

CENSUS FIGURES NOT NOW: COMPUTER CENTRE BURNT

JAN. 24 — 30, 1994. VOL. 5 NO. 4

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Citizen

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Gendarmes
sack villages**

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NPC

Census figures to wait

A near fire outbreak at the National Population Commission's computer centre in Lagos, raises the question of the delay in the release of the final results

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BRIEFLY

Bank of the North Limited has won a Central Bank of Nigeria award. The award tagged "CBN Bank of the year Award" was awarded to Bank of the North's branches within Kaduna State.

The Kaduna State Branch controller of the Central Bank of Nigeria who presented the award at a ceremony at the Durbar Hotel, Kaduna recently said that the award was for smooth and clean clearing house activities of the bank's branches in Kaduna.

He said that Bank of the North's method of balancing at the end of each day's operations at its Kaduna branches was the best in the year 1993.

Accepting the award on behalf of his organisation, the bank's managing director/chief executive, Alhaji Yakubu Shehu, urged staffers of other branches of the bank to strive to win the CBN award in their locations.

To those who won the award in Kaduna, the managing director implored them to continue to work hard and maintain the high standard they already set.

He said that in this era of keen competition within the banking industry, only the best can survive.

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FROM THE EDITOR

The choice of this week's cover story was made on production day, long after we had settled for another one. The change reflects the journalist's obsession with serving readers stories that are not only truthful but timely.

Isaac Umunna, our correspondent in the east was assigned to cover the renewed outbreak of hostility between Nigeria and Cameroun in the south east. When he filed in his report, its perishable nature gave it the priority treatment over the one earlier scheduled for publication.

It was certainly not the first time the inhabitants of the fishing villages were tortured and harassed

by Camerounian gendarmes, indeed the frequency of the raids have made it a recurring diplomatic issue between the two countries.

However, the latest incident proved to be the last straw that broke the overburdened backs of the victims. They therefore organised protests to draw attention to their plight. Who are the demonstrators and what do they demand from a country that seems to have left them alone to defend themselves against an aggressive neighbour? **Isaac Umunna** who wrote the story was assisted with reports from **Nduka Ezeogu**.

Bilkiev Yusuf

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LETTERS

Re: The eastern agenda

Sir,

I am motivated to write this letter to you by your write up in January 10-16, 1994 edition titled *The dangers of a sovereign conference* and another work, *marginalisation: The eastern agenda*, by Isaac Umunna with Tony Oko in Enugu.

Concerning the constitutional or national conference, I think that the head of state has a point in wanting to do something about our constitution. I think most Nigerians, particularly those who pretend they are representing an interest group, miss the point, maybe consciously or unconsciously, but the total consequence of what they want put in place, is only to further entrench their hold on the national economy perpetually to maintain themselves and their class. I am talking about those advocating power sharing, revenue allocation, siting of federal projects, the majority and minority nonsense etc.

All these demands only emphasise our differences and make those who champion these differences 'messiahs' whether they are Hausas, Ibos, Yorubas or the so called minorities. Nigeria needs genuine peace, and progressive economic advancement that will give meaning to our independence since 1960.

The issue at stake is to evolve an arrangement that will liberate all Nigerians from poverty, ignorance and disease. This can only be attained in a situation where all Nigerians are all productive irrespective of their background. The new arrangement must divorce government from the national economy and place the economy in the hands of the citizens and the Central Bank. The role of governments at all levels should be to protect the citizens and not own and manage people.

We need a Nigeria that will be as strong as the United States of America, the pride of the entire black people of the world and the press

has a responsibility like the military, and the Nigerian public and not those gamblers in Nigeria who call themselves politicians.

Charles Ojjieme

6B Cameroun Road, Kaduna

Lt. Col. Isa's priority

Sir,

Congratulations on your recent appointment as the military administrator of Kaduna State.

However, it is one thing to be a chief executive of a state like Kaduna, and another to be able to carry out your scheduled duties successfully. First and foremost, as a military administrator of Kaduna State which is the political and administrative headquarters of northern Nigeria, neutrality should indeed be your guiding principle in the quest to entrench peaceful co-existence in the state.

In this instance the people of Zango Kataf readily come to mind. Infact the sour relationship between the indigenes of Zango and the Kafafs which was precipitated in May 1992 urgently needs a permanent settlement. It is worthy to note that the last civilian government was unable to achieve this due to the biased approach of the former state governor, Alhaji Dabo Lere whose position could naturally be understood because he comes from that part of the state.

The second reason was interference by some key government officials under ex-president General Ibrahim Babangida who appeared to have had special interest in the conflict. It is now pertinent to find an amicable settlement between the people of southern Zaria and northern Kaduna on the one hand and the entire indigenes of the state. Settlers on the other hand have to see themselves first as brothers and Nigerians and co-habit as one indivisible people. Even the holy books (Qur'an

and the Bible) preach harmony.

Salihu Othman-Isah

Nigerian Press Council, Lagos

Re: Banks: the big rip-off

Sir,

Your cover on Banks was quite interesting. It is true that banks in Nigeria only took the advantage of the deregulated economy, yet the industry is in shambles. They even contributed to the poor result of our economy which failed to function properly.

Banks are the genesis of the new styled fraud alias 419. Customers had no confidence that they would be able to withdraw their deposits from the banks. We have seen many cheques bouncing not because that account was in red but because that bank can not fulfil its obligations.

The Central Bank should come up with strict monetary control measures especially on foreign exchange.

Abbas G. Idriss

3, Kanta Road, Kaduna

GATT agreement

Sir,

The recent GATT agreement concluded on the December 15, 1993 clearly indicates that we in sub-Saharan Africa would daily become dumping ground of environmental pollutants and scraps from the industrialised nations. We are still being beaten by the same stick used on our forefathers. The stick of exploitation and slavery which is wielded by our local capitalists who are directly in league with the neo-colonists.

The only way out is that we must resolve to resist compliance and fight exploitation through the process of domesticity of our local products.

L.G. Hassan
UDU, Sokoto

Letters to Citizen, carrying names, signatures and addresses, should be brief and to the point. They should be typed double space and addressed to Letters Page, Citizen, G.11 Unguwar Kanawa, PMB 2334, Kaduna. The Editor reserves the right to edit, publish or reject all letters.

Halt the Camerounian menace

For over a decade now, Cameroun, Nigeria's south eastern neighbour has been assaulting, maiming and killing Nigerian citizens living along its border. Specifically, Nigerian fishing communities in Okobo and Mbo Local Government areas of Akwa Ibom state have been victims of persistent attacks by gendarme, the Camerounian army. There have been frequent reports of general disruption of economic and social activities of these communities by gendarmes who force them to pay taxes and even engage in extortion and sundry crimes. Several diplomatic efforts have been made by Nigeria to resolve this problem. Unfortunately it appears that Cameroun holds adamantly to its claims to these communities.

Generally in international relations, there are two tools of conflict resolution, diplomacy and force. The former, usually preferred and encouraged by the United Nations and other international organisations, is not only cheaper but also fosters global peace and stability. It could however be painfully time consuming while the latter, usually abhorred and discouraged is costly and threatens global peace and stability. Yet force is a manifestation of the breakdown of diplomacy and could at times be an extension

of diplomacy. Despite its comparative disadvantage it has been shown in several instances that it could be more handy, indeed effective in terminating the antics of belligerent nations.

Sadly, it would appear, that the diplomacy option adopted by Nigeria since the outbreak of this intermittent hostility has been most ineffective. The need has arisen for a tougher, more decisive and even punitive option to terminate this inglorious menace on the nation's south eastern border. Every nation is entitled to the protection of its sovereignty. This includes among others, the protection of its territorial integrity and the safety of its citizens living within and outside its territory. Some super powers are known to have expanded the scope of this principle to include the right of direct enforcement any where in the world where this right is in breach. The Federal Military Government has a duty to protect the rights of these Nigerians who are being harassed by a foreign government in their own country. The use of force in this instance may well be the most effective option in the face of the abysmal failure of diplomacy pursued in the past decades.

Modified Value-Added Tax

Though the so-called modified Value-Added Tax took off earlier in the month, but few people know or understand what it means. So just what does it mean?

First things, first. The introduction of the Modified Value-Added Tax (MVAT) system was proposed to government by the study group it set up in 1991 to review and improve the entire system of tax administration in the country. Government was worried about the rate of tax evasion by income tax payers which by the end of 1993 had reached 94 per cent. There was also the need to diversify sources of tax revenue to reduce dependence on petroleum profit tax which stood at 80 per cent of all tax revenues collected in 1993.

MVAT is the tax imposed on the value

that is added to goods and services by "registered persons" in the course of their taxable activities as these goods and services pass through different business processes up to the final consumer.

The new tax, fixed at five per cent, replaces the Sales Tax that was charged on a few categories of items and selected services. MVAT covers all transactions except those involving such necessities as food, medicines, agricultural inputs, some educational materials and a few others.

Ultimately, the tax is paid by the final consumer alone as the intermediate charges cancel each other. Any registered person adding value to goods or service will have paid five per cent and will charge the same five per cent on sending it to the next stage.

Instead of taxing income MVAT taxes consumption, it is therefore easy to administer and difficult to evade. And at the same time it discourages extravagant conspicuous consumption and encourages savings.

And it was estimated that the government stood to collect six billion Naira annually from it.

The government accepted the proposal and decided that VAT took off July 1993. It was postponed to October, then December before it finally took off January 1994. Despite all these postponements, ostensibly to allow time for public education and putting the necessary paraphernalia for collection and accounting, when it finally did take off there were criticisms.

Anywy, MVAT is here. And the biggest problem it will encounter is that of under-reporting because record keeping culture is not there where the goods and services change hands — at the retailers'. Nor are accounts properly kept; and even if they are the Nigerian Accounting Standards Board has not put in place a standard accounting

practice for it.

Nor are businesses of fixed or correct addresses, and nor are receipts given or demanded. It will thus be difficult to check defaulters because no one knows what inventory they carry or how it moves. It will also be almost impossible or too costly for the directorate to monitor what manufacturing concerns produce.

In addition, there is corruption in the tax management industry — a lot of it. And there is ignorance of the law and procedure on both the part of collector and payer. And there is almost certainly to be more confusion at the parts of entry as VAT collection adds to the headache at customs counters.

The best solution is to make all transactions fully computerised but this, as we all know, is sooner or later going to break down — and the spare parts will be somewhere in Europe.

Many of the countries that implement VAT had problems but they all seemed to have prepared ways of dealing with them more than we have. The work before the VAT directorate is therefore unenviable.

UN, NATO and Bosnia

For the 16,000 muslims trapped in Maglaj alone, or the half a million or so refugees, the pain and desperation of hunger and injustice are beyond belief. They have been cut off from getting food and medical supplies by a conspiracy of Serbs and Croats aided by the duplicity and a new "world order" imperialism of the European Community and a hypocritical dithering by the United Nations and America.

Daily, the world is further made aware of the brazen and ruthless Serbian and Croatian ethnic cleansing and land grabbing in Bosnia Herzegovina. Daily deaths and haunting figures of the victims are put up on television screens. Today, it's that of skin-bone and dying children.

Access to these basic necessities have been blocked by Serbs and Croats. The most feasible option to reduce their immense suffering is for the UN to authorise intense air strikes to end the siege of Srebrenica and Sarajevo; thus free Tuzla Airport.

NATO, not particularly enthusiastic, said it's awaiting UN orders, the UN is enmeshed in disputes leading to yet another replace-

ment of its commander, the EC is divided over air strikes and the US is waiting for both the UN and its European allies to make up their minds.

The ostensible reasons given by the various parties in the Bosnian conflict are that the terrain would pose dangers to even the muslims and UN forces who would then be targetted for retaliation by the Serbs and Croats. In short, everyone involved is paralysed. In another setting, it would have been comical.

It wasn't like that when the US and its allies trapped and killed thousands of fleeing Iraqis or when the US bombed Libya or shot out an Iranian airliner or when the US armed the murderous Jonas Savimbi. Or for that matter, economic and political strangulation of several countries around the world.

Right from the onset, the Bosnian muslims have asked for the lifting of the arms embargo on the former Yugoslavia, to defend themselves. No one listened. Slowly, but steadily, they are being wiped off the face of the earth in the closing days of the 20th Century. Yet the major actors in the conflict pride themselves on being democratic and free, and necessarily therefore responsible. It's a crying shame.

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MOHAMMED HARUNA

have welcomed the budget as capable of saving our economy in the long run if only we will persevere. With due respect to Aluko *et al*, I believe they are wrong.

Even though I have never believed President Babangida's SAP will save our economy from collapse, I have always believed he was right in a way to say there is no alternative to SAP. Let us face it, how can there be

Abacha, obviously trying to win favour from the public, has succumbed to that temptation. As I said at the beginning of this piece, we will soon find out that it is mere wishful thinking to imagine that our problems will be regulated to disappear because of re-regulation.

The mundane fact is that we have a serious (to put it mildly) cash flow problem. Even at 14 dollars per barrel, as the basis of our oil revenue, the budget is overly optimistic. First, 14 dollars is a benchmark and as a rule oil sells at a discount. Second, it is an open secret that Saudi Arabia and the US are determined to drive down the price of oil to as low as 12 dollars per barrel or worse. Third, soon enough the UN sanction on Iraqi oil may be lifted. Last but by no means the least, the Russians who are even more desperate economically than we are and are sitting on a reserve bigger than that of Saudi Arabia's, are pumping out as much oil as they can.

All these point to a bleak prospect for oil and therefore for our revenue. No amount of re-regulation can deal with this prospect. Regulation or not, the fact is that much suffering lies ahead. The sensible thing therefore is not to raise hopes that will soon be dashed.

The fault really is far less in de-regulation (although one must admit that SAP over-did the thing) than in the will among the elite to admit we sold out on our obligations and commitments to the masses and repent accordingly. The truth is that the huge demand on scarce foreign exchange was not on necessities, but on creature comforts and even more so on the flight of capital accumulated by foreigners, Asians in particular, and Nigerians alike.

If General Abacha will have the courage to stem our wasteful ways and stop the haemorrhage through capital flight, he will find that the economy can begin to turn around with as little de-regulation as possible.

