

Sabotage In Abuja

N10

# Citizen



UNBAN  
WHEAT  
— LEMA JIBRILU

Botswana	100p	Nigeria	₦10
Canada	\$2.50	Sierra Leone	1.50.00
CFA Zone	700CF	Tanzania	Sh50
Egypt	£1.00	Uganda	Sh250
Ethiopia	EB4	UK	£1.00
Ghana	C300	USA	US\$2.00
Kenya	Sh25	Zambia	K4.00
	1.57.00	Zimbabwe	Z\$1.50

Cadbury's  
**CHOCOLATE**  
**Fudge**



...You can't hide the goodness.

# CONTENTS

# Citizen

All the News in Perspective

December 10 — December 16, 1990  
Vol. 1 No. 17

## Unban Wheat

— *Lema Jibrilu*



The wheat war is far from over. In the second of Platform interview Lema Jibrilu renews the offensive against the pro-wheat ban lobby. He calls for the partial lifting of the ban. Page 13.

## Departments

Page

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF NIGERIA  
LETTERS TRUE COPY 5  
17 DEC 1990  
LEGAL DEPOSIT SECTION  
LETTERS

Abuja: A priority 7

Of Junk Journalism 8

Chad: A chance for peace 9

ADAMU  
ADAMU 11

NIGERIA 21

AFRICA 29

WORLD 32

KABIRU YUSUF 35

## Abuja: Should government use blackmail?

The non-chalant attitude of the private sector to development of Abuja has slowed the pace of movement into the Federal Capital. If the Minister of the Federal Capital territory is worried so are the engineers. Ibrahim Khalel Inuwa, the president of the Nigerian Society of Engineers speaks for them. Page 21.



## Habre's Regime dismantled



Not many people saw the rebel incursion into Chad as a signal to end Hisen Habre's regime in that war-torn country. Yet when Idriss Deby took Ndjamena, Habre took to his heels to find refuge in neighbouring Cameroun. Page 29.

# Citizen

All the News in Perspective

## Editor-in-Chief:

Mohammed Haruna

Deputy Editor-in-Chief: Bilkius Yusuf

Executive Editor (South): Kabiru Yusuf

Executive Editor (North):

Adamu Adamu

General Editor: Mohammed Bomo!

Principal Staff Correspondents:

Tawey Zakka, Mahmud Jega, Ike Okonta

Senior Correspondent: Abu K. Mommoh

Staff Correspondents: Delta Nzekwu;

Nkechi Attoh

Sports "

: Joe Olajuwon

Reporter/Researcher: Samson Ojo

Sub-Editor: Tijjani Isa

Proof Readers: Dorothy Hinjari,

Rabiu Barde

Staff Photographer: Laure Ogunsanmi

Deputy Art Editor: Oluwole Oluokun

Snr Graphi: Artist: K. Bolatito Ojelade

Graphic Artist: Samuel Offong

Computer Operator: S. G. Bulkwang

Asst. Computer Operator: T. I. Balam!

Computer Trainee: C. G. Guten

## CITIZEN COMMUNICATIONS LTD.

### Board of Directors

Turi Muhammadu (Chairman);

M D Yusuf; Umaru Abdul Mutallab;

Ade Olawuyi; Lawal Idris;

Lawal Batagarawa; Bilkius Yusuf

(executive); Kabiru Yusuf (executive);

Adamu Adamu (executive);

Mohammed Haruna (managing).

### Deputy Finance Manager:

Alhasan Kutigi

Senior Accountant: Bilyaminu Afolabi

Accounts Officers:

All T. Muhammad; Usman Musa

Marketing Officer: Usman Kadiri

Marketing Asst: Justina Akpan

Adverts Executives: Emmanuel Emeje;

Istaka Ajibola; Olubunmi Adeoye;

Stella Emele

Sales/Advert Asst: Hassan A. Adebayo

Adverts Assistant: Umar Musa

### Administrative Officer:

Muhammed Ndaliman

Credit Control Officer: Turde Sunmola

Secretaries: M. J. Doko; Mary Egharevba

Typist: Osagie I. Ebuchi

Receptionist: Dinatu S. Kiyom

Clerks: Amina L. Abdullahi; Olabode S.

Rotifa; Alabi Olakunle

Drivers: Bagudu Makun; Salisu Abdu

Office Assistants: Abbas Garba;

Kingsley Benson

Intern: Aluko Akiyeye

## PREFACE

He is a presidential aspirant. He is a gentleman farmer. He sits on the apex of a pyramid of successful companies. A refined whizz-kid of the political-economic game played by the captains of industry. He is Alhaji Lema Jibrilu. Suave and articulate, his name has flashed across the score board of politicians being shortlisted for the presidential race. He did not deny nor confirm such speculations.

*Citizen's* second guest on the frank platform did more than air his views on sizzling national issues. In that 150 minutes interview, Alhaji Lema reviewed economic policies, the controversial Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) received a down to earth screening. SAP, if indicators are anything to go by has not been beneficial. After five years of SAP the repercussions far out-strip any benefits. There are one thousand and one alternatives to SAP. Lema's first prescription is a reevaluation of the emaciated Naira. Others naturally are to end deregulation, protection for local industries and investments. Lema's recent criticism of SAP had pitched him against a former agriculture minister, Samaila Mamma, now his fellow politician in the National Republican Convention (NRC).

Of course, the wheat war witnessed another offensive against the pro-wheat ban lobby. Lema says the *Citizen* crew got it all wrong by supporting the ban (*Citizen*, Vol. 1 No. 4). Nigeria can only produce about 200,000 tonnes of wheat while the country's import was 1 million tonnes before the ban. Where will the balance required to keep the mills and bakeries in production come from? The ban is benefiting only smugglers while government loses revenue. The answer to this wheat crunch? Lema advocates a partial lifting of ban to make up for the shortfall in wheat.

The bureaucracy according to Lema lacks a guaranteed tenure, a factor that has thrown its age long stability to the winds. He touched on other fleshy issues, capitalism, party politics especially zoning and socialism. To anyone who wants to keep his hand on the pulse of the country's socio-political development, this interview by our editorial team of Mohammed Haruna, Mohammed Bomo!, Mahmud Jega, Tawey Zakka and Delia Nzekwu opens an entirely refreshing vista.



## Open Ballot or Open Trouble?

The law, the government, the parties, media houses and individuals are all finding a place to secure their option for either the OPEN or the SECRET approach.

Get the following straight:

(i) If the secret ballot had failed, was it the secrecy of the process or the operators? The preference for a change in the form of the process needs to establish that there was no failure with the actors.

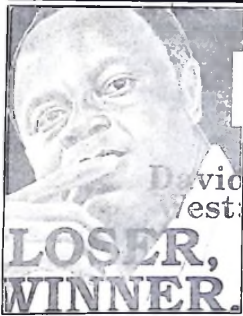
(ii) Violence, disruption, thuggery are only extra legal devices added to the formal process by the actors - may be to win. In the case of the open ballot, the scope of violent participants will be the electorates at the time of taking side, the registrars and party representatives. In the case of the secret ballot, the scope will include, the registrars, the party representatives and appointed/sponsored electorates for the disruption, to allow for rigging.

(iii) The form of the formal process - open or secret, does not in itself warrant violence or non-violence, winning or losing. It is the actors that have some objective to meet, and political process is only a means employed. The actors who create the means for their use always have the capacity to 'improve' it or conserve what they start with.

(iv) Those who caution against the open ballot, are for the security of end-of-the-day losers. They can not guarantee the political maturity of whoever wins (including themselves) to protect the losers even though we have agreed on a presidential practice. It is not easy to forget that the practice of political opposition in Nigeria has been enmity at war. They are assuming that the electorate does not have the courage to openly differ from those who control their social, economic and cultural direction.

(v) Those who are opposed to the ballot, cannot guarantee the political

discipline of the NEC officials, the Police, the National Guard, the security agents (including their own party representatives who will witness the process, for any results that the elections may come up with, to be reliable, dependable, worthy of trust, as close to being correct. They are assuming that the electorates have the courage to



politically differ from the essences of their social, economic and cultural ties—if they chose to. A change need not be for the sake of it.

For the proper ballot that all of us appear to be striving for, we need to be prepared to give the future (election results) a chance. If we must not take chance, we will not go with whatever we get even if we are a party to it. On top of this, we require the maturity of dealing with the basic requirements of the moment (when it comes to election) and leave the future (awaited results) to a chance, and accept being a winner or a loser.

M.S. Jimada,  
College of Education,  
Minna.

### David West: Loser, Winner

It might interest you to know that in

a very serious and critical situation where politics is power, not withstanding who plays the game, a person cannot be a loser and a winner at the same time. There is no midway about it because every political 'animal' intends to score a political point by winning.

I am however disappointed with your report on the trial of Tam David West because you chose to be uncritical, un-mindful of the game of politics and unfair in assessing other newspaper reports on the Professor's trial.

In my opinion the professor, though found guilty, is not the only culprit. I can say without fear or favour that from Babangida down to a chairman of a local government caretaker committee, if well investigated could be found to have committed at one time or the other, similar offence that resulted in the conviction of David West. By and large, I view Professor David West's trial and eventual conviction as being a political question which he had answered.

I urge your magazine to carry out a special research on the circumstances and the power that brought about this unfortunate affair.

Abdulrahman Ahmed Ibraheem,  
NYSC,  
Aku-Igbo,  
Anambra State

### The Soyinka capers

Your article 'The Soyinka Capers' makes an interesting reading. Southern press (newspapers and magazines) always sing praises for personalities such as Professor Soyinka, Dr. Tai Salarin, etc knowing fully well that none except God is good. The question is why can't Northern papers do the same to their own personalities?

Mohammed Kabir  
Kaduna.

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



## 9th National Festival of Arts and Culture (NAFEST '90) The National Creativity Fair

The National Council for Arts and Culture (NCAC) invites the general public to the 9th National Festival of Arts and Culture (NAFEST '90).

**VENUE:** Kaduna, Kaduna State.

**DATE:** December 13 - 19, 1990.

**FESTIVAL THEME:** Promotion of National Cultural Documentation and Craft Development.

**FESTIVAL SPECIAL PROJECT:** Metal Technology: Emphasizing the processing of selected metals and their alloys into craft works, tools and implements.

**FESTIVAL LECTURE:** Craft Development and Industrialisation — by the Honourable Minister of Science and Technology, Prof. Gordian Ezekwe.

**PARTICIPANTS:** The Festival will feature participants from the State Councils for Arts and Culture from the 21 states of the federation including the Federal Capital Territory (Abuja): Government and non-governmental cultural agencies.

**OPENING CEREMONY:** The opening ceremony to be performed by the Kaduna State Military Governor and Festival Patron, Colonel Abubakar Tanko Ayuba, with the Minister of Culture and Social Welfare and Chairman, National Festival Committee, Major-General Yohanna Yerima Kure (rtd) as Guest of Honour, will feature carnival display as its main highlight.

### OTHER FESTIVAL PROGRAMMES

- a) National Open Art Competition in Painting.
- b) Traditional Wrestling Competition.
- c) Exhibitions of a Model Traditionally Furnished House.
- d) Audio-Visual Documentation Entries.
- e) Mini Market Sales Fair.
- f) Development of Indigenous Circus (Itinerant Entertainment) Competition.
- g) Special Project on Metal Technology
- h) Lecture on Craft Development and Industrialisation by the Honourable Minister of Science & Technology Professor Gordian Ezekwe.
- i) Traditional Shooting Competitions on Archery and Catapulting.

### CLOSING CEREMONY:

The official closing ceremony and grand finale on Wednesday December 19, 1990 to be performed by the Festival Grand Patron, the President and Commander-In-Chief of the Nigerian Armed Forces, General Ibrahim Babangida, will feature award of Festival Certificates and Trophies to winning States.

Signed:

William Airia Ogbidi

Head of Media Affairs

for: Director, National Council for Arts & Culture.

## Abuja: A priority

If things move according to plan, President Ibrahim Babangida will move to Abuja next year. Already five ministries and several parastatals have moved there with many more waiting in the wings. The trouble is that there may not be accommodation — office and residential — for all of them. It is already a big problem for those who are there. It has been a problem right from the beginning. This ought to worry the government and everybody else.

Initially, government seemed to have thought that its own efforts and those of the private sector even without prodding would see to the construction of a sufficient number of structures to house as many people as move to the new capital. Finally, the government realised this was not possible. There was a limit that the government could do. Shoddy works and abandoned projects compounded the problem. But it was the singular failure of the private sector to do its expected portion that seemed to have bungled the attempt to move successfully. At the same time, and this might be the excuse for the private sector, the world experienced a recession and the country itself suffered from severely curtailed earnings around the time the tempo of construction was supposed to be highest.

Many suggestions have been made on how to beat his shortage of housing but they all foundered because while legislation to force government wishes is not lacking, the will to enforce and the teeth to bite after barking have been in short supply. Some of the suggestions indeed might have been unworkable or down right simplistic and ineffective. Which is why we think the ones advanced by Alhaji Ibrahim Khaleel Inuwa, the president of the Nigerian Society of Engineers (NSE), should interest the government as much as they will infuriate the private sector. They may sound draconian but we think they will work and should be given the chance.

According to the NSE President the gov-

ernment should direct commercial banks to lend, as per priority, to those who plan to erect buildings in Abuja. While this may go against the grain of deregulation, it should rather be seen as the price of doing business in Nigeria. The banks may balk and refuse to comply as many of them did with the country's several banking policies. This time the government must demonstrate that it means business — by seizing their banking licences. In addition, the giants in the construction industry and distributive trade must be made to undertake to build 10 houses in Abuja every year. Doing that will not doubt pay itself but if it doesn't, the companies may refuse to comply. Nothing to worry about, the NSE president said, the government should deny them foreign exchange allocation to pay for their imports. As the Federal Mortgage Bank of Nigeria prepares to hands off direct lending to individual customers, impetus will be given to the government building societies and big real estate outfits.

Movement to the new capital apart, we think prioritising Abuja in order to have sufficient house must in itself be seen as something desirable. Already the dearth of accommodation in the new capital has put much undue pressure on housing in areas surrounding it especially Kaduna. Many companies that have moved or attempted to relocate to Abuja from Lagos have been forced to either take office or staff housing in Kaduna with the result that property rates here have gone up wildly as they are going in most places.

In Abuja itself, the rents are so high that they may well scare budding businesses whose presence is essential and may prove crucial for a growing city. It will become difficult for the providers of essential services to stay there. Those who can not afford the cutthroat rent are already finding shelter in the makeshift shanty towns that are threatening the show piece look the city was conceived to be.

It will therefore be necessary for government to find ways of building housing es-

tates — directly, through the Federal Housing Authority or in conjunction with public development institutions like the New Nigerian Development Company, NNDC, the O'dua Group and others.

There should be no pussy footing on this urgent issue, if Abuja is not to trail Lagos and Tokyo as one of the world's expensive cities.

## Of junk journalism

Not unexpectedly, the man at the centre of the press war among so-called junk journalists, Mr. Lawrence Akapa and his *Top Magazine* decided recently to fight back. In a front page comment in the magazine, November 28 edition, its publishers spoke of "The NUJ conspiracy." The magazine accused the NUJ of double standards for handing down a six-month suspension to Akapa after the Union's Ethics Committee found him guilty of unjournalistic conduct by his fabrication of stories.

The magazine raised a number of questions in its attempt at self-defence. Among other things, it said that none of its traducers—specifically *Climax*, *Classique* and *Poise*—was innocent enough to cast the first stone. Indeed it drew in the entire journalist clan. "When all the newspapers, save for a very few, carried the extremely FAKE story of the death of the Owelle of Onitsha, Chief Nnamdi Azikiwe" said the magazine, "what did the NUJ do? Have the concerned editors been suspended for glaring journalistic impropriety?"

Thus hiding under the excuse that everybody else does it, Akapa and his magazine sought to dismiss the NUJ as hypocritical and its accusers as suffering from jealousy because of the magazine's "success."

There is some truth in the jealousy charge because other junk magazines, including those that took *Top Magazine* to the NUJ court, have had their own bouts of flights of fancy. Indeed it is ironical, albeit explicable, that it took a thief to finger a thief.

Still in the end the motive of jealousy, even if it sticks, cannot absolve the junk journalists of the irresponsible behaviour of the kind the public has seen lately. Their argument that even the serious press goofed in the unfortunate "Zik is dead" episode, does not wash in the end. That

mistake was a grave one and the Nigerian press will rue the day that they believed in those who first put out the notice, close as those people were to the Owelle. What the junk journalists must note, however, is that there is a world of difference between an honest mistake, which was what the Zik episode was, and the outright fabrications and superstition mongering that they indulge in. This is why in law it does make a difference if a libel is committed inadvertently or knowing fully well that it is a libel.

