

THE GREATEST WEAPON IS TRUTH - SARDAUNA 1966

# Hotline

NIGERIA'S INTERNATIONAL NEWSMAGAZINE

NO. 71 \* JANUARY 1991 \* JUMADA THANI/RAJAB 1411 A. H. \* N 10.00

**SECURITY****Are****Nigerians****Safe?**

Recorded  
17 MAY 1990

**Politics: Upset '90**



# the wise choice for better customer service.

United Bank for Africa, has had the most dramatic growth in Nigeria's banking industry.

The secret of UBA's success has been the quality of its efficient and courteous services, to industrial and commercial concerns across the nation - small, medium or large.

Modern technology has made UBA's services even better.

That's why UBA is always ahead with innovative services, like, House Savings and Loans Scheme, UBACARD, Statements Savings Scheme and customer-oriented activities such as Customers' Guest Night and Women's Forum.

What's more, UBA has remained in the forefront of agricultural and agro-allied ventures in Nigeria.

With over 200 correspondent banks worldwide, UBA is well connected to efficiently handle all your foreign transactions.

Little wonder then, that UBA is globally rated as a leading bank in Nigeria, and indeed, the world.

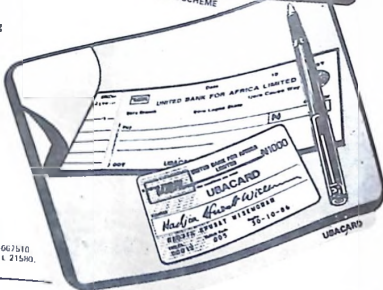
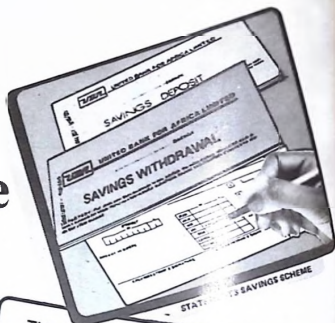
So come to UBA...

## The wise choice in banking



### UNITED BANK FOR AFRICA LIMITED

Head Office: 97-105 Broad Street, P. O. Box 2406, Lagos - Nigeria. Tel. 667410, 667510.  
Cable: M-Indobank. Telex: UBAK 21241 21985, 21486, 21692 & 22897. UBACEX 21590.  
BRANCHES THROUGHOUT NIGERIA



# Hotline

NIGERIA'S INTERNATIONAL NEWS MAGAZINE

**Publisher:**

**Ahaji Hassan Sani Kontagora**

**Director of Finance and Administration**  
**Ahaji Tamsu Umar**

**Acting Editor: Muhammad Hassan-Tom**

**Deputy Editor: Mohammed Momoh Olu**

**Editorial Adviser: Adamu Abdulahi**

**Senior Staff Writers: Danjuma Bawa; Joyce I. Ehieze;**

**Abubakar Abba Tahir**

**Reporters: Mohammed B. Saleu; Tony Inwale**

**Research Assistants: Nnenna Ibegbu**

**Editorial Secretary: Mofu Mustapha**

**Contributing Editors: Shehu Abubakar;**

**Adamu Isa Mohammed.**

## PRODUCTION

**Head of Operations/Graphics: Gabriel T. Gwajime**

**Computer Operators: Mu'Id-Kamil S. Sani;**

**Ibrahim Aliyu; Adamu Idre; Sikiru Mustapha**

**Prod. Officer: Haridu Ahmed; Sabiru Siddique (A&L)**

## FINANCE & ADMINISTRATION

**Admin./Confidential Secretary: Sifu Mustapha**

**Secretary: Lucy U. Emo**

**Accountant: Yusuf Shufibu**

**Accounts Assistants: Abdulahi Girma; Ado Lawal**

**Internal Auditor: Hussain Sulu**

**Personal Assistant: AbdulAzeez Musa**

**Personal Secretary: Fumilayo Olufesgba**

**Receptionist: Maryann Ogosh**

## ADVERTS./CIRCULATION

**Advert. Assts.: Muriel Adokaka; Muhammad Seidu;**

**Alisha Owoyale**

**Circulation Officer: Abdulahi Ayewa**

**Circulation Assts.: Ayube Joseph; Dahiru Lawal**

**Corpers: Sola Jumat Lawal; Olafita T. Felicia;**

**Olurundami Bukola Moni; Ezemaka Humphrey**

## HOTLINE PUBLISHING COMPANY LIMITED

**Executive Chairman:**

**Ahaji Hassan Sani Kontagora [Magajin Rai]**

**Directors:**

**Ah. Lawal U. Kontagora; Ah. Ibrahim Ahmed;**

**Ah. Wale Jibrin; Ah. Rebiu Mohammed AbdulKadir;**

**Dr. Mamman Hassan; Ah. Jamil I. Gwamna.**

## EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

**Ahaji Mundi Aliyu (Chairman);**

**Ahaji Ibrahim Bai; Ahaji Ladan Zuru;**

**Ahaji Mqaji Danbatta, OFR.**

**Legal Advisers: Dendo Chambers.**

**Solicitors: Veracity Chambers.**

**Secretaries: Kolnab Associated Nominees Ltd.**

**HOTLINE International Newsmagazine (ISSN 0794-8838)**

**is printed and published fortnightly by:**

**HOTLINE PUBLISHING COMPANY LIMITED,**

**(SANI KONTAGORA HOUSE)**

**8A, Dawaku Road, P.O. Box 1365, Kaduna.**

**Tel: 082-215618; 215441.**

## Lagos Office:

**84, Awolowo Road, Ikoyi, Lagos.**

**Tel: 01-486048**

**Telex: 22791 EAL-NG.**

## FROM THE EDITORIAL DESK

# Is Nigerian Security a Myth?

**U**nder the country's liberal security principles, a lot of freedom is allowed to the individual, more perhaps, than is available to people anywhere else in Africa. The freedom of movement, residence, association and speech as well as conscience and religion, are given an extensive free rein, and the culture has become so entrenched in the national psyche that most Nigerians take it for granted, and are surprised when they visit the country's franco-phone neighbours (north, east and west) and come under the drunken brutality of the legendary *gendarmes*. Yet, the country is itself far from perfecting its security system, both in terms of efficiency and of being able to offer the least coercive restraints against the citizen's liberty.

The Nigerian security system also had other shortcomings, some of them emanating from the core itself. Arguably, the nation's territorial defence has not yet come under threat, and even alien elements such as drought refugees from north Africa and war-deserters turned armed bandits who filter in through the borders from war-torn neighbouring countries such as Chad, have not become an intractable security problem. Yet, security within the Nigerian state is not to be assumed as sufficient. Since the civil war in 1967-70, Nigerian society has not been the same. Armed robbery, murder and assassination have surged. Economic sabotage such as drug trafficking, theft and vandalism of public properties, smuggling, oil bunkering and the illegal mining of minerals, is the order of the day. Foreigners whether here on espionage or legitimate business also have an easy time, freely moving all over the country and, some — places, building exclusive clubs for their secluded fraternisation. For instance, at the east coast, there were 5000 foreign organisations registered in Nigeria but there is no single agency in the Internal Affairs Ministry to monitor their activities. The official security agencies themselves are lackadaisical, seemingly bogged down by the Nigerian problem.

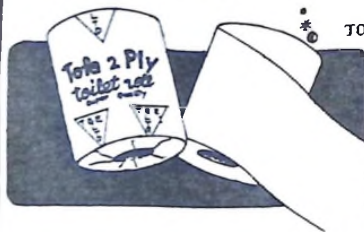
This edition's cover choice is an investigation into the state of security in Nigeria. What is security? What does it mean in the context of nationhood? What is the rating in Nigeria considering some obvious lapses in the system? Who is to blame for such lapses? These and much more. Plus: reports on some critical issues in the Transition to civil rule programme of the military government, a digest of the eventful year 1990 and other selections, make this edition a compulsory read, made especially for you, dear reader.

**Muhammad Hassan-Tom**  
**Acting Editor.**

# TOFA GENERAL ENTERPRISES LIMITED



TOFA Products are highly hygienic, with unmatched softness, value and reliability that are hard to beat. A standard of quality that has helped to build an enviable reputation. That's what you get when you use softie **TOILET ROLLS/ TISSUE PAPERS** from TOFA.



These Ultra-Soft  
**TOILET ROLLS/ TISSUE PAPERS**  
are from TOFA!