No, SAP is not dead

"SAP", trumpeted this magazine last week, "is dead." It may sound like denouncing my own magazine but truth is, SAP is very much alive and kicking to the extent that SAP is synonymous with pain. In casting our cover headline, we obviously merely sought to reflect popular sentiment about General Sani Abacha's first budget speech as head of state. Because it jettisoned SAP's liberal approach to the management of the economy, but more specifically, because it re-regulated the foreign exchange market and brought down the cost of borrowing, the popular belief is that SAP is dead and buried.

Before long, we will find out how wrong we are. And it is not simply because the International Monetary Fund, IMF, and, by extension, our Western donor countries upon whom we have so much come to depend, are unhappy about the populist posturing of the budget. Needless to say, IMF and the West are formidable enough as adversaries. Even then the greater problem lies within. And it is this internal weakness which makes it well-nigh impossible to resist IMF pressures even in the short run.

What are these internal weaknesses? But first, how sensible are we, experts and common folk alike, to expect that Abacha's budget can even begin to end our pains? Experts like Professor Sam Aluko,

any alternative to structurally adjusting an economy which squandered over 100 billion dollars in under five years before Babangida and even more thereafter?

The basic reason why we spent so much money but had only "consulting clinics", abandoned projects and a battered economy to show for it, was because our economy was over-regulated. Babangida's SAP tried to correct this by de-regulating the economy. Problem arose, I believe, not because the principle of de-regulation *per se* was begun, but because the potential benefits of de-regulation were squandered by a hopelessly selfish elite class, made up of top bureaucrats, politicians, traditional rulers and soldiers.

It was those of us belonging to this class who manipulated the political economy so that we can continue to live the lives of princes and pass on the bill to the masses — and to future generation. If Babangida has any blame in all this, it was that he saw through our greed and obliged us so that he can remain in power. That in the end he was forced to "step aside" was not because we recanted on our greed. No, it was because we got even greedier and there was a limit to how far even the *Maradona* himself could manipulate the economy to continue to satisfy us.

Because Babangida's SAP did not deliver the goods, there was the temptation to return to a highly regulated economy. Needless to say

COVER STORY

Yakubu Bako, a lieutenant colonel and administrator of Akwa Ibom State, will not forget Wednesday, January 12, 1994 in a hurry. On that day, he was busy in his office when he was informed of the presence of some strange guests at the Hilltop as the government house, Uyo is fondly called.

The guests, Colonel Bako was told, were angry representatives of some 27 fishing settlements in Okobo Local Government Area of the state. The emissaries from Okobo had made the over 30 minute road journey to the state capital to complain about incessant harassment by Camerounian gendarmes.

The military administrator did not need much prompting to see the demonstrators. From his upstairs office in one of the storey buildings dotting the Hilltop he could read the agony in the faces of his early afternoon visitors.

Many of the demonstrators brandished placards, some of which read:

"We are now refugees in our country; Okobo people are only crayfish suppliers to Nigeria; We are Okopedi fishermen displaced by gendarmes of Cameroun; We are among fishermen driven out by Cameroun; Atabong fishermen driven out of the fishing ports;

Atabong people from Okobo driven out of Atabong; We are Ebighi Edu fishermen displaced by Camerounian gendarmes."

On other placards were written a uniform plea to the government: "Help us to go back to our respective fishing settlements."

Nigeria/Cameroun

Border war escalates

Cameroun steps up her acts of aggression against Nigeria, as the search for a solution to the bitter border dispute between both countries continues

All these, together with the necessary details, were well articulated in a four-page "Save Our Souls letter" handed over to Colonel Bako by the protesters. Addressing the administrator on behalf of the thousands of demonstrators, Chief Umoh Ibok Umoh told a "bone-chilling tale of their woes and appealed for urgent government intervention.

In response, Colonel Bako thanked the people for remaining peaceful despite constant provocation by their Camerounian neighbours. He promised to forward their grievances and requests to the federal government, and assured that federal authorities would do everything possible to protect the lives and property of all Nigerians living near the borders.

At the time Colonel Bako was attending to his uninvited guests from Okobo, his Cross River State counterpart, Group Captain Ibrahim Kefas, was doing the same at Cala-



Soldiers: proposing for war?

COVER STORY



Kefas: Pacified demonstrators

bar. At the government house to see the Cross River State administrator were some 2,000 people demonstrating against sustained attempts by Cameroun to annex Abana fishing settlement.

The protesters, who marched through the streets of the state capital, Calabar, before heading for the government house, demanded unequivocally that no inch of Abana soil should be conceded to the Camerounians. Before leaving the government house, they handed over a letter of protest, the contents of which the administrator prom-



Ibok: Spoke for the oppressed

ised to forward to the federal government.

Two weeks earlier, precisely on Thursday, December 30, 1993 Group Captain Kefas had been briefed by Chief Okokon Ibok, who called at the government house to intimate the administrator with the ordeal of his people in the hands of Camerounian gendarmes. It was a touching sight as Chief Ibok, 65 and clan head of Abana, recounted the latest incidents of aggression by their persecutors.

He told a stunned Group Cap-



Bako: inundated with protests

tain Kefas of how the Camerounians recently rampaged through Abana, killing six Nigerians, while six married women, he lamented, were yet to be found since the attack.

The clan head also narrated how 14 people lost their outboard engines to the invaders. A health centre stocked with drugs and primary school were vandalised, he disclosed.

Chief Ibok told his host of how the gendarmes, operating from Atabong, an annexed village just three kilometres away, "come to harass and get tax from us in Abana" usually between the hours of six and eight in the morning. The royal father complained bitterly that he and his people "do not have any security and this is exposing us to a lot of danger."

If the great grandfather of Chief Ibok were to rise from his grave today, he would be shocked to hear the tales of woe being told by his descendants and the present generation of Okobo people. Way back in the 1680s when he and a few other fellow travellers settled on the Bakassi peninsula with their families, little did they know that the fishing ports founded by them would one day become subject to conflicting ownership claims.

But that was what happened some 23 years to the end of the 19th



The Obong of Calabar, Archibong the Fifth

century, when the peninsula became a source of enmity between the European colonialists. According to the available records, the British and German colonial powers were the first to fight each other for control of

the territory. The French colonialists later joined in the fray, further complicating the situation.

With time, the war option became unattractive to the colonial masters and the search for a solution

to the problem shifted to the negotiating table. The series of dialogues yielded fruit in 1913 when the British and the Germans reached a gentleman's agreement which reportedly conceded the disputed area to Cameroon, then under German rule. The scales were, however, upturned when the Germans lost World War II (1938-1945) to the allied forces and the British were given the mandate to assume control of the peninsula.

When the British colonialists left in 1960, Nigeria and Cameroon inherited the border dispute. To further worsen the problem, there was no clear demarcation of the border in 1961 when Southern Cameroons, hitherto ruled by Britain, voted to join the Republic of Cameroon during a plebiscite organised by the United Nations Organisation.



Despite this due to ethnic violence the gendarmes make matters worse

Fresh row over Abana

A fresh row has broken out over Abana, a bustling fishing port in the Bakassi peninsula, the gateway to the Cross River estuary. This time around the disputing parties are two Nigerian sister states, namely Akwa Ibom and Cross River.

The quarrel over Abana by the two neighbours is coming six years after Akwa Ibom was carved out of the old Cross River State on August 27, 1987 by the government of President Ibrahim Babangida. The first sign of trouble came in the twilight of last year when news

Citizen learnt that Cross River people are falling back on history to support their claim of ownership of the territory, over which Cameroun has been in dispute with Nigeria for decades

filtered out of the government house, Calabar, confirming a meeting between the Cross River State military administrator, Group Captain Ibrahim Kefas, and the clan head of Abana, Chief Okon Ibok.

The surprise meeting held at the government house in the state capital, served as a forum for Chief Ibok to

brief the administrator on the tribulations of his people in the hands of the unrelenting gendarmes of Cameroon. The meeting is believed to have been at the instance of officials of Akpabuyo Local Government Area of Cross River State who have of late been laying claim to Abana.

Citizen learnt that Cross River people are falling back on history to support their claim of ownership of the territory, over which Cameroun has been in dispute with Nigeria for decades (see main story). To back up their argument, Cross Riverians cite the words of the late traditional ruler, Archibong V. Obong of Calabar, who often referred to Abana as part of Calabar, capital of defunct south eastern state and currently of Cross River State.

The people of Akwa Ibom, however, describe the argument as a strange one. Mr. Namso Umoren, press secretary to the Akwa Ibom State military administrator, told Citizen in Uyo: "It is a surprise to us that Akpabuyo is now laying claim to Abana."

He explained that "when the Obong of Calabar made reference to Abana as an area within Calabar, it was at a time when the mainland, now Akwa Ibom State, was part of Calabar." The press secretary declared that "in all, the natives there (Abana) are Oron people of Mbo extraction." Both Oron and Mbo local governments are in Akwa Ibom.

With this new twist, the struggle for Abana has become more complex, and the road to peace tortuous.

By Isaac Umunna

Ironically, it was not until after the Nigerian civil war of 1967-1970 that the people living in and around the peninsula became aware of clandestine moves to forcibly convert them into Camerounian nationals. Okobo people identify Itung as the first fishing settlement to be invaded and taken over by the gendarmes of Cameroun. The village had served as home for some Nigerian soldiers, including the late secessionist Isaac Boro, while the war lasted. The Nigerian warriors vacated the place at the end of the civil war and the Camerounians soon struck and occupied the village.

There was virtually no resistance to the strange development by the Nigerian government. Rumour merchants quickly cashed in on the situation. Before long the talk all over the country was that General Yakubu Gowon, Nigeria's head of state at the time, had ceded the territory to Cameroun as a reward for late Ahmadu Ahidjo's cooperation and assistance in successfully prosecuting the war. Curiously enough, the Gowon regime never bothered to deny the rumour.

Unchallenged, the jubilant Camerounians thanked their stars and pushed ahead with their expansionist mission, after renaming Itung Idiabato. By 1981 they had become bold enough to kill, in mid sea, five Nigerian naval personnel on patrol in the disputed area.

When the news of the gruesome



Gowon: ceded land?

murder broke, Nigerians were enraged. Some called for war while others favoured a diplomatic approach to the issue. After considering all available options, the government of Alhaji Shehu Shagari decided to temper justice with mercy. It ruled out the war option but issued an ultimatum to Cameroun to pay compensation for the slain soldiers and apologise for the dastardly act. Unmoved by the tough talk, the Camerounian government waited till the expiration of the ultimatum before sending a junior minister to Nigeria for discussions.

Since then the Camerounians have made it a point of duty to strike at least once every year. On November 7, 1981 they abducted a Nigerian, Mr. A.I. Makele, detained and

tortured him for 29 months in Yaounde before setting him free.

On January 7 the following year, the gendarmes went on the offensive once more. In a lightning raid, they overran and annexed Ine Atabong, Abana Ntuen, Usak Edet, Idombi, Ndiyam and Ine Eko. Two fresh operations in May and November paid off handsomely, with the annexation of six more fishing villages.

In 1983, the aggressors went underground, only to live up to their ill reputation the next year, detaining and torturing a naval officer, an army staff sergeant and four other Nigerians in Yaounde.

Incensed, the no nonsense regime of Major General Muhammadu Buhari sought to tactfully bare Nigerians teeth through a military manoeuvre code-named Operation Sea Dog. Although the exercise was abandoned midstream following sensational press reports, Nigeria's stubborn south eastern neighbour had correctly read the handwriting on the wall and so, quietly withdrew into her shell.

For the next three years not much was heard of the gendarmes. But in August 1987, two years after General Ibrahim Babangida muscled out Buhari in a palace coup, the Camerounians came out of hiding to test



Shagari: ruled out war

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the waters by molesting some Nigerians resident at Danare, in Ikrom, Cross River State. Convinced that the coast had become clear once more, they became more daring in 1988, abducting 50 Nigerian fisher-

consul general in Buea got wind of the development on the fourth day. He quickly intervened but had to plead for three days before securing the release of the captives. The Nigerian envoy then had to spend 200

The gendarmes dealt a heavier blow, ravaging 13 settlements along the border and manhandling hundreds of Nigerian fishermen apprehended on the high seas.

men in February.

Eleven months later, the gendarmes dealt a heavier blow, ravaging 13 settlements along the border and manhandling hundreds of Nigerian fishermen apprehended on the high seas. They committed less atrocities in 1990, but turned on the heat the next year.

The major victims in 1991 were five community leaders from Mbo Local Government Area of Akwa Ibom State. The five men, among them Aloysius Okon Inyang, younger brother of Chief Etim Inyang, a former Nigerian police inspector-general, had been sent to mobilise residents of three fishing ports for the impending visit of President Babangida.

At Abana, they met with the village head, leaving with him the message they had brought from Chief Joseph Atte, who was then chairman of Mbo Local Government. As the messengers left Abana and headed for Onosi, they were nabbed by some gendarmes, who immediately towed their boat to Atabong. There, the Nigerians were beaten and handcuffed, before being taken to Buca, capital of South West Province of Cameroun.

For three days, the men were tortured and starved. The Nigerian

Naira to transport each of the freed emissaries back home, as the Cameroonians had refused to let go of the 16-seater, 75-horse power engine boat seized from the men.

No similar incidents were reported until last year when the gendarmes raided the border villages more frequently than in previous years. This year, the Cameroonians resolved to strike early enough. It was their raid of January 4 that compelled the people of Okobo and Abana to rush to Uyo and Calabar to pour out their hearts to the adminis-



Madueke: trouble on the seas



Buhari: flexed muscles

trators of their states. So far, none of the 30 fishing ports in and around the Bakassi peninsula has been exempted from the raids, rapes, torture and imposition of illegal taxes of 200 Naira upwards per adult Nigerian, by the gendarmes.

To add salt to injury, the Nigerians are forced to obtain citizenship permits, renounce their citizenship and pledge allegiance to Cameroun in the presence of the governor of the South West Province, who visits the annexed villages occasionally. Those who resist pay dearly, some-



Biya: expansionist move

COVER STORY

times with their lives. Some of the residents of Okobo who have been shot, drowned or beaten to death by the gendarmes are Asuquo Abasi and Ayo Udo Esuk, both from Ekeya, Okobo. Others are Ukpong of Amamong Okobo, and his kinsmen, Anto Anso Anto. Two Yorubas living in Okobo have also been killed. They are Monday Eba and Idowu Ikaile.

