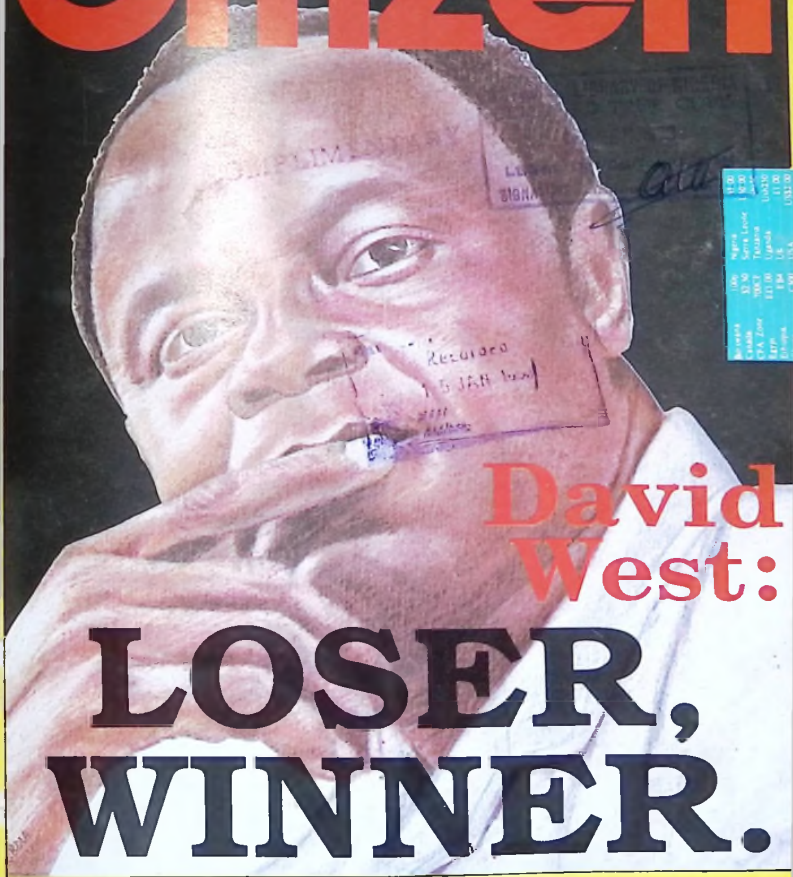


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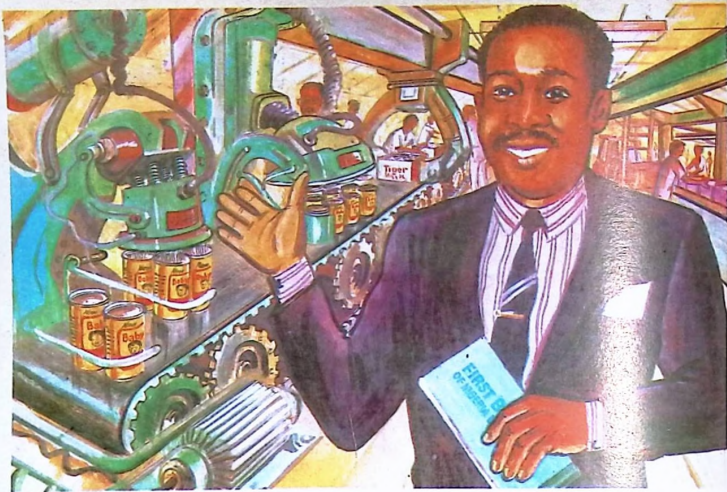
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**David West:**

**LOSER,  
WINNER.**



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Her popularity rating has dropped considerably since the resignation of her deputy, Sir Geoffrey Howe. Now, Thatcher's greatest headache is to contain opposition within the Conservative Party and threat to her position as party leader. Page 28.



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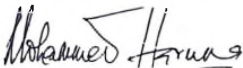
## PREFACE

If ever a trial was a *cause celebre*, Tam David-West's, which ended over the week-end with a verdict of guilty, was truly one. The case excited widespread interest for several reasons, not the least of which was that the Professor of Virology is a well-known social critic. Himself a self-confessed media creature, it was pretty evident, going through media coverage of the trial, that he still remains a media favourite. The lurid headlines clearly cast him in the image of an under-dog who was being tried more for his unflattering views of those in authority than for his record as Minister of Petroleum.

Perhaps the media merely reflected public sentiments which is puzzled that a minister will be tried for economic crimes not so long after the then Chief of General Staff, Augustus Aikhomu, would make a rather disingenuous distinction between misappropriation and mismanagement just to get a military governor, in a more glaring case than David-West's, off the hook. For Justice Bello Gusau, however, his duty was clear; to judge David-West purely on his own merit.

Any observer of the trial, including the media, would admit that Gusau's tribunal could not have been freer and fairer. On a few occasions the Chairman bent over back-wards to get David-West out of a spot of bother. At the end of the day, however, it was obvious that the evidence before the tribunal weighed against the ex-oil minister. He got his bosses mandate to settle matters out-of-court alright, but he could show no evidence that he reverted back to Dodan barracks for approval for his decision to forfeit 57,000,000 dollars to Stinnes. For someone known very well for documenting the minutest details of his transactions, it is rather strange that he did not document his claim that he did indeed get clearance from Dodan barracks.

Precisely because the trial aroused a lot of sentiments, it was not an easy one to cover. Still we tried to see through the sentiments and come out with a story that is comprehensive and accurate. You will agree that our team of Kabiru Yusuf, Ike Okonta, Samson Ojo, Nkechi Attoh, Lanre Ogunsanmi and Ogundari Sunkanni did a marvellous job of it



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## The Awolowo factor

Your cover story on the Awolowo factor (Vol 1 no 11) goes to show how our politicians have perfected the art of deception through the use of names of erstwhile frontline politicians to gain political recognition and fame. They show pretence in having imbibed the good qualities of these great political masters but in reality a bunch of nonentities craving to feather their political nests.

Dr. Dosunmu is right in identifying Lagosians as a sophisticated breed who will not take any Awolowo like her on face value or the cap she wears.

I suggest that Dr. Dosunmu should save us from that gaudy theatricals by appearing decked in the cap made famous by her father and accept the suggestion of packing all that is famous about Awolowo to a museum where some of us that love him could view them

Mohammed Ibrahim,  
Kaduna.

## Disregard that call

Yusuf G. Rafin Dadi's call (*Citizen*, October 29) that Adamu Adamu be stopped from writing, mainly on the strength of his recent article on the gulf crisis must be disregarded.

It would have been understandable if Yusuf wrote only to express the stand of his sect, for it is normal to have divergent views among sects. The presence of the American troops in the gulf, especially in Saudi Arabia, which is the cradle of Islam and the guardian of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina should be condemned.

Is it not the same USA that practices racism at home and actively supports it abroad that is claiming to be defending Saudi? The classic instance of the Zionist regime of Israel is instructive. All the crimes being committed by Israel against the Palestinians are with the active collaboration of the US.

The point is that, a reliable servant and friend of the US and her allies is gone and with him the fat cow milked

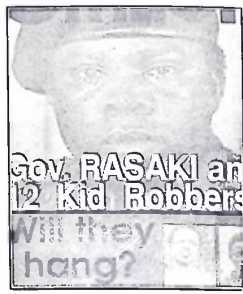
for cheap oil; an important tool for manipulating the oil market is lost, and the Americans are just there for their own interest and not that of either Iraq or other gulf states. What we really condemn is not the Saudi's being a different sect but, their romance with the Americans. I, for one do not support Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

As for Adamu Adamu, please, continue to write your views no matter whose ox is gored.

M.A. Sani  
Kaduna.

## Rasaki and 12 kids

I was quoted as having said that "when a tribunal acts outside the Law, the High Court acting as a Court of



Appeal has the competence to review what has happened in the tribunal. There is such a thing known as order of Prohibition which empowers the Court to stop the tribunal from perpetrating acts of illegality".

I recollect my interview with your reporter and wish to state that I never at any time described the High Court as "a Court of Appeal". What I said was that in a situation where a tribunal is acting or has acted outside the law, an aggrieved person can apply to the

High Court ACTING AS A SUPERIOR COURT OF RECORD to review the job of the tribunal through any of three means namely:

- Certiorari proceedings
  - An application for prohibition, or
  - An application under the Fundamental Right Enforcement Procedure Rules to enforce the constitutional rights to fair trial.
- Anselm Chidi Odinaku,  
CLO, National Headquarters,  
Lagos.

## Let us march forward

As an ex-student of the Nigerian Military School, Zaria, one is compelled to react to what a fellow, even if elderly, ex-NMS, General Haruna espoused with gusto in your recent interview with him. As aforesaid, I was still an NMS student when Haruna was retired from the Army. And as the news had it then, he had to go for his conduct which were prejudicial to moral probity expected of his position as the then FESTAC Coordinator. That is well known and so fresh for Haruna now to wear the toga of a saint.

Besides, his remark "...a muslim head of state in this country should use double security ..." smacks of a man blinded by irreligious zealotry. In effect he is saying that non-muslims constitute a formidable threat to any muslim leader.

To say the least, Gen. Haruna's analytical prowess is fatally flawed, or how could one explain his apparent ignorance of the fact that in todays Nigeria, the North is not dominating any one.

The times have really changed. I am at home with my Hausa/Fulani friends because I can relate to them more than with others.

My generation is tired of these poison. We want to march forward with hope and camaraderie.

Dr. Kemyd Musa Ifeatu,  
Kaduna.

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BRANCHES THROUGHOUT NIGERIA



## David-West: Loser, Winner

**O**n September 12, former Petroleum Resources Minister, Professor Tamuno David-West was arraigned before a special Military Tribunal (Lagos zone) on a two-count charge which the prosecution alleged occurred while he was the Petroleum Resources Minister and chairman of the board of directors of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC). The first was that he contributed to the economic adversity of Nigeria by allowing Stinnes Interoil, an American company to unlawfully withhold \$157,117,443 which was the total value (with interest) of Nigerian crude oil lifted by Stinnes, under an offshore processing agreement between it and the NNPC; that by so doing, he has secondly "corruptly enriched" Stinnes Interoil with \$157,117,443, in breach of section 1 (1a) (a) of the Recovery of Public Property (Special Military Tribunal) Decree 3 of 1984, as amended.

From the very beginning, the University of Ibadan professor, faced not one, but two trials. The first one was in the military tribunal chaired by justice Bello Abdullahi Gusau, which lasted all of two months. The second one was in the court of public opinion. Verdict was returned in this second "trial" almost before it started. Since he was removed as a government minister in 1986, David-West, an occasional journalist, became a government critic. His metamorphosis coincided with a change of mood in the country, which has become anti-government. The bulk of the press, which happens to be in Lagos, therefore, gave the impression from day one that the government was trying to muzzle another "social critic". The reporting of his appearance in the military Tribunal was overwhelmingly biased in the Professor's favour. His still young-looking face, despite his 54 years, stared at us from every newspaper and magazine cover, inevitably with his hands cupped on it. The headlines, "David-West Weeps Before Tribunal", "David-West Remanded in Jail" and

the pictures showing the dignified man going in and out of a Black Maria, were meant to play on our emotions.

Tam David-West himself sometimes contributed to the theatrics. Often he shook his head in disbelief and became emotional when recounting his "services to the fatherland". In one instance he protested. "I will not be emotional, I promise the Tribunal, but I risked my life going in flying boats to the creeks at the dusk to see how the operation of bunkering were taking place on the creeks. And my family asked me not to risk my life again".

So could this decent man be guilty of such a horrendous crime involving \$57 million? The public, primed by the press, quickly and easily returned verdict: NOT GUILTY.

However, the Tribunal that tried David-West continued to do its work. Nine key witnesses were called in to testify, including the professor's former colleagues at NNPC, a State Security Services (SSS) officer and Mr Hamidu Wathanafa, Principal Private secretary to the President. As anyone who attended any of the trial sessions will testify, Justice Bello Gusau bent over backwards to allow both the defendant and his counsel to state their case. Indeed the whole trial was conducted in a calm and genial atmosphere, as if the atmosphere of skepticism did not exist outside.

On the day of judgement, Justice Bello Gusau again listened attentively to the plea of mercy of Mr Tunde Olojo, David-West's defence counsel. Then in a quiet and impassioned voice, Justice Gusau sentenced David-West to ten years each for each of the two counts. He said the sentence is to run concurrently and David-West will be jailed in a prison outside Lagos "for obvious reasons". That is the verdict of the real Tribunal that carefully weighed each word before it delivered sentence. This of course may not change the opinion of people who have held fast to the belief that the Professor is a victim of power. He has won some, lost some.

## Enforcing the Code of Conduct

**B**y now, probity in our public lives is one of the rarest of virtues. Many public officers in Nigeria are either not aware at all that a code of conduct is meant to govern their deeds, or those who do know that such a code had been sitting in the constitution for 12 years generally regard it as decorative. Such is the state of probity in our public life. No doubt this is a result of a combination of factors, not the least being the manner in which many public officers are acquired. To the extent that bribery, nepotism and clientelism often serve as the principal criteria for acquiring a public office, then it becomes reasonable to expect the holder of the office to operate solely according to a personal, not entirely patriotic, code.

The failure by successive governments in the country to take decisive measures, after 12 years, to enforce the code, must have reinforced the perception that the code in the constitution was a decoration. A code of conduct bureau as well as a tribunal were specified in the constitution as the two agencies to enforce compliance. Although there has existed a bureau for many years now, the tribunal was only inaugurated in September, this year.

It therefore did not come as a surprise when it was disclosed two weeks ago that 300 public officers in only 16 states have failed to declare their assets before the code of conduct bureau and are now to face trial before the code of conduct tribunal. There must be hundreds of other public officers in the remaining 17 states and Abuja who have not also declared their assets, not to mention the thousands who have left the service in the last 12 years without declaring their assets.

A stop must now be put to this. The tribunal should proceed to speedily try

and, where fit, punish the first batch of 300 suspected offenders. Others should then be identified and similarly tried. If the constitution and indeed our country is to be taken seriously we must not allow a critical provision such as code governing conduct in public life to be trampled upon with impunity. This trial will be the first time that such a large number or indeed anyone is being brought before the tribunal.

We think it is a good thing that the government has responded to the charges that nothing has so far been done about probity in public life. Now both the bureau and tribunal have been strengthened with new powers.

Under these powers, any officer on grade level 10 and above who failed to declare his assets or filed wrong information to the bureau would be liable to conviction by the tribunal. In September, the government gave only one month to public servants within which to complete and return assets declaration forms or face the music. The 300 in question failed to obey this order. Now the tribunal has a very good chance to teach the miscreants a lesson and quickly move on to the others who haven't yet been brought to book.

We must try not to make this crusade another one-time affair whose files will be closed until such a time when talking about probity becomes the fashion again.

Probity in public life is a very serious matter. Without it, public service loses all direction and essence, and the society as a whole is open to ridicule. This is not a situation we should want to encourage. To declare their assets should be the first difficult step on the long road towards the enthronement of probity in our public lives.

## Politics: Time to check thugs

**T**he political clashes in Kwara State three weeks ago and in Bauchi last week in which two people died and several were injured were minor irritants

and constituted an unpleasant setback for a largely peaceful transition programme. But it was wrong for the government to regard it solely, as it apparently did, as

## LEADERS

some conscious attempt by unscrupulous persons to disrupt the transition to the Third Republic. It might have been, but it would be more profitable to see it as a manifestation of the unwholesome attitude of Nigerians.

Indeed the country is not strange to election violence. It was rife and rampant during the First Republic, especially at the time of the 1964 elections. The civilian government at the time was toppled in the first coup d'état as a direct result of the violence that succeeded those inconclusive elections. In the Second Republic, there were skirmishes often leading to loss of lives in most states of the federation but most especially in Ondo State where several people were killed following the elections of 1983.

If therefore, some violence happens as we prepare for the Third Republic, it shouldn't be surprising but it should disturb us; and we must do all we can to stop it. Already, the president, spurred on by the Kwara clashes, had summoned leaders of the two political parties to a meeting in Dodan Barracks. He warned that "unless the two parties confront the emerging (violent) trend and resolve it now, the graver will be the consequences" for the transition programme and the future of the country as an entity.