Lest we are misconstrued, we agree with Chief Alex Akinyele, the Minister of Information and the Guild of Editors, which meeting recently in Port Harcourt, said junk journalism had a legitimate place in the profession. The first function of the press is to reflect society and if there is so much junk in society, it is only proper that the press reflects it. However, the unfortunate and tragic thing about junk journalists is that far from merely reporting junk, more often than not they fabricate it.

Equally importantly, the press also has a role not merely to reflect society, but to change it for the better. That is why as well as entertaining and informing, the press has a role to educate. Needless to say the Nigerian junk journalist merely entertains. Worse they do so appealing to our basest and most prurient instincts. That cannot be acceptable to a profession which sees itself as society's conscience.

The logical question is how to confront this problem. First it has to be made clear that the Nigerian Media Council is not a solution as we said last week. Part of the solution lies in the watchdog watching itself. It has been done elsewhere in India, U.K. and to some extent even in United States, where the slightest attempt at press censorship, including any call for self-censorship, is screamed at. The Nigerian Press Organisation, comprising the NUJ the Newspaper Proprietors' Association of



When it comes to  
prompt and  
high quality service,  
Savannah Bank  
has so much  
to offer.


**We treat you  
like a person..  
not just a number.**



**Savannah Bank of Nigeria PLC**

62/66 Broad Street, P.O. Box 2317, Lagos. Tel. 600470-9 (10 lines), 600970 (10 lines)  
Branches throughout Nigeria

**— the Personal Service Bank**



The lion goes  
from strength  
to strength

PAN's  
**15<sup>th</sup>**  
Anniversary

*Worthy of Celebration*

With the commissioning of PAN in 1975, the level of national road transportation has witnessed phenomenal development for the very first time.

Today, PAN's achievements are reflected in the performance and reliability of over 400,000 Peugeot vehicles rolled out from her factory.

Also significant is our leadership in the local content drive to achieve self reliance for Nigeria in the automobile sector.

When one considers our reputation in just 15 years of operation, with over a billion naira worth of assets and our consistent leadership as the lion of the auto-sector, it is incontestable that PAN indeed is a value added to Nigeria.



**PEUGEOT**  
PEUGEOT AUTOMOBILES & TRUCKS LIMITED  
Peugeot (Nigeria) Limited, Lagos, Nigeria

**PEUGEOT** ...Tested and Trusted



**PLATFORM:**

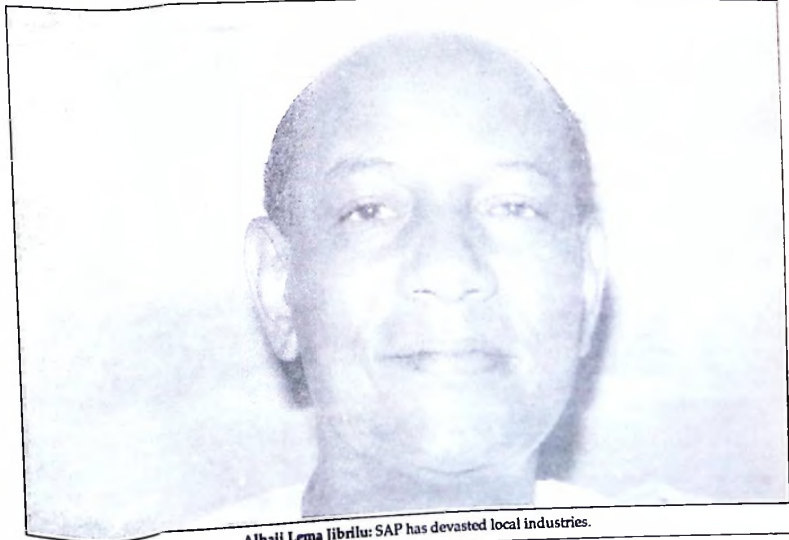
# Calling a spade a shovel

Alhaji Lema Jibrilu, aspiring to be president, does not mince words on many issues.

"**C**itizen got it all wrong," Alhaji Lema Jibrilu said, adjusting his elaborate *babban riga* and lighting up another Kent cigarette as he stared down *Platform's* panel of 6. "The wheat milling and

related industries were the biggest employers of labour in Nigeria, even more than the government," he said. "The whole level of wheat imports in question was of the order of \$250-\$300 million, which is peanuts in terms of its overall benefit to the nation. There are

so many value-added things in the wheat programme. The government's wheat production scheme is a political one. This fire brigade approach is armchair strategy. This banning of things overnight discourages investment. It is simply not on. The ban



Alhaji Lema Jibrilu: SAP has devastated local industries.



MAMSER Chairman, Jerry Gana

benefits only smugglers, and the consumer is paying through his nose."

For a politician aspiring to succeed the army in power come 1992, Alhaji Lema Jibrilu was also unusually blunt in his opinions on SAP, FEM and import deregulation. Where he does not exactly call a spade a spade, he calls it a shovel. "SAP," he said, "has benefited only the banks and other financial institutions." He listed a whole litany of the woes of SAP after more than four years of its operation: it has devastated local industries, driven down living standards, failed to promote non-oil exports to any appreciable level, and scared away foreign investment. Although a potential foreign investor may profit, he said, when it comes time to repatriate the dividend, it is so little in hard currency that it is not worth the effort.

Alhaji Lema also condemned the present exchange rate of the Naira. Contrary to the Central Bank of Nigeria's assertion that the rate was determined by market forces, he said the CBN "has clearly been managing the currency in the past two years." He insisted, too, that it is now obsolete economic theory to align the exchange rate with foreign currency earnings. Every country regulates its exchange rate, he argued, pointing out that if the British Sterling or the American Dollar were not managed, their value will have reached rock bottom by now. "One to one," Alhaji Lema said firmly, should be the Naira's exchange rate to the Dollar.

His disagreement with the military regime does not end there. He condemned the civil service reforms, which he said were "running down the country" by destroying the bureaucracy's security in the sense of a guaranteed tenure. Neither does Alhaji Lema have much regard for some of the central institutions of the transition programme. Of MAMSER, he said the government made a major mistake by appointing partisans of the banned NPP to head the public enlightenment agency, thus robbing it of all credibility. And although Alhaji Lema said he wanted to see a strong and efficient national army, he made it very clear that he is opposed to the army's intervention in politics, and urged Nigerians to summon the "national will" to resist military coups in the future. He also suggested that the military hierarchy, not civilian politicians should troop to the Centre for Democratic Studies, CDS, at Bwari, Abuja, there to learn the virtues of democracy.

---

**His disagreement with the military regime does not end there. He condemned the civil service reforms, which he said were "running down the country" by destroying the bureaucracy's security in the sense of a guaranteed tenure.**

---

Alhaji Lema's overall view of society has been heavily influenced by his experience and status as a large-scale farmer and industrialist. By his own admission, he is one of the largest grain producers in Nigeria and the proprietor of 19 companies, many of them agricultural and industrial, others in the service sector. Perhaps as a result, his belief in capitalism, and his concomitant hatred of socialism, were vehement. "I believed 100% in free enterprise and entrepreneurship," he said. "Socialism is anachronistic, it is alien, and it has failed everywhere it was tried." He also came through as highly partisan, railing against the SDP as being without direction, roaming in ideological wilderness, and waiting to install communism in Nigeria.

Only once in the 150-minute Platform interview did Alhaji Lema fail to call a spade a spade. Asked to confirm that he has presidential aspirations, he said, "Let's put it this way. I place myself in the hands of the party. Let them decide. The party and the people (will decide). In short." Still, his prescriptions for a future president of the Third Republic closely tailored his own immaculate curriculum vitae. He said the next leader should be "educated, hold a broad view of how to unite Nigeria, and hold a broad view on the economy." He should also be respected, upright, untainted by scandal, trustworthy, and should have put in "three decades in public and private service," roughly the amount of time this 53 year-old politician has spent in both.

Despite his eloquence and his elegant composure, there are a few thorny issues that prick Alhaji Lema's light political skin. One is the possibility that Nigerians may not wish to enthronate as president a compatriot who is already

one of the wealthiest citizens. Of this Alhaji Lema said, "the rich have many good attributes. They are unlikely to steal government funds. They are only out to help. Most cases of theft are by people who go into government with the aim of making money." A second prickly issue, already raised by his political opponents, is his marriage to a non-Nigerian. To answer this, Alhaji Lema Jibrilu lighted another Kent cigarette, the fifth in 150 minutes, and adjusted his riga again. "Neither the constitution of Nigeria nor that of the NRC forbids it," he said. "Or do you want to change the constitutions because of me?" Besides, the government appointed Professor Akinyemi as Minister of External Affairs when everyone knew he had a foreign wife.

**Alhaji Lema Jibrilu, presidential aspirant under the platform of the National Republican Convention (NRC), recently spoke at Citizen's Platform for 150 minutes. Excerpts:**

**Q: Will you clarify your opinion on SAP and suggest an alternative to it?**

**A:** In our (NRC's) manifesto, we have pledged to undertake a systematic revaluation of the Naira, because everyone now agrees it is undervalued. It is our policy to revalue the Naira until it finds a reasonable level. Personally, from the very inception of SAP, I had great reservations because structural adjustment as envisaged by this Administration will not work. I am familiar with the experiences of many countries that have tried it, and it failed. I was full of apprehension, because the devaluation of the Naira on such a massive scale, overnight, will not augur well for our economy.

**Q: What should be the Naira's correct value?**

**A:** As it was before: one to one. Some may regard my opinion as extremist, but there is no reason why the Naira shouldn't exchange at par with the dollar. The exchange rate is obviously managed. Despite SAP and FEM, it is still being managed. For example, recently the dollar has been sliding on the international market, but the naira is still very weak against it. We know that Nigeria has made over \$4 billion in income in the last four months due to the Gulf crisis, and still the Naira is sliding lower and lower. It just doesn't add up.

**Q: Why do you think the Naira should exchange at par with the dollar?**

**A:** The exchange rate is independent of the foreign re-

yet know how.

**Q: The consensus was that, before SFEM, the naira was overvalued.**

**A:** I do not believe it was

## The road to State House?

Alhaji Lema Jibrilu's great-grandfather was a great Islamic scholar and an Alkali, a Shari'a Jurist. The tradition carried in the family, and Lema's father became one of the first people in the North to receive western education, enrolling at the Dan Hausa School in Kano in 1912. As a result, he taught many of the people destined to become leaders in the North, including the Sardaunan Sokoto, Alhaji Ahmadu Bello; the Makaman Nupe, Alhaji Aliyu; the Wazirin Katsina, Isa Kaita; the late emir of Katsina, Sir Usman Nagogo and the present emir, Alhaji Kabiru Usman.

Alhaji Lema's father was not only a scholar but a large-scale farmer as well, one of his many bequests to his son. Born in 1937, Alhaji Lema Jibrilu went to primary school in Malumfashi, and then went

on to attend the Katsina Middle School and the famous Barewa college. Afterwards, he went to work as a technical assistant in the laboratory section of the Northern Nigerian Ministry of Agriculture, from where he obtained a scholarship to study animal husbandry in Britain. For 17 years, Alhaji Lema worked his way through Ministries of Agriculture of the Northern Region and later the North Central state. In 1976, he retired from service and went into private business, mostly agriculture, industry and service. Today, his sprawling business group encompasses 19 companies, including one of the largest agricultural enterprises in Nigeria. Nevertheless, the presidential aspirant says reflectively, "My life has not been an easy one". Nor will the road to State House be any easier.

overvalued. It never was.

**Q: Do you see anything wrong with SAP?**

**A:** Absolutely. First, there is the exchange rate of the Naira. Second, there is the deregulation of imports which is killing local industries. We cannot yet compete against imports, for those countries have been at it for centuries while we are just starting. Yet another problem is the interest rate structure. The banks are taking undue advantage, since guidelines are not clear on the spread of inter-bank transfer and current account interest. It favours only banks and financial institutions. Theoretically, the banks should not go beyond the central bank's minimum discount rate of 7%, but today interest rates go as high as 35% in some banks.

**Q: How about the argument that the current exchange rate encourages self-reliance.**

**A:** I do not agree at all. You do not have to devalue in order to stem imports, there are other fiscal and monetary mechanisms to achieve this. Officially, devaluation is meant to promote the export of locally manufac-

serve. Whether we earn \$8 billion or \$20 billion does not matter, so we fix the rates internally. The old economic theory of aligning the value of currency internally with foreign exchange earnings is now obsolete. It is no longer valid. This regime has clearly been managing currency in the last 2 years. It was not based on demand and supply. In any case, we were not in this endeavour. I strongly believe the pound sterling is managed, otherwise going by economic indicators in Britain, it should be less than half its present value. They are managing it some way, though we do not



Police Boss Alhaji Aliyu Attah

tured items and non-oil products. We are now in the fifth year of SAP, and the value of our non-oil exports has risen from \$400 million to about \$1 billion. The gain, therefore, is \$600 million, but the repercussions are so enormous that it wasn't worth it.

**Q: Has SAP been beneficial in any way?**

**A:** Looking at all indicators, certainly not. The only beneficiaries are the banks.

**Q: Is there any alternative to SAP?**

**A:** I do not want to run foul of the many decrees on this issue, since government is very jittery, but there are 1,001 alternatives to SAP.

**Q: Will you recommend one?**

**A:** First and foremost, revalue the naira, end deregulation, protect local industries, protect investment. Although it is now cheaper for foreigners to invest in Nigeria, the level of investment has dwindled. Something must be wrong. I know that political stability is a factor, but most of the reasons are economic, for however much profit they make, when it comes time to repatriate dividend, it is less than what they will make even on comparative investment in Europe, all because of the devalued currency. This is not helping anybody.

**Q: There was this recent controversy over wheat.....**

**A:** I have read it in *Citizen* and I think you have got it all wrong. The wheat milling and related industries are the biggest employers of labour in Nigeria, even more than government. The level of wheat imports before the ban was of the order of \$250 - \$300 million, but this is peanuts compared to the good it brings to the economy as a whole. There are so many value-added things in the wheat programme. The millers say they have invested 2.5 billion (dollars) in machinery. The baking industry's investment is probably higher, and they employed hundreds of thousands of people. You see, nothing discourages investment more than this policy of banning things overnight. I maintain that the government's wheat production scheme is a political one. I support the desire to be self-sufficient in wheat production, but wheat is not a manufactured product. A gestation period is needed during which the balance is



Finance Minister Abubakar Alhaji

imported while you produce. But you see, they banned wheat imports overnight, and now it is smuggled to the same level.

Before the ban, we imported 1 million tonnes a year. Nigeria today cannot produce more than 200,000 tonnes. No one checks these states that produce wheat. The fair thing to do is for the federal government to find out how



President Ibrahim Babangida

logical factors, can produce wheat.

**Q: How about the politics of wheat imports? The US was even blackmailing us to buy wheat.**

**A:** The fact is we never produced enough of it to meet our demands. It was a relatively cheap commodity (to import). By banning, government is now losing revenue from tariffs. The ban benefits only smugglers, and the

The level of wheat imports before the ban was of the order of \$250 - \$300 million, but this is peanuts compared to the good it brings to the economy as a whole. There are so many value-added things in the wheat programme.

much wheat they produce and at what cost, then guarantee a price and leave the rest to private farmers. But this fire-brigade approach, by which the federal government hands over funds and sits back to expect a bumper harvest... This is armchair agricultural strategy. It is simply not on. As a farmer myself, I know what it takes to produce crops. The policy thrust should be a price incentive to farmers in those areas we know, from geographical, topographical and climatol-

consumer is paying through his nose.  
**Q: You were a civil servant for many years. Are you comfortable with the civil service reforms?**

**A:** Not one bit. These reforms are running the country down. The civil service has become so politicised it is no longer effective. May be directors-general ought to be political appointees, but not anything beyond that.

**Q: Our bureaucracy is remarkably slow.**

**A:** These reforms will not speed it up.

**Q: Despite the civil service's balancing**

role, public funds were looted over the years. Has it not failed in its balancing role?

**A:** The civil service is not the political class that looted funds. They merely obeyed directives from their political masters.

**Q:** But they aided the looting. For example, during the indigenisation exercise, many "super civil servants" took money from banks and invested in blue chip industries.

**A:** What is wrong with that, as long as they did not steal the money to do it? They are free to invest. In any case, most of them invested only after they left the service.

**Q:** You are not happy with the civil service reforms.....

**A:** No, because its stability has been

for another 30,000 by 1992. I think we need even more than that. We also need to look at the judiciary. There are close to 1 million cases pending in our courts, some for upwards of 5 years. This is simply not good enough.

**Q:** What do you think of the National Guard?

**A:** I have not properly studied the implications of a national guard, so I cannot comment on it.

**Q:** Aren't they meant to stop coups?

**A:** No one can stop coups, not even the army. The only remedy is to educate the army and Nigerians as a whole to allow democracy to take root.