Equally on the list of the murdered is Uso Ekpenyong Uso, who had the engine of his boat removed in the high seas by the gendarmes. At least 40 of his fishermen passengers received serious wounds, while others lost their lives when waves overwhelmed the boat as it drifted aimlessly at sea. Even traders living in other parts



Kingibe: supports detente

of the country who travel to Cameroon by sea to do business are not spared whenever they run into the gendarmes. A trader based at Aba, Abia State, who recently lost 15,000



Akinyemi: let's fight back

Naira to the gendarmes, told of the Cameroonians thump their chests while extorting money from Nigerian traders. In his words: "tell us that they are the gods of

They also kill each other

Ethnic violence again reared its ugly head in the waterfront areas of Port-Harcourt, leaving hundreds of people dead or missing

The killings which started around 3am on Sunday December 12 and lasted for three days is about the worst of its kind in the state this year following the restoration of peace in Andoni and Ogoni lands earlier in the year. According to Mr. Sunday Orji, a school leaver who narrowly escaped death "trouble started when some youths who claimed to have come from Okrika ransacked our rooms and took away some people suspected to be Ogonis. The Ogonis in turn reacted by setting fire on the Creek Road Market".

The violence in no distant time spread to Ndoni, Orugbolo and Bille waterfronts leading to the death of innocent mothers and their children. The killing may not be unconnected with accusations by the Okrikas that the Ogoni settlers are occupying their reclaimed lands from the sea illegally.

The state administrator, Lt. Colonel Dauda Musa Komo who was on his way to the state when trouble broke out has visited the scenes of the clashes and warned that his "administration would not condone lawlessness". The press secretary to the governor Mr. Fidelis Agbiki, appealed "to the communities involved to avoid further violence and seek constitutional means of presenting their grievances and resolving them".

When Citizen sought the views of the state police command, its spokesman, deputy superintendent of police (DSP), Mr. Agberebi Akpoebi who confirmed the incident and said that although no arrests have been made, the police have already drafted anti-riot policemen to peace and order.

As it turned it, State lost their lives in the state between Wiwa, an Ogoni activist, home from a sojourn on July 15 last year.



Komo: abhors lawlessness

the affected areas to ma people fled the scene cause transport fares.

fewer than 438 Ogonis in three separate civil disturbances and December 1993. Ken

told a commission investigation that 132 Ogonis returned in Cameroon were killed by

Nduka Ezeogu in Port-Harcourt.

seas and that we cannot do anything to them."

For a moment in the last three weeks it seemed as if the regime of General Sani Abacha would match force with force and halt the Camerounians in their tracks. The government had reacted decisively to the latest onslaught of the gendarmes by ordering 500 troops, mainly from the 13 Motorised Infantry Brigade Calabar, to Abana. This was in addition to regular naval patrol of the trouble spots.

turn to the negotiating table, Nigerians who live, visit or pass through the danger zone would want the federal government to act more decisively to permanently end their sorrows. Okobo people, for one, have requested for "quick taking over of control of the fishing estuary," by the Nigerian authorities. Other things they asked for in their letter of protest signed by Bassey Umana Atte, scribe of Okobo fishing village council, include a strong police presence, a naval base and an army bar-



Azikiwe: we must protect them

of crude oil are believed to be buried beneath the territory. The peninsula, apart from being very useful for marine trade and political influence, is said to be the source of over 95 per cent of the crayfish produced and sold in Nigeria.

A number of prominent Nigerians, including elder statesman, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, have in the past condemned the inadequate protection for the lives and property of Nigerians in the disputed territory. People such as Professor Bolaji Akinyemi, a political scientist and former external affairs minister, are also known to have canvassed for war "if the objective cannot be reached unless we go to war."

But with the present government having virtually ruled out the use of force, the fate of the harassed Nigerians remains firmly tied to the outcome of the fresh diplomatic initiatives midwived by Nigeria. As the cat and mouse game goes on, the big question is, will General Abacha succeed where his predecessors failed?

By Isaac Umunna
in Okobo, and Aba with Nduka
Ezeogu in Port Harcourt



One of the fishing villages that came under attack

Hot on the heels of the military action was flurry of diplomatic moves initiated by Nigeria. Foreign Affairs minister, Alhaji Babagana Kingibe who visited Cameroun on Thursday, January 6. Seven days later the gesture was reciprocated by his Camerounian counterpart. Receiving the visiting envoy, who brought a special message from President Paul Biya, the head of state, General Abacha, assured that efforts would be intensified to seek a diplomatic solution to the problem. He also announced that a joint commission would be set up to look into the dispute over the 1,350 kilometre long border.

Although they are against the re-

racks.

Their lack of confidence in the diplomatic option is informed by the failure of several similar efforts made by past Nigerian governments to solve the problem. Since 1971, series of agreements have been reached on the border dispute, none of which has been able to end the quarrel. Even the establishment, a year after the Nigerian civil war, of a joint permanent consultative committee on the border dispute has been of no use.

With the rich benefits derivable from the control of the Bakassi, neither Nigeria nor Cameroun has been willing to make concessions to ensure that the problem is taken care of, once and for all. Large quantities

Okobo people's tale of woes

Being excerpts of the Save Our Souls letter to the government by Okobo people resident in Atabong, one of the fishing settlements annexed by Cameroun

There are more than 27 fishing settlements in the area occupied by Okobo and other Nigerians doing the business of fishing and trading. Our great grand fathers were Nigerians who founded and lived in the fishing settlements from very ancient times.

The British and German colonialists came to meet our fathers and other Nigerians living in these fishing villages. During the Nigerian civil war, late soldier Isaac Boro and Nigerian soldiers lived in one of the fishing villages called Itung. But after the war, the Nigerian soldiers vacated the said fishing villages and later Camerounian authorities sent their gendarmes to live there and worry us. So far, they have established the following: (i) Changed the name of Itung to Idiabato; (ii) Built a primary school; (iii) Built a secondary school; (iv) Built a hospital; (v) A district officer and office.

The actions of the Camerounian gendarmes against us include Imposition and forceful collection of taxes of 3,000 francs per person, resident permit of 22,000 francs per person, and arbitrary boat registration fees; Forced labour, using us forcefully to cut grasses where they live, wash their toilets, build houses for them, etc; Using military boats to deprive us from fishing where we should fish and catch crayfish;

Although the governments of Nigeria, our country, have neglected us for so many years now, each fishing village has a village head and governs with a council in order to maintain law and order. They do not receive any salary. The actions of the Camerounian gendarmes

against us for so many years now and which we have been complaining to our governments included: (i) Forcefully compelling us to recognise their government control of the Nigerian fishing villages which are not on Camerounian land but Nigerian land; (ii) Imposition and forceful collection of



taxes of 3,000 francs per person, resident permit of 22,000 francs per person, and arbitrary boat registration fees; (iii) Forced labour, using us forcefully to cut grasses where they live, wash their toilets, build houses for them, etc; (iv) Using military boats to deprive us from fishing where we should fish and catch crayfish; (v) Removal of outboard engines from fishing canoes in the high sea and thereafter collecting 7,000-10,000 Naira before releasing the engines; (vi) Using their military ships to destroy our canoes, engines and fishing equipment in the high seas; (vii) Killing of our innocent fishermen by submerging their boats and sometimes shooting people to death; (viii) Forceful collection of 100-500 Naira per passenger in canoes coming into and leaving the fishing villages, as well as 1,000-4,000 Naira per passenger; (ix) Forceful removal of trading items from passengers in the area, and beatings; (x) Imposition of their education and language on our children; (xi) Incessant overrunning of our fishing villages; (xii) Sexual harassment and abuse of our wives.

We are therefore appealing to the Akwa Ibom and federal government for: (a) Immediate relief and rehabilitation; (b) Fundamental requests: (i) Effective control of the Atabong fishing estuary and the Nigerian fishing villages; (ii) Nigerian governments to establish primary schools in each fishing village, health centres, secondary school, a modern hospital, district officer, office and administration, military bases — police, navy, army. Adult education centres for the thousands of fishermen and women who cannot read and write; (iii) Recognition of heads of the fishing settlements; (iv) Regular assistance to the fishermen; (v) Quick taking over of the fishing estuary to facilitate our return to the fishing villages.

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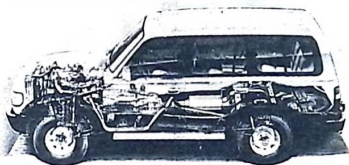
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Give Caesar his dues

The 28th anniversary of the death of the late premier of the defunct Northern Nigeria, Sir Ahmadu Bello underlined the need for unity of the nation

Last week, the National Gamji Memorial Club organised its 10th national Gamji Week to commemorate the assassination of the first and only premier of the north, Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, *Sardaunan Sokoto*.

Justice Mamman Nasir, *Galam Katsina* and a former president of the federal court of appeal, presided over proceedings. In his opening address, he appealed for calmness and rationality in approach to national issues in the true spirit of the Gamji. He stated that rather than concentrate on selfish interests, Nigerians should focus more on factors that integrated and bound them together over the years.

Gamji (nickname of the premier), Justice Nasir said would never have allowed parochial sentiments to cloud his sense of national aspirations. He stated that in his times, the premier allowed all shades of opinions to flourish and blossom, and that no part of the country was gagged or criticised for its views. Furthermore, the premier, he said drew all and sundry to him whether christian or muslim. Justice Nasir therefore appealed to other Nigerians not to mistake the quietness of the north for cowardice, that the north is merely adopting the inspirational tactic of the Gamji that if at any time northern interests seemed

compromised, the north then knows the appropriate steps to take.

The chief host of the occasion, Professor Daniel I. Saror, the vice chancellor of the Ahmadu Bello University Zaria criticised northerners for the neglect of the Gamji spirit by their neglect of education and industrialisation of the region. He accused those who benefited immensely from the foresight of Gamji of not paying back their dues through the expansion and consolidation of what they inherited from the Gamji.

In his own contribution to the occasion, Alhaji Jamilu Gwamna, who is also the president of the National Gamji Association, called for caution in Nigeria's approach to constitutional and national issues. He argued that Nigerians should not let sectional and sectoral interests shape and determine their outlook to nation building. He was of the opinion that nation building is a tough, tedious and painful process but that after the initial shaky steps, the glorious dawn will come. He stated that while the north is neither afraid of the constitutional conference nor the break up of the country it however preferred a united and strong Nigeria that could champion and articulate the thoughts and aspirations of the black man.

The guest speaker at the occasion, Alhaji Abdullahi Garba Ra'is



Gamji: no shoes to match

also frowned at the betrayal of the Gamji spirit by northerners. He blamed old breed politicians for the present political impasse. He was of the opinion that Nigerian problems were more a class issue, and that the elites has refused to carry forward the nation building instincts of the Gamji. He called on Nigerians to accept consensus in their approach to national issues adding that Gamji based all his actions on consensus.

In his own contributions, Alhaji Hassan Sani Kontagora, *Magaji Rafin Kontagora* and publisher of *Hotline* magazine, claimed that no Nigerian leader could ever ascend to the status of the late premier. He called for a united north, claiming that a united north would make for a united Nigeria.

Alhaji Abubakar Anka, who represented the Sultan of Sokoto Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki at the occasion stated that the north still has the leadership that could adequately protect and preserve northern interests.

By Shoyebi Abayot
in Z

Ibadan New year, new Olubadan

Colours and carnival as 88 year old Oba Emmanuel Adegboyega ascends the throne of Ibadan land

Ibadan. Sprawling city, hooked between the hills of Mapo and the hustle and bustle of Dugbe. The modernity of new Bodija sharply contrasts with the slums of Beere and Oje, yet the modern and the ancient all blend together to ever replay John Pepper Clark's description of Ibadan as being "like a broken china in the sun"

Penultimate Friday, the city came alive again, after the new year festivities, as a new *Olubadan of Ibadan*, Oba Emmanuel Adegboyega Operinde I ascended the throne as the 38th *Olubadan of Ibadan*. At age 88 and a life experience that spanned combat experience in the second world war, Oba Operinde is another prototype of past *Olubadans*. Grey hairs, backs that are bent from the weight of age, wrinkled facial muscles have over the years remained the curriculum vitae of men on whose shoulders the Ibadan mantle of leadership falls each time an incumbent joins his ancestors.

Despite this, it was an occasion for every Ibadan indigene to celebrate. From all walks of life, they thronged the ancient city, and from dawn to dusk the talking drums with its value-loaded beats and the *bata* with its tempo beats rented the air throwing every resident into a carnival mood. So ecstatic were the people that the Oba's convoy had to force its way through the crowd on its way from Kudeti where a church service was held in his honour.

The colourful event was also a gathering of who is who in the coun-



The new *Olubadan*

try. Major-General Ishaya Bakut led a federal government delegation which included Elder Wole Oyelese, minister of state, mines and power. Military administrators of Ogun, Ondo, Osun and Lagos states also joined their Oyo counterpart who presented the staff of office to Oba Adegboyega. Traditional rulers like the *Ooni of Ife*, Oba Okunade Sijuwade, Emir of Kano, Alhaji Ado Bayero, Emir of Zaria, Alhaji Shehu Idris, *Owa Obokun of Ijeshaland*, Oba Adekunle Aromolaran, *Ataaja of Oshogbo*, Oba Oyewale Matanmi, *Soun of Ogbomoshu*, Oba Oyewunmi Ajajingbade, the *Akangbo of Remoland*, Oba Adeniyi Sonariwo and *Alaye of Efon Alaye* were all in attendance. Six former governors of Oyo State, Major General Adeyinka Adebayo (rtd), Brigadier General Oluwale Rothmi, Vice Admiral Akin Aduwo (rtd), Brigadier General Sesena Oresanya, Chief Bola Ige and Dr. Victor Olunloyo were also in attendance. As Navy Captain Adetoye Sode, decked in his naval ceremonial outfit presented the new *Olubadan* with the staff of office, the administrator also automatically declared the Oba elect the chairman of the Oyo State council of Obas.