The same concern was shown by state governors and similar meetings were held with party leaders at state level. No doubt, disputes within parties or between rival parties are inevitable and signs of healthy activism. If anything, it is the absence of such robustness that should worry us. But if it generates violence and leads to free-for-all physical combat it should get everyone worried, especially after what appears to be elaborate arrangement to keep the peace.

In addition to the meetings and warnings, the president has now put together an independent outfit specifically to combat such emergencies and keep a tab on politicians promoting or directly fomenting trouble or otherwise involved in thugery. This is to function as the election's rapid deployment force — the other disciplined forces are there, as Inspector-General Aliyu Attah promised, to help ensure

trouble-free elections. In the event of any eventuality, the I-G can call on 118,000 men in the regular police force, 6,300 men in the anti-riot mobile police and the so-called a quick intervention force, of 3,680 men. Nothing, however, suggests doing this will be necessary.

If Attah has any problem, it will seem to lie in the logistics of communications and transport. Already, a N400m-contract to beef up police communications has been awarded while the problem of transport is yet to be tackled. This must be addressed as quickly as possible. That takes care of the police which we hope will take care of any breakdown of law and order which we hope will not happen. But it is good to be prepared, nevertheless.

There are many reasons why we must learn to do democracy without tears. Besides, the death and destruction election violence brings on society's innocent, a new and ominous factor had been added to make peaceful electioneering a choice we can't refuse. Hear this: "Politicians have to convince us that they are ready to play politics devoid of rancour and intimidation before we hand over to them," declared Colonel Abubakar Tanko Ayuba, Governor of Kaduna State. "While the military is willing to pull out of politics and assume their constitutional role, politicians must prove that they are now ready to observe the norms of politics."

Before him, Colonel John Yeri, Governor of Bendel State had issued, and later withdrawn, much the same threat. These, by any measure, are threats, but what they address is a code that politicians out of their own volition ought to have adopted.

While it is dangerous for military operatives to be giving them, these are matters the politicians and the society must find an acceptable level of political behaviour.

Since prevention is the best cure, we hope the police will concentrate on three major areas — the instance of campaign and politicking; period of the conduct of election itself to prevent rigging; and at the time of announcing the results. These are the contentious and most volatile areas. If these areas are watched, acts with the potentials of breaking out into major conflicts can be nipped in the bud.

## Gulf: When will the war begin?

It is now nearly 4 months since Iraq invaded and annexed Kuwait and there is still no end in sight to the crisis unleashed by the affair. The Iraqi Army is still very much in Kuwait, and Iraqi political leaders have given no indication whatsoever that they are planning to quit the tiny country.

The many forces trying to expel the Iraqis from Kuwait; Western, Arab and a few others, are, publicly at least, still to sort out their plans. Their initial objective was to prevent an Iraqi *blitzkrieg* into Saudi Arabia. For that, they have assembled more than 300,000 troops from the USA, Britain, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria and other countries. If Iraq ever intended to invade Saudi Arabia, it appeared that these forces had deterred it.

Having achieved this "success", the US-led multinational force in the Gulf has in the last fortnight been transforming its objectives. Western leaders now speak of forcibly ejecting the Iraqi army from Kuwait, and of driving onwards to Baghdad to bring down the Iraqi government. For this reason, another 150,000 American troops are being deployed, and the belligerent Mrs. Margaret Thatcher has already served notice that war will soon commence.

But there mustn't be a war in the Gulf, not again, not in this circumstances, and not for this reason. The price to be paid by everybody will be simply too high; the one to be paid by the world's innocents will be simply too much.

Protected as American troops in the Gulf are, up to 40,000 of them may die in a war, according to experts of the Rand Corporation; and it is fair to assume that much more than that number of Iraqi troops will die, as well as thousands of others from other Western and Arab forces in the imbroglio. These are the soldiers. Any war will normally consume more civilians than soldiers. Mostly at risk here are Kuwaiti, Iraqi and Saudi civilians, who may die by the hundreds of thousands. Israeli civilians might also die if Saddam fired bombs and missiles at Tel Aviv, as would Jordanian, Syrian and Turkish civilians if the war

spilled over their borders, as it well might.

Besides, the risk of a total conflagration is real, since a good many unscrupulous operators are involved in this showdown. One of them, Saddam Hussein, has threatened to fire chemical bombs at Israeli targets. Another unscrupulous operator, Yitzhak Shamir, has promised to respond or, even worse, to attack first, possibly with nuclear weapons.

The world also must worry for its energy supplies. If oil prices attain \$65 a barrel, as they are expected to if a war breaks out, it may enrich some countries such as Nigeria, but it will more or less permanently wreck the economies of most African and Third World countries.

For this and many other reasons there mustn't be a war in the Gulf. Wars, defeat or even trials for war crimes have never deterred aggression, and will not do so after this episode. A peaceful end to this crisis should be found.

But after all, there may not be any shooting way in the gulf sand, our concern and call against it may be needless. We said as much earlier (Saddam: serves them right [Citizen Vol. I No. 1]) implying that contrary to popular belief the invasion of Kuwait might not have been entirely unexpected nor particularly disliked despite all the uproar by the west. At least the west has got its policeman; what remains now is how to come to terms with him without the west giving the game away and without Saddam losing face.

The west is also fully entrenched in Saudi Arabia, and by its own admission is there, to stay. It remains to be seen whether it can transform its presences into an effective deterrence for the future violent change that is inevitable. In seven months the first test will come for the western presence, how will it be seen and what type of challenge will pilgrims on the Hajj give it? It is expected that the Saudi regime, as always in the past, will not tolerate criticisms of its allies — the Americans and the Israelis during the pilgrimage.

Whatever happens it is difficult to see how the middle eastern monarchies will survive the present crisis. An assortment of western forces can hold strips of the desert ground. But for how long?

## MOHAMMED HARUNA

## Ominous II

cannot be faulted. Perhaps, it may not be faulted even at second glance. That, however, depends on what Jakande means by his new social order. Here, unfortunately Jakande was uncharacteristically equivocal.

By a new social order, I guess Jakande wants a government of national unity. What is hard to guess is how he wants it achieved. If it is like what Shagari wanted back in 1979 when he asked all parties to join his government, there could be little quarrel with his suggestion.

If, however, he wants it done the way Chief Emeka Ojukwu has suggested, that would be a terrible disappointment coming from a man like Jakande whose clarity of mind and commitment to democratic principles is of the highest order. For a long time now, Ojukwu has called for a government of national unity composed of self-appointed leaders like himself. Obviously that would not be democracy. People like Ojukwu who are completely without any sense of modesty — the other day, he described himself as "a special person" — are entitled to their megalomaniacal disposition, but no one has any right to impose any self-selected leaders on Nigerians.

When Jakande laments the premature retirement from politics of "a large number of talented Nigerians" and says he would want them "called to service and given an opportunity to make their own contribution to the development of their fatherland", he has a valid point. I have always believed the lumping together of all "old politicians" under the ban order was unfair and unjust, especially when we are now being told that ministers in military governments, some of whom may have done more damage to our political-economy than those who served in our two Republics, are free to engage in politics.

However, if Jakande wants politicians like himself unbanned simply to be imposed on us rather than to face the electorate, he cannot have the

sympathy of those of us who cherish democracy. What worries me is the possibility that it is precisely what Jakande means by his "new social order". If my guess is right, could it be that Jakande knows something that the rest of us do not know about the military's commitment to 1992?

Finally, Chief Tom Ikimi and his Ogun State radio interview. If *Daily Times* (October 30) has quoted him correctly, one can only say God help this country. If the chairman of a party that may win the 1992 presidential election would talk about drafting the military into its government for whatever reason, the least one can do is shake one's head in utter disbelief.

However, the very reasons he has advanced for retaining the military in government makes Ikimi's interview particularly frightening. These reasons were (1) that the military has been in government longer than other elite groups, (2) that it is the most disciplined and (3) that military disengagement from politics should be an evolutionary process which should not be cut-off in one day. The least said about these patently silly — to say the least — reasons the better. The military may have been in government for over 20 of our 30 years of independence, but little in its record suggests it has learnt much. As for discipline, Ikimi must have a very strange notion of that word if he will use it for an institution that has rebelled more against itself than against even politicians, its archival for power.

As for military disengagement being necessarily an evolutionary matter, Ikimi does have a point. However, his time-scale obviously measures in light years if he thinks all these 20 years, even the seven years of the second military interregnum, is not enough time for the military to go back to where it belongs.

It is indeed a cause for alarm when a combination of Ikimi, Jakande and Ayida begin to talk as if they either have no faith in democracy or that 1992 is a will-of-the-wisp.



Suggestions of rotating the presidency, even where it is not opportunistic, completely misconceives the meaning and essence of democracy. Obviously, if democracy means popular choice, the rotation of the presidency, and its cousin, zoning, negates it by restricting free choice. Of course, no choice is open ended. That is why, even in democracy, choices are restricted by, among other things, age, mental and intellectual soundness, as well as personal moral and material integrity. However, whereas these are reasonable and sensible grounds for discrimination, the same cannot be said of restriction of popular choice on grounds purely of tongue, class or creed.

If this sounds odd coming from an unrepentant advocate of federal character like myself, it is because advocates of rotating the presidency mistake what is an elective process for a selective one. In other words, they mix up those who we choose to govern us with their instruments of governance. In the former acceptability is the primary consideration, whereas in the latter it is competence. There is therefore no reason why the NRC, for example, cannot field a southern presidential candidate simply because its chairman is from the south and vice versa for SDP whose chairman comes from the north. It is only after the electorate has freely chosen the president or governor that his party should apply federal character in composing his government, provided of course geography is qualified by a basic degree of competence.

Which brings me to Alhaji Lateef Jakande and his advocacy of a "new social order." At first glance, the call

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# Tam David-West

## One score in jail

After a two-month trial for economic crime, social critic Tam David-West goes in for 10 years for each of the two counts to be served concurrently.

**T**hursday, 25th October was the key day in the trial of Professor Tam David-West. The former Petroleum Resources Minister was in the dock for the 14th day, accused of corruptly enriching an American Company and thus "contributing to the adversity of Nigeria's economy". Several key witnesses had already appeared before the Special Military Tribunal, headed by Justice Bello Gusau. Now prosecuting Counsel, Mr. Kolapo Adebale, in summing up the case, tried to get David-West to admit that his defence was full of gaping holes.

The whole case rested on four major issues: When and under what circumstances did a United States-based company, Stinnes Interoil Incorporated, lift crude oil worth \$157 million without paying for it? As Minister of Petroleum Resources, did David-West seek presidential mandate and the advice of his colleagues at the NNPC before initiating an out-of-court settlement with Stinnes? Was \$100 million the best David-West could get out of Stinnes or did he deliberately "concede" \$57 million of Nigeria's money to a foreign company? Finally, though this was not central to the case, was there any evidence that he personally gained from the deal?

### Stinnes:

#### When and How

Prosecutor Adebale first set out to establish that Stinnes' indebtedness to



David-West: wearing a far-away look before the verdict.

Nigeria, while it did not begin during David-West's tenure, actually worsened under him. And this despite a directive from then head of State, General Muhammadu Buhari, that the Stinnes contract should be immediately terminated. Here is a word-for-word recording of the proceedings at the Tribunal that day, as Mr. Adebale cross-examines Professor David-West:

**Adebowle:** Professor, very soon, after you assumed office in January 1984, you said in your evidence that very early in February, the then Head of State, General Buhari, now retired, mentioned Stinnes oil contract to you.

**David-West:** Yes.

**Q:** And he directed that you should cancel the contract immediately?

**A:** Yes, he did.

**Q:** This was because according to him, that is, his administration would not want to fuel their enemies?

**A:** Yes.

**Q:** In response, you told the then Head of State that you would study the case and report back to him?

**A:** Yes.

**Q:** In actual fact, you studied the case when you got to NNPC and you found certain facts such as that this company, Stinnes actually had contract with NNPC in 1982 and 1983 and was in fact about to have another one for 1984?

**A:** Yes.

**Q:** And also, you discovered that this company had actually lifted some oil in January, 1984?

**A:** Yes.

**Q:** And had also made nomination to lift more oil in February, 1984?

**A:** Yes, as by the experts.

**Q:** You also found as a fact that this same Stinnes company ought not to have been allowed to do business with NNPC and Nigeria because the net worth of the company was N1 million or \$1 million when in actual fact, the minimum required was N50 million?

**A:** It was in Naira then, but it was \$1.3 to the Naira. But yes.

**Q:** And that Stinnes therefore did not satisfy the necessary requirements to lift any oil from Nigeria?

**A:** Yes, I got all these from the experts.

**Q:** But then, Stinnes contacted you as soon as you assumed office. This is correct or is it not?

**A:** Of course, yes.

**Q:** And told you about the proposed 1984 contract?

**A:** Yes, which they should have signed on 1st January, but there was change of government.

**Q:** However, you held a meeting with your Managing Director and Mr. Appoh on the 14th of February, 1984?

**A:** If I see the document, I can recall.

**Q:** If you want to see it, I can show it to you.

(Documents passed to the Witness)

**A:** Yes.

**Q:** So, consequent upon this meeting, you gave the go-ahead to the lift-



David-West being led away

ing of the embargo on nominations made for February liftings?

## The Verdict

It was a marathon judgment, spanning about four hours, but by the time Justice Bello Gusau, Chairman of the Special Military Tribunal was half-way through his lengthy delivery it had become obvious which way the scale of justice would tilt. It was Friday morning, November 16 and in the dock was former Petroleum Resources Minister, Professor Tam David-West accused of a two-count charge of using his office on or about January 16, 1986 to contribute to the economic adversity of Nigeria by allowing Stinnes Interoil Incorporated, a United States based oil company to withhold payment of fifty-seven million dollars to the Nigeria National Petroleum Company (NNPC).

Said Justice Bello Gusau in a calm detached voice after painstakingly reviewing the case of the prosecution and the defence, during the two-month trial, "This tribunal finds the accused guilty on the two charges and convict him as charged." Tam David-West, resplendent in a white french suit stared vacantly into the open air, seemingly unruffled. It was as though the full import of what

the judge had just said was yet to sink in. And then, Before he could utter a word, Justice Bello Gusau adjourned the court for fifteen minutes.

When the tribunal resumed again at 1.15 pm, Mr. Tunde Olojo, counsel for the defence, put forward an impassioned plea for leniency. He drew the attention of the tribunal to the fact that the accused is a scholar of international repute, a man who has served in the nation's public service for about thirty years and a patriot who even Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe had congratulated in 1985 as one of the best ministers Nigeria ever had. Justice Gusau listened to all these attentively and then before pronouncing the long-awaited sentence intoned thus: "We have listened to the plea of the defence counsel and have noted the fact that the convict has no previous criminal record, that he is a scholar and educationist who has served this country in various capacities. This tribunal also takes particular note of the congratulatory card sent to the convict by Dr. Azikiwe. However, what Dr. Azikiwe did not know was that the convict was living in a glass house and pretending to be what he really is not. The conviction of this man

## COVER STORY

A: Not without the advice, my lord.

Q: I agree with you. But at the end of



by armed police after the judgment.

the advice, you gave go-ahead because embargo had been

would therefore serve as a warning and eye-opener to other public servants that they can be called upon to give account of their stewardship at any point in time". Justice Gusau paused and sipped from his glass of cold water. And then he sentenced Professor Tam David-West to ten years imprisonment on the first count, and another ten years on the second — to run concurrently. The convict, Justice Gusau further added, would serve the sentence outside Lagos "for obvious reasons".

The packed hall erupted immediately. Camera flash bulbs blinked intermittently as journalists converged on the lone figure in the dock. What have you got to say about the sentence, sir? Do you think it was fair? Do you have any last message for your family and friends? For a long while, hand in chin, Tam David-West stared at the animated faces staring at him, too bemused to speak. Then he smiled, shook his head from side to side and said in a low voice: "No comments, gentlemen, no comments. As to the conduct of the trial, I leave it all to history."

Before arriving at his verdict, Justice Bello Gusau had gone through the entire case with a fine tooth-comb,

placed on the nominations?

A: Yes, embargo had been placed on nominations that we had already received and approved. We, using NNPC.

Q: On the advice of your expert which you agreed with, you allowed Stinnes to make three liftings in February 1984.

A: Based on that meeting.

Q: The liftings took place on the 1 of February, 19th of February and 26th of February, 1984.

A: Yes.

Q: On the 16th of February, 1984 value of the crude oil lifted was \$32.57 million. Am I correct?