**Q:** Will the NRC guarantee to Nigerians that it will not misuse the National Guard if elected?

**A:** Absolutely. That is why we want



Justice of the Federation:  
Muhammadu Bello

**The ratio of policemen to the population in Nigeria is one of the lowest in the world. We should concentrate on equipping the police. They are underpaid, under-equipped and underfunded. We have some 120,000 policemen today, with plans for another 30,000 by 1992. I think we need even more than that.**

devastated by the lack of a guaranteed tenure. The old civil service of general orders is still valid today. We should go back to it.

**Q:** What do you think of our defence spending?

**A:** I am not familiar yet with this issue, but we need a strong and efficient army. Nigeria is not very threatened anymore, it must be admitted, but we must defend our territorial integrity.

**Q:** At what cost?

**A:** Up to 8% of the budget I will support, if it is to equip the army. It is not every year that you renew a weapon, after all. Aircraft and ships may be in use for 10 to 15 years.

**Q:** The government is presently establishing a National Guard. Wouldn't this lead us to a police state?

**A:** I don't think so. The ratio of policemen to the population in Nigeria is one of the lowest in the world. We should concentrate on equipping the police. They are underpaid, under-equipped and underfunded. We have some 120,000 policemen today, with plans

more policemen to enforce law and order.

**Q:** Some Nigerians will like to see vigilant groups armed to help enforce order.

**A:** This is sheer anarchy.

**Q:** Professor Wole Soyinka recently advocated that all Nigerians should carry guns in order to check the army's excesses.

**A:** This is anarchy. This is like armed vigilantes on a bigger scale.

**Q:** What is this recent public disagreement between you and former minister Samaila Mammam? Does he too have his eyes on the presidency?

**A:** No comments.

**Q:** Sir, are you a presidential candidate under the NRC?

**A:** In the NRC, we have not discussed presidential candidates, but we will do so at the appropriate time. A candidate will not emerge until after the various elections.

**Q:** But you have presidential ambitions.

**A:** Ah..... Let's put it this way: I have placed myself in the hands of the party. Let them decide. The party and ultimately the people are the decision

makers in this respect. In short!

**Q:** Do you regard the SDP as a Socialist party, as you alluded in a recent interview?

**A:** Of course it is. They are living in a fool's paradise. They are socialists to the core, but now they are denying it. They decided to go "a little to the left," and now the whole world is against socialism. It is an anachronism, it is out of date, it has not worked anywhere. Yet, somehow, Nigerian socialists still want to bring it here, whereas it has failed everywhere else.

**Q:** It can be argued that capitalism too has utterly failed in Nigeria.

**A:** It has not. It is the economic system that has made it fail. Capitalism the world over is a success story, and in Nigeria, with the right people in Nigeria, it will succeed. Personal initiative and entrepreneurship, with no holds barred, the same equal opportunity and access to government — installed infrastructure, etc, so that you are your own man, and you can determine your standard of living through hard work and entrepreneurship.

**Q:** But this "equal opportunity" always leads to unequal accumulation of wealth.

**A:** Why, no! You have to struggle.

**Q:** More inequality visited the United States during Reagan's years of unbridled capitalism.

**A:** Well, all that you should give is equal opportunity.

**Q:** The SDP's original manifesto merely called for state control of the "commanding

heights" of the economy not all of it....

**A:** The danger with socialism is this is how it starts, and you end up with full-blooded communism. There is no freedom of action under socialism, no freedom of investment. We do not want this in Nigeria. Socialism is alien to our traditions.

**Q:** Capitalism is also alien, perhaps more so.

**A:** It is not. We have been trading since time immemorial.

**Q:** Our surveys indicate that the SDP is better organised than the NRC and has fewer intra-party squabbles.

**A:** The taste of the pudding is in the eating. Wait for the elections. Afterwards, tell me about their organisation.

**Q:** May be you will win because the government backs the NRC?

**A:** No, not at all. The government is not backing anybody. It will be a mistake for it to do so.

**Q:** You recently told African Concord that both the government and the NRC are right-wing and the SDP is not.

**A:** Isn't that true?

**Q:** Does that mean the government will be happier to see you in power?

**A:** That is left to your own imagination.

**Q:** But the federal government's right-wing policies are not succeeding. How then will the NRC be different?

**A:** We will reassess SAP. We will look at deregulation and alot of other things. Our social services will be second to none, since we will create the wealth to sustain them. During our first term in office, per capita annual income will rise to \$2,000.

**Q:** What do you think of zoning?

**A:** At certain levels, zoning is consistent with the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. All parts of Nigeria must be involved in order to create a sense of belonging. It does not mean zoning is inconsistent with merit. In the NRC, it is.

**Q:** Chief Iwuanyanwu has suggested that northerners should give up the presidency this time around.

**A:** If you want Chief Iwuanyanwu's opinion, you can go and interview him. Right now, I am the one being interviewed.

**Q:** Suppose the NRC asks you to step down as a presidential aspirant for a southerner in order to create this sense of belonging....

**A:** We are not carrying zoning to that ridiculous level. We are not zoning elective posts. These are open to all

Nigerians, based purely upon democratic ideals.

**Q:** Since independence, Nigeria has had serious leadership problems. What set of attributes will you regard as ideal to be sought for in the president of the Third Republic?

**A:** We should look for people who know what they are doing. They have to be educated, hold a broad view of how to unite Nigeria, and hold a broad view on the economy. They should command respect, should be upright, untainted by scandal. They should be people we can trust, people of absolute purity.

**Q:** Talking about trust, should Nigerians trust a very rich person, considering that the rich are sheltered from the realities of life?

**A:** Rich people have many good attributes. They are unlikely to steal government funds. They are only out to help.

**Q:** Most stealing today is done by the rich.

**A:** No. If they are rich already, the tendency is for them to be fair. Most cases of theft are by people who are hungry and go into government with the aim of making money.

**Q:** The rich dodge taxes.

**A:** This may be true, which is why we are going to introduce stringent tax



NRC Chairman Chief Tom Ilimi



SDP Chairman Babagana Kingibe

reforms. We shall block most loopholes so that we can collect the revenue to finance our social services.

**Q:** *This question may sound personal and petty, but will your marriage to a non-Nigerian affect your aspirations?*

**A:** We are a free and democratic society. I can mention 20 heads of state who are married to foreigners. In Nigeria too, a former chief justice, a former governor, and a former foreign minister were married to foreigners. Neither the constitution of Nigeria nor that of the NRC forbids it. In any case, my wife is half-African.

**Q:** *Has the NRC identified factors that led to looting by previous leaders, and can it guarantee that it won't happen again?*

**A:** We should choose the right leaders. I think people who spent over three decades in public and private life are the kind Nigerians should now go for.

**Q:** *You speak of three decades in service, yet there is this ban on old politicians.*

**A:** I do not subscribe to any ban unless one is found guilty of an offence.

**Q:** *Will you review the ban?*

**A:** As a civilian regime we would be guided by democratic principles. It is against the grain of natural justice to deny political participation to anyone not found guilty of an offence.

**Q:** *Are you optimistic that the Third Republic will survive?*

**A:** I am highly optimistic. We have all it takes to operate a democratic system. It is now up to the military to give

democracy a chance.

**Q:** *How will you stop the army from mounting another coup?*

**A:** There is no way anyone can guarantee that, but there is the urgent need to inculcate in the army the need to give democracy a chance. It is also up to Nigerians in future to reject military incursions into politics.

**Q:** *Chief Ikimi was quoted as saying the NRC will involve the army in its rule.*

**A:** I believe he was misquoted. It is not part of our manifesto. There is no way this can be done. May be he was talking about involving suitable retired army officers.

**Q:** *What do you think of the national question, such issues raised by Gideon Orkar?*

**A:** Orkar did not represent the views

of Nigerians. I think the manifestoes of the two political parties are adequate to contain most grievances of Nigerians.

**Q:** *What do you think of MAMSER?*

**A:** It has no credibility. Its leadership was once in the NPP, and should be in the category of banned politicians. The government even wanted to entrench MAMSER in the constitution.

**Q:** *Can the Centre for Democratic Studies teach you anything?*

**A:** It will do better to teach the army. They are the ones who need schooling in democracy.

**Q:** *If you emerge as a presidential candidate, will you go to the Centre to be trained?*

**A:** We may have no choice.

**Q:** *What do you think of ECOMOG?*

**I can mention 20 heads of state who are married to foreigners. In Nigeria too, a former chief justice, a former governor, and a former foreign minister were married to foreigners. Neither the constitution of Nigeria nor that of the NRC forbids it. In any case, my wife is half-African.**



CBN Governor: Alhaji Abdulkadir Ahmed

**A:** Intervention may be necessary in the interest of African unity and cooperation within ECOWAS. They were invited; they did not impose themselves, and they should not take sides. This is in the overall interest of sub-regional security.

**Q:** *Will an NRC regime maintain Africa as the centrepiece of our foreign policy?*

**A:** It would. Unfortunately, the level of trade between African countries today is less than 1% of our total trade. We should encourage regional groupings such as ECOWAS and one for East Africans. Through the OAU, we should also promote trade and rapid development. We all shall be the stronger for it.

**By Mohammed Haruna,  
Mohammad Bomol,  
Mahmud Jega, Tawey Zakka  
and Della Nzekwu**

# Citizen

ALL THE NEWS IN PERSPECTIVE

## Advertisement Rates

### (1) Colour

Inside Front Cover	—	N7,275.00
Inside Back Cover	—	7,200.00
Outside Back Cover	—	8,910.00
Inside Full Page	—	6,900.00
Centre Spread	—	12,640.00

Add 30% where separation are not supplied.

### (2) Black and White (Product)

Full Page	—	N5,100.00
2/3 Page (Horizontal/Vertical)	—	4,100.00
1/2 Page	—	3,000.00
1/3 Page	—	2,350.00
1/4 Page	—	1,980.00
Supplement	—	6,500.00

### (3) B&W (Congratulatory Messages, Public Notices, Supplements)

Full Page	—	6,500.00
2/3 Page	—	5,160.00
1/2 Page	—	3,780.00
1/3 Page	—	2,960.00
1/4 Page	—	2,490.00

### Conditions for placing advertisement in Citizen:

1. Copy date - Two weeks before publication date.
2. Specified positions - 15% surcharge.
3. Colour separations must be provided for colour advertisements.
4. *Citizen* reserves the right to accept or reject any advert.
5. Add 30% where typesetting & Artworks are not supplied.

*For further information, contact:*  
Sales/Advert Manager,  
Citizen communications Ltd.,  
G11 Unguwan Kanawa,  
P. M.B. 2334, Kaduna.  
Tel: 212165. Fax: 210037.  
Telex: 71704.

## NIGERIA

# Abuja: Should government use blackmail?

**Nigerian Society of Engineers is miffed because giants of industry are not contributing to the development of Abuja**

**M**ajor-General (rtd) Muhammadu Gado Nasko, the minister in charge of Abuja, the new capital who has been shouting himself hoarse over the nonchalance of the private sector, should find this suggestion of the Nigerian Society of Engineers, NSE, interesting. Its president, Ibrahim Khalel Inuwa, feels sorry for the federal government for its seeming powerlessness. But he believes something can still be done to beat such giants in industry as UAC and SCOA, into line; they require the big stick to get them to move their bulldozers and cranes to the new capital!

For him, this official blackmail

should take the forms of seizure of license in the case of banks which are refusing to lend for housing and denial of foreign exchange to local subsidiaries of the huge conglomerates.

Engineer Inuwa told Citizen that he wanted government to come up with legislation compelling such firms to "show evidence that they will build 10 houses in Abuja every year" before they can have foreign exchange to pay for their imports. "Definitely, Abuja is a priority", he said. "We need houses (there) but government alone can't provide all that".

However, legislation in this country sometimes has shown itself lacking the necessary teeth to bite. The failure of

such laws as the one that attempted to force commercial banks to open rural branches, that ordering government money out of commercial banks and lately the one banning exportation of raw cocoa are cases in point. But the NSE president is not surprised that those laws failed. Government, he said, did not want them to succeed in the first place. "I don't think they wanted it to work; that is the fact of the situation", he said, referring to the liquidity mop-up directive of last year.

So far the government has employed every means but force or blackmail to get the private sector to pick up its role in the master plan for Abuja. Ever since he took office in March last



Major-General Gado Nasko: Minister of Abuja.



Khalel Inuwa: feels sorry for the government.

year, General Nasko has assumed every posture but kneel, to plead with this so-called partners of progress to help out with building Abuja. It is only recently that this big "catalyst of economic development" has begun to move towards the new capital; even so the movement is embarrassingly slow. New buildings are springing up where only few months ago there were only beacons, grasses and trees. Engineer Inuwa is optimistic that this private sector response will pick up pace. "I think the president will be moving next year, anyway", he said. "So when the president moves, people will be forced to move also".

The NSE president did not disappoint his colleagues when again he sang the refrain about the neglect of Nigerian engineers and government's preference for foreign ones. Even with seven engineers as ministers in President Ibrahim Babangida's cabinet, three military engineers in the AFRC and another three as military governors that cry of non-recognition is sure to ring out far and wide, even if less often. Engineer Inuwa said the NSE was grateful to the Babangida administration for putting a dozen or so of its members in the government train. "It shows some confidence (in us)", but the Oliver Twist in him would not stop demanding for more. Recognition they have got but government jobs hardly come their way. He laments that most of the construction jobs in Abuja have gone the way of foreign engineers. "We are in the era of self-reliance", he said. "We thought local engineers will be relied upon, not foreigners". If this has been the hard lot of our engineers, the NSE president knows why. They can match their overseas counterparts skill for skill but lag behind in equipment. "To have a construction company now", Engineer Inuwa said, "you will at least need a couple of graders, bulldozers. These cost money, who is going to give you that?". The high cost of bank loans is scary. For this reason, the NSE boss thinks, we do not have the Nigerian likes of Julius Berger, Taylor Woodrow, Borini Prono, and Sterling Civil Engineering and Construction, the "movers and shakers" of the construction industry.

This is the point at which Inuwa gets importunistic. He would like government to either buy the machinery and lease it to needy Nigerians or banks should be made to grant soft loans at four or five percent interest rate. The current lending rate is close to 30 percent. Failing any of these, the NSE is going for a Nigerian Technology Merchant Bank, NTMB, a bank that will "go into areas where there is a vacuum." Engineer Inuwa said: "You see, there are engineers with beautiful ideas that they cannot (see) mature, because they cannot get anybody to finance it. We want to go into that kind of area". The long and short of it is that the bank is meant "to prove the capability of Nigerians".

**T**he society has four million Naira sitting idle there in its account. This will go to financing its 60 percent shareholding in the forthcoming bank. Members of the NSE will get 30 percent and the other 10 will go to outsiders. The feasibility study has been completed and an application for licence is with the

considered the reasons for the high cost of government — awarded contracts. First, there is the Nigerian factor which must be considered in bidding for the contract. He explained the 'Nigerian factor' this way: "Somebody along the line wants some extra money and therefore you have to top it over and above the actual contract price."

The other reason Engineer Inuwa gave was that the government was not always forthcoming with money several months after the job had been done. So if you were a contractor "you try to inflate (the price) and make sure that in the end when it comes, you'll really get whatever you invested in it".

The way to deal with the problem he thinks, is, first, to pay up as soon as a job has been done. Secondly, government should reject any bid above the actual cost of the contract. It is tempting to describe the NSE's grouse against the contract system as the comment of a loser since its members do not have a share of the bumpy harvest of government contract money. Maybe the government shares that

---

**First, there is the Nigerian factor which must be considered in bidding for the contract. He explained the 'Nigerian factor' this way: "Somebody along the line wants some extra money and therefore you have to top it over and above the actual contract price."**

---

Central Bank of Nigeria, CBN. Getting the bank off the drawing board is part of the "challenge" Inuwa says the Babangida regime has thrown the NSE's way by bringing some of its members into the cabinet. Another way of meeting that challenge is to reconstruct the image of the Nigerian engineer as an arm-chair scientist, dressed so outlandishly as to look like a scarecrow. Inuwa thinks it is erroneous but it has stuck.

The NSE president spoke about the ills of the contract system, which he described as a drain-pipe. The society submitted a report to the government in 1980, in which it identified what it

thinking, which perhaps will explain why since 1980 when the NSE submitted its memo on the subject there has not been any feed back.

How much blame is the NSE willing to take for many public buildings that have collapsed all over the country: the Barnawa housing estate in Kaduna in 1980, school collapsed in Port Harcourt this year, killing many pupils and a building in Lagos. Engineer Inuwa said no NSE registered engineer had a hand in any of those disasters. Maybe, since government contracts hardly come their way! "Not one single person in Nigeria has ever come out to tell me that a member of NSE has

## NIGERIA

built a road that has collapsed or built a house that has collapsed because of his negligence, he said.

What then happens to an NSE member in the case of professional negligence? He will be tried by the disciplinary committee of the NSE. A guilty verdict will attract dismissal and withdrawal of certificate of registration. He can also be taken to court by aggrieved parties.

