audu, 44, is a career banker, was principal area manager, First Bank, commissioner for finance and economic planning in then Benue State, executive director, NIDB. He is a traditional title holder, Adoja Attah, conferred on him in July and is credited with building the Ankpa-Ayanga-Ejule road as commissioner. He enjoys tremendous support of

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The SDP, like the NRC, had zoned the governorship to the Igala. In the primaries, Steven Achema was first declared winner with highest votes in 10 local councils. This was later reversed by the SDP national secretariat following complaints by one of the defeated candidates, Silas Daniyan that there had been irregularities in Yabga West. It led to more elections and more complaints of rigging. A run-off was arranged between Achema, who has outstanding quarrel with the Attah of Igala, and Alhassan Yakubu. Dr Achema won. Alhassan Yakubu's reporters felt cheated by the SDP sole administrator for Kogi

strange bed-fellows. When the Kutebs noticed that the Jukuns had gone over to SDP, they pitched their camp with the NRC. The results of the elections showed the two parties running neck-and-neck. The NRC got 11 chairmanship seats to SDP's 10. The fine outing of the NRC surprised even its leadership, crippled by NEC, which, with only a month to the election, removed its state chairman from office. Political observers say that it would have been very difficult to predict which of the two parties would have taken the old Gongola State.

**W**hen Adamawa and Taraba were carved out, the two parties moved quickly to establish their presence in the virgin Taraba. The SDP, perhaps, was the luckier. It conducted relatively smooth governorship primaries in October. Rev Jolly Nyame, a Baptist cleric from Zing local government in Muri zone, beat three others to pick up the SDP baton. Last week, he picked one of the three, Samuel Gani, a former federal permanent secretary from Wukari to the south, as running mate. Rev Nyame said he chose Gani "to allay the unfounded fears of the people from the southern area that a person from the northern part of the state will neglect them."

The NRC, though apparently the stronger of the two parties, blundered through its own primaries which went into a run-off. Even so, it took a petition to its headquarters in Lagos to produce a winner, Dr. Andokari Shiaki, from Takum. The NRC flag-bearer made a most remarkable recovery from a severe set-back he suffered early in the year, when an elections appeal tribunal removed him from the chairmanship of Takum, which he had pocketed easily in the last December 8 elections.

This situation improved his image and people begun urging him to run for governorship. At first he was reluctant, as *Citizen* gathered

because he found the campaign cost beyond what his medical doctor's job could fetch him. In the end, he was persuaded by "friends and well-wishers" who promised to put up the campaign money. In the October primaries, Dr Shiaki did very well, leading seven other aspirants, but a former political science lecturer, Dr Ahmed Jalingo, his closest rival, forced a run-off which was preceded by a vicious campaign in which Shiaki was alleged to have threatened to replace all muslim natural rulers if he became governor.

Eventually, his name was entered as the NRC candidate by the national secretariat after an attempt, including forging his signature on a document purporting that he had withdrawn, was over-ruled.

He picked Dr Ahmadu Jalingo as his running mate in a show of reconciliation. Questions are however being asked, even by NRC stalwarts, as to whether the two could hit it off given the acrimony over the primaries. However, a Shiaki-Jalingo ticket, many agree, will be more than a match for the SDP ticket in Rev Nyame and Gani, regarded as also-runs.

In Adamawa, the SDP, for a time, had seemed the party to beat. But then it walked, eyes open, into a political quagmire. First, the face-off between the PSP and PF, main factions in the SDP, split the party right down to the grassroots. Leaders as well as the rank and file were pitched against one another in an inter-cine struggle for control of the party apparatus.

Eight candidates went into the race, but it turned out to be a straight fight between Dr Bala Takaya, representing the minority PSP strand and Abubakar Atiku, a PF candidate. Takaya, the populist former university of Jos teacher and member of the government politburo, had been widely expected to gain the SDP ticket but when the results of the primaries came out, it was Atiku who won.

Pandemonium broke out.



Enwerem: NRC Imo

Takaya's supporters took to the streets in protest and the loser headed for court where he obtained an injunction restraining the SDP from adopting Abubakar Atiku as its candidate. The case had not been disposed off when NEC intervened last week by ordering a fresh primary in Adamawa and banning the two protagonists altogether.

With their exit, those left in the field are largely also-runs. Even if the SDP is able to come out with a candidate without a run-off, it will have lost considerable ground to the NRC, which has a strong hand in Abubakar Saleh Michika. In him the NRC appears to have found a suitable replacement for the Major



Isemin: NRC Akwa Ibom

Aminu Dahiru (rtd), who died in a motor accident early in the year.

Concerned SDP followers seem to have seen where their party is headed for and are calling for a reversal of fortunes. A Reverend S. Jatau on November 25, placed an advertiser's announcement in the National Concord in which he said the "current wrangling over an SDP choice for governorship elections is disturbing." He appealed to party members to "close ranks."

The SDP is the dominant party in Ogun State, without an atom of threat from its opponent, the NRC. The SDP has remained cohesive, sitting by to watch NRC top notchers dissipate their energy on intra-party conflict. Part of the reason for SDP's cohesion is the total manner in which Chief Segun Osoba, the party's flagbearer routed his opponents in the October 19 primary. He got 87,599 out of 126,090 party members to queue behind him. What he left for the remaining six contestants to share was a paltry 20,000. Last week, Osoba said he was waiting anxiously for January 2, to begin his programme of action for the people of Ogun State.

His NRC counterpart, Chief Femi Coker is just not in the picture at all. Osoba's votes alone in the SDP completely dwarf those of all the NRC contestants put together. But Coker's calculation was that he would be able to drum up support from the Ijebus who constitute over 50 per cent of the population of the state.

His hope was that Doyin Okupe, the party's national publicity secretary, will mobilise his fellow Ijebus on his side. But what happened on November 23 has reduced this to mere wishful thinking. On that day, the Ijebus trooped out to queue behind the stallion in the local government bye-elections. The SDP won the chairmanship elections in Ikene, Shagamu, Ijebu-Ode, and Odogbolu in addition to Abeokuta North and South.

Between these five Ijebu local government areas, the party picked

up 55 councillorship seats to NRC's five. Overall, the SDP garnered 87 councillorship seats to NRC's 10. As for the chairmanship, the NRC simply has no reply to its opponent's winning streak as the SDP collected all the six seats at stake. With the situation on the ground Osoba and the SDP's chances on Saturday barring any "maradonic" hitch is a foregone conclusion, what with his close association with the Awolowo family. Since he made his intention to vie for the state's top seat public, Osoba has forged close ties with the Awo political clan.

Last month when Chief (Mrs.) H. I. D. Awolowo clocked 76, Osoba was in the

They have maintained the six local government-structure in the old Benue State as against 10 in the old Kwara State.

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**Lafagi: Saraki factor at work?**

State, Prince Solomon Adeyemi, and vented their anger by bathing him in Sulphuric Acid.

He is a divorcee, an issue that his rivals are drumming up to show how irresponsible he is. He is also a victim of the PSP-PF intra-party squabbles. The odds are in favour of the NRC.

In Kano and Jigawa states, voters went to the polls for the third time to elect governorship candidates for both NRC and SDP. Two earlier primaries of the SDP in Kano were cancelled over allegations of widespread rigging and other electoral malpractices. One of the contestants, Aminu Inuwa, had gone to court contesting the election of Ahmadu Rufa'i as the SDP candi-



**Tapgun: SDP: hot favourite**

date. Before the determination of the case however, another contestant, Magaji Abdullahi, petitioned that one of his rivals and his election agent had distributed about 300,000 party membership cards to his supporters to swell his votes, among other things and called for the nullification of Rufa'i's election. A second stalemate was recorded that left the SDP confused about how to resolve the intra-party tussle.

The complexities of SDP's governorship elections in Kano can be traced to the existence of three strong factions and to the clandestine activities of banned politicians struggling to control the party. Two of the factions, the *santsi* and *tabo* owe their origins to the split in the PRP.

The *santsi* faction consists of breakaway radicals, remnants of the PPA alliance with civilian governor Abubakar Rimi, as the leader. The *tabo* faction is a hotch potch of the Malam Aminu Kano loyalists of the PRP and members of the proscribed Liberal Convention. The third faction is PF, a less visible group that only seemed to have waxed stronger when it struck an accord with the *tabo* group to work together and field a candidate for the primaries. While *tabo* led by Halilu Yusuf, Aminu Kano's brother and Kamilu Maisikeli supported Ahmadu Rufa'i, a PF loyalist, the *santsi* faction under the leadership of Sule Lamido fielded Aminu Inuwa when the former had to move to Jigawa State.

An underground battle ensued between the banned and shadowy backers of *santsi* and *tabo*. Magaji anxious to steer away from the factions, contested as an independent candidate and his prospects appeared to be brighter with the departure of Sule Lamido.

However, the results of the primaries have confirmed that the *tabo*/PF factions domination of the party organ, its monetary strength and determination to go to any length to field its candidate for the SDP ticket. But the *santsi* and inde-

pendent factions, from the pending litigations and scores of petitions filed by Aminu and Magaji were not going to let the *tabo* faction get away with it.

**T**here are speculations that Magaji and Aminu have threatened to decamp with their supporters to the NRC if the *tabo* SDP finally decides to field Rufa'i. That would be the last straw that would surely break the SDP and strengthen the NRC. With some of the major drama personae behind bars, no breakthrough in resolving the crisis is expected. If and when the threat to decamp is carried out, Kabiru Gaya of the NRC should look forward to a smooth ride to Kano government house. The loss of Kano to the right, as it were, would then mark a turning point in the history of an area that has earned a reputation as the hotbed of north-ern radicals.

In Jigawa State, the NRC seems to have hit a jackpot with the inclusion of pro-right emirates of former Kano State in its composition. Hadejia, Gumel and even Dutse, the capital, have been strongholds of conservatism.

Without his disqualification by NEC last week, Sule Lamido, who won the SDP governorship would have had an uphill task trying to win Jigawa State. Although he had the advantage of his chairmanship of the SDP in old Kano State, state creation actually reduced his chances of clinching the governorship, a post he could easily have won in the old Kano. If Lamido, with his political experience and state leadership of the SDP still found himself in the predominantly NRC enclave of Jigawa, one can expect a tougher task ahead of the dark horse who has now replaced him as governorship candidate.

The banning of Sule Lamido has sealed the fate of SDP in Jigawa State to the advantage of the NRC. However, the state is young, it had inherited the endemic factional crisis of old Kano. The banned politicians

## COVER STORY

are meddling in the politics of the new state, a development that led to the banning of Sule Lamido for his link with a banned politician and Sani Yusuf of NRC a new breed relation of another banned second republic minister.

"The SDP's loss in Osun State might be the gains of the NRC," A Adelakun, a personal assistant to Alhaji Adebayo Salami, the NRC flagbearer in the state told *Citizen* last week. The intra-party squabble in the SDP as a result of the primaries may make many voters to queue behind the NRC in the forthcoming elections.

Reasons for this our sources claim, is two fold. First is the fact that Dosu Oladapo, who lost the SDP ticket to Isiaaka Adeleke has considerable support among the people. The popular sentiment right now is that Oladapo was denied his rightful place as the SDP governorship candidate because he is not a favoured baby of the state executive of the party. Oladapo, *Citizen* learnt last week, is seriously considering pitching his tent with the NRC. Second is the Oshogbo factor. Salami Adebayo, the NRC candidate is an Oshogbo man, who sources said has proved himself worthy as the chairman of Olorunda Local Government Council, Igbonna. Oshogbo, Isiaaka Adeleke, the SDP candidate is an Ede man. Where this actually comes to play is the land dispute between Ede and Oshogbo. The fear of the Oshogbo people is hinged on the fact that should Adeleke become the state chief executive, the land problem could be resolved in favour of Ede, his hometown. To this end, Salami, is said to have the subtle support of the Ataoja of Oshogbo and other powerful interests in the town who feel that Oshogbo's position as the state capital will be more consolidated if an Oshogbo indigene becomes the state chief executive. However the situation might change, if one, Dosu Oladapo and his supporters could be moved back to support Adeleke or if the court



Voters: will they make the best choice?

eventually rules in favour of Oladapo between the 4th and 6th of December 1991. Last week, the SDP national leadership urged all aspirants with cases in court to withdraw them. Chances are that Oladapo will comply with this directive, thereby leaving the field free for Adeleke. Isiaaka Adeleke is therefore highly favoured to emerge the new civilian governor of Osun State.

