

The drug war hots up

JUNE 22 — 28 1992. Vol. 3, No. 25 *Red*

Citizen

Go away Pascal

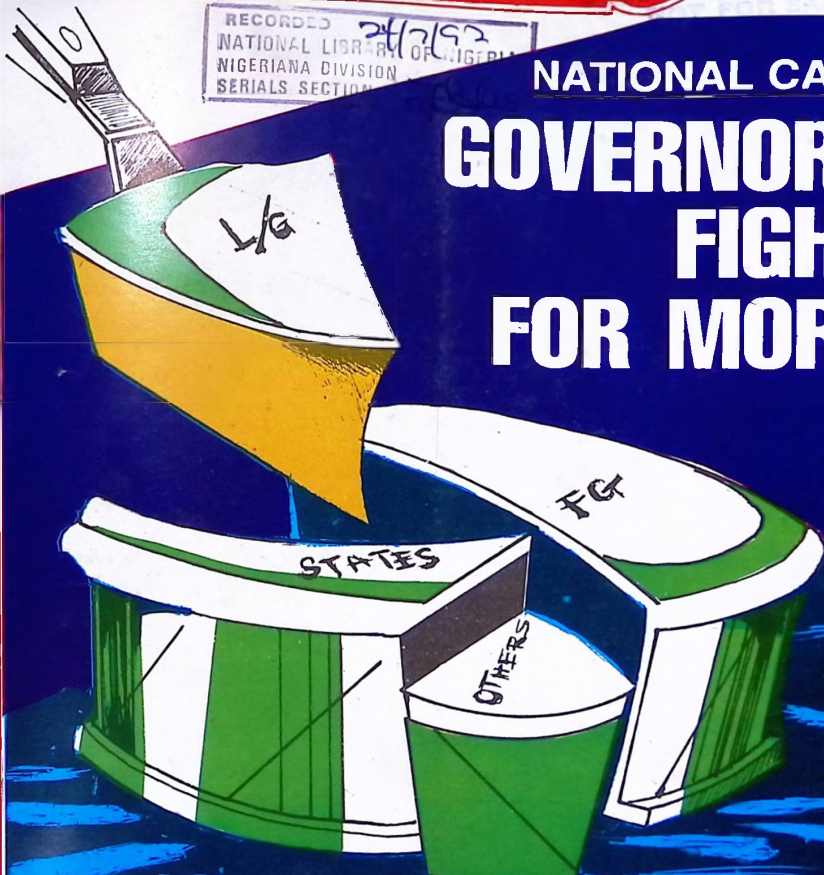
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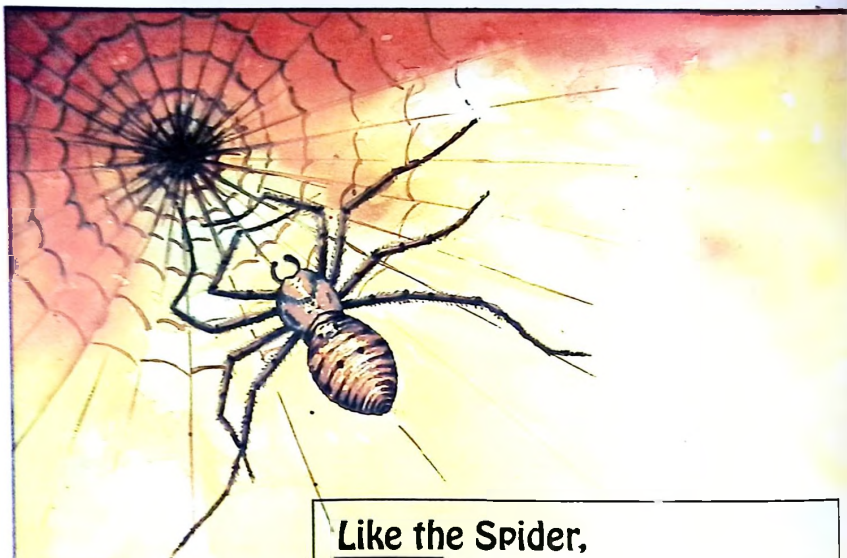
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NATIONAL CAKE

GOVERNORS FIGHT FOR MORE



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FROM THE PUBLISHER

A

s soon as the new revenue allocation formula was announced by the federal government, the debate over national cake sharing was renewed. One of the most contentious issues is the cut in the revenue allocated to states by one percentage point to 24 per cent. It was the second slash of state revenue in one year. The news jolted the 30 state governors, coming in the wake of relief package announced for workers. If governors had enough problems making ends meet with their collective share of federally collected revenue at 25 per cent, a salary review and a lower revenue is more than they can stomach. And they said so. Many of them declared that they can not pay and off they went to Abuja to bargain for more.

They met behind closed doors preparatory to their meeting with the President and emerged with a united Oliver Twist Voice — asking for more. Their protest has now thrown the issue back on the table of the Federal Revenue Mobilisation Committee. We sent Mahmud Jega and Tawey Zakka to Abuja-battle field of cake sharing - to bring you this week's cover anchored by Ike Okonta with additional reports from our correspondents.

* * * *

After the May fuel riots, the government did not need another barometer to measure the effects of structural adjustment on the masses. A relief package for federal government employees was announced with directives for states to negotiate with workers on acceptable package. With the misery index at its peak, workers were not impressed with the palliatives. And for not getting a better deal they are calling for the head of Pascal Bafyau, the president of the Nigeria Labour Congress. Bolaji Adebisi and Samson Ojo filed in the report.

B. Yusuf

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LETTERS

Jeddah crash

Sir,

May I compliment you and your assistants on the story. It is to the point, well researched and comprehensive in scope.

I refer to the section which talked of "offers" from the insurers of 100,000 dollars each family. To my knowledge no such offers have been made. I have discussed such subject with the insurers lawyers a number of times recently. Contrary to offers of 100,000 dollars, the insurers (March 27 1991) talked of 20,000 dollars which they termed the "maximum" payment for "compensation" under the Warsaw Treaty and they further stipulated that in order to gain that much, we would have to prove such losses in fact.

The problem with the quoting of the 100,000 dollars figure is that it creates a false expectation in the families. The true maximum for "compensation" under Warsaw is 75,000 dollars less legal expenses. On the other hand "unlimited damages" can run into a million dollars dependent on economic circumstances. A couple of days ago, I served notice on the insurers not to tamper with our retainers, a reiteration of my demand for the 75,000 dollars and my promise to proceed with the "unlimited damages lawsuit" and notice as to the inception of litigation in the courts of Nigeria.

When we say, we will bring an action on behalf of all the families who may be coerced into pittance "agony settlements" we mean all 247 families. A "class" action which can be commenced by just one party on behalf of all who can join the action later if they choose.

Robert Borden
C/O 4319 So. 135th St.
Seattle, Washington, USA

Re: Letter to Tam David-West

Sir,

The main purpose of this communication is to respectfully react to Mohammed Haruna's column in the *Citizen of 24/9/90*, page 13. Belated? No. As you know all too well for obvious reasons I was not in a position to write at the time.

However, the fact that I have kept the article safe these 18 months shows how I treasured your kind letter.

And please my rebuttal should not be construed as detracting from the merit or beauty of the letter.

Any mistakes made, I believe, was as a result of misinformation or disinformation.

I will attempt the reaction *adseriation*:

New Nigerian Newspapers: I must confess, I don't know the circumstances surrounding your exit from the papers. You claim that they were not "terribly different" from my being dropped from the federal cabinet on 18 September, 1986. All I will say for now is that no two cases can be so close that each loses its intrinsic particularity. But then life goes on. Thanks to the Almighty Allah.

Special military tribunal (STINNES)

(a) Yes indeed I agree with you, all do, that the stipulated conditions for my bail was "stiff". Perhaps even callous and wicked. But once again thanks to Almighty Allah and my family.

(b) I am sure you have since your letter closely followed the intriguing Stinnes storm in a tea cup. I make no comments. *Allah ya isa.*

US Chief of Air Force: With due deference your parallel comparison between his case and mine is tenuous. For instance, I have not done so any time. The US Air Force boss revealed to the media the de-

tails of the air strikes plans at Baghdad.

The kalabari allegory: I sincerely appreciate your reference to it. And I take very kindly to your decision to play the "mouth" in the allegory.

Open letter to Jibril Aminu: No, it was not my intention to "put him down". It was in good faith. A national service. I of course know that the "nation" (Nigeria) may mean different things to different people. I have nothing to recant.

You see, Mohammed, I can't go out of my way to hurt a fellow human being. It is against my religion as well as my other "commitments".

MT Tuma: Yes, I remain very proud of its procurement. And will stand any probe — non-political — any time. In fact I once called for such "preferably (conducted) in an open hall or even at the national stadium" (*The African Guardian: 19 June, 1986 page 14.*)

Perhaps you will recall that I sued *Concord Press of Nigeria* for libel over their scurrilous and tendentious and malicious articles on MT Tuma.

They said they could prove misdeed. They were given the golden opportunity to do so. But curiously they developed chilled feet.

The unfortunate manner "of my exit from cabinet". Thank you for your assessment. But I don't believe I have allowed it to colour my perception of nation events. Once again I say I won't hurt (who won't be). But I am not bitter. This also is now all history.

Modesty: Yes, a (good) virtue. But where on is face-to-face with continual attempt by evil persons to paint one it would be suicidal to allow such to go unchallenged. I believe I have written on this before.

Finally, Mohammed, I must thank you once again for your kind letter. *Allah ya na nan.*

Prof. Tam S. David-West
C/O UI, Ibadan

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

Revenue allocation

Once again the question of revenue allocation has come to occupy the centre-stage of national debate, at least as far as the states of the federation are concerned. The states have every reason to be worried — their share, which they believed was already too small, had been cut. And at precisely the moment it was done they were entitled to be alarmed — the great burden of paying relief measures for workers had just been placed on their shoulders. Many of the states believed, and even said, they faced financial ruin if they had to pay.

Last Tuesday all the governors were in Abuja to attend a conference on how to approach what they believed was a bleak future. On Wednesday they met President Ibrahim Babangida and asked that the new revenue allocation formula announced be withdrawn or revised. They were unanimous. And we entirely agree with them — it ought to be revised.

Clearly states or units in a federal set-up are the centre of activity and the focus of much responsibility. And especially now, with triple-digit inflation and an extremely low Naira value, their outcry becomes perfectly understandable, especially in the light of increased responsibility.

The search for the ideal or even a generally acceptable revenue sharing formula has been long and difficult — almost impossible. It was during the regime of Olusegun Obasanjo that the issue began to become so sensitive. At that time the federal lion took its share — 76.2 per cent of the whole lot; states got 21.5 per cent while 2.3 per cent went to local governments.

During Shehu Shagari's Second Republic the federal share dropped to 55 per cent, that of states increased to 32.5 per cent and local government and ecological problems received 10 per cent and 2.5 per cent respectively.

During Babangida's regime alone the allocation formula underwent change three times. These changes were, in the main, necessitated by the no holds barred creation of states and local governments. Nineteen states in 1985

became 21 states in 1988 and swelled to 30 in 1991. Local governments almost doubled within the same period. If it made political sense, it surely made economic nonsense.

The result after the first and second changes was a reduced federal purse. Initially it went down to 50 per cent from 55 per cent. States also got 2.5 per cent less; and local governments received five per cent more, while the fund for ecological problems doubled to five per cent. In the second change, it was the states share that went down — to 25 per cent and the share of the local governments went up by the same amount.

But even before the new allocation formula that reduced states' share by a full percentage point, the states were already asking for more. With another 1.5 per cent from federal purse this was used to beef up the ecology fund and cater for derivation. If states protest because their share has been tampered with, it shouldn't be surprising. And that is exactly what they are doing.

Now, what needs to be done is clear enough. The federal government must do something about it — and fast. With added responsibilities, with everything costing more in the face of breaking down services, the states definitely need support to pull through this difficult period.

The question now is, from where is the extra they need going to come? The answer is that it can only come from the share of the federal government. Indeed there is no reason why states should not revert to the 36.2 per cent they enjoyed during the Second Republic. The federal government should have no more than 40 per cent — a loss of 15 per cent from its Second Republic share. In effect it was its loss that became the gain by the local government and the fund for ecology. This way, the federal government will have been funding the grassroots with its own money and not that of the states.

Review open ballot

With the National Assembly elections just around the corner, the long drawn controversy surrounding the Open Ballot System, OBS, was renewed last week by the chairman of the National Republican Convention, NRC, Chief Tom Ikimi. In an NRC position paper submitted to the chairman of the National Electoral Commission, NEC, the party rejected the OBS and expressed indignation at NEC's pussy-footing on modifications to the system as agreed at a tripartite meeting between the two parties, NEC and the president.

When in March last year the Armed Forces Ruling Council adopted the OBS for subsequent elections, the decision drew considerable criticisms from a broad spectrum of the society. Opponents of OBS view it as undemocratic. It does not match secret ballot in protecting voter's right to free expression of preferences. They contended that without secret ballot, the basic ingredient of democracy is lost. But the government did not budge. If the government believes OBS is the panacea for election rigging, the several cases of inflated votes, chaotic queues and other electoral malpractices revealed before election tribunals puncture such logic. Add

to these voter intimidation and the voter apathy OBS generates and the system loses whatever advantages it might have over the secret ballot. Indeed it can be argued that OBS is half baked democracy, a glaring contradiction of concept of grassroots democracy the government is trying to promote.

For these obvious disadvantages of the OBS we had in our earlier viewpoint (*Citizen* May 20) called for its scrapping.

And we believe that the modifications, if not the total scrapping of the OBS, should have been announced by now given the options available to NEC. An attractive one is to adopt open accreditation of voters, secret balloting and public counting of voters. But the veil of secrecy now surrounding NEC's handling of the modifications it ought to have made to the OBS cannot but generate suspicion that the objections earlier raised were not addressed. Public confidence is enhanced by access to information, in the absence of which rumours reign and bitterness flowers.

We urge the AFRC to urgently review the OBS in the interest of democracy and fair play, the only foundation on which a stable Third Republic should be built.