A: The papers are with you. If I have them I can follow up.

Q: I have no objection. We should do everything to assist each other during this cross-examination just like during examination

carefully examining and re-examining again, the final address of the defence and the prosecution's subsequent reply. First, he delineated the issues which were not in debate that David-West was a minister and public servant from 1984 to 1986.

\*That Stinnes Interoil was registered in the United States as an oil company.

\*The dispute was as to whether there was a 1984 contract between NNPC and Stinnes.

\*All oil contracts of NNPC terminate in December of each year.

\*General Buhari directed the accused to cancel the Stinnes contract with immediate effect.

\*The accused, instead of cancelling the contract immediately, proceeded on casual leave to attend to the burial of his mother.

\*The accused briefed Chief Justice F. F. Marinho and other NNPC officials on Buhari's directive in February 1984, which time Stinnes had already made some 1984 liftings.

\*And that by this, Stinnes' total debt to NNPC increased.

\*That Stinnes sued NNPC at a United States Court for breach of the contract.

\*Stinnes lifted oil when it was not qualified to do so.

# Tam, the media hero

It had the markings of another Watergate, only that there was no duo of Woodward and Bernstein to uncover the earth-shaking evidence that would prove the case of the Prosecution "beyond reasonable doubt". Still, the Media did its best to elevate the David-West/Stinnes Affair to the forefront of the national agenda, treating readers and listeners alike to juicy, sensational if biased headlines as the two months trial progressed.

From the outset, it was evident that some newspapers and magazines were set to lionise Professor Tam David-West and paint him in the colours of an authentic national hero. Credit must be given to these newspapers though. They took extra pains to conceal their real intentions, taking refuge under the wide and benevolent umbrella of "balanced and objective reporting".

With regard to reporting the trial, the bias was not so much in the main body of the news stories as in the head-lines. While the stories themselves were relatively balanced, the screaming headlines were, more often than not, loaded with emotion and overt bias. Take these screamers which appeared

on the front pages of the Lagos-based *Vanguard*, during the trial: "David-West Weeps Before Tribunal", "David-West Has No Case To Answer", "David-West Remanded In Jail". The "David-West Weeps Before Tribunal" news story, which was carried in the Thursday October 25 edition of the newspaper began thus, "Former Oil Minister Professor Tam David-West In a fit of emotion, shed tears uncontrollably yesterday as he recalled congratulatory letters sent to him by Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe describing this world as "ungrateful" and that he was one of the most efficient ministers Nigeria ever had".

Of course the "*Vanguard*" did not come out screaming it, but the intention was clear: Here is a patriotic, honest and hardworking Nigerian being hounded by an ungrateful government for a crime he did not commit. Photographs were also called into service in this devious agitprop. The front page of the September 13 edition of the same newspaper carries a large photograph of David-West climbing into a waiting Black Maria. Standing threateningly behind him are three nonsense looking police officers. Here

too, the intention is obvious: a helpless and harmless martyr being shepherded into the gaping mouth of the monster.

All through the trial, Tam David-West managed to come out as a knight in shining armour who was being persecuted for no other cause than that he had dared to point out the warts and pimples on the face of the nation. Press photographers had a field day, falling over one another to record for posterity, immortal photographs of this "brave and valiant social critic" who dared to confront the powers that be with his bare hands." It was a classic case of "Beauty And The Beast", the Beast of course being the prosecution and the military government which it represents. The photograph which adorned the front page of the September 13 edition of the *Daily Times* is instructive in this regard. It showed David-West, resplendent in a white french suit, in pensive mood. Resting his chin on his arm, he stares vacantly into the air as though a great injustice has been done to him. Behold, the peoples' martyr, the caption could have easily read.

Some magazines also joined the pro-Tam David-West chorus, albeit in an

have Stinnes.

Q: I was reading the figures to you but you said you wanted to see the paper.

A: Whether these are the names of the vessels?

Q: Yes, they are. That of 16th February, 1984 was \$32.57 million.

A: Yes.

Q: The lifting on the 19th of February amounted to \$15.058 million.

A: Yes.

Q: And the final one for 26th February, 1984 was \$47.771 million.

A: Yes.

Q: Thereby bringing the total for that month of February in some \$95.399 million.

A: Yes.

Q: Whereas the total amount of oil lifted by this company in January, 1984 was \$55 million.

A: Yes.

Q: Upon your resumption, Stinnes was owing NNPC \$55 million?

A: Yes.

Q: Barely a month after you assumed office the figure had escalated to \$150.982 million.



Relatives of the jailed professor at the court premises.

indirect manner. *African Concord* magazine did two cover stories on Tam David-West, splashing his photographs all over the cover and the inside pages. The October 1 edition could well have been titled, Tam David-West: A Festival of Fotos. David-West climbing down from the Black Maria, Climbing back into it, starting vacantly into space, scratching his jaw thoughtfully; all were faithfully captured by the magazine's photographers. *Newswatch* was more circumspect, though not failing in its October 22 edition cover story on the Professor to depict large photograph of David-West with the loaded caption, "David-West: A social critic locked in battle for his name." The *Newswatch* crew even went to Buguma, David-West's home town for a photograph of his homestead which they splashed on page 20 of the same edition. The photograph shows nine of David-West's relatives all looking sad and downcast, sitting in front of a decrepit and run-down bungalow. Of course, a reader, encountering this photograph, would be moved to ask: Why is the government accusing this man of stealing millions of Dollars? How can it be and yet he has only an ordinary bungalow in his home town? Truly, photographs don't lie!

One thing must be said for *Newswatch*

though. Its report was well-researched and balanced. This much cannot be said of the *African Concord* issue of 19 November, whose reporter, Kunle Ajibade went to University of Ibadan where David-West teaches and came back with a portrait of the virology department in decay; because David-West, its moving spirit, "has been too busy defending a criminal charge." Ajibade capped his report with this statement, credited to one Bode Sojobi, Secretary-General of University of Ibadan's Students' Union, "What is happening to Tam David-West merely vindicates what the Nigerian Students have been saying: that decent people in Nigeria should not have any romance with the present government because it does not pay at the end of the day".

Perhaps the Nigerian Press would have received a pass mark in its reporting of the David-West/Stinnes Affair if it had tried to balance the banner headlines. It certainly wouldn't have hurt anybody if such headlines as "David-West Drank Tea with Stinnes President" and "There Was No 1984 Contract — Former NNPC MD" were carried once in a while to balance the pro-David-West chorus. Not surprisingly, these revelations were tucked into the inside pages. The David-West/Stinnes Affair also confirmed

the long-held view of media scholars that the nation's press is long on straight news reporting while painfully short on news analysis. With the exception of *The Guardian* which sought to place the unfolding court drama in its proper perspective in its daily reports, appropriately spiced with rigorous and incisive analysis, other tabloids simply went for the titillating and sensational, revealing the reporters' shallowness of thought and jaundiced vision in the process. There were also a few gaffes, like the *New Nigerian* front page report of Thursday September 13 which wrongly stated that "Professor Tam David-West appeared before the Special Military Tribunal for the Recovery of Public Property on a two-count charge of corrupt self-enrichment." The charge was alleged corrupt enrichment, not self-enrichment.

In all, Professor Tam David-West came out of the two-month trial with his reputation laundered spotlessly clean by the Press. Had he employed a seasoned Public Relations Firm, it is doubtful if they could have done a better job. Were a foreigner to write a novel based only on media reports of the trial, he definitely would have entitled it, "Wrong One In The Dock" after T.M. Aluko's novel of the same title.

By Ike Okonta.

**A:** My lord, I will say yes, but I will explain. Nominations were made before. I do not approve nominations. Nominations were made at the level of crude oil marketing and the Managing Director. Minister does not have anything to do with nominations of vessels.

**Q:** I am a very generous man, if you want to make any explanation either on yes or no, as far as I am concerned, you are free to do so. I will not shut you up.

**Chairman:** How much was it as at February?

**Adebale:** For February only, the three liftings amounted to \$95.399 million but in January, it was \$55 million. The total was \$150.98 million.

**David West:** That is right.

According to the Prosecution, Stin-

nes was not only ineligible to lift oil from Nigeria, but it had no contract to do so in 1984 (its 1982, 1983 contracts having expired). David-West's alibi, a January 1984 letter sent to Stinnes by NNPC General Manager, Mr. B.A. Aina, asking the company to begin lifting oil immediately at 100,000 barrels a day, does not amount to a contract in law. It was an offer, which Stinnes could reject or accept. That David-West himself, all through his first year as oil Minister, agreed with NNPC officials who maintain there was no contract with Stinnes and who favoured legal action to force the company to pay for the oil it lifted. But he suddenly changed his position in 1985.

### Out-of-Court Settlement:

The decision to settle out of court was taken when NNPC team led by David-

West went to Vienna to conduct the negotiations with Stinnes. The meeting started on 8th October, 1985, and it was to continue in London and Lagos. Prosecutor Adebale took it from there:

### VIENNA:

**Adebale:** After discussion between Stinnes delegates and NNPC delegates, and according to you, when they reached a deadlock, they called for you and Jansen.

**Q:** You were in Jansen's room?

**A:** That is right.

**Q:** Doing what?

**A:** We left the experts to give them time and we were having coffee.

**Q:** And this Jansen was the leader of the opposing team?

**A:** Yes.

**Q:** And according to you, when you came back, the situation you met was that there had been recon-

conciliation of figures and NNPC was found to be entitled to \$140 million, interest \$17 million totalling \$157 million altogether.

- A: Yes.
- Q: And Stinnes were claiming \$29 million for breach of contract.
- A: Yes, for special and general damages.
- Q: Altogether, \$29 million.
- A: Yes.
- Q: That was their claim.
- A: Yes.
- Q: NNPC officials denied the claim. They did not accept Stinnes' claim. They told you that when you came back?
- A: No. ....
- Q: As a matter of fact, you and Jansen retired to discuss this figure.
- A: When we retired, we never discussed figures. We said they should go on and they should call us back and they did.
- Q: When they called you back and they told you the arithmetic of the figures, you took the figures and you and Jansen retired to consider the figures.
- A: No, we never did. I do not remember this second retirement. If I can be guided, I will help the Tribunal.
- Q: So, it was on the spur of the moment you decided that NNPC should forfeit half of the \$17 million interest?
- A: My lord -
- Q: Is that right or is not right?
- A: My lord, that was in the hall before everybody.
- Q: Yes, everybody was there but that is what you said.
- A: To break the deadlock -
- Q: It is correct.
- A: Yes.
- Q: That is all. Do not worry, we are going on. This was in the spirit of give-and-take; 50/50. And in addition to \$4.7 million which you said the NNPC officials conceded, half of \$29 million which they did not agree with at all, you also decreed that that amount should be credited to Stinnes. That too is correct; or is it not correct?
- A: I do not pass decrees.
- Q: You ordered, you directed.

## In the people's court

**D**r. Walter Lipmann, celebrated American journalist and author of the seminal book, "Public Opinion" once noted that however powerful a tyrant may be, he cannot swim against the tide of public opinion for long. The tyrant, wrote Lipmann, would drown sooner than later. So powerful is public opinion that many a wily ruler has gone to great lengths seeking to manipulate it and failing, put a halter round its stubborn neck.

Happily though, nobody has tried to manipulate or gag the Nigerian public over the David-West/Stinnes Affair, and so opinion on the two-month trial has been as diverse as it is vociferous. Said Dr. Ogunsanwo Biyibi, a sociology lecturer at the University of Lagos when he was asked whether it was fair of the Federal Government to arraign

one of its former ministers before a tribunal, "No citizen of this country is under or above the law. By asking Tam David-West to defend himself against allegations of corrupt enrichment, the Federal Government is acting within the law. Arraigning David-West before the tribunal is no big deal." While agreeing that there was "quite enough evidence" before the tribunal to jail the Professor of Virology, Dr. Biyibi however felt that the official outcome of the case would depend on the quality of the arguments marshalled by David-West's lawyers to convince the trial judge that he is indeed innocent.

Mr. S.B. Alli, a lawyer in the Lagos-based firm of Aka Bashorun, differs from Dr. Ogunsanwo Biyibi in that he sees a hidden political dimension to the David-West/Stinnes Affair. "I feel that the trial has a political motive", he

- A: We discussed.
- Q: When did you discuss?
- A: There in the hall, we discussed how to break the impasse.
- Q: Who and who discussed?
- A: The whole delegation.
- Q: How did you discuss?
- A: We discussed it. We are not dumb.
- Q: This is quite contrary to what you said yesterday; you did not talk about any discussion yesterday. Do you want me to read the portion where you mentioned this particular decision yesterday?
- A: My lord, I am not going to go into lengthy explanation. There was a deadlock when we came. To break the deadlock, Stinnes should lose fifty percent of their claim and we will lose fifty percent of our claim. The difference, as I said yesterday, I worked out that if that can break the deadlock, NNPC in the scenario will still be better off by \$4 million to get the total deal sealed up.
- Q: But the question is that it was your own decision; you did not discuss; you did not discuss with anybody. Do not bring in this discussion aspect because there

was no such discussion.

- A: As the leader of the delegation, I take that responsibility.

LONDON:

- Q: Let us go on. Negotiation broke down?
- A: Yes, negotiation broke down.
- Q: And the next thing you suggested as the leader of NNPC delegation was that the other side should send their proposals not to NNPC but to you in London?
- A: That is true.
- Q: Why did you not ask them to send it straight to NNPC in Lagos; why to you in London? What is the difference?
- A: There is a lot of difference.
- Q: Explain it yourself.
- A: Beautiful; The SSS record that you are using explained it two years ago like this; The negotiation had broken down in Vienna. I had announced in the same hall to everybody present that I would not come out with them to negotiate. The next negotiation would be in Lagos, Nigeria. Stinnes, Mr. Jansen, said they would not come to Nigeria; they were afraid they would be arrested, I

told Citizen: "Government obviously felt aggrieved that David-West was criticising its policies, especially SAP and the Transition Programme, and therefore moved to silence him for good. All I can say for now is that since government has decided to take the case before a legally constituted tribunal, let justice, not only be done, but also be seen to be done."

Chidi Odiakalu, CLO's Assistant Secretary of Legal Affairs believes that the trial was not fair. According to Odiakalu, some of the documents which the defence counsel requested for to enable him put forward a solid argument for David-West were not provided by the government. It was also Odiakalu's belief that David-West's solicitors did not do their best for the accused. "The situation was such that David-West acted as his own defence counsel most of the time. Thus he was left unprotected and easily played into the hands of the prosecu-

tion. This could have easily been avoided if the defence did its home work well".

Aina Mekwunye, Akintunde Ilori and Kayode Akintunde, all students of the Nigerian Institute of Journalism, Ogba, Lagos feel that professor David-West should not be jailed even when found guilty. To them, the entire trial was stage-managed. Asked Miss Mekwunye, "why did it take government such a long time to bring up this case? It is obvious that there is more to the trial of David-West than meets the eye". As to the possibility of student demonstration in the event of David-West being sentenced by the tribunal, Dr. C.S. Momoh, publisher of "Shadows" magazine said "before Tam David-West, students had always demonstrated and they will continue to demonstrate after him. The socio-economic situation in the country presently is such that there will always be cause for students demonstration.

Tam David-West is therefore really not the issue".

Dr. Biyibi of the University of Lagos also dismissed the rumour that David-West's present travails can be linked to his anti-government stance since 1986 when he was removed from office. "While we can not entirely rule out that possibility, I believe however that Professor David-West has no moral right to criticise the present military regime because he was part and parcel of it. We must not forget that he did not resign. He was dropped during a cabinet reshuffle which means that had he not been removed he would have still been a minister. By criticising the regime he wants to portray himself as a saint which of course he is not".

Reported by Sa mson Ojo, Nkechi Attoh  
Lanre Ogunsanmi and Ogundari Sunkanmi.



Consulting his lawyer during the trial.

said if you agree to come I will take care of that, they agreed. Then, I said I would be passing through London on my way from OPEC; I would fly to Nigeria. Now that you have made a U-Turn, they were now at the broken-down negotiation talk-

ing about \$128 million. I said this is a complete reversal of everything we were trying to construct.

However, before the Lagos meeting — I used the word to facilitate matters, it is in my SSS record — put all your papers on

firmed, I gave it to them sealed. When Jansen brought it to my hotel, he never came in. The door bell rang, I took it at the door, saw him to the elevator and he left.