Do you know? Find out and you will smile for using these softie tissues.

**TOFA GENERAL ENTERPRISES LTD.**  
496 Hotoro Commercial Layout  
P.O. Box 50555,  
Tel: (064) 629822, 620211, 629744.  
Kano-Nigeria.

Patronise TOFA Products and you will be glad you did.  
Have value for your money.

**TOFA GENERAL ENTERPRISES LIMITED,**  
496 Hotoro Commercial Layout,  
P. O. Box 50555,  
Tel. (064) 629822, 620211, 629744,  
Kano - Nigeria.

# CONTENTS

## PAGES

Editorial Desk.....	1
Letters.....	4
Publisher's Corner.....	5
Commentary.....	6
Cartoon.....	7
Prologue to Cover.....	8
Spotlight: Suleja.....	20
Census.....	23
Spotlight: Faeakorl.....	27
Gulf Crisis.....	30
International.....	31
Police Affairs.....	33
Spotlight: Abuja.....	39
Season: Farowall 1990.....	41
Nigeria.....	45
Sports.....	47
People.....	48

# Top Agenda

## SECURITY

### Are Nigerians Safe?

## Cover:

**Holline** team of writers put together a collector's item on the state of security in Nigeria. It is a shocking tale, but oddly not surprising as Nigerians themselves are very aware of the facts.

Page 10

## Transition:

So far, the political programme is enjoying a smooth sail but salient issues arising from the last local council elections raise matters for reflection.

Page 15



## Plus

- **Letter to an Ancestor:** Ahmadu Bello remembered 25 years after. Pg. 25
- **Society:** An examination of the conditions of the mentally ill. Pg. 34
- **Law:** The story of the free use of Indian Hemp as cosmetic Pg. 36; and
- **Mystery:** An exposition of some weird rites and rituals of hunting. Pg. 37



## EXHIBIT

at the

13TH

## KADUNA INTERNATIONAL TRADE FAIR

Organised by  
KADUNA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, INDUSTRY & AGRICULTURE.

THEME: "Synergy In Agriculture & Industry for Rapid Development"

VENUE: Murtala Mohammed Square, Kaduna DATE: 16th - 23rd February, 1991.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:-

**Executive General**

Kaduna Inter Trade Fair

KCCI & A

24, Walf Road, P.O. Box 728, Kaduna, Nigeria.

Tel: 062-211216 Telex: 71325 Kadcha NG.

**Kaduna Expo Int'l Ltd.**

5A Zanna Dujma Road,

Box 52 Kaduna, Nigeria

Tel: 062 216829

**Kaduna State Liaison Office**

Plot 1232 Bishop Oluwole St.,

Victoria Island, Lagos

Tel: 01-610429

All City Chambers of Commerce in Nigeria

All State Ministries of Commerce & Industry



~ Reaffirm your product's marketability  
at this AFRICA'S FAMOUS FAIR.



## Observation

I am a very keen reader of *Hotline* newsmagazine and I do at times in the very peculiar brand of journalism associated with the magazine, especially its fecklessness and frankness.

But one thing I have found to be wrong with the magazine of late however, is its inability to determine where the dividing line between religious and cynical stunts and where that of objective news reporting starts.

I know what I am talking about even though I am not a journalist: one guiding rule of journalism is objectivity which includes the divorce of emotion from report, leaving the readers to make their own judgment. There is a complete deviation from this rule especially in your last two editions - 69- *Exclusive from Saudi Arabia*, and 70- *The Ooni's Gambit*. In these editions, the write-ups of the acting editor show so loudly his religious attachments. His condemnation of the West was so blatantly religious. And in the other edition which carried the commentary *Time to Overthrow the West*, and which I assumed was written by the acting editor, the trend continues.

In as much as he is entitled to his opinions, I must say he should allow us make up our minds as readers instead of trying to force it down our throats. If the magazine must reach out to a wider readership, then this is the time for change and I am sure the acting editor needs not be told this. A legacy started must not be sacrificed on the altar of emotional recklessness.

M. B. Bawa,  
18, Lamido Road,  
Kaduna.

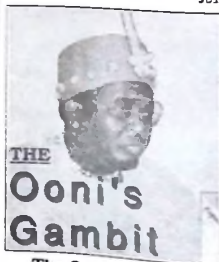
## Western Civilisation

While I fully appreciate your beautiful and straight forward exposition of the degenerate and decadent nature of the so-called Western civilisation, I found it difficult to believe your categorisation of late Gamal Abdul-Nasser of Egypt among the leaders who challenged the menace of Western Imperialism.

I will like to remind you that it was

Gamal Abdul Nasser who in 1964 ordered the hanging of late Shubert Seyid Qadi, one of the most important and foremost Islamic Scholars in this country, to have exposed the ramshackle and shaky foundation upon which Western civilisation was built. It was also Gamal Abdul-Nasser's reign of terror that led to the stifling of Islamic brotherhood of Egypt, one of the most powerful Islamic movements to have emerged in the present century, and from which it is yet to recover.

Tukur Abdulkadir,  
No 4 Lot Close  
Jos.



## The Ooni's Gambit

I read *Hotline* newsmagazine a lot and I always look forward to picking up a copy on the newsstand every end of the month because of its scintillating news.

The cover choice of your last edition, was however a far cry from hard news. As far as I am concerned, what was attributed to the Ooni was not anything peculiar to him alone. I then began to wonder why his own statement should be taken and blown up to the proportions which you did.

This is Nigeria, and I am sure as Nigerians, you of *Hotline* would not be hypocritical about your allegiance to your own people. After all, the Ooni is a ruler of the Yorubas and therefore he has all the right to demand what he feels to be good for his people. I say that men come out who is not first of all an Igbo, Hausa or Yoruba man before being a Nigerian, except he wants to put up an

I believe what the Ooni said had always been said by other Nigerians. Why then should the Ooni be made a scapegoat for all that is wrong with Nigeria? The politics of ethnicity is glaringly expressing itself in our everyday existence in this country, but when one man unhypocritically voiced what we have all been hypocritically expressing, we start crying wolf as if we are not all guilty of the same offence.

Nnamdi Nkechi,  
13, Yezubu Avenue,  
Kaduna.

## Don't Hang Them

The write-up by one Sola Jumat Lawal captioned *Mr. President Sir, Hang Them* in your December 1990 edition calls for concern. The views expressed by the writer in that article are embarrassing and do not conform with the UNO's charter on human rights.

What will anybody (privileged) gain by destroying somebody (less-privileged)? The children referred to have the right to live regardless of being handicapped and physiologically imbalanced.

According to the writer inter-alia: "We simply do not want them around or do we? We want we are rid of them. Mr. President, save us from them ... demolish them. All illegal human structures bearing on roads, our exclusive earth. Kill these children, hang them, show no mercy!"

The writer equally stated "Behind every argument is somebody's ignorance". No wonder we should not be ignorant of being our brothers' keepers and should not harm others for our joy.

It is my view that the government provide organisations and well-meaning individuals will and should continue to make living more bearable for the less privileged children and adults in our country.

Samuel M. Kareem,  
NFC, 22, Enugu, Bauchi.

Readers to be aware, which must be noted as a warning about the Hotline Newsmagazine, P.O. Box 1000, Kaduna, Letters and notices to be sent to:

## Of Men and Power

**P**ower corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely, is a deeply observed axiom that time and man have consistently failed to disprove. Of course, we have had through history, important legacies of men who understood the transient nature of power, its uses and abuses, and to what extent it can be promoted to attain a positive force. To such men, however, history has most unfortunately been unkind.

Al-Ghazali was a famous Islamic philosopher. His works continue to dominate the thinking and actions of people privileged to be in a position of great power. He proposed that in exercising power, men tended to put God aside, running secular societies for example, definitely to their eternal regret. Putting God aside has had the total effect of depriving those in power of some essential attributes of power such as humility, honesty, selflessness, dedication and steadfastness.

Leadership, at whatever level, has responsibility to be true to God in all ramifications. To deviate from this path is to detract from righteousness and service. On the other hand, the followers at all levels, be it country or family, has equal responsibility to God. The concept that a society gets the leadership it deserves is largely explained in circumstances where, because society had, in actions, dispensed with God, people of the most odious and corrupt character, conduct, and making, get to positions of leadership and trust. The consequences are not all that hard to imagine.