Samurai should stay home

Last week, the lower house of the Japanese *Diet* approved a controversial bill allowing Japanese troops to take part in UN peace-keeping operations. The bill passed only after a protracted debate in both house of the *Diet* and despite opinion polls showing that the majority of Japanese people oppose it.

Apprehension is high in Asia, where memories of plunder, pillage and rape by Japanese troops during world war II are still fresh. Apprehension is also high in Africa for thousands of people from here were drafted by the British to fight the Japanese in Burma. Those African soldiers who engaged the Japanese in Burma brought back grim tales of racist cruelty. It is only Europeans and Americans, for their own reasons that are encouraging the Japanese to come out of

their self-imposed shell.

If this small step of participating in UN peace-keeping operations gradually grows into full Japanese militarism, the world will find much cause to regret it. The world has reason to still distrust the *Samurai*. Despite all technological advancement and a semblance of democratisation, the Japanese carry on much national business as they did in the medieval era. It must be feared that given proper situations old medieval militarism can resurface in Japan with all the old consequences.

The Japanese constitutional provision to stay home should be encouraged, indeed emulated by all those countries that have an aggressive national history. There are more gentle people in the world to keep the peace.

**"IF I SURVIVE
AT ALL,
WHAT KIND OF
FUTURE
WILL I HAVE?"**



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That is why those of us who love you will
continue to vote for SDP, the better party
for change and progress.

Continue to vote for **SDP** ... the better Party for change and progress.



ADAMU ADAMU

has not changed; the danger has not passed. Indeed the actors calling the shots are the same.

Still, the demise of the East and the cessation of the danger in the world wide conflict that it could ignite is good news. It is one bad news less but its corollary — that the world is a safer place — doesn't follow. It may face greater dangers in future. Not least because the West

guzzlers — happens to be the most lucrative and cost effective way to earn the dollar, America will traverse it no matter what the consequences to the world, including Americans themselves.

But how can a code of behaviour be enforced on nations whose system of rule is based on the belief that breaking free of the grasp of the real God is the only real freedom? That of course is one of the questions avoided by the Rio summit. It is a question feared by the Americans and the rest of the world including the so-called developing world. If the developed countries denude the ozone layer, the developing countries scrape the vegetation layer and the action of both is ultimately harmful to life on earth.

In many ways the gathering at Rio de Janeiro is a celebration or lamentation of the failure of technology as an absolute friend. In pursuit of abundance, man has been careless and forgotten all his values, and himself as well. This is too high a price to pay for convenience.

Technology simply makes life easier by taking the drudgery out of it. It doesn't make its possessor better or superior in human essence. Those technologically more advanced make less muscular movement but this hasn't been demonstrated to be a better alternative in the long run. And it has to be compensated, anyway. If you will not use muscles to do useful work, you will then have to jog.

In the new culture, money is the international yardstick for measuring success and the meaning of actions. It will not be easy to convert dollar-seekers into stalwarts concerned with the future of life on earth. Especially when lack of concern is so profitable.

Yet those who think they can escape to the moon or Mars live in a dream land ascribing to technology what is beyond it to deliver. We must all remember that we have only one world. We must stay here and salvage it together.

A Brave New Earth

To many of us there was not the slightest spec of doubt that the earth was born out of a Big Bang. We knew it before George Gamow and never doubted it in spite of Sir Fred Hoyle. And, for many years, it seemed as if its end would come about from another but much smaller big bang of a nuclear explosion. For many years the West and the East committed enormous resources to the seemingly endless arms race.

Forty years after the race began, the two antagonistic blocs had sufficient arsenal to wipe out life on earth several times over. And just as the cold sweat was beginning to boil, the less efficient of the combatants fell down and died. The race was at an end but the danger — a new, more sinister, less obvious danger — was just beginning.

Because, if the fear of the race was in the danger, it posed to life on earth, there were several candidates waiting to take its place. Several countries — big powers and small powers — under power-drunk despots held stockpiles of chemical and biological weapons, neutron bombs and ultra sophisticated conventional weaponry which they could and did use to kill and maim. If the previous god was His Holiness, the Cold War, he had died; now, it is Her Grace, the New World Order. Routine sacrifice to either godhead was bloodbath by way of genocide in imposed wars. The story

is now free to impose a dominance that the East has helped to resist, especially with the latter now a willing ally ready to assist the West in any way it is ordered. Its price is very small — a share, no matter how small, of the economic spoils. Isn't the war over? Indeed it is.

Yet the real war is far from over. The skirmishes — intellectual, moral, ethnical — preceeding the next technological holocaust have already been seen to begin at Rio de Janeiro at the so-called Earth Summit. Even though the extensive preparations that went into organising the conference and the conference itself have only addressed the symptoms rather than the disease, some countries are not yet ready to go along with its mild recommendations.

It is ironic that a conference that in essence is supposed to be about how to manage and reduce waste, pursuit of materialistic excess as an end, excessive misuse of resources and abuse to the environment, required 24 million pages of position papers to commence. Even when the question was clearly one of values, the position taken was one dictated by power. Not least because the world will find it difficult to unanimously agree on any position — no matter how good — if its effect on the so-called big powers differs from its effect on the rest of mankind. If, for instance, the production of chlorofluorocarbons — the ozone-

COVER STORY

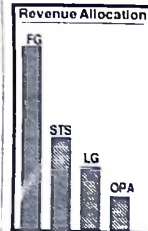
Revenue allocation

Scramble for partition

For the second time this year, Babangida slashes money meant for the states. Now the governors are up in arms

Vice President Augustus Aikhomu's press conference on June 6 was the straw that broke the camel's back.

A week before, President Ibrahim Babangida had promised the nation



both "structural changes" in the government, his euphemism for a cabinet reshuffle, and a set of economic relief measures, all in response to the May unrest in

several states. Aikhomu revealed on June 6 that housing, transport, leave and car refurbishing allowances of federal service employees will be raised, with the hint that states and local governments should do the same.

At the same time, Admiral

Aikhomu announced that the states' collective share of federally collected revenue, the so-called national cake, has been reduced by one percentage point, to 24 percent. It was the second time this year that this happened. Last January, President Babangida announced in his budget speech that states' share was being cut by five percent, which was diverted to the cash-strapped local governments.

Governors' response to the new move was indignant. Governor John Odigie Oyegun of Edo State said it was a great shock that defied all logic. "I cannot," said Oyegun, "comprehend the rationale for this new situation in which state revenues are slashed twice in one year." Governor Dabo Mohammed Lere of Kaduna State told *Citizen* that "the states were not consulted at all," otherwise "the source of the money with which to pay the package would have been identified." Governor Yahaya Abdulkarim of Sokoto State



Aikhomu: added the last straw?

was also indignant; he told *Citizen* last week that states had their backs to the wall even before the recent revenue cut. Several state governors publicly declared that they cannot follow the federal step of raising allowances for their workers.

As the furore increased, President Babangida told newsmen on his way to Otta that state and local governments are not obliged to increase their workers' pay as the federal government had done; they were only expected to "review" them commensurate with their own finances.

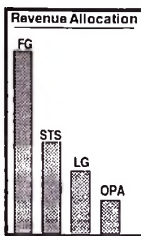
This clarification was cold comfort for the states. In the light of the federal government's announced relief package for workers, prices of foodstuff and other items were rising in the market, with no special regard for where one worked. States and local governments were therefore under pressure to announce the relief packages. Governor Evans Enwerem of Imo State quickly capitulated and announced pay increases. In Kaduna, a statement issued by the joint unions' council condemned Governor Dabo Lere's initial hesitation and demanded immediate implementation of the relief package.

Beleaguered state governors exploded in protest last week. The

recent cut in their share of the revenue brought state allocations to its proportional lowest since 1979, when they received 21.5 percent of federally collected revenue. During the second republic, the National Assembly increased states' share to 35 percent in the 1981 revenue allocation act. Subsequent military administrations slashed it back to 30 percent in 1987, to 25 percent in January this year and to 24 percent now. Decreased allocation for the states came hot on the heels of their increase in number. In 1987, Babangida created two additional states and in 1991, created nine more states, for a grand total of 30. Now they are all in

quandary.

Governor Abdulkarim of Sokoto told *Citizen* last week that although their military predecessors got 30 percent allocation, they still left behind



huge debts for the civilian governors. This debt, coupled with their other duties, soon bogged down the politicians. "At the end of the month," Abdulkarim said, "after paying wages and meeting other commitments like feeding school children, buying drugs, vaccines and paying student scholarships, you find that you are left with very, very little amount of money. You will not be able to do anything."

Last week, governors of the 30 states went to meet President Ibrahim Babangida in Abuja to lay their complaint at his door. On Tuesday evening, 15 of the governors met at the Nicon Noga Hilton hotel to prepare a common position in advance of their showdown with Babangida. Governor Ogbonnaya Onu of Abia State, who chaired the meeting, tried to underplay the seriousness of the revenue issue. Onu told reporters just before the meeting began that many things will be discussed: he did not mention the revenue formula as slated for dis-

"We understand each other"

Ogun State governor, Segun

Osoba, spokesman for the 30 state governors who met President Ibrahim Babangida in Abuja on June 17, spoke to *State House Correspondents*. Excerpts

Question: How did the meeting go?

Osoba: The president listened to all the points we came with and I can assure you that the state governors have come out of the meeting happy.

Question: What did you discuss?

Osoba: We discussed the security of the nation, the economic situation, and the coming elections.

Question: What about the revenue allocation formula you are said to be unhappy about?

Osoba: He has listened to our points and he is going to work on it. We told him that we were not happy and demanded that it be reviewed. He agreed to look into it. After they have done that they will still come back to us in order to reach a consensus.

Question: What is your own formula?

Osoba: No, no, that cannot be mentioned now. You know there is a federal revenue allocation and mobilisation committee, which has to look into an issue of this nature. It is unwise to start talking of a figure now.

Question: At your meeting the previous night you raised the issue of teachers' salaries...

Osoba: That was fully discussed today. It's a potential source of security problem. We debated that we needed to move fast to ensure that primary school teachers are paid fully. The revenue mobilisation committee is going to work out a formula by which teachers' salaries are paid as and when due.

Question: Are state governments in a position to implement their own relief packages?

Osoba: He (the president) has told us to go and negotiate with our workers. The cost of living varies from one area of the country to another. The relief package is not meant to be an order from the federal government.

Question: It appears you did not foresee the enormity of your financial constraints, that is why you made the electorate many promises.

Osoba: We had the foresight. We know the problems that we would face and the promises we made were not promises made out of inadequate investigation. Take for example, free education. It's very vital to the development of the nation. We need to be productive

— Osoba

in this country and what we promised were issues related to productivity. We are not as uninformed as most people would think we are.

Question: Is it not true that state governments are not working hard to generate their own internal revenue?

Osoba: Well, that was debated and what we arrived at is that we should all go back and whatever money comes to us now should be put into the productive sector, where we can generate bigger revenue than we are generating now. Agriculture, for example, is going to be a priority... We know that this country has vast arable, fertile land.

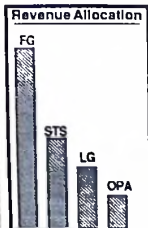
Question: Do you governors think that the federal government would be able to carry out its responsibilities if its federation account share is further reduced?

Osoba: Today, we have had very successful interaction with the federal authorities. The president has shown very good understanding. So I don't want us to create any impression of a conflict. There is no conflict whatsoever. We came with some militancy but the president listened to everything and he agreed with most of the positions we took.

ussion.

The revenue formula was however the centre of the discussions. Governor Abdulkarim of Sokoto State told *Citizen* last week that the governors did not demand any fixed percentage of revenue. "We left it open," Abdulkarim said, "because as much as we know our states' problems we know the other tiers of government have theirs too. We made our own case." Governor Segun Osoba of Ogun State, who spoke to correspondents soon after the meeting, said, "the president has shown very good understanding. We came with some militancy with the outcome of our meeting yesterday. The president was very nice."

Nice or not, General Babangida's latest tinkering with the revenue formula has revived the age-old controversy around it. In the course of his seven-year tenure, Babangida



has shown much concern for the local governments, whose share of the revenue he doubled between 1987 and this year. This action was officially justified by the

transfer to the local councils of responsibility for funding primary education and health care. But Babangida has shown no similar concern for the states, whose revenue share he slashed thrice. While state and local governments are visibly strapped for cash, the federal government has never publicly complained. The centre has had no trouble financing its sprawling operations and, in many cases, duplicating itself and the states. For example, the centre has enmeshed itself in building low cost houses, planting trees, checking road-worthiness of vehicles and in secondary education.

Besides, the federal government has expended billions of Naira in the transition programme, especially

through agencies such as MAMSER, NEC, National Population Commission (NPC) and the Centre for Democratic Studies. In seven years, Babangida's regime also created and easily financed sprawling agencies such as the Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI), National Directorate of Employment (NDE), People's Bank, Federal Road Safety Commission, and a network of community banks. Nor has the centre had much trouble in financing costly operations such as movement to Abuja, OAU and

ECOWAS summit meetings, and troop deployment in Liberia. President Babangida has also shown much generosity to some groups; cars and motorcycles worth a reported 500 million Naira was lavished on military officers; 35 million Naira was donated to the Arewa House appeal fund, another 25 million Naira to the Awolowo Foundation and a further 50 million Naira to the National Ecumenical Centre appeal fund. What percentage of the federation account should go to each of the three tiers of government? Are



Babangida: The federal government as father christmas

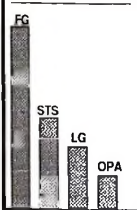
the states justified in their demand for more? Has justice been done with the increase of mineral producing states' share from 1.5 to three per cent? Constitutional lawyer Dr. Olu Onagoruwa contends that in a federal system, real government is in the states. His argument is that it is the states that carry the burden of implementing welfare programmes and that the work of the federal government is mainly supervisory, restricted to defence and foreign affairs. Onagoruwa therefore contended that the ratio of allocation should be changed

"What has the Federal Government got to do with the building of houses? That is the responsibility of states. So because of this desire to steal government money, the Federal Military Government begins to assume responsibilities that shouldn't concern it".