Q: Professor, I do not think that was

your new position in a packet, seal the packet deliver it to me because I will be arriving and I will take it personally to my experts. It was brought, I brought the packet to Nigeria, sealed. Oladela had con-

## The final submission

1. With regard to count 1 (above) of office Tunde Oloju argues that the onus is on the prosecution to prove its case beyond all reasonable doubt. This according to Oloju, the prosecution did not successfully do. With regard to count two, the standard of proof of the Accused is that of balance of probabilities. Oloju argued that the prosecution failed to establish the ingredients of the case.
2. All the prosecution witnesses testified that David-West had the mandate of the two heads of state to negotiate with Stinnes.
3. The contents, and not merely the format of the \$100 million agreement was carefully vetted by the Ministry of Justice. The only reservation which the Ministry expressed was as to the power of attorney of the Stinnes representative.
4. The accused did not say \$7 million dollars represented breach of 1984 contract nor did any of the prosecution witnesses say that the accused waived \$57 million in lieu of damages. According to the defence, there is no evidence that the Accused allowed Stinnes to unlawfully withhold that sum under a false claim that it represented breach of 1984 contract. It was the Defence Counsel's position that NNPC officials believed there was a 1984 contract but that they devised means of pretending there was none for the purpose of negotiating with Stinnes.
5. The insinuations to tea and gift of wrist watch are circumstantial evidence. The Defence argued that circumstantial evidence like suspicion cannot be ground for conviction.  
**Prosecution rests its case**
  1. The Accused is guilty on the first count because the three ingredients of the offence have been proved viz (a) the accused is a public officer (b) he contributed to the economic adversity of this country (c) he did this by abusing his office as Petroleum Minister.
  2. There was no breach of the 1984 contract because there was no 1984 contract between NNPC and Stinnes. For the 1984 contract to come into being, Stinnes was expected to fulfil certain stipulated conditions. These it failed to fulfil and so there was no 1984 contract, technically speaking. All the witnesses (NNPC Officials) testified that there was no 1984 contract between Stinnes and NNPC. Contrary to the Accused's assertion, there was no divergence of views on the 1984 contract.
  3. There was economic adversity at the time David-West allegedly committed the crime. Beginning from 1982, owing to foreign exchange problems, the nation began to suffer economic adversity. David-West, by conceding \$57 million to Stinnes, contributed to this existing economic adversity.
  4. The Accused is guilty on the second count because the

three basic ingredients viz (a) being a public officer (b) enriching someone and (c) enriching that someone corruptly have been proved beyond reasonable doubt.

- 4(a) The Accused enriched Stinnes because instead of Stinnes paying the agreed figure of \$157 million arrived at during the Vienna meeting, the American oil company paid only \$100 million at the end of the day.
- 4(b) 4(a) above was done with corrupt intentions because:
  - a. Contrary to Buhari's directive, the Accused allowed Stinnes to lift crude oil and thereby increased Stinnes indebtedness from \$50m to \$150m.
  - b. The Accused, contrary to all legal opinions offered him, went ahead to declare at the Vienna meeting that Stinnes was entitled to some claims from NNPC.
  - c. The Accused concealed the details of the negotiations with Stinnes from Mr President, the purpose of which was to stop any immediate action that might be taken to retrieve the money or disallow Stinnes to go away with the money.
  - d. The Accused was bribed with a wrist watch and exotic dinner at Vienna, the intention being to make him use his office to corruptly enrich Stinnes.
  - e. Rapport of a very high degree existed between the



Justice Bello Gusau.

Accused on one hand, and Fred Rocky and Jansen on the other.

- f. Stinnes planted the Accused in NNPC to give the belief that he was acting for NNPC when in actual fact all his interest was for Stinnes.
5. The testimony of Prince Essien, a prosecution witness that the Stinnes Lawyer prepared the final \$100 million agreement alone points the fact that there was collusion between the Accused and Stinnes before the latter came to Lagos in January 1986 to negotiate.

the reason why you asked these new proposals to be brought to

you in London.

A: There was no other reason.

Q: To put it mildly, one big reason was for you to have another op-

# Tam 'Controversy'-West: th

**N**o one can deny that Tamunoemi Sokari David-West, virologist, educationist and until recently, Oil and Petroleum Resources Minister, is one of the most controversial public figures in the land. Ask, in the small riverine town of Buguma, Rivers State, where he was born, or at the premier University of Ibadan where he teaches virology and they will surely tell you that 'Tam' is a man who is rarely out of the klieg lights. Others, especially avid newspaper and magazine readers will probably add a footnote: David-West chases and relishes in controversy.

Interestingly, nothing in the circumstances of young Tamunoemi's birth on August 26 1936 hinted, not even remotely, at his turbulent and crisis-ridden career. The son of a prosperous banker, Sokari David-West and a Princess mother, Omualowiba Idonibo, Tam David-West was, as the saying goes, born with a silver spoon. After his early education at Buguma, his home town, he proceeded to the University College Ibadan where he graduated with a Bachelor of Science Degree. His yearning for more knowledge took him to Yale and McGill Universities in the United States where he earned M.Sc and Ph. D Degrees in Virology respectively. Back in Nigeria, David-West joined the staff of the University of Ibadan and subse-

quently rose to the position of Professor of Virology.

If Tam David-West had remained within the confines of University of Ibadan, he would have probably led a quiet, uneventful and intellectually - fulfilling life like most academics in the nation's ivory towers. But fate had designed another route for the Professor. In the mid-seventies, Colonel Zamani Lekwot, then Military Governor of Rivers State, invited him to join his Government as Commissioner of Education. David-West accepted, took a leave of absence from the University of Ibadan and moved over to Port Harcourt. And thus began a most eventful and controversial career as public servant, the height of which on September 12, 1990 Professor Tam David-West facing a special Military Tribunal on the robbery of public property, on a two-charge of corrupt enrichment.

While it is true that the Profess

portunity, among other things, to have coffee with Jansen again?

**A:** Absolutely untrue. Jansen never sat down. I met him by the door, took the parcel, he never sat down. In that SSS record, it is there. From my room, I saw him to the lift.

**Q:** But do you not think you have made your position difficult because nobody else was there; no other NNPC official was there.

**A:** There was no negotiation.

**Q:** But even for that?

**A:** No. I never made my position difficult. This is unfortunate, my lord. Exactly the word I used in the SSS record, that I was trying

to expedite matters, is to expedite. I was, in fact a glorified messenger, I took it, brought it sealed, unopened and gave it to Oluwalope who confirmed it here on court.

## LAGOS:

**Q:** So, at the end of the whole thing you asked them to pay \$100 million.

**A:** Yes, under the circumstances.

**Q:** Once again, Professor Tam David-West, this decision was taken by you and you alone. Answer or no.

**A:** Yes; but the scenario is on the table here in this Tribunal and was debated it. It is like eclat was said yesterday. There is



A cross section of press photographers at the court premises.

of favouritism and under hand-deals. The Nigerian Union of Teachers and Parents/Teachers Associations in the state also had another grouse. They alleged that David-West selected his town's men for the secretaryship of the Schools management Board and that he took actions and decisions alone without proper consultations. When the barrage of criticism reached a crescendo, the government inaugurated the Feberesinma Judicial Commission of Inquiry to investigate the matter. Its verdict. "From the evidence before us, it is proper to say that there are perhaps justifiable complaints that the Commissioner for Education (Tam David-West) had in many respects acted in isolation. In the recent educational crisis regarding boarding in secondary schools in the state, it seems to us that it was precipitated by the absence of consultation and coordination by the Commissioner for Education". Interestingly, the self-same allegation of acting unilaterally without prior consultations and mandate was to re-echo again fifteen years later during the celebrated Stinnes trial.

Although David-West challenged the verdict of the Fiberesinma Judicial Commission in Court and won, he left the Ministry of education without applause. For most staff of the Ministry and teachers in the state, it was simply good riddance. David-West's second major romance with contro-

versy came in 1985. He was then one year old in his new seat as the nation's Oil and Petroleum Resources Minister and had caused the NNPC to purchase an oil-storage tanker, MT sea Bureeze, re-christened MT Tuma from the Swedish Government at the cost of 6.2 Million Dollars. However, considerable dust was raised when the ship, barely on arrival on Nigerian shores, had to be towed back to Portugal for major repairs. Sniffing fraud in their air, journalists went to town. Why did the oil minister commit so much money on a "sick" ship? *The Sunday Tribune* investigated the story and came out with a news story titled "Who bought Nigeria's ship that couldn't sail?" in its July 20, 1986 edition. The paper concluded that NNPC Officials believe the purchase of Tuma was engineered by those who benefited from the ship hiring arrangement".

Then came the Pan Ocean Affair. Pan Ocean Nigeria Limited, a foreign-based oil company was permitted, during David-West's tenure in the Petroleum Ministry, to lift Crude Oil worth about 300,000 Dollars and was later allowed to liquidate without paying its debts, totalling 150 million Dollars. NNPC officials pointed accusing fingers at David-West and he in turn sought to pass the buck to Chief Festus Marinho, the then Managing Director of the NNPC. Again the press waded into the controversy and

David-West as usual, sought refuge in the court yelling libel.

Tam David-West, like other members of that select breed who don the tag of 'Social Critic' takes special delight in controversy. When he is not criticising government policies on the pages of the newspapers, he is granting interviews to journalists and using the opportunity to fire broadsides against his detractors. Significantly though, David-West, the society watchdog, does not find it particularly difficult metamorphosing into a lap-dog whenever he finds himself in the portals of power. When he was a commissioner in Rivers State, the Military Government was the best thing that ever happened to the Rivers People for all he cared. However, when the civilian regime of Melford Okilo assumed power and refused to reappoint him, David-West's eyes suddenly "opened" to the extent that he could dismiss Okilo's administration as "bankrupt". Similarly, President Babangida's Structural Adjustment Programme was alright as long as David-West was a minister in his cabinet. Then came a cabinet reshuffle in September 1986 and he was out in the cold. David-West, the watch-dog, began to bark a new tune. Suddenly, SAP was no longer the perfect elixir. The Transition Programme too. Now out of favour, David-West suddenly discovered that, with respect to the Political Transition Programme, "I have no illusion that we have not turned from our past misdeed".

Still, the David-West, of this world, double-faced matchets that they are, have their uses. If anything, they keep the rulership from drifting too far from the course of equity and fairplay, of probity and accountability. But did Tamunoemi Sokari David-West pause to remove the log in his eyes before embarking on the onerous task of cleansing the Augean stable that is the Nigerian society?

By Ike Okonta.

was yours.

A: Yes, I said it here yesterday. I am on oath and I keep repeating it. I kept shuttling between Falomo and Adeola-Odeku because the

possibility of the negotiation breaking down was very clear to everybody. So, I told him: Go and tell them to make it \$100 million. Yes, I did. I was going

up and down even till 6 p.m.

Q: Professor, one by one, all these people came before this honourable Tribunal and testified that they were shocked that their



An array of magazine covers on the trial of Tam David-West.

honourable Minister should have accepted \$100 million as a final payment.

**A:** Yes, some of them said they were shocked.

**Q:** All of them said they were shocked. Some of them were surprised.

**A:** Surprised, amazed —

**Q:** But, it all came to the same thing. They did not agree with your figure. It was not their decision.

**A:** They did not say so, at the material time.

**Q:** You held a meeting with them?

**A:** They were the people coming to

tell me in my room.

**Q:** Did you hold any meeting with them before you shouted, Thank God?

**A:** Yes, Thank god, I said so. Now, to say we discussed, they were carrying the figures to and fro. They came with this last one. That was 6 o'clock since morning. It was just a give-away. Then, I said: look, gentlemen, you can go back again, there is another time. And they came back and I said: this time, let them make it \$100 million. I am on oath, the record is there, I am not lying to

you.

**Q:** And you said there was celebration.

**A:** Of course, there was.

**Q:** You were happy.

**A:** Yes, I was, because it is now a question of balancing —

**Q:** Professor.

**A:** I was happy, yes I was.

**Q:** You refused to get \$114 million in Vienna. They even came to Lagos and you were able to get \$100 million and you said you were happy.

**A:** The possibility of collapsing increased in Nigeria. Because in Nigeria, they were now in a new situation where they were now face-to-face with dealing with them any longer. They were incommunicado. In Nigeria, they face that situation. That was the difference and it was a crucial difference. And of course, we were happy.

**Q:** You were happy, not the members of the NNPC.

**A:** If it was convenient for others to say so, they could. But, nothing stops any of my experts from putting on record the foolish act of their Minister for history and for posterity, if you, a Minister, can have your way. But this is my position, as a professional.

By Kabiru Yusuf.



David-West bidding farewell to friends and foes alike after the verdict.

# The final submission

- With regard to count 1 (above) of office Tunde Olojo argues that the onus is on the prosecution to prove its case beyond all reasonable doubt. This according to Olojo, the prosecution did not successfully do. With regard to count two, the standard of proof of the Accused is that of balance of probabilities. Olojo argued that the prosecution failed to establish the ingredients of the case.
- All the prosecution witnesses testified that David-West had the mandate of the two heads of state to negotiate with Stinnes.
- The contents, and not merely the format of the \$100 million agreement was carefully vetted by the Ministry of Justice. The only reservation which the Ministry expressed was as to the power of attorney of the Stinnes representative.
- The accused did not say 57 million dollars represented breach of 1984 contract nor did any of the prosecution witnesses say that the accused waived \$57 million in lieu of damages. According to the defence, there is no evidence that the Accused allowed Stinnes to unlawfully withhold that sum under a false claim that it represented breach of 1984 contract. It was the Defence Counsel's position that NNPC officials believed there was a 1984 contract but that they devised means of pretending there was none for the purpose of negotiating with Stinnes.
- The insinuations to tea and gift of wrist watch are circumstantial evidence. The Defence argued that circumstantial evidence like suspicion cannot be ground for conviction.  
**Prosecution rests its case**
- The Accused is guilty on the first count because the three ingredients of the offence have been proved viz (a) the accused is a public officer (b) he contributed to the economic adversity of this country (c) he did this by abusing his office as Petroleum Minister.
- There was no breach of the 1984 contract because there was no 1984 contract between NNPC and Stinnes. For the 1984 contract to come into being, Stinnes was expected to fulfil certain stipulated conditions. These it failed to fulfil and so there was no 1984 contract, technically speaking. All the witnesses (NNPC Officials) testified that there was no 1984 contract between Stinnes and NNPC. Contrary to the Accused's assertion, there was no divergence of views on the 1984 contract.
- There was economic adversity at the time David-West allegedly committed the crime. Beginning from 1982, owing to foreign exchange problems, the nation began to suffer economic adversity. David-West, by conceding \$57 million to Stinnes, contributed to this existing economic adversity.
- The Accused is guilty on the second count because the

three basic ingredients viz (a) being a public officer (b) enriching someone and (c) enriching that someone corruptly have been proved beyond reasonable doubt.

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Accused on one hand, and Fred Rocky and Jansen on the other.

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- The testimony of Prince Essien, a prosecution witness that the Stinnes Lawyer prepared the final \$100 million agreement alone points the fact that there was collusion between the Accused and Stinnes before the latter came to Lagos in January 1986 to negotiate.

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If Tam David-West had remained within the confines of University of Ibadan, he would have probably led a quiet, uneventful and intellectually - fulfilling life like most academics in the nation's ivory towers. But fate had designed another route for the Professor. In the mid-seventies, Colonel Zamani Lekwot, then Military Governor of Rivers State, invited him to join his Government as Commissioner of Education. David-West accepted, took a leave of absence from the University of Ibadan and moved over to Port Harcourt. And thus began a most eventful and controversial career as public servant, the height of which on September 12, 1990 saw Professor Tam David-West facing the special Military Tribunal on the recovery of public property, on a two-court charge of corrupt enrichment.

While it is true that the Professor of



David-West: the man.

virology has no criminal record as at October 15 1990, he is however no stranger to law courts and judicial panels of inquiry. His tenure at the Rivers State Ministry of Education was dogged with controversy right from the onset. Book publishers in the State alleged that he was less than fair in the award of contracts. He was accused

portunity, among other things, to have coffee with Jansen again?

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**Q:** But do you not think you have made your position difficult because nobody else was there; no other NNPC official was there.