Road construction and maintenance is a major issue in Nigeria because all too often, roads that are built and guaranteed a specific lifespan hardly manage a quarter. Not only that, perhaps because of the "Nigerian factor" they are scandalously exorbitant and shoddily constructed. Engineer Inuwa agreed with the "Nigerian factor" but argued strongly that roads are blatantly abused in this country.

"We design and build a road for 50 vehicles and then allow 200. When you do that you are obviously shortening their lifespan. Or design a road for 15 tonne vehicle and then allow 45 tonners to use them. Take the Kano-Katsina road. It was never designed to accommodate vehicles carrying billets for the Katsina Steel Rolling Mill. Others are built near a dam. It was only a matter of time for the Bagauda Dam for instance to wash away the roads



Works minister: Mamman Kontagora

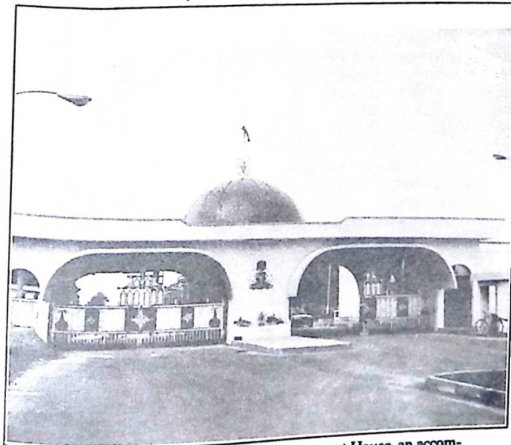
when it overflowed its banks."

Doesn't that speak of planlessness? After all, when planning for these things, consideration ought to be given to the likely consequences of other factors. Engineer Inuwa doesn't entirely agree. He argues that roads could be reinforced like that of Warri-

Benin. Economic boom can also throw such considerations out of gear like it did in the oil boom era when cars were mindlessly imported. He returned to the "Nigerian factor." The supervising engineer may have colluded with the contractor; the result is that soon the project would start "showing failures."

The scarcity of houses is severe. Would the one billion Naira being sought by the Federal Mortgage Bank be adequate to provide affordable houses to Nigerians by the Year 2000? No, says Engineer Inuwa and in any case the concept of housing has changed from government building houses to creating the necessary atmosphere for Nigerians to build themselves. People are also being encouraged to build their own houses with local raw materials which is far cheaper. The Nigerian Road and Building Research Institute has done a lot of research for this purpose. It has in fact built a house using laterite. "The only problem is the mentality of the Nigerian. He doesn't see himself living in such houses." The Minister of Housing, Mamman Kontagora built a housing estate in Lagos using such methods, according to Engineer Inuwa.

By Mohammad Borno and  
Tawey Zaka.



The gate to the Kaduna State Government House, an accomplished handiwork of a Nigerian engineer

## Fire from the left

Yusuf Bala Usman accuses the government of sabotaging its own transition programme.

**T**he fiery lecturer has built a reputation over 25 years as one of the country's most prolific, knowledgeable and outspoken Marxist intellectuals. From his teaching position in the Ahmadu Bello University's Department of History, Yusuf Bala Usman has railed against capitalism for nearly three decades, a situation only temporarily upset by his compulsory retirement from the ABU, Zaria in June last year on the direct orders of President Ibrahim Babangida.

Bala Usman has since been restored to his post by a court order, and last week the radical lecturer resumed his old theme. In a lecture delivered in Hausa to the Axis Research Agency, at the Lugard Hall, Kaduna, he accused the federal government of setting up conditions for the eventual collapse of the third republic.

Bala Usman began by regretting that the word "politics" is now bastardised in Nigeria, and has become, in popular eyes, synonymous with plotting, deceit and corruption in order to capture power and occupy a position in government. This bastardisation, he said, was achieved as part of a process of national oppression. As a result, politics is now understood to mean only the fight to acquire power and, once victorious, to rule, a conception which ignores issues of restructuring society, system of rule, and lives of people.

This conception of politics, he said, is promoted in order to convince most people that there is really no difference between politicians, that they are all self-serving, and that politics is not the arena for the resolution of major social issues.

The evidence of this attitude, Bala Usman said, is the now common dismissal of an issue with the phrase "It is only politics." This means that such an issue, like politics, is not to be taken seriously. On the contrary, the lecturer said, politics is a serious business indeed, involving issues such as ownership and control of farms, pastures, mines, forests, the sea, lakes and riv-



Bala Usman: suspects sabotage in the transition.

ers, factories and markets, as well as national defence, social security, public morality and the training of younger generations. But in Nigeria today, Bala Usman said, the oppressive social order, backed by trans-national firms and banks, have contrived to throw the economy and society in deep trouble.

Things are now so bad, he said, that Nigerians no longer have any confidence in the government's fiscal management. There are now so many corrupt deals, he said, between formulating a policy and executing it that probably less than ten per cent of budgeted amounts of money actually go into the final project.

In these circumstances, Bala Usman said, the government cannot permit ideological politics, but has instead introduced a form of commercial politics which lacks purpose, principles or direction. He noted that the military government has set up its own parties, wrote their constitutions and manifestoes, chose their emblems, built their offices, is paying their salaries and has provided them with vehicles. The lecturer said "The regime of General Ibrahim Babangida, which has failed to revamp the economy after four

years of Structural Adjustment Programme, SAP, has now created political parties in its own image in order to safeguard its failed policies." He said the purpose of this project is to corrupt the populace through direct bribery by politicians in election years.

Bala Usman also listed what he regards as further evidence of the government's dishonest intentions. These include the banning of many honest politicians and all civil servants from participating in politics, "thus clearing the way only for contractors and smugglers," the government's constant tinkering with its own transition to civil rule decrees and regulations; the "sponsoring of their ministers and retired generals as Trojan horses in politics," and the matter of allowing the National Republican Convention, NRC, and the Social Democratic Party, SDP, to become ideologically indistinguishable.

The radical lecturer concluded by predicting that "the present political experiment will flower but will not fruit, and will dissolve in chaos and corruption, to pass away as an anecdote in our political history."

By Mahmud Jega  
and Fatai Kolawole

## SUPPLEMENT

## Niger River Basin Development Authority

## Comprehensive Regional Water Resource Development Agency

**F**rom inception in 1976, River Basin Development Authorities (RBDA's) were intended to serve as models for demonstrating how all the resources of a major river valley can be developed in a unified way. Other government agencies deal on one or two things — agriculture, parks and recreation, timber, soil conservation, economic promotion, energy promotion or others—but River Basin Development Authorities are intended to have a hand in all these and more, so that the regions they serve might grow stronger in a balanced way.

Today, the Niger River Basin Development Authority (NRBDA) is required to lay emphasis on comprehensive development of the water resources of FCT, Kaduna, Kwara and

economic prosperity has accompanied the regions in which our novel projects are located. Times have changed, but the NRBDA primary mission of water resources development in Niger River Watershed has not changed and would not change, because water is the essence of life.

## NRBDA's EARLY DAYS

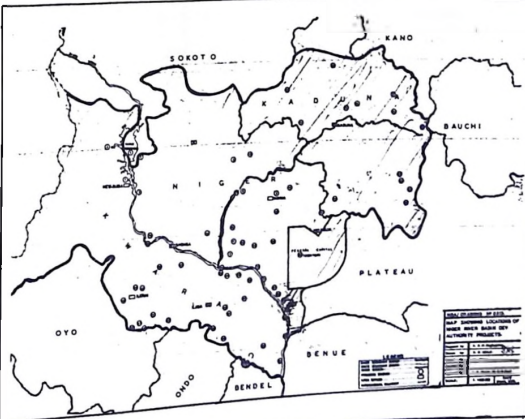
In the Decree No. 25 of June, 1976 establishing the Niger River Basin Development Authority along with 10 others, the authority was charged with the broadest duty of planning for proper use, conservation and development of the natural resources of the Niger River drainage basin and the adjoining tributary valleys for agricultural, social and economic up-liftment of the region. Obviously, therefore the

functions of the NRBDA as contained in the initial enabling decree was that of comprehensive regional socio-economic development in the broadest sense. It was to improve the quality of life of people in the region and demonstrate various resource development techniques that could be copied by individual and corporate bodies.

Many of the NRBDA's early projects were novel for their time. Several pilot irrigation schemes, comprehensive poultry projects, fish ponds, fish processing, boat building yards, were intended to show the new potential for these projects, some of which are now taken for granted today.

NRBDA provided millions of tree seedlings for reforestation projects to restore eroded farm land, provided fertilizers to farmers, and demon-

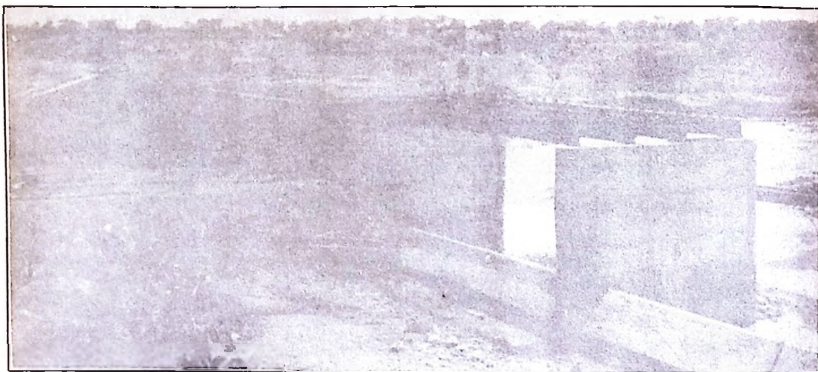
Niger States. This way the devastating floods and drought shall no longer be an annual threat. The rivers in the watershed would over time be opened to commerce. Currently NRBDA is the largest developer of irrigated agricultural products and industrial raw materials in the region. At the same time, a measure of eco-



Map showing geographical boundaries of the Niger River Basin Development Authority.

strated that bigger yield and all year round cropping is possible if proper farming and water conservation techniques are used.

Unfortunately, the public was dissatisfied with the pace of water resource development. What interested the public were water conservation and utilisation efforts and there were only those pilot irrigation schemes that were scattered far and wide. The culture of irrigated agriculture



Erosion and flood control facility under construction

was not wide spread. The public verdict was that not sufficient effort was spent on the primary functions of the Niger River Basin Development Authority.

The truth, however, was that NRBDA was engaged then in comprehensive water resources development studies of the Niger River Basin while steadily sinking boreholes and helping farmers to appreciate the benefits of irrigated farming practices. The first set of dam construction and irrigation system projects for Tungan-kawo, Swashi and Kampe commenced in 1981-1984. The economic downturn of the Nation, however created delays, postponement and in some instances to abandonment of these laudable projects. Meanwhile, as the population grew and the nation continue to develop, the demand for domestic, agricultural and industrial water supply also grew rapidly. Niger River Basin Development Authority thus drifted in 1982 up till 1984 into rainfed agricultural activities. Meanwhile the demand for NRBDA to concentrate on water resources development persisted.

In today's water resources dependent world, the people of the region and government of this great nation have come to view NRBDA's main job as the production of irrigated agricultural products, but this is and can only be a part of NRBDA story.

## A CHANGING ECONOMY

The NRBDA dams, weirs, and direct labour irrigation projects have turned areas served by the Authority into a reliable year round farming community. Similarly those areas that suffered perennial floods and other ecological disasters now breath an air of relief, knowing that the solution to their problems is a matter of time and not of will. Several projects (i.e. irrigation, flood and erosion control) are planned for Kuyelo, Kerawa, Kuzuntu, Igabi, Dutsinwai, Zonkwa, Fatika, and Jagindi in Kaduna State; Gusoro, Kagara, Tungan-kawo, Auna, New Wuse, Nasko, Rijau and Mariga in Niger State; Swashi, Tada-Shonga, Pategi, Lokoja, Ejiba, Gerinya, Erinle and others in Kwara State; and Cwagwalada/Gurara river valley in FCT. NRBDA also provides technical assistance to communities in the Basin. As a result, fish farming, poultry and cattle grazing reserve have been acquired or established by private individuals in towns, cities and rural country side. The economic and social picture of the Basin is changing and so is the N.R.B.D.A.

### N.R.B.D.A.'s ROLE TODAY

The functions, objectives and aspiration of Niger River Basin Develop-

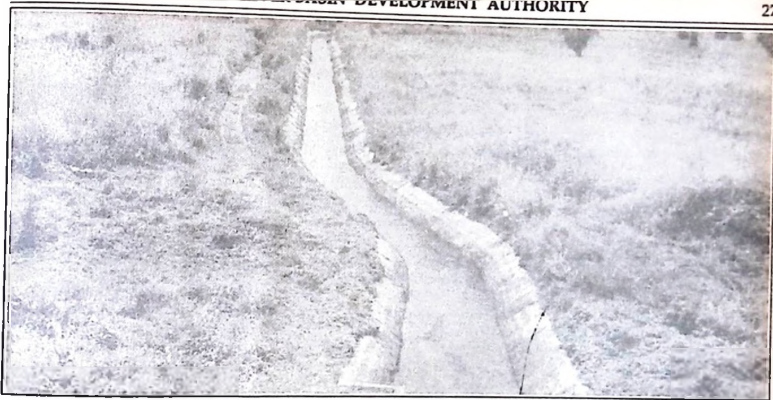
ment Authority are not as wide and diverse as they were when the Authority was first created. Solutions to problems are not as obvious. Those functions for the Authority and the attendant technology and solutions that appeared promising earlier are no longer tenable; and those that healed many ills have in some cases brought with them new problems.

Yet there is still a need for more and better flood, drought and erosion controls to ensure better living and jobs for the people in the Basin. There is a pressing need to maintain a regular water supply to an ever increasing population and to maintain a livable environment, free from the consequences of flood, drought, indiscipline and unplanned growth.

The NRBDA played and would continue to play a major and progressive role in the development of the region. To do so it must and would acquire unique experience and know-how necessary for solving the regional growth problems. Niger River Basin Development Authority's unified approach would appear the only way out, as it combines many disciplines, and it considers all the resources in the Niger River Basin.

### Overall Economic Development

Our newly introduced economic development programmes aim at stimulating agricultural and industrial de-



Irrigation water-way.

velopment throughout the basin. NRBDA shall provide research and development services that matches up financial and water resources; industries, products and markets; — with national aspirations and goals. We currently provide technical assistance to interested states, local governments, local communities and individuals to attract specific industries, market and technology most likely to thrive in the Niger River Basin and its several valleys.

Niger River Basin Development Authority helps new and existing bodies to not only identify projects, but to develop construction plans, identify markets, and even helps provide skilled labour pool by way of instructing and assisting workers in the acquisition of new skills.

Comprehensive Water Resources requirement are assessed and arrangements made to meet those requirements. Our newly initiated 'Commercial and Economic Development Incubator' are intended to help new and existing bodies get started on the way to greatness and success in agricultural production and agro-allied industries.

Such services and technical assistance we hope, shall be credited soon with opening new businesses and several new job opportunities.

#### New Irrigation Projects:

From the start, NRBDA like all other

sister River Basin Development Authorities was charged and assigned the task of developing and introducing wide scale irrigation and other water conservation and development technology. Our irrigation programmes aim at addressing new and difficult challenges of Basin in particular and the nation in general. The pattern and need for irrigated agriculture is changing nation wide. Cases of drought, flood and other related water resources problems in the region have made the role and services of NRBDA more pertinent.

The Irrigation water rates and tariff is amongst the lowest world wide, when considered against the increase in cost of construction and maintenance of these projects, arising from the increases in fuel cost, global inflation, interest rates, and the resultant cost of building new irrigation and drainage projects. Consequently, NRBDA may have to delay the construction of several costly irrigation projects. After several years of data collection and study, it is now more difficult, within the current national economic situation, to implement and match our construction schedules with those of our regional needs.

Projects that are on the stream, and the several continuing water resource conservation and development efforts certainly deserve sympathy, understanding and substantial assistance.

For now individuals are called upon to conserve water in order to cut cost and operate more efficiently, as water resources conservation helps save costs on the water resources development system by reduction in all aspect of water resources needs and utilisation.

NRBDA comprehensive irrigation programmes aim at improving farm efficiency and income, based principally on water conservation and utilisation practices. Agriculture has remained dominant in the basin right from when NRBDA was constituted, and is a strong influence on the basin's economy — this we never fail to appreciate.

#### Recreation:

Lakes created by NRBDA system of dams are and would continue to be a major tourist attraction and a source of recreation for the resident public. If complemented with commercial, publicly-owned resorts, parks, marinas, camp grounds and docks, they could easily and cheaply serve the current national drive for tourism. Niger River Basin Development Authority's Swashi/Kubli Dam and Irrigation Project in Borgu Local Government Area of Kwara State that adjoins the Kainji Lake Game Reserve could readily be a major destination for visitors from throughout the world. It is being carefully planned and implemented to do so. Similarly, same could be said of

Tungan-Kawo and Gurara falls in Niger State and the proposed Galma Project in Kaduna State.