Thus, today we live in a world that is increasingly distancing itself from God and, not surprisingly, getting deeper into trouble. When for example Saddam Hussein attacked Iran in 1980, it was with the tacit approval and encouragement of the West. The West thought, in its selfish way, that by engaging Iran in a diversionary war, it would stymie the Islamic revolution launched by the late Ayatollah Khomeini. Today, the West is regretting that action because to counter the Islamic revivalism, it armed Saddam Hussein to the teeth. The West is now desperately trying to untangle itself from the independent machinations of the monster it created. More is surely to follow.

When one looks at societies, especially the followers that produce the leadership, a welter of sadness overwhelms one, because all too often, people fail to learn from history. Here is leadership that normally should work for the good of all, but it gets bogged down by irascible praise-singers who, even when the leadership is consummately humane and forthright, do their utmost to distract it by their carping manner. The suffusion of praise singing eventually succeeds with weaker leadership. What to ask is, what happens when that leadership crumbles? Do these praise singers bow their heads in shame? No! They simply shift tent.

The leadership most likely in pursuit of vain glory, easily succumbs to the temptations of these evil men. What of the leaders themselves? Do they think they will remain there perpetually? How do they feel on leaving office? Wouldn't it be more satisfying to retire with a clear conscience, in the full knowledge that one had discharged his obligations to society honourably?

A lesson in humility comes down from Umar al-Khattab the second orthodox Caliph of Islam, who, required to distribute a quantity of perfume to the Ummah, covered his nose. Someone asked him why. He told the fellow that he feared what God might do to him if he should so much as breach or betray the onerous task of governing men by accidentally sniffing it. It was the same Umar who, as leader of the vast Islamic empire of his time, stripped to the skin, that a citizen who complained of receiving an accidental lash of Umar's horse-whip, should take his full measure of retaliation. Leadership should be able to wade through the labyrinth of deceit spun by bad advisers and come to a resolute conclusion of what is for the common good and the common good only. Leadership ought to know that goodness cannot do any harm, and is its own reward.



Alhaji Hassan Sani Kontagora  
Magajin Rafi.

# Fighting The Moral Collapse

**T**he place of religion in contemporary Nigerian society is at the lowest ebb, and God and morality are on an extended leave. The national integrity and honesty count across the Muslim, Christian and animist religionists is abysmally low, as fear of God (after belief) and the rule of the conscience take the back-seat. What are now left are empty mouthings, self-righteous hypocrisy and clerical opportunism. Clearly, the God of the moment is the quest after materialism, worshipped, as it were, with vanity, greed, tyranny and perhaps above all, lust.

This is why the operation to flush out prostitutes embarked upon by the Kano state government and the state command of the Nigeria Police Force must give cause for re-deliberation on the state of our moral health. Prostitution and pimping, as rightly understood by the Kano Police Boss, is one of the most glaring signs of the decadence of Nigerian society. These two ugly social institutions harbour as it were, the ruin of every society. In Islamic scripture, they are linked with the on set of corruption, poverty and impoverishment, disease as well as general societal malaise.

So that up to a point, this exercise of flushing out prostitution in the populous (12 million people) state, is courageous, timely and very significant. For, it is capable of spearheading a movement which may hopefully be copied in the other 20 states of the federation where prostitution is as rampant, even more entrenched than in Kano. The exercise should even move the average moral crusader in our midst and should conjure up memories of the great moral revolutions of history. It echoes of the numerous legislations made in certain cities in the Northern part, declaring them alcohol-free zones. It is also complementary to other efforts made by government bodies and responsible citizens to bring up moral standards and level of integrity.

Yet the much-reported Kano exodus, apart from increasing the volume of prostitutes in neighbouring states such as Bauchi, Katsina, Kaduna and Plateau, appears to be doomed for a cerebral failure. This should not be source for wonder for the simple reason that the attempt is only a prodding of the great big monster of decadence prevalent in our society. If the Goddess West of our derision understands and adheres better to the reality and superiority of morality more than we obviously do, then our morality rating must be infernally low, if not down-right beastly.

A self-made Presidential aspirant in the United States of America will abandon his ambition for his loss of dignity, exhibited with a mere photograph of his cuddling with a model. In Nigeria, it is perfectly normal for

top shots to keep a chain of mistresses, the 'bigger', the longer. Aged businessmen, decaying traditional rulers and the burgeoning class of economic oppressors dangle allures and mate around with the younger most beautiful women of our species. Some youthful state governors are openly known to 'chase' girls at institutions of higher learning in their cities. Nationwide, the paid for "woman service" is the most prominent but unlisted item in every protocol list. Wining and dining and impotent revelry are today dressed up as the highest arts of living. Not abstinence, sexual restraint, decorum, scholarship, hardwork and sacrifice, but greed and lust actually propel the society.

It is because this drift enjoys the support and encouragement of the high and mighty, that it has succeeded in so completely pervading the strata of society. So-called natural rulers to whom the majority of Nigerians look up for the embodiment of moral and spiritual excellence, are the source of the degeneration itself. Traditional rulers in Nigeria today have largely lost their ground for moral high command. They are the trickiest and greediest businessmen around, freely helping the exploitation of their people by multinational and other big business. The transformation of those traditional rulers is complete as they have even abandoned the precepts of their founding creed. True, they still latch themselves to the religious bodies nationwide. Both in Church formations and in Islamic front organisations such as the Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs and the Jama'atu Nasril Islam, these traditional rulers still control the Nigerian spiritual world. And as if this is not enough, so-called religious workers are recruited from the moneyed classes only. Which is why religion as practised today cannot bring any revival against moral collapse. The immorality dragon is fortified by big barons in traditional institutions who lead the way in ostentation, conspicuous consumption and other vanities which are geared to create economic problems of insufficiency. In such a situation, the ravages of corruption cannot but set in.

Various national wars, such as those against corruption, drug trafficking, indiscipline and general moral laxity, will continue to flounder, until such a time as the societal pace-setters themselves re-awaken or are swept off by awakened forces, the presence of whom, praise God, has not been quite wiped off. In the interim, moral decadence will continue to issue down from inglorious emirs and loutish clerics, and the lumpen majority of our people will wallow under a double loss of freedom and freedom from a chain of decadence. To whom do we look up for the needed revolution?



# BARBAR



# Stability As Illusion

A social insect, termites share a lot of characteristics with the homopithecus. The termite community is made up of the king, the queen and worker termites. The first two categories constitute the reproductive sector whose responsibility is to ensure the perpetuation of the termite family. Simply put, the king and the queen are fed and well attended to by the

the general world when and only when he is comfortable. Free from fear, from intimidation; from coercive forces; from want from poverty and hunger. Without this, man is overwhelmed by the desire to make a past-time of all forms of vices.

The civil servant who has for a decade waited patiently for his promotion becomes disenchanted. Insecurity. Then

result from religious or political inclination. The ardent Christian feels psychologically threatened by any act that purports to trample on the tenets of his faith. The same goes for a Muslim during any instance of trivialisation of the principles of Islam. The bottomline is insecurity which gives rise not only to personal but also societal instability. Insecurity, real or imagined is also why we have militant tribalism, ethnicism and other forms of bigotry.

When constituent elements in a social set-up are at war with one another, survival instinct takes the best part of men and life's race takes on a new garb such that only the fittest survives and the unfit falls by the wayside.

Hence man is a witness to a daily agonising cry of fellow man in the hands of yet another fellow man exploiting the cover provided by night to perpetrate injustice. The armed robber is a human being like any other on the streets during the day time but come darkness and he puts on a cloak that differentiates him from his victims. He puts his victims in a state of helplessness; he unleashes on them all forms of terror. He maims and kills and carts away booties. But isn't it time the society expends more of its resources in investigating the cause rather than the cure of this ill? Without any attempt at holding brief for the perpetrators of such injustices as armed robbery, mustn't we stop just for a while to consider the act as an approach



A working scene

workmen to be able to fulfil the responsibility the race put on their shoulder that of formulating social or genealogical extension through mating and reproducing. Hence, through the protected birth-death cycle, the termite community is sustained over time.

However, this seemingly easy task would forever remain a mirage in the absence of a vital element: Peace. Peace is a necessary raw material for security and long-term survival. For effective reproductive functioning, the king and queen termites have to be free of feeling of danger, fear of damage, freedom from poverty or want. The working class termites, on the other hand, would constantly be reassured that their lord and lady would not fail in the task thrust on them.