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## LAGOS:

**Q:** So, at the end of the whole show, you asked them to pay \$100 million.

**A:** Yes, under the circumstances.

**Q:** Once again, Professor Tam David-West, this decision was taken by you and you alone. Answer yes or no.

**A:** Yes; but the scenario is on record here in this Tribunal and we celebrated it. It is like eilat which I said yesterday. There is ample

circumstantial evidence to show this or to confirm this happiness.

**Q:** But, do you not think that it would have put you in a better position if you had discussed this final figure first of all with your staff? Why did you not allow it to be the decision of NNPC? Why was it your own decision: Why?

**A:** I hope you followed the scenario; I hope you still remembered the scenario. Then my staff were going and coming. I said yesterday —

**Q:** Two junior members of your staff.

**A:** They were not junior. They were my general staff. And one of them had been on this schedule.

**Q:** But still it was not their decision, it

## NIGERIA-IN-BRIEF

**Abuja:** President Ibrahim Babangida said in Abuja on Friday that this year's Hajj had been the most successful in the history of hajj operations in the country. He made this disclosure when he received the report of the Amirul Hajj, Oba Lamidi Adeyemi, the Alafin of Oyo on the conduct of the 1990 holy pilgrimage to Saudi Arabia. The President said that the humility and piety of Oba Adeyemi's delegation made the hajj hitch-free.

\* The presidency will no longer move to Abuja in December as earlier scheduled. No new date has yet been fixed, although it is speculated that June 1991 may find the presidency moving to Abuja.

**Lagos:** Nigeria has called for a peaceful solution to the Gulf crisis. The Minister of State for External Affairs, Alhaji Zakari Ibrahim said that Nigeria believes that diplomatic avenues to help resolve the conflict still exists. He reiterated Nigeria's support for the UN resolutions, particularly, the need for Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait.

\* Traffic wardens would soon get new uniforms as part of the current reforms being carried out in this sector of the Police Force. The New Force Headquarters Public Relations Officer (FPPRO), Mr Frank Odita who made the disclosure also said that matters concerning their welfare are being looked into.

**Kano:** No less than 20 supporters of the NRC were severely injured in two separate accidents in Kano State last weekend. The accident occurred on their way to welcome the party's chair-

man, Chief Tom Ikimi who was in Kano for a campaign. The victims who were rushed to the Murtala Mohammed Hospital are said to be responding to treatment.

**Sokoto:** Governor Bashir Magashi of Sokoto State dissolved the State Executive Council on Tuesday and appointed some new commissioners. Among those relieved of their offices were the state SMG and all directors-general. The governor

budget for next year. The new year's budget which is expected to be the last executed by the military is to include a balance budget for the new year; consolidate the gains procured by the present military administration and lay a good economic foundation for the incoming civilian regime. The Ogun State governor, Navy Captain Oladeinde Joseph who confirmed this in Abeokuta said that the state

in excess of the budget based price is kept, is now relieving state governments of some public financial constraints. The governor said that states are being given as much as 100% above their normal allocation.

**Kaduna:** Kaduna State ministerial tenders board has been disbanded and a finance and general purpose committee created to scrutinise contracts awarded by ministries and parastatals and apply sanctions on offence of contract splittings. The committee headed by the state's deputy governor, Mrs P Sadauki will serialised all contracts awarded besides deliberate on those approved by Governor Tanko Ayuba.

**Borno:** Most local governments of Borno State are to experience poor harvest this cropping season. A report prepared by the Borno State Ministry of Agriculture on drought and crop performance showed that out of the projected harvest of 3,642,673 metric tonnes of various crops, only 2,300,000 metric tonnes is now expected. Inadequate rainfall and the problem of pests and insects were identified as the reasons for poor harvest this year.

\* There has been a call for the disbandment of the Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI). The paramount traditional ruler in Uba Chieftom of Borno State, Alhaji Ismaila Hamza who made the call said Borno's DFRRI should be transferred to the state's agricultural development project (BOSADP) which he said is more competent in discharging rural programmes.



Ike Nwachukwu



Colonel Magashi

said it was a measure taken to ensure the participation of some other persons in the running of the government.

\* Hausa farmers and Fulani herdsmen were locked in a bloody clash at Barba Rejo village in Zuru local government last week and six persons were killed. The violence which was one of the many clashes between the two groups also led to the destruction of household property and unharvested crops worth thousands of Naira. In November last year, a similar collision left eleven persons dead. Meanwhile, Policemen have been deployed to the village to check further violence.

**Abeokuta:** The 21 states of the federation and Abuja have been handed a blue print by the federal government to guide the preparation of individual state

are also to audit their accounts up to the end of this year.

**Bauchi:** Brigadier Ola Williams, the Commander of the Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC), Nigerian Army said in Bauchi on Tuesday that he was optimistic the military would not stay beyond 1992 because everyone is tired of military interventions. He advised that soldiers be engaged in such activities as, shooting competitions, intensive drills and rural road construction to keep them busy and out of politics.

**Katsina:** Governor John Madaki of Katsina State disclosed last week that state governments have been granted funds under the 1989 14.586 Billion Naira stabilisation fund. The fund in which crude oil earnings

## AFRICA

## Liberia:

## Sanity at a price

November 27 may see the emergence of a negotiated settlement between the warring factions in Liberia.

After 11 months of bitter and mindless destruction of human lives and property, and at one time the presence of four self-claimed governments, a semblance of sanity gradually appears to be prevailing in Liberia.

Monrovia's main airfield, Small Spriggs Payne airport reopened Wednesday and for the time being it is being used in ferreting wounded ECOMOG soldiers to Sierra Leone. It is expected to be used in bringing much needed relief supplies. The thousands of Liberians who had fled the fighting are also picking their way home. Light and water are being provided.

Perhaps more importantly, the ECOWAS installed "interim government" has made its way into essentially Monrovia. Last week, interim Vice-President, Reginald Diggs and eight other officials were flown into Monrovia in two Nigerian helicopters, to prepare ground for the return and formal inauguration of the interim government.

Professor Sawyer, a lawyer whose Liberia Action Party, was chased out by late Samuel Doe, told Ghana's Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings in Accra that he was in no hurry to return home. He prefers a slow "build up of the presence of the interim government" in Monrovia.

One can easily understand the professor's deep reluctance to go home considering Charles Taylor's new belligerence, Prince Yormie Johnson's acknowledged "unpredictability" and the fact that Doe was killed in spite of ECOMOG.

At the moment, Professor Sawyer is spending his time visiting Ghana, Nigeria, Gambia and Guinea presumably seeking security and financial aid to resettle displaced Liberians.

When he met with Nigeria's Vice

President, Augustus Aikhomu, last week, he, not unexpectedly lashed out at critics of the legitimacy of ECOWAS intervention in the conflict. He said that "It is unfortunate that there are Africans who do not appreciate the danger posed by the crisis for the West Africa sub-region," adding that "We should not be prisoners of the concept of sovereignty."

He said that before ECOMOG, there was no authority in Liberia, they were killing each other and that a third of the country had been wiped out. Before his arrival, President Ibrahim Babangida had launched a blistering attack, though belatedly some say, on the critics of interference in other countries affairs.

General Babangida had said that Nigeria could not afford to sit on the fence because Liberia fell within the concentric circles of Nigeria's foreign and defence policy. That policy, expressed publicly for the first time, states that any threat or disaster which threatened to compromise the circle would attract a prompt and decisive reaction. He also said that Nigeria should, within this policy, prevent any crisis which threatens to jeopardise or compromise the stability and security of the sub-region.

Nigeria's ambassador to Cote d'Ivoire, Dr. Lawrence Ekpebu, put it succinctly when he said that one cannot stop the fighting in Liberia by standing on a dais in a public square, dressed in flowing *agbada* with a microphone shouting at them to halt the carnage.

Well, Charles Taylor is not accepting all that. Even though it is foolhardy of him to continue with this uncompromising attitude given the decisive fire power of the ECOMOG forces, he nevertheless, sees Nigeria as a huge stumbling block in achieving his ambi-



Sawyer: Interim President of Liberia.

tions. He has accordingly threatened to bomb Nigeria and deal ruthlessly with Sierra Leone for its role in providing landing facilities for Nigeria's war planes. Taylor's threats are not all that empty. He has acquired jet bombers and in any case controls most of the country.

This is why the five-member ECOWAS countries doing the peace-keeping bit are sending the ministerial contact group to Libya for a discussion with Gaddafi - in truth to plead with him - about ending the Liberian crisis.

The contact group found that the visit was necessary following renewal of hostilities against ECOMOG by Taylor. A statement from the ECOWAS secretariat itself alleged that Taylor had received fresh supplies of armaments and mercenaries from Libya.

The Libyan meeting is expected to be followed by an extra-ordinary summit of ECOWAS heads of state and government at Bamako on November 27 to bring about a peaceful, integrated settlement of the conflict.

Like Johnson and the remnants of Doe's men, the ECOWAS leaders want Taylor to stop the fighting he started, agree to sign a ceasefire agreement and accept the necessity for a negotiated settlement of the conflict. Even though that is very much desirable, if this what Taylor and his backers had wanted, they could easily have conceded to ECOWAS AND ECOMOG a long time ago.

By Mohammed Bomo.

# Chad on the boil again

... Libya says it is an ethnic violence, but Chad is not sure it is a tribal war.

**F**or over two weeks, Chad has found itself engulfed in war with invading forces it is yet to define with certainty. Chad is fighting invaders from without its borders, but the issue at stake is hazy.

After a series of intense fighting with the rebels last week, the government of President Habre said the rebels, numbering about 2,000 had been chased back into Sudan. But during the week, the violent clash continued in the north-east of Chad near the border post of Tine.

On Saturday, Chadian officials reported that eastern Chad was being attacked by heavily-equipped Sudan-based elements of the Islamic legion, backed by Libya. Libya, which was accused of training these foreign mercenaries launching the offensive against government forces, denied any involvement in the conflict. It stated that the trouble in Chad is strictly an ethnic one and thus, a domestic squabble which Libya has no business in. However, reiterating the allegation against Libya on Sunday in Ndjamea, the Chadian capital, Chad foreign minister, Acheik Ibn Oumar, maintained that the attacks have been launched from Darfur in Sudan and Uweinat sandwiched between Libya/Sudanese border.

Emphatically defending itself again in a statement issued from Tripoli, Libya insisted and explained that the violence in Chad is a tribal war between the Azakawas led by Idris Derby, a former Chadian Chief of staff and the Goranes represented by president Hisssein Habre. The statement disclosed further that President Habre has simply refused to make overt the pesterment which Idris Derby who went on exile in Sudan last year and his men have given Chad at the boundary of western Sudan.

Chad has not ruled out, categorically, the question of possible ethnic disagreements, but it is vouching that whoever the invaders are have the solid backing of an external force, and

Libya is it. Chad does not seem to be totally convinced it is sunk in some tribal violence like Libya has told the world, and its doubts about the ethnicity of the conflict in its entirety are founded.

Libya and Chad have a long-standing border dispute. The area being contended is the Aouzou strip which is rich in Uranium. International Law recognises Chad as its legitimate owner, but Libya claimed it for a long time until 1987 when with the assistance of France, Chad fought back Libya and controlled the region.



Habre: sinking into tribal war?

That did not end Chad's border clash with Libya over this area. Interminently, it had had to fight Libya in order to maintain control of the strip.

In 1988, in a good will message to ECOWAS during its 25th anniversary, Libya declared its decision to amicably negotiate with Chad over the disputed area and withdraw its troops subsequently from the border. But President Qaddafi would not let go of the strip, and so, its conflict with Chad has raged on over the years. Late last year, a significant clash erupted at the Chadian/Sudanese border and in October of the same year, talks between Libya and Chad were held in

order to straighten-out the dispute. The meeting came to nought as no meaningful compromise was struck.

Expectedly, the bloody collision continued with renewed attacks in March and April this year between Chadian forces and dissident men. Denying the recent accusations levelled against it, Libya affirmed that it stood by the agreement reached between the two countries, but Chad maintained that Libya and Sudan have denounced the will to destabilize from the border.

Libya's interest in the Aouzou strip



Qaddafi: insists that the war is tribal.

and the previous radio-active metal available there in large commercial quantity has consistently informed its strained relationship with Chad. While Libya is seemingly angered by what it explained as Chad's relentless resort to blaming Libya for its internal upheavals, Chad, undaunted, stressed the need for more vigilance against Libya and Sudan.

Fighting which broke out again in the Chad-Sudan Eastern border has left the border town of Koun under fierce attack by the rebels. While the clashes are continuing in Ndjamea, the rebels are yet in control of Koun.

By Delia Nzekwu.



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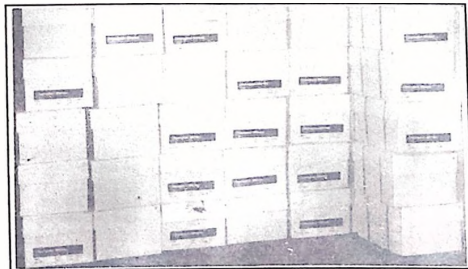


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Britain

# Smelting the Iron Lady

This week's Tory conference promises to end Mrs Thatcher's controversial tenure.

**T**he resignation speech of the Deputy Prime Minister, eloquently delivered in the House of Commons last Tuesday by Sir Geoffrey Howe, was the stew that broke the camel's back. For the first time in more than a generation of Britain's gentlemanly politics, a Prime Minister was being publicly castigated by a senior colleague. Ironically, Sir Geoffrey has been, in the last 10 years of conservative rule, one of

whitelaw and Sir, Keith Joseph.

It was a major political blow, therefore, when Sir Geoffrey suddenly resigned from his position as deputy Prime Minister nearly three weeks ago and rose in the Commons last week to say why. In his speech, Sir Geoffrey castigated the Prime Minister over her attitude to European integration which, he warned, threatened to "minimise British influence" on the continent. Sir Geoffrey described Mrs

Thatcher as the most formidable she has ever faced before. For more than a year, the opposition Labour Party has held a commanding lead over the Conservatives in the opinion polls, some 14% according to the most recent polls. This was translated into a string of bye-election defeats for the Tories, the latest of which took place in two Scottish constituencies, where a Tory candidate finished third behind Labour and the Liberal Democrats. The Tories have been in deep political trouble ever since their third consecutive general election victory in 1987. At the centre of it all is the wobbly British economy which, after 11 years of Thatcherism, has left many Britons in severe doldrums. Mrs. Thatcher has not shown much sensitivity to the plight of the poor, and only last year took steps to worsen it by imposing a uniform poll tax on all adults of 18 years and above, in place of taxes based on the level of income. Her personal style of leadership, more than a little bit haughty and autocratic, has incensed many Britons.

As the governments' position became more threatened, Mrs Thatcher attempted to cash in with bellicose statements on the Gulf crisis, clearly hoping to reap the kind of dividend from the 1982 Falklands war. Not many Britons equated the two situations, however, and it became quite clear to Tory MPs that they cannot hope to win the next general election with Mrs Thatcher in the lead. Opinion



Thatcher: the end of a reign?

Mrs Thatcher's most senior and most redoubtable ministers. He has held the top cabinet positions of Chancellor of the Exchequer and Foreign Secretary, and has outlasted most of the other senior Tory Ministers in Mrs Thatcher's cabinet, including Lord Carrington, Francis Pym, William

Thatcher's open hostility to European integration as "a very real tragedy", which he compared to the glorious days when the Tories were led by Winston Churchill, a fervent advocate of Maximising British influence on the continent.

Sir Geoffrey's speech landed Mrs. Thatcher in more trouble than she



Howe: his resignation started it all.

polls showed that nearly two-thirds of British conservatives want her to resign as party leader.

With Sir Geoffrey's speech last Tuesday having prepared the way, the stage was set for a major challenge to the prime minister when Tory MP's meet this week to elect a party leader, as they must do annually. Since becoming Prime Minister in February 1979, Mrs. Thatcher was annually endorsed without challenge until last

year, when she beat off a token challenge. This time, however, the challenge is for real. On Wednesday last week, 24 hours before nominations closed, former Defence Secretary Michael Heseltine formally declared that he would challenge Mrs. Thatcher. Mr. Heseltine resigned as defence secretary in 1985 in an open disagreement with the Prime Minister over her attitude to Europe. At issue then was the sale of the govern-

ment owned West land helicopter company, which the Prime Minister wanted to sell to an American company over a European consortium.