#### Natural Resources

Besides managing the Niger River system for flood control and irrigation, NRBDA works with other Federal, State and Local government agencies, individuals and corporate bodies to improve the quality of the water resources for residential and industrial use, fish production, irrigation, forestry and a variety of recreational activities.

In managing and conservation of land and forestry resources, Niger River Basin Development Authority operates a seedling programme. It also features on habitat improvement and floods and Erosion Control Projects of the national Ecological-Disaster Programmes aimed at curbing erosion and building fertility.

#### Organization and Operations

The Authority operates three departments and four units at the headquarters namely, departments of Administration and Finance; Planning, Investigation and Design; Construction, Operation and Maintenance. While

located at Ilorin in Kwara State, Kaduna in Kaduna State and Wushishi in Niger State (for Niger and Federal Capital Territory). Project offices for day to day management of field activities are located in Wushishi, Kontagora, Suleja, Jebba and Bida in Niger state; Swashi, Ilorin, Shonga, Ejiba and Lokoja in Kwara State; and Igabi, Zonkwa, Dutsen Wai, Kerawa and Kuyello in Kaduna State.

#### Financing

With the Privatisation and Commercialisation of Public Enterprises, NRBDA now executes a substantial portion of its services i.e. small and medium dam construction and irrigation projects — by direct labour. These activities and those on Flood and Erosion Control Projects of National Ecological Committee would pay their own way. Revenue from these and from plant hire, etc would cover partially the cost of running the system, but cannot pay or service debt nor repay money from National Treasury for capital cost of providing facilities in the past.

NRBDA intends to explore more of multipurpose project design, aimed

programmes shall not be used to finance social programmes in the NRBDA. This shall continue to be funded directly by Federal Government appropriations.

#### Summary

Niger River Basin Development Authority from the beginning was to be a comprehensive regional development agency. Provision for irrigated agriculture and for flood and erosion control are a part of the mission. Authority still assigns top priority to fulfilling the original mandate to serve as a government agency of the socio-economic development of the Niger River Basin, providing an example to the region and the nation of integrated water resource management.

*For more information about Niger River Basin Development Authority programmes or facilities, write to:-*

**Public Relations manager  
Niger River basin  
Development Authority  
KM.5 Bosso/Maikunkele Road  
P. M. B. 68,  
MINNA,  
NIGER STATE.  
or**



Checking flooding at NRBDA facility.

the Units consists of Audit, Public Relations, Legal, and Corporate Planning and Monitoring.

The Administrative head office is located at Minna in Niger State while the coordination of field activities is vested in three Area Offices which are

mainly at hydro-electric power generation on schemes that would either have been exclusively design for flood control or irrigation projects. Power generation is known to pay fully its own way.

Funds from such commercial pro-

*Call at our information desk ("Citizen/Basin Authority Action Lines")  
Phone Numbers:*

066-222942, 222953 (Minna)  
062-21218 — (Kaduna)  
031-220430 — (Ilorin).

Chad:

# Habre's regime dismantled

He scurried out of the country without a fight.

**N**ovember 25 marked almost the last of the major clashes between Hisen Habre's Forces Armees Nationales Pour la Transition (FANT) and rebels under the Patriotic Salvation Front (PSF), led by Idriss Deby, a former army commander in Habre's government and now, President of Chad.

With the repeated collision between both parties in mid-November and the subsequent make-believe calm, the sudden and what is largely regarded as the neat collapse of Habre's government on December 2, with virtually no resistance from government forces was spectacular. With the capture of Abeche, the desert capital of eastern Chad by the PSF on November 30, Habre may have had a premonition of the imminent disaster. By Saturday, the rebels were quite close to their target, N'djamena, the capital. Habre did not wait to engage his assailants in a combat having once escaped by the skin of his teeth. With his presidential guards, cabinet ministers and their families and remnants of his soldiers, he took a humiliating flee from Chad into the border town of Marwa in the Cameroun.

Chad was thrown into panic and chaos. Wide-spread looting ensued, especially in the areas populated by foreigners. Shops, markets and public offices were shut in order to check vandalism. No less than 5,000 Chadians are now taking refuge in Cameroun. Political and common-land prisoners serving various terms at the central commission and the central prison in N'djamena broke loose and escaped.

Government forces acknowledged defeat and voluntarily joined Deby's PSF. With the flight of Habre, the president of the Chadian Assembly, Mr. Alingue Bawoyeu temporarily took

charge of government with the aid of the French embassy. The rebels imposed a curfew on the capital to stall an imminent anarchy.

Idriss Deby, triumphantly drove into the capital on Sunday and was met at the city's outskirts on arrival by the French ambassador to Chad, Francois Xavier Gendreau, and a special envoy of the foreign ministry. Details of the closed-door meeting that was immediately held between Deby and French diplomats were not disclosed. Deby, who fled to Sudan after a failed coup attempt in April 1989 from where he launched his offensive against Habre's government later met with the Libyan ambassador who arrived N'djamena the same Sunday, to welcome him.

The PSF leader, on arrival, dissolved parliament and suspended the constitution. Deby has invited the French troops in Chad, numbering about 2,000 to stay. He explained that they were there to protect their citizens. Paris has declared an unconditional support for the new leadership.

Deby who master-minded the defeat of Libya in 1987 also set free more than 400 Libyan prisoners of war, some held for as long as seven years. On December 4, Idriss Deby who had earlier voiced uncertainty about his desire to head his administration declared himself president of Chad. A communique which announced him as Head of State said that the country would be run by a council of state.

Officials to the new government have been appointed. They are said to come from all over Chad, thus, genuinely clothing Deby's policies in a national outfit. The ministerial line up chiefly comprises of former senior civil servants of Habre's administration now on exile in Cameroun.

Meanwhile, Hisen Habre, reported



Hisen Habre: Left without a fight.

killled as he fled Chad, has declared his intention to return and fight Deby if he failed to work for the interest of all Chadians. Habre, a former defence minister under President Koukoni Weddeye until 1982 when he seized power following a prolonged civil war, is universally regarded as having ruled ruthlessly. In his eight-year governance of Chad, dissents to his policies and the general unhealthy political and economic state of the country were crushed in a way he deemed fit. His government was more or less authoritarian.

As part of efforts being made towards establishing good relations with Tripoli, Libyan planes have been authorised to land in N'djamena airport. On Wednesday, a Libyan aircraft flew into Chad with a cargo load of medical supply and a high-powered Libyan delegation has held talks with the new administration.

All said and done what remains to be effected is a mapped out schedule set to trully realise the dream of democratising and reconstructing Chad.

By Della Nzekwu

Benin:

## A vote against the devil's alternative

Will this usher in the remedy for economic and political crisis?

**B**enin's more than two million voters on December 2 told their leaders definitively that they were determined to see through a struggle they had started over a year ago for multi-party democracy. A referendum on a draft constitution which would pave the way for the election next April of a new president and national assembly surprised even the fanatical proponents of multi-party rule with its outcome — a whopping 95 per cent 'yes' vote for the constitution, warts and all.

What most Beninois found unsavoury with the document was the enormous powers a president elected under it would wield and the 40-70 years age limit for presidential aspirants. This age limit bracket effectively rules out candidates aged over 70. But the voters realised that a 'No' vote on the con-

stitution leaves them with the devil's alternative — perpetuation of the one-party regime of President Mathieu Kerekou.

To be sure, there was a packet of resistance to the referendum, which forced a massive call-up of security forces onto the streets. But on the D-day voting passed off relatively peacefully. By Tuesday, December 4, almost all the returns had been received, indicating that 95 percent of the two million voters were firmly for the constitution. They were those who picked the white paper, indicating 'yes'. 12 percent voted 'no', while 16 percent rejected the 70 year age limit for presidential candidates.

As expected the outcome of the referendum was a bitter pill for the old political horses to swallow. Former president Emily Zinzou, for instance, speaking on Benin Radio

shortly after the initial results came in, said he was "somewhat surprised by the overwhelming yes vote". But as "a democrat", he would abide by it, hoping that "the exercise was not rigged somewhere along the line". A presidential front runner, apparently unaffected by the age limit, however, said that he was satisfied with the result. All the same, he wanted something done about the

"controversial age limit."

Benin Republic, once Dahomey, is one of the dozen or so francophone West African countries to emerge from colonialism in 1960 under one-party national governments. It has a tradition of political turbulence, witnessing more than half a dozen military take-over attempts in the 30 years of its independent existence. Two of them were successful, one against the first president Hubert Merga in 1968 and Emily Zinzou in 1972. Under Kerekou's 18-year rule as "grand commander of the struggle", the country has had the most prolonged hiccups of economic and political crisis.

In early 1989 the country's work force and students felt it was time to let their pent-up anger bubble to the surface. There were street demonstrations and strikes for many months, protests which an arrogant Kerekou dismissed as a "storm in a tea cup." But it was already too late for him to save the neck of his government by the time he realised that he was indeed, running against a formidable current of opposition.

By February 1990, the president had lost his political nerves and let himself go along with the current. On February 25, a 493-strong national conference voted overwhelmingly for multi-party rule. President Kerekou lost most of his powers to an interim prime minister, Nicephore Soglo. The conference also set up a committee which worked out the draft constitution which was approved in last Sunday's referendum. That "yes" vote has cleared the way for general elections for the presidency and national assembly in April 1991.

By Tawey Zalka.



President Kerekou: of Benin Republic

## Zambia:

## The beat goes on

President Kaunda is threatening to deal with civil servants he accused of corruption, a ploy to cancel the forthcoming elections.

There are indications that Zambians, come next year might not realise their dreams of going to the polls in the first ever organised multi-party elections in 17 years. This follows the tough threat by President Kenneth Kaunda to dismiss some civil servants whom he accused of taking bribes and encouraging the movement for multi-party democracy.

The president who issued the threat at the swearing in of his new foreign minister, General Benjamin Mibenge, said he had evidence to prove that the movement, actually a mix of pro-democracy coalition, had bribed and infiltrated the army, prison, airforce and arms of the civil services. He threatened to dismiss any civil servant seen wearing the MMD T-shirts, needlessly adding that the sole party, the United National Independence Party, (UNIP), since 1973 was still in power.

"I am irked by this malpractice and what I am seeing is terrifying. I will now get tougher," he declared.

Although the president did not show any proof of his allegation, the threat itself was a cause for concern that so many people were beginning to question the government's pledge to introduce multi-party democracy after all.

Only last month the Prime Minister, General Malimba Masheka introduced to parliament a constitutional amendment to legalise opposition groups in the country. The bill when passed would repeal and replace Article 4 which made the United National Independence Party, (UNIP), the sole party and prohibited the formation of opposition political parties. Government said there would be no limit to the number of opposition parties.

The move to liberalise party system did not come as a surprise. There was political unrest in this land —locked



Kenneth Kaunda: planning to stay on "forever"?

country early in the year when students took to the streets protesting the rising cost of the main staple —maize. The riot which quickly spread was soon transformed into mass protests for the abolition of one party rule. There was a coup attempt on Saturday 30 June when a lieutenant Mwamba Luchember of the Zambian Army signals corps took over the national radio station. In his broadcast during the short lived coup broadcast, he called for an end to one-man rule. He was however easily dislodged by loyal forces but while it lasted, many Zambian youths and workers poured into the streets to celebrate.

Kaunda played the crisis down and dismissed the rioters and advocates of multi-party system as enemies of the country. He had argued that multipartism would return the country to the tribal politics which the single party system had already put in check.

In May at an extra-ordinary session of the UNIP national council at the Mulungushi conference Hall in Lusaka, the president urged the council to reject multipartism. The council gave him a resounding applause.

But in a dramatic move that stunned his party supporters, the president

changed gear and approved the introduction of multi-party system and fixed general elections for next year. The national referendum slated for October and later shifted to next August was cancelled in the light of the new development.

If the president felt the concession would placate the opposition groups, he was mistaken. The National Interim Committee for the Re-introduction of a multi-party system through its chairman Verno Mwaanga assured his supporters that despite the president's move to forestall further agitation for political reforms, the committee would carry on with its business until its demands were met.

But Kaunda was not about to give up his presidency in spite of the bill in putting an end to the UNIP monopoly of power. He assured his supporters that he was prepared to lead UNIP in an election against any party or parties.

If he does, the outcome of the election might not be different from what had obtained in Gabon and Cote d'Ivoire where Omar Bongo and the octogenarian Felix Houphouet Boigny respectively unable to grapple with rebellion gave way to multi-party democracy.

Analysts believe that except Kenneth Kaunda possessed more information on the activities of the opposition parties than he was prepared to give, it is difficult to understand his present evocation. The truth might lie in the fact that president Kenneth Kaunda like many other African leaders who may have over-stayed their welcome are yet to be persuaded to share nor relinquish power. They might tolerate opposition by giving a little ground, but are certainly not prepared to preside over their own political liquidation. To them therefore, the beat must go on.

By Abu K. Momoh

## Germany: Vote of thanks

**Chancellor Helmut Kohl receives his reward for spearheading German reunification.**

**H**err Helmut Kohl, Kanzler, Bundesrepublik Deutschland, was exultant with joy early last week. In the first all-German elections since 1933, after which came Nazism, world war and partition, Mr. Kohl's centre-right Christian Democratic Party and its Bavarian ally, the Christian Social Union, together secured 43.8% of the vote and 319 seats in the Bundestag, much more than the 239 seats captured by their main rival, the centre-left Social Democratic Party. In addition, the free Democratic Party, secured 11% of the votes and 79 seats in the Bundestag.

The victory was a German vote of thanks for Herr Kohl, chancellor of the former West Germany since 1982, when he rose to power at the head of a centre-right coalition after the Free Democrats led by foreign Minister Herr Genscher, bolted from their previous alliance with the Social Democrats. The coalition won elections in 1983 and again in 1987. Herr Kohl's chances of winning a third consecutive

general election with the collapse of East German communism. The two Germany's reunited on October 3, and the sweet event assured his victory in last week's elections.

Chancellor Kohl set out soon after the results were announced to negotiate a new alliance treaty with the leaders of his coalition partners, foreign Minister Hans Dietrich - Genscher of the Free Democrats and Finance Minister Theo Waigel of the Christian Social Union. There were already fears that this task would be more difficult than German unity talks. The Free Democrats, who in 1988 barely secured the 5% of the votes needed to enter the Bundestag, have grown more popular since then, securing 9% of the vote in 1987 and 11% last week. Herr Genscher was expected to ask for more cabinet posts for his party; he was also expected to press his party's scheme for lower taxes in the former East Germany, something Chancellor Kohl opposes.

Licking its wounds last week was the main opposition Social Democratic Party. Until reunification politics intervened, the SPD was hoping to return to federal power for the first time since 1982, when the free Democrat's defection brought down the coalition government then headed by SPD leader Helmut Schmit. Not only did the SPD lose, but they recorded their worst defeat since 1957, losing much ground in their traditional strongholds, the large cities of Bremen, Hamburg and Berlin and the industrial Ruhr region. In the wake of the

defeat, SPD leader Oskar Lafontaine, who is also premier of the Saarland, said he will need time to "consider" the party's offer to contest, next may, for the post of party chairman, presently held by former chancellor Willy Brandt.

One of the most notable results of last week's election was the defeat of the once robust Greens Party. Put together just before the 1979 West German general elections by the fire brand ecologist and anti-nuclear activist Patricia Kelly, the Greens mustered the 5% of the votes needed to squeak into the Bundestag. In 1987, the party polled 8.3% of the votes, but this year it dropped under 5% and out of parliament. Part of the problem was the incorporation of a substantial party of the Greens' environmentalist agenda into the manifesto of the SPD. Party spokesman Christian Stroebel explained last week that "we fell under the wheels of German unification. The many historic days of the past year pushed other social and ecological issues to the background." Two Green MP's were however elected among the 6 winners of the Alliance '90, the coalition that helped to bring down East German communism.

Staring down at them in the Bundestag will be 17 MP's of the Democratic Party, the transformed Socialist Unity Party that once ruled East Germany. The former communists still have a good organisation in the east and forged alliances with several left-wing groups in the west. They now represent, in the Bundestag, the farthest left fringe of German politics. But much further to the right is chancellor Helmut Kohl, who will now have to begin to pay the many debts arising from German reunification.

By Mahmud Jega-



The greater German chancellor Helmut Kohl.

## Bangladesh:

## The fall of a dictator

His easy capitulation surprised many outside observers of Bangladeshi politics.

President Ershad in a terse announcement on Tuesday December 4 said he was stepping down for an opposition — appointed Vice — President to run the country until elections are held in the next three months. The news sent a million Bangladeshis, traumatised by eight years of the reign of terror, in to an restrained jubilation on the streets of Dhaka, the capital and other major cities. People exploded crackers, laughed and talked but as the day wore on, opposition supporters began attacking government targets and setting a number of homes on fire.

'Set on fire! set on fire!' a slogan in Bengalese rang out everywhere. The fall of the dictator followed what easily was the most persistent anti govern-

ment protest in the eight years of President Ershad's rule. Even many Bangladeshis though aware that the opposition this time around was much more united, expected president Ershad to reach for his 'antics hat', as he had always and come out with 'compromise suggestions'. But they never bargained for his resignation.