A fundamental move of all human beings is comfort. Man finds himself at peace with self, with others as well as

he contemplates fraud or bribery as a way of meeting needs. In the same vein the meagerly paid policeman bribes his way through to be posted to Naira-yielding checkpoints to ensure extra coins. The weather-beaten news media reporter covers up record-breaking fraud in high places for desire of brown envelope. For the medical doctor, against the ethics of his profession which he had sworn to uphold, lucrative, illegal abortion is the in thing. Self-styled God representative in the churches and mosques extort money from the congregation. Needs, Needs. Needs and fulfilments mostly unfulfilable.

The individual lacking security (in any sense, that is) fuses with others like him and the end they produce instability. Feeling of insecurity is not only borne out of professional or financial or even social dissatisfaction. Disaffection may



Lawrence Ashik: The Low

**When constituent elements in a social set-up are at war with one another, survival instinct takes the best part of men and life's race takes on a new garb such that only the fittest survives and the unfit falls by the wayside.**

mation of peoples feeling of insecurity? Society is replete with cases of arrested armed robbers claiming to have been drawn into the sordid act by hunger and the system's insensitivity to their plight. Many able-bodied men are unemployed and, as if this is not enough, hundreds are retrenched daily without any means of livelihood. Others should consider themselves lucky if they get paid on time (not to talk of promotion) after having SAPped all their energies in the service of the exploitative employer. It is in fact time we we knew that the detestable night-marauder we so much fear today and the mere thought of whom sends cold chills down our spines was once a child, who, had been cared for, could have been an object of national pride. But, years back in his childhood days, he was neither put in school nor motivated to learn a trade. He kept



**Ex-Head of State, Olusegun Obasanjo: A victim of the lawless.**

hopeless agony. He seeks security, though depriving others of same.

Combined with this to plunge the social order head deep in trouble the more, is the current wave of assassinations. For varieties of reasons the assassins are paid meagrely (N300-500) to cold bloodedly terminate the life of their victims. Such reasons range from envy of the others success in a particular endeavour to desire to avenge a deed consciously or otherwise perpetrated. It may also be a result of desire to permanently silence or remove the other fellow who had been considered a stumbling block on the path of realising a set goal. In any of these cases, the potential victim goes about his daily activities without the slightest inkling that danger is lurking around the corner. The list of Nigerians that had fallen victims to the evil machinations of assassins is endless. In 1989, a former head of state General Olusegun Obasanjo himself saw the worst when his wife Stella Obasanjo had her life abruptly terminated at its prime at a point along Ibadan-Lagos expressway by a gang of paid killers who took nothing belonging to her but her life. Another General Manager of a reputable company in Lagos was callously murdered in broad day and in full view of petrified bystanders along Ikorodu expressway in the heart of Lagos.

Perhaps the most mysterious and heavily publicised assassination job was the death, through parcel bomb of the former editor-in-chief of *Newswatch*

bad company. The society did nothing, said nothing. He woke each morning to a routine of street-roaming. The society felt unruffled, did nothing, said nothing. He petty-pilfered. Nobody cared. The system did nothing, said nothing. Then, out of the blue, catching everybody unawares, he demands his pound of flesh. Everybody roars in

Mr. Dele Giwa in 1986. Ever since, the harbingers of his death warrant had made thin air their permanent abode.

The academic community is not spared of this cankerworm and perhaps the most terrible and fear-inspiring of the lot is the activities of secret societies in the nation's campuses. If condemnation and full attention devoted to the issue by well-meaning Nigerians, the government and various academic authorities are anything to go by, then the nation's future is indeed threatened. Such secret societies go under different names - The Zero Option of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka; The Eye Fraternity in conjunction with The Bukaneers make life difficult at the nation's premier University at Ibadan; The Pirate, in its own case is not an exclusive preserve of any institution of higher learning in the country. The Quarters Boys operates in Obafemi Awolowo University Ile Ife. In spite of differences in composition, modus operandi, as well as area of jurisdiction, one thing is common to all the clandestine terrorist groups, and that is terror. They visit on their victims all forms of unprovoked harassment. For example The Zero Option leaves the unfortunate but innocent victims no alternative or option other than to simply submit himself or herself for brutalisation which, at times results in death.

The nation had often witnessed the blatant abuse of freedom of expression and right to lawful dissent. For instance, upon the slightest provocation, youths in ivory towers take to the streets joined by other vagrant disgruntled elements and the lot engage in looting, arson, destruction and all forms of vandalism. Isn't this really a street generation or how else can one describe preference for the streets as a channel for showing distaste. Emotion now takes preponderance over reason. The youths are being used in the bid to settle personal scores with the authorities by not only the ideological confusionists but also the extremist religionists. Indeed there is need for moderations and tolerance for tomorrow bids us tread softly so that the nation may not be set ablaze.

**By Sola Jumat Lawal**

# Not Yet the Impregnable Nation

*A look into the Nigerian security system, its merits, demerits and resilience.*

**F**or every nation, a potent and also a highly necessary prerequisite for continued existence and development is the ability to have and sustain a functional, conscientious and progress oriented security system. It is to this end that countries around the globe keep the service of organisations each with its own function in strengthening the individual security of the nation.

Notable among such organisations are the police, customs, immigration, detectives, among others. Through the use of such security organs the chances of a country to enhance its growth and development are boosted since such a forementioned organisations are meant to bring about peaceful dealings, just atmosphere and calm within the given territory that they operate in. Nigeria is definitely not left behind in the acquisition of such security forces. Indeed, over the years the strength of these organs that are quite relevant to the country's attainment

of peace and progress have markedly improved. But to what extent has each of the various security organisations contributed to the realisation of a just, peaceful, enterprising and resourceful

country? A concrete analysis of the different reasons behind the formation of these security units and their subsequent roles will go a long way in determining these questions.

The Nigeria Police which in the colonial era grew out of the desire of the British government to put an end to the slave trade, protect and provide security for themselves and for the assets and merchandise of the Royal Niger

objectives. Instead the police force which today has a very low public rating has also always been involved in one controversy or the other. The year 1978 became epochal in Police history eight students were carelessly killed by the police in University of Lagos following student demonstration. The police force was criticised from all quarters and its image dwindled. But the killing of students and other innocents citizens by the police has continued up to present times and was re-enacted in 1986 at the Ahmadu Bello university Zaria. Incessant cases of accidental discharges on the part of extremely careless officers abound, while at the same time it is now an open secret that the Nigerian police is choked up with corrupt and inefficient officers. Apart from receiving bribes, a significant number

of officers undoubtedly also aid and abet hardened criminals. For instance, a senior police boss, Iyanmu was found guilty of operation in league with armed robbers and subsequently sentenced in 1988 on the basis of such an offence. With such active involvement of certain policemen in crime, many Nigerians are today confused with where to look for protection. By failing so far in its duties, the Nigerian police force has only helped in reducing the security level



*Athaji Aliyu Attah: Inspector-General of Police.*

Company is today intended for the protection of property, preservation of life and public order. The record of the Nigerian Police so far shows that they are very far from attaining these

within the country. Ordinary and innocent citizens now view the police not as their "friends" but as extortionists, "friends" to hardened criminals. Taxi drivers and most



## COVER STORY

transport workers find their presence highly irritating. Thus to many Nigerians, there would be more internal security without the police.

The Nigerian Customs and Excise Department has also always been a source of embarrassment in terms of security to the country. Intended to check the in-flow and out-flow of goods and also to make sure the right duties are paid for goods including those produced in Nigeria, the Nigerian Customs and Excise department has only helped quite a large number of its staff to get into the big money league. An amazing level of corruption exists within this department. It is now plain that customs officers connive with smugglers and this always has a deleterious effect on the country. Nigeria today has a bad reputation of having a high percentage of international drug peddlers. As a result of this, even innocent Nigerians are always subjected to ridiculous and embarrassing bodily checks at the port of entry to other countries. How do these drug dealers get past customs checks in Nigeria? Connivance with officers is undoubtedly and largely the main reason. With the help of these same officers, Nigeria's wealth like petroleum products get smuggled into neighbouring countries, while

contraband easily find route in. Such attitude really throws the country into grave danger. In fact, Nigeria has witnessed cases of illegal dealings which have been confirmed as security threats to the whole nation. September 21, 1987 for instance, customs officers stared sheepishly while about 1000 crates and sacks containing wastes were moved from the Port through Koko town to Sunday Nana's compound. For Nigerians it added to the sense of unsafety they had within their own territories. If such a thing was actually possible, then it is equally possible for any ill-intentioned country or group of people to bring in arms and ammunitions into Nigeria with the purpose of destabilising the polity.