In Kwara State, the battle for the top prize is between NRC's Alhaji Abdul-Rasheed Saliman and Alhaji Shaaba Lafiagi of the SDP. Featuring as a major power broker, however, is Dr. Olusola Saraki, senate leader during the second republic who was detained last week for meddling in transition politics. Of him, a senior lecturer at the University of Ilorin told *Citizen*, "If Saraki walks round Ilorin alone without speaking to anybody, without responding to greetings thrown his way, that is enough politics."

Lafiagi's choice as SDP's flagbearer was largely inspired by the Saraki factor. A former managing director of Nigerian Sugar Company, Bacita, Lafiagi, who is from the minority Edu Local Government area, was in the disbanded National Democratic Alliance, NDA. Solidly supported by Saraki, the NDA had upstaged the PSP and PFN factions in Kwara State to emerge as the most singular force during the parties congressional

elections in the old Kwara State. The SDP is also strongly rooted in the State controlling more than 80 per cent of its chairmanship seats.

It could be said however that Alhaji Shaaba Lafiagi's path to the Ilorin government house is not assured come December 14. The current of feeling among Ilorin elites is the need to put one of their own in the Kwara government house this time around. To this group, which is firmly rooted in the state's NRC, had all along been clear that Saraki would not be favourably disposed to an Ilorin man emerging as an SDP candidate since this would undermine his own stature among his folks.

Even then there are reports that leading Ilorin indigenes, including some serving public officers based in Lagos, have been putting enormous pressure on Saraki to support Abdul-Rasheed Saliman. Their argument is that Ilorin has always supported outsiders for the state's governorship and this was their first opportunity and perhaps the last for many years to clinch the plum job. They have also reportedly argued that since the NRC will most likely win the presidential race, Saraki's only hope of having some influence in Abuja is to deliver Kwara to NRC.

There are signs already that Saraki was succumbing to the pressure when he was arrested last

week. First there were well-founded speculations that he gave as one condition for his support that the NRC should put forward Salman as its governorship candidate. Second, he reportedly, sent a note recently to Salman, who won the primaries after a run-off, inviting him for discussions under the cover of the widening engagement of his son.

Salman, an astute technocrat who rose through the ranks to become secretary to the state government under Adamu Attah is said to have done a lot of groundwork cultivating popular grassroots organisations in Ilorin and other political centres. Salman has a solid reputation for honesty traceable to his performance during the sittings of the Buhari-Idiagbon inspired committee for the recovery of public funds. He is mostly remembered in the state for his role in compelling members of the defunct Kwara State house of assembly to refund loans taken under ex-governor Adamu Attah.

**W**hile Salman may be able to rally the Ilorins to his side, however, political analysts charge that the Igbominas in Irepodun, Ekiti, and Ifelodun local government areas may not exhibit a similar disposition. They reckon that the battle would be a keen one in which Shaaba Lafagi could just run away with a thin lead.

The contest for the Kogi government house between the SDP NRC promises to be an especially keen one. While it could be said that all the local government areas excised from old Kwara into the new state have a tradition of voting left, the same cannot confidently be said of those carried over from Benue. Okene, Ajaokuta, Adavi Okehi, Yagba, Oyi and West Yagba councils have always shown a marked preference for left of the centre politics, although Adamu Attah being an Ebra was able to exploit the homeboy factor to his advantage to win Okehi/Okene for the NPN during the 1979 elections.

Since the onset of the present newbreed politics however, all indication have pointed to a strong SDP showing. All the local government areas in Ebraland are firmly in SPD's grip. Much the same situation is repeating itself in the Oyi/Yagba sector except that a prolonged crisis within the ranks of the SDP cost it the chairman of Oyi Local Government area during the 1989 chairmanship elections. The SDP has since recouped its losses.

For Ankpa, Dekina, Ofu, Bassa and other local government areas carried over into Kogi State from the old Benue State however, the same

argument may not hold water. Benue was under the control of the NPN in the second republic. But this was easily linked to the alliance the party was able to forge with middle belt kingpin, Joseph Tarka.

The new middle belt forum holding sway in that area now has a leftist tilt

and the elections held so far have pointed to the likelihood of the two parties maintaining a neck-to-neck showing in the governorship election.

Meanwhile the NRC has already chosen Prince Abubakar Abdu from the majority Igalala tribe as its flagbearer for the December 14 battle. The SDP would decide, December 5 which between Chief S. B. Daniyan (a Saraki candidate and influential moneymen), Steven Achemba (from Ankpa Local Government of Igalala-land), who initially won the primaries before the Yagba "miracle," and Alhaji Hassan

Yakubu to field.

As things stand, presenting Daniyan as SDP's candidate would be tantamount to handing the state over to the NRC. This is because the Igalas would be forced to vote en bloc for the NRC candidate who happen to be one of their own. Achemba appears to be SDP's best bet. Apart from having sound ground in Ebraland, he is also understood to have forged an alliance with Kabba people of Oyi Local Government areas to whom he has ceded the deputy governor slot.

In Abia State the favourite appears to be 40 years old Dr. Ogbon-



Nwosu: Big Brother is watching

naya Onu, a scientist and former University of Port Harcourt don who carries the flag of the National Republican Convention. Onu, who comes from Ohaozara, won the first ballot on October 19 but without the required number of votes to outrightly clinch the governorship ticket. Dr. Gershon Amuta, his rival in the November 9 run-off, stepped down for his some hours before voting began. Dr. Onu has since enjoyed the goodwill of his defeated colleagues, who have jointly congratulated him for his victory and pledged to work to ensure that he wins. Dr. Onu, a former board mem-

ber of Nigerian Cement Company, Nkalagu, is promising fairness, equity, justice adequate food and employment opportunities.

His opponent, Dr. Sam Eke, a millionaire businessman from Alayi in Bendel Local Government, has so far failed to win over his defeated colleagues in the SDP who have since gone to court to challenge his victory. The aggrieved candidates, led by Chief August Alairbe, Chief Empire Kanu and Elder Ejike Ukaegbu, are alleging that he rigged the primaries after declaring his interest in the governorship race just about a month back.

Head or tail, Etinan Local Gov-

man who is said to have a good understanding of the needs of the state, Obong Isemin is pledging an honest, dedicated, impartial and dependable leadership.

Ekong Etuk, the SDP candidate, was elected in controversial circumstances and according to observers, mainly due to the influences of the state chairman of the party, Chief Francis Ebong, who also hails from Etinan. His victory in the primaries was bitterly attacked by John Ekong and Udo Mbosoh, by far the more popular candidates. The acceptance of the result of the primaries, according to Obong Ukpong Dan Umoh, state agent for Mbosoh,

to sue him. Ojong was the Cross River State Sports Council sole administrator and later director general of the schools management board before opting for politics.

He enjoys the support of the party at state and national levels. A native of Ikom which, like Nkpani, is in the North of the state, he will continue with the Better Life Programme and also ensure production of adequate food and their "scientific storage."

NEC's November 25 shocker has altered the political equation in Anambra, Enugu, Rivers and Imo State. Before he was banned. Dr. Okechukwu Odunse was seen as the most likely candidate to win in Anambra State, on the SDP ticket, Odunze, from Umunya in Oyi Local Government beat Dr. Chuckwue-meka Ezeife in the run-off election. Now, with Odunze out of the picture, Ezeife has emerged as the SDP's candidate. He enjoys grassroots support.

Dr. Nnamdi Eriobuna, the NRC candidate has known no peace since he upstaged favourite, Ifeanyi Okonkwo, who is courts to intervene. NEC obliged Okonkwo when it cancelled the results and called for fresh primaries. Okonkwo is likely to clinch the NRC ticket in which case he would slug it out with SDP's Ezeife. While Okonkwo is politically more visible in the state, given the fact that he has a well organised campaign machinery, observers point to the state's traditional antipathy to rightist politics as his main stumbling block. Ezeife is likely to win riding on the crest of the popular support which the SDP's welfare program enjoys.

Enugu is of course an NRC state. The conflagration which threatened to engulf the state in the wake of the primaries was doused two weeks ago when NEC removed the two contestants, Chief Joe Nwodo and Reverend Hyde Onuaguluchi from the stage. By last week, two new contestants had emerged — Dr. Emma Enejere from

## With the situation on the ground Osoba and the SDP's chances on Saturday barring any "maradonic" hitch is a forgone conclusion, what with his close association with the Awolowo family.

ernment will produce the next governor of Akwa-Ibom State as both candidates come from there. Obong Akpan Isemin of the NRC seems to have a slight edge. He has his party solidly behind him and is rumoured to be favoured by the incumbent governor, Wing Commander Idongesit Nkanga. A successful businessman and political master strategist, he muscled out favourite Ekpongntak Ekpong, a protégé of multi-millionaire Ime Ummaah, in the October 19 primaries. His victory was made easier by the stepping down, at the last minute, of another popular governorship candidate, Obong Etukudo Ekporo.

Akwa Ibom is an NRC stronghold, which makes things easier for him. Isemin's major minus, according to analysts, is the poor performance of NRC local government chairman, which may incur the wrath of voters. A charismatic

"may mark the end of SDP in the state." Outside Akwa Ibom, the 48-year old Etuk enjoys great respect. Lagos.

**T**he odds favour NRC's Clement Ebri, a former editor of *Chronicle*. A vintage newbreed, from Nkpani, he enjoys the wide support of youths and is seen as a man who can use his international connections to transform the state. Ebri's popularity could be seen from the fact that he won the first ballot and went ahead to win the twice-held run-off against main opponent, Wilfred Inah.

Ntufam Matthew Ojong, the SDP flagbear, was the first winner of the primaries in the country to be restrained by a court from parading himself as a governorship candidate. The case was, however, withdrawn later by Dr. Okpokan Simion, who led other defeated candidates

Nsukka and Barrister Agama Agama from the densely populated Abakaliki zone. Agama is believed to enjoy the support of Chief C. C. Onoh, the unchallenged Kingpin of Wawa politics, and this, analysts say, is enough to secure Agama the NRC ticket.

Chief Gbazueagu Nweke Gbazueagu, the SDP candidate is a lightweight in Enugu politics. Since his emergency as the SDP flagbearer on November 9 however there have been some significant developments which may well enthrone him as Enugu's next governor. First, his party is enjoying a better public image in the state than the NRC because his election, which came in the run-off with first ballot winner, Chief Chris Nwonkwo, has only met with a feeble protest from some of the defeated candidates.

Second, the University of Port Harcourt alumnus, 34 and a successful businessman, is known to enjoy the backing of Chief Jim Nwobodo, second republic governor of old Anambra, among other influential personalities. Third, the seeming supporters of Reverend Onuaguluchi, who like him, hail from Oji River Local Government. Onuaguluchi crossed over to the SDP last week and this, analysts

believe, will further bolster Gbazueagu's chances.

Still, if past trends are anything to go by, Chief Onoh's clout is likely to swing the governorship Agama's way. Agama has Abakaliki's teeming population going for him. Ngwo area, Onoh's home base and Nsukka where Onoh enjoys considerable support of the powerful Nwodo political clan are also likely to root for him. Barring any last minute surprise, Barrister Agama Agama is most favoured to win the Enugu governorship contest.