It is however government's thinking that the states are over pampered and saddled with money that they don't really need. This informed the reduction of the states share of the federation account from 30 per cent to 25 per cent in the 1992 budget and further down to 24 per cent three weeks ago.

and weighted heavily in favour of the states. The constitutional lawyer criticised the present arrangement whereby the Federal Military Government has virtually hijacked all the duties and responsibilities of the states, pointing out that it was an abuse of the federal system. Queried

Revenue Allocation



the lawyer, "What has the federal government got to do with the building of houses? That is the responsibility of states. So, because of this desire to steal government money, the Federal Military Government begins to assume responsibilities that shouldn't concern it".

Dr. Edwin Madunagu of *The Guardian's* editorial board would want a situation whereby the country's revenue is divided into two parts, one part for the various social groups with a view to meeting the minimum needs of every Nigerian and the other for the three tiers of government, commensurate to the burdens and functions of each tier. Madunagu deplored the present arrangement whereby the states and the local government councils go cap in hand to the federal government. Said Madunagu, "Why do states and local governments have to go to the federal government for donations? It means that it is the federal government that should shed

some of its allocation because it has excess. It should go from 48.5 per cent to about 30 per cent so that they should not be able to donate. It is the old feudal system of father giving to the children that is being operated by the Federal Military Government".

It is however government's thinking that the states are over pampered and saddled with money that they don't really need. This informed the reduction of the states share of the federation account from 30 per cent to 25 per cent in the 1992 budget and further down to 24 per cent three weeks ago. Indeed the Babangida administration seems to be transferring its experiment in grassroots politics to the economic terrain. It has carried out a series of local government reforms in the past four years, culminating in full au-



Oyegun: "cut defies logic"



Abdulkarim: "we have little money"

tonomy and a fatter purse for the local government areas. The reduction, June 6, of the states share of the federation account and the increment of the local governments' share to 20 per cent seems to be a confirmation of the Federal Military Government's new philosophy of taking the economy to the grassroots.

Dr. Gabriel Olowononi of the Ahmadu Bello University's centre for social and economic research, Zaria, attributed the revenue allocation uproar to scarcity of resources. "The available resources are not enough for everyone to do what he or she wants. This is the case with all



Adeleke: governors are in quandary

"The situation is critical" — Abdulkarim

Governor Yahaya Abdulkarim of Sokoto State spoke to *Citizen* last week on the revenue allocation furore. Excerpts:-

Citizen: What is your experience with the current revenue allocation formula?

Abdulkarim: The amount of money allocated to my state is inadequate and has been a source of worry since we assumed office. Although our military predecessors were getting 30 percent, they were still unable to meet many commitments they made. When we took over, we inherited a huge debt burden. The debt I inherited, at the current revenue I am getting, if I do nothing else but service it, it will still take me two to three years before I am out of it. It means that I will not be able to pursue any of my own programmes and I will not be able to continue with my predecessor's uncompleted projects. At the end of the month, that is, when we get the money, you find that after paying wages, feeding school children

— in Sokoto State we still feed our boarding students — buying drugs, vaccines, paying scholarships of students at home and abroad, after meeting these commitments, you find that you are left with very, very little amount of money. You are unable to do anything. This is the situation in which we find ourselves, as result of which we have been complaining, we have been negotiating, we have been lobbying, telling the federal government our situation. Unfortunately, most of us do not have much locally generated revenue. The amount of revenue we generate locally is very small. There are some states quite alright that are lucky to have a large revenue base, but my state is a rural state and we don't have much locally generated revenue.

Citizen: When the governors met in Abuja, did you agree on a common position, say of how much increase you want in the revenue allocation formula?

Abdulkarim: Well, we discussed this issue but we

left it open, because as much as we know our states, we also know other tiers of government have their own responsibilities. We made our own case, that this allocation is too small for us and we are trying to have our position to be at least as it was before we took over (i.e., 30 per cent). We are not exag-



gerating our situation; it is a fact. We felt that in a federal system, as the second tier of government, we need to make an impact, to carry out a lot of services. Both older and younger states have various commitments in which a lot of money is required.

Citizen: Governor Osoba announced that states will go into productive ventures to raise revenue. What exactly is the plan?

Abdulkarim: States have a responsibility to stabilise the country. We have

to go into sectors like agriculture and establish agro-allied industries in order to increase the productivity of our people. We want stability; we want more food, because when there is more food you have stability when people buy food with ease. This is the thing that is making the present situation difficult — there is no food! Even if there is, it is very costly. We want to produce food to help stabilise the country.

Citizen: Do you think this revenue problem is due to the large number of states and local governments, many of which are unviable?

Abdulkarim: Well, many states and many local governments of course means a large administrative outfit, but they help bring about even development. I have no quarrel with the large number of states and local governments, if only revenue is shared properly. We have a feeling that the federal government is taking too much of the revenue. It should be shared more properly, since everybody has got his own responsibilities to pursue.

three tiers of government" Olowononi thought the federal share should be cut to 45 per cent and the balance given to the states. "The question", he said, "is how to maximise the utilisation of resources".

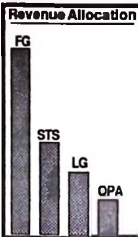
Sabo Bako, left-wing political scientist at the ABU, Zaria, last week condemned the revenue allocation

uproar as an elite issue. "Whether it is federal or state or local government that gets the money", Bako said, "the truth is that this money won't get to the people. This money keeps circulating among the elite. It is the people in government that steal most of it".

Professor Tam David-West,

former petroleum minister, sees merit in the latest review of the revenue allocation formula, especially as it affects the local governments. Speaking with *Citizen* in Ibadan last week, David-West explained that the states' complaint that they don't have enough money to work with was unjustified. Said the former minis-

ter, "I think the rationale for what the government has done is quite defensible. We talk about grass-root politics. We say local governments, the third tier is nearer to the people, so what govern-



ment has done is right. Give them more money so that they can do more for the people". Professor David-West also said that there would be more accountability and financial discipline in the local councils because the administrators of the funds were part and parcel of a close-knit community whose members could easily censor them if they resorted to financial profligacy.

NLC's Pascal Bafyau does not agree with this line of argument,

though. In Bafyau's opinion, the third tier of government lacks both the human resources and technical know-how to manage huge amounts of public funds. Said Bafyau, "The experience of the last one year has shown that local governments lack the capacity to run primary education and primary health care. They also do not have proper accountability and there is absence of local government service devices, checks and balances in the system". The

Operations might halt — Lere

What I said when the relief package was announced and people wanted to know whether we could pay was that we could not pay. But since then I have asked the secretary to the government to cost this package. What would it cost the government of Kaduna State? He has not given me the figures. Meanwhile, most of the states said they could not pay. If the levels of our revenue receipts are still as they are now we would not be in a position to pay.

We have complained to the federal government and we have been promised the revenue allocation formula would be revisited quite soon. They have a machinery that looks into such things and the president has promised to put it into action immediately.

Citizen: Before the announcement, were the states not consulted?

Lere: No, the states were not consulted at all

Citizen: Perhaps, it

would have been better if consultation had taken place.

Lere: Exactly. In that case, the source of the money with which to pay the package would have been identified. Every body wants his workers to be happy, to be satisfied as much as possible, but also it is appreciated that the economy is suffering now and things are not as everybody wants them to be. So I am sure that in the spirit of give and take we will tolerate each other and work towards better days.

Citizen: There are salaries of teachers to pay too?

Lere: Well, right now teachers' salaries is paid by local governments and they are having difficulty paying. They are getting the money directly from the federal government. But still there are arrears. The federal government is looking at all these at the same time with a view to arriving at a generally acceptable formula.

Citizen: What is your own idea of an acceptable formula?

Lere: Well, I don't want to preempt what the federal

government will come up with. They are still in the process of looking at our proposals.

Citizen: Do you think that the share of the local governments should be increased?

Lere: Well, I know that the states, with added responsibilities, should have their shares increased. It used to be 35 per cent. But it was reduced to 30 per cent, 25 per cent and now 24 per cent. But the responsibilities are increasing. I think something has to be done otherwise their operations might come to a halt or some aspects definitely will be neglected. Even when it was 25 per cent we complained. We submitted a (position) paper on it. Yet what came out of it was 24 per cent.

Citizen: The federal government performs money gulating functions

Lere: It is appreciated that the federal government also has enormous responsibilities. But the state and local governments are nearer the people, there is need to give a lot of help to the state and local governments.

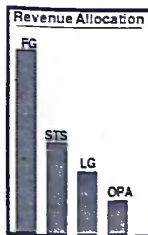


Citizen: The federal government is worried that the states are not generating enough revenue as they ought to.

Lere: Yes, there is this view. There are some states with very good potentials. I am sure with all these hardships, such states are gearing up to exploit those potentials. But there are other states that are not as fortunate. Kaduna state is one of such states with good revenue generation potential. In the next 12 months we hope to be generating a lot of internal revenue.

NLC president: further contended that given the magnitude of problems the state governments have to grapple with, their share of the federation account should be increased, suggesting 47.5 percent for the federal government, 30 percent for the states and 15 percent for the local governments.

Revenue allocation has been a controversial subject in Nigeria for many decades. The Political Bureau's 1937 report noted that 13 attempts were made since 1960 to devise an acceptable formula. At least four commissions, Philipson (1946), Hicks-Philipson (1951), Chick (1953) and Raisman (1958) had studied the problem for the colonial regime. The Binns Commission of 1964, Dina's in 1968 and Aboya's in 1977 also studied the issue, and now there is a



permanent National Revenue Mobilisation and Fiscal Commission chaired by Lieutenant-General Theophilus Danjuma.

There are two wings to

the dispute. One is about allocation to different tiers of government, and the other is, within the states' share, what factors to use. The four major contenders are equality, population, absorptive capacity, and derivation. During the First Republic, when each region controlled a major agricultural produce (cocoa, palm oil and groundnut in the west, east and north respectively) derivation was an important revenue allocation principle. But since the rise of oil to pre-eminence as a revenue earner, this principle has been relegated to the background, much to the chagrin of the oil-producing states. Thus, instead of the oil-producing states controlling the bulk of the revenue from the exploration and marketing of petroleum products, it reverted to the federal government. Some policy analysts contend that this move was



Adasu: *who will bail the states?*

unavoidable in view of the fact that the military has a unitarist command structure which was inevitably transferred to the administration of the country itself. Spokesmen of the oil-producing states like Ken Saro-Wiwa and Tam David-West however contend that the change from derivation to need was effected because the oil-producing states were ethnic minorities and thus were weak and incapable of making their voice heard at the federal level. By extension, they argue that the poverty, neglect and environmental pollution which has been the lot of such oil-producing states as Rivers, Delta and Akwa Ibom since oil was discovered, is a function of their underdog position in the federal arrangement.

While agitations to right these wrongs have been on for years, the sudden proliferation of organisations centred around ethnic minority rights, oil revenue and environmental protection in the past few months point to a heightening of tension and discontent in the oil-producing areas. On March 23, the Ethnic Minority Rights Organisation of Nigeria, EMIRON, and Nigerian Society for the Protection Of The Environment, NISOPEN, were launched in Lagos. In the words of Ken Saro-Wiwa, protem president of EMIRON, "the politics of force, of



Osoba: *"we came with militancy"*

the forcible seizure of the resources of the ethnic minorities, of the marginalisation of these minorities has led Nigeria to gross violation of human rights and even genocide". In a bid to defuse the tension, President Babangida paid a visit to Rivers State in April. The result was a 100 percent increase in the minerals-producing areas share of the federation account from 1.5 percent to three percent, and a firm promise by the federal government to make living conditions more worthwhile for the people.

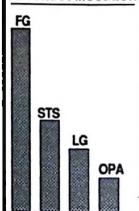
While government's largesse to



David-West: *the oil states have more*

the oil-producing states has attracted applause from several quarters, there are many who still feel that it is not far-reaching enough. The argument is that the oil-producing areas have suffered so much ecological devastation in the past two and half decades that it would require nothing

Revenue Allocation



short of a massive infusion of funds to fully rehabilitate the people whose daily existence has been completely dislocated by the activities of the oil companies. David-West

told *Citizen*, "I hope this (the latest increment) is not the final statement on the issue. This is a dynamic society, therefore, the review must be an ongoing exercise". According to David-West, semantic confusion has always been the bane of the revenue allocation exercise over the years. Said the former oil minister, "Some

Murtala/Obasanjo — 1979

Federal Government	76.2%
States	21.5%
Local Governments	2.3%

Shehu Shagari — 1981

Federal Government	55%
States	35%
Local Governments	10%
Ecological Fund	2.5%

Babangida — 1992

Federal Government	48.5%
States	24%
Local Governments	20%
Others	7.5%



Musa: the new states in a fix

say it is for the mineral producing areas, others say oil-producing areas. But the ecological damage we are talking about is taking place in the oil-producing areas, the goose that lays the golden egg. To me it is criminal insensitivity not to go and develop the areas that feed you and give money to the nation".

Going by on-going reactions to the new revenue allocation formula, it is clear that the Babangida administration will have to do a lot of financial juggling to accommodate the interests of the various groups clamouring for a bigger share of the cake. Professor Sam Oyovbaire, the minister of Information, hinted last week that the federal government may dip into the stabilisation fund to help the states. Frank Oramalu, acting president of the NLC, told *Citizen* last week that the organisation's affiliates in the states and local governments have been given a free hand to negotiate their own relief package with the authorities. Said Oramalu, "If nothing concrete is achieved by the end of this week, they have been given the permission to go out and deal with the situation as they deem fit". But as Sir Michael Otedola explained to *Citizen*, it would be difficult for the state governments to implement the relief



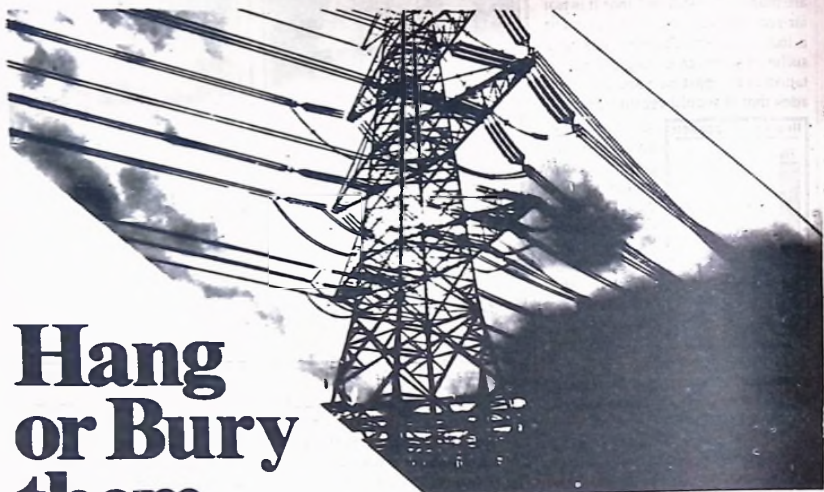
Saro-Wiwa: minority champion

package without the intervention of the federal government. Clearly, a storm is brewing in the horizon and the Babangida administration may have to do some delicate footwork to stave off the downpour.