Another security agency in Nigeria that is equally riddled with corruption and thereby exposing the whole country to a colossal danger is the Immigration Department. The function of this department is largely to check the influx of foreigners into the country and also issue passports to certified Nigerians. This function of issuing passports has been a source of great "business" to many officers. As a result some non-Nigerians are able to obtain the country's passports while some dubious citizens also succeed in getting as many passports as they want. Despite

the presence of immigration officers at the various border towns, border posts also are unequivocally porous zones for illegal immigrants. Nigeria today has a large number of illegal immigrants residing in the country and a significant portion of these people especially those involved in armed robberies, forgeries and other vices, have really undermined peace in the country. The Nigerian Immigration Department is doing so badly that even people already identified as security threats, manage to come back into the country. In the 1980s, the Maitatsine religious upheaval in Kano City really shook the country. Although Muhammadu Maitatsine Marwa, the protagonist had at an earlier stage been pinpointed as a security risk, he was still able to get into Nigeria. This was obviously due to the laxity on the part of the immigration department in the enforcement of immigration laws. The Maitatsine saga is supposed to have taught Nigerians a big lesson. But it seems that such dangers are far from over.

With the manner in which security forces are conducting their affairs, it is no longer safe to travel to some parts of the country, like Lagos, at one's convenience. Armed robbery cases fill the pages of daily newspapers, while in so many cases, lurid tales of ritual killings are recounted. Acid, which is currently easily at anybody's reach is being used with relish by many individuals to deform others. In short there is this great sense of insecurity in Nigeria. In the light of this increase in crime it is no wonder that just like in the second republic when the failure of the police and other security forces led to developments like the emergence of personal police forces in some states notably the Ikemba Front and the Nwobodo Vanguard in Anambra State, there are similar organisations like these in operation presently. For instance, since the police lost its grip on the citizenry it is paid to protect, vigilante groups have sprung up in the different parts of Kaduna town and other communities all over Nigeria. These vigilante groups or Yandaba



*A body of condemned armed robbers.*

## COVER STORY

have so far helped in reducing crime level particularly in areas like Tudun Wada in Kaduna. A feat that the police found difficult to accomplish.

On its own part the State Security Service (SSS) has earned itself a bad reputation. Many Nigerians still have the feeling that this body is high-handed in its operation and also intimidatory. However, it remains a great puzzle that this same secret organisation could not get an inkling of the plot that eventually took place and woefully failed, April 22 last year. The inability of the SSS to prewarn the Presidency about the impending coup d'etat exemplifies the danger the President and about 100 million Nigerians are currently facing.

**Hotline** investigation reveals why all the security organs already discussed are either corrupt, inefficient or both. Observers aver that considering the general economic predicament facing the country, the average police, immigration, custom and other security officers generally find it very hard to sustain themselves on their rather paltry monthly salaries. Therefore since they are in positions whereby contact with a lot of individuals is highly necessary, they thus make use of such "advantages" to supplement their meagre incomes. Sympathizers of these group of people, give hunger, transport and accommodation problems and general feeling of insecurity as the compelling forces that lead these public officers to engage in corrupt practices. This being rational enough, these sympathizers however fail to explain why when for example a custom officer has made enough money to leave a comfortable life he still partakes in other shady deals.

Other analysts have agreed that even if hunger among other problems of security officers which cannot be



*A detachment of Nigerian policemen.*

solved by their paltry incomes is responsible for their corrupt practices which results in the neglect of their security roles, then these officers refuse to recognise the fact that they are not the only people facing these problems in Nigeria today. Also, they continued, by involving themselves in corrupt practices the security personnel of this country are only helping in compounding the already existing economic problems. And since economic buoyancy is the ultimate goal of any country, the activities of our security agents makes this very difficult to be realised.

There is however a consensus among many analysts that there is a strong need for the various security organs to concentrate more on their stipulated functions. These observers also agreed that there is equally a serious need for reforms and orientation with regards to the different security units. At the moment all the organs lack

much goodwill and support from the general populace, and this a great danger in itself. Experts opine that security staff must be imbued with the need for fair and just treatment of all citizenry. Master plans on how to put an end or at least minimise corruption must be formulated and seriously enforced on all personnel of the various peace keeping organs and also on other Nigerians. By so doing, the security units will definitely win the confidence and popular support of Nigerians.

As Nigeria heads closer to the Third Republic in 1992, it is only pertinent that most if not all security lapses must be corrected. Apart from palpable sense of insecurity that clings on most Nigerians, the inefficiency of the country's security personnel coupled with corruption in their midst has led to the country losing an inestimable amount of hard currency. It must be noted that such amount could have been used to improve both their welfare and those of other Nigerians. This would have meant increased security as the general public will then be able to give the security organs all their unflinching support and cooperation.

*Bay Danjuma Bawa, Mohammed Bashir Salau and Tony Inwulale.*

**It remains a great puzzle that this same secret organisation could not get an inkling of the plot that eventually took place and woefully failed, April 22 last year.**

# What rocks the Nation?

**W**hile man existed in the state of nature, his existence was marred by chaos and anarchy because the rule of the day was the survival of the fittest. In this state where there were no laws except those of nature, life was short, nasty and brutish. Man however found, at one point in time that he needed to graduate from this state into a higher state where there will be orderliness, stability and a peaceful co-existence or society.

Individuals in all known nations are punished for posing security risks to the existence of the authority of the state. There are sets of laws guaranteeing that the state is not at anytime held to ransom. On this premise, the state is vested with powers to maintain law and order and the coercive powers to crush all subversive opposition.

But while it is the right of the state to exist, if it must exist for the benefit of all within it, and for the citizens to recognise and uphold its existence, it must recognise as an inalienable right, the freedom of its citizens to life, a good life, security from want, hunger, vagaries of weather, violence etc. and all the other freedoms within the bounds of reason, if the stability of the state must be enhanced. When the state is not able to meet with those necessary demands, the citizens become frustrated and disenchanted with the activities and existence of the state.

The Nigerian state is no exception to this rule. The disposition of justice, maintenance of law and order, and the preservation of the freedom of the individual, are the responsibilities of the government and its agencies. State can only exist where stability, security and harmony reigns.

During the First Republic beginning from 1960 and terminating in 1966, the country witnessed series of uprisings prominent among these events was the 1964/5 Western Regional Elections that led to complete breakdown of law and order in the region.

Prior to this terminal crisis, there was the accusation and counter-accusations

that greeted the election of the government of Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa by those who regarded the election that brought him to power as rigged. This moment heralded a period of instability in the political arena of the country because each party controlling each region, regarded the other with suspicion, and this did not augur well for the politics of tolerance and a peaceful co-existence among individuals and parties.

The practice of parties having political thugs in itself is a situation that should have been considered to be an affront to the authority of the state. Because it is only the state that has the exclusive right to own and control means of coercion. So, for these parties to recruit and maintain a private army of their own boils down to one thing, that the stability of the state, even at that time, was merely being imagined.

On the whole, the political disasters that visited the first and the second republics of this country, such as political thuggery, bribery and rigging, were those bred by insecurity and the fear of domination of one group of people by another. In the formation of political parties, it is first viewed whether the mantle of authority should be placed on the shoulders of a northerner or a southerner and the moment the decision is made, whoever is there begins to work towards the perceived, protectionist and narrow interest of his own people.

And while every Nigerian is looking forward to a Third Republic that will usher in a new horizon of hope, it is obvious that the cankerworm of distrust and animosity have not in anyway been scorched. It is also obvious that when the atmosphere is charged with the spirit of insecurity, then the stability of the state remains in question.

Since the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) era, Nigerians have been going through some of the most gruesome moments of their lives. Those who could afford to do and buy certain things within their resources could no

longer afford to do the same with the same resources. So, the season of management was evolved. Some people could no longer manage as they had to be relieved of their work and left to join the class of the unemployed once more. The various government as well as private parastatals relieved hundreds of thousands of bread winners into the streets because they could no longer afford to employ them. So, the population of the unemployed continued to swell by the day and the tendencies for insecurity and hence instability is firmly entrenched.