**W**ith the disqualification of Sergeant Awuse and Zebulon Abule, the SDP and NRC governorship candidates respectively, the Rivers State governorship race has become most uncertain. Abule's closest rival, Rufus Ada-George is favoured to clinch the NRC ticket in the December 5 primaries. He will face a challenge from Fafaa Princewill, but he is rated as very shaky. In the SDP, the banning of Awuse has thrown up new aspirants. Mrs Zainab Duke, Dr. Adonye Ibiama and Bekinbo Soberekon are all eyeing the SDP ticket. They are however unknown quantities compared to Ada George who is favoured to win the gover-

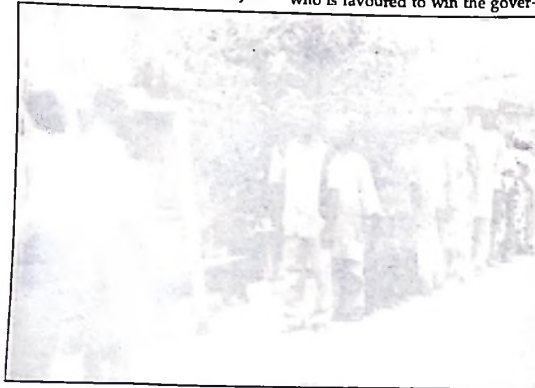
norship race on the platform of the NRC.

Chief Evan Enwerem, a wealthy lawyer/businessman from Ata Ikeduru is highly favoured to win the Imo State contest and the ban on NRC's Fabian Osuji has not altered anything. Enwerem is fondly remembered by many for his relief efforts during the Nigerian civil war. After his victory in the NRC primaries on October 19, Chief Enwerem was visited by the defeated aspirants who acknowledge his "inability" for December 14 and pledged their support to him.

Before he was banned by NEC, Professor Fabian Osuji had so many obstacles on his way. He comes from Mbaise, a place mentioned with trepidation in Imo State. In fact, there is a saying that "if you see a snake and an Mbaise man, kill the Mbaise man and leave the snake." This stereotype of an Mbaise man being dangerous and unfit to do business with, require more than a two week campaign to fight successfully.

The image problem of the ex-Imo State University deputy vice chancellor was further exacerbated by his defeated main rival, Dr. Izuogu Ezekiel, who wants everybody to believe that Professor Osuji is a stooge of influential multi-millionaire, Chief Arthur Nzeribe. Izuogu is likely to emerge the NRC flagbearer in the new primary election, but pundits rate his chances against SDP's Enwerem as very slim indeed as Nzeribe's considerable clout will not be at his disposal on December 14, Enwerem who is something of a folk hero in the state will therefore have an easy victory.

The battle for Fidelis Makka's job in Benue State is between Rev Moses Adasu, SDP and Professor Ignatius Ayua, NRC. In the run-up to primaries, Adasu and Igbetar were clear favourites with Igbetar having the edge. It was no wonder that run-off elections had decide between the two which the Rev won. The Catholic priest breached the church order which expressly



*Another voter-turnout, will they come out again?*

forbade priests from taking part in partisan politics.

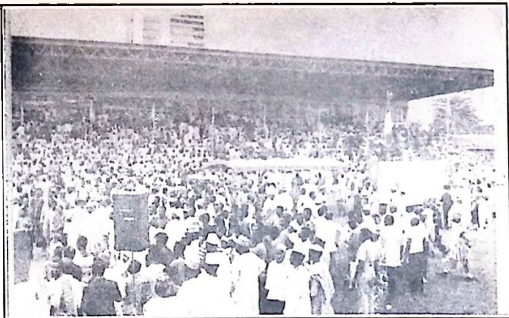
He owes his success also to hardwork, the close identification of Igbetar with a banned politician on one hand and wrangling between Igbetar and David Iornem, SDP national publicity secretary, who is not happy with Igbetar for hobnobbing with the banned politician. The banned politician not only turned over his supporters to Igbetar but had linked him with a retired army general.

**R**ev Adasu cut his political teeth in the Constituent Assembly. There he was vocal among the anti-sharia group, emerging as a fearless and incorruptible. Most aspirants felt irked by Adasu's campaign tactics and antics in portraying them as corrupt and attempted to gang-up against him. The plot worked when during the party's congress in July, his candidate, Nyashima Bur lost to Igbetar's candidate, Iyankyaa. The alliance however did not last. Following the stalemate in the October 19 primaries, the alliance scattered and the other candidates forged a new one with Adasu.

Adasu and Igbetar are both Tiv, the former from Vandeikya and the latter from Konshisha. So also is Prof Ayua, the NRC candidate. The former dean, faculty of Law, ABU, Zaria emerged winner after beating eight others in the primaries which included Tesemchi MKar, Ezekiel Akiga and Abel Gaffa.

His success came from an efficient campaign team-work and organisation as evidenced by the array of computers at his Badagry Street office where campaign materials and other relevant information on political trend is analysed and stored. Early in his campaign, the Prof had insisted that competence, clear vision are the two key issues that would move Benue State forward. These, he can provide. His blueprint on how to do this has been widely circulated.

He was a member of the con-



Campaign train

stituent assembly where he emerged as leader of Benue group, an early member of the NRC in liaison with Stephen Lawani, national deputy chairman of the NRC and Idoma. In a bid to make inroads into the Idoma area has chosen Mrs Enyantu Ifenne, a former director general, women's commission, as his running mate.

Ifenne, though had not until now made her political inclination known, boasts of having been commissioner for education, chairman of Okpokwu local government. Her popularity cuts across party lines and is expected to attract large votes in the in the six Idoma areas. Rev Adasu, Citizen, had wanted to his pick her as running mate before Ayua beat him to the punch.

Neither ethnicity nor religion would play a significant part in deciding who goes to the government house, Makurdi. Both candidates are Tiv, the majority in the state, with a control of 12 local governments. Translated to votes, it means any of the candidates can be elected from the block votes of the Tiv. However, in the last bye-election into the councils, the NRC, swept seven of the 10 chairmanship posts in contrast to the 1990 local elections in which the SDP swept 15 councils out of 19 in the old Benue State. The last few days has showed a significant shift to the NRC in a

state which the last time around had voted for the NPN.

A factor that may sway voters is personality. Ayua's stature is far ahead of Adasu's who has the added difficulty of being single in a society where being married is equated with being responsible and uncertainty over his priesthood.

In the Abuja mayoral race, two candidates - Adamu Shuaibu, NRC, and Ibrahim Tukura, SDP, are, largely going to be on their own, the standing and fortunes of their respective parties may not be an advantage.

The issues that are likely to feature prominently in the elections are ethnicity and individual merit. Religion is not an issue, moreover, the two candidates are muslims. The issue would naturally centre on ethnicity. Abuja has been described as "a home for all Nigerians," but this has not altered the fact that the tribes in the territory would root for one of their own purely on that sentiment.

Both candidates are indigenes. Adamu Shuaibu is an Igbirra from Abaji, a minority ethnic group while Ibrahim Tukura is Gwari/Gbagi, the largest ethnic group in the FCT. Prima facie, Ibrahim seems set to clinch the seat, but observers say it may not turn out that way because during the NRC primaries, Adamu beat two Gwari/Gbagi candidates

to clinch the ticket. One of the defeated candidates, Yunana Daudu, comes from Ruboci, the same town with Ibrahim Tukura. The point here is that Adamu might have succeeded in gaining the support of the Gwari/Gbagi. Moreover, many believe that Yunana would have beaten Ibrahim Tukura if he were in the SDP.

The non-indigenes in Abuja are interested in any candidate with exposure and qualities to match the demands of a mayoral seat that would become even more strategic with the movement of the seat of federal government there. Adamu has edge in this respect; he has just "graduated" from NIPSS, holds a masters degree since 1976 and had risen to the position of acting director-general of the MFCT, sole administrator, Gwagwalada council.

Ibrahim Tukura is a seasoned administrator with higher qualifications in local government administration, had been a school teacher, worked with the University of Jos, Abuja Municipal Council where he was treasurer and Keffi Local Government. He is not a political novice having contested and lost a seat in the national assembly in 1983 on the ticket of the defunct NPP. Barring hitches and the internecine wranglings in the party with some decamping to the SDP, the NRC is expected to take the mayoral seat.

During the second republic, Bauchi State, the epitome of what is regarded by watchers of the political scene as a peaceful state, was a solid, unshakable NPN playground. The party swept every election and if other tendencies existed they took a back seat and never had anything to show beyond state assemblies.

This time around, as the transition to civil rule unfolded, all breath is bated to see whether things will be different. And they may be. The party that expects to get a walk-over may end up receiving a proper whacking. Alhaji Dahiru Mohammed, a former director general, the NRC governorship candidate, who



Musa: NRC Kebbi



Sarkin Magori: SDP Sokoto

declared his election himself, has cast a big shadow on the party's chances in the state. The faction led by Ambassador Balarabe Tafawa Balewa, has accused Dahiru of rigging the election, especially in three local governments where he won massively, and colluding with election and party officials of complicity. The issue is now before the courts.

One in the state expected the am-

**N** ambassador's fortunes to take this turn. Widely seen as the most eminently qualified in terms of experience and competence, he apparently mistook politics for the civil service and did not wake up in good enough time. In the primaries, he perhaps conceded Gombe to Dahiru, a son of the soil, the ambassador turned north - to Katagum - sure that being the only candidate in Bauchi, automatic support there was a sure banker. A promising candidate, Ahmed Muazu widely regarded as a spoiler for the ambassador, had given some indications of indecision.

The ambassador picked Abdulmuhji Mukhtar from Katagum as his running mate, probably the most patriotic politician among the breed. That alone ought to have assured the ambassador's camp of a clean sweep. Two things made things difficult. First, the rise of new

forces bitterly opposed to second republic chanji, which his opponents believed, he championed. Second, supporters of the ambassador in the establishment took things for granted.

Now to supporters of Dahiru, it is time for victory song. The supporters of the ambassador see only a stalemate which will sooner than later turn into their favour. This stalemate has suddenly turned into a chance for the SDP, who has Adamu S. Bulkachuwa. He has beaten his rival in the run-off. Reportedly angered by their candidate's not so rosy showing in Katagum, Bauchi people who had cast their lot with Katagum's Abubakar Tafari Ali, now felt betrayed. They are awaiting the verdict of the court. In the event of a decision in favour of Dahiru Mohammed, most have vowed to decamp to the SDP. Supporters of the ambassador, however, feel this will be unnecessary because they are almost certain that the decision must favour them.

By Ike Okonta and Mohammed Bomoi with additional reports by Mahmud Jega, Mohammed Haruna, Bilkisu Yusuf, Adamu Adamu, Bolaji Adebisi, Rabiu Barde, Abu Mommoh, Isaac Umunna, Tawey Zakka, Tijjani Isa, Yinka Tella, Akin Aluko and Samson Ojo



## Transition

## Cat and mouse game

Twelve banned politicians are put in the cooler till January to rid transition politics of the influence of the "oldbreed"

**G**overnment pulled off something akin to a coup last week. The "coup", directed against the nation's old political brigade, had all the trappings of a carefully rehearsed tragi-comedy.

Trouble for Nigeria's powermen of yesteryears, initially appeared in the shape of courteous letters of invitation signed personally by Police Inspector General Alhaji Aliyu Atta but discreetly dispatched through state commissioners of Police in Katsina, Lagos, Kaduna, Imo, Kano, Oyo, Kwara, Benue and Anambra to 14 banned politician, suspected of meddling in transition politics.

In it, Atta requested the esteemed presence of a former Chief of Staff, Major-General Shehu Musa Yar'adua; two second republic ministers, Paul Unongo (Steel) and Bello Maitama Yusuf (Commerce); six ex-

Onoh (Anambra) and Lateef Jakande (Lagos), former governor of Kaduna State, Alhaji Lawal Kaita and Ibadan-based business man cum politician Alhaji Lamidi Adedibu for "a chat" at the force's Kam Salem House headquarters, Monday December 2.