By Ike Okonta, with reports from Bolaji Adebisi in Ibadan and Yinka Tella, Akin Aluko, Tayo Odunlami and Moyo Akoshile in Lagos, Mahmud Jega, Tawey Zakka in Abuja, Adamu Adamu, Bilikisu Yusuf and Abu Mommoh in Kaduna and Zaria



Onu: dialogue continues



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Labour

Go away Pascal

Workers mount pressure on their president to resign

"So this is all this man has to say!" was Tunde Olomu's spontaneous reaction to Nigerian Labour Congress President Pascal Bafyau's response to the federal government's "unilateral" announcement of the recent review of fringe benefits for public service workers. Two things disappointed Olomu, who works in a shoe factory at Ojota in Lagos. First was the tokenism of the review package and second, the labour leader's "soft response to it." Olomu told *Citizen* that he expected a wholesome condemnation of the "relief package because it took care of too little of the workers' demands. "I think," thundered an angry Olomu, "that Pascal Bafyau should resign because since he became president, labour has been taken for granted."

Olomu's angry outburst is symbolic of most workers feeling about the disposition of the present leadership of the NLC. Actually it is now common place to hear both rank and



Bafyau: ineffective?

file and leaders of affiliated unions complain about "the unholy romance between the NLC leadership and the government." Penultimate Saturday, three affiliate unions carpented Bafyau for his "weakness" which they said was manifested in his inability to extract major concessions from government during last month's wage negotiations with the federal government. They did not treat him with kid gloves. The Lagos State council of the National Union of Public Corporations Employees, NUPCE in a statement signed by its secretary, Mr. Kunle Oladejo, alleged that the "paltry measures" taken by the government to relieve workers from the pains of SAP was a product of Bafyau's "conspiracy (with the government) and bad leadership." The other two unions, the National Union of Electricity and Gas Workers, NUEGW, and the Nigerian Union of Petroleum and Natural Gas Workers, NUPENG, not only supported NUPCE, but asked Bafyau to resign as "a matter of urgency." Said Mr. Colma Obasi, deputy general secretary of NUPENG, "I think unless this leadership resigns, government will continue to present workers with this kind of fire brigade measures."

The new fringe benefits which allow federal government workers to smile home with a minimum of 100 Naira monthly housing allowance, and new car (20,000 Naira) motorcycle (3,000 Naira) and housing (200,000 Naira) loans, only acted as a catalyst for a simmering resentment against Bafyau's leadership style which in the last two years has endeared him more to the government than the workers. Given the worsen-

ing conditions of work and living of workers, many favour a militant approach to negotiations with the government Bafyau feels otherwise. He told *Citizen* recently that those criticising him for opting for dialogue were being unfair to him. Said he, "I believe (we) can never achieve anything in a state of confusion... the



Musa: a buddy in Bafyau

solution to our problems is not to go militant. To be cautious is not an act of cowardice." Bafyau believes that his "cautious" approach has indeed benefited labour, sighting several concessions which the NLC under his leadership had received from the federal government's upping of minimum wage from 125 Naira to 250 Naira in October 1990. This year alone, government has rolled over 100 million Naira in form of grants and loans to the NLC. On May 1, President Ibrahim Babangida, attended the annual workers May Day rally at Abuja. That was the first since he became president six years ago. There, as many put it cynically, the toothy five star general dolled out mouth watering monetary grants to the national body as its reward for

its docility. Government greased NLC's palm with 50 million Naira as grant for the construction of its national secretariat in Abuja. Another 87.5 million Naira being the balance of 100 million Naira soft loan granted the NLC 1990 for establishing transport company to alleviate workers' mobility problem was approved for release.

The problem however, is that many people believe that these concessions apart from being a drop in the ocean, were actually made by government in spite of Bafyau's robust relationship



Ciroma: would he have made the difference?

with the government. In fact some like Luke Aghanenu a Lagos lawyer believe that such tokenism is more of a liability to the workers' struggle for better conditions of service because it gives the illusion of reform. He gave an instance: the percent review of fringe benefits which he contends represents a meagre 30 per cent of the minimum demand of workers. Indeed, the workers made four basic demands at the inception of negotiations in early May. The representatives of workers led by Chief Faruk Oramulu, NLC deputy national president, demanded a 200

per cent salary increment across board or in the alternative a reversal to pre-March 5 deregulation rate of the Naira. They also asked for concessional forex rates in favour of genuine manufacturers and producers; and the importation of basic essential. Also on the demand list was rent freeze and the allocation of 80 per cent of the total revenue generated by government, in foreign exchange to factories, manufacturing concerns and owners of industry. The workers argued that accession to these demands more would boost the productive sectors of the economy and enhance employment generation. None of these demands was met by the government. What is more, government not only refused to negotiate directly with the NLC in line with its 1991 deregulation of

ion structures which could have been useful for the mobilisation of the rank and file against the government. This was also the line of argument of Mr. Precious Kalo, general secretary of NUEGW, in his recent interview with *Citizen*. He complained that workers were finding it difficult to trust their leadership anymore; because they (leaders) have come too close to government. Hear him: "I am not happy with the current situation. Labour is closer to government than it used to be. It appears the leadership doesn't know what to do."

Bafyau told *Citizen* recently that he had always known what to do and he has been doing it: jaw-jaw. That may be so, but it may be difficult for Bafyau to shake off the allegation of closeness to government.

“I think unless this leadership resigns, government will continue to present workers with this kind of fire brigade measures.”

collective bargaining, but even went ahead to announce an abridged form of labour's agreement with the government. It is against this background that many workers believe that labour leadership's response ought to have been an outright disowning of the package which as it were, is lopsided and favours only about 5 per cent of the nation's workforce. Luke argued that under normal circumstances, workers would have protested this evident short change but they could not partly because the concession gave rays of hope for further concessions and partly because the leadership has by its romance with the government undermined the relevant un-

Since he became president in 1988 as a compromise candidate in the bitter squabble for leadership between the Takai Shamangled Social Democrats and Ali Ciroma led Marxists, Bafyau has enjoyed at least three government appointments. He was a member of the Political Bureau set up in 1987. Then he was the general secretary of Nigeria Railway Workers Union. In 1988 he was nominated by government into the Constituent Assembly. Last month government put him on a panel set up to investigate the causes of the recent fuel scarcity in the country.

By Bolaji Adebisi with Samson Ojo

Detentions Treasonable times?

Government arraigns five human rights activists before a Gwagwalada magistrate court for treason

Nothing prepared the bemused residents of the sleepy village of Gwagwalada, 80 kilometres north of Abuja, for high-stake politicking that landed unsolicited on their laps. Monday, June 15, two Toyota buses with registration numbers NPF 7698 A and NPF 7688 A meandered their way into the premises of the Gwagwalada chief magistrate's court where they disgorged their five celebrated occupants: Femi Falana, a Lagos lawyer and human rights activist, Dr. Beko Ransome Kuti, chairman of the Campaign for Democracy (CD), Mr. Baba Omojola, an ex-officio member of CD, Chief Gani Fawehimi, another Lagos lawyer and social critic and Mr. Segun Maiyegun, incumbent president of the militant National Association of Nigeria Students (NANS).

Falana, clad in grey short-sleeve jacket and sporting an unkept beard was first to step into the court grounds. He looked every inch a healthy man. But not so for Dr. Beko Ransome Kuti. The faded shirt he wore could easily pass as metaphor for his poor health. He staggered out of the bus and had to be quickly rescued from slumping by security-men. All through the court proceedings the frail-looking Beko, who had been in detention since the small hours of May 18, when a truck-load of policemen forced their way into his Lagos residence, had to be assisted to stand on his feet. Omojola and Fawehimi however maintained a healthy exterior although the dreadlocked Maiyegun looked tired and withdrawn.

All five accused were being paraded at the Magistrate Court as a prelude to the formal commencement of their trial for alleged "con-

spiracy and treasonable crime." The five men according to the charge sheet had "between November 1991 and May 1992 did conspire together in order, by force, to compel the government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to change her measures i.e. transition to civil rule programme and that you manifest such an order



Falana and Beko

and intention by overt act i.e. holding illegal meetings and articulating and distributing documents, leaflets and pamphlets and directives in Abuja, Lagos and Jos and other diverse places in Nigeria and thereby committed the offence stated above". The prosecuting officer, Pius Nsang, a deputy superintendent of police said the alleged offences of the five accused persons contravene section 97 and 412 (1) (b) of the Nigeria penal code and sought leave of the presiding magistrate, Nwada Balami, for their continued remand in prison pending the conclusion of investigations.

The human rights activists who pleaded "not guilty" to the charges however felt the court might unwillingly allow itself to be used as a "vehicle of injustice" if Nsang's

request was granted. Falana, arguing for himself, Baba Omojola and Segun Maiyegun, entered a plea for bail urging the presiding magistrate to uphold the integrity of the judiciary.

Recalling that not only had government flouted a Lagos high court order for his release from detention, a similar order that Omojola be produced in court had been ignored with impunity. Falana said government was "attempting surreptitiously to use the Gwagwalada magistrate's court to ridicule the Lagos High Court."

Falana also told the Gwagwalada magistrate court that Baba Omojola whom government alleged may have incited students to riot during the last May demonstrations was actually in Addis-Ababa attending a conference at the time of the disturbances.

Nwada Balami, the presiding magistrate, having listened to both sides, however felt he needed more time to evaluate the merit of the arguments for and against releasing the accused on bail. Subsequently, he adjourned proceedings to Monday June 29 while granting the embattled comrades access to their lawyers,



Maiyegun and Fawehimi

family members and medical attention. He also ordered the accused to furnish him with evidence of the orders said to have been made by the various Lagos high courts.

By Yinka Tella

The tale of two giants

FRCN Kaduna and Kaduna Polytechnic

The recent celebration of the 30th anniversary of the establishment of the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) Kaduna, formerly known as Broadcasting Corporation of Northern Nigeria, marked a most significant milestone in the history of broadcasting in the northern part of this country. The station was literally flooded by a torrential rainfall of goodwill messages. And why not? The popular "Radio Nigeria Kaduna" has managed to make itself indispensable to all Hausa speaking people of Nigeria and other West African countries. In spite of tough competition from such foreign broadcasting stations such as BBC, VOA, Radio Deutschewelle and a host of others, it is always Kaduna that delivers the balanced opinions. It cools tempers. And in the final analysis it justifies the tremendous amount of confidence reposed on it because it speaks the truth and identifies with the people.

The 30 year story is a story of success. It is a story of devotion to the public. It is a story of energetic foresighted founding fathers and courageous managers. It is also a story of ace broadcasters ranging from Abba Zoro, Adamu Salihu to the inimitable Halilu Ahmed Getso of "*Dandalin Siyasa*" fame. Throughout its 30 years of existence the station had never failed to uphold the cultural heritages of the north, nor tried to enlighten its listeners on new developments, nor underestimated the challenges posed by destructive forces within the country. It is only when these essential features are kept in mind that the extraordinary sacrifice made by Group Captain Usman Jibrin (rtid) over the survival of the station could be properly appreciated.

Kaduna, the city of "*Gamji Dan Kuwari*" and the nerve centre of the nation, has many things to be proud

of. The most important of these is undoubtedly Radio Nigeria Kaduna. The station is a giant among giants!

The other giant located in Kaduna is the Kaduna Polytechnic. This premier college of science, technology and business held its 23rd convocations just a week prior to the grand finale of the FRCN anniversary activities. The convocation, which happened to be the first to be celebrated under the federal ownership, offered a poignant contrast to the jubilant atmosphere at Yakubu Gowon Way. For the first time in history, the institution's future is completely obscured by a thick cloud of uncertainty.

When the Kaduna Polytechnic was taken over by the federal government in August last year the main

tion. But in the circumstance it has only led to serious shortfalls in both recurrent and capital allocations. At the same time the doubts expressed earlier on by many concerned observers over the ability and readiness of the National Board for Technical Education (NBTE) to fund the polytechnic seem to be fully justified as the board has already started to treat the Kadpoly as an unwanted adopted child.

In his convocation speech, the rector avoided any reference to the embarrassing 1992 budgetary allocation, being content to merely point out that the 1991 budget was made up of 55.1 million Naira and 13.2 million Naira for recurrent and capital expenses respectively. However, reliable evidences confirm that the



argument for the take-over was that it was necessary in order to improve the financial position of the institu-

amount approved for 1992 is far below the institution's needs. The recurrent allocation for 1992 was,

according to the minister of education, only 53 million Naira. This would be barely sufficient for 1991 rate of expenditure. But 1992 brought along with it the additional necessity to pay federal USS scale rate of staff allowance as well as the national minimum wage. These allowances and minimum wage have to be paid to avert imminent industrial action by staff union. Unfortunately paying these allowances depleted the recurrent budget to the extent that the academic consumables required for the day to day running of classes had to be cut by nearly 50 per cent.

However, the greatest shock was the announcement of the 1992 capital allocation. As against the 13.2 million Naira that had been allocated each year by

per cent of the 1991 allocation. This is in spite of the fact that the NBTE had 37 million Naira to share out among the 11 federal polytechnics most of which cannot boast of even

library, computer centre and technical workshops.