It is into this swelling mass of the unemployed that the teeming products of these schools are graduated. They invariably become disenchanted and frustrated after years of academic hardships to be turned loose on a society that has no use for them. Now, the purpose for which they have laboured is defeated as they have no way of expressing themselves and no opportunities for fulfilment.

This group of disillusioned unemployed Nigerians become disinterested in the activities of the state as they look upon the state with distrust. They feel they have been betrayed, that they have been denied an avenue for fulfilling themselves as individuals. They find other avenues of expressing themselves, like getting involved in the dangerous trend of drug trafficking to make quick money and show how smart they are. Now, the attention of the state authorities is directed at fighting this crime which it has in the first place helped to create.

This way, the rest of the society is led to live in fear, because they remain unprotected, their lives, investments and properties are at the mercy of those who have turned rebels against the society. Daily, there are reports of cars snatched from their owners after having been shot dead or left at the mercy of death. As stability itself is not limited to peace as absence of war, but to a situation where the state is at peace with itself and is able to ensure the peace and comfort of its citizens in order to ensure optimum productivity and self-fulfilment, and hence progress.



# Queue Is It?

*The relative peace that attended the recent Local Government elections has made many Nigerians to advocate for the use of open ballot system in subsequent elections. Others say, No and the Electoral Commission itself is undecided.*

**T**ill December 8, 1990, James Bawa Magaji was an antagonist of open ballot system. He expressed the fears that the recent local government elections would be characterised by violence, fear and disorderliness. Magaji who is a National Republican Convention, NRC stalwart in the Gabasawa ward of Kaduna told *Hotline* November last year that, he was one of those opposed to open ballot system. In his words: "I had the experience during the ward elections. You had people who queued behind you but the influence of looking into the eyes of their own people could make them shift from your line to another one. Apart from that, he added, it was not orderly as "people kept moving from one line to another. At the end of the day, it was all a mix-up and counting officers in most cases, just guesstimate finding it difficult to arrive at realistic results".

However, after the December 8 local government elections, Magaji's position on open ballot system seems to have changed. Speaking to *Hotline* on December 12, Magaji expressed surprise that, the local government elections witnessed relative peace and orderliness and were devoid of massive rigging. He described these attributes of the elections as unprecedented in the history of elections in Nigeria. "I am beginning to agree that the open ballot is better than secret ballot. It might be the way out of election rigging in this country", he said.

Asked to comment on the low turn-out of voters on election day, Magaji reasoned that, it was a grievous mistake on the part of government to have restricted movement of people on the election day. Such restriction he said, made it difficult for voters who have relocated to vote in their former areas of abode where they registered. He further averred that the low turn-out could also be attributed to "let me save my face", posture of those who collected money from candidates and couldn't afford the humiliation and embarrassment of being tagged 'cheats' if they stayed in lines other than that of candidates from whom money was collected. "It was a



SDP Chairman, Ambassador Babagana Kingibe

rest of guts, of conscience, sincerity and honesty. It was a face-to-face affair; no hanky-panky", Magaji retorted and he asked "didn't you read about what happened between a father and daughter during the elections in Bauchi" an apparent reference to a lady who in the face of force and threat by her father refused to shift from NRC line to queue up with her father in SDP line.

Others who spoke in favour of open ballot system were Alhaji Tijjani Ramalan, an NRC national delegate from Kaduna and member of the party's national executive committee. Alhaji T. Ahmed SDP's national delegate from Okene in Kwara State, and retired Major General Shehu Musa Yar'adua, one-time Chief of Staff Supreme Headquarters who is alleged to be providing financial muscle for the SDP. Alhaji Ramalan said he was satisfied with the open ballot system because the outcome of the local government elections revealed that it ensures more fairness and peace than the secret ballot system.

To Yar'adua, the open ballot system is the best for the country and trouble-free, emphasising that it has allowed people to come out and exercise their voting rights without fear of intimidation. According to him, it has saved the illit-



Chief Tom Ikimi, NRC Chairman

erate Nigerians the embarrassment of wrong thumb printing of ballot papers as witnessed in the previous elections. Hear Yar'adua, "at least they can easily identify the candidates and parties they want to vote for". Those opposed to open ballot system according to him have not the interest of ordinary Nigerians at heart. "People are saying the system will disenfranchise traditional rulers and other elite groups but, nobody is saying it will disenfranchise the 90 percent of Nigerians who are ordinary people. Yar'adua retorted in condemnation of antagonists of open ballot.

A.T. Ahmed bubbling with joy over his party's resounding success in the local government elections in Okene and Okehi Local Government areas endorsed open ballot system for future elections in the country describing it as a 'bullet-proof' against election rigging. He reiterated that, those opposed to the system are election rigging merchants "who found it difficult to display their products in the election market on December 8." Ahmed urged all Nigerians to speak with one voice in favour of the system so that the government could give blessing for its adoption "in future elections."

Those opposed to open ballot system



## TRANSITION

also have their own points. They are of the view that the system causes disaffection within family units and circle of friends; it disenfranchises majority of the electorate because not many people would like their political leaning to be publicly acknowledged; and, moreso, it is no antidote for election rigging. According to Alhaji Bello Maitama Yusuf, Minister of Commerce in Shagari's government, neither open ballot nor secret ballot can work effectively in Nigeria to prevent election rigging. To Yusuf, the December 8 elections were ordinary appointments by the National Electoral Commission, NEC, which he condemned as the worst government establishment in Nigeria because of its reckless compilation of false lists in favour of the losers. He further conjured that, rigging and manipulation of election results which open ballot system was to prevent were glaring during the elections.

Maitama Yusuf and others like him might not be wrong in their aversion to open ballot system and condemnation of NEC. With the spate of complaints

about falsification of election results and arrest of many electoral officers who tinkered with election results, open ballot may yet not be an armour against election rigging. What can one make of a presiding officer who for a sum of ten Naira (N10) altered election results. In Iseyin, Oyo state, a presiding officer attached to polling centre D1 in Far-amora ward 8 exhibited his mathematical ingenuity when he altered 2 to read 302 and 18 to read 180. At this polling



Maj.-Gen. Shehu Yar'adua

centre, only 20 people officially voted but the figure made a gallant leap to 482. At a particular polling station in Suleja in Niger state, only 49 people voted but the final figure read 649 whereas only 100 voters were recorded in the voters' register.

NEC's inadequacies did not help matters. The Commission lacked the necessary personnel and therefore could not monitor the conduct of elections in all wards. Maitama Yusuf's averment that NEC engaged in reckless compilation of false results holds water, considering the fact that before the Local Government elections, NEC disqualified some candidates on hearsays but later made public apologies to the same candidates. A good case was that of Dr. Hammed Kusamotu, a prominent member of the NRC in Oyo state who now attributes his recent election misfortune in Ifelodun local government area during the December 8 elections to NEC's earlier misjudgment.

*By Mohammed Momoh Otu with  
Muhammed Bashir Salau, Danjuma  
Bawa and Sola Jumat Lawal.*

## Democracy still on Trial

*Local government chairmen and councillors will be sworn in this month, as the Third Republic takes off on a vague note.*

**T**he Nigerian search for a viable democracy has provided the federal government with reason to explore all the available avenues for guaranteeing a secure and enduring sociopolitical order. Hence the experimentation on December 8, with open ballot system.

The open ballot system is neither a new device nor is it a Nigerian invention of the late 1990. In Britain and during the period before 1832, the lords and other aristocrats made a case for open ballot. They did so to be able to scare the electorates to queue behind them. The British parliament detected this fault and so in 1832 the Reform Act was enacted prohibiting and outrightly rejecting the open ballot as well as legislating for the first time universal adult suf-



Voters at the open ballot elections.

## TRANSITION



**Prof. Humphrey Nwosu: NEC boss.**

frage. However, in 1951 the British colonial administration in Nigeria considered the same electoral system suitable for the conduct of elections in Lagos and Calabar. The electorate then were quite few. Only influential people with assets up to £100 voted in only two polling stations in the whole country - Lagos and Calabar.

The system was used again in the 1954 elections. Post-independence Kenya also used the electoral mode and recently, having considered it unfit for installing worthwhile democracy, dropped it.