Unknown to the politicians a similar invitation had been dis-



Yar'adua, Jakande and Saraki at the tribunal

governors, Abubakar Rimi (Kano); Bola Ige (Oyo); Solomon Lar (Plateau); Jim Nwobodo and Christian

patched by the force headquarters to journalists for a press briefing that same morning on "the on-going transition to civil rule programme". Befuddled journalists watched as Arthur Nzeribe, Lamidi Adedibu then Odumegwu Ojukwu drove into Kam Salem House in turns, eliciting frantic speculations. Some of the "wild theories being advanced by a few of the reporters however went puff when Odumegwu Ojukwu ex-Biafran war-lord was eased out of the police grounds a free man, barely five minutes after his arrival.

By the time a Toyota coaster bus with registration number NPF 7689 emerged well after 11 am to convey 12 of Atta's distinguished invitees to the senate chambers, venue of the Transition to Civil Rule Tribunal, it became apparent to newshounds that the Babangida administration was making good its persistent threat to deal with political barons



Giants of the second republic with their counsel Ige (in suit)

# NIGERIA

said to be turning its newbreed politicians into mere surrogates.

Prosecuting state counsels Kolapo Adebale told the tribunal that contrary to the provisions of the Politics and Elections (Prohibition) Decree 25 of 1987 as amended, the accused persons participated and sponsored candidates between January and October 1991. According to the charge sheet, Alhaji Abubakar Rimi allegedly spearheaded the campaign efforts of SDP's Alhaji Sule Lamido for the governorship seat of Jigawa State and Alhaji Aminu in Kano State, while Alhaji Bello Maitama Yusuf was similarly linked with NRC's Alhaji Yusuf Sanni in Jigawa State. SDP's Arthur Nzeribe, Dr. Olusola Saraki, Major-General Musa Yar'Adua (Rtd), Alhaji Lateef Jakande and Chief Jim Nwobodo, were accused of having sponsored Professor Fabian Osuji SDP (Imo), Alhaji Shaaba Lafiagi SDP (Kwara), Alhaji Umar Musa Yar'Adua SDP (Katsina), Professor Femi Agbalajobi SDP (Lagos) and Gbazeagu M. Gbazeagu SDP (Anambra) respectively.

Alhaji Lamidi Adedibu, still smarting from charges of having forged NEC clearance certificate slammed on him by the state was jointly arraigned with ex-Oyo State governor, Chief Bola Ige over alleged sponsorship of the candidature of the SDP's governorship flagbearer in Oyo State, Chief Kolapo Ishola. With ex-Anambra state chief executive Chief C.C. Onoh, the story is slightly different. Onoh is accused of sponsoring an unspecified political party for the local government elections and governorship election primaries.

Two of the banned or disqualified politicians — Paul Unongo and Alhaji Lawal Kaita, who did not honour Atta's invitation were charged in absentia. Kaita was apparently away to Saudi Arabia on the lesser Hajj when he was served IG' invitation. By Tuesday last week, however, Unongo, who is facing charges of having bankrolled



Rimi conferring with Ige at the tribunal

the campaign of Benue State SDP's defeated gubernatorial aspirant, Moses Igbetar, was apprehended in Makurdi as he awaited the arrival of official visit to Benue State. Ige was taken in as he arrived from Saudi Arabia and banter that characterised the heads of the second republic politicking was relieved Chief Bola Ige and Chief C.C. Onoh — both announced their appearance for the other accused. Ige, who was himself represented by one of his sons, Babatunde Ige, proceeded to puncture holes in the arguments of the state prosecuting counsel who had requested for an eight-week adjournment to enable it assemble witnesses in Nigeria and abroad to cement its case against the accused persons. Said Ige: "it took the government two days to invite us all to adjournment and also applied for bail for the accused on self-recognition."

residence of Lagos State governors for a "well-deserved" freeze in the cooler.

As the drama of the surprise incarceration of some of Nigeria's most influential political players unfolded last week, however, various explanations were being advanced for the government action. Parry Osayande, director of Federal Investigation and Intelligence Bureau (FIIB) articulated government's position. He told the press that government had been aware for some time now that banned and disqualified politicians had been involved "remotely and intensely with active partisan politics". He said that most incidence of arson, thuggery, murder, violence and wanton destruction of lives and property associated with the last primaries, were perpetrated by such banned politicians. In an emotion-laden voice, Osayande alleged that old politicians "have mapped out strategies aimed at derailing the transition train and dismantling the corporate existence of Nigeria should their missions fail in their enthronement bid".

**B**ut Justice Fred Anyaegbunam, unimpressed, adjourned proceedings till January 16. Anyaegbunam, accepted prosecution's argument that the accused persons might either interfere with "evidence" or further meddle in transition politics if freed, also ordered that the embattled politicians be remanded in police custody "with reasonable comfort" until resumption of hearing. Police authorities promptly shepherded the political kingpins into Lagos House, until recently the official

Authoritative sources however informed *Citizen*, last week, that the detained politicians may have burnt their fingers when they started getting together to discuss issues which government felt capable of undermining public confidence in the transition programme. According to the source, government was forced to put the politicians away at least for the duration of the governorship contest.

By Yinka Tella

## AFRICA

## Libya The bullies come again

America and Britain want two Libyans for trial but strongman Ghaddafi won't give in

Though they have not said it, the Americans, with their British and French allies, are planning some action, some say a military one, against Libya, similar to the one in 1987. Then, the US said it was retaliating for the bombing by a suspected Libyan hit squad of a night club in former West Berlin frequented by its soldiers.

Their excuse this time is the evidence they are saying they have found linking Libya to the destruction in 1988 of the American PAN-AM flight 103 over Lockerbie in Scotland. The plane's crew and passengers of 270 perished in the midair explosion. The US and British governments want two Libyan agents whom they have identified extradited for trial in either country.

The French, on their part, suspect the same agents may have been responsible for the shooting down of a UTA DC-10 airliner over Niger two years ago. But the Libyan government would not entertain such a demand. A foreign ministry statement called it "distasteful." Instead, it has appointed a magistrate to investigate the allegations.

Meanwhile both sides have started off on a diplomatic shuttle to seek out backers for their cause, the British foraging into the Mediterranean countries and Libya going to East Asia. Last week, *Asharq Al-Awsat*, an Egyptian newspaper, said the Libyan government was transferring one billion dollars in assets from "British, French and other European banks to the Gulf, Egypt and Cyprus." The aim, apparently, was to avoid the experience of 1986 when Washington froze Libyan assets for its alleged harbouring of terrorists.

However, Col. Ghaddafi's government made a move last week, clearly meant to gain it some more international sympathy and thereby attenuate what action the Americans and their allies are contemplating. One of its diplomats in Paris announced that the two agents whose extradition the US and Brit-

ain are demanding, have been detained and would be tried under Libyan law. The two countries, he said, were free to send representatives to attend the trial.

Almost immediately, Ghaddafi's new secret service chief, Col. Youssef Abdel Kader Al-Dibrani said that the allegations against Libya would be investigated to know the truth "because what we have been blamed for is inconsistent with our policy, our values and our customs." That policy aims to "make the entire region, the whole world, a haven of peace and security," he said.

## South Africa

### "Talks about talks"

The white minority government and black opposition parties fix December 20-21 for 'CODESA'

South Africa is moving slowly but assuredly towards shedding its racist image and transforming itself into a truly democratic, non-racial society. In Johannesburg, last week, the ruling Nationalist Party government and some 20 black and white organisations met for two days to prepare for a multi-party conference.

The white supremacist Conservative Party (CP) refused to take part in the weekend preliminary talks held in a hotel room at Jan Smuts airport.

According to agency reports, the "talks about talks" produced "a blueprint for negotiations which aim to devise a post-apartheid constitution. The delegates, three from each participating party, agreed that the constitutional negotiations should be tagged the "Convention for Democracy in South Africa" (CODESA) and the first meeting of the convention held at a Johannesburg business centre on December 20.

Almost all the participants

agreed the talks had been a success. "More than ever we are walking the last mile," said Cyril Ramaphosa, who led the ANC delegation. "The deliberations on date have been better than we anticipated and this augurs well for the future," said Inkatha's Frank Mdllose.

The Pan-Africanist Congress, however, was disappointed, and walked out of the talks because it failed to push through its demands that CODESA be held outside South Africa and that the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) provide a chairman.

PAC alleged "a secret deal" between the ANC and the government "to scale down demands for a constituent assembly for the sake of reaching an easy settlement on a transitional government." According to Benny Alexander, an ANC spokesman, this interim government is to be in place by next February. The ANC has denied the charges.

By Tawey Zakka  
with agency reports

## Togo Eyadema still in charge?

He has stayed in the background, but no one doubts his power

Last week, after about a week of a confused face-off between the military and the transitional government, the situation in Togo still remained in a state of anxiety. Everything was up side down.

It all started when troops said to be loyal to now less powerful President Gnassingbe Eyadema attacked the residence of Joseph Kokoh Koffigoh, the head of the transitional government, and arrested him, with many people losing their lives in the violence that followed. And as if to confirm the role being played by president Eyadema, Koffigoh was taken to Eyadema's palace, where he was said to be having talks. At the end of the talks, Mr. Koffigoh announced that they have agreed to form a new government of national unity. That might have been Eyadema's proposal to Koffigoh, who in any case has no option.

Earlier when the soldiers took over the radio station, they demanded the dissolution of the barely three month old transitional legislature and the appointment of a new prime minister. The soldiers who took strategic positions all over Togolese capital, Lome, openly demanded that president Eyadema takes over complete powers as it used to be before. President Eyadema was stripped of most of his powers last August when opposition parties organised a national conference with the main intention of ending Eyadema's 20-year old one party rule.

Over fifty people are said to have lost their lives. Koffigoh himself said that he was going ahead to form a new government of national unity as requested by Eyadema to prevent further bloodshed. With his resi-

dence devastated, the soldiers not on his side and the French troops requested for not likely to move from the Republic of Benin base they were kept, Koffigoh knew quite well that the power Eyadema lost to them since October can be reclaimed at any time.

Meanwhile, by Thursday, the situation in Lome was returning to normal. People were reported by



Eyadema

BBC as saying that France let them down by not acting decisively. And with Koffigoh busy forming a new government that will now have a substantial participation from Eyadema's faithfuls, the future of democracy in Togo looks gloomy.

## Burkina Faso "I am the president"

Only about 30 per cent of Burkinabes voted, yet Compaore insists he is the president

Burkina Faso's president Blaise Compaore is busy re-defining democracy in his country. For him democracy is not that game in which the largest number takes over control. In last week's presidential elections, after six opposition candidates withdrew from the contest and when only about 30 per cent of the voters voted, Compaore maintains that he has been duly elected. Over 86 per cent of those who voted, were actually for him.

Long before the elections, the opposition gave notice of its intention to boycott the process as long as some fundamental issues are not settled. The opposition preferred a national conference saying the electoral process under the incumbent president hardly gives a picture of being neutral. So when Compaore refused to convene a national conference and insisted that the polls go ahead as they were arranged, the six candidates that earlier showed interest in the job withdrew. But Compaore was unperturbed.

Amidst all the confusion, President Compaore went ahead to stand against himself. In both the main cities of Ouagadougou and Obrobasu, protesters were reported to have destroyed voting materials, polling booths some also took advantage of the situation to loot stalls in markets. Despite these and the fact that people heeded the opposition's call for the boycott of the polls, it still went on. Little wonder then, there was a low turn-out.

President Compaore is not showing any sign of re-ordering the elections. Instead he announced that the legislature elections scheduled for early next year, will go ahead. The opposition, expectedly said it would call for a boycott once again. Meanwhile, the opposition has taken the battle elsewhere. It is now counting on the Supreme Court to annul the results of the elections and compel the government to convene a national conference which will then organise the elections.