The administrator's appointment of Oba Adegboyega as the chairman of the council of Chiefs followed the resignation, late last year of Oba Lamidi Adeyemi, the *Alaafin of Oyo* as chairman. Though the then civilian governor of Oyo State, Chief

Kolapo Ishola claimed that the *Alaafin's* tenure was over, *Citizen* gathered that the moves being made by the *Alaafin* were all geared towards retaining the chairmanship, bearing in mind historical and traditional antecedents. Also the conspicuous absence of the *Alaafin* at the occasion further helped to fuel the rumours that the Oyo king is bracing up for a tussle reminiscent of the *Alaafin* versus *Ooni* crisis which only abated when General Babangida created the new Osun State thus shifting *Ooni's* power base.

Citizen however, learnt that Oba Sijuwade is not hiding his support for the new *Olubadan*. Not only did the *Ooni* use his influence to invite traditional rulers from the north and the west to the event, a posh Mercedes Benz car was also given to the new *Olubadan* as a gift. The administrator has tried to douse the looming tension. Said he, "the council chairmanship must not be subjected to statute as it is clear, unambiguous and inescapable," hence reaffirming the inviolability of the policy that has now put the new *Olubadan* on the chairmanship post. The new *Olubadan* has also refused to be drawn into the controversy early in his reign. His son, Prince Adeyemi Adeyemotold *Citizen* that the *Alaafin* must have reasons for his absence at the coronation, refusing to link it with the chairmanship tussle.

Advising the traditional council on how to justify the pronouncement, Navy Captain Sode said, "traditional rulers should shun acrimony and accord one another respect to ensure peace and dignity of the institution. The traditional respect and prestige cannot be secured for the *Obas* in an atmosphere devoid of mutual respect for each other and among the *Obas* themselves."

Oba Adegboyega a started the journey to the throne in 1953 when he was appointed *Mogaji* of the Operinde family and rose gradually through the 23 rungs of the promotion ladder to become the *Olubadan*.

By Titiloye Amzat in Ibadan

The search for a national consensus

FO

It has become clear that some of the most outstanding socio-cultural and political problems facing Nigeria today and ever since independence and beyond are brought about by the near absence, or the complete lack, of a national consensus on certain important socio-cultural issues as may be defined and assessed from the point of view of the value systems of the various social units that constitute the Nigerian society.

Now that government has set in motion the machinery that would return democracy and civil political rule to Nigeria, it would be highly desirable to assess these set of problems and, as concisely as possible, offer practical solutions to them.

The Problem

The most outstanding problem within the Nigerian society, today, viewed from some angles, would certainly be the apparent resolve, by almost all our socio-cultural components, to disagree on almost all national socio-political and economic issues facing the Nigerian state.

There is open and negative disagreement on the issue of leadership that now tends to give Nigeria a reflection of a nation in disorder and suffering from a chronic leadership crisis. As a people, we are yet to accept fully and naturally the population figures representing the sizes of our various national component groups. We are on record as favouring a long staying disagreement over the method for the distribution of our nationally accruing disburseable resources, on the quantity that should go to the various competing communities and even on the criteria determining the quantity and the methodology. As a matter of fact, as a people, we even engage in similar disagreement over such straightforward issues like defence and national security.

By
Muhamamad A. Tudun-Wada

The most far-reaching spate of our national discord, apart from that of leadership, is that which currently centres on the economy. The ill health of the economy, has brought such questions as to which section of the country and or which persons are the culprits and scapegoats to be held responsible for such ill health.

The initial confusion, that attended the introduction of the military policy of Structural Adjustment Programme SAP did not help matters. This is notwithstanding the fact that it may be one of the few national issues upon which widespread and public agreement exist over its desirability or not, and whether or not to lend it credence and national support.

There is such a varying degree of attitude and such random aggregate contributions to this economic policy that tends to suffocate its most central objective of instilling upon the nation a healthy economic and financial discipline, especially in public spending, thereby superimposing its more unpalatable and harsher aspects upon the national economy and on the people generally.

It is true that it is not only in Nigeria that national issues are subjected to widespread debate and disagreements. However, the unfortunate case with our own situation is the perceptible negativity with our own national brand of discourse and disagreements that tend to even bring into question the Nigerian nationhood with the concomitant breeding of adverse individualism, as one of its main spillovers, apart from the deeper emphasis it places on our old and existing suspicions fuelled by ethnicity, tribalism, sec-

tionalism and, in recent years, the very dangerous ascendancy of religious conflicts and disagreements that are fast becoming the hallmark of Nigeria.

If it were necessary the list of these identifiable negative influences could be made longer but, since the intention here is just for a graphic illustration, the few basic ones presented should be quite adequate for our case study.

Having now arrived at our present threshold with indications of the maiden address of the head of state to the nation that, as part of the resumption and as continuation of the transition programme, a constitutional conference will re-define the type of association we would envisage for our nation in the years to come, it has become necessary to update these long-standing socio-cultural, political and economic problems as beacons that need our urgent attention during the constitutional conference.

Inter-ethno/cultural reconciliations

It is part of our historical fact that the various ethnic, cultural and tribal groupings that constitute Nigeria are not fully reconciled into a blended community where mutual respect and understanding or the various ethnic value systems are appreciated, respected and or, at least, understood. As a matter of fact, we even seem to strongly resist each other's value systems to such an extent that, in reality, endangers the existence of Nigerian nationality.

It is strongly believed that this type of inter-cultural frictions are the main underlying reasons for the demise of both the First and Second Republics and which today seem to have stunted the continuous growth of the Third Republic. Therefore, unless these factors are fully addressed and reconciled, then it may not be possible for the Fourth Re-

public, with democracy and civilian leadership as envisaged in the address of the head of state, to emerge at all in Nigeria.

Indeed these underlying frictions created so much bad blood amongst our people after the demise of the First Republic, and a carry-over from the bitter politics of the pre-independence and the post-independence era, that resulted in the bloody three year civil war witnessed by Nigerians.

In order to, therefore, proceed as effectively as possible on the path towards a national consensus it would first be necessary to achieve a national reconciliation amongst all our various ethno/cultural nationalities that constitute the Nigerian state. And it is common knowledge that, in order to achieve reconciliation, meaningful dialogue must first take place.

Creation of dialogue

The commitment of the head of state to a constitutional conference at this stage of our national development is not only timely but a virtual necessity since it would appear we would otherwise be headed to an abyss as a nation state that claims another polity and a single administrative structure with one constitutional framework that is uniform nationwide.

The type of dialogue being suggested here must be understood to mean such a dialogue that will be created, and sustained, through the establishment of a formal conventional forum, created by a federal authority for that purpose, at which all would bare their inner thoughts and aspirations in the great debate that will surely and truly address the national question.

It is noteworthy that, recently government came very close to addressing this issue when it convened the rather very academic forum that considered the national question.

However, for the dialogue being envisaged here to succeed it must be

carried beyond the pure and mundane academic frontiers to that of a general public participation of such community leaders, elder statesmen, representatives of all our ethno/cultural groupings, religious leaders and other special interest groups that constitute our larger national community.

The following summary, though by no means exhaustive enough, may serve as a typical list of the composition for such a national forum, traditional rulers/community leaders, elder statesmen. National leaders of thought, elected and nominated people's representatives, religious leaders, the armed forces, the police, representatives of the academia, special interest groups: labour, youths and women organisations.

Apart from sporadic inter-sectional discussions, at one time or the other, between or amongst our various communities and few low scale and narrower versions of national discussions, sponsored by various administrations, we have never had a far reaching review, in the real sense, of our polity at any time in the past, thereby creating the current polarisation of views amongst our various ethno/cultural communities.

It should be noted that the sole and clear objective of the type of dialogue being suggested here would be the eventual establishment of very firm and irrevocable inter ethno/cultural agreements and guarantees that will henceforth form the basis of our nationality. Establishment of inter-ethno/cultural agreements

A direct outcome and product of the dialogue envisaged above would be the establishment of firm and irrevocable agreements and guarantees amongst and between our various ethno/cultural groupings and which will, in the future, ensure the total elimination of any forms of socio-cultural and political antagonisms that are the subject of concern in today's Nigeria.

We would, as a result of these

firm guarantees, seek to understand and to be educated in the set of values and aspirations that are dear to each other. We would blend such a multitude into a single whole without losing sight of each of our socio-cultural identities and our common nationality and then find a foothold to forge ahead appreciating, understanding and respecting each other's value systems.

Such guarantees would also afford the nation the opportunity of understanding some of the deep-seated opinions held by our various communities, the reasons for the holding of such opinions and possibly succeed in dismantling some of the stereo-types held of each other between and amongst our various ethno/cultural communities. It would also accord us an opportunity to understand the internal dynamics of our various communities and to harness the potential of our various peoples for the benefit of the nation as a whole and for the common good.

At the successful achievement of these set of inter ethno/cultural guarantees, it would then be much easier to approach such volatile national issues like our national leadership, the economy, distribution of federally accrued revenues and resources and other such related issues of national importance.

Furthermore, the immediate by-product of such inter ethno/cultural guarantees and agreements would, certainly, be the natural emergence and the establishment of mutual consensus amongst our people.

Such a national consensus will, surely, constitute the main cementing factor that will henceforth bind our peoples together just like other nations in the developed world have had to do to arrive at their current state of socio-economic, political and technological advancement.

Muhammad A. Tudun-Wada is of No. 139 Murtala Muhammed Way, P.O. Box 6603, Bompai, Kano.

Crime

Ede's thousand fronts

Despite the tainted image, and the apparent shortcomings in its operations, Lagos State police command struggles to live up to expectations

Pius Ede, if that is his real name, could be mistaken for a young executive in any of the high brow financial institutions in the country. Yet he is a master impersonator, specialist in forgery and very fast with his fingers.

Acting on a tip-off, the police raided the Oko-Oba residence of Ede and recovered six Nigerians official passports, one Niger Republic international passport, six different types of rubber stamps and a consular seal. Also recovered from the "419 chief" are reams of letter headed papers of the federal ministries of communications, health, agriculture, water resources and rural development, industries, information and culture and finance and economic development. The export promotion council, defence and trade ministries were also not left out. Identity cards of various ministries, customs and immigration departments and printing plates of the various federal ministries were also found on him. According to a statement signed by Lagos State commissioner of police, Mr. James Danbaba, "It is believed that the impostor is using the various documents and passport not only to obtain visa dubiously from embassies but also to obtain money or goods from people under false pretence.

The command imagemaker, Isaac Akinmoyede further told the press that Ede was at various times a lieutenant colonel, an Alhaji Abdulkarim, a doctor, and lately a major-



Ede: the perfect criminal?

general. The imagemaker further revealed that the magnitude of Ede's activities cannot be imagined as more facts emerge every passing day. His parade for the media, said Akinmoyede, is to inform Nigerians so that those who have encountered him

Also, the state Special Anti Robbery Squad (SARS) in two separate operations recovered two cars earlier reported snatched. The two cars, a 505 saloon car with registration number LA 4972 J and a Mitsubishi saloon car with registration number LA 7353 P were recovered at Lagos/Ibadan tollgate and Badagry expressway respectively. Eleven suspects were said to have been arrested in connection with the alleged theft while three locally made pistols, 10 cartridges and charms were recovered from the suspects. In the police net also is a criminal receiver of two suspected stolen vehicles, a Pathfinder jeep, LA 1003 T and a Mitsubishi car with no plate number.

Recovered also is a Peugeot 505 saloon car — LA 5663 MN earlier snatched from a Coca-Cola top executive. Citizen learnt that the response of the public to the recovered vehicles has not been encouraging as people are not forthcoming to identify and claim stolen vehicles. Meanwhile, reliable sources at the police command told Citizen last week that the involvement of army and naval personnel in crimes is a big source of worry to the force. The police, Citizen learnt has not been able to get the military authorities cooperation in bringing to book its

Ede was at various times a lieutenant colonel, an Alhaji Abdulkarim, a doctor, and lately a major-general

can come forward with more information. Locking very cool and calm, Ede, who claimed to be a trained accountant, said he got the numerous passport from touts at the passport office.

officers alleged to have participated or aided and abetted robbery operations.

By Akinyele Aluko

Citizen, January 24, 1994

NIPOST

More rivers to cross

Administrators of the Nigeria Postal Service, NIPOST admits the presence of obstacles in the ways of postal services but promises efficiency in the years ahead

The Nigerian Postal Services, NIPOST last Tuesday celebrated the 13th anniversary of the Pan-African Postal Union, PAPU Day. But the ceremony, which drew a fairly large audience inside the tastefully furnished auditorium of the Nigerian Telecommunications Limited, NITEL Training School, Oshodi-Lagos, was virtually devoid of self-adulation that was the trademark at similar celebrations by government departments.

Instead, NIPOST administrators seized the opportunity to X-ray the state of the Nigerian postal service, identify the constraints militating against satisfactory performance, and restore people's faith on the role of post in development. This, according to Alhaji Muhammadu Abubakar Rimi, minister of communications, were the *raison d'être* of the annual PAPU Day.

The minister, whose speech was read by Alhaji Abdul Talib S. Umar, director-general in the ministry, admitted that government was "not unaware of the enormous problems facing the postal system in Nigeria." For instance, in the operational area, Nigerian and many African nations were yet to meet the international standard of one postal establishment

per 6,000 peoples prescribed by the Universal Postal Union, UPU.

However, if there was a problem that routinely upsets postal services in the country and gives operators a nightmare, it is the logistic of transportation. And the minister was not oblivious of this. While road and sea transports were still under developed, "air transportation, which is the quickest means of moving mails worldwide is quite irregular and most unreliable in the African region," said Alhaji Rimi.

But these challenges and constraints, according to Mr. Joshua Bamigbele, acting post master-general and NIPOST chief executive, "call for a serious rededication to work on the part of the entire (NIPOST) staff. The sacred nature of all items entrusted to us in the post



Zome: ineptitude?

will be maintained and delivered safely, speedily and intact." The pledge, ostensibly aimed at restoring public confidence in NIPOST could not have come at a more auspicious time.