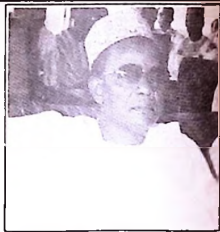
In the past two republics in Nigeria, the other variant, the secret balloting was used. The attendant political disasters were terrible and better left in the realm of the imagination. Electoral fraud ranging from rigging in various forms to outright falsification of results bedevilled the process. And the result: looting, riot, arson, political suspicion and all.

The National Electoral Commission NEC, set out towards the realisation of the new formula, employing the assistance of national service corps members along with other voluntary service groups - the WAI Brigade, MAMSER etc., were drafted to assist the Nigerian Police Force in providing the much needed security throughout the polling

period. Such security is especially important to at least contain the shortcomings of open balloting as enunciated by its critics ranging from intimidation, fear of openly voting against one's landlord or breadwinner or such other people that might influence one's fate for better or for worse.

Come the D-day, December 8, 1990 Multifaceted problems reared their heads. Some products of technical blunders on the part of NEC. Others resulted from the electorates themselves. In some polling stations, materials were grossly inadequate. Perhaps most heart rending were situations where the NEC personnel did not show up at all on the polling day. Yet in other rural areas, the polling officials did not turn up until about 2 pm and long after most voters have left the polling stations after waiting in vain for long. Materials meant for other areas were inadvertently brought to different polling booths. For example voting materials meant for Zaria Local Government was brought down to Farinkasa village in Soba Local Government in Kaduna State. Detecting this at about 11 am, the polling officials had to take it back and the result was that voting could not start till about 3 pm. Lack of adequate transportation arrangement for polling officials especially those of them assigned to rural polling stations also marred the exercise. Reports also indicated that some voters, out of ignorance of the modalities of the electoral process, showed up for accreditation and thereafter left apparently believing that was the end. This is quite painful especially when one realises that NEC in conjunction with MAMSER had all the time in the world to adequately lecture the electorate on the process and steps involved in this new electoral dispensation.

And in Plateau state, elections did not even take place for lack of working materials. In Jos Local Government area



**Alhaji Lema Jibrilu: an NRC presidential aspirant.**

the list of voters was not provided in polling centres. Alarm rose at 3 pm, official closing time of polling at the Fabur ward in Jos metropolis where the voters list was not provided thereby disenfranchising electorates whose number was estimated at 3,000. It was also reported that voters at Abba Na Shehu were disappointed with the lateness of the electoral officers and when they eventually turned up, they brought no voting materials. Similar shocking revelation attended the electoral process in Jos Jarawa ward, the Rikkes, Maifarin Mata, Wild-life, Utan South, Nukpis Itsutah and a section of Angwan Soya. Of course, NEC is taking full stock of such shortcomings.

Of no less intensity were reports of malpractice and fraudulence by electoral personnel. About twenty-two individuals were quizzed by the Anambra state Police command for various electoral offences, ranging from registering and ticking of names of people not present at the polling stations by electoral officials. This happened at Uzo Uwani Local Government. Two persons were arrested at Abakaliki road for impersonation and campaigning at polling stations. And in Ogi and Abakaliki Local Governments, four were nabbed for the former offence. In another development, a presiding officer in Doma, Plateau state found himself in the hands of the police after falsifying polling results in favour of the NRC candidate.

Election results in some parts of Oyo state were also allegedly falsified. Areas affected included Ede, Oshogbo.

**Most heart rending were situations where the NEC personnel did not show up at all on the polling day.**

## TRANSITION

Iseyin, Ayedaade, Modakeke, Ibadan, Oriade and Obokun Local Governments. The report was particularly incredible at Ayedaade where two presiding officers now in custody of the police, moved the polling centre from the NEC appointed venue to another venue about 80 kilometres away. In Niger state, two of the eleven wards of Shiroro Local Government had their results cancelled for electoral malpractice. In all there were about 200 arrests recorded nationwide for election malpractices.

Also, political violence that attended the council elections was so staggering. Wednesday 12 December, 1990 barely seventy two hours after the council elections, political gangsterism resurfaced in Borno state when the Management Committee Chairman of Fika Local Government, Alhaji Sanie Darel Jamal was attacked and lynched by a gang of over 30 young men. Ten out of the lot initially entered his residence and having convinced him that their mission was to lead him to safety, the unsuspecting chairman consented only to be attacked by the other twenty waiting outside the house. They were said to have attacked him for not favouring a candidate who lost one of the elections in the council area.



**President Ibrahim Babangida:**  
cheered by council elections.

State	NRC		SDP	
	Chairmen	Councillor	Chairman	Councillors
Akwa Ibom	16	152	4	96
Anambra	13	261	16	286
Bauchi	18	177	2	32
Benue	4	98	15	119
Bendel	8	95	13	115
Borno	12	132	11	170
Cross River	4	60	3	52
Congola	11	115	7	115
Imo	13	167	15	187
Kaduna	7	67	6	78
Kano	15	156	31	304
Katsina	5	72	14	125
Kwara	2	59	11	152
Lagos	2	43	10	138
Niger	6	64	3	47
Ogun	4	39	8	105
Ondo	6	85	15	104
Oyo	10	150	32	347
Plateau	4	88	10	154
Rivers	7	104	7	80
Sokoto	37	349	0	52
Abuja	2	29	2	16
Total:	206	2,538	232	2,934

In another incident, a Deputy Superintendent of police in Kano, I.G. Ahmed, locked out about 100 confirmed voters and ordered counting to commence at 11.05 am as against the official hour of 12.00 noon. Efforts to prevail upon the erring officer to restore to the multitude their franchise, were abortive. The incident was said to have been perpetrated at the Danwari Special Primary School polling centre.

Another report from Isanyawa Local Government area of Kano State said three top notchers of NRC and a returning officer attached to the area allegedly state-managed a kidnap drama after voting. The returning officer was said to have been kidnapped after voting exercise and in the process electoral materials were carted away. The attackers as well as the NEC official have since been nabbed by the police.

At Ipetumodu in Ife North Local Government area of Oyo state. Hell broke loose when a Modakeke indigene was declared the winner of

the chairmanship election. Cudgel and weapon carrying indigenes of Ipetumodu stormed government offices chasing out and threatening to kill any Modakeke indigene found at sight. It took the combined efforts of the men of the Nigeria Police and well-meaning elders of the town to quell the riot.

Notwithstanding the real and imagined claims and counter claims of electoral fraud by both parties - SDP and the NRC the Social Democratic Party, SDP has clinched the electoral trophy by beating the opposing party, NRC with 26 more chairmanship seats. The SDP won 232 chairmanship seats and 2,934 councillorship seats as against NRC's 206 and 2,558 seats respectively for council chairmen and councillors.

Meanwhile the National Electoral Commission had fixed February 2, 1991 tentatively for by-elections in 40 wards throughout the federation. Breakdown of the affected areas includes Anambra, Katsina and Sokoto states with three wards each; Imo and Plateau, five wards each; Bendel and Ogun states, two each. Rivers state had eight councillorship elections cancelled; Cross Rivers seven while Kwara and Lagos had one ward each.

**By Sola Jumat Lawal**  
with Danjuma Bawa.

# Upsets! Upsets!! Upsets!!!

*The outcome of December 8, 1990 local government elections has already decided the fate of the galaxy of presidential aspirants.*

**T**he results of December 8, 1990 local government elections have presented a long list of victims of fatal political accidents. Chief Emmanuel Iwuanyanwu, multi-millionaire industrialist, publisher of *Champion* newspapers and chairman, Raw Materials Research and Development Council; Dr. Hammed Kusamotu, an Ikirun prince and legal luminary; Alhaji Mohammed Arzika, national chairman of the defunct Peoples Solidarity Party and aspiring presidential flag-bearer of the Social Democratic Party; Alhaji Ibrahim Mantu, a strong contender to the NRC presidential ticket; Ambassador Baba Gana Kingibe, national chairman of SDP, and a host of others. The casualty list is a long one, and has a deep root in Nigeria's entrenched tribal politics of Hausa, Ibo, and Yoruba against themselves and the minorities.