By Rabiou Barde

## Soviet Union

## Another pillar gone

Ukrainians match defiantly towards independence, increasing Soviet President Gorbachev's dilemmas

**L**eonid Kravchuk, the former communist ideologue now turned "free-marketeer" was on December 5 sworn in as the new president of Ukraine, the Soviet Union's second largest republic, which four days earlier voted to secede from Moscow.

The ceremony in Kiev, the capital of the new independent nation-state, was clearly the greatest rebuff of the embattled Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, who warned on the eve of the December 1 referendum that a vote for independence would be a "disaster" to the new Soviet Union, he is trying to shape up. He said in the circumstance of a yes vote he would resign rather than preside over the disintegration of the union.

Mr. Gorbachev had every cause for worry. First, an independent Ukraine would be another pillar

detached from under the tottering old giant, and second, Moscow already cash-strapped, would lose the biggest life-line for the national economy. But much as he wished Ukraine to be part of a looser confederation of the republics, the Soviet leader must have known that he no longer had the power to beat the rebellious republics into line.

The Ukrainians said exactly that when they voted 93 per cent in favour of independence. Even in predominantly Russian Odessa and Crimea, 50-70 per cent supported Ukraine's independence, which would effectively break over 300 year's of direct rule from Moscow. Those regions had been expected to vote against independence, a belief which perhaps led Russian president Boris Yeltsin to warn, initially, that a yes vote would force a redefinition of Ukraine's borders. But fol-

lowing the landslide vote for independence, Mr. Yeltsin has had to change his position from one of antagonism to "full support for Ukraine's statehood".

Outside recognition has been slow in coming, but Ukrainians are willing to wait. Few days to the referendum, Mr. Gorbachev, worried over Washington's position on Ukraine, was on

the telephone for 45 minutes, speaking about the "disaster" that an independent Ukraine would bring upon the Soviet Union. Robert Strauss, the American ambassador to Moscow, was to declare that Washington's reaction would not be "precipitous". The West, especially America, is being cautious, it is believed, because "it prefers to deal with one Krolin rather than a dozen nation-states" and there is "a lingering attachment" to Mr. Gorbachev, described by former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher as "the man to do business with".

However, on December 5, Washington despatched a high-ranking official, assistant secretary of state Thomas Niles, to Kiev, to secure assurances on human rights, economic reform, security of nuclear weapons and Soviet debt repayment. Ukraine holds some 4,000 of the Soviet Union's nuclear warheads, which observers say, the Ukrainian leadership wants to hold on to as "a negotiating chip in the short term".

Mr. Niles' 2-day visit is being seen as the first major step the Bush administration has taken towards recognition of Ukraine's independence. Other governments have been more affirmative, among them Poland, Canada, Sweden and Czechoslovakia. Poland which lost territory to Ukraine in 1939 said it "sees a partner in independent Ukraine, for close and many-sided relations". The two governments had agreed as far back as last September to exchange envoys.

Will Mr. Gorbachev now resign as he had said he would if Ukraine opted out of the Soviet Union? More independence republics are likely in the coming months to follow in the footsteps of Ukraine and the precursors of independence, the three Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

Tawey Zakka  
with agency reports

Citizen, December 9, 1991



Gorbachev: disaster?

## Lebanon

## Curtains fall in hostage drama

One side in the hostage drama has released all it holds, the other has begun releasing theirs. Is this the end of it all?

With the release of Terry Anderson, the longest-held Westerner in Lebanon, the Revolutionary Justice Organisation and Islamic Jihad seemed to have decided that the couple of hostages they held no longer served any useful purpose.

Anderson's impending release had been reported by the duo of Thomas Sutherland a Scottish American lecturer and Terry Waite an envoy of Archbishop of Canterbury after their November 18 release by Islamic Jihad. Sutherland had been held for more than six years while Waite had spent almost five. Waite was reported by a Middle Eastern newspaper to have been caught with a transmitter in his belt to guide intelligence agents. The two said their captors had told them Anderson would be released by month end. And he was.

Joseph Caccipio who, along with Alan Steen, the Revolutionary Justice Organisation promised to release "within days" of Anderson's freedom, was released Monday, a day ahead of his companion. A day before the Israeli-backed South Lebanese Army, SLA, had released 25 out of the 300-odd Arabs it was holding at its al-Khiyam prison. Israel said it was a goodwill gesture specifically requested by out-going United Nations secretary general, Javier Perez de Cuellar to aid in strengthening his position in the negotiation process already underway.

It began on August 8, when Islamic Jihad sent a letter to De Cuellar through John McCarthy, a British hostage released the same day. Since then the UN had taken over as broker with the understanding that

Western hostages would be traded for the 300-odd Lebanese muslims held by Israel. But it couldn't make much headway earlier as Israel insisted on first receiving information on its soldiers missing in Lebanon since its ill-fated 1982 invasion.

On August 11 Edward Tracy, an American, was released by Islamic Jihad. If it meant to show it meant business, the signal was well taken. De Cuellar swung into action



De Cuellar: *crowning glory*

by appointing Giandomenico Picco as his special envoy to the negotiations.

Picco went to work tirelessly and unobtrusively and a month later his labour bore fruit. Israel set free its first batch of 51 muslim hostages and remains of nine after receiving confirmation of the death of an Israeli soldier.

Saiqa, the pro-Syrian Palestinian group, released the body of another on September 12. Within the next month and half, two more western hostages — an American and Briton — were released while Israel released 15 muslims. So far all Western hostages — except two

Germans — have been released. Israel, still holding more than 300 muslims including Sheikh Abdulkarim Obeid, has had news on only three out of its 11 servicemen and released a total of 131.

The first incidence of hostage taking to happen in recent times was the Tehran Embassy seige in which Iranian Islamic revolutionaries captured the US Embassy with 52 embassy staffers. The capture followed the interception of messages by the new Islamic authorities in Tehran to the effect that armed clashes were being planned by American diplomats. The 52 hostages were released after 444 days in captivity.

Taking a cue, Lebanese muslims, invaded by Israel to the south in 1982 and bombed by a combined Western armada seeking to store up the crumbling power of Lebanon's minority christian regime, decided to retaliate by capturing westerners hostage.

They began coming out as trade-off for arms when the Iran-Contra affair, which saw David Jacobsen, Benjamin Weir and Lawrence Jenco out of captors' hands, began. And it stopped as suddenly as it had begun.

While the curtains might have now fallen it would appear the dramatists were still on stage. What follows in its wake is unclear. However, US and Germany have assured the Iranian government the matron of the Lebanese muslims and whose efforts produced the hostages, that they would not retaliate. Israel has also vowed not to seek revenge, something they should say only after releasing the 300 they currently hold — and not before.

By Adamu Adamu  
with agency reports

## BUSINESS & ECONOMY

### Banking

# Customer is king

The scramble for customers forces banks to move to high-density areas

**O**ne major development arising from the financial liberalisation policy of the present regime is the increase in the number of banks in the country.

From 47 licensed commercial and merchants bank in 1989, the number of banks operating in the country rose to 107 as at the end of 1990, and the figure is still rising.

As the number of banks increases, so do the competitions for costumers' funds. In fact, financial analysts believe that banks are no longer content with mere introduction of new products or improved services to their costumers. New wave bankers are now embarking on aggressive physical expansion of their branches.

The areas of attraction for the banks are the high density areas such as Ikoyi, Allen Avenue and commercial centres such as Idumota, Oke-Arin, Jankara Mile 12 and Alaba international market, all in Lagos. These are areas where many banks would not have thought of going to in the era of cheap liquidity.

According to keen observers of the banking industry, banks' movement to high density areas is informed by the need to get closer to their costumers and explore other mass-based sources of funds. Mr. Ralph Osayemeh, the first Vice President of Chartered Institute of Bankers of Nigeria, CIBN, put the matter more succinctly. Speaking at the 1991 Bankers Forum, he stressed that "the sellers market in which banks operated hitherto, and which could be easily backed by highly conservative doctrines in the text has now changed into a buyer mar-

ket requiring new concepts, ideas and orientation in the field of marketing."

Shina Olowokere of Gulf Bank agrees with Osayemeh. He told *Citizen* that, it is imperative for any



CBN governor, Ahmed

bank that does not want to be caught napping in this era of prudential guidelines and frequent liquidity mop-up to adopt aggressive marketing, one of which he stressed is having branches in highly commercialised areas or towns.

This new trend, observed Anthony Nwanko, a lecturer at the department of finance and banking, University of Lagos, would enable the banks to avail themselves of "place utility," that is, getting closer to the costumers, knowing their needs and satisfying them. The finance lecturer believes that this will make the banks to be more customer-oriented.

Nwnakwo also identified other advantages such as the inculcation of banking habit into petty traders, reduction in the amount of cash

being carried about by them and subsequently the rate of cash thefts. In fact, many traders at Alade market and Allen Avenue told *Citizen* that the movement of more banks into the area had significantly improved their banking habit.

A fashion designer on Allen Avenue told *Citizen* that she has accounts in three of the banks. The fashion designer who prefers anonymity said that she abandoned her former bank on the same avenue because of poor service adding that "most of the new banks are highly efficient."

In spite of the observed positive effects of the movement of banks into commercial areas, financial analysts fear that most of the banks, whose bottomline is profit, are likely to be more favourably disposed towards commercial firms thereby neglecting the manufacturing sector believed to be the backbone of the economy.

Although some argue that they go to the commercial areas in search of deposits from traders, critics are quick to point out that the banks are not opening branches in industrial estates.

Property analysts believe that the most visible impact of movement of banks to commercial areas is on the demand for property. According to Mr. Nathaniel Idowu, an Estate Surveyor with Adeniyi Osunkojo Associates, Ikeja the demand for property especially on Allen Avenue has, of recent been on the increase. This, he argued has equally increased the cost of property in the areas with the result that many individuals are being forced to vacate the avenue for less expensive residential areas.

According to Idowu, landlords in the area now eject their tenants and let their buildings out to banks who have more bargaining powers and can pay up to five years rent in advance.

By Tola Sunday

## Capital market

# Unit finance here to stay

### Money managers divert unit trust fund to the money market

When it made its debut in the Nigerian financial market last year, investment analysts described the unit trust scheme as a welcome development.

Such analysts, hinged their approval of the scheme on the fact that, if well managed, it is an instrument for effective mobilisation and pooling of funds of small savers in both the rural and urban areas to invest in more lucrative ventures.

Like any other innovation it became the darling of finance houses, Rims Securities went to the north and the eastern parts of the country and launching its Unit Trust Fund, Merchant Bank of Africa, MBA, carried the sales of its Mutual Trust Scheme to market places and bus stops, while Public Finance Securities

Limited, embarked on a vigorous enlightenment campaign explaining the advantages of its unit trust over shares or bank deposits.

Economists believe that the product has gradually been accepted by investors. Segun Bamigboye of Capital Brokers, agrees with this view. He told *Citizen* that as long as the total asset of unit trust is put at 35 million Naira, one can agree that despite the initial reluctance, the product is gradually gaining popularity among investors.

However, industrialists are now criticising what they observe as the investment of the Unit Trust Fund in the money market instead of the capital market.

Chief Michael Balogun, chairman and chief executive officer of

First City Merchant Bank, last week in Lagos bemoaned the emphasis on investing the funds in the money market rather than the capital market. The bank mogul argued that the objectives of the new unit trust scheme, which include the provision of long-term funds to the economy, diversification of invested portfolio of investors and provision of oppor-

tunity for sustainable capital appreciation may not be achieved if the present situation persists. Commenting on the same issue, the president of Nigeria Stock Exchange said that the council was aware of the situation pointing out that the matter is being handled by his council and the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC). However, operators of unit trust schemes disagree with the notion that investing the funds in the money market would jeopardise the objectives of the scheme.

The unit trust manager of Public Finance Securities, Dr. Joe Oshomwwe believes that SEC guideline on unit trust scheme is not biased against either the capital market or the money market. He told *Citizen* that SEC allows the unit trust fund to be invested in both capital and money market. What SEC has not told the operators of the scheme according to him, is whether the fund could be invested in non-quoted but viable companies.