Recently, the department came under a spate of attack on its services which many NIPOST watchers believe is below public expectations. Then, the issues were unduly late delivery of mails and mail pilfering, which indeed at a time assumed a frightening proportion. However, the suspension early this month of Mr. Nathaniel Zome, post master-

general and several other top executives, over allegation of ineptitude has brought to public glare a probable reason for the delay in payment of two months staff salaries late last year.

Although, Mr. Bamigbele promised last week that staff salaries and benefits "will from now be paid as and when due," employees however expressed fear that it was not all that easy. Comrade Raji Lawal, president of the National Union of Postal and Telecommunications Employees, NUPTE told *Citizen* that "NIPOST can't generate enough money to pay salaries." He blamed the government for the two months salary arrears owed staff last year arguing that NIPOST was granted autonomy without the collateral take-off for recurrent expenditures.

Comrade Lawal disclosed that NUPTE has refused to react to the recent development within NIPOST because "the union does not have enough facts on it." What is of upper most concern to NUPTE, he said, was employees benefits and excellent service to the nation. But the axe of retrenchment is dangling over many employees of the department. *Citizen* was reliably informed that although the list was still being reviewed, the axe would likely fall in February.

Already, about 11 million Naira has been paid out as gratuities to more than 320 employees who have been retrenched in recent years for various reasons. But those to be purged in the planned exercise, *Citizen* gathered, will include "all those whose records of service in NIPOST does not justify their retention in the department."

Expectedly, the retrenchment fever has gripped many top officials who, *Citizen* learnt, may be swept away. But junior employees last week appeared not to have got the hint about the impending purge. "If this will, however, rid the department of bad eggs or dead woods and improve efficiency," said a top official of NIPOST, "then let the axe fall."

By Moyo Akoshile

Census

Waiting for the final result

A near fire outbreak at the National Population Commission's computer centre in Lagos, raises the question of the delay in the release of the final result

Walking alone for the short distance to his office from where he had just commissioned a new filling station within his commission's premises, Chris Ugokwe chairman, National Population Commission looked pensive and subdued. Other senior officers of the commission who attended the ceremony did not look cheerful either in spite of the just commissioned filling station, designed to fuel the commission's official vehicles at its Surulere headquarters in Lagos.

The unease among the NPC top shots, *Citizen* investigations revealed might have less to do with the highly inflammable liquid in their backyard than with the near fire outbreak at the commission's multi-million Naira computer centre. The incident which sent shivers down the spine of many in the census body would have meant the loss of several million Naira's worth of computer equipments and some of the data gathered via the 1991 census exercise.

In addition to being one of the seven data processing centres, of the NPC, the nearly burnt computer centre houses the central computer network into which all the other six DPC's are linked. The implication of a fire outbreak at the Lagos centre is therefore obvious as such an incident will raise doubt about obtaining any final census result or data at all.

Insiders revealed to *Citizen* that the near disaster was noticed as staff of the centre reported for duty on Monday January 3, 1994. What was initially thought to be a problem affecting only some of the electricity lines to which the computer machines are hooked turned out to be more than that. It was eventually discovered that the centre's fuse box

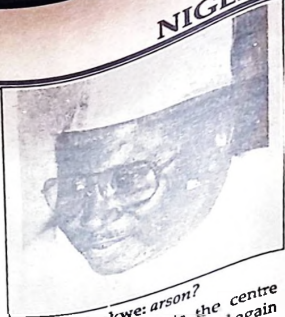
had completely burnt out and all the wiring under the floors of the centre had melted. Infact it was, according to our sources, only a miracle that the entire centre with its invaluable contents did not burst into flames.

Although it took days before, the full import of the near mishap to sink into the thick skin of the census bureaucrats, when it did, they ordered the closure of the entire, centre and set up an internal enquiry into the matter. The investigation committee, whose terms of reference could not be ascertained, consisted of senior officers of the computer department as well as the secretary of the commission together with the contractors that did the electrical work of the centre.

Even before the committee submitted its report, theories about the probable cause of the near mishap had been proffered by insiders. One such theory posited that the wiring of the centre had been overloaded thereby leading to overheating which burnt out the fuse box and the wiring. Others who spoke to *Citizen* on the matter blamed the trouble on the shoddy nature of the work done by the contractors who handled the project. Yet another theory suggested that there might have been sabotage. This line of thinking dismissed other possibilities and pointed out that overloading or shoddy work would have manifested much earlier than now.

The NPC's spokesman could not be reached for the official version of the events before going to press.

As speculations on the issue continued, the committee set-up to unravel the mystery was billed to submit its report by Wednesday last week. Whatever its findings may be, it is not likely to change the fact that work at the NPC's computer centre will remain suspended for some



Ugokwe: arson?

time to come. As it is the centre could only become functional again after the entire underground wiring of the centre is replaced.

This recent case is not the first hiccup experienced by the NPC in its computer section. There were earlier reports of thefts of micro-computer on two different occasions at the Ibadan Data Processing Centre.

For now, it is unclear how the recent near fire incident will affect the commission's release of the final result of the 1991 census. For planners and other users of census data, it is that final result and not the provisional one that is useful. Our resources indicate that but for the recent incident, data entry for the states covered by the centre, could be completed in two weeks.

Twice so far the commission has breached its own deadline for the release of the all-important final result. On a visit to the late Sir Adetokunboh Ademola who was one time census boss, the present chairman spoke of the likelihood of the release of the final results in 10 months. That visit was in October 1992 which means that the deadline expired in August 1993. Breach of that deadline was hardly surprising since the commission found it difficult to secure the 303 million Naira it said it needed to complete the job and embark on its vital registration project.

Although the commission eventually got the money at the tail end of last year, there is no indication of when the result will finally see the light of the day.

By our Correspondent

BUSINESS & ECONOMY

Gas

Back to square one

The Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation scraps its control of gas cylinder procurement and throws it open once again

For users of domestic gas, it is a tale of win one, lose one. Even as they are grinning over the marginal drop in the prices of cooking gas, those of cylinders continue on their climb upwards, no thanks to the recent decision by the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) to once again throw open the procurement and marketing of the containers.

By last week, the price of the 12.5 kilogramme size, commonly used in domestic cooking, had crashed from 400 Naira it sold during the last Christmas and New Year season to 300 Naira. But the gain here is rubbed off for those intending to join the cooking gas club: they will be paying more for cylinders, mainly courtesy NNPC's rethink last month of its regulation policy of the gas cylinder business. Already, the effect of the corporation's move is becoming evident in the gas market as a 12.5 kilogramme cylinder procured and being marketed by Total Nigeria Plc sold for 1,700 Naira last week. This amount represents a 200 Naira increase from the amount buyers paid for it last month.

NNPC's backtracking on its long-standing decision to be the sole regulator of cylinder procurement and marketing would appear an official admission of the failure of its butamisation programme, at least as regards availability of cooking gas and cylinders at affordable prices. By the programme, the NNPC seeks to bring gas "to every home in Nigeria" by laying a network of gas pipelines, build storage tanks, standardise cylinder regulators and subsidise gas and its cylinder prices. But the programme has failed to live up

to the expectations of its authors, as admitted by the corporation in a publication released last year. Ten years after the butamisation programme was thought up, the gas pipeline network is far from being completed and enough storage tanks have not been built.

But it was apparently the abuse suffered by the last two objectives of the programme that informed the NNPC's recent move to deregulate the gas business. For the past one year, the cost of refilling the various cylinder sizes have been recording over a 800 per cent increase beyond official prices. By last December, the small five kilogramme cylinder which officially should not sell beyond 18 Naira sold for 90 Naira. The 12.5 kilogramme standard size which official price the petroleum and mineral resources minister,

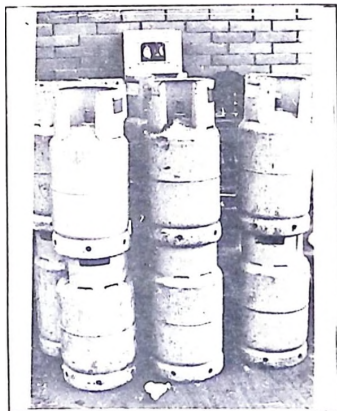


Etiebet: who benefits?

Chief Don Etiebet last month listed at 25 Naira, went for 400 Naira in retail shops. Major marketers of the product like Total Nigeria Plc, Unipetrol and Agip sold the size for 100 Naira. They, however, did not and still do not always have the product for sale at their filling stations.

The plight of gas consumers in buying new cylinders is worse: they must pay through their nose to get

one. And this was what NNPC officials found offensive as it represented a complete negation of the corporation's efforts to ease gas consumption. Citizens gathered at the Victoria Island office of the Pipeline and Products Marketing Company (PPMCO), the corporation's subsidiary charged with the cooking gas business that the official price placed on a 12.5 kilogramme cylinder was 200 Naira, even though the company was sourcing one cylinder at 800 Naira. The 600 Naira difference was the subsidy sacrifice the



Standing ugly, costly and empty

ny was giving away with the
to making the cylinders afford-
o potential consumers. To
availability of the container,
PMC contracted two indige-
cylinder manufacturing com-
— MIDGAS in Lagos and the
— to mass-

rian Company in Ibadan —
Company in product.
But obviously, the PPMC did not
con with the greedy activities of
men in its dream. For some-
e along the line, the dream went
st. Mr. S.O. Dare a senior official
the public relations department
the company spoke bitterly of
the middlemen who ensured
patriotic prices went for the roofs.
Citizen investigations revealed that
is was made available through the
boarding of cylinders by marketers,
ereby making the cylinders get to
etailers in small quantities. Needy
as users were practically willing to
ay any price for it. By last Decem-
ber, when the NNPC suspended its
policy of regulating and subsidising
the gas business, a cylinder was sell-
ing for 1,500.00 Naira.

Citizen also gathered that NNPC's
decision to standardise cylinder
regulators and solely procure the
product effectively marginalised
major oil marketers who for years
have been shouldering the responsi-
bility of procuring and marketing
both cylinders and the cooking gas
itself under their various trademarks
and different regulator heads.
PPMC's decision to standardise the
regulator heads therefore con-
demned to disuse the filling equip-
ment of so many marketers whose
regulators did not conform with
PPMC's. In fact, the immediate for-
mer managing director of the Na-
tional Oil and Chemical Marketing
(NOCHEM) Plc, Mr. Okeke com-
plained of the enormous loss NO-
CHEM incurred because of the stan-
dardisation policy.

NOCHEM eventually had to
wash its hand off the gas business so
as to stave off further losses. Watch-
ers of the gas market attributed the
apathy of the major marketers in the
distribution of cylinders as contrib-



Oyibo: middlemen as culprits?

uting to the astronomical rise in the
prices of the commodity. Mr. Leke
Afolabi, a supervisor with NO-
CHEM said average independent
marketers lacked marketing and
distribution facilities, expertise and
sincerity at the disposal of the major
ones.

With the deregulation of
the policy on the gas
business, the major mar-
keters are once again in the cylinder
procurement and marketing picture.
Total Nigeria Plc is already back with
its own cylinder, with its orange
colour predominating. The price of
its 12.5 kilogramme size was 1,700
Naira by last week. There are indica-
tions that prices would continue to
go up as they are now completely
left to the dictates of market forces.
With the scarcity of the product still
prevalent, the scenario of supply not
meeting demands portends a fright-
ening picture.

To worsen matters, the manufac-
turing companies are planning to
start exporting gas cylinders to the
West African sub-region very soon,
as confirmed to Citizen by an official
of MIDGAS. According to the official,
this plan is aimed at sourcing
foreign exchange as well as contrib-
uting to the export potentials of
Nigeria. On whether export of cylin-
der would not affect local demand
considering the present situation, he
asserted there had never been in-
adequate supply of cylinders to the
PPMC. "Rather, distribution was

sabotaged along the line," he main-
tained.

NNPC's deregulation will also
afford major marketers to correct
one lapse they have been harping
upon since the heydays of the regu-
lation: refurbishing old cylinders to
prevent accidents as well as increase
the number in use. Okeke once criti-
cised NNPC's regulation policy
along safety lines, saying that cylin-
ders were being overused and not
recalled for refurbishing. The dan-
ger here, according to him is the leak
rust and other corrosion elements
could cause to the cylinders. In the
process of using such cylinders,
explosion could occur.

A plan now on board at the NNPC
would gladden Okeke's heart. The
corporation intends to establish a
multi-million Naira fund for the

With the deregulation of the policy on the gas business, the major marketers are once again in the cylinder procurement and marketing picture

refurbishment of old and disused
gas cylinders. The fund, scheduled
to be in place by the last quarter of
this year, covers over a million cylin-
ders in the first instance. Contribu-
tion to the fund would be through
additional margin on the original
cost of gas. The margin would be
deducted and transferred to the re-
furbishment fund by gas marketers
such as Total Nigeria Plc, Mobil and
Unipetrol. With marketers passing
the margin on to buyers, the implica-
tion looks another burden. Or does
it?

By Tayo Odunlami

BUSINESS BRIEFS

NLNG gets new MD

A new managing director has been appointed for the Nigeria Liquefied Natural Gas (NLNG) Limited. He is Mr. Theo W. Oerlemans. The new managing director is from Shell Gas B.V., one of the company's shareholders. Born in Netherlands, Mr. Oerlemans, an engineer, attended Delft University in the Netherlands. He was for two years an officer of the Royal Netherlands Navy before he joined Shell Laboratories in Amsterdam, where he worked in

process simulation and control.

He has worked in Shell's Gas formations in Africa, Australia, London, South America and Middle East before his appointment.

Mr. Oerlemans reviewed the economic and potential of the Nigeria LNG project and was instrumental in the revival of the project, in close cooperation with the federal government of Nigeria and the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC).

Kabelmetal rewards employees

Kabelmetal Nigeria Plc, Nigeria's major manufacturer

The managing director of the company, Chief Hans-Dieter Berg and



Mr. Ezekiel Nwaghara who retired as Kabelmetal's senior administrative officer, proudly receives a parting gift from Chief Hans-Dieter Berg, the managing director. Right is the company's personnel training manager Mr. Muiyiva Owotumi

of high quality power and telecommunication cables, has honoured 41 employees who have served the company loyally for 10 to 20 years.