Observers believed that Ershad's machinery of repression, the army, left him out in the cold. Five years of martial law and a state of emergency on two occasions, the latest being the one declared November 17 this year, which saw the armed forces being used to kill and maim hundreds of thousands of their compatriots, have taught the leaders a lesson in how not to push one's luck too far. This time the army has had it; it has become much

long? Thirdly, will the army allow the interim government to survive the three months it has to organise general elections, and fourthly, will it permit true democracy in Bangladesh at all?

The looting and violence of the first day of President Ershad's resignation created an immediate worry that the country might slide into anarchy. This fear arose from people's experience under the coercive rule of Ershad and a woefully divided opposition. Until last Tuesday, Ershad provided the one symbol of unity among the various opposition groups, the Awami League, BNP and Jamul Islam, mainly. His resignation has removed that unifying symbol and it is feared that the centre may have already begun to fall apart and "a lot of differences will (now) begin to emerge among the parties." As for the army, it is the hope of all Bangladesh that they will go back to the barracks and "remain fairly neutral" for the elections in the new year to go ahead.

For now, the interim government of prime minister Ahmed has a lot of reconstruction work to do. Bangladesh which seceded from Pakistan only in 1971 as an independent nation after a bitter liberation war, is a small country but with a very big population of over 100 million; 85 percent of this live below the absolute poverty level. Poverty, illiteracy and general underdevelopment have combined to reduce the country's life expectancy to only 51 years.

Once an agriculturally productive economy, supported by the fertile delta of the Ganges River, constant exploitation, particularly in the period of colonialism and war of liberation has depleted the country's agricultural resources. Independence was followed by a succession of coups ending with that of President Ershad in 1982. Political turbulence thus has denied it the "continuity and stability" it needed for development.

By Tawey Zakka.

**For a leader, who had in the past eight years used the armed forces to effectively neutralise the opposition, his easy capitulation no doubt would have come as suprise to many outside observers of Bangladeshi politics.**

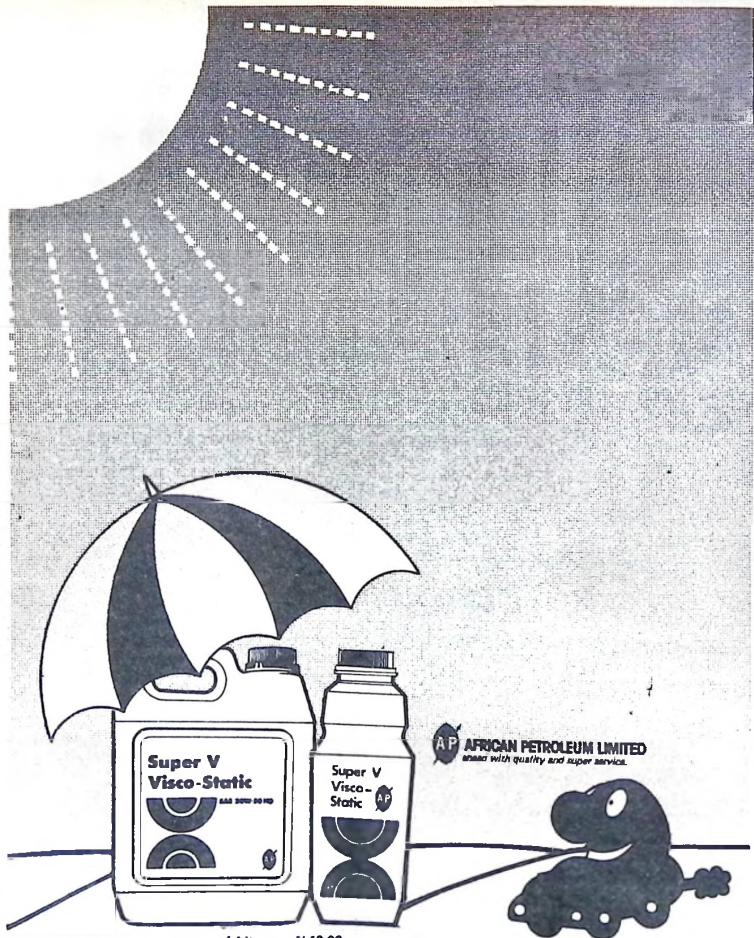
ment protest in the eight years of President Ershad's rule.

The opposition mainly the Awami League and the Bangladesh Nationalist Party, took in Saul Bellows novels. They seized the day and promptly appointed a high court judge, Mr Shabuddin Ahmed, vice president. He is described as a 'non partisan person, some one not directly connected to any of the political parties but who is equally acceptable to most of them'.

For a leader, who had in the past eight years used the armed forces to effectively neutralise the opposition, his easy capitulation no doubt would have come as suprise to many outside observers of Bangladeshi politics.

more independant of the political leadership, having developed its own corporate identity. Made up of younger professionalists, the armed forces 'have become more cautious than they were previously', one commentator said. Not suprisingly, the security forces which since November 17 had killed over 70 people, last tuesday December 4 made little effort to confront demonstrators.

The departure of Ershad from the arena does raise a number of significant questions. Firstly, will the opposition be able to control its teeming supporters tasting for blood? Secondly, can it hold together and for how



4 Litres — ₦40.00  
1 Litre — ₦11.00 Ex Lagos.

Super V — the multi grade 20W — 50 viscosity, high quality lubricant that gives your engine the best protection ever.

Super V is specifically blended to meet the latest petrol engine specifications in lubrication technology.

Which is why your cars and heavy duty commercial vehicles can cope with the severe stress of:

- Long distance, high speed, high temperature motoring
- Go-slow, short-trip operation
- Stop-and-start, taxi-type driving

For lower oil consumption and sound performance get the best protection for your engines with Super V.

**SUPER V — NEVER TOO THIN  
— NEVER TOO THICK**

**Best protection under the sun**





KABIRU YUSUF

## Across the Bridge

**A**bdullahi Yelwa is from Sokoto state. He lives in Enugu, where he edits a newspaper called *New Outlook*. Last time I visited him at home he had a wrapper on down from his waist, as is the custom in the East. He is built like a successful Igbo trader. He also dresses like one, in well-starched designer Kaftans with no capson. At least once I have heard him say in a general conversation, "We East-erners.....". Between the two of us he told me that other Nigerians should consider it a privilege to live in the same country as the Igbos. He mentioned so many examples of how their enterprise and energy is transforming their part of the country faster than all others but I remembered only one.

When Chief Ugochukwu secured an agreement with some foreign technical partners to establish a foam factory in Nigerian, he chose the bush around his village Umunze as the site. From that humble beginning, the industry developed to churn out "Ugo Foam" mattresses and pillows which are now marketed all over Nigerian. As for the village itself it has been turned into some sort of Industrial backwater, where the youth (as often, the women and children) don't have to go far in search of employment - they just cross the yam farms to "Ugo foam factory". This is one of the early examples of indigenising tech-

nology in Eastern Nigeria, but there have since been many others.

One does not have to live there to sense the great strides being made. In the one hour drive between Owerri and Onitsha a few weeks ago, I counted several large towns: Oguta, Mgbidi, Ilu, Ihiala. Unlike Enugu, Aba, Owerri and Onitsha, these are not well-

**Another one at Onitsha beckons the hapless traveller to "Stockholm Clinic and Lab: syphilis and Gonorrhoea Treatment centre." Onitsha is indeed one vast market, where for a fee a "dentist" can pull out your teeth by the roadside.**

known, but each of them, and especially scenic Ihiala, is as large as several African capital cities I can mention. They are urban centres, with modern concrete homes, community schools, markets, hospitals and maternity homes (these in their dozens). At Awo Amama, in Oru local government, there is even an imposing "Hilton hotel"!

It seems that every minute huge

"TARZAN" type buses are thundering between Owerri and Onitsha. No part of Nigeria has such developed transportation. Not surprising that in every village along the way there are filling stations. Again unlike in other parts of Nigeria where these are manned by young men, here your service attendants are light-skinned girls with permed hair. The boys are in the buses, the tarzans on the prowl going to all parts of Nigeria (and the world) searching for fortune.

There are huge bill boards every where. One at Okija draws your attention to the "Okija Group of Companies". Another further up the road, carried the legend, "Iju Industries - a member of Garbs Organisation". Another one at Onitsha beckons the hapless traveller to "Stockholm Clinic and Lab: syphilis and Gonorrhoea Treatment centre." Onitsha is indeed one vast market, where for a fee a "dentist" can pull out your teeth by the roadside!

Last week as I was crossing the great Niger bridge between Asaba and Onitsha, I remembered a newspaper report that said the bridge was in the danger of collapsing. Something to do with poor maintenance. I trust that Works Minister Mammam Kontagora would have his men on that promptly and if necessary do something about it. For across the bridge is a vital part of Nigeria. We cannot afford to be cut off from it even for a few days.

**UNICARD**  
Bank of Nigeria Limited  
CHEQUE GUARANTEE CARD

**UNICARD**  
Bank of Nigeria Limited  
CHEQUE GUARANTEE CARD

**UNICARD**  
Union Bank of Nigeria Limited  
CHEQUE GUARANTEE CARD

Name of Holder

This is a cheque guarantee card. This card may be used only by the person in whose name issued and is subject to the normal Cheque-guarantee conditions of use. This card remains the property of the Bank and if found should be returned to Union Bank of Nigeria Head Office, 40 Marous, Lagos.

Bank Authorised Signature

# Go for **UNICARD** the Ace of cards

Your Big, Strong and Reliable Union Bank introduces Unicard for swift and efficient Banking services.

With card limits of ₦100, ₦250 & ₦500 you can cash your cheque instantly at any of our branches nationwide.

No reference. No delays.

Contact any of our branches for details.

**UNION BANK ... Big, Strong, Reliable.**

Head Office: 40 Marous, P.M. Road, Lagos  
Telephone: 653439, 653441, 652642  
Telex: UNIBANK, TOLA 21322



**UNION BANK**

UNION BANK OF NIGERIA LIMITED

# Citizen

## SOCIETY

	Page
CITIZENSHIP	38
DEFINITIONS IN HUMOUR	39
PRIVATE EYE	40
RECIPE CORNER	41
POETS' NEST	42
GUIDE—LINE	43
BUSINESS AND ECONOMY	44
MEDIA WATCH	47
SPORTS	48



Empty Cylinders everywhere. Page 44

# Citizenship

by Dokun Abloyo

...AND WHAT, IF I MAY ASK  
ARE YOU DOING HERE?



...LOOK, FELLOW CITIZENS, IF YOU'RE IMMIGRANTS, YOU'D  
BETTER MOVE ON, BECAUSE WE ARE BUSY INSIDE.  
...VERY BUSY AND NOBODY IS ALLOWED TO HANG OR  
LOAF AROUND HERE!... IN FACT IT IS A CRIME!

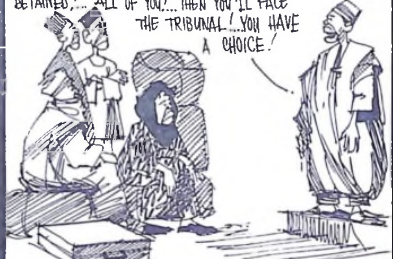
...TRYING TO INFLUENCE US  
UNDULY!...



...AND IF YOU ARE CONVERTED, YOU WILL ALL  
END UP IN JAIL!... ALL OF YOU!... OR YOU'LL BE  
MADE TO PAY A HEAVY FINE! **WILL YOU  
NOW LEAVE?!**



...YOU HAVE BEEN WARNED!... AND IF YOU DO NOT  
PACK YOUR LOADS AND MOVE AWAY YOU'LL BE  
DETAINED!... ALL OF YOU!... THEN YOU'LL FACE  
THE TRIBUNAL!... YOU HAVE  
A CHOICE!



**NO WE DON'T  
HAVE A  
CHOICE!...**

...WE PREFER TO BE DETAINED  
HERE FOR  
A FEW DAYS!



...YOU WANT TO  
LOSE THE COMFORT  
OF YOUR HOMES TO  
THE COLD STEEL OF THE  
PRISON CELLS?!



**WE'VE LOST IT ALREADY!...  
...WE DID NOT VOTE FOR  
OUR LANDLORD!**



Dokun Abloyo, 1984

ADAMU ADAMU S

DEFINITIONS  
IN HUMOUR

## Healthy Ignorance

Scene: Columbia University, New York.

**W**e were all seated discussing techniques. Very nice class. As usual, by the end, it was

all personal. "Ademu", that's how my professor called me. "Ademu, tell me what strikes you most about Americans" she said.

"Their ignorance, madam, their utter ignorance — about everything," I answered.

"Yes, yes," she nodded assent.

A girl in the class volunteered that she never really knew that New York (or is it *Knew York?*) was an island — until she came to Columbia, that is. Healthy ignorance, you'll say; or unhealthy knowledge. Between the two they must make their choice. More often than yes, it is going to be the wrong one.

Take the case of fundamentalism for instance. Today everyone who believes that religion ought to have relevance anywhere out of the place of worship becomes a candidate. Especially if such relevance entails the attainment of revolutionary freedom. I doubt if anyone addressed as a fundamentalist is troubled in the least by the nomenclature. That, however, is beside the point. The issue is that it is utterly wrong — etymologically and historically. Indeed the attitude of those called fundamentalists is the exact opposite of what the ordinary meaning of the word fundamentalism suggests.

**FUNDAMENTALIST** *Fund-a-mental-ist*. Looks like someone who pays for the upkeep of a mental institution. And those who call him so are those in it.

**FANATIC** — *Fan* in the *attic*. Brought

down to earth, he is one who believes in what you don't.

**TERRORIST** — *Terror-wrist*. Holding terror by the wrist. Swing it in the direction of western interests and you become a freedom fighter. Against the western

interests and they call you a terrorist.

## Coup-wait

The other time we said (and agreed?) that the major problem with John Major was that he was the major problem. A fortnight ago, Doug Hurd and Mike Haseltine grappled with the problem ever so furiously — to no avail. Unable to solve it, the two warriors succumbed. And so now, here's John, an outsider with only 11 years experience of the inside stuff. And yet he's already king. All initial problems have been solved. And, now the dreadful twins — Europe and the Middle East. The devil in Europe or the deep blue sea of the Middle East? Will John besmitten or will he drown? Well, whatever happens we know the African sun will not be part of his problem since he knows its heat and tanning effect well enough.

Talking of the Middle East reminds me of Saddam. Of course, who else? He seems to be getting many visitors nowadays. Mohammed Ali and Tony Benn (someone was not sure whether it was *Tony Kinnock* or *Niel Benn*) called and negotiated the release of fellow countrymen. Easy. Doesn't it look sensible then for the West to send as many emissaries as will gain the release of all of Saddam's prisoners? And then descend on Baghdad? And the way begun? Oh! But is war on the agenda? Meanwhile, the foreign ministers of Iraq and the US will go, meet and decide how best to kill each other? The war begins January 15. And I think it will end January 14! And suddenly Saddam decided to release them all. Ha! ha!! It was all a big laugh.

Meanwhile, Libyan strongman the irrepressible and irreverent Mu'ammar Abu Miniyar al-Qaddafi has offered to host a summit between Fahd

of Saudi Arabia (you already know who's king) and Saddam of Kuwait (or is it Iraq?). Fahd (an intelligent wit recently rendered his name as *Fahard*; perhaps far too hard to soften up on the issue) refused. He should. I thought the issue was between Saddam and Sabah. Or has Kuwait already been written off by everybody? I guess the Emir should submit an application to the Foreign Office in London for his pension and gratuity. It would be too bad if he should lose both kingdom and purse.

**PENSION** — *Pay for tension* suffered **GRATUITY** — *Gratitude* for services rendered.

**KUWAIT** — *Coup-wait*. Any potential coupist now will have to wait — for ever. A dictator's already in place, and he's not budging for no coup maker.

## Certificate:

How much is your certificate worth? Let's see.

**WASC** — Wrecked African School Certificate. Another acronym — **LASC**, *Leaked African School Certificate*. **T.C. II** — (Grade Two) Traders Certificate.

**O.N.D.** — Ordinary Native Doctor. **H.N.D.** — Higher Native Doctor. **B.Sc.** — *Bigger School Certificate*. Or *Begger School Certificate*.

**LLB** — Learned Liars' Battalion. **LLM** — Master of Liar and Lying. **LLD** — Doctor of Learned Liars. **MBBS** — Member, Brotherhood of Big-time Swindlers.