Thus today, nearly one year after the take-over, the Kadpoly is more miserable, and can only look for-

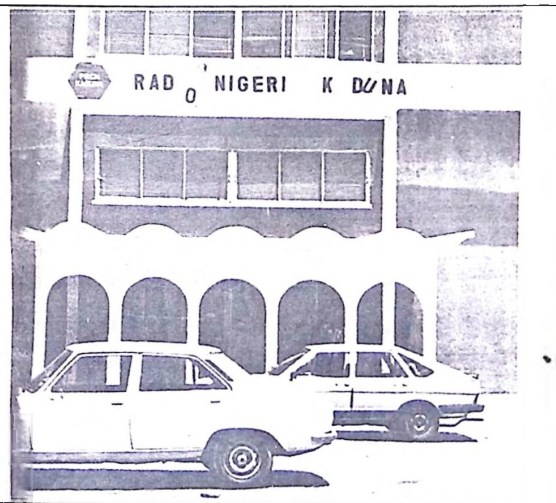
Thus today, nearly one year after the take-over, the Kadpoly is more miserable, and can only look forward to a gloomy future. So, one is forced to ask the question: Why the take-over?

one quarter of Kadpoly's student population. Everyone is left wondering as to what will become the fate of such ongoing projects as the construction of students hostels in the Colleges of Admin/Business

ward to a gloomy future. So, one is forced to ask the question: Why the take-over? To dismantle the gigantic edifice patiently put together and managed by the northern states? Could it be that the forces behind the take-over are not different from the ones that tried to deprive FRCN Kaduna of its 250KW transmitters? Whatever the case may be, now that the federal government has, by sheer fiat, taken over the institution and its assets, one expects that the promise made to safeguard the chances of the northern states in the admission policy would be formalised by decree. But this issue had been carefully avoided and is probably destined to make it to the Third Republic where it could afford the Senate and the House of Representatives a controversial topic of debate.

The two giants of Kaduna face different future challenges. We all rejoice with the FRCN Kaduna on its magnificent achievements and wish it many happy returns. And as the Kaduna Polytechnic faces the horizon of despair we hope that the true heirs of the glorious founding fathers will come forward and plead with the federal government for a more realistic decision on the fate of the institution. The two Kaduna giants have served the nation well enough to be given every chance to survive and prosper.

Name and address supplied



the former owner states since 1988, the Kadpoly got a paltry 2.6 million Naira from the NBTE — a mere 20

(CABS) and Environmental Studies (CES) and the furnishing and equipping of the newly constructed main

ABUTH

Wages of labour

Peace is yet to return to crisis - torn ABU Teaching Hospitals

Suleiman Bawa did not know what to expect as he stepped into Ahmadu Bello University Teaching Hospital, Kaduna, to keep an appointment with his doctor over a nagging toothache last Thursday. The first sign of trouble came when after waiting for over one hour there was no one to issue him with a card. Bawa returned home very bitter and disappointed for wasting his valuable time at the hospital.

Bawa's plight typifies the confusion and frustration several patients faced last Thursday following the suspension of the industrial action by the hospital staff in Kaduna, Zaria and Malumfashi. The hospital management in a statement signed by the deputy chairman, Professor Adekoya had announced both on radio and television that it had reached an agreement with the striking workers to suspend their industrial action and pledged that normal services would resume the following day.

It would appear that in making that announcement, the hospital management failed to reckon with the restive ones among the members of the Non-Academic Staff Association who have also embarked on an industrial action last Monday. *Citizen* learnt that at a meeting between the representatives of the striking staff and the hospital management in Zaria on Monday, the medical doctors resolved to suspend their industrial action to give the management time to commence implementation of their demands on full payment of the new medical salary structure, since approved by the federal government. The Nigerian Association of Nurses and Midwives who took part in the strike were not represented. So, while the medical doc-

tors returned to work on Tuesday, the supporting staff, mainly the nurses, kept away.

To complicate an already chaotic situation, members of the Non-Academic Staff Association, (NASU) joined the strike demanding among other things; the full payment of their shift allowance down from 12 and half to the agreed sum of 30 per cent of their basic salary which hospitals currently pay. Others are hazard allowance for all its members. It is not surprising that when work resumed last Thursday, members of NASU, were not available.

The chairman of the union in Kaduna, Abdullah Mohammed blamed the hospital management for the deadlock. He said uptill last Thursday, the management did not think it important to consult with his association. Mohammed has however said the union is prepared to negotiate with the management anytime.

At the Ahmadu Bello University Teaching Hospital, Zaria, the situation appeared a little different. A partial service has been restored although most wards remained virtually empty.

Workers went on strike on Monday, June 8 to press home their demand for payment of allowances and implementation of the medical salary structure. The strike action started by the medical doctors in all the three Ahmadu Bello University teaching hospitals in Kaduna, Zaria and Malumfashi were joined by nurses and midwives. *Citizen* gathered that the latter joined the strike in the belief that they would benefit from agreement reached during negotiations. *Citizen* also learnt that only heads of departments and student nurses were available in the hospitals to render skeletal services

to patients with serious cases. All others were discharged at the commencement of the strike. Japhtha Obayemi, an accident victim, and one of those left in the hospital's accident ward in Zaria, said 22 out of the 32 patients in his ward had been discharged. Yekini Bello, a victim of the last month communal strike in Zaria is however happy that the workers have called off their strike, pointing out that he would be able to get relief for the nagging pains in his



Kuti: what gives?

right elbow, now encased in plaster of paris for the past 10 days.

Last April the hospital workers embarked on a similar strike action to protest the refusal of the hospital management to release funds allocated it for the implementation of the medical salary structure (MSS). They alleged that the money had been placed in private accounts of some of the hospital officials to yield interest. Sources said that the latest crisis will remain as long as the hospital management is not forthcoming on its promises. Beside, many of the workers are unhappy with the stick and carrot approach adopted by the management during crisis.

This time, it appears the workers may have the last laugh. When *Citizen* called at his office last Thursday, the chief medical director, Professor A.B. Badipo was said to be at a meeting with the hospital board, obviously to diffuse the current crisis.

By Abu Mommoh
in Kaduna and Zaria

Narcotics Winning and losing

Tight security at the nation's airports drives drug pushers to the land borders

There are signs that the government is losing in the battle against hard drugs. This is indicative on the fact that while the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency, (NDLEA) could be said to have effectively tightened the noose at the airports, the land borders and the sea-ports have turned out to be viable options for the drug pushers.

Confirming the growing use of the land borders, by drug traffickers, NDLEA deputy director for Lagos zone, Alhaji Ahmadu Anivbassa, told Nigerians recently that the drug couriers have resorted to crossing the borders into neighbouring countries before connecting flights to Europe and America. The preference, said Alhaji Anivbassa, is for the Idiroko border.

This innovation in drug pushing has not only awakened the NDLEA to the need for border patrol, it has also exposed the fact that the two year old organisation with about 2000 workforce is still understaffed. According to Mr. Aju Okopi Ameh, press secretary to the NDLEA, the intention of the agency is to beef up surveillance at the borders and increase manpower to cover the land areas. He added, "we are presently interviewing people and we are recruiting".

The fact that the drug agency had concentrated its earlier efforts at airports, said Mr. Ameh has paid off. Said he, "On weekly basis, we

arrest people bringing drugs into the country and at no point in time do we have less than 10 suspects at the NAHCO shed." Going by the NDLEA's success at the airports it may not be out of place to conjecture that both the importation and exportation of the drugs into the country is now done through the unmanneled land borders.

At Benin embassy in Lagos, officials kept sealed lips on the matter. However, NDLEA's Aju Ameh explained to *Citizen* that Nigeria has working agreement with its neighbours in the fight against narcotics. The major constraint however, Ameh explained, is that these countries do not have a standing drug enforcement agency but they operate through customs, Interpol, police and immigrations.

Though the Beninose anti-drug



Kwajafa: undaunted

chief confirmed the arrest of several Nigerians, the NDLEA said the exact figure of Nigerians so far caught is not available because of the difficulty in getting collated information on those arrested by the various arms of the law. Explained Ameh, "In some of these countries, their laws prohibit releasing information on those under arrest."

The battle against hard drugs, which gained ground in the country in 1984 may remain a very hard nut to crack. For example, despite the very stiff penalty of beheading for drug related offences in Saudi Arabia, three Nigerian pilgrims were arrested in Jeddah on arrival at the

just concluded Hajj, for being in possession of hard drugs.

Also in Malaysia, three Nigerians recently bagged jail sentences, while six others are also facing trial for drug offences. Another 11 are in the police net for the same offence. According to Nigeria's ambassador to Malaysia, Alhaji Abdul-Raham Gara, most of those arrested entered the country illegally.

With the country's image badly dented as one of the leading drug transit points, Nigerians entering into Europe and America regardless of their official status and mission are sometimes subjected to humiliating searches and shoddy treatment on arrival. Outgoing United States ambassador to Nigeria, Mr. Lannon Walker recently said that Nigerians would continue to be subjected to a thorough body search at entry points to the United States until the drug trade subsides. Giving reasons, Mr. Walker said, "US position in the singling out Nigerians was because Nigerians had continued to introduce new devices to take narcotics into the US. Until they stop carrying drugs into the US there is nothing we can do to make US officials at the ports stop searching Nigerians."

Some Nigerians have called for the reintroduction of the death penalty for drug offences. Among the latest champions of the death penalty is the Federation of Muslim Women Association of Nigeria, (FOMWAN). According to the chairperson of FOMWAN in Kwara State, Hajia Muslimat Kamaldeen, "Our stand on drug trafficking has been consistent, we want death for the traffickers."

If NDLEA is losing and winning simultaneously at home the world seems to have at least recognised the conscious effort of the country to battle the drug scourge. This was the observation in Vienna, Austria, during the 35th session of the world commission on narcotic drugs when Mr. Fulani Kwajafa, NDLEA boss was elected vice chairman of the commission. With the election, Mr. Kwajafa also becomes the chairman for the African region. The NDLEA had made about 720 arrests between 1990 and 1991.

By Aluko Akinyele

Vacancies

Bida Community Bank

A new community bank to be established in Bida, Niger State, has vacancies in the following positions for serious minded and high calibre professionals to pioneer the operations of the bank on a sound foundations.

1. Manager

Reporting directly to the Board, the incumbent would be in charge of the day to day running of the bank, oversee the laying of proper operational procedures, keeping proper books of account, market for deposits and manage the loans, advances and treasury portfolios.

A minimum of B.Sc/HND in Banking, Finance/Accounting or Business Administration is required plus at least 10 years cog-nate experience in either Commercial, Merchant or Mortgage Bank.

2. Supervisor

Candidate should possess WASC plus part 1 AB, OND or HND in Banking, Accountancy, Business Administration, or relevant qualifications and must have had 5 years experience in Banking or similar institution, a clean and pleasant personality

will be an advantage.

3. Clerks/Cashiers

Candidates must have good senior secondary certificate with credit in English and Mathematics plus Banking experience. Other qualifications including RSA stage 11, OND Business Studies or NCE will be added advantage. Preference will however be given to indigenes of NUPE Community where available.

Please note that only short listed candidates will be invited for interview.

Remuneration

Attractive and competitive emolument package and excellent career prospects are available for the selected candidates.

Method of application

Application must be supported by proof of qualification and work experience as well as a resume and forwarded within four weeks of this publication to:-

The Co-ordinator,
Bida Community Bank,
P.O. Box 717,
Bida, Niger State.

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Banks

Temporary reprieve

Banks which have not met the June 19 deadline live longer as the CBN tarries awhile on verification

Banks which have not complied with last Friday's deadline to shore up their capital base to the specified minimum standards may not have their licences withdrawn yet.

Reliable sources at the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), disclosed that the apex bank is favourably studying requests by banks which have not complied to stay action until the completion of their efforts. These efforts include the concerted pooling of resources by shareholders to raise equity through a rights issue as done by Alpha Merchant Bank; capitalising on existing earnings to buy up capital base, as achieved by Merchant Bank of Africa; raising completely new funds on the capital market and an appeal to the CBN to firm up share capital with reserves in its vaults. The CBN has about 8.1 billion Naira of the bank's money in its strong room.

CBN's eventual decision to stay action would be a big relief to erring banks which, by the June 19 deadline, were apprehensive of losing their licenses as stipulated by decree 25 of 1991. Section 9 of the law — the Banking and other Financial Institutions Decree (BOFID) — requires commercial and merchant banks to adjust upwards their paid-up capital to a minimum of 50 million Naira and 40 million Naira respectively.

A top official in the banking supervision of the CBN told *Citizen* that positive action would not be taken immediately against erring banks although officials feel they (the banks) had had enough notice of a full year to warrant instant licence revocation as stipulated. It was however learnt that CBN's delay in taking immediate action, beyond giving poor banks a lifeline,



Ahmed: to the rescue

is due to its inability to determine by last week the actual number of banks that have fully complied with the BOFID deadline. The CBN is also staying action as it certifies the overall financial health of banks which requested for an extension of deadline. "Verification of the banks accounting books and confirmation of figures are expected to take a whole month" a CBN official told *Citizen*.

The struggle to meet the capital base requirement is already affecting inter-bank relationship. Buoyant banks are understood to be giving the poor ones that are prone to licence revocation a wide berth. Said Olawole Famuyi, a manager at the United Bank of Africa (UBA) Lagos; "We have to be choosy now who we deal with on the inter-bank market. The deregulation of the foreign exchange market and the attendant prudent cash management do not allow for careless deals. When some of those new banks go down we do not want to be dragged along in the disaster." When the CBN eventually finishes its verification, mergers, acquisitions or outright liquidation of weak banks will not be unexpected.

Government is said to be con-

cerned about the inadequate capital base of Nigerian banks both for the safety of depositors' funds and the increasing challenges of international trade. Last year, the director-general, special duties in the office of the president, Chief Omowale Kuye, complained about banks' unpreparedness for the business brought about by the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) and their inability to fund commerce and industry without jeopardising depositors' funds.

The CBN is also concerned about a 1990 report of the National Deposit Insurance Corporation, NDIC, which painted a dismal picture of the paid-up share capital of banks. In that report, total capital base of state-owned banks was put at 417,420,000 million Naira and non-state owned ones, 1,004 million Naira. Total deposits obtained in both sectors was 51,875 million Naira. The depositors' fund was calculated to be 36.5 times the paid up share capital. This was considered a dangerous situation.