Nine of the staff retired from service, 12 were honoured for serving the company for up to 20 years, being pioneer staff of the 20-year-old cable giant, and 20 others received commendation for making it a decade with Kabelmetal.

executive director responsible for quality control, Mr. Adefisayo Anjorn, were among the proud recipients of the 20-year award.

In his address, Chief Berg expressed deep gratitude to all pioneers and subsequent employees without whose striving the company would not have achieved the commanding position in the cable industry.

... and NNIL

Malam Gimba Hassan Ibrahim has been appointed the new managing director and chief executive of Northern Nigeria Investments Limited (NNIL) by the board of directors of New Nigeria Development Company Limited (NNDC) effective December 16, 1993. Prior to his substantive appointment, the new managing director has been on acting capacity since the resignation of the former managing director in May, 1993. Malam Gimba joined the services of the company in

April, 1981 as an assistant investment executive and rose subsequently through the ranks to the position of general manager (operations) in April, 1993. He was appointed acting managing director in May, 1993 when the position became vacant.

Malam Ibrahim holds degree in economics (1979) from the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, and had attended various professional/top management courses both at home and abroad. He is also a member of the Nigerian Institute of Management (MNIM).

FG earns 2.6 billion Naira from privatisation

The federal government has realised 2.6 billion Naira as capital gains from the privatisation of 58 publicly owned companies by the Technical Committee on Privatisation and Commercialisation (TCPC).

The committee's director of corporate services, Mr. Emeka Maduegbuna, said in Lagos that records showed government's original investments in the companies amount to 653 million Naira but 3.3 billion Naira was realised as turnover from the entire exercise that the bulk of government investments was not in the enterprises scheduled for privatisation, "but in the larger public utilities such as NEPA, NNPC, NPA and NAA, which are all slated for commercialisation."

Mr. Maduegbuna also

said privatisation had created over 800,000 shareholders in the country, noting that the figure was almost twice that of 1988 when the TCPC was established.

The sale of privatised company shares also stimulated the growth of the Nigerian capital, he observed, citing that its capitalisation had grown



from 8.8 billion Naira in 1988 to more than 32 billion Naira in 1992.

By Tola Sunday

Nigerian exchange rate last week

\$		N21.9960
£		N32.6470
DM		N12.8182
SF		N14.9990
FF		N3.7558
DC		N11.4321
YEN		N0.2004
CFA		N0.0742

West African Unit of Account (WAUA)

Beeao	CFA	410.4095	0.0762
Gambia	Dalasi	12.8679	2.3417
Ghana	Cedi	1008.8851	0.0308
Guinea	Franc	1358.00	0.0228
Guinea Bissau	Peso	6061.9710	0.0019
Liberia	Dollar	1.4178	21.8857
Mauritania	Quduiya	163.8606	0.1804
Sierra Leone	Leone	812.0136	0.0382
Nigeria	Naira	31.0295	—

London oil Market: January deliveries

Bonny light.....	\$14.00
Forcados.....	N15.05
Brent.....	\$13.65
Duba.....	\$13.25
Forties.....	\$13.70
Eko fisk.....	\$13.75
Urah Med.....	\$13.05
Iran Hysk.....	\$12.35
Es Sider.....	\$13.15
Suez Blend.....	\$11.30
W.T.I.....	\$14.87

Note: The price asterisked is for February, 1994 deliveries.

Average Banks' Interest rates

Last week	
Prime.....	48%
Current.....	10%
Savings.....	25%
30 days.....	30%
6 months.....	32%
12 months.....	34%

BUSINESS INDEX

London commodity prices as at 6/1/94

Dubai	12.98-3.03
Brent Blend (dated)	14.22-4.24
Brent Blend (Feb)	14.07-4.09
W.T.I.	15.10-5.12
Premium Gasoline	145-147
Gas oil	150-152
Heavy Fuel oil	54-56
Naphtha	129-132
Jet fuel	170-171
Gold (per troy oz)	5386.20
Silver (per troy oz)	509.5c
Platinum (per troy oz)	\$397.25
Palladium (per troy oz)	\$126.78
Copper (US prod.)	85.0c
Lead (US prod.)	35.00c
Tin (Kuala Lumpur)	12.72c
Tin (New York)	221.5
Cattle (Live weight)	119.36p
Sheep (Live weight)	94.85p
Pigs (Live weight)	63.61p
Lon. day sugar (raw)	\$266.4
Lon. day sugar (wte)	\$286.9
Tate & Lyle export	£290.0
Maize (US No3 Yellow)	£129.0
Wheat (US Dark North)	£175.0
Rubber (Feb)	60.50p
Rubber (Mar)	60.75p
Rubber (KL RSS No 1 July)	217.5m
Coca (CMar)	£889 (Tonne)
Coffee (Jan)	\$1150 (Tonne)
Coconut oil (Phil)	\$637.5
Palm oil (Malay.)	\$415.0
Copra (Phil)	\$432.5
Soyabean (US)	£205.0
Cotton 'A' Index	66.70c
Wooltops (SS Supper)	342p

Stock watch Nigerian stock exchange

Turnover	4.54m	(862 deals)
Index	1615.2	(+35.4)
Lagos	4m+	(793 deals)
Ibadan	0.42m+	(50 deals)
Kano	0.101m+	(17 deals)
Onitsha	0.111m+	(2 deals)
Kaduna	No action yet	—

Last line

Dr. Pius Okigbo heads a seven-man panel to probe the activities of the Central Bank of Nigeria. Others members of the panel are Mr. Pascal Dozie, Alhaji Umaru Mutallab, Dr. Yakubu Sankey, Mrs. Bola Latinwo, Dr. Obon Ekaette, and Chief Dotun Oyefodunrin. The panel is to submit its report on March 31, 1994.

By Shoyebi Abayomi
with agency reports

AFRICA

Burundi

The carnage, then the lull

With the election of a new president, the country seemed poised for reconciliation

Troubled Burundi seemed set to curtail and end brutal bloodlettings as it appointed a new president, Mr. Cyprien Ntaryamira, to succeed the assassinated former first democratically elected president Mr. Melchior Ndadaye — Ndadaye is from the Hutu tribe. The aborted coup, led by the officers of the minority Tutsi tribe, plunged the country into chaos that left 100,000 dead and sent about three quarters of a million Burundians into refugee camps in Zaire, Tanzania and Rwanda. Furthermore, homesteads and farms were destroyed on a large scale.

By last week, however, it seemed that Burundi which has come to be known for its notorious bloody tribal feuds, was satisfied and satiated with this latest round of violence, attrition and mayhem, and is in quest of peace, and this feeling was echoed by a call by political leaders in the country for a truce to end hostilities.

Mrs. Sylvie Kinigi, the surviving prime minister of Mr. Ndadaye's government argued that "there is the desire to end the killing and return to democratic processes" — she led her ruling party, Front for Democracy in Burundi (FRODEB) to the peace conference while Mr. Jean Baptiste Manwangari of the party of Unity and National Progress (UPRONA) led his party's delegation to the conference. Mrs. Kinigi had all along asserted her democratic convictions and stoutly opposed the military takeover despite the fact that her Tutsi tribal kinsmen were

the organisers of the uprising, her stance however is believed to have planted suspicion in the minds of her people that she is pro-Hutu.

In order to bring about the election of Mr. Ntaryamira, the parliament moved last week to effect a constitutional amendment that allowed it to vote for a new president. This constitutional amendment was expedient in that it was impossible to organise another national elec-

Mrs. Sylvie Kinigi, the surviving prime minister of Mr. Ndadaye's government argued that "there is the desire to end the killing and return to democratic processes

tions in the face of the violence, trauma, panic and uncertainty that pervaded national life.

Although the opposition demanded constitutional legality and opposed the new decree, the country generally seemed on the verge of a shaky reconciliation. It would be



Ndadaye: peace at a cost

noteworthy to see if the present administration would continue with ex-president Ndadaye's process of ethnic reconciliation and well being. The UN high commissioner in Burundi, Mr. Abdallah said that a true spirit of reconciliation is needed in the country.

Meanwhile, the plight of Burundians in refugee camps is a sorry one indeed. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNCHR) claimed that dysentery, measles, malaria and malnutrition is ravaging the camps. There is also the prospect of famine in Rwanda the host country, who in the past had also enacted violent tribal and ethnic cleansings to effect delicate Hutu domination of their own country. The United Nations World Food Programme (UNWFP) claims that it needs to extend its programme in Burundi/Rwanda for another six months and that 45 million dollars would be needed to buy 96 metric tonnes of food.

Also, in a move to safeguard Burundi's fragile peace, the secretary general of the OAU, Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim said that the body has approved 180 peace keepers for the country. They were to manage, control and prevent internal conflict.

*By Shoyebi Abayomi
with agency reports*

South Africa

Dirty political tricks

What is the newly formed African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP) up to?

Attempts by some white military intelligence officers in South Africa to manipulate the April 27 elections is now an open secret. This followed the formation of a new party called the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP) "five months" to the election day. Political watchers say the party headed by Dr. Johanvander Westhuizen may be aimed at frustrating the efforts of the popular African National Congress (ANC) led by Dr. Nelson Mandela.

Dr. Westhuizen, the leader of the new (ACDP) was said to be having direct connections with military intelligence. Report also said that Dr. Westhuizen had worked for a military intelligence front company, Adult Education Consultants in the 1980's and that it has been persistently part of "secret christian education network in some churches in South Africa to undermine the efforts of African National Congress (ANC)."

Other prominent pioneers, and founders of ACDP include Anthony Dhlomo, brother of Oscar Dhlomo, former secretary-general of Chief Mongosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

Even so, the strategies indulged by new ACDP did not bother Dr. Mandela and ANC supporters who were already determined to see to the end of white domination in South Africa, ANC deputy secretary general, Jacob Zuma, says the formation of new ACDP by Dr. Westhuizen and Anthony Dhlomo at the dying minutes was akin to sabotage and dirty tricks by some white terrorists, using prominent blacks as fronts.

Dr. Mandela had earlier told millions of his black brothers and sisters that they should put their

heads together and dispel all dirty tricks by some few gullible blacks who allow themselves to be used by few whites to continuously subject them to oppression. He further con-



De Klerk and Mandela: what becomes of April 27?

tended that they should not mirror him as a total redeemer or miracle



Buthelezi: still for homeland

healer.

Meanwhile, the ANC's main rival, President Frederick de Klerk's National Party is said to have drafted its manifesto and would soon present it to the federal congress scheduled for first week of February, at a venue outside Johannesburg. But police report revealed that the capacity of the security forces to keep control during the run-up of the election is still suspect. According to police, the force does not have enough manpower to ensure law

and order during the congresses of all political parties and even during the elections proper until something is done to remedy the shortcomings.

Despite this grim scenario as the police comments imply the three Nobel peace prize winners, President de Klerk, Dr. Mandela and Archbishop Desmond Tutu were expected to host and deliver papers at the annual seminar of the International Press Institute (IPI) next month, in Cape Town. The three discussants were to speak mainly on sensitive issues that cut across the world, more, especially on the democracy and political problems in Africa and at the same time the ways of ending military intervention in some parts of Africa.

By Yabagi Kolo
with agency reports

Citizen, January 24, 1994

AFRICA

WORLD

Middle East

Assad makes his move

After condemning the Israel-PLO pact, the Syrian president may now join the bandwagon

It was the farthest President Hafiz al-Assad ever went to define the kind of peace he wants with Israel. Meeting with US President Bill Clinton in Geneva on Sunday, January 16, President Assad said his idea of peace with Israel includes open borders and full diplomatic relations. He will be prepared, Assad said, to sign a peace



Arafat: the Syrians are coming

treaty with Israel provided it is "flexible" in its position, and he called for a "peace of the brave" between the two countries.

Assad's prescriptions came close to those demanded the day before the summit by Israeli environment minister Yossi Sarid, who said Israel wants total peace, diplomatic relations, open borders and free trade with Syria in return for its giving up sovereignty over the Golan Heights. Previously, Assad had demanded an Israeli announcement of its intention to evacuate the Golan before he

will define the peace he wants.

President Clinton said at the summit that Syria "holds the key to an enduring and comprehensive peace" in the Middle East. "I believe," Clinton said, "President Assad has made a clear, forthright and very important statement on normal, peaceful relations." Israel also welcomed Assad's "tone," but said his statement lacked "specifics."

Still, it sent the Israeli government into a frenzy of activity. On Monday, January 17, Israeli deputy defence minister General Mordechai Gur announced in the Knesset that the government will hold a referendum before any deal with Syria is made on the Golan Heights. "The government," Gur said, "will organise a referendum since there will be a significant territorial price asked of us in the Golan." Even though the deputy minister said he spoke for Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, who is also the defence minister, several ministers said they were not consulted on the issue.

The referendum proposal soon sparked a row. Nissim Zivili, secretary-general of the ruling Labour Party, said, "To organise a referendum setting a precedent in our history, will take months and block the peace process for no purpose. The date from the people to make peace with Syria." Environment minister Yossi Sarid, who is also the leader of the left-wing Meretz party and is known to be close to Rabin, said, "A referendum? What for? The government is sovereign. It has the right and duty to secure peace accords



Assad: the lion's roar

with Syria and Jordan without resorting to a referendum."

The PLO also welcomed Assad's latest moves. As PLO and Israeli delegates resumed their own talks at Taba, Egypt, Palestinian chief negotiator Nabil Shaath said the US-Syrian summit "means the return of Syria to the peace process. I don't see any reason for negative effects. I only see positive effects." The negotiators at Taba were still trying last week to break the deadlock over the size of Jericho, security of Jewish settlements and control of border crossings to Egypt and Jordan.

PLO leader Yasser Arafat, speaking last week to the Austrian newspaper *Salzburger Nachrichten*, charged that "Israel continues to insist on controlling the borders, which means that Israelis do not want to withdraw, but to keep the status quo. The Israelis want to turn Gaza into a ghetto for the Palestinians. The same thing is true of Jericho."

While Israel-PLO talks continue at Taba, the formal Middle East peace talks are expected to resume in Washington this week. If President Assad continues along the path he charted last week, then a comprehensive peace may be in the offing in the Middle East.