In throwing the gauntlet last week Mr. Heseltine pledged to remove poll taxes if he becomes Prime Minister, which is automatic if he wins the position of Tory leader. Mr. Heseltine's position boosted by opinion polls published in *The Independent* newspaper, which showed that Labour's 14% lead over the conservatives will be cut to 5% if he is elected the party leader. Some other polls actually predicted that the conservatives will overtake Labour if he is elected. As at last week, 100 Tory MP's had pledged to support him for this week's contest. This is only one-quarter of the number of Tory MP's and is not enough to defeat Mr. Thatcher. If no one wins this week's contest, a run-off will have to be held next week.

Either way, there is every chance that the Iron Lady is about to be smelted for good.

By Mahmud Je

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Japan:

# Banzaï!

**Emperor Akihito ascends the Chrysanthemum throne with pomp and pageantry, hoping to reign for a long time to come.**

**E**arly in the morning last Monday, Japanese Emperor Akihito, 56, stepped out to the ceremonial Outer Palace within the confines of the great Imperial Palace in Tokyo for his formal installation on the 2,000 year-old Chrysanthemum throne. According to ancient tradition, the installation must await the first rice harvest after a year of mourning for the departed emperor, in this case Akihito's father Hirohito, who died in January 1989 at the age of 89.

Preceding Akihito to the ornate installation platform were the Princes of the Blood, all dressed in black silk, and the Princesses of the Blood, all wearing white *Kimono*. Waiting all the while were hundreds of Japanese dignitaries and guests from 160 foreign countries. Akihito himself proceeded to the platform, moving very slowly, dressed in Imperial robes dating from the 10th century A.D.

The spectacular ceremony included elaborate rituals and worshipping sessions at old Shinto shrines to the spirits of departed emperors. The Emperor also received the sacred mirror, sword and necklace, traditional symbols of his spiritual authority. These elaborate rituals, last enacted during Hirohito's ascension in 1926, are designed to invest the Japanese Emperor as a god-king, a status they have enjoyed since the first emperor, Jimmu, reputed to be the son of the granddaughter of the Japanese Sun goddess, Hime-ko.

Akihito, 72 generations removed from Emperor Jimmu, inherits a throne that is now devoid of most power and influence. To be sure, the paraphernalia of the Imperial Palace is intact, including the great moats, the personal shrines, the Plaza and the Fukiage Gardens. The Pavilion of Concubines, however, has not held any since the death of Emperor Meiji

in 1912.

The throne lost all its power after Japan's defeat in the Second World War in 1945. The commander of the American Occupation forces, General Douglas MacArthur, had forced Akihito's father, Hirohito, to address his people on the radio and specifically renounce his claims to divinity. It was only the second time a Japanese emperor spoke on the radio; the first time was three months before, in August 1945, when Hirohito broadcast to his people announcing Japan's surrender. MacArthur followed up this humiliation by imposing a western-style constitution on Japan, which transformed the emperor into a constitutional monarch. It was the greatest setback the emperors had to face since the Meiji Restoration of 1868, when they wrested more power out of the hands of their war chiefs, the Tokugawa *sho-*

nes, Burma and Hawaii, who bore the brunt of Imperial Japan's aggressive militarism in the 1920's, 1930's and 1940's. Despite their misgivings about the Japanese Emperor, they had assembled at the ceremony largely to honour modern Japan, whose economy is already the largest in the world after the United States'.

Japanese left-wingers, who dread a return to Japan's militarist past, did what they could to mar the ceremony. Despite the presence of 37,000 policemen around Tokyo, 20 explosions were set off by them during the occasion, although no one was killed or injured.

At the other end of Japan's polarised political spectrum, right-wing nationalists were bitterly disappointed by Akihito's conciliatory speech. Nationalists in Japan have

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**"Japanese left-wingers, who dread a return to Japan's militarist past, did what they could to mar the ceremony. Despite the presence of 37,000 policemen around Tokyo, 20 explosions were set off by them during the occasion, although no one was killed or injured."**

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*guns.* Before the American *coup*, the Japanese Constitution merely 'recognised' the powers of the emperor, whom it described as "sacred and inviolable".

In his installation speech, Emperor Akihito pledged to abide by the post-war constitution and reiterated his country's commitment to peace. Akihito's words came as a relief to many of his foreign guests, especially those from Korea, China, the Phillip-

long campaigned for a return to the full martial glories of Imperial Japan, with the emperor restored to his position as a national god-king. With fire in their eyes, the nationalists would then be able to draw their *Samurai* shortswords, take a deep bow and execute a frenzied charge, intoning all the while, "*Banzaï!*". That is to say, may the Emperor live 10,000 years.

By Mahmud Jega.



BILKISU YUSUF

## Spirit of enterprise

The senate chambers of the National Assembly complex came to life last week in response to the Africa Regional Workshop of the International Federation of Business and Professional Women. (IFBPW) The workshop, hosted by the local chapter, Nigeria Federation of Business and Professional women (NFBPW) had as its theme "Developing women's Entrepreneurial, Organisational and Management Skill". It opened like any other salt and sugar worthy women's conference, usually graced by champions of Better Life for Rural Women. Mrs. Rebecca Aikhomu, declared the conference open on behalf of the First Lady, Mrs. Maryam Babangida.

With delegates drawn from several African countries, it was a gathering of professionals who are making waves at the international level. Dr. Yvette Swan of Bermuda, an optometrist is the current international president of the IFBPW and the first black president in its 60 years of existence.

Dr. Swan told participants that "the women of the world have a new faith. That faith is that we believe in each other, in ourselves and even in our destiny". That destiny is a commitment to serve humanity. Swan's suave posture was complemented with the down-to-earth rural looks and articulate stance of Dr. Esther Ocloo of Ghana. An activist of several decades, Dr. Ocloo is the chairman of IFBPW's standing committee for United Nations and one of two Africans recently named winners of the 1990 Africa prize for leadership for the sustainable campaign to end hunger. The other is General Obasanjo, the former head of state. Ocloo observed that "while the women in

the eastern, central and southern parts of Africa have distinguished themselves as experts in handicrafts, those in the west have distinguished themselves as shrewd traders and industrialists". She however lamented the decline in the number of self employed women which she attributed to their inability to cope with rapid technological and scientific development. Ocloo set the tone of the workshop as participants identified obstacles hindering the full fledged development of women entrepreneurs.

My paper titled "The Odds Against Female Managers" highlighted the fact that little premium is placed on the economic role of women who are the "shrewd traders and industrialists" identified by Ocloo. These women have been active traders from pre-independence era. Today, women still hew wood and carry water in the rural areas, they till land which most of them do not own and also run the homes, doing the bulk of the household chores. In addition, women in paid employment make vital input in the labour market in urban areas. But alertness that has gone untested for too long decays into complacency. Society takes women labour for granted and there is a devaluation of women's contribution to the development process even when it is obvious that withdrawal of their services will stall progress in all sectors.

We ought to imagine the chaotic state of our homes without the women who cook, wash and farm. If they were to embark on just a week long worldwide strike, will the public and private sectors feel the ripples? The obvious answer is yes. But women do not wield boardroom or stock exchange power and their output goes unrecorded as part of their country's Gross National Product GNP. It is therefore convenient to conclude that they do not contribute to the country's eco-

nomie growth. This distortion exists for reasons of both dubious statistics and benign intent. Dubious statistics: Women are proud manufacturers in the Agro-allied sector where they grow and process food in addition to fetching water, cooking, nurturing healthy children and producing handicrafts. But such output is notoriously difficult to measure. As for benign intent: Government ordained privatisation of enterprises is designed to ensure participation of women and low income earners. It therefore directed banks to grant loans for purchase of shares. But few women and low income earners have access to banks. Benign intent therefore amounts to government erring on the right side. Entrepreneurial skills apart, women who from time immemorial proved to be commandants of the kitchen and prudent managers in the home are denied the opportunity to extend the same expertise to corporate affairs. Rather, there is a preponderance of them in low paying jobs and the "helping" professions. This further diminishes their ability to exert any authority or influence. The vicious cycle of deprivation is complete.

One vital solution lies in women collating and publishing statistics (currently hushed up) on their contributions to the productive and service sectors. It is a sure step to assessing women's work in the family, household and farms as an integral part of the economy, and reflecting it as such. Education of women must be pursued with vigour and it should include understanding the impact of the economy on our daily lives.

Delegates therefore carried their resolutions home to unfold (one hopes) a theatre of action and instill the spirit of enterprise in women of their various countries. The struggle continues.

# DIRECTORATE FOR SOCIAL MOBILISATION, BAUCHI

*Our Journey so far — Dr. Musa Moda*

Since the launching of MAMSER on 25 July, 1987 and the inauguration of the Directorate on 2nd September, 1987 MAMSER Bauchi has lived up to the expectation of what it was established to achieve.

Setting up the Directorate for Social Mobilisation (MAMSER) therefore, was an appreciation of the urgent need to set the machinery for effective channelisation of the energies of Nigerians in the interest of all, of the nation.

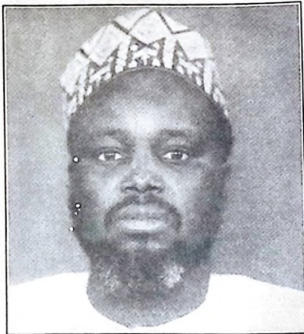
The Bauchi State MAMSER directorate has been in the fore front of the process of actualising these noble goals. This has been as a result of the dynamism and resourcefulness of both its staff and the general public.

Areas of focal attention has been mass literacy, political education and social justice from which the majority of grass roots people have benefited tremendously. This is expressed in the number of new literates, number of beneficiaries of Social justice programmes, level of political awareness in Bauchi state, the number of women now actively involved in politics and industry as well as the rising trend in grass root interest in co-operative activities.

Perhaps, it is convenient to consider the programmes separately to be able to appreciate the degree of success the Directorate has recorded.

## POLITICAL EDUCATION:-

This division was created to carry out the process of raising the political awareness of the citizenry and, arousing social consciousness. Political education of the Nigerian people is considered very impor-



Dr. Musa Moda:  
Director, MAMSER, Bauchi State.

tant if the goal of involving a new social order and the political emancipation of the people is to be achieved.

The Bauchi State Directorate's main concern in the political education programme has been not only to notify, translate and package information to suit the different groups within the state but also, to originate specific activities.

Along with the Mass Mobilisation, the political education Division has striven to identify the different publics within the state to help with ensuring proper contacts. It has paid particular attention to women groups.

The first test of the activities of the Directorate for Social Mobilisation and indeed the Division of political education was the Local Government Elections of December 1987. The Division mounted rigorous campaign to urge people to come out en mass to dis-

charge their civic responsibility and elect Local leaders of their choice on a zero party basis. During the process, electoral procedures, rules and regulations on the conduct of the elections were explained to the people.

Both the Directorate and National Electoral Commission in Bauchi came out with publications explaining basic issues on election participant should know which were widely circulated and published by staff of the divi-

sion. As a result of the activities of the political education Division a lot of people were sensitized once again to go out and cast their votes.

In April, 1988 some few months after the election of chairmen and councillors of the Local Government Councils, was the election of Constituent Assembly members. To elect these members, the local government councils were constituted into an electoral college. Similarly, to ensure that they elected people on the basis of the ability and integrity. Series of enlightenment campaigns were carried out in the various Local Government Councils in the State with a view to ensuring that only competent people were elected.

Related to the activities of constituent Assembly members, was publicity programmes that were embarked upon to enlighten the general public on the provisions of the reviewed 1979 constitution of



Governor Chris Ali of Bauchi State.



MAMSER Chairman Prof. Jerry Gana.

the Federal Republic of Nigeria. This particular exercise was not only meant to acquaint Nigerians with the general provisions of the document but to also sensitize and conscientise them towards making meaningful inputs on the debates in the constituent Assembly.

When in May 1989, the Federal Military Government lifted the ban on partisan politics and subsequently released guide-lines on the formation of political parties, the Division in conjunction with others, organised series of public enlightenment campaigns in the 20 Local Government Areas of the State between July and September 1989.

The various enlightenment programmes were aimed at ensuring that the political parties that were to emerge were popularly based, well organised with good and highly relevant programmes for the benefit of the people.

At the first instance several towns and villages which included Misau, Billiri/Kaltungo, Gombe, Katagun, Bauchi, Balanga, Tallase, Dukku, Shira, Jamaare, Dass, Ningi, Akko, Toro Matada Bajoga, Yamaltu, Deba, Alkaleri, Tafawa Balewa, Darazo, Ita and Gadau, were covered. Im-

mediately the two grass root democratic political parties sponsored by the Government emerged and their draft constitution and manifestoes produced, the political education Division of the Directorate for Social Mobilisation embarked on an extensive and intensive public enlightenment programme in the state, on the contents of the manifestoes and the constitutions of National Republican Convention (NRC) and the Social Democratic Party (SDP) combined with a call on the people of the State to join the party of their choice were carried out.

In January alone five hundred and twenty towns and villages were covered. To achieve this feat, the Directorate divided the state into four zones with a head of Division covering five Local Government Area each. Each Head was assisted by five other staff altogether seven hundred and sixty-five towns and villages were visited by the first quarter of the year.

#### MASS EDUCATION DIVISION

The Bauchi state Directorate in its years of existence has accorded a very high premium to Mass Education. It was to all intents and purpose viewed as one of the key

programmes of the Directorate.

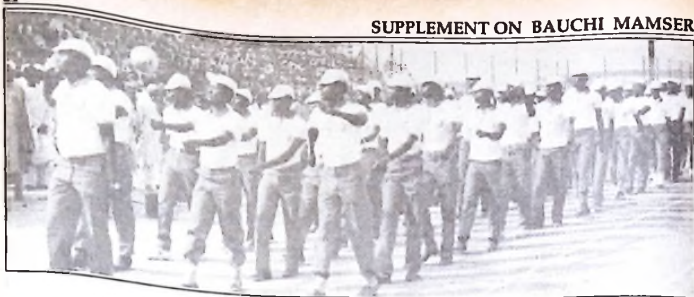
Literacy, as we all know represents a vital key to knowing one's rights duties and responsibilities. It represents access to the liberation of the mind and the body. It is a sure way of ensuring that individual Nigerians know not only their right but their responsibilities, obligations and the limitation imposed by certain forces in the society.

It is therefore the conviction of the Directorate that by promoting mass literacy it will be promoting the liberation of Nigerian nation from ignorance and other liabilities which militate against its development in general.

#### ADULT AND NON FORMAL EDUCATION AGENCY

As soon as the Division was created a survey of catchment areas of anxious learners was carried out between January and March, 1988 and were registered/entered in the state. But the programme commenced effectively in May, 1988. During this month an induction for instructors was held and some of them were subsequently employed on part time basis for a period of six months.

Thus a total of 800 literacy classes-



WAI Brigade during an outing in Bauchi.

were open with 1000 trained instructors to handle two classes each. All the instructional materials and tuition were provided free of charge throughout the duration. The classes were ran between August 1988 and January 1989 at the end of the course 42,000 out of the 50,000 participants were successful.

#### WOMEN PROGRAMME

We have achieved success in this field. WOMEN organizations in the state were hitherto unknown and dormant. With the advent of MAMSER, we were able to identify thirty one (31) and then created common form for them.

Infact it was from here, that the better life programme which is currently being headed by the Governor's wife took off.

There are 1,262 women multi-purpose cooperative society. Having identified their problems through meetings, workshop's public enlightenment and seminar. MAMSER in conjunction with other relevant agencies came to their rescue.

Over 6,900 women in the state benefited from MAMSER Literacy classes. They are currently benefiting from our MASS Literacy materials.

#### WAI BRIGADE

Since its incorporation to MAMSER in 1988, the WAI Brigade has been engaged in Series of training programmes at State and local levels there was the nation wide WAI Brigade Campaign in September, 1989, in which a total of 800 volunteers were camped and trained for one week. After the nation-wide camping, the Directorate assisted in the TRAIN THE TRAINERS camping organised by each of the local government units in the state.

This is in addition to the state participation in the state WAI Commander's course at Keffi in Plateau state and the state WAI Commander meeting at Bauchi. The state and local training Programmes include:-

- (a) Physical Education
- (b) Drilling and parade
- (c) Martial Arts (un-armed combat)
- (d) Political Transition Programme
- (e) Political Education and Patriotism
- (f) Discipline and Social Justice
- (g) First Aid.