On loans, total amount granted within the same period was 32,124 million Naira. This was 22.60 times the total paid-up share capital. To complete the bad picture, a staggering figure of 44 per cent was recorded as bad and doubtful debts. In terms of amount, 14,152 million Naira may never be recovered. In percentage, between 300 per cent and 1,363 per cent of depositors' funds were committed to loans and advances that may never be recovered.

This figures were a far cry from the standards set by the regulating International Conference of Supervisors of Capital Convergence. The conference stated that at any point in time, bad and doubtful debt should not exceed eight per cent of total assets.

The CBN believes by compelling banks to increase their capital base, existing anomalies would be corrected and growth patterns met.

By Tayo Odunlami

FSB makes profit

Seven months after the restructuring of the erstwhile Federal Savings Bank, FSB International Bank Limited has recorded a pre-tax profit of 26.2 million Naira and an after-tax profit of 16.2 million Naira. The bank also recorded a gross earnings of 44.5 million Naira and total assets of 551.1 million Naira. This represents a return on assets of 1.4 per cent and a 24 kobo earnings per share for the seven month period up to March 31 this year. The performance was announced by Alhaji A.O.G. Ojo, the chairman of the board of directors of the bank at the bank's first annual general meeting in Lagos recently.

The impressive results have been described as outstanding and vindication of the logic and practicability of the federal government's commercialisation and privatisation programme.

The FSB International Bank Limited commenced

full fledged wholesale commercial banking services on September 1, last year after the restructuring of the Federal Savings Bank under a plan that was put together by the Technical Committee on Privatisation and Commercialisation and supported by the federal ministry of finance.

Alhaji Oriti announced the increase in the authorised share capital of the bank from 50 million Naira to 150 million Naira, and the issue share capital to 111.4 million Naira. He explained that the TPCPC has concluded arrangements for the privatisation of the bank under privatisation and commercialisation programme of the federal government.

Based on the quality of the board of directors of the bank, depth of its management, and the quality of planning and execution put in place, he predicted a bright future for the bank.

NLNG signs agreement

The Nigerian LNG (NLNG) Limited, last week in Lagos signed its fourth and final sales agreement with a US firm, Distrigas. The agreement which covers a 22-and-half year period is for the sale of 700 million cubic metres of liquefied natural gas, LNG to Distrigas per annum. The chairman of NLNG, Alhaji Ahmed Joda who signed for the company, said the firm

would ensure that the first cargo loading of LNG was effected by the first quarter of 1997.

According to him, bids were already being processed for the project's main contract which, he said would be awarded by the fourth quarter of this year. Responding, the vice chairman of Distrigas, Mr. Gordon Shearor who signed for his company described the scheme as a major supply of gas to US

Oluwa Glass holds customers forum

Oluwa Glass Company recently organised a forum for the exchange of ideas between the management and her distributors. A release signed by the company's public relations manager, Mr. Kayode Afolabi said that the forum offered the participants an opportunity to discuss the marketing of the company's products in the country.

Tagged 'Third distributors award luncheon', the forum which took place at the company's premises attracted distributors from all parts

of the country. The managing director of the company, Mr. Cecil Ludlow, gave the distributors a pat on the back for their "strong support for the company despite the present state of the nation's economy".

He expressed satisfaction with the sales efforts of the distributors, especially with the progress made in the past one year. Three of the distributors who were adjudged the best were rewarded with a refrigerator, video recorder and colour television set.

He said the agreement represented a major milestone in the company's business. NLNG had earlier signed similar agreement with Enel of Italy, Inegas of Spain and Gaz

De France.

Similarly, the gas supply agreement for Nigeria's four billion-dollar (about 74 billion Naira) liquefied natural gas took place last week. The



Joda first cargo in 1997

NNFC / Shell / Agip / Elf joint venture is to supply 53.3 per cent of the total gas requirements, while the NNFC / Agip / Phillips and the NNFC / Elf joint ventures will each supply 23.3 per cent.

By Tola Sunday



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

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PUBLIC ENLIGHTENMENT DEPARTMENT,
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AFRICA

South Africa

From coffee-room to the street

CODESA impasse forces blacks out on the streets, while President de Klerk calls up white reservists

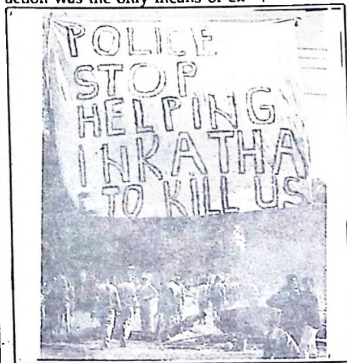
African National Congress (ANC) leader, Nelson Mandela looked every bit a marathon runner, dressed in a tracksuit and a cap to match. But he was not out for a keep-fit exercise. He was leading "a subdued crowd" of 2,000 people in a protest march through the "quite streets" of Soweto's Mofolo North area. It was the start of ANC's "mass action" programme meant to force a speedier handover of power to the black majority.

In 1990, when the ANC leadership agreed to sit down with the minority white government led by Frederick de Klerk to negotiate a peaceful transition to a non-racial, democratic South Africa, the ANC showed two hands. It would talk peace for as long as the South African government showed genuine goodwill and a readiness to hand over power. Failing that it would resort to "mass mobilisation without violence."

That stage of mass action was reached on Tuesday, June 16, the 16th anniversary of the Soweto anti-apartheid students uprising, during which the South African defence force (SADF) killed hundreds of black youths. June 16 was exactly one month since the Conference for a democratic South Africa (CODESA) was deadlocked on arrangements for drafting a new constitution.

An ANC statement said, "It has become clear that the government has no intention of being persuaded by arguments to give up power." Paulo Jordan, ANC's information secretary, said in a recent radio interview that the black majority, unlike

the smaller white community, lacked a political voice and a mass action was the only means of ex-



Violence in the streets: Will it happen again?

pressing their impatience with the government.

Mr. Mandela himself told businessmen in Durban on the eve of the action that ANC would have loved to solve the CODESA stalemate through negotiations but they have reached a dead-end. "We regret that mass action will have an impact on the economy," he said. "But the economy is so mismanaged it can't be damaged further."

Expectedly, President de Klerk has denounced the ANC action, calling it "untimely" and "irresponsible". He said the action has raised fears of escalating township violence and economic disruption. The president, sounding tough, warned that his government would "not tolerate intimidation".

Immediately, he placed the 50,000 strong South African defence force on standby. This force includes a huge corps of white reservists. But many observers say such a high military profile is unnecessary and may have been intended to intimidate the ANC. They believe that the white reservists would be reluctant

to move into the townships to confront armed blacks and also that the very sight of them would incite further violence, which the government claims to be trying hard to contain.

Last week, it moved, for the first time to disarm hundreds of armed Inkatha Freedom Party supporters spoiling for a fight with ANC cadres. The ANC said it welcomed the government's action, belated as it was. It should have disarmed the Inkatha fighters "two years ago", said Jordan.

What the ANC official was saying in not so many words, was that the Congress "rolling campaign" of mass action would go on all the same. It has four stages. The first, which began last Tuesday and lasting for two weeks would involve rallies. These would be followed by sporadic seizure of government buildings and marches around the country.

If that fails to move the government to speed up the CODESA negotiations, there would be an escalation of the mass action in July, to be followed by general strikes in August.

By Tawey Zakka with agency reports

WORLD

Japan

Samurai steps out

Japanese troops now can be sent to the world's trouble spots but only for non-combat activities

Politicians fought for 20 odd months over a bill to allow Japanese troops to be sent overseas for the first time since 1945, after world war II.

The governing Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) argued that the bill would enable Japan to exercise a political role on the international scene commensurate with its economic power. The opposition believed the *peacekeeping operation* (KPO) bill violated Japan's postwar peace constitution.

The squabbling kept the upper house of the Diet (parliament) in session for three days and nights. According to a report, "one motion took 13 hours to be voted on". The upper house, where the LDP has a reduced majority eventually passed it on June 8.

In the lower house, Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa expected little trouble. His LDP has a comfortable majority in the 517-seat house, bolstered by its two small centrist allies, the *Komeito* and the Democratic Socialist Party. When the bill came before the lower house for the second time on June 16 it was passed easily. The vote was 329-17 in favour.

However, the new law provides strict conditions under which troops may go abroad.

Japanese soldiers may take part in UN peacekeeping efforts but only in non-combat capacity. That is to say, they can only give medical care and help refugees. More dangerous tasks would still have to be approved

by the Diet.

The opposition Social Democrats and Communists fought the bill all the way. In a last ditch effort to delay its passage and possibly force a snap election, opposition members of the lower house resigned en masse on June 15. It was the first mass resignation, but parliament had to approve it. It apparently never did.

passed and Japan never sent personnel, only money. One report said, that made the country "look silly" in the eyes of the world.

Public opinion is said to be divided over the June 16 vote. According to the latest opinion poll broadcast on television network, 55 per cent were against the bill, 32 per cent in favour, while the rest was undecided.

Under PKO, the Japanese could send as many as 2,000 soldiers to participate in UN peacekeeping operations. Already, a Japanese heads the UN transition administration in Cambodia. That should please Japan's once *numero uno* enemy turned defender since after world war II.

Back home, Prime Minister Miyazawa easily can confine the opposition's "filibuster and ox-walk

Under PKO, the Japanese could send as many as 2,000 soldiers to participate in UN peacekeeping operations. Already, a Japanese heads the UN transition administration in Cambodia.

Prime minister Miyazawa stuck to his gun never to dissolve parliament and call an early election. The enactment of the law, though a pain in the neck for speaker Yoshio Sakurachi, and also coming rather late, was no doubt a face saver for the government.

It has been in the making since October 1990, when Japan was under tremendous pressure to contribute troops to the multinational force in the Gulf. In the event the bill was not

voting sessions of no-confidence motions" to the back pages of history. There is an immediate political windfall to go for: the election next month into the upper house, where he will try to stop the opposition making further gains.

Thereafter, who knows what will happen? A Japan in the couch is not beyond a Japan wanting to be in the driving seat!

*By Tawey Zakka
with agency reports*

Yugoslavia

Another cease-fire broken

Despite UN's efforts to end the bloodshed in Yugoslavia, the warring factions continue their war unabated

In recent times, ceasefires have been broken several times regardless of the commitment involved in the Yugoslav/Bosnia conflict. Last week the ceasefire between Bosnia and Serb forces was broken almost immediately it was effected.

Bosnia Herzegovina's top Serb leader, Mr. Radovan Karadzic had earlier announced on Friday, 12 June that his paramilitary forces would cease fire on Monday 15.

He told a press conference in Belgrade that: "Now is not the time to attribute blame but to seek a resolution to this Bosnia war". "It is therefore in good faith that we announced a unilateral cease fire" he said, reading from a telegram sent to UN secretary-general, Boutros Ghali.

In a surprise move, Mr. Karadzic, whose units are besieging the Bosnia capital, Sarajevo offered to let 800 UN peace keeping troops monitor the truce from Serbian position.

Karadzic also said he would support UN moves to reopen Sarajevo airport for humanitarian assistance for the trapped people deprived of food, medical care and electric power. This was however not to be.

Reports revealed that when the ceasefire appeared to be holding, people came into the streets for the first time in so many weeks to replenish dwindling food stuff while others buried their dead. After the lull during most of the day the Serbs launched an artillery bombardment with shells landing near Sarajevo airport.

There were different reports as to what happened. One report said Serb tanks were seen moving in residential areas and spoke of civil-

ian casualties. Another says that two people were killed and at least 10 wounded by persistent sniper fire after the truce designated to reopen



Street scene in Yugoslavia

Sarajevo airport for emergency aid to civilians, took effect on Monday.

The refused calls by the Serbs to a ceasefire has led to an all out war. The unending civil war in Yugoslavia is Europe's first for many years after the second world war.

The Serbs have been blamed for the fighting in which more than 5,800 people have been killed, 2,200 wounded and millions left homeless.

The UN has punished Serb led Yugoslavia with sanctions. The sanctions severs all links with Yugoslavia, freezes its financial assets overseas and bars Yugoslav representa-

tives from sports events and cultural exchange.

Serb paramilitary forces have encircled Sarajevo, trapping 3,000,000, starving civilians and seized control of two thirds of Bosnia-Herzegovina since the muslim and Croat majority voted for independence from Yugoslavia in March.

Bosnia's muslim leaders have called for international military intervention to end the siege of Sarajevo. United States' president, Mr. George Bush said he was reluctant

to have American troops involved in relief operation.

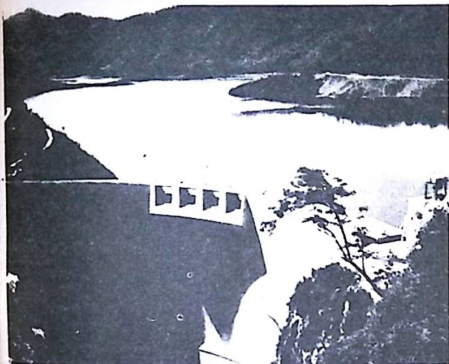
The Chief UN negotiator in Sarajevo, Lewis Mackenzie, has continued talks with the warring sides on turning over the Serb-led airport to UN peace-keeping forces and creating demilitarised zone around it.

Meanwhile, there was a demonstration by university students in Belgrade on the 16 of June, demanding the resignation of President Slobodan Milosevic and calling for the appointment of a government of national unity.

By Abiola Moronfoye
with agency reports

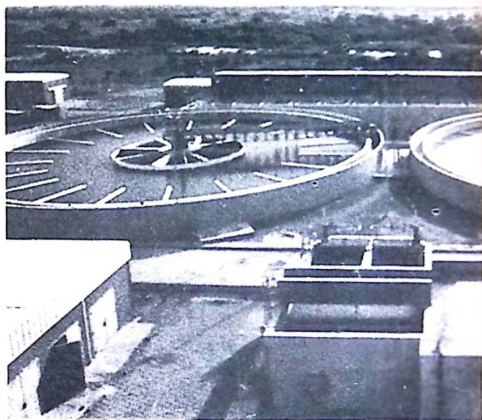
Citizen, June 22, 1992

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KABIRU YUSUF

rules that guide it. This may not sound like a very friendly posture to a regime that has some pretty definite ideas about the Third Republic. But at its first press conference on Monday, November 11, 1991 CD made clear that there is no one sure-fire solution to Nigeria's problems:

distributing documents, leaflets, pamphlets and directives in Abuja, Lagos, Jos and other diverse places in Nigeria and thereby committed the offences stated above".