By Mahmud Jega
with agency reports

Martin Luther King Happy birthday to you

"We remember you, Martin Luther King", said Steve Wonder and the world

For the ninth time in a row, it was marked as an annual holiday in the United States. The occasion was the birthday of Martin Luther King Jr, who was born on January 15, 1929, but the birthday is officially celebrated on the third Monday of every January. This year, it was observed in all 50 American States by federal, state and local governments, whose offices closed to mark the day.

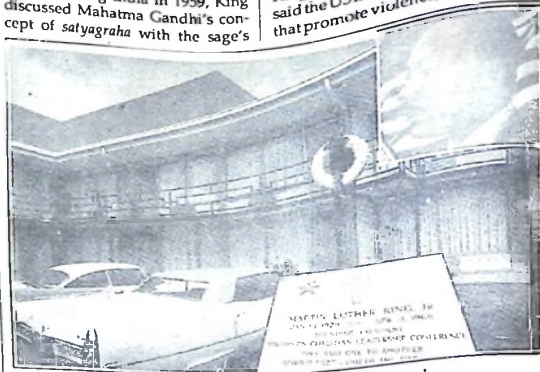
In Miami, Florida a prayer service was held at sunrise while at the Grand Falls native Americans staged a colourful Indian dance. The theme of all the activities was "non-violence" which was the great philosophy of resistance that guided the Reverend Martin Luther King during the epic campaign to end racial inequality in the United States during the 1950's and 1960's.

Martin Luther King, born in Atlanta, Georgia, in the racist American deep south, the son of a Baptist priest, took degrees in divinity in Pennsylvania and a doctorate degree from Boston University in 1955. King thereafter became a pastor in Montgomery, Alabama, but had not been there a year when the town was engulfed in a crisis. Mrs Rosa Parks, a black lady, had refused to surrender her seat to a white passenger in a bus, as provided by the law, and was promptly arrested. King soon became the leader of the Montgomery Improvement Association, an organisation that organised a boycott of the mass transit system. At that very first brush, King established himself as an orator of great skill:-

"We have no alternative but to protest. For many years, we have shown an amazing patience. We have sometimes given our white brothers the feeling that we liked the

way we were being treated. But we come here tonight to be saved from that patience that makes us patient with anything less than freedom and justice."

King subsequently founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference which became the main platform for the campaign to end racial segregation and for civil rights all over the US, but especially in the south. Visiting India in 1959, King discussed Mahatma Gandhi's concept of *satyagraha* with the sage's



The balcony where King (inset) was murdered

followers, which further reinforced his own philosophy of non-violence.

Martin Luther King reached the zenith of his campaign in 1960-65, when he and the SCLC, in alliance with other groups, organised sit-ins and protest marches, culminating in the epic march on Washington on August 28, 1963. There, in front of 200,000 marchers, 40,000 of them white liberals, King delivered his "I have a dream" speech. The powerful tide generated by the movement led to the passing by the US Con-

gress of the Civil Rights Act in 1964, which authorised the federal government to enforce the desegregation of public facilities, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which enfranchised blacks in the south. In 1964, King was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace. On April 4, 1968, King was killed by a sniper, white southerner James Earl Ray, as he stood on the balcony of a motel in Memphis, Tennessee. His death sparked off angry and violent riots by blacks throughout the US.

Last week, New York city Mayor Rudy Giuliani praised King as a man of with "an exceptional gifts to inspire people, regardless of colour, unite. He moved the world." But from Atlanta, King's widow Coretta Scott-King said the US must confront businesses that promote violence, ranging from

gunmakers to video arcades. "We must recognise" she said, "that while violence is committed by individuals, it is promoted and encouraged by a massive violence industry."

Not everyone honoured the Rev. Martin Luther King last week. Even as most of the world commemorated his birthday, the white racist Ku Klux Klan held anti-King protest rallies in Denver, Colorado.

By Mahmud Jega
with agency reports



BILKISU YUSUF

foreign exchange to the parallel market will collapse like a pack of cards. Intimidated by the tighter regulations on foreign exchange allocation, some businessmen are already panicking about the prospect of competing with bonafide manufacturers who are favoured by the new dispensation.

Xenophobia

I was a student in the early seventies when Nigerians were driven out of Ghana, the then buoyant country to which they flocked in their thousands. When the economy took a downward plunge, Busia's regime fingered Nigerians as the culprits, the economic saboteurs to be expelled. And home they returned leaving their wealth behind. Some had been there for five generations and could not trace their homes and relations. Their expulsion did not solve Ghana's economic problem neither did their return hinder Nigeria's development.

One also witnessed the more brutal expulsion of Nigerians from Congo and Equatorial Guinea. In the Congo, the more prosperous Nigerians were accused of dominating various businesses and their industries were confiscated by the government. On the other hand, migrant labourers who were reduced to slavery in Equatorial Guinea were also seen as undesirable elements. With the labourers gone, the plantations and crucial support services were neglected. Those looking for scapegoats, can readily find them, and even exploited labourers transform into economic saboteurs.

When times are hard, the politics of allocation of scarce resources is intensified. This year's budget is designed to eliminate waste and seal the drain pipes through which the country's foreign exchange is siphoned. From all indications those banks that fed fat on diversion of

Instead of responding imaginatively to the challenges of changing times, these entrepreneurs have resorted to scapegoatism. We are told that the Indians and Lebanese are economic saboteurs whose presence in this country is inimical to economic development. No restructuring of the economy will succeed until they are expelled. Leading this group is Alhaji Garba A.D. Inuwa, a Kano based businessman and chairman of Yakamata Group of Companies, who made the call last month. This was amplified by Christian Osodu and Adebayo Folarin in an open letter to the head of state, General Sani Abacha, widely advertised in many dailies. They accused the Indians and Lebanese of using mushroom companies to siphon foreign exchange, aiding capital flight through excessive bank borrowing, monopoly of merchandising and exploitation of consumers through gambling, night clubs and restaurants that charge excessive bills. The letter urged government to crack down on them because economic recovery will only occur if this forex stealing aliens are sent packing. This is certainly bad economics and worse bigotry.

Our economic sector suffers from a myriad of problems, none of which can be divorced from endemic corruption hatched and matured at various levels by indigenes. From the immigration department where expatriate quota is abused, to the Corporate Affairs Commission where companies are registered with

the Lebanese and Indians as technical partners; the customs department where smuggling is promoted into legitimate trade, to the banks where these "aliens" are welcomed to make deals with bank managers. Whatever havoc they wreak on our economy should be attributed to a corrupt bureaucracy and a deferential security system. Without the collusion of indigenes, these foreigners would not succeed with their ruinous designs. How many Nigerians get away with crimes in India or Lebanon? Our businessmen bring them into the country to help them loot our resources, using them as fronts to set up forex gulping companies, inflating contracts and importation of sub standard goods. To blame Lebanese and Indians is to side step the issue.

Rex Raccah, a Kano based Lebanese once said that he knew Nigeria better than Nigerians. It was not an empty boast. He had access to the then head of state, General Yakubu Gowon with whom he dined and wined. The emir was so close a friend that he stood in as the father of the bride at his daughter's wedding in London. With their strong connections, any clampdown on "alien" economic saboteurs must begin with clipping the wings of their indigenous patrons, who are their partners in crime.

The solution lies in enforcing the regulations. If it is allowed to work, the new forex laws should correct the anomalies. The Central Bank, which is now charged with the responsibility of monitoring the allocation of forex to priority industries is saddled with a herculean task. Steeped in corruption and currently under probe, the CBN must be sanitised and adequately equipped to perform its monitoring role. Unless this is done, the Indians, Lebanese and local forex syndicates will only shift their operations from the banks, and Bureau de Change to the CBN. If that happens we should forget about economic recovery for a while.

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NNPC and its scandals!

If you are not a member of the Abisoye panel probing the NNPC, the following is not for your eyes. But should your curiosity get the better of you, remember that's what killed the cat in the 16th century

Corruption, we all agree, is the nation's No. 1 Enemy. Yet when General Abacha shoved out Chief Shonekan, his second in command, General Diya, sensible chap that he is, warned us not to expect any big fight with The Enemy. You know the bit about living in glass house and all that? No one as yet is calling Abacha *et al* the kind of names they've called (and are still calling) Babangida, but it's hard to imagine those names, justified or not, not rubbing off on the new helmsman, himself having kept the great Maradona's company for, not just eight years in power, but even more years before.

You can then understand why the new helmsmen have not been too keen to cast stones about. Even then, they have been smart enough to make some gestures against The Enemy to gain some credibility, thus rush (rash!) of probes into NITEL, NIPOST, CBN, the judiciary... and of course NNPC, the "proverbial" chicken that lays the golden egg.

Which leads us to the worry that the Abisoye panel probing the NNPC may not go far enough to get to the root of the problem of the oil industry. First, we notice the NNPC probe like most others are headed by retired top military brass, many of them having retired in not too honourable circumstances and possessing little or no knowledge of public policy even though they may have served in high offices. Second, in the case of NNPC, we doubt very much that Abisoye can do a better job than Justice Belgore on the same subject. Belgore, we think, got to the root of the problem of our oil industry and yet his report is yet to see the light of

day.

Third, the way a vociferous section of the media has reported the scandals in the industry, there is the danger that Abisoye may take off on a wild goose chase. In the typical fashion of this section of the media, the parties involved have been cast in the role of villains or rogues depending on where they come from. Thus Chief Philip Asiodu, erstwhile oil minister, is cast in the role of a white knight in shining armour who had to fight such monsters like Aliyu Mohammed, secretary to Babangida's regime, to keep the industry sane.

One report said Mohammed would have given our oil free to neighbouring Niger Republic, but for the valiant intervention of Chief Asiodu. Naturally, you did not get to know who suggested that instead of oil, Niger should be given a 5,000,000 dollars grant from an account, the Bonus Premium Fund, which oil ministers are in charge of.

Or get to hear how one secretary stabbed his boss in the back by replacing a company they both had shared interests in with another entirely his own, to grab a contract for importing trucks!

Abisoye should be interested to know why the trucks, which cost no more than 100,000 dollars a piece, the proverbial 10% included (I hear it's now 20 per cent plus), cost NNPC 280,000 dollars a piece. Of course, he should ask who got what out of the 200 trucks. His panel may also be interested to find out who awarded his own company a 150,000,000 Naira contract to furnish the NNPC annex adjacent to the Ikoyi Hotel in Lagos, but which contract has now



mercifully been cancelled. Last by no means the least, Abisoye may want to find out why five per cent of NNPC's shares in the LNG project was grossly undersold to Elf last year.

The fourth and last reason why there is real fear that Abisoye may not get to the bottom of the scandals that's our oil industry, is that the big players are either directly in charge now or they can still call some shots.

The big story in the industry now is the plan to privatise the Kaduna, Warri and the old Port Harcourt refineries. Last October, Don Ebot Etiebet, the oil minister, himself a big time contractor with the NNPC, sent out a circular to NNPC's top managers to take "steps..... for immediate implementation of this government's decision," namely, the privatisation of our three oldest refineries. To show that he meant business, he appointed six big time auditors and estate valuers including, I hear, Peat Merwick, Akintola Williams and Diya, Fatimilehin and Partners to audit the refineries.

Private Eye can reveal that since then, things have some what slowed down. With Budget '94 now behind us, however things may soon pick up. Before they do, Abisoye should want to know who are the interested parties in this privatisation game. He will find that the names read like Who is Who in this government and in the one they just shoved out!

The heart speaks

When the heart speaks, it must be understood. The language is that of love. As it pours forth from the heart, the message goes to another heart.

The ultimate question

Is it love?

Special B

That we now speak
like warring knights
And eye each other
With mutual suspicion
And question laden thoughts.

Is it love?

That whenever we speak
We weigh each weighty word
As we tread on thin ice
Of our hanging bond.

Is it love?

That whenever we sight
Each other's face
Our pulses quicken
With heads of trepidation
In the course and corollary
Of our encounter.

Is it love?

That in the quagmire of deceit
Your acts slowly corrode
And ladle acids
On my worn out tongue.

Is it love?

That despite mishaps
Deliberate or otherwise
Of our mangled tie
We still detect
Glimmers of affection
Each unable to bear
The perpetual erection
Of divisive walls.

Is it love?

That we stoop to aridify
Our well-watered garden landscape
With encroaching desert
Of deceit and hidden truths

is it love?

Sulciman Zailani

In the garden

We were in the garden
And I said
I love you.

I shouldn't have said it —
And know I shouldn't have said it —
But I did even so.

There was a pause
A long pause
And then she said, "I know."
Danladi Garba Tal

Lingering memories

Whenever I see lovers cocooned
In their world of self made bliss
Shutting out the world
I remember you.
Their laughter seems to erase
All their undulating moments
Like pain is unknown to them
I remember you.
The undue agony I'm subjected to
Only sinks my heart further
In this engulfing hollow.
Whenever I remember you
All the memories of our moments
Flash speedily before my eyes
Only then do I realise:
Those magic moments we once
shared
Will never return.
But did you really have to go?

Maryam Ahmed

I did not woo her

I did not hurt her
She did not love me
I do not worry
I am not lonely
She is so funny.
I cannot leave her
She does not like me
I so much like her
I must not miss her.
I did not hurt her
She did not love me
I do not worry
I am not lonely
She is so funny.
She is just so nice
She is so cunning

poets'
nest



I will be cunning
So I can have her.
I am not dowing
She does not know that
She did not ask me
How should I tell her
When she's ask me not.
I did not hurt her
She did not love me
I do not worry
I am not lonely.
I did not woo her
It is dicey with her askance look
I can't miss her
She is so funny

Mukhtar S. 'Wakeel

Love disappointment

I have been disappointed
I have been disappointed
By the lady, I so much loved.
I have been disappointed
By the lady I so much cherished
I have been disappointed
By the lady I so much adore
I have been disappointed
by the lady I entrusted all my hope
I have been disappointed by the lady
I have saved for in my life
I have been disappointed by the lady
Whose hand I have aspire for
I have been disappointed by the lady
That makes me refuse to fall in love
with other ladies
I have been disappointed
When she is supposed to have pity
on me
I have been disappointed by a lady
Who prefers worldly things to real
love
I have been disappointed by the
person
Whom I loved
Oh! disappointment, go away
Every disappointment is a blessing
Abdulmalik Moh'd

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WORLD OF SPORTS

TENNIS: Former world number one tennis star, Stefan Edberg finally ended eight months drought without a title when he beat Dutchman Paul Haarhuis 6-3, 6-2 to clinch the Qatar Open maiden edition in 1993 was whose Boris Becker. The Swede, who lost the first time since 1986, now has his sights trained on the Australian open which started last Monday. ATP officials are set to query Becker after he alleged in a German magazine that some of his tennis colleagues took drugs. It was not the first time Becker made the charge. In 1992, he charged that some players took marijuana, cocaine and amphetamines to bolster their game.