If the operators of unit trust scheme are biased against the capital market, industry watchers attribute it to the relatively higher nominal interest rates on money market instruments. Dr. Henry Alege, an economic lecturer with Lagos State Polytechnic believes that it would benefit the unit holders if the fund managers invest in money market. He observes that since the capital market is a long-term investment, the fund managers may not be able to pay the unit holders who are, in most cases small savers.

Coupled with the fact that the capital market is a long term investment, it is also believed that the Nigerian capital market like the



**Abiola: NSE applying the brakes**

economy is still developing. In fact, Dr. Oshomuvwe of Public Finance is more pungent in his analysis of the Nigerian capital market. Comparing the Nigerian capital market with what obtains in developed countries, he did not mince words in saying that the Nigerian capital market is dormant. Alege attributes this dormancy to the fact that it has not developed to the extent of being responsive to external shocks. He told *Citizen* that investors could

predict what would happen at the US capital market if there is a major event such as the Gulf war. For now, financial analysts believe that the awareness on capital market in Nigeria is still very low.

They insist that until the awareness is created that the capital market is an important factor in economic development of any country the Nigerian capital market would continue to be dormant. The presi-

dent of Nigerian Stock Exchange, is not unaware of the lack of awareness on the capital market. He said that the NSE would devote a substantial portion of its 1992 budget on education. For the capital market to develop, economic analysts believe that the economy has to grow, and that there must be awareness that the capital market is a cheaper source of fund than to go to the banks to borrow money for capital intensive investment.

## BUSINESS BRIEF

### Code of conduct for capital market

There should be a code of conduct to regulate capital market operations to prevent the incident of insider dealings.

The suggestion was made in a communique issued at the end of a three-day national conference on insider dealing held at Abuja. Other recommendations include the call for a joint respon-

sibility of capital market regulators and operators to develop the capital market and the need to mount increased enlightenment campaign in the market especially on those activities that relate to insider dealing.

The conference was organised by the Securities and Exchange Commission, SEC.

### CBN disburses 12.4million Naira

A total of 12.4 million Naira was granted under the credit guarantee scheme (ALGS) in July 1991. About 3,620 farmers benefited from the grant. This represents an increase of 26.4 per cent over the amount granted in the preceding month, but a decline of 31.3 per cent below the credit level in July 1990.

The CBN report for the month of July shows that the food crops sub-sector

accounted for 11.12 million Naira representing 89.5 per cent of the total money granted, with 3,361 farmers as recipients.

With 1,908 million Naira, Sokoto State emerged the highest recipient of the loan followed by Bauchi State with 1.814 million Naira while Anambra State came third with 1.209 million Naira.

By Tola Sunday

### Texaco appoints manager

Texaco Nigeria Plc has appointed Mr. O. T. Adelekan as the company's operations manager.

Mr. Adelekan will be responsible for supply, distribution, stock reconciliation and field operations. A graduate of economics from University of Lagos and

an MBA from Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile Ife, the new operations manager joined Texaco Nigeria Plc in 1979 as planning officer.

He has served in various management positions both in Nigeria and overseas before his new appointment.

### Sodangi honoured

The managing director of the Bank of the North, BON, Malam Mansur Sodangi, was last week honoured by friends and associates at Lafiya Hotel, Katsina, for the "competence he had exhibited in the last four years" as chief executive.

Speaking on behalf of Mansur's friends, former Rector of Bauchi Polytechnic, Malam Aminu Aliyu, said MD had made efficient banking the hallmark of BON and that under Mansur's leadership, it has flourished with branches in Enugu,

Rivers, Akwa Ibom, Abia and Ondo states.

A guest of honour at the dinner party, Alhaji Isaiaka Rabi'u said that the BON MD has been the most practical and responsive of past chief executives since the bank was set up in 1960.

In response, Malam Mansur thanked his friends for the honour and added that whatever achievements BON had recorded during his tenure, would not have been possible without the co-operation and support of colleagues at the bank.



## KABIRU YUSUF

Zaria. He rose through the ranks to become professor, dean of the faculty of veterinary science, dean of post-graduate school and deputy vice chancellor. On what rational ground should he be denied the number one position? Another friend, who lectured in the same faculty as the new VC, said his problem was that Saror was a professor only in name, who long ago began to

major universities in this country, none of them enjoys the kind of national-mix of students and staff that ABU has. Despite the hue and cry of discrimination in admission into northern universities, fully 40 percent of students in ABU must be from the southern parts of the country. Certainly, if a casual observer goes to the main gate of the university, the first person he may encounter is more likely to be from Delta than Borno. Try the same exercise at the gates of the universities of Ibadan, Lagos, Ife, Benin, Nsukka, Port Harcourt or Calabar!

This national-mix is more obvious among the teaching staff. The most striking example of this was in the recent ABU senate selection of members who would screen candidates for vice chancellor. The four ABU senate members elected were Professor C. O. Afolayan, Dr. (Mrs) C.A. Ajakaiye, Professor A. M. Emechebe and S.B. Elegba, all of them from the south of Nigeria.

In contrast, the universities of Ibadan and Ife also screened candidates for that position about the same time. All the candidates shortlisted from the two universities were Yoruba, and President Babangida, dully chose Professors A.B. Oyediran and T.A. Omole, to head Ibadan and Ife respectively. For Ibadan, the oldest university in Nigeria, only once did an "outsider", Professor Kenneth Dike, hold the position of VC and so huge was the protest that followed, the experiment was never tried again.

The great strength of the north is diversity. The great task of its political leaders is to ensure fairness and sense of belonging. There have been lapses, exacerbated in the last decade by religious intolerance. But the fund of goodwill is so vast that you only have to try a little harder to reach it.

Good luck, Saror.

## Good luck, Saror

**W**hen I visited Zaria a fortnight ago, the main topic of discussion was the choice of a new vice chancellor for Ahmadu Bello University (ABU). It was known then that the leading contenders, whose names had been submitted to President Babangida, were Professors Daniel I. Saror and J.Y. Yayock. Both were christians and from minority tribes in the north.

A friend of mine, who is a lecturer at the university, and who is normally "progressive" about such matters, told me that the two professors were unacceptable to the Hausa-Fulani muslim majority. He said since the screening committee had dropped the names of muslim candidates like Professors Y.O. Aliu and H.T. Saad, the only alternative was to canvass for outside candidates. He tried to enlist my help in this by suggesting that I lobby northern army officers I know in Lagos. I know fewer army officers than he thinks, and in any case, if God had intended to make me a lobbyist he would have shown me that rosy path earlier.

I was neither surprised nor sad, that Professor Daniel Saror, by all accounts, an easy-going Tiv man, finally clinched the job. Saror had spent most of his working life in

chase things other than academic laurels. According to him, Saror "was the creation" of outgoing VC, Nayaya Mohammed, who rescued him from cows and pigs and put him on the administrative conveyor belt. Whatever the case, Daniel Saror was in the right place at the right time, and it is difficult for a government that has celebrated former Tivland district officer as its secretary, and Maradona for its captain, to play the game any other day.

ABU cannot be diminished by diversity. Ahmadu Bello, whose name the great institution bears, understood this, and it was with his approval that the first Nigerian vice chancellor was appointed. Ishaya Audu, a minority and a christian by all accounts did a good job and despite failing eye sight, still practices medicine in Zaria, serving muslims and christians alike. That was a good start for the university. Learning and parochialism don't go together. When you aim to build a great academic institution, as ABU quickly became, you have to attract students and scholars from as far afield as you can.

Paradoxically, while Ahmadu Bello was reputed to be a regional leader, the institution he built became the most national university in the country. I have been to all the



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

**OVERSPEEDING,  
OVERTAKING AND  
OVERLOADING !**

What a shame ?

What future for our children ?

What future for our country ?

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



PUBLIC ENLIGHTENMENT DEPARTMENT,  
FEDERAL ROAD SAFETY COMMISSION

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# Citizenship

By DUBAIB ABDOU

SEE YOUR PAST?! ... INTERESTING!...  
 ...TROUBLE IN SOKOTO OVER  
 THE SULTANATE; BATTLE IN  
 OYO BETWEEN THE  
 OONI AND ALAAPIN OVER  
 A CHAIR; EFIKS VERSUS  
 IBIBIOS; JUNKUNS VERSUS  
 TIVS; AND FULANIS  
 BATTLING YORUBAS  
 AND YORUBAS BATTLING  
 FULANIS IN ILORIN....



NOW;... THE PRESENT!...

**WHAT?!**  
**N.R.C. VERSUS N.R.C.?**  
 ... CHANGE THE CHANNEL!...  
 ... CHANGE THE CHANNEL!

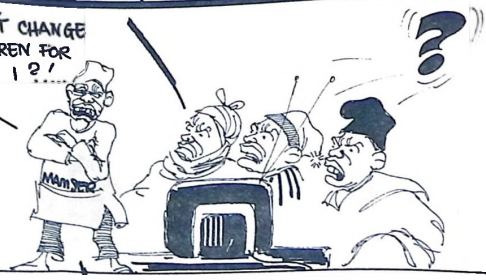


... OKAY!... OKAY!...  
 ... I'VE CHANGED IT!...

**... A HA?!**  
**S.D.P. VERSUS S.D.P.?**  
 NONSENSE!... CHANGE THE  
 CHANNEL!... OR, CHANGE  
 THE T.V. SET!...



WELL;... I CAN'T CHANGE  
 YOUR CHILDREN FOR  
 YOU!... CAN I?!



Chikun Akinyi 2001/04

## Sponsored Politicking

## Nigerian Association of Banned Politician (NABP)



The Nigerian Association of Banned Politicians (NABP) in conjunction with the federal government of Nigeria and the Transition Tribulations Cheer man hereby invite the newbreed and the voting public to the first diamond

medal series of lectures and book launching. The lecture series are designed to teach newbreed politicians, especially the greenhorns who are in a hurry to master the techniques of politicking the intricacies of the game.

Course Content	Lecturer	Course Content	Lecturer
(1) - Politics of Awoism - Intrigues of succession - "Saruminisation" of SDP	by Alhaji Lateef Jakando	- The Theory of Thuggery - How to nurture beauty queens	Mr. C.C. Onoh
(2) "CARIA" carriage in Eastern Politics - Politics of Conversion to Islam - Making millions from foundations "Umanisation" of Education	by Chief Arthur Nzeribe	(7) - Politics of Anti-North - Utilising Security vote - How to escape Transition Tribunal	Mr. Solomon Lar
(3) - Politics of factions - Radicalism and Dissent - Benefits of Divide and Rule	Alhaji Muhammadu Rimi	(8) - Skin Therapy in Prison - How to win votes with designer suits - Fiallacy of Newbreedism	Mr. Jim Nwobodo
(4) - Political Soldiering - Civilianising the military - How to be a king maker	Gen. Shehu M. Yar'adua	(9) - Steal of a steel - How to meet IBB - Minority Politics	Mr. Paul Unongo
(5) - Politics of Import Licence - How to flee from coup d'etat - How to escape kirikiri - How to depart "illegal" aliens	Alhaji Bello Yusuf	(10) - The Dual Mandate - Power of Banks - Senate: The Power House	Dr. Olusola Saraki
(6) - How to beat Ikemba		(11) - Politics of Modakeke - Theory of Indirect Rule - Mystique of Omo Oduduwa	Uncle B. Ige

All courses are free of charge (FOC) and all interested candidates are expected to register at the Lagos House, Marina, Lagos latest by December 12 before the governorship elections.

The grand finale of the lecture services will be the launching of a book titled: "Oldbreedism, Big, Bad, and Booming". Edited by Justice Fled Oya, Go Now!

the Cheerman of the NABP Transit Camp Tribunal.  
Chief launcher: Chief Money, Kudi, Owo M.K.O.  
Chief Host: Akshon governor, Laji Lasaki  
Chief Sponsor: Uncle Sam of Nigeria  
Come one! come all.