Many things make the charge sound as if the act of "treason" is related to the activities of the five men in CD. The first is that all the detainees are associated with the campaign. Neither Chief Fawehinmi nor Baba Omojola attend regular CD meetings, but an organisation bearing the former's name does, and Omojola was at the national convention in Jos, where he was elected an ex-officio member. Also, the time given for when the offence was committed, November - May, coincides with the period when the movement came into being; so was the mention of Lagos and Jos, scenes of important CD events.

Then there was the role of the men in the May student riots. Mayegun was of course at the centre of it, and both Ransome-Kuti, Gani Fawehinmi and Femi Falana, made disparaging comments about the government during and after the crisis. Omojola, I understand, was in Ethiopia when the riots occurred and in any case, rarely makes press comments.

In no CD meeting I attended was anything remotely treasonable ever discussed. It is just a bunch of bearded guys discussing the problems of their country on a Sunday afternoon. It is possible of course that the government knows something we don't know. Or more probably, that it was irked, not by pamphlets and meetings, but by some of the men's utterances during the student riots. Whatever it is, most people, in and outside Nigeria, will regard the Gwagwalada trial as political. This will do the government and the country no good and could become another distracting side-show in an already complex transition programme. The best thing is to release them and let Nigerians continue the search for unity and stability by all means possible.

Democrats in dock

I am a member of Campaign for Democracy (CD). I was at the National Theatre when the first attempt was made to hold a National Conference, in September 1990. Advocates of this conference, many of whom live in Lagos, eventually re-grouped at No. 8 Imaria Street, Anthony Village, (Dr. Beko Ransome-Kuti's house) to start the campaign. There were probably 30 or 40 of us in the beginning, and nearly all were both ordinary members and on the interim executive committee.

I was in Jos when the CD held its first national convention on May 2, this year. Due to a large police presence at the original venue and other logistics problems (including a heavy downpour) the meeting did not start on time and I had to rush back to Kano because of another pressing engagement. But I can testify that the meeting was truly national. There were delegates who are indigenes of Kano, Sokoto, Borno, Makurdi, Benin, Enugu and Lagos and representatives of as many as 20 organisations, from Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) to Ethnic Minority Rights Organisation of Nigeria (EMIRON) led by Ken Saro Wiwa himself.

As I understand it, Campaign for Democracy, sets out to achieve two things: First to ensure that military rule, in whatever form, comes to an end in Nigeria, and that, as much as possible, people should take an active part, not only in this political process, but in fashioning the ground

"We do not believe we have monopoly of the solutions of the problems facing us today. Equally we do not believe that anybody or group exercises monopoly in this regard".

Dr. Beko Ransome-Kuti and Mr. Femi Falana, who I know very well from CD meetings, have been detained and charged to court for treason. Of the other three detainees, I vaguely remember meeting student leader Olusegun Mayegun at No. 8 Imaria Street, and Gani Fawehinmi in his law chamber about a month ago. Baba Omojola, an economist, I have known for almost 20 years. For many years he was living at Bello Dandago Road in Kano, in a house which he appropriately enough called "Bohemian Quarters". The front door to the upstairs apartment was never locked, and people came and went as they wished. Baba has since moved to Surulere in Lagos, but ever generous and completely detribalised, he still runs an open-house where you can bump into a Zairean exile, an uprooted Briton and visiting ABU lecturers, who cannot afford Lagos hotel rates.

The charge before the Gwagwalada Chief Magistrates Court in Abuja, said the five men, "between November 1991 and May 1992, did conspire together in order by force to compel the government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to change her measures, that is, the transition-to-civil-rule programme and that you manifest such an order and intention by overt act i.e. holding illegal meetings, circulating and

PRIVATE EYE

Gowon's muddy legacy

One sure way of correcting mistakes is admitting that they have been made. We have been criticised as a nation without living heroes, having acquired notoriety for honouring our heroes posthumously. Now we seem ready to correct this anomaly but in the process of doing so we appear set to make more mistakes to correct mistakes.

We set up, not too long ago a centre of excellence in Zungeru to immortalise an elder statesman, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe. Now the centre is being overgrown by weeds. Inertia has taken over enthusiasm. From the privacy of my eye I am aware of efforts being made to honour another of our leaders, General Yakubu Gowon. A resource centre for promotion of peace and national unity is to be established in his name. Hurrah!

For such a peace and national

unity centre, you'd expect the composition of key policy makers to reflect national unity? But what I hear is a lopsided composition of the board of trustees.

The chairman is a retired general of Langtang mafia fame. The board has traditional rulers as advisers. The selection includes a caliphate boss, the chief priest of Oduduwa, ruler of a middle belt ethnic group, an Igbo *Obi* and a "Bendelite" *Oba*. A good spread that deserves an ovation. Hurrah!

Now to the lopsided part, what is an SDP presidential aspirant from Alimi city doing in the list of trustees of a "non-political" body? Shouldn't that stimulate the appetite of the NRC members who may demand representation too? Boo boo!

The second gaffe is the inclusion of a controversial clergyman known for his uncharitable, divisive and explosive utterances. If the institu-



tion is "non-religious" what is a CAN fanatic doing on its board of trustees without muslim Ulama representation? Boo boo!

General Gowon is not in the bad books of muslims who should be adequately represented on the board of trustees, in the interest of peace and national unity which the centre is established to promote. Gowon deserves a better legacy than this tilted scale of misrepresentation that could be interpreted as a CAN of you know what.

Soft drink millionaires

At the peak of the 7Up Jetta scoop, virtually everybody became a collector of 7Up crowns in the hope of winning a brand new Jetta car. It did not occur to them to ask how much profit a soft drink company makes before it can afford to give out Jetta cars. So children were caught pouring drink into the sink just to collect 7Up crowns and win a Jetta. And when the other soft drink sellers saw how fast the trick was catching on they followed suit. Now there's a war of competition between Nigeria's soft drink giants, Coca-cola and 7Up. But who fired the first salvo still remains a subject of controversy.

However, it is in cash prizes that 7Up really excels. Talk of the 1990 "Naira Rain" or the 1991 "It is raining again" and the way Nigerians

went for them. It was excitement galore especially as 13 Volkswagen Jetta cars were expected to be won in the 1991 edition in which 10 million Naira was invested. Though the absence of the cars emblazoned with 7Up insignia on the roads after they were supposed to have been won, still casts doubt on the authenticity of the promotion. Coca-cola's cash prizes on the other hand have been tepid. In 1988, "operation Hot Foot" fetched only sports items; the 1989 "Fanta Lucky letters" brought consolation cash prizes to winners and in the 1991 "Family Bonanza", household appliance were won after a raffle draw!

But no more. Coca-cola has now come into the big league in offering cash prizes to its consumers. Come June 27, via nationally televised

raffle-draw, Nigeria's first millionaire will emerge courtesy of Coca-cola! Thereafter, on a bi-weekly basis, others will join climaxing on September 5 with the 6th millionaire. And all you need to become a winner is simply drink Coca-cola or Sprite! There are other instant mouth watering cash prizes too: 100,000 Naira, 50,000 Naira, 20,000 Naira, 10,000 Naira, 5,000 Naira, 1,000 Naira. Some temptation!

In response, 7Up has come up with a "Panorama Sony Video win" in which 300 Sony video players are to be won this June alone. But this is a far cry from the million Naira Coca-cola dream. But really, as the war goes on between the giants, the consumer has become king. Just think of it. By drinking 7Up, you can be a proud winner of video player and by sipping Coca-cola, you can even become a millionaire. Who would not want the war to continue?

Emotional ties

Love has inspired poetry of varying dimensions, expressing emotions experienced by lovers. Some are songs about the remarkable and ageless feeling that starts in the heart when cupid's arrow strikes its target. Others write books that take the reader through a maze of emotions that end with the lovers living happily ever after as the fairy tale always ends.

Most beautiful girl in the world (For Hope)

Beauty queens of all shapes and sizes
The trumpet has sounded
Come out from your world
Of self-deception
For the real beauty contest
About to begin
Your crowns of paper
I do not recognise
Crowns won by parading nude
Before lustful judges
And whistling watchers
Supple flesh and body statistics
Are not all there is to beauty
Nor are artificial smiles
And practised dance steps
Deep down beneath the skin
Lie the qualities of true beauty
Qualities which combined
With looks and stagecraft
Make a girl a hit
I know of only one beauty queen
In the whole wide world
She is my girl
Smashing inside and dashing outside
My girl is the most beautiful girl
in the world.

Isaac Umunna

Laraba the gale

Like a gale
She swept me off
my feet and had me

Bound defenseless with
tentacles of un-enhoed
affection. Stupefied
Spell-bound.

Rooted in the
drunken — like stupon I
sought for self-rediscovery
To realise I've
Become a slave
under the pain of neglect

Laraba, For self-actualisation
Release me from the shackles
Non-reciprocated feelings
Echo my love so I can
pronounce your name.

Mustash

Subdued

She made me thawed as an ice,
as she whisked away her
weak body from my eyes.
Gaiting towards the burial of my
soul,
I could see only
The glimmering twinkle of her sole.

For years she blossomed unpollinated
inviting only me, to be mated,
to dry my sweat in her breath.
This little angel of a daughter
has begun to make me be a son.

Intoxicated in her perfume,
I drank the hectar of lips
From the reflection of her teeth.
Dancing to the rhythm of her steps
and sweating in the harmattan of
her absence.

Mohammed Alh. Nanu

Black desire (for Hauwa)

How can I resist the tears
While my precious possession



is threatened?

What sort of game is this
That subjects its players
to heinous trauma?

I did not invite you into
The game to put you in the
Present trauma!
I was compelled into the game
Myself by the invisible force
That dwells in the chest!
O, fate, come to our favour
Quite soon.

To black desire I say:
Our dream 'll still be born;
Our sweet union 'll surely blossom
To black desire I say:
God 'll surely light your ugly
Face for all to see
You've only scotched my
Beautiful one, she'll courageously
Wake and be herself!

So shall it be o, ugly desire,
While your poor malice shall
Remain in awe of your misconduct,
You shall eat your myrrh made meal
in perpetual disgust and sleep
terrible dreams, in perpetual fear,
That 'll haunt your nights!

To black desire I lastly say:
The sign of nobleness, like
The scintillating stars, shall
Glitter and shine on all deservers.

Muhammed Jamil Ahmad

ARTS

Exhibition

Offering from the East

Maturity marked the works of Aka circle of artists who recently exhibited in Lagos

Connoisseurs of fine art in Lagos had cause to smile recently when 11 artists, grouped under Aka came calling at Didi Museum. For 10 days (June 9 - 19) thousands of art lovers thronged the exhibition stand carting off the works despite the price tags that ranged from 8,000 Naira to 40,000 Naira! Surprising at these SAPpy times? Not really. The Aka artists are no run-of-the-mill type. The works displayed showed painstaking attention to line, form and colour...

Using tiny human forms, for instance, Chike Aniakor tells a horrid tale of the marginalisation of people by the present economic situation in the country, best encapsulated, by the painting titled: *The falcon descends on the people* where men, women and children in various stages of despair look in awe as a bird of prey descends, beak posed for more blood? Quite scary. Nsikak Essien on the other hand using the technique of multi-media celebrates life. In *Nigeria-Futurama* the man in a wide cap simply guffaws as if he has no card in the world. Another untitled piece shows three men dancing. On his part, Tayo Adenaike, using the water colour technique is reflective. *The portrait, by the time they leave* have the people with their eyes drawn and faces somber. They seem to have lost everything they ever had to the military? Other works by him, *Before and after*, and *The silenced who passed away* (What a title) and *Sober lyrical notes*, evoke same emotion of emptiness.

But no one could mirror the time more than Ghanaian born sculptor, El Anatsui, whose woodwork, *Visa queue*, shows a long winding line

(there are seven intersections!) of people with frustration written on their faces as they wait for the all mighty visa. The scene could have been recorded at any of the major embassies; America, Britain, Germany or Canada where Nigerians brave all odds in their bid to "check out". His *Sacred Comb*, also has col-



Uchendu, whose works came in blocks of wood, concrete and baked clay, strays into the polity. His *Flamboyant politician* executed in terracotta has the emerging politician all puffed up. And working with wire and cement, Obiora Anidi, takes you to the mystical world as in *Ancestral forest*, *Odomagana*, and *Reclining figure* but he could also shock you as in *Stress in, stress out, stress all over*,

Ifediorama Dike, on his part, uses batik to a great effect. *The Assemblage of gods*, *Ruins and Three Wise men* are testimonies to this skill. But the grand master, Obiora Udechukwu, caps all with his pro-



Some of the works displayed at Aka '92

our and a linear arrangement that borrows from traditional patterns. For Boniface Okafor who uses oil, surrealism is it. In *That the future may be clear* and *The snake* are also trips into the surreal world. Bona Ezendu's themes also draw from the present. In *Flames of Gossip* which has a remarkable colour arrangement, four women shafting the latest from the grapevine have flames billowing from their body, showing the dangerous path they are taking.

For Chris Afuba, concern for the environment is a recurring theme in his sculptural compositions done in wire and wood. *Bush fire*, for instance, captures nature being devastated by man just as *Greenhouse pavlaver* and *Finished wood* Samson

fessional use of colour. Whether it is in *Going Home*, *Love Landscape or Who are you?* (a statement on crisis of identity), the personal stamp stands him out.

Notes Anene Obianiyido of the department of art education, IMT, Enugu, "it is easy now to see the exploratory path each artist has trodden to Aka '92; with the quality of works that bear their individual personal idioms, a testimony to how much the group's effort has benefited from its six year period of development."

More than anything, the exhibition showed that the Aka artists have come of age

By Oji Onoko.

BOOK REVIEW

Politics and players

Title: *Politics! Dirty Politics*

Pages: 239

Author: *Niyi Oniororo*

Publisher: *Ororo Publications, Ibadan*

Price: *40.00 Naira*

Reviewer: *Chuddy Azolike*

This is a book that exposes how politicians apply crude and incriminating method in their bid to muddy the water for their opponents. The book tells readers what politics means, what it is to the people in civilised countries and how it is played in Nigeria.