The BAUCHI State WAI Command, do participate on National and State sanitation days. Members dressed in WAI uniform do join the State task to enforce sani-

tation edict. The joint Operation, has been accepted and appreciated by the state government and the general public in Bauchi.

Other voluntary programmes being embarked upon by WAI Brigade includes enlightenment campaigns on mass immunisation, political enlightenment campaigns, assisting road wardens in directing traffic and engaging in all Ceremonial occasion organised by the Federal and State Agencies. Membership recruitment into the Brigade is voluntary. It is opened to all Nigerians between the ages of 12 and 45.

#### CONCLUSION

In the words of the state Director of MAMSER Dr. Musa Moda "Our achievements are not easily quantifiable, since the task of mobilisation is an attitudinal one i.e., it is a programme aimed at changing attitudes, beliefs and behaviour which are anchored on practices rooted in many years of tradition. Nevertheless, because of the conviction of the Directorate's staff of the need of this change and their dedication to the achievement of the objectives of the Directorate, I'm proud to say in all that when the roll is called, Bauchi State will stand out as one of the state where the citizenry are highly democratic and just order".

# Citizen

## SOCIETY

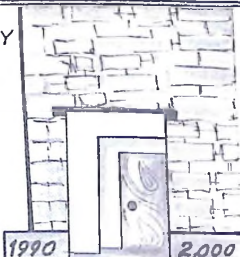
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BBC Lions celebrating yet another victory. Page 47

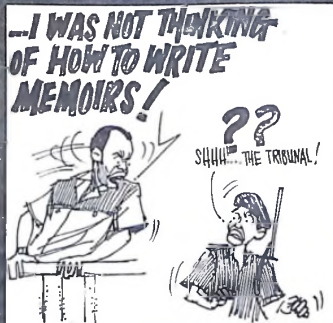
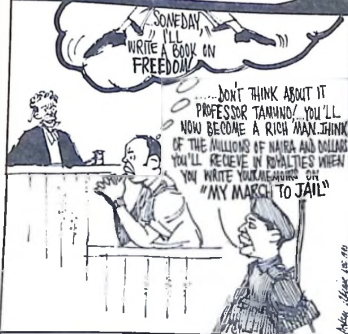
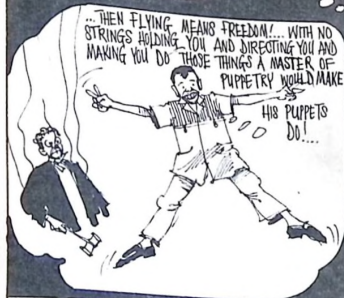
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MY CONSOLATION IS THAT I LOST MY  
FREEDOM  
AND NOT MY  
HAND



# Citizenship

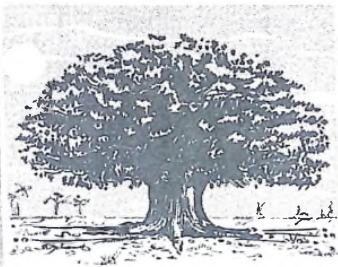
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ADAMU ADAMU S

DEFINITIONS  
IN HUMOUR

## No Future Ambition

Yesterday, I received a letter from a promising definer. Here it is: my preliminary comments are in italics in brackets.

Sir,

RE: NFA, psc, fss

Many thanks for brightening our days with your definitions in humour. (*brighter grammar*)

We are indeed looking forward to the launching of an "Adamu Adamu's Dictionary of Humour" (*hictionary*)

However, some readers are saying that you got some of your recent definitions wrong. (*wrongful assault*)

The other day a friend chipped in that NFA is not "Nigerian Factor" Association as defined, but "No Future Ambition". And that when someone writes psc and/or fss after his name, he is telling us that he "passed school certificate" and "failed standard six"! (*rolling stone gathers moss*)

Could that explain why they are usually written in small letters? Please help ask those stern-looking neighbours of yours. Through the window of course. (*left — right, left — right, grrrrrr!*)

— Ahmad C. Efebell

Dear Ahmad,

Thank you so much for your definitions. And never mind my stern-looking neighbours. I have no time for them, and I hope to God they also have none for me. Your definitions are better — I

lack the draconian humour you seem to possess in such abundance. Yet there is much in common between yours and mine if you look with the discerning eye. You wrote that

NFA means "No Future Ambition" and not the "Nigerian Factor" Association as I defined.

The "Nigerian Factor" as we all know, is that which makes things Nigerian by making them not work as they do elsewhere on this big planet.

But we both forgot to indicate clearly whether the NFA we were defining referred to The Nigerian Football Association or the Nigeria-France Association. That of course left the NAF alone — mercifully. We'll come to it.

And come to think of it, if someone "passed school certificate" after he's "failed standard six", he deserves congratulations. Or are you trying to insinuate that you will rather attribute this latter-day brilliance to exam leakage than extraordinary effort? Remember that in Nigeria we do last things first. Don't you obey before complaining; and shouldn't it be the other way round? But if Nigerians decide that everything in life is like laughter — better when it is last — who is there to stop them doing it first, and fast, and forgetting to follow up on the others?

NAF — Like the NFA (No Future Ambition) it can be defined as *No Ambition in Future*. Alternatively you could say *Nigerian Airbone Fools*. And a fool and his ambition, of course, are soon parted. Thank the merciful Lord that he had it in the first place.

NASI — Nigerian Army School of

*Infanticide*.

CSC — *Centre for Secret Contacts*.

NN — No News — sailors ahoy! Twenty four men on the live man's chest. Yo! ho!! ho!!! and a bottle of — *champagne*. Yeah!

Coup d'etat — Coup deters progress.

NDA — *Nigerian Defiant Academy*. Only its graduates have so far successfully subverted the constitution of the motherland.

NPF — *Nigerian Polling Force*. Now that they are doing open ballot, no one can misuse the NPF — very unfortunately. *Wetin you cast?* No use, medicine after death.

DII — *Directorate of Intelligence and Investigations*. That's what the name claims but they never do either intelligently and nor does the investigation come up with any finding. It used to be CID — an investigation department that was criminal in nature. Still is.

DIC — *Long scrapped*. One wonders what its anagram — DIC — is doing. Making furniture to defend the nation's territorial integrity against attack perhaps.

Daft Definitions: From The Armada Book of FUN.

Archaeologist — One whose career lies in ruins.

Minimum — (*mini-mum*) a very small mother.

Well-Bred — One brought up in a well.

Barbecue — (*Barber-cue*) — People (in line) waiting to have their hair cut.



## 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.

## Kaduna's musical woes

**A**s the campaign for the local government elections gather momentum, all manner of campaign tactics are being adopted by the various contestants. What I did not expect was a carnival of some sort. So you can imagine my surprise when on a quiet evening last week citizens of Kaduna metropolis had their fill of an end of year dance fiesta. Business was drawing to a close when the sound of Ogene drums rent the air at the small settlement sandwiched between Kabala Costain and Constitution road. As the drumming continued the rhythm of the unmistakable whistle of Igbo got louder. It was uplifting enough to move spirits and they appeared. Yes in broad daylight and they were visible enough for you to touch. Thanks to Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*. We now know that Igbo masquerades are the spirits of departed ancestors who return to earth on special occasions.

What could be more special than the unfolding transition programme that will send the khaki boys back to the barracks and give the "bloody civil-

ians" a taste of the action? Even spirits appreciate the virtues of democracy and this they have proved by their appearance from the world beyond. So while the republican "spirits" danced



their way around the Kabala playground, another distinctly different tone of music filled the air. Heavy Yoruba talking drums boomed in a bass mixture of *Sakara* music. Then the Yoruba drummers appeared dancing in circular waves round the Igbo troupe. They were closely followed by the Hausa *kalangu* drummers and

*kakki* trumpeters.

By now the scene of the mini 'NAFEST' festival was complete as the strange mixture of WAZOBIA music held the attention of passersby while the troupe's movement along busy Constitution Road disrupted the flow of traffic. There was no way you could ignore either the music, the long line up of cars or the dancing masquerades — sorry spirits. As they made their merry-go round they gathered crowds of idle teenagers who trailed them to enjoy the rare carnival. But when I asked one of the youngmen distributing posters who is giving the electorate this well deserved comic relief of some music? And what does he want? For an answer, I got a poster introducing one Alhaji Dabo Mohammed, a National Republican Convention (NRC) national delegate who is contesting for chairmanship of Kaduna local government. The poster contained no promises of what he would do when elected but one thing you certainly won't be short of is WAZOBIA music and republican spirits at regular carnivals. Who cares about any services like sanitation, health and good roads when you can dance all your problems away?

## The Barons

### Act 1 — Scene 2

**A**t various Nigerian prisons, detention camps or houses.

Most of the Super Barons were detained at Kirikiri Prisons but the lesser souls — ordinary barons, baronets and their hangers-on were kept at other possibly less secure penitentiaries or other habitations converted into detention camps: the already congested prisons in the country could not possibly contain the thousands of politicians and their cohorts rounded up in the wake of the December 1983 coup. The gathering of so many people of like and unlike minds had its unintended side effects on the attitudes of the prisoners. It produced a sort of cameraderie

amongst hitherto political opponents confined at Kirikiri, Ikoyi, Ibadan, Kaduna, Enugu, Gashua and other prisons in the country. Hear them:

Baron Maiyasin: Last night, I recited Surat Yasin 100 times and implored Allah to bring we politicians together. Baron Nagari preached this theme and argued, correctly, that there were only two parties in Nigeria — the Civilian Party (CP) and the Military Party (MP) but he was ignored by our opponents. The military exploited disunity amongst us and sacked all of us — not just the government controlled by our great party — but all governments! Those who were jubilating over the overthrow of the federal government by the soldiers now share prison cells with us. This shared fate should bring us together.

Baron Nanene: Yes, we are all together — as Col. Dimka, the executed coup plotter, would have said. How-

ever, I cannot see myself associating with those characters in the other political parties that gave us a lot of headache — especially those in the so-called Progressive Peoples Alliance (PPA). Never, they go their own way, we go ours.

Baron Maitaaji: Well, well. I lost election in 1979 but won in 1983 only to be removed from office within three months. Nevertheless I share the views of Baron Maiyasin that the political class, especially at leadership level, should come together and confront the Khaki boys as one block next time round.

Baron Maidaauri: Agreed but who will initiate the move to unite the politicians and when.

Baron Maltumbi: You, Maidaauri, should make the move since you have always associated with the southerners. That's why we call you baron Nagusun (of the South). The unity move should start right now, in the prison cells — beginning from Kirikiri.



# Citizen

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# Recipes from Africa

## KENKEY

### Ghana

Ingredients	Metric
Maize flour (cornmeal)	1 kg
Pepper Fish	1 kg
Fresh pepper, ground	2 tsp
Tomato purée	1 tbsp
Onion, ground	2 tsp
Oil	1 tsp
Salt to taste	

Prepare kanke a week or two before you need it or buy ready-made corn dough. Mix the cornmeal (maize flour) with sufficient water to make a fairly stiff dough. Tie up dough in a muslin and suspend in a pan, cover and allow to ferment for a week or two. Knead well and mould into small portions inside corn sheaves or in aluminium foil. Steam in a cooking pot for about an hour or until well cooked. Serve hot with pepper fish.

#### Pepper Fish Method:

In a saucepan, heat the oil and fry the fresh fish until cooked and crisp. Mix the peppers, onion and tomato purée with salt, garnish the fish with it.

## ABOLOO

### Ghana

Ingredients	Metric
Maize flour (cornmeal)	450 kg
Milk or milk and water	500 ml
Sugar	100 g

Mix the cornmeal flour with part of the milk and water and the sugar into a fairly thick paste. In a deep saucepan, heat the rest of the milk and half pint of water and bring to the boil.

Stir in the flour paste into the boiling water to slightly stiff paste. Cook for about 10 minutes, wrap small portions in banana leaves and allow to cool and set. Alternatively, use jelly moulds. Serve cold on its own or crushed into milk with sugar.

## DIOMBRE

### Ivory Coast

Ingredients	Metric
Dry okra, well crushed in mortar	100 g
Prime beef or mutton	450 g
Tomato purée	1 tbsp
Medium-sized ripe fresh tomatoes	3
Medium onion	1
Chilli powder	1 tsp
Butter	50 g
Pinch of thyme	
Salt to taste	
Oil	3 tbsp

Cut the meat into small pieces and rinse it; boil with salt and thyme until tender. In a saucepan heat the oil and lightly fry the meat. Chop the onion and fresh tomatoes and add to the meat, let it cook for 5 minutes. Stir in the rest of the fresh of the ingredients with a cup of water. Cover the pot and simmer until the meat is well cooked, and the chilli cooked. Stir in the dry crushed okra and continue to simmer for a further 5-10 minutes. Serve with fufou (fufu), or cassava or rice.

## FUTU

### Ivory Coast

Ingredients	Metric
Meat	1 kg
Dry fish	450 g
Fresh crisp okra, finely chopped	225 g
Fresh ground chilli powder	1/2 tsp
Medium onion, ground	1
Chicken stock, made from chicken cube	500 ml
Tomato purée	1 tbsp
Garden eggs, egg plant diced or Aubergine, diced	2
	1



Roasted ground-nuts, puréed 100 g

Palmnut oil 100 ml  
Salt to taste

Boil the meat with salt and a slice of onion for 20 minutes. Add the chilli powder, tomato purée, onion, palmnut oil, chicken stock and cook for 20 minutes. Stir in the groundnut purée and garden eggs or aubergine and simmer for 10 minutes. Add the fish and the okra and continue to simmer a further 10 minutes. Serve hot with fufou (fufu).

## KUKU

### Kenya

Ingredients	Metric
Chicken	1
Curry powder	1 tbsp
Large onion, sliced	1
Mixed spice	1 tsp
Cornflour (cornstarch)	1 tbsp
Cooking oil	200 ml
Salt to taste	

Clean chicken and cut into portions. Wash well and season with the spice, salt and onion. Cover and leave to stand for about two hours. Heat the oil and fry chicken portions, keeping the heat low to allow chicken to brown well. Remove chicken and put in a saucepan with two cups of water. Simmer until chicken is cooked. Stir the curry powder and cornflour into the leftover oil in the frying pan adding a little of the chicken stock to make a smooth gravy. Pour this over the chicken, cover and simmer for 10 minutes. Serve hot with irio or rice.

## Expression

**W**hat is it like to seek life "in silences and acts"? How does it feel to make a confession of faith or to feel lonely due to the absence of a friend. To know what it feels when a Citizen is born or when an aircraft crashes, please join our poets.

### The Gulp

A light year's gulp severed us  
 Though our fathomless dream mar-  
 ried  
 We swam in the unilateral sea of  
 aloneness  
 Because the gulp severed us.  
 My tears caked into the islands  
 of longing, seeking your ismuth  
 and the oars of my resolve trode  
 the watery bridge.  
 But irate waves warned  
 me of drowning  
 some restive tide washed  
 the showery culvert of my tears  
 and a gulp severed us  
 of psychological tradeethnic  
 and material tattoos.  
 Your own cardiac dam once  
 warmed the gulp  
 on bursting  
 now the harmattan of regulations  
 ruled the crest but longong  
 would create coastal masses  
 and sandy branches of tougher re-  
 solve  
 soon the gulp would dry  
 and in the silver-sanded beaches of  
 love, and  
 in hand we shall frolic  
 into earth's eden.

By Ibrahim Sheme

### A confession of faith

I confess this faith:  
 pain is the heirloom  
 of my generation  
 rage is the spirit  
 of my age  
 my universe pulsates  
 only to the rhythm  
 of one imperative —  
 to stand, unbowed,

a flashing column of refusal!  
 The rich folds of my night  
 are studded with gems of pain and  
 flashpoints of my fury  
 bum holes of blazing fire  
 in this globe  
 of bitter darkness  
 no,

I cannot deny  
 the twin rivers of my soul:  
 oh, river of anguish!  
 oh, river of rage!

The purl-song of my rivers  
 is a dazzling cameo  
 of agony and fury  
 I wear it  
 without shame  
 at my throat  
 for anguish has its claws  
 deep in my writhing soul.