Signed

Private Eye, Watchful Avenue, Mafia City.

## POETS' NEST

### On the job

The choice of a career is the choice of a lifetime for those who devote their sweat to their vocation. From the money lender to the drummer the author or the labourer, it is a life long commitment to excellence in their various ways.

### Money lenders

Money lenders are wizards' monsters  
First they attract your attention  
Then they activate your emotion  
You are to borrow to make correction  
You become a prey to the monsters

Roasters they are interested  
In all the prospects stated  
If you are incapacitated  
All the links will be disconnected  
You are dismissed or slated

Money lenders are canny hunters  
When they sit in the shade of linters  
And playing the calculators  
Or attending to contractors  
Customers or money collectors  
Since the day the monies became the deity  
So many people became crafty  
Juggling the figures became a duty  
Man-freedom lost to cruelty  
And no one could return to safety

Man-good-sense is eradicated  
And his limbs are amputated  
But the torso is decorated  
With stamps with cheques post-dated  
This real is renegated

When will man be resuscitated  
And his wisdom rejuvenated  
And all his limbs transplanted  
When shall man seize being sedated  
And stand on two feet erected?

When shall man limit his saliva,  
To the tests of milk and guava  
Car owner or his driver

Each can learn how to be a diver  
Why then all this funny palaver

Since people have become greedy  
This madness this abomination  
Fraud and greed in combination  
Good people wake up to gumption  
What is wealth is a big question

With this hyper-fluctuation  
Of currency in circulation  
No valid rate can stand commotion  
All the gadgets of calculation  
Only worsen the situation

### Young farmers

For the nation they suffer they train  
Young farmers are ready in the field  
Cultivating big tracts for a field

Young farmers now bear my dreams  
Our dependence for bread you redeem  
If a teacher is ready with a book  
Young farmers be ready with a hook

When the soldiers are playing the guns  
Young farmers go play in the dens  
If the soldiers are sporting brass  
Young farmers are sporting grass

Cultivation is a careful plan  
So the novice has the option to run  
If a farmer is ready with plans  
He believes in his mission in trance

Motivation is there in the earth  
Invitation is given with a mirth  
All guarantees are ready for the ones  
Who summation committed courage  
with plans

When the police are swinging the butts  
Young farmers are cajoling the rats  
For the boys are playing the cats  
And maiden are copying the acts

Why the people are living in the past  
When the boys are challenging the dust  
Why the ladies are attending to cats  
When the maidens are busy in the shafts



Don't mind come to my good friends  
Young people in the novice trains  
Young farmers who plant the grains  
cultivating and taming the canes  
Abdulkadir Babajo

### The Author (For Abubakar Gimba)

It is the trepidation of man that  
Though he blazes the trail of sacrifice  
That benefits others but himself  
His efforts are misconceived as sabotage  
By the beneficiaries of his sacrifice

Though he ends up an innocent victim without  
An edifice to proclaim his sacrifice  
his left-behind are not spared  
The pain of being witnesses to fears  
Muhammad Tahir

### Comrade labourer

Seizing his day, a flopping tailboard  
behind a scarred warrior on wheels  
engaged his climb from hunger to fulfillment

In his daily trial of sinews, when  
it was time to struggle beyond wishes  
for moons that will not become bread  
it did not matter what the sun said  
whether it looked with fury and blind rage  
upon his work-hood, scourged his dark skin  
or made neon-lamps of white bags  
of flour  
to raise labour to the habit of play  
it did not matter what the sun said

Seizing his day, the shadow of a golden penny  
was malt to sieve his blood with silent songs  
His body's thirst knew sweat and tears as wine

Odia Ofeimun

## Children of Africa concert

# The sister of all flops

Expected to be a bang, the Children of Africa Concert held in Lagos last week turned out to be a mere whimper

The advertisers touted it as the biggest show in Africa. And why not? Renowned artistes from across the continent and the diaspora were billed for the show. Expected from South Africa was

hook up. Everything from accommodation, health to transportation of the artistes was taken care of.

The George Leither Stage shipped in from Brussels was massive. It came complete with gridiron, lighting consoles and other appeturances of a standing stage. The sound system, too,

which took a better part of the stage, gave out sounds at thousands of mega watts. Opposite, a rig was mounted which gave television cameramen unhindered view of the stage and the performers.

The show opened abruptly with the light flickering on and off in different colours dazzling the sparse audience. The

sound when it came, got everybody to his feet. There was no denying it. A professional group was at work: Kool and the Gang! As they moved from *Get Down On It*, *Fresh*, *Ladies Night to Celebration*, the audience yelled for more. Diminutive Robert "Kool" Bell (the leader) thrilled with his guitar. Others simply mesmerised as they danced away. Applause for them was deafening as they held hands in a curtain call.

The Nigerian All Stars for Children of Africa, should not have bothered to come in at all. Made up of Nigerian musicians, actors and singers, they were supposed to ren-

der the signature tune of Children of Africa. The attempt was a disappointment. Even with a conductor, the keys were out of place.

Then came in Melba Moore. Petite. Her piercing voice and good footwork sent people reeling. Roy Ayers came next. His was good jazz. The piano juxtaposed the heavy drum beats as he cooled. Somehow, the audience was not ready for his kind of music.

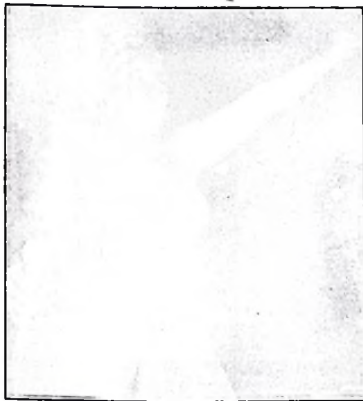
Oliver d'Coque, everybody could see was in a hurry. His *Funny*, *Funny Identity* ended in less than two minutes and *People's Club of Nigeria*, a song that runs for thirty minutes, did not have more than three minutes play. In his flowing *agbada*, the audience was simply dumb struck when he left.

It was Sunny Okosuns who let the cat out of the bag. Unabashedly, he told the audience that he has been allowed only ten minutes to play "but na lie them talk. Me I go play pass dat one." The audience egged him on. "Show them" they echoed.

The Makossa king, Manu Dibango was inspiring. Bald headed and bespectacled, his mastery of the trumpet got people to the floor, both in the instrumental piece and in *Wake Up Africa* as well as *Bolingo City*. His voice simply boomed, reverberating the entire space. The four dancers with him also gave a good account of themselves. There was no resisting the urge to join.

The highly discofied reggae number 96 *Degrees Inclusive* introduced Third World at about 4 am. The performance was electrifying, as they switched from *Serious Business*, *Try Jah Love*, *Feeling So Aire* to *Jah Children Are Moving On* and *Lagos Jump*.

The second day began on a rather sour note. Billed to open at 3 pm, the few fee-paying audience had trickled in and seated on time. Nothing was to happen until four and a half hours later when "Dr. Paul" from Kingston, Jamaica, took the stage by storm with his rub-a-dub reggae. A rap master, he was thrilling.



Rita Marley

Mariam Makeba (Mama Africa), herself leading the pack of Yvonne Chaka Chaka, Osibisa, Hugh Masekala and Sarafina. Maverick Manu Dibango and Salit Keita were to represent French Africa and from the United States African-American raves of the moment: Michael Jackson; MC Hammer; UB 40; Aswald; Commodores; Prince; The Boys; Kool and the Gang were on the list. The event was to be beamed live across the world to over two billion people via satellite with Botswana Television covering the African region. All local stations needed to be part of the whole show was to

The entry of Shaba Ranks saved the day. In full red robe with cap to match, he looked every inch a priest. And he took his time. In his baritone voice, he would jump and hop to the drum beat at one time and at the other simply stand where he is rapping, the microphone a constant companion. The appearance of his partner, an elegant lady in white dress marked the high point of his performance.

Tar Ukoh, Mike Okri, Daniel Wilson, Blakky, Alex Zitto, and Orits Williki were later to sing the reggae version of Children of Africa anthem. Infused with rap ably handled by Blakky — with solos from the others, the result was quite good.

Other Nigerian musicians followed: Tar Ukoh with his usual Mambisa beat; Mike Okri, the rumbaman; Daniel Wilson the raggamuffin; Blakky, the Nigerian rap king; Alex Zitto, the wallakolomboman; Orits Williki, Onyeka Onwenu and Shina Peters.

Rita Marley, wife of reggae maestro, Bob Marley, followed Onwenu and Peters. With her trademark hat, and raised hand in the black power salute, she brought alive the legend's hit tunes. Before long, the floor was filled with gyrating bodies. Her original tunes also caught on with the audience. It showed a woman abundantly talented. People never wanted her to leave the stage.

Veteran Hugh Masekela, shepherding the South African group, kept up the pace. On trumpet, he was an enigma. The female dancers, that came on with him defied their forty odd years bracing about as teenagers. The solo acts brought tears from



Dibango (top) and the Children of Africa project president: Kalu

the audience. They brought home the horrors of apartheid which only the sufferers could recapture as they did. People sympathised with them. The audience danced with Bayete; sang with Sarafina; joggled with Black Mambazo; dug it out with Roots and joined James Mange and Malthune in stomping out apartheid.

By 6 am, Monday, people were still dancing Osibisa's oldie, *Fire Will Burn You*. That was day two.

The deflation began when most of the advertised artistes did not show up: the Jacksons, Colour Me Badd; Natalie Cole; Eddy Grant; Caron Wheeler; Barry White... Even Nigerian based Fela Anikulapo-Kuti who had earlier collected his 11 thousand dollar sign-off fee, distanced himself from the venue of the performance. Sunny Ade, also, for undisclosed reasons, did not make the concert. Yvonne Chaka Chaka,

who was in town was not available. So was Mariam Makeba...

There was no performance on the first advertised day of the concert, Friday 29th November. And no official explanation was given.

But by far the greatest mistake of the organisers was the high gate fees of 500, 300, and 200 Naira charged which acted as a scare rather than an attraction for the audience. For the two nights of the concert, the 8,000 capacity National Stadium played

host to less than 5,000 people, many of whom were non-fee paying.

Ironically, the artistes themselves were full of praises for the initiative of the organisers. While acknowledging that the logistics was not smooth, Paris-banded Manu Dibango was happy that the

event took place at all. "It is a good thing" he said. "This will make the world learn more about African and Nigerian artistes." The super star who thought he was in New York on arrival because of the glitter at the airport said his coming alone is enough contribution to the Children of Africa, and was excited at the reception of his music.

Third World, Commodores, Shabba Ranks and other artistes expressed similar sentiments. "We are glad to be part of this event" enthused Hugh Masekela, speaking for the South African group.

But Rita Marley saw the whole event differently. "It was not real," she remarked of the well fed, well dressed children and the sheer grandeur she saw at the stadium.

Surely, ripples of the Children of Africa concert will continue for a long time to come.

By Oji Onoko

## SPORTS

## 1991 football season

## Losers all the way

Five clubs who represented the country in international soccer championships raised much hopes, but ended up all round losers

By all account, the year 1991 is not a fruitful one for clubs who represented Nigeria in sub-regional and continental football competitions. And if one should use the competitor's creed of that legendary coach of the Green Bay Packers and Washington Red Skins, Vince Lombardi, who said that "winning isn't everything, it is the only thing", then 1991 soccer season might simply be described as an adventure in futility as far as the efforts of our clubs in the West African Football Union (WAFU) cup, the Champions Cup and the Cup Winners Cup, are concerned.