## Random Associations

**ACL** — Association of Criminal Lawyers.

**WHO** — Witchdoctors, Homicide Organisation.

**MRCP** — Member, Royal College of Psychiatric (patients)

**NMA** — Nigerian Medical Ailment.

**NLC** — Nigerian Labouring Congress.

**CLO** — Civil Liberties Obliterator.

**ARA** — Association of Random Associations.

**ACA** — Association of Crooked Accountants

**ANAN** — Association of New Amateur Accountants.

**NIB** — Nigerian Institute of Bankruptcy.

# CHADOMOG?

A great admirer of military history and men in uniform, I was somewhat devastated when news emerged that Hissen Habre's forces had collapsed in just two weeks of fighting with the man taking an undignified flight.

All these despised the tested veteran status of Habre and his men of steel, the numerous trainings and subsidies they received from France, America and the dreaded Mossad at a base in Zaire. But then one remembered the time-honoured dictum that those who live by the sword....

I was about to protest the sudden exit of Habre when two things came to mind which immediately made me relax. First, the man himself said that he who fights and runs away..... and then the fact that Chad is Nigeria's immediate neighbour.

For these two reasons, but especially the latter, one had expected a regional force complete with a Lt-General Quainoo as the head and a major general from among the vociferous few who insist that they are not on anybody's reserve list, as a field com-

mander leading a pack reflecting the burgeoning fitness of Nigeria's new army mounting a lightning and blistering attack on Idris whatshisname, in Ndjamena.

You see, when General Babangida huffily launched his attack against those miserable, two-faced critics of Nigeria's attack on Liberia, whoops, leading role, I applauded. As he deftly defended Nigeria's cause, one but had to admire the new sense of mission pervading the air.

He said that Nigeria could not afford to sit on the fence and allow a bunch of self-styled revolutionaries and nationalists decapitate the population of Liberia because of a mere, sophisticated argument of sovereignty.

The General said Liberia fell within the concentric circles of Nigeria's foreign and defence policy which has it that any threat or disaster which looked likely to compromise the circles would attract a prompt and decisive response! Consequently, and within this policy, Nigeria would prevent any crisis(e) that threatened to jeopardise or compromise the stability



and security of the West African region! Give'am, Baba!

All those bleeding hearts. If they had any doubts about our capability to act decisively, in Babangida, they have a man who, unlike his soft-hearted predecessors, is prepared to take the bull by the horns. Those predecessors who couldn't even take on miserable Cameroun or some half-starved gendarmaries in canoes from Chad!

My thinking is that, more than anywhere else, Chad falls within this concentric circles. We shall therefore open a second front, and like Hitler, conquer West Africa! So, CHADOMOG here we come!

## The Barons

Act 1 - Scene 2

Baron Maisaje. Thank you Nakwara for volunteering the information that the senior military officers saved us from the gallows. Were they being really considerate and humane to us or was it a matter of self-interest? You know must of the top military brass were our friends and some of the so-called wrongs we committed we did together. I wish I could mention names!

Baron Maidaauri. Stop it! We must put a *Linzami* (gag) on your loose tongue or else we will find ourselves in great palaver. Don't you know that the Big Brother is watching us and the NSO (National Security Organisation) are here with us, some feigning to be prisoners like ourselves. Every word we utter is transmitted to the powers

that be.

Baron Nakwara. Yes we know they are all over the place. But what can they do? The security boys, the prison Warders and other government agents have been compromised. If not how is it that we live in comfort; delicious dishes, soft drinks, wines and hot spirits are brought into the prison for our enjoyment. Do you know that some Barons were allowed to visit their wives or girlfriends. Such prisoners are dressed in Warder's uniforms and taken out at night only to be brought back in the early hours of the morning.

Baron Maitumbi — Ha ha! Baron Nakwara, the money - bag who uses his wealth to achieve anything he wants! He has lots and lots of money and spending it is his only problem. I wish my *tumbi* (stomach) contains even a fraction of money Nakwara has. The epithet Maitumbin Kudi does not

really fit, me I ought to have been contented with my real name Baron Nafombina instead of being addressed Maitumbin Kudi.

Baron Nagogo — You know, we invented that acronym for you to help win the gubernatorial election in your state. The title had a psychological effect on our opponents who were given the impression that our great party had millions of naira to dish out to the electorates. The trick worked; you became governor, albeit for three months only.

Baron Maiyasin. It is time for *Isha* prayers and after that the unity talk should proceed as agreed at last night's session.

Baron Maidaauri — Have we taken care of the security boys, the Warders especially the latter who act as our couriers to our comrades in the other prisons.

# A mixed grill

## LANSUR SALAD

### Nigeria

Ingredients	Metric
Lansur, (parsley-like vegetable which tastes like cress)	450g
Kuli-kuli, pounded	450g
Red sweet pepper	1
Green sweet pepper	1
Small Onion	1
Chilli powder	1/2 tsp
Mixed spice	1 tsp
Salt to taste	
Kuli-kuli	
Roasted groundnuts	1kg
Warm water	100 ml

Groundnut oil to fry

Grind cleaned groundnuts; knead the resulting paste thoroughly to extract all the oil, working in the warm water by degrees to help the process. When as much oil as possible has been squeezed out, shape the paste into small flat cakes and deep fry in the extracted oil. If there is not enough add more groundnut oil.

Wash, drain and finely chop the lansur and put it in a mixing bowl. Thinly slice the onion and peppers, discarding the seeds. Add all the ingredients to the lansur and mix well. Serve immediately.

## IKOKORE

### Nigeria

Ingredients	Metric
Water-yam	1 kg
Tomato purée	2 tbsps
Medium onion, ground	1
Ground fresh peppers or chilli powder	2 tsp
Ogiri or locustbean	1/2 tsp
or meat/chicken stock cube	1
Palmnut oil	100 ml
Smoked dry fish	450 g
Salt to taste	450g

Peel yam, wash and grate. Leave grated yam in a bowl. In a deep cooking pot, combine all the other ingredients except the fish and simmer with 1/2 pint/250 ml/one quarter cups of water for one hour.

Wash the fish well and break into a

dish, taking out as many of the bones as possible. Add the fish to the soup. Then using your hand, whisk (mix) the grated yam, add a dash of salt. If yam is too watery, stir in a little wheat flour. Now take a small scoop at a time with the hand and drop it into the soup making dumplings in this way until the grated yam is used up. Reduce the heat, cover the pot and simmer gently for about 30-40 minutes or until yam is cooked. Serve warm.

## BIRABISKO DA TAUSHE

### Nigeria

Ingredients	Metric
Polished gero (millet), coarsely crushed	450g
Brisket of beef	1 kg
Large Onion	1
Yalwa greens	450g
Pumpkin	675g
Rau groundnuts puréed	225g
Tomatoes	1kg
Chilli powder	1 tsp
Daddawa (locust bean)	50g
Cooking oil	4 tbsps
Salt to taste	
Butter	450g

Put butter in a small earthenware pot with a pinch of salt and a slice of onion. Simmer over a very low fire until the oil is clear and onion slices are golden brown. Take off heat and allow to cool on one side.

Meanwhile prepare taushe soup. Chop brisket and combine meat, tomatoes, salt, pepper, onion and other seasoning and cooking oil in a heavy pan with 16 fl. oz./400 ml/2 cups of water. Cook for 30 minutes. Add the pumpkin and cook for a further 20 minutes. Add the groundnuts and chopped greens, reduce the heat and cook for 20 minutes more.

In a deep pot, boil 2 pints of water, stir in the crushed millet grains quickly. Cover pot and allow to simmer over a very low fire until water has been absorbed and millet is cooked and soft. Serve hot with taushe soup dressed with spoonfuls of butter.



## CASSAVA NA CALABAR

### Nigeria

Ingredients	Metric
Fresh cassava	1kg
Salted smoked herrings	1kg

Peel the cassava, cut into pieces, wash well, put in a saucepan and cover with water. Cover pot and cook on medium fire until half-cooked. Reduce the water, and arrange cutlets of salted herrings on top of the cassava. Cover pot and simmer until cassava is well cooked and soft. It will have absorbed some of the salt from the herrings. Serve hot with butter.

## MASA

### Nigeria

Ingredients	Metric
Ground corn meal flour or a mixture of ground rice and flour sifted with 4 tsp baking powder	450g

Oil to fry	200ml
Sugar	1 tbsps
Dry yeast	1 tsp
Warm milky water	150 ml

Dissolve sugar in the warm milky water in a mixing bowl. Mix the yeast into the water and cover bowl. Allow to stand until mixture becomes frothy. Mix in the corn meal flour and leave for about 30 minutes to rise. Mix well into a about slightly dropping consistency. Using a very small frying pan, heat a tablespoon of oil, just enough to cover the base of pan. Fry a spoonful of the mixture at a time. Halfway through cooking, turn masa to fry the other side. Fry on low heat to allow masa to cook without burning. Continue the process until the mixture is used up. Serve masa hot with wild honey or vegetable (taushe soup).

## GUIDE — LINE

## The Dumbest Person In The World

How dumb?  
Very dumb.  
It's the  
American  
who knocks  
what he's got.  
Here's what  
he's got:  
A country of  
unbounded beauty.  
Almost unlimited  
natural resources.  
A judicial system  
that is the envy  
of the rest of  
the world.  
Food so plentiful  
overeating is a  
major problem.  
A press  
nobody can dominate.  
A ballot box  
nobody can stuff.  
Churches of your choice.  
One hundred million jobs.  
Freedom to go anywhere  
you want, with the  
planes, cars and highways  
to get you there.  
Social Security.  
Medicare.  
Unemployment insurance.  
Public schools and  
plentiful scholarships.  
Opportunity to become a  
millionaire.  
O.K., Complainer,  
what's your  
second  
choice?  
Go.

## Cooking Gas:

## Scarcity in the midst of plenty

It is a classic case of living by the bank of the River Niger and washing one's hand with spittle.

Nigeria may be one of the world's leading producers of petroleum and natural gas but her citizens are complaining that they can not get enough cooking gas with which to cook their food. In most parts of Lagos last week, people were seen roaming from one filling station to another in search of the elusive commodity. And except for a lucky few, the result was always the same: out of stock.

Mr Badmus Ete, a marketing Officer with the Lagos office of Agip, a petroleum and gas marketing outfit blames the Nigeria National Petroleum Company (NNPC) for the current scarcity of cooking gas. "Last month, the NNPC unilaterally decided to review the policy on petroleum marketing, including liquefied petroleum gas. The present scarcity is the direct consequence of this." According to Ete, the distribution of cooking gas is a network

affair, and following NNPC's last month decision to reduce the volume allocated to marketers, there was no longer enough to go round. "The problem is that our own supply from NNPC has been reduced," explained Mr Badmus Ete, "and so we have also cut down supplies to retailers to make sure that there is a fair and even distribution".

When *Citizen* called at the Total Gas Depot at Ijora in Central Lagos last week, the queue of prospective cooking gas buyers stretched as far as the Highway about two hundred metres away. Said a thoroughly frustrated Abidesanmi Binusawa, the depot's marketing manager, "NNPC has slashed its supply of cooking gas to us by 30%. We thus have to ration the little we have so that it can at least last a little longer". According to Mr Binusawa, NNPC had signed a contract with several western countries including the United States and Australia to supply them with petroleum products including cooking gas. Since NNPC can not immediately expand production, it has had to delve into the quota meant for the local market to fulfill its commitment with its external partners. Binusawa told *Citizen* that this is the genesis of the current scarcity.

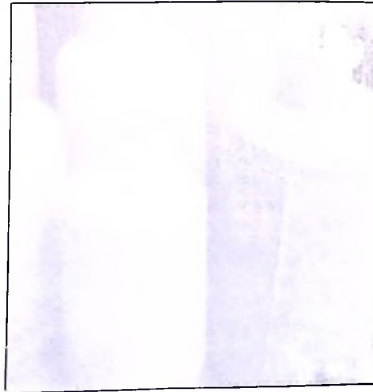
The Problem of production aside, other cooking gas marketers also complain that NNPC's distribution machinery is no longer as efficient as it used to

be. They point out that the shipping vessels which the NNPC uses to convey cooking gas from Port-Harcourt to Lagos break down regularly and this has led to disruption in supplies, especially in the Lagos area.

The two NNPC vessels, "Crystal Victory" and "Crystal Success" which convey LPG from Port-Harcourt to Lagos weekly have a joint capacity of 1,200 metric tonnes of gas. "Crystal Victory" however broke down last September with the result that the quantity of gas that normally comes to Lagos experienced a shortfall. Mr Femi Audu, manager Liquefied Petroleum Gas of the National Oil and Chemical Marketing Company Limited also pointed out that the fluid catalytic crusher units at Warri and Kaduna refineries which are responsible for processing cooking gas are faulty leaving only the Port-Harcourt refinery to supply the product.

NNPC officials have however washed their hands off the entire affair and stoutly maintain that the problem of cooking gas scarcity should be placed on the doorstep of gas marketers. Mr Agbah Edoreh, NNPC's Assistant chief Public Affairs Officer told *Citizen* last week that the scarcity of cooking gas in some parts of the country is solely the handiwork of gas marketers. Explained Edoreh, "the prevailing inflation in the price of cooking gas is caused by gas marketers. Instead of distributing the gas to designated filling stations they allocate them to small-time dealers who then decide to sell the stuff at any price they like".

NNPC officials also allege that small-scale gas marketers have



Empty Cylinders everywhere

## BUSINESS AND ECONOMY

formed themselves into an association whose sole aim is to create artificial scarcity and thus encourage the sky-rocketing of cooking gas. They maintain that while the official price of a 12.5Kg gas cylinder is still pegged at N10, most small-scale dealers sell same for N25 or even more. While NNPC is a bulk distributor, its area of operation is so vast that logistic and distribution problems crop up from time to time. When this happens, unscrupulous gas marketers cash in on the ensuing scarcity and hoard the commodity, thereby creating artificial scarcity. Said NNPC's Edoreh, "NNPC is a bulk distributor and it can not easily police these oil marketers. It is only the inspectorate division under the Ministry of Petroleum Resources that can monitor these marketing companies". NNPC Officials also deny the charge that the domestic gas-processing units at the Warri and Kaduna refineries have broken down. "There is no grain of truth in the rumour," said a top NNPC official. "The three refineries have been functioning smoothly and the corporation has been supplying gas through them".

While NNPC and the gas marketers are busy throwing verbal bricks at each other, cooking gas consumers have been at the receiving end of it all. Mr Abdulazeez Bolaji, a purchasing manager with SCOA Limited would for instance, not want to be bothered with who is to blame—NNPC or the gas marketers. "I am a very busy man, and my schedule of duties is such that I can not afford to waste time hunting for gas all over Lagos. Government should step in and do something urgent about the scarcity of cooking gas".

Another consumer, Mrs Yesufu Alli is apprehensive that the escalating price of cooking gas would eventually force her to resort to cooking with a kerosine stove. "My family is very large and we consume about three cylinders of 12.5Kg every month. With the way things are going now, I will probably end up spending about two hundred



Petroleum Minister Jibril Aminu

naira monthly on gas alone—that is when you find it to buy." The problem of inflated prices aside, Mrs Yesufu would also want NNPC to standardise gas cylinders. Complained Mrs Yesufu: even when you succeed in locating a retail shop where gas is available, the problem of product brand usually crops up. It is either they don't have NNPC brand which I use or that the dealer

ing "new policy initiatives aimed at encouraging private sector participation in the Butanisation programme" Under this programme cooking gas is to be brought closer to consumers through the establishment of depots at strategic locations nationwide. When this scheme comes on steam, domestic cooking gas will become more easily available to consumers. There are how-

### **NNPC officials have however washed their hands off the entire affair and stoutly maintain that the problem of cooking gas scarcity should be placed on the doorstep of gas marketers.**

complains that your empty gas cylinder is too old to be exchanged. NNPC should standardise all gas cylinders currently in use to lessen problems of consumers".

Last week, the Group Managing Director of NNPC, Dr. Thomas John told members of the Liquefied Petroleum Gas, LPG, a trade group of the Lagos Chamber of Commerce and Industry that the NNPC is consider-

ever fears that NNPC will bow to pressures from gas marketers and increase the price of cooking gas. "I can only hope that the rumour is not true" said Miss Judith Owolabi, a hotelier. "If NNPC increases the price of gas, then I will definitely have to close down. My overhead cost are already too high as it is".

By Ike Okonta with  
Nkechi Attah and Samson Ojo

# A Plus for UTC Group

Despite bottle necks UTC is set to apply its scarce resources to diversify

**N**ovember 15th 1990. The National Theatre conference Hall was filled with people, some gaily dressed, others business-like. Ask them if they were there to watch a play or a movie and the answer you will get is no. They are shareholders of UTC Group who wanted the management to render account of how their money was invested for the financial year ended 31st March 1990. That day was the United Trading Company (UTC) annual general meeting.

The group's turnover increased from N346.28 million in 1989 to N517.06 million in 1990. A profit before tax of N25.518 million was also declared. However, only a dividend of 10k per 50k share was declared and this did not please the shareholders. Otunba J.A Dinah and Mr Akintunde Asalu were the most vocal. They were not happy with the 10k dividend which incidentally is the highest the company has paid for the past five years. They wanted to know why UTC pays the lowest dividend compared to other companies, and also why the dividend on Right of Issue was not paid to the shareholders.