Osaze Lanre Ehonwa

### I seek life

(Songs to the United States of  
 America)

I seek life  
 in the crevices of trees,  
 roots that touch, and  
 the flower's hidden womb.  
 I crave life  
 not in the celebrations of conceit,  
 dry winds to sooth the battered  
 self;  
 I seek life, in silences and acts,  
 self-prepared to birth our con-  
 ceived selves.  
 To touch life  
 in the infant's grip; the calloused  
 hands  
 black-ringed around the nail; the  
 boy's high laugh  
 tremulous from what is unbroken;  
 in ageing tremors, the coward's  
 despair, the mind in flight;  
 Here where life is bent and broken  
 and beaten, twisted and piled into  
 metal heaps  
 I mother the winds of our separate  
 fears  
 cradle the laughter that is taut  
 between our eyes.

By Omolara Ogundipe Leslie



### Cosmic birth of Citizen

Joy of the mother  
 Becomes highly spirited in expecta-  
 tion  
 Moody in the joyest moment of life  
 Held by the threshold of delight  
 Eventually.  
 Aha! the shrill cry  
 In cosmic rays  
 Resounding ones and ones again  
 Breathes to limelight  
 The fresh and fresh  
 Into the magnetic influx  
 Of politics, Economics and cul-  
 tures of life  
 Like hugs of cronies  
 O! the shrill cry again  
 Adoring the mother's face  
 To an affectionate smile  
 Revealing the glittering  
 Toils of glued egg-heads  
 Reaching out to dearie quest  
 Of cosmopolitan persons  
 Not allowing it to slip  
 Like the rains seeping through the  
 soil  
 Lets toast to the cinderella of  
 yesters  
 She's freshly so fresh  
 Ah! looking chunky and firm  
 Ready to root up tare  
 That's that on a platter of GOLD  
 Christened 'Citizen  
 Panned out of a sparkling golden-  
 egg  
 O! O! O! the shrill cry again  
 C-I-T-I-Z-E-N!!!  
 JOY of all — Bon Joyage chum.

By Amin Sheid Anakobe

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## GUIDE — LINE

## Little Things

Most of us  
miss out  
on life's  
big prizes.  
The Pulitzer.  
The Nobel.  
Oscars.  
Tonys.  
Emmys.  
But we're  
all eligible  
for life's  
small pleasures.  
A pat  
on the back.  
A kiss  
behind the ear.  
A four-pound bass.  
A full moon.  
An empty  
parking space.  
A crackling fire.  
A great meal.  
A glorious sunset.  
Hot soup.  
Cold beer.  
Don't fret  
about copping life's  
grand awards.  
Enjoy its  
tiny delights.  
There are plenty  
for all of us.

# Citizen

ALL THE NEWS IN PERSPECTIVE

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## SPORTS

## Cup Winners Cup:

## Can Lions roar to glory?

**T**here is a looming possibility that this year may be another fruitless chase for our clubs in international football competition. Hope has worn thin and the burning fire of expectation has been reduced to a flicker following the failure of three out of the four clubs that carried the country's name to international soccer competitions to bring home any prize. BCC Lions of Gboko who will this Saturday in Lagos meet Club Africain of Tunisia in the first leg final of the Cup Winners Cup (Mandela's Cup) are the only survivors.

Fate began its funny tricks with JIB Rocks of Jos when they crashed out of the crisis ridden West African Football Union (WAFU) Cup in the first round of the competition. The expectation of football fans fizzled out on WAFU cup defending champions, Ranchers Bees when the club was manoeuvred out of the competition by the unholy alliance of the francophone countries within the sub-regional football union. Most painfully of all, our ambition of winning for the first time the Champions Clubs Cup got scuttled when Iwuanyanwu Nationale, the country's representatives crashed out in the semi-final.

The last ray of hope for the country now rests with BCC Lions. The two final matches are standing between the Lions and the Mandela's cup which was last won by Nigeria 12 years ago. But those two matches are very crucial because they pitch the Benue Cement Company boys against our most dreadful foes, the north Africans. BCC Lions no doubt rate among the best team who started the competition. Their resounding 6-1 victory over Grupo Desportivo in the second leg semi-final is a good example of their passion for the cup. But can the Lions similarly roar to victory on Saturday against Club Africain who ousted defending champions El-Merrieh of Sudan to qualify for final?

The Lions can roar to cup glory if only they know that they have a very tough opponents in the North Africans and prepare well to match them gut for gut. It is frightening to recall the numerous defeats that our clubs have suffered from the superior might of clubs from north African countries. In 1975, Nigeria's chance of winning the champions cup for the first time was shattered right here in Lagos when IICC Shooting Stars (now Shooting Stars Sports Club) of Ibadan lost 0-1 to Zamalek of Egypt at the National Stadium after a

goalless first leg final in Cairo. Another Egyptian club Ahly National in 1985 aborted Leventis United Cup winners Cup dream in the second leg final in Lagos. It was double defeats for Nigeria from the better organised and more technical north African clubs in 1988 when Ranchers Bees fell victims of Athletic Club Bizerte of Tunisia in the Cup Winners Cup final while Nationale also lost in the final of Champions Cup to Entente Setif of Algeria.

What really makes these north African clubs thick? This is what should be



BCC Lions in a celebration mood during their semi-final match with Grupo of Mozambique

of keen interest to BCC Lions. Their impressive success and virtual dominance of the two continental championships stem from perfect organisation and astute management. Most of the clubs have a long history of professionalism which has led to an enviable legacy of high standard. This explains why they usually have array of highly skillful and technically sound players who can survive the most grueling opposition. The north Africans also have an edge in speed. They are faster on the pitch than our players. This gives them more advantage in ball possession. But their most rewarding asset is that they have more technical grasp of the game than our clubs. Some of their coaches can read a game with relative ease and make adjustment where necessary.

## The last ray of hope for the country now rests with BCC Lions. The two final matches are now standing between the Lions and the Mandela's cup which was last won by Nigeria 12 years ago.

These are the odds that BCC Lions must contend with. But they are not insurmountable. What Coach Shuaibu Amodu and his boys should address themselves to is a thorough preparation, carefully worked-out strategies that can easily unnerve Club Africain. The Lions can roar to a resounding victory on Saturday if they can infuse themselves with the psychological will to win. The Lions' game plan for Saturday's match

should be how to penetrate the usually tight defence of Africain so as to score many goals. This is the only way they can hope to survive the second leg in Tunis and bring home the cup. The Lions more than ever before need the cup if only to remain in continental competition next year; but more than that Nigeria needs the cup. It would be an embarrassing season of defeats and failures if we have nothing to show for all the sweat and toil this year.

### 3rd President Tennis Cup:

## Abuja on the boil

There are at least three things that will give this year's president Tennis Cup a marked distinction from the previous two editions. A change of competition venue from the bustling Lagos life to the quiet, undulating federal capital city of Abuja is one. The president, Ibrahim Babangida Tennis Cup is also assuming a higher international importance because of the increase in the number of countries that are billed to participate in this year's tournament. Also of a big departure from the previous two editions is the increase in the prize money at stake for both single and double titles.

The tournament which is gradually becoming the biggest tennis event in Africa is billed for November 25 to December 1, and will witness actions from crack tennis players from at least 10 African countries. This is against last year's edition that featured three African countries alongside home and foreign based Nigerian tennis players. According to the Chairman of Nigerian Lawn Tennis Association (NLTA), Colonel Kofie Fidelis, 18 African countries have already signified their intention to participate in the event. Countries like Ghana, Egypt,

Kenya, Mozambique and Togo sent in their entries about three weeks ago.

Apart from the large number of international tennis stars that will force the local players to be constantly on their guard, the increase in prize money will likely make this year's tournament more competitive. The winner of the single's event will smile home with N30,000 as against last year when the star prize was N20,000. The runners up in the single's event will take home half of the star prize while the winners and runners up in the doubles' event will receive N15,000 and N7,500 respectively. The least prize money of N460 in the championship which is to gulp N164,360, will go to first round losers.

Although the competition will be brimming with known and unknown African tennis stars, NLTA has taken step to ensure that Nigerian players withstand the challenges of their visiting players. The national tennis association has invited four Nigerian players who are currently based in United States. They are Yakubu Suleiman, Emeka Igbinbor, Segun Akinloye and Sule Ladipo. They will join such home based players like veteran David Imonitie who incidentally is the defending

champion. Sadiq Abdullahi who won the maiden edition in 1988 is going to be missed by his colleague because he is said to have quit active playing.

With the presence of these players alongside other gifted but little known local players who will see the one week event as an opportunity to launch themselves to lime light, the championship may witness some dramatic upsets. Win or lose the greatest beneficiary will still be the large number of local participants who for a long time have been yearning for exposure. The serious ones among them will not only be spoiling for the financial gains, they will also keep their eyes open for one or two things they can pick from their better exposed players from other parts of the continent.



David Imonitie:  
Last year's winner

## Niger State award night: Commendable but...

On Saturday November 10, Niger State capital Minna wore a colourful look. The day was set aside by the state government to bestow honour, commendation and rewards on athletes who have won laurels and honours for the state; and individual who have contributed in one form or the other towards sports development in the state. The award night was even made more colourful by dignitaries and personalities who stormed the government house venue of the award ceremony.

Critically examined, Niger State set a good precedent for other states to emulate in that the awards were meant to motivate athletes to crave for greater achievement, and to encourage sports philanthropists within and outside the state to donate generously in aid of sports development. The state which, according to the deputy governor Alhaji Jibo Garba had no sports facilities to boast of when it was created some fifteen years ago, is now among the leading sporting states in the country with athletes and sporting teams that have won recognition and honours for the state and the country in international competitions. Some of the over one hundred athletes bestowed with cash, certificate of commendation and trophies included sprint sensation Tetengi Abdullahi, a national star who has won many medals for the country in many international meets. He was declared the state sportsman of the year. Stella Agbaebu, another national athlete with many medals to her credit won

the sports-woman of the year.

The role call of dignitaries included the First Lady Mrs. Mariam Babangida who was to be the special guest of honour, Vice Admiral Murtala Nyako, Chief of Naval Staff and former governor of the state, Lt. Gen. M.I. Wushishi (rtd), Chief Samuel O. Ogbemudia, Chief G.O. Igbiniedion, Chief M.K.O. Abiola, and important traditional rulers in the state. But as things turned out none of the names mentioned above showed up at the occasion although their awards of giant trophies and certificates were given to those who stood in for them.

As stated by the state director of sports, Mr. Emmanuel Samari, "the occasion is meant to reward hard-work, commitment, dedication and honesty." The purpose of the award night would have been well attained if only it was restricted to just that. The award committee however lost sense of their stated mission along the line as many people who have never shown any interest in sports not to talk of contributing to it were lavishly decorated with giant trophies and gold glazed certificate. Patronage became the order of the day when many outsiders who have never had anything to do with the state's efforts and aspiration in the field of sports were given two or three different awards while some people who toiled and laboured daily to see the state to sports excellence were not recognised. Even as the award ceremony was going on a ripple of murmur of disapproval swept through the crowd whenever somebody judged undeserving was being

decorated.

The awards which would have been restricted to the truly deserving athletes, sports administrators and philanthropists, were bounteously bestowed on many government officials, thereby depriving them of their merit and meaning to those who deserve them. All said, the awards were good innovation on the part of those who conceived it, but the indiscriminate way it was conducted has seriously dented it and brought into question its motive. Was it to honour Niger State indigenes in appreciation of those who had helped in the development of sports or to others merely on the basis of their names? There were also grumblings that invited outsiders some of who were not known to have made any contribution to the state were given giant trophies while hard working indigenes of the state like a handball lover who donated handball courts to the state team were given very small trophies — a ridicule of their laudable efforts and contributions to the state's sports development. The irony of the award night became even funny when a military governor from one of the northern states got three giant trophies and certificates while some indigenes and even traditional rulers who have helped in motivating the state to attain so much in sports were barely recognised with fist-sized trophies. And big question mark hangs on the justification of honouring some of the past rulers of the state who, records show, had openly discouraged sports during their tenure. They will do well in future to avoid all those mistakes. Other states should also emulate the Niger State example. Nothing boosts the morale of athletes like appreciation and incentives.

### Marathon Race:

## Nigeria can rule the world

It may not be long before Nigerian long distance runners start smashing the world record. That is no exaggeration and if you are still in doubt, then wait until you are stunned by the

news that a Nigerian has won the prestigious London or New York Marathon or even the Olympic marathon gold medal. The performance of the country's long distance racers in the Milo Interna-

tional Marathon race held in Lagos on Sunday November 11, has reinforced Such future possibility. Although the race was won by Reta Negaza from Ethiopia, a country that produced Belaynah

Dinsano who holds the world record of 2 hours 06 minutes and 50 seconds, the performance of our runners in a strong field that included runners from Kenya, deserves commendation. Abbas Mohammed, Nigerias foremost Marathon ambassador returned a time of 2 hours 16 minutes 05 seconds behind the first place winner Negaza who covered the 42.195 kilometres race in 2 hours 15 minutes; 19 seconds. Yohana Waziri who had won the race for three consecutive years (1986, 1987 and 1988) placed third with a time of 2 hours 18 minutes; 38 seconds.

Running his best race ever, Mohammed erased his former national record of 2 hours 22 minutes 30 seconds he set in 1988 with his new timing. Yohana Waziri on his part improved on his personal best time of 2 hours, 26 minutes, 54 seconds. Another national record was also set in the female category by Grace Ishiaku from Bauchi who returned a time of 2 hours 45 minutes 55 seconds to erase the old national record of 2 hours 52 minutes 51 Seconds. It is also worthy of note that other Nigerian athletes who finished among the top 10 also improved on their previous race records.

What this points to is that Nigerian long distance runners, if given the right exposure and encouragement, can beat the East Africans in their own game. This has also exposed the ignorance of Amateur Athletic Association of Nigeria (AAAN). The association has often claimed that our long distance runners were not included in past international competitions like the All-African Games and Commonwealth Games because they would not be able to withstand strong contenders from Ethiopia, Morocco, Kenya or other countries noted for their record breaking performance in the long distance races. We had looked on sheepishly in many Common-

wealth, Olympics and even All-African Games while countries like Kenya, Ethiopia, Djibouti, and Morocco raked in medals upon medal. It is however gratifying that AAAN has suddenly realised after the Sunday's Lagos Marathon that exposure to stronger challenges, encouragement and incentives are all that dedicated athletes require to capture the word. AAAN chairman, Alhaji A.K. Amu did not only realise the sound wisdom behind camping the Nigerian athletes who participated in Jos where they were subjected to rigorous altitude train-



Abbas: drinking in the glory.

ing; he also admitted that the presence of runners from countries like Kenya, Ethiopia and Ghana motivated our athletes to improve on their previous competition records.

The credit of whatever achievement Nigerian marathoners attain both at national and international levels should however go to Food Speciality of Nigeria (FSN) who six years ago originated the Milo Marathon idea. They improved on it last year when they decided to let the race go international.

Without their wise decision to let the race go international our long distance runners who for many years have remained local champions would not have had the rare opportunity of exposure afforded them since last year.

The performance of Abbas who has had many opportunities to compete in some international marathon competitions was a proof that exposure enhance performance of athletes. From now on AAAN will do well not only to expose our marathoners to outside competition but also to include them in the nation's team to future major international sporting meets. Our athletics body should emulate the examples of such countries like Kenya, Ethiopia and even Ghana who sponsor their long distance runners to take part in such famous races like the London, New York and Paris Marathon. This will enable our own runners to feel accepted. It will also enable them to pick one or two things they can use to improve on their skill and strategies from their colleagues from other countries. Another challenge that AAAN should address is the need to help develop the potential of long distance runners who

abound in such states like Kaduna, Katsina, Plateau and Bauchi. Many of them with promise and talents waste away because those who should act neglect them. Now that foreigners have opened the eyes of the national athletics association to the potential that abound in their territory, one can only hope it will take up the challenge and give our marathoners their right place in the world of sports.

By Joe Olajuwon

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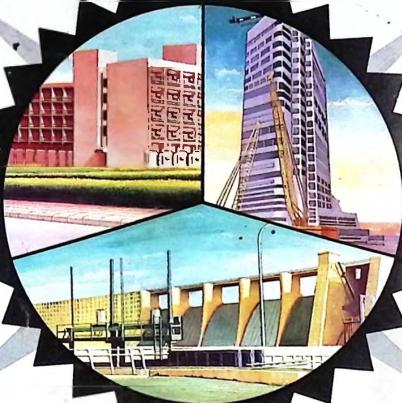


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