At the beginning of this season, the horizon was full of hopes and the teeming fans of football faithfuls were dreaming big that Nigeria would dance and toast to at least one major trophy by the end of the season. The bright hopes and dreams were based on the fact that five top clubs were carrying the country's banner to international competitions. At the sub-regional level, two clubs, Ranchers Bees of Kaduna, a professional league division one club, and the Makurdi based professional league division two club, Lobi Bank, campaigned for the WAFU cup. At the continental level, Nigeria presented another two clubs for Cup Winners Cup. They are defending champions, BCC Lions and 1990 FA Cup champions, Stationery Stores of Lagos. Iwuanyanwu Nationale also entered for the Champions Cup for the fourth time.

Dreams of victory crashed to ashes and disappointment ruled the hearts of most soccer fans in the

country when the last musketeers, BCC Lions of Gboko on whom so much hopes were placed, lost the Mandela cup they won last year to Power Dynamos of Zambia on November 30, thereby joining the other four clubs who had earlier crashed out in their various competitions.

The dirge of defeat in the race for 1991 African top soccer prizes was first sounded in the Stationery Stores of Lagos' camp. After so much hyped publicity, Stationery Stores went into the Cup Winners Cup giving a strong impression that they were one of the top contender for the championship. But it turned out that they were the least prepared for the

tough rivalry for the Mandela Cup when a relatively unknown club from Gabon, Shell FC eliminated them in the first round.

Stationery Stores were however the architect of their own early defeat. In the true tradition of Nigerian sports, the club's FA cup victory at the end of 1990 gave the management and the players a false sense of

security. They were lost in the euphoria of FA cup victory and little was done to prepare the team for the rough terrain of the continental championship. The calibre of players who could have helped the club to victory were not recruited and the chief coach, Augustine Ofokwu, was later to reveal that he was not given free hand to prepare the players for the continental competition.

But if inadequate preparation accounted for Stationery Stores' poor performance in this year's Mandela Cup, Ranchers Bees' defeat in the quarter-finals of WAFU cup by Okwahu United of Ghana was due to more serious problems. Ranchers Bees, who rated as one of the most outstanding clubs in the country in 1988 when they finished runners-up in the cup, Winners Cup, and in 1989 when they won the WAFU cup, were in 1991 a pitiable shadows of their former selves. At the start of this year football season, the club was in a throes of financial and managerial crisis. Owing to some far-reaching misunderstand-



BCC Lions' players

ing with some members of the management, Alhaji Mohammed Muktar Aruwa, the club owner, stopped advancing money for the running of the club.

Key players who had made the club tick in 1987, 1988 and 1989 football seasons promptly dumped Ranchers Bees for prosperous career opportunity either in other clubs within the country or the more lucrative professional football with some European clubs. Therefore, it

make it to the final.

But as fate would have it, the youthful Makurdi boys were pitched against one of the most experienced clubs in the continent, Africa Sports National of Cote d'Ivoire in the final. Lobi Bank allowed psychological fright to take the better part of them in the first leg final in Makurdi and were only able to manage a slim lone goal victory against Africa Sports. In the return leg in Cote d'Ivoire, the Nigerians

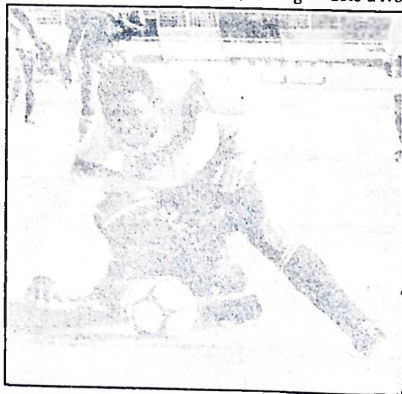
played an inspired game but could not stop the Ivoriens from snatching the WAFU trophy after a 2-1 victory.

As far as 1991 continental football season is concerned, what could be described as the biggest damper to the spirit of the game's followers in Nigeria was Iwuanyanwu Nationale's defeat in the semi-final of Champions Cup

semi-final, Nationale met their Waterloo when they were to contest for a place in the final against Nakivaubo Villa of Uganda. Villa, with an uncomfortable 3-2 first leg victory, came to Owerri and shattered Nationale's pride and cup dream with 2-1 defeat.

Analysts attributed Nationale's fourth time Champions Cup defeat to the high degree of indiscipline among the players, constant change of coaches, and crisis of confidence between the players and management. Nationale who lured big names and so-called star players in Nigeria soccer scene from other clubs with irresistible salaries and sign-on fees at the beginning of 1991 soccer season, became prisoners to the whims and caprices of these players. They broke camp rules at will and showed glaring lack of commitment to the club's cause.

The last club to lose out in this year's continental championship, BCC Lions, ironically happened to be the most impressive and consistent as far as international football competitions are concerned. But tactical errors cost them the Mandela trophy when they met Power Dynamos of Zambia in the first leg final in Lagos. Parading a porous defence and a suspect goalie, they won the first leg 3-2, only to lose 1-3



Oliha of Nationale

was only the die hard partisan fans who believed that the club would overcome all the daunting internal problems and win the WAFU cup for the second time. It was not a big surprise therefore when Okwahu United of Ghana eliminated them on 4-2 goal aggregate.

Lobi Bank who caught their teeth in international football competition this year as Nigeria's second representative in the WAFU cup also lost out at a very crucial stage — final. Lobi Bank came into the sub-regional competition smoking with ambitious fury to win the cup on first attempt. What they lacked in experience they made up for in hard work and determination and they chalked up impressive victories to

Competition which Nigerian clubs have been chasing unsuccessfully since it began in 1965. Nationale, who had participated unsuccessfully in previous three editions of the championship, began their fourth attempt at the beginning of 1991 football season with so much noise about their preparation and determination to win the cup. But it turned out that the Owerri-based outfit had not done what it was required to win. After a scrappy journey to the



Ogbe: Lobi Bank coach

## SPORTS

in the return leg in Lusaka, Zambia. So if winning or getting the gold or the top prize is what really matter in sports as Vince Lombardi said, then 1991 is a bad year for Nigerian clubs. But for those clubs who learn from past mistakes, 1991 failures may however serve them in good stead when next they have the chance to represent the country in international championships.

By Joe Olajuwon



Onyekanni of Ranchers with Asec Mimosas player

## Tennis

# Davis for Noah's team

The French waited for 59 years before taking home world's tennis championship, the Davis cup

For fifty-nine years they waited. They came close in 1983 when they played in the final against the United States. This year, before an emotionally charged fans cheering them, France took the 1991 Davis cup, the prestigious Tennis competition for countries. For this, the French owe a lot of thanks to

now retired Yannik Noah. He has been their idol since winning the French open in 1983.

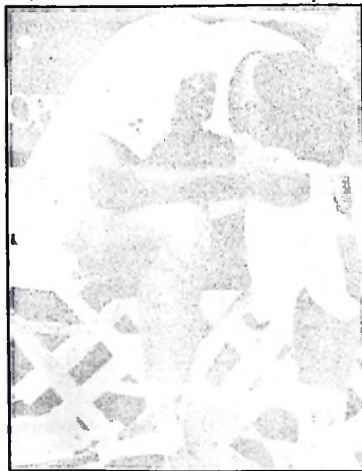
And what a sweet revenge it was. The French avenged their 1983 0-3 defeat to US by winning this one 3-1. The margin may not be the true reflection of the match. In the first of the expected four singles, flamboyant American Andre Agassi trounced French number one, Guy Forget 3-1. The French only came back after a terrific performance by the erratic Henri Leconte, who beat Grand Slam Cup winner Pete Sampras. In the Doubles, The Americans were favoured to win, mainly because of the presence of arguably the most successful Doubles players in the world, Ken Flack and Robert Seguso. But Forget and Leconte yet again played a tennis that could have beaten any team. In the reverse

singles, Guy Forget's trashing of Pete Sampras 7-6, 3-6, 6-3, 6-4, made nonsense of the result of the second match between Agassi and Leconte.

France win is just like an upset. The U.S as defending champions were expected to come out winners after a hard fight from the French. But that is not Davis cup. The U.S which can produce three different teams that the French may find stronger than the one that lost to them, did not actually have a strong team. Pete Sampras was making his debut and therefore a suspect in a competition that brings out an incredible determination from players. Forget and Leconte are both veterans of this kind of war. And with a specially laid synthetic court at the Lyon sports centre and the *un-Tennis* cheering of about 10,000 spectators, the U.S. couldn't stand the heat.

Much of the reason for the French success goes to Yannik Noah, the non-playing captain whose painstaking and sound selection enabled Henri Leconte, even though not rated in the world top hundred, to pick up the other singles slot. The U.S who had won the competition on 29 occasions (the world record) must be regretting for not knowing the difference between the usual Grand Slam competitions and the Davis cup, Tennis World cup. The Germans, winners in 1988 and 1989 won on the strength of only two players, Boris Becker and Carl Uwe Steve. The U.S. won last year over Australia.

By Rabiur Barde



Pete Sampras of US after the defeat

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DEFINITIONS  
IN HUMOUR



# Muddle East

**T**he East was never understood — by the West. And now by the Easterner even less. The stage was set for, er, well, yes, no! no! indeed, disaster. And disaster it was for the planners and those against whom they planned. While we await retribution we may as well look at some of the muddle that they created in the East.

**Orientalist** — Orientalists are very responsible people. They are responsible for much of the blindness, bigotry, lies and false propaganda that created all the misfortune in the East.

**Hostages** — It is good to be free again. Why must someone be your best for ages?

**White** — Ask Terry Waist. Well at least that's where the transmitter is. And that's why he had to Waite this long.

**Tracy** — The transmitter was not of much help in tracing the hideouts, Edward Tracy said.

**Sutherland** — The experience is good for some. Tom Soothland seems to have a different story.

**Zionism** — Ray-schism. It is a ray

of schism. Instead of borrowing from their Afri-  
k a a n e r friends and coming out to admit it all, apologise, repent and amend, Zionists fall back on definitions, UN resolutions and the might of the United States.

**UN** — Nowadays the United Nation smells a bit nasty. We should ask Mr. Boutros Garlic why.

**Broker** — A broker is a bureaucrat who is broke. And, as we saw last week, the propensity of a bureaucrat is to turn any solution into a problem. Haha, now I begin to understand why there are so many brokers in politics.

**Ukraine** — The U-crane; the crane that buried the Soviet Union.

**Newbreed** — There's no true breed that is new. If it is a breed it can't be new, and if it is new it isn't be a breed. If Darwin were around he would have invented the law of the survival of the flattest. Obeisance is also a child of genealogy, or is it?

**TAIL PIECE** — There are more ways to kill a cat than choking it with cream.

## Thief of the ice bag

The following short story, and accompanying definitions, was submitted by Ibrahim Sheme, that tip

of the poet bugs:  
There are thieves and (there are thieves, so says an old adage. Big thieves; small thieves. Rich thieves, poor thieves. In this country at least, there are both categories of crooks — men (and women) who made it big through swindles, racketeering, gun-totting etc. and the millions of others who live by crook but still die like mosque rats. And that is all a tip of the iceberg — that is, before I run into one small time crook who turned out to be a thief of an ice bag! It was in Kano recently. The small crowd of masses that stood by the roadside did not look like a political party convention to me. Reason! They had a man of about thirty-something desperately with them to spare his life. Later it turned out that the man had stolen a plastic bag containing ice belonging to another man who earned his livelihood by selling ice — water stored in a refrigerator until it had frozen. A bag of ice plus a thief is equal to a thief of this story because it is only a tip of the iceberg — of the widespread thievery going on in the land.

**Thief** — Someone who wielding a biro, takes away your belonging because he needs it but doesn't have it.

**Corruption** (*Corr-ction*) — Someone once said: *You chop, I chop, palater don finish.* Aha, now we know correction, self-correction that is.

**Tip** — Today if somebody wants to give you a tip and doesn't want to make you feel like a thief, he says it is merely kola. And kola, mind you, is a popular Nigerian you-know-what.

**Civil Service** — Once it is the nicest avenue to become an eminent person, now you don't have to work for all you life to gather the millions

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