Mr Akintunde Asalu asked the board of directors to explain to the shareholders why materials, goods, and services bought in the year ending March 1990 consumed 8% of the UTC's expenditure compared to less than 80% the group spent in 1989. He also wanted to know why borrowing increased from 25% in 1989 to 33% in 1990, and what the management is doing about the issue of irrecoverable debts. He suggested that UTC should employ a company to help recover such debts. Another shareholder, Mr. A. Ogunde also wanted to know what has been done about the Kaduna Department store which was gutted by fire sometime ago.

The chairman of the UTC Group Alhaji Liman Ciroma was able to answer most of the questions raised by the shareholders. On the issue of payment of low dividend, he said that

most of the profit made was used to service interest on loans and debts. With respect to the Group's department store in Kaduna which was gutted by fire in 1989, Alhaji Liman explained that the store has been rebuilt, but on a smaller scale.

According to the chairman, UTC was able to achieve some of its set-out goals because of its strict control of cost, judicious application of its scarce resources and the group's diversification strategy especially in the area of agriculture.

Alhaji Ciroma however acknowledged the existence of a few bottle-necks in the group's efforts towards greater prosperity. These, according to the chairman included the high interest rate regime and the liquidity crunch prevalent in the country.

At the end of his speech, the chairman declared a dividend of 10k per 50k share and this is expected to have been paid since November 26, 1990.

The issue of payment of dividend on Right of Issue was however not re-

solved during the meeting. The chairman also announced the acquisition of majority shares of H.F. Schroeder (W.A.) Ltd. H.F. Schroeder is a leading electrical engineering and manufacturing company in the country.

UTC, a Public Liability Company (PLC), quoted in the Nigeria Stock Exchange started operation in Nigeria in 1932. It is a subsidiary of Union Trading Company Basel, Switzerland.

The company became a limited liability in Nigeria in 1978 when its scope of business expanded beyond trading to industrial ventures. It is 60% owned by Nigerians.

UTC group comprises many companies. UTC foods is a processing factory that prepares quality sausages, meat and food delicacies. Bell is the brand name used in marketing all UTC foods. With the acquisition of Imo farms Ilesha, the problem of meat supply and processing have been solved partially by the company. The company's Farm at Jos produces high quality apple, cereals and vegetables sold in UTC stores all over the country. Other companies in the group are UTC Aluminium, Arewa Metal Container Ltd. (ARMECO), Dorman Long and Amalgamated Engineering Limited (DLAE), UTC Motors and UTC Departmental stores.

At the end of the meeting, Alhaji Liman Ciroma (CFR), Mr A. E. Sarasin and chief G.D. Kunaiyi-Akpanah who were retired from the board of direc-

**The group's turnover increased from N346.28 million in 1989 to N517.06 million in 1990. A profit before tax of N25.518 million was also declared. However, only a dividend of 10k per 50k share was declared and this did not please the shareholders.**

tors according to the company's article of association were re-elected.

Although no gifts were given out at this year's meeting, most of the shareholders were however happy at UTC's performance. The shareholders went home hoping for a better financial year in 1991, which the board of directors promised to achieve.

By Nkechi Attah

18 1000

# The Mail: Second time around

The nation's print media landscape, it would appear, is not "over-saturated" after all.

Last week, *The Mail* and its stable mate *The Sunday Mail* reappeared on the news stands after a two-year absence. The two newspapers, it would be recalled, made their debut in 1986 but had to close shop two years later in 1988 due to "organisational problems".

The new-look mail makes its second debut at a time when Nigeria's media terrain is undergoing breath-taking changes. Since 1988, over twenty new magazines and newspapers have hit the streets, all professing to offer readers the boldest, the freshest and the most incisive in journalism. Junk publications have literally mushroomed raking in mind-boggling profits while at the same time smearing many a personal reputation with muck. Flooding determinedly along on the other side of the divide is the serious or "high-brow" press. Rising production costs and depleting advertisement revenues has not made it a pleasant ride, and rising competition from rivals has added an extra bite.

It is into this stormy sea that *The Mail* has bravely waded, but not after the *Newswatch* team, with Dan Agbese in the pilot's seat, had restructured and refitted the vessel to make it seaworthy again. Dr Clarkson Majomi, *The Mail's* publisher is confident that his newspaper will weather the storm this time around. Declared Majomi in the debut edition of *The Sunday Mail* last week, "The Mail is a positive, forward-looking national newspaper devoted to the promotion of national development. Our goal is to create in the press the proper climate conducive not only to free expression but which also challenges journalists to capture in their stories, the essence of the various dimensions of development". A tall mission, no doubt.

It would appear that Dr Majomi has learnt from past mistakes. When *The Mail* first hit the stands in 1986 it paraded a veritable harvest of old have-beens who, as events were quickly to show later, had clearly lost touch with the latest trends in the profession.

This time around, *The Mail* has set sail with an impressive crop of newbreed journalist. Mallam Shehu Dauda, a graduate of mass communication, Bayero University and formerly deputy editor of the Kano-based *Daily Triumph*, is the editor of the *Daily Mail*. Chukwuemeka Gahia who until recently was an assistant editor with *African Guardian* magazine edits *The Sunday Mail*. Two rising stars in the profession, Fred Ohwahwa, a 1984 mass communication graduate of the University of Lagos and Larry Echlejele formerly deputy Group Sports editor of the *Concord* Group have also joined the team as deputy editor (Sunday) and sports editor respectively.

It would appear that Dr Majomi has learnt from past mistakes. When *The Mail* first hit the stands in 1986 it paraded a veritable harvest of old have-beens who, as events were quickly to show later, had clearly lost touch with the latest trends in the profession.

It must however be said of the debut edition of the new-look mail that it offers nothing that can not be found in already existing newspapers in the country. It parades such familiar departments as "Politics," "Mail-sports", "News of the World", "Sun-sports", a commentary on inter-national events and then of course the inevitable OP-ED page. The only attempt at innovation is "This Lagos", a column devoted to highlighting the

funny, bizzare and sobering side of life in hubbling Lagos. If properly handled, 'This Lagos' may well turn out to be the newspaper's unique selling point. Page make-up, especially in the OP-ED page is rather dull and unimaginative, confronting the reader with an intimidating mass of grey matter. A liberal dose of white space, photographs and sundry illustrations will not be a bad idea. The sub-editing must also be improved upon.

*The Mail's* second coming has yet again, for the umpteenth time, stimulated the palate of the nation's media watchers. Has the Great Nigerian Newspaper, in the tradition of *The New York Times* and Paris' *Le monde* finally arrived? For long scholars have awaited the advent of the newspaper which in one breadth and with elegant and impeccable prose captures the essence and quintessence of the nation in bold, balanced and objective editorials, penetrating news reports and analysis and insightful feature stories.

Has any of the existing newspapers, the recently resurrected *Mail* included, met these stringent criteria? There is no clear consensus on the matter, but if the allegations of biased reporting recently levelled at the print media is anything to go by, then it would appear that the nation is still waiting for the newspaper that would attach "Great" to its name.

Ike Okonta.

## Nations' Cup qualifier:

# Westerhof, NFA may blow it

Westerhof and NFA have started on the same faulty steps that led to our shameful exit from the 1990 World Cup final.

**T**he dangerous game of deceit and tomfoolery being played out by the Nigeria Football Association (NFA) and the Dutch technical adviser for the senior national football team, the Super Eagles, may seriously threaten our chance of playing the 1992 Nations' Cup football tournament in Senegal. This funny, yet dangerous melodrama may also be the beginning of our exit from the 1994 world cup finals scheduled to hold in the United States of America.

On October 7, this year, Westerhof, with the permission of our soccer ruling body left for home on a four-week vacation in the heat of preparations for nations cup qualifying matches, but did not return until last week, having overstayed for about three weeks. When anxiety was racking the nerves of thousand of football lovers for the lateness of the Dutch trainer, NFA who had proffered several reasons to defend Westerhof's non return on schedule, maintained dignified composure and did not see anything wrong with a foreign football coach whose hefty salary is being paid in hard currency from the tax payers money, unilaterally adding three weeks to his annual leave.

Perhaps, there would not have been any need for concern if we had not had a bad precedent with its disastrous consequence for our football. 1988 was it when another foreign trainer for the same Super Eagles, German Manfred Hoener in alliance with the then floundering NFA plotted and executed a football tragedy of an enormous proportion for the country. Hoener, after wrapping up his contract in April, 1988 went on leave in the heat of

preparations for the Seoul Olympics. The German went away and did not return until two months to the Seoul Games. Players were rushed to camp and with the hasty and poorly arranged two weeks playing tour of Germany when other countries were already in Seoul waiting for the Games to commence, the best we could do with a tattered team was the disgraceful and inglorious performance in the Olympic football event.

This precedent should have served as enough lesson for NFA not to have allowed Westerhof to go on leave at a time he did. With two of our four remaining Nations' Cup qualifying matches coming up in January, the Dutch trainer should have been made

to stay here and concentrate on how to build a solid and stable team that can take Nigeria to the Senegal '92, and eventually the World Cup Final in U.S. in 1994. NFA also behaved foolishly by allowing Westerhof to take his leave during the Challenge Cup matches, when he should be going round picking players who could fit into the national team. This became necessary because the Dutch trainer, after the first three Nations' Cup matches, (against Togo, Ghana and Republic of Benin) was still groping hopelessly for a winning national team. With the tacit approval of NFA, Westerhof prefers to build his team around foreign based players instead of local players who can be called to camp and blended

weeks before a crucial encounter. Westerhof's reliance on Nigerian foreign based players is so total that he believes without some of them around he cannot raise a team that can beat a country like Gambia. That explains why we had to bring home about six professionals before we could muster the confidence to confront Republic of Benin in our last Nations' Cup qualifying match. As expected, the Dutchman had descended from the plane on his arrival from home last week before reeling out names of foreign based players he wanted for the January crucial encounter between Burkina Faso Stallions and the Nigeria's Super Eagles.

The danger in building a



Clemence Westerhof: he may deny us the chance to qualify

## SPORTS



Sports Minister Ikhazoboh

national team around foreign based players is very obvious. As it has become the tradition, these players don't report to the national camp until a day or two to the match. No matter how experienced or skillful such players may be they don't deliver properly because of inadequate time to play together and blend. As was the case during our match with Benin Republic, These pro players ended throwing the national team into confusion. Home based players who have played together for two to three weeks and have become so used to each other's game are hurriedly discarded at the expense of their foreign based colleagues. The end result is a team that may be brimming with good players with individual approach to the game. Such team is deficient of perfect ball distribution, accurate passes, good timing and anticipatory moves and general the team spirit that usually imbue players with purposeful sense of mission.

But if Westerhof and NFA insist on

building the national team around foreign players then there must be adequate arrangement for such players to be in camp with two weeks before the match they are to partake in. This also calls to question the reasons for hiring the Dutch technical adviser. Was he employed to scout around Europe and other parts of the world for Nigerian professional footballers based there or was he to help develop our football by scouting for home based talents and help develop their potentials through adequate training? Going by the heavy emphasis Westerhof places on foreign players, the minister seems to be his focus. And this will be nothing but a drain-pipe for the taxpayers' money if NFA employs him to globe trot in search of already made Nigerian professionals. Westerhof cannot secure the 1994 world cup ticket for Nigeria if he continues with his current over reliance on our foreign based professionals. So far he has not been able to raise a team for the country after playing three Nations' Cup qualifying matches.

This brings us to our chances in the remaining four matches that will decide whether or not we will be in Senegal '92. We may not realise it now until January, but we are already being threatened by Burkina Faso who are desperate to play their first Nations cup final in 10 years. Nigeria has the same four points as Burkina Faso but we place second on the Group four table behind Ghana because of goal advantage. With Ghana amassing the maximum six points from three matches, the battle for the second group qualifier is now between us and

## Sports Development: Ayuba Ushers Kaduna to a hopeful era.

It was not uncommon to hear sports journalists based in Kaduna deriding the state as a toothless bulldog in the field of sports. Kaduna State which was once known as one of the most developed—sports wise in the 1960's and late 1970's suddenly sank into eclipse of stagnation.

In recent years when neighbouring States like Bauchi, Kano, Borno, Plateau and of very recent, Katsina were updating their sports facilities with jet age speed, Kaduna was left in the doldrum because successive administrators who have taken turn to rule the state did not see sports development

as priority. When athletes from some of the neighbouring States mentioned above were making waves at national and international sporting competitions, their counterparts from Kaduna state were either performing dismally or were not participating at all because the state sports council was ill at ease to

sponsor the athletes either for non release of fund by the sports ministry or the available fund was released too late and turned out to be inadequate to prepare the athletes for such competitions. Worse still was the official apathy to provision of necessary sporting facilities and incentives which would have motivated the athletes to put in their best and win laurels for the state.

This had led to mass exodus of sportsmen and women of substance from Kaduna to other states who used them to win national and international laurels and accolade. Many coaches of merit and excellent records of achievement had also left for greener pasture out of frustration. The consequence of this lukewarm attitude towards sports development is that Kaduna was pushed out of reckoning and states like Bauchi and Kano quickly outshone it.

The arrival of governor Tanko Ayuba as the state chief executive is however opening up a new era of hope that may enable the state to recapture its lost glory in sports. Col. Tanko Ayuba who openly declared his commitment to the development of sports in the state shortly after his arrival has started implementing his policy statement in a way that no recent chief executive of the state has done. A masterplan has been approved for an ultra-modern stadium complex by the state governor. Going by its architectural design which was shown to *Citizen* by the state director of sports, Alhaji Ahmadu Maude, the stadium will have most of the modern facilities for both indoor and out door games. These facilities include football pitch which is the main bowl, training pitches outside the main bowl, athletics field covered with tartan track, basketball and volley ball courts among others.

The governor, determined to put the state on course before the Stadium Complex is built has on Thursday seen to the inauguration of a committee to commence work on the renovation of the state-owned Ranchers Bees Stadium. It will be recalled that an appeal fund to the renovation of the Stadium was launched late last year at which about two million Naira was realised. Surprisingly however, the money until now was not used for the renovation of the stadium. The newly inaugu-

rated committee, according to the director of sports is now to commence work on the stadium renovation.

Col. Ayuba, according to Alhaji Maude has also taken steps to restore dynamism to the sports council. To make it functional in all areas of competitive sports, the council has been given a go ahead to employ reputable coaches and athletes. Athletes who bring glory and laurel to the state are from now to be compensated with promotion, scholarship or employment—an incentive package meant to promote excellence and encourage other athletes to put in their best in their various events. The council's debt of over N500,000 which was inherited by the incumbent director when he assumed office is also to be cleared by the state government so as to give the council the atmosphere to strive for excellence.

The most laudable of the current efforts to transform the state from sports obscurity to lime-light is the emphasis been placed on grassroots sports development. Speaking recently at a function in one of the local government areas in the state, governor Ayuba directed all the local government administrators in the state to provide basic sports facilities. He also promised at the same occasion that efforts will be intensified by the state government to catch its athletes young through the re-introduction of competitions like the inter local government under - 18 sports

competition. The governor correctly diagnosed the perennial problems of sports development in the state when he said that the inability of the state to catch its sportsmen while they were in their best forms and retain them had robbed it of winning national sporting laurels and honours.

There is however one lasting hurdle that the sports loving governor has to clear if his good intention is to be realised. The



Gov. Tanko Ayuba: making the "toothless bulldog" bark.

hurdle is the bureaucratic bottleneck from the administrators in the sports ministry. There had been instances in the past when some people in the ministry stood between the council and its objectives; there had been cases of deliberately starving the council of fund while in some instances, recommendation or suggestion on how to implement some sporting programmes or request for release of fund to camp athletes for some important competitions, were unduly delayed. Without charting a smooth path between the ministry and the sports council, the governor may discover too late that his burning desire to put the state in the fore front of sports development may not be realised.

By Joe Olajuwon



Kaduna State Director of Sports: Ahmadu Maude

# 1<sup>st</sup> Class COLOUR SEPARATION NOW AT YOUR DOORSTEP



For years, the belief was that the best colour separation could only be done abroad.

Now ASTS, a subsidiary of the Nigerian Security Printing and Minting Company has proved that first class colour separation can be done here in Nigeria in 24 hours.



ASTS Colour Separation can match and even surpass whatever you get anywhere. ASTS will provide First Class Positives and Cromalin proofs from Colour Transparencies and direct Colour Photographs to give printers the sharpest colour prints.

For your first class separation and 24 hour - express service call 610981, 613339, 612864.

**ADVANCED SECURITY & TECHNOLOGY SERVICES LTD.**  
(A subsidiary of Nigerian Security Printing & Minting Company Limited.)  
Plot 1215, Ibiyinka Olorunimbe Close, Off Amodu Ojikutu Street, Victoria Island, Lagos.

*ASTS — for Colours Brought Alive!*