*Steffi Graf has maintained her lead since the number one ranked player, Monica Seles was put out of the circuit by a knife stabbing last April in Hamburg by an admirer of Steffi's. The surprise of the new ranking is the leap recorded by Japanese Kimiko Date, who moved from 18th to the 9th position. Other than that the rankings remain pretty stable. The absence of Seles, who was the unsailable world ranked player at the Australian Open is sorely being missed. The rankings are:

Steffi Graf (Germany)
 Arantxa Sanchez Vicario (Spain)
 Martina Navratilova (US)
 Conchita Martinez (Spain)
 Gabriela Sabatini (Argentina)
 Jana Novotna (Czech Rep)
 Monica Seles (former Yugoslavia)
 Kimiko Date (Japan)
 Anke Huber (Germany)
 Manuela Maleeva-Fragniere (Switzerland)
 Jennifer Capriati (US)
 Mary Pierce (France)
 Zina Garrison (US)
 Helena Sukova (Czech Rep)
 Magdalena Maleeva (Bulgaria)
 Nathalie Tauziat (France)
 Amanda Coetzier (South Africa)
 Lindsay Davenport (US)
 Natalia Zvereva (Belarus)

*The Association of Tennis Players, ATP, has released its latest rankings—male and female—in the week of the first grand slam event of the year—the Australian Open. It showed that Pete Sampras continued his lead. The rankings are:-

Pete Sampras (US)	4,128 points
Michael Stich (Germany)	3,445 "
Jim Courier (US)	3,390 "
Stefan Edberg (Sweden)	2,680 "
Sergei Bruguera (Spain)	2,590 "
Andrei Medvedev (Ukraine)	2,415 "
Michael Chang (US)	2,154 "
Goran Ivanisevic (Croatia)	2,144 "
Thomas Muster (Austria)	2,033 "
Cedric Pioline (France)	2,005 "
Petr Korda (Czech Rep)	1,742 "
Boris Becker (Germany)	1,705 "
Todd Martin (US)	1,695 "
Magnus Gustafsson (Sweden)	1,586 "
Richard Krajicek (Netherlands)	1,568 "
Marc Rosset (Switzerland)	1,485 "
Alexander Volkov (Russia)	1,170 "
Wayne Ferreira (South Africa)	1,425 "
Karel Novacek (Czech Rep)	1,412 "
Ivan Lendl (US)	1,362 "



Edberg



Chang



Graf



Seles

FOOTBALL: Nigeria emerged the runner-up at an international invitational tournament in Bangkok. The Super Eagles, warming up for the Africa Nations Cup in Tunisia and the World Cup, were beaten 1-0 in the final by Copenhagen FC of Denmark. They had earlier beaten Ajax FC of Holland 2-1 to reach the final. *Zamalek FC won the all-Egyptian Africa Super Cup Sunday last week at the FNB Stadium in Johannesburg, with 1-0 victory over Al-Ahly. * African Football Confederation has officially put South Africa on stand-by to host the 1996 Africa Cup of Nations, should Kenya, the first choice fail to provide standard facilities for the tournament.

* Algeria has banned two coaches — Meziaen Ighil and Abderahman Mehdaoui — from the national soccer team for life for their part in Algeria's disqualification from the Africa Nations Cup. It also barred the two from any coaching job in Algeria for a year.

* The presidential monitoring committee on the FIFA/Coca Cola Under-21 world cup scheduled for Nigeria, has provided eight training pitches in Kaduna and Enugu in preparation for the hosting of the global competition next year. * A Greece-based Nigerian soccer player, Austin Uzediunor, has revealed that Greek players are fast and tough. If the Super Eagles are to overcome them in the group D zone of June's world cup preliminary matches,



"Air" Jordan: to take up baseball?

Nigerian handlers would have to work hard on strength and speed. He also said that they hold advantage over the Super Eagles because they have been playing together for a very long time.

ATHLETICS: Ben Johnson's doctor, Jamie Astaphan was arrested in New York on drug charges. The doctor who was flying from Antigua to Toronto was on the wanted list for importing and distributing steroids and conspiracy to distribute same.

BASEBALL: Retired basketball star, Michael Jordan is considering deploying his considerable talent to another sport — baseball. "Air" Jordan, as he's known for his exquisite ball play, retired last November from the Basketball he loved so much. He

wants to join the Chicago White Socks and join the history of sportsmen who staged a comeback in another sport. He's already working out with members of the White Socks, hoping that he would be invited for training. After leading the Chicago Bulls to three consecutive NBA titles, Jordan may be able to lead the Socks to its first US title since 1917.

MISCELLANEOUS: The revolving door that's the National Sports Commission, NSC, has turned out all the 12 chairmen of sporting associations.

- The new ones are:
- Squash Racket: Dr. O.K. Roberts
 - Golf: E.S.O. Armah
 - Cricket: Ogbuefi Alex Nwokedi
 - Chess: Emmanuel Omuku
 - Wrestling: Bolaji Oni
 - Weightlifting: A. Fashina-Thomas
 - Volleyball: Alhaji H.A Gumel
 - Taekwondo: Captain Isiah Gwong
 - Table Tennis: C. Maduka
 - Swimming: R.A Elegbe
 - Shooting: General Fred Chijuka
 - Karate: Dr. A. Ajiduah
 - Cycling: Rev Moses Iloh
 - Boxing: Frank Okonta
 - Basketball: Alhaji U.K. Umar
 - Badminton: Adeniran Adeniye
 - Sport (disabled): Bernard Oyibu
 - Athletics: Smart Araka
 - Gymnastics: Adamu Dyeri
 - Tennis: Chuka Momah
 - Judo: Mike Gandunu
 - Handball: Dr. Lanre Glover
 - Hockey: General V.O. Odeka



Super Eagles: getting set for Tunis and the US

ADAMU ADAMU S

DEFINITIONS
IN HUMOUR

Who knows himself..

This column has been smitten and has adopted love as its theme for the past two weeks. Now, we come to the most passionate of all — the love of the world. It is blinding, it is consuming and it is the most obstructive; because it is in the world that we all play out pet, dreams and dramas, whether the object of affection and attention is a woman, wealth, fame or progeny.

Yet, even if you own all of the world you will still want more. It leaves you physically hungry and spiritually famished, blind and oblivious to Reality and the more you succeed, the more you fail. The more you conquer, the more complete your defeat.

To succeed one must set his face straight. Muhammad Mailumo attempts to show us the way below:

I read the enchanting column Definitions in Humour which appeared in Citizen's edition of November 15, and which featured on Varieties of leadership. One is much inclined to regarding it as a clarion call, reminiscent of days gone by, when mankind was at his best and the beastly in him tamed.

Khomeini was too good to last long, he does not belong to our times, for really our times have gone haywire, however, all is not done for yet! For I hear driplets of the related voice of wisdom he reminded the world of, interlaced with refined and dignified humour in your masterpieces — I say all hope is not lost, the world is Allah's. He may at His own best time raise yet another

admonisher.

I am unable to resist the urge of sharing with you and perhaps, multitudes of others too, whom together we savour the delights of your column, this

related voice of wisdom: He commands respect that leader who is fully conscious of his return to the ultimate Reality on a day when as related:-

The shout shall be heard three times, as the soul lives the body "

O son of Adam you've left the world or has the world left you.

Did you gather the world or did the world gather you.

Did you conquer the world or has the world conquered you?"

Now Ado you remember that don't you? I continue further; in these days when the pursuit is to gain ascendancy in order to feather the nests of the leadership and not so as; to better the lives of the followership. When the pursuit is of acquiring, ephemeral positivistic material values as crystallised in palatial mansions, splendid iron horses and tantalising damsels; mankind has forgotten the distinct shouts he shall hear when placed in the shroud; it is related wisdom that Man Shall be addressed there!

"O son of Adam you have gone a long journey without provision. You have left a horse and would not ride its like and you are going to a very terrible house."

And as the bier is on the edge of final "resting" place, the yarn of illusion and phatasm will be drawn aside, and the shouts shall be heard distinctively — it is related;

"O son of Adam what have you stored up in prosperity for this ruin? What have you earned in wealth for this poverty? What have you carried in light for this darkness?" If only the beastly self that reduces mankind to the lowest

of the low; could be tamed, if only mankind would take the first steps towards the illuminating antidote and reckoned with the only true and infallible fact; as related; — the shouts shall be heard loud and clear as man settles to become dust — his genesis afterall. "O son of Adam you were laughing on my back and how you weep inside of me! You were joyful on my back and now you are sad inside of me. You spoke on my back and now you are silent inside of me."

See how boisterous man is, and how pathetically low he has been reduced! For which as related, man would be told prior to all the foregoing — the shouts so distinct and reverberant "O son of Adam where is your strong body? How weak you are! Where is you eloquent tongue? How silent you are! Where are your beloved ones? How lonely you are!

So Ado; the world would have been a better place for us all to live, if we are to constantly remember the dream/anecdote as related of the beautiful fly, the frog, and the man on the horse-back with a dagger unsheathed from the scabbard! Remember it? When as related the beautiful bird flew towards the high heavens. The frog leaped up with forelegs outstretched to catch the bird. It never did, (and shall never catch it). Worst still in its brazenly futile task of catching the bird the frog was slashed into two by the drawn dagger of the man on the horse-back.

On being asked the meaning of it all a man of vision related that the beautiful bird flying to heavens vaults to the world with its delusions. The frog and its attempt is man with his insatiable thirst to grab and store the world but never would. The man on the splendid horse back with his dagger drawn is the angel of death. The allusion here is to show the futility of man trying to catch up with the glitters of the world whereas the angel of death is gazing unblinkingly at him. Man may never catch up with the delusions of the world and even if he did eventually the angel will strike. Thus mesmerised and engrossed man with "the dagger until the dagger" falls on his neck and thereby rousing him from his material stupor at which time its essentially too late.

...indeed knows his Lord

Citizen of the moment

Samaila Mohammed has always been a neat person — personable, likable, forthright and honest.

A born leader with the attributes that make you choose him from a group. That was how he came to be selected for a very important assignment by a group of concerned citizens.

Following the creation of Jos North Local Government by the Babangida regime like minds got together to celebrate. It was the realisation of a dream — attaining a life long ambition to which many of them had silently struggled.

"We've got what we are looking for, they said, what next?"

Next of course, they reasoned, was to ensure that "the expectation of our people who struggled for the creation of the local government was not in vain." And the only way to do this was to ensure that only the right calibre of people went into its service. Beginning from the top. They therefore decided that one of their members must be made to shelve his personal agenda and start the LG on a sound and stable footing. All of them promised to subordinate their own ambitions and pursuits to see that he succeeded without any benefit to any of them.

It fell to the lot of Samaila Mohammed. Everyone agreed that he must put aside his large-scale farm and a flourishing poultry business to look after Jos North Local Government. Friends pledged to give whatever was necessary to ensure his election — on the platform of the National Republican Convention. They did and he won — and began what to many people was a revolution.

The first pledge he had to redeem was his promise to pay primary school teachers on time. It turned out to be tricky: he had inherited an empty treasury at month end. He made a big sacrifice: he advanced the local government an interest-free loan of about a million Naira so that teachers salaries would be paid on time.

On his part he pledged his own salary to a nearby clinic which made him perhaps the only local government chairman to have served free of charge, because to the end he never took a kobo for salary. He said he wanted to show that anyone intent on doing so could make a difference in his style of leadership and in the lives of his people. Surely this was new and refreshing and probably there are very few similar cases of real service to the people.

This becomes more significant coming at a time when much of local government politics and leadership had virtually turned into unaccountable knavery. He calmly went to work after deciding on his priorities — healthcare delivery, improved education and water supply. "These were legitimate aspirations," he said. "For of what use is politics if it cannot ameliorate the

harsh conditions under which our people live?"

It was perhaps a sign that he had ameliorated it somehow when Rotary Club which is said to make claims to service, recognised Alhaji Samaila's contributions. The Association of Business Administration and Management Studies of Plateau Polytechnic voted him the Best Executive Chairman and lauded his open-door policy.

On September 8, he surprised everyone when he gave notice to his party's chairman that he wished to step down after the expiration of his term. At that time chairmen across the country were voting millions for their re-election.

"Count me out," he said. "We have been able to meet the expectations of our people and built a solid foundation for subsequent administrations to build on. It is now the most appropriate time to hand over the baton." Virtue in government business can be its own reward, as Alhaji Samaila discovered. Hardly had his letter gone out than he began receiving a flood of "Stay-put" letters. A file had to be opened for them.

A letter from Naraguta "B" Ward, his own Ward, came ordering him to withdraw his statement and get ready to continue contesting. A more touching one came from the Igbo Community in Jos North. In addition to thanking him for including an Iboman in his executive council, they begged him not to go.

He was so touched that he said leadership if done properly and for God's sake is not thankless. These letters of gratitude tell him that those who matter see and appreciate what is being done.

All, however, has not been rosy. According to Mr. Vonjen Lar, Alhaji Samaila's administration was able to collect 4.6 million Naira out of a projected 12 million Naira internally generated revenue. Lar said the former chairman, left a debt of more than six million Naira.

"I am extremely happy to say that we have been able to achieve the objectives we set for ourselves," Alhaji Samaila said. According to many watchers of the Jos scene his assessment was modest. They said he had exceeded many of his targets.

And he is now back at Maria Farms.



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DCC

Outside it's Nigeria



Tee off

Inside it's pure Sheraton



Tea Time


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