The book has different chapters with each chapter containing tins to serve as appetiser which lures readers to the next. Its introductory chapter runs into seven pages.

Having presented a clear picture of politics in the Western World, the author describes politics in Nigeria as a direct opposite of what obtains in civilized countries. According to him, politics in Nigeria revolves around 'do or die' axis which has its roots in "politics of negativism, otherwise called politics of 'if I do not win, I kill', otherwise called politics of self-aggrandisement, or otherwise called politics of Naira or politics of the more-you-look-the-less-you-see".

Concluding his introductory chapter, the author says: "The sole intention of my writing this book is to show how dirty our politics is and why an honest person cannot be allowed to remain in politics for long in this nation....."

On page 12 under the caption: My mission in politics — the author recounts why he joined politics at all and what his experience has been and why he opted out of politics after attaining the posts of Ondo State deputy chairman and chairman of the Ondo North Senatorial District of the Social Democratic Party. He writes: "When I got into politics I told my colleagues that our primary objective should be

honest service to the generality of the people. But just because I had the effrontery to challenge those who were converting party funds to private use and just because I was honest enough to call attention to the excesses of party chiefs....." and just because I warned my fellow politicians against the consequences of rigging elections, misusing public funds, denial of individual rights in which politicians of the First and Second Republics were engaged and because I refused to join the band wagon of the looters, I became a strange bedfellow among the so-called new breed politicians.....As a social critic that I am and an indefatigable fighter against corruption and social injustice I refused to be lured into politics the type which ruined the first and second republics....."

Still on why he relinquished his post in the SDP the author re-echoes the words of Bashorun M.K.O. Abiola who he credited as saying "No matter how much a swimmer loves to swim, if the water is too dirty, he will get infected" - page 29.

On how dirty the politics of the pre-independence was, the author narrates how Chief Obafemi Awolowo engaged in verbal gymnastic in what he calls "First Republic Politics of Verbal War". The account is vividly given on pages 31 - 55.

On page 56-102, the author takes his readers down the memory lane as he replays the events during the 1964 federal elections. Here, again, the author presents a clear picture of what gave rise to the 1964 constitutional crisis between Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe and Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa and how the crisis was resolved.

The split of the Action Group contributed immensely to the collapse of the first republic. The events that led to this development and the principal actors of the melodrama were meticulously put to-

gether by the author. How the "honourable" members of the old Western Region turned the floor of the Western House of Assembly to a wrestling arena, was also ably recounted and pictures of the members escaping through the windows after their show of shame were also used to illustrate the symbolic event. Seventeen pages were devoted to the treatment of the chapter.

On the politics of the Second Republic, the author, on page 120 says: "While the First Republic was described by many as an era of politics of recrimination and politics of compromise, the Second Republic can be described as a republic of deep-rooted hatred, when politics of morbid show of insanity, politics of grab-grab was the order of the day"

In chapter five under the caption — The Brutal Politics of the Second Republic — the author recalls how politicians of the Second republic threw caution to the winds and behaved like Ibsen's lunatics.

The impeachment of Governor Balarabe Musa of Kaduna State constitutes a significant part of the politics of recrimination of the Second Republic. The author narrates how it happened on pages 150-162.

The verbal war between Chief Obafemi Awolowo and General Olusegun Obasanjo shortly after the 1979 presidential elections is another chapter treated by the author. The chapter which occupies 20 pages is captioned: Awolowo and Obasanjo in Fire for Fire Duel.

Going through the book one concludes that the author did a thorough research work before writing the book. Apart from metaphors which add to the rhythm, the book's greatest asset is its simplicity of language.

Politics! Dirty Politics is a book that recommends itself for students of Nigerian contemporary history and all those who want to know how and why politics in Nigeria is played as a dirty game.

SPORTS

Olympic trials

Below standard

The dismal standard displayed by Nigerian athletes at the three day Olympic trials in Lagos has raised fears that the country may perform badly in Barcelona



Ajunwa: fantastic performance

Participation in the Olympic Games is the ultimate ambition of athletes of substance the world over. That explains the intense struggle by top sportsmen and women every four years to be part of their countries' teams to the world's most colourful and competitive sporting meet. For three days penultimate week, first rate Nigerian athletes, both foreign and home-based, converged at the National Stadium, Lagos, to compete for places in Nigerian team to the next month's Olympic Games in Barcelona, Spain. The pre-olympics selection trials which featured mainly track and field events, were

held under the flagship of the Amateur Athletic Association of Nigeria's annual Mobil Track and field championship.

The excessively hyped championship however turned out to be nothing but a colourful event that fell far beyond expectation as far as olympic standards and Nigeria's hope of making a good impression at Barcelona are concerned. By the time the three-day track and field events came to a close on Saturday, June 13, national and African records that were expected to be wiped out were never threatened. Most disappointing of all were the highly regarded foreign-based athletes. Many of them were thoroughly beaten and disgraced by their grossly underrated home-based colleagues. But for home based policewoman Chioma Ajunwa, who has been having fantastic performance in most of her events this year, the Olympic selection trials would have ended without a single record set. The fair-skinned police athlete made an incredible leapt of 7.06 metres in the long jump event to erase her African record of 6.90 metres she set in Lagos in March and the 6.91 Commonwealth Games record set by Shonel

Ferguson of Bahamas in 1982.

The track and field championships are a harsh reflection of what Nigerian fortunes are likely to be at the forthcoming Olympic Games. The highly unimpressive performance of the foreign-based athletes on whom the AAAN hangs the country's hopes for Olympic medals in the track and field, is a clear signal that Barcelona may be another nightmare like Seoul Olympic: a mere jamboree that will gulp millions of taxpayers' Naira without anything to show than the mere joy of participation.

These highly pampered foreign-based athletes like



Onyali: unimpressive outing



Yusuf: a disappointment

Mary Onyali, Tina Iheagwan, Innocent Egbunike, Kayode Oluyemi, Victor Omagbemi and Osmond Ezinwa were dymisfyied and disgraced by their home-based colleagues, raising fears that Nigeria may not win anything of note in her strongest forte: track and field. Take for instance, the ease with which sensational Chioma Ajunwa beat United States-based Mary Onyali and Tina Iheagwan to second and third-place respectively to clinch the 100 metres at a time of 11.36 seconds, too poor a time to merit an Olympic medal in Barcelona. In the 200 metres men, home-based Daniel Phillips dusted foreign-based Kayode Oluyemi and Victor Omagbemi to second and third place respectively to win at a time of 20.48 seconds. In the 400 metres, African and Commonwealth record holder, Innocent Egbunike who is also based in the United States, put up a disappointing performance. He was beaten to the third place by home-based Sunday Bada who won the race at a time of 45.42 seconds and Clement Chukwu who came third at a time of 45.81 seconds. Egbunike recorded a dismal 45.88 seconds.

Perhaps, the most disappointing result of the three-day-event was that of the female quarter miller Fatima Yusuf, former African and Commonwealth record holder. The highly consistent athlete who was tipped before the race by analysts to win the 400 metres with ease, flopped badly. She was beaten to the last position by Airat Bakare, Omotayo Akinremi, Taye Akinremi and Caroline Aarebode in that order. It was however revealed later that Fatima Yusuf should not have taken part in the race because she had just recovered from leg fracture.

Many reasons have been advanced for the poor standard displayed by most of the athletes Nigeria is banking on to win medals in the track and field events in Barcelona. Alhaji Kareem Amu, AAAN chairman, explained that the dismal standard at the championship was due to the

fact that most of the athletes were merely competing to make the Olympic team. It is his belief that the athletes will put up their best at the Olympic Games in Barcelona. Some of the athletes themselves advanced similar excuse to defend their low standard. Quarter miller Innocent Egbunike and fading star, Chidi Imoh said they were reserving their best for the Olympics.

Some sports analysts who have been following the performance of some of the athletes in international competition, however dismissed the statement of Amu and some of the athletes as a face-saving excuse.

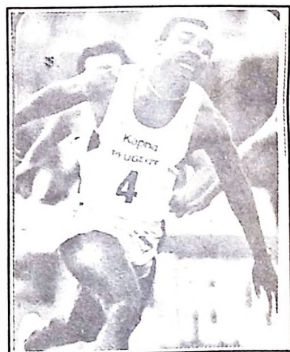
Former national athletic coach, Tony Urhobo, described the low standard at the championship as a signal of another Olympic flop for Nigerian athletes. He believes that the only thing that can avert such an Olympic disaster is complete overhauling of the athletic team.

The national amateur athletic association has also been blamed for the appalling standard at the pre-Olympic trials. The AAAN, which claimed to have effectively monitored the performances of Nigerian athletes abroad, went ahead and invited the likes of Victor Omagbemi, Osmond Ezinwa and Kayode Oluyemi who were completely relegated to the background by the home-based athletes. In fact their performance were light years away from the Olympic qualifying standards. The national athletic governing body has also been blamed for its inability to design a programme of raising young athletes to effectively step into the shoes of fading stars like Egbunike, Yusuf Ali, Adewale Olukoju and Henri Amike.

All these athletes have no competent world-class rivals among the younger generation of athletes to take over from them. Going by the low marks recorded in the track and field events, Nigeria may have to look elsewhere for her Olympic medals.



Ezenwa: relegated



Imoh: fading



Olukoju: below expectation

By Joe Olujuwon

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OBJECTIVE

- To examine various options and opportunities available to ensure survival of the enterprise in an economy under SAP.
- To examine the effect of deregulation on the banking, manufacturing and service sectors of the economy.
- To examine the source, opportunities and constraints associated with investment capital.
- To examine the political economy of exchange rate determination.
- To examine issues relating to public finance and exchange rate deregulation.

DISCUSSANTS AND SESSION CHAIRMEN

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- Prof. Dotun Philips — Director-General, NISER
- Alh. (Dr) Umaru Mutallab — Chairman, NEPA.
- Dr. Chichi Ashwe — Executive Director, Savannah Bank PLC.
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- Heads of Finance Departments
- Finance committee members of Houses of Assembly
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- Bank Directors and Executives
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- Officers of investment companies

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DEFINITIONS
IN HUMOUR

Alms and Ammunitions

Everyone should believe in something even if it is only the belief that he will not believe anything. I believe for instance, that I will write this column today and I sincerely hope you believe you will read it, or will you?

This world — the physical, the academic and the real — is never lived by half-measures.

Talking of half measures reminds me of the ivory tower. The other day they rolled out the new largesse — already rejected by ASUU — for the academic community. The trouble with salary and perquisite increases is that you do it once you have to do it again; you do it for one group, you do it for all. To me it appears easy to just scrap the whole structural adjustment, adjust the value of the Naira thereby raising the real value of take-home-pay (someone said it should be *take-home-give-creditor-pay*).

Well, whatever, to me what we pay the denizens of the ivory tower is OK, but indulging in other expenses like research sometimes is like throwing good money after good. They spend the vote on a useless research and we add more to fund harmful findings.

There was this professor who spent a considerable portion of his academic lifetime figuring out why most professors are absent-minded. He forgot the answer.

And not long ago, statisticians were reported to have conducted a major research to figure out the time lost in every other business operation. Now, some sensible soul suggested, they might figure the time wasted in figuring statistics. I bet

they will not. People who are supposed to be wide awake are always those deepest asleep.

This axiom has indeed led some perceptive researchers to reach the rather alliterative conclusion expressed in the Law of Dysfunc-

tional Synergistic Military Disparity which states that in any quasi-military situation,

$$(AA)^2 \propto \sqrt{AA} + F$$

The square of the product of arms and ammunitions is directly proportional to the cube root of the product of alms and admonitions plus the coefficient of foolishness.

Politurse

Do what you can. That's the Golden Rule. Politicians who try to practise magic and keep more promises than they can remember have their own variant of the golden rule — Do what you can't. And that they do.

The other rule is the Steel Rule (this may be a misspelling, the correct thing being *Steal Rule*). Having no gold but blessed with the steel of their gun's barrels, the military variant is: Do what you shouldn't.

The public has its rule: Suffer what you must not. And the three live aptly ever after. Now, how they do it beats me. Ah! I know — misunderstanding, that's it. Not by way of a quarrel but by failing to understand. Just like the case of McTavish. I've never understood his joke but it never fails to evoke a laugh. It can teach you the virtues of patience and being a good listener, something neither the politician, nor the soldier is famous for.

Two Scotsmen were involved in a court case. McTavish related how the defendant, McLeish, came up and struck him. He proceeded: "So I just up and gave him a wipe. Just then his dog came along and I hit him again."

"Hit the dog?" asked the magistrate.

"No. Hit McLeish. And then I lipped with a stone and threw it at him and it rolled over and over."

"Threw a stone at McLeish?"
"No, the dog. And he got up and hit me again." "The dog?"

"No; McLeish." And with that he stuck his tail between his legs and went off "

"McLeish?"

"No; the dog. And then he came back and pounded me."

"The dog came and pounded you?"

"No; McLeish. And he isn't hurt a little bit."

"Who isn't hurt?"

"The dog."

So now you see. If you can keep anyone as confused as the magistrate, then you can lead him to the river make him drink, make him vomit and put him to sleep. What more can you ask for?

Primaries — A school where grown-ups are taught painful lessons.

Partisanship — There are always two parties to a deal NRC, SDP.

Senate — Say Nyet until the correct roubles are paid. Then say yes.

Mace — Since the officers have their mess, why not the politicians? The mace.

Senate committee — A committee is always formed not to reach, but to avoid reaching, a decision.

Honourable — On, honour, honest. Get on the political train, get honour and then get honest. Our politicians have surely got on. It will, however, remain debatable whether they will ever get honour, or, by any chance, become honest.

Relief measures — Treasures designed to take away all relief — putting more money into your pocket and punching a hole at its bottom.

Horse sense

Grow fat — eat fertilizer. I used to think it was a joke. It is not, at least to some of us.

A farmer was once reported to be passing an insane asylum with a load of fertilizer. An inmate called through the fence, "What are you hauling?"

"Fertilizer," replied the farmer.

"What are you going to do with it?"

"Put it on my strawberries."

"And we put cream on ours, and they say we're crazy," the inmate countered.

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