Tony Okoye, a Kaduna-based businessman from Imo state described NRC's loss of Imo state to the Social Democratic Party as "a mighty falling". Re-echoing Chief Iwuanyanwu's lamentation over Alhaji Ibrahim Mantu's loss of NRC national chairmanship election to Tom Ikimi in Abuja, July, last year, Okoye said: "The south particularly the Igbos have yet lost the opportunity to produce the next president of Nigeria". He based his argument on the fact that, Chief Iwuanyanwu is the most prominent Igboman who has

declared his interest to contest 1992 presidential election on the platform of NRC and that, since he could not deliver Imo State in the recently conducted local government elections, NRC presidential ticket may elude him. However, some of the with-held results that were announced recently show that, NRC is already closing in on SDP in Imo state.

Another Igbo businessman in Kaduna who asked for anonymity has a different opinion. According to him, Iwuanyanwu still has a chance to shoot at NRC's presidential ticket considering Iwuanyanwu's rising profile in Igbo-land. NRC he said, won 13 local government chairmanship seats in Imo state just 2 short of SDP's 15 and 167 councillorship seats against SDP's 187. In Anambra state, NRC won 13 chairmanship seats and 261 councillorship seats while SDP clinched 16 chairmanship seats and 286 councillorship. These results he said, favour Iwuanyanwu because, it was the first time the progressives were given a hot chase by a rival political group in Imo and Anambra states. He expressed optimism that, with renewed strategy and cohesive political understanding among its members, NRC will win the governorship elections in the two Igbo states this year. He added that, with the closing of ranks by Iwuanyanwu and Reverend Hyde Onuaguluchi, NRC strongman in Anambra state and the latter's public declaration to support Iwuanyanwu's

presidential ambition "there is no stopping Iwuanyanwu". He might not be wrong considering the fact that, NRC has already closely in on SDP after the declaration of some with-held election results in Imo state.

If Iwuanyanwu is still hopeful, what about Dr. Hammed Kusamotu, another presidential aspirant in the NRC? Though, NRC won 10 of the 42 Local Government chairmanship seats in Oyo state, the party's outing in Kusamotu's local government, Ifelodun, was woeful. NRC did not only lose the chairmanship election, it couldn't win the councillorship seat in Kusamotu's ward in Ikirun. An indigene of Ikirun simply called Shola told *Hotline* that, Kusamotu has no political clout as far as politics in Ikirun is concerned despite "his royal background". Shola further said that, those absentee indigenes who in their quest for political power now rush home with their bags of money "are day dreaming". Kusamotu disagreed with Shola. According to him, two factors were responsible for NRC's dismal showing in Oyo state. One, the party's national executive committee did not provide necessary machinery particularly vehicles and funds for electioneering campaign. Two, his earlier disqualification by the national Electoral Commission barely two weeks to the December 8 elections, an act that demoralised his supporters.

Alhaji Mohammed Arzika is another presidential aspirant who may have to bury his ambition. Arzika who once aspired to the national chairmanship of his party, SDP could not deliver a single chairmanship seat to the party out of 38 such seats in Sokoto state. The SDP was



**Alhaji Muhammad Arzika**



**Chief Emmanuel Iwuanyanwu**



**Dr. Hamed Kusamotu**



## RIDING HIGH



Alhaji Umaru Shinkafi



Mrs. Sarah Jibril



Chief Olu Falae

only able to clinch 52 councillorship seats and conceded 349 to the NRC.

Baba Gana Kingibe, SDP's national chairman who before the local government elections was speculated to be eyeing the presidency could also not deliver his home state, Borno. Out of 33 chairmanship seats, SDP won 11 conceding 12 to NRC though, SDP had more councillors (170) than NRC's 132.

Among those with bright prospects to shoot at their parties presidential tickets are Dr. Layi Balogun, Chief Olu Falae, Mrs. Sarah Jibril all of the SDP and Alhaji Umaru Shinkafi of the NRC. Layi Balogun was able to deliver Oyo State to his party. Out of 42 chairmanship seats in Oyo State SDP won 32 against NRC's 10 while in the councillorship elections, SDP won 347 seats, and NRC 150 seats. In Ondo state, SDP won 15 chairmanship seats with 164

## Nigeria's Rawlings

*Like Ghana's Jerry Rawlings, Usman Abubakar walked through the prison gates to power*

Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings was in prison when in 1979 he successfully organised a military coup that overthrew the government of General Fred Akuffo in Ghana. Rawlings' walk through the iron-cast gates of the prison to political power was not unprecedented in Ghana's history. In 1956, late Kwame Nkrumah was invited from prison by the then colonial government to be the leader of house business after the successful outing of his party, Convention Peoples Party (CPP), in that year's election. When Ghana attained political independence in 1957, Nkrumah became its first president.

This scenario re-enacted itself recently (though not in Ghana) in the valley town of Okene, Nigeria during the December 8 Local Government elections when Mallam Usman Abubakar, a Social Democratic Party councillorship candidate in Agasa/Ahache ward who has been in police custody since October 26, polled 827 votes to defeat his National Republican Convention rival who scored 244 votes. Abubakar and six others were detained following the October 26 bloody clash between supporters of SDP and NRC in Agasa/Ahache ward which led to the death of Dele Ahmed, who was NRC publicity secretary of the ward. Abubakar who is already standing trial on charges of unlawful assembly and culpable homicide at an Ilorin High Court was granted bail barely 48 hours after his election.

Two leading members of the SDP in Okene Local Government, Alhaji Mamman Ajana and A.T. Ahmed described Abubakar's election as "a mark of solidarity by people of his ward". However, Abubakar's fate still hangs in the balance. If the Court eventually found him guilty of the offence for which he is standing trial, and is convicted, he will lose his councillorship seat in accordance with Section 30, sub-Section 2 of the 1989 Local Government Basic Constitutional and Transition Provision decree which states inter alia: "Where a person seeking to contest as a candidate is involved in a case that may lead to his being banned from participation in politics and the case is pending before a court or tribunal, he may



stand as a candidate in election pending the determination of the case but if he is found guilty by the court or tribunal as the case may be, he shall withdraw from the election and if already elected, he shall cease to be a councillor or chairman as the case may be."

councillorship positions while NRC won 6 chairmanship seats and secured 85 councillorship positions thereby brightening Olu Falae's chances. The only known female presidential aspirant so far, Mrs. Sarah Jibril also had her hope brightened as her party, SDP had a resounding victory in Kwara State. Out of the 14 chairmanship seats in Kwara, SDP secured 12 leaving 2 for the NRC while in the councillorship contests, SDP recorded 152 seats against NRC's 59. Mrs. Jibril together with Alhaji Sha'agba Lafagi, a governorship aspirant in Kwara State delivered their Edu local government to the SDP.

In the NRC, Umaru Shinkafi seems for now a "loner" in the race for the party's presidential ticket. The party won all the 37 chairmanship seats in Sokoto State and secured 349 councillorship seats leaving only 52 for the SDP. Since the local government elections, Shinkafi's popularity rating has been on the rise.

However, Shinkafi may face a stiff challenge from Alhaji Lema Jibrilu. Though, NRC won only 5 out of the 19 chairmanship seats in Katsina State, Lema Jibrilu is said to have two strong credentials to his advantage. NRC won the chairmanship seat of Katsina local government where retired major-General Shehu Musa Yar'adua, said to be the pillar of SDP in Katsina state, hails from. Secondly, Jibrilu's outspokenness against major policies of the present military government particularly the Structural Adjustment Programme, SAP which other aspirants have wittingly or unwittingly shield away from discussing and the combination of his economic wizardry and success in business place him on a good stead. He is likely to win the academics and the radical group in the NRC to his side. In recent time, Lema Jibrilu has been getting a lot of attention from the media.

*By Mohammed Momoh Otu*

# Matching Words With Action

With the creation of Niger state on February 6, 1976 along with six other states by the then Federal Military Government, Gawu District was carved out of the erstwhile Gwari Native Authority on October 1, 1976 to form Abuja Local Authority. However, the choice of Abuja as the new Federal Capital of Nigeria in 1978 led to the carving out part of the local authority as the Federal Capital Territory and thus, renaming the local government as Suleja Local Government.

Located on latitude 9°31' North and longitude 7°58' East of the equator, Suleja Local Government is an amalgamation of five districts namely: Suleja, Iku, Gawu, Gurara and Tapa which all together comprise of 32 villages. Each district is headed by a district head while every village is headed by a village head. All the district and village heads are answerable to the local government council. They also pay allegiance to the Emir of Zazzau Suleja whose Emirate Council serves as an adviser to the Local and State governments when appointing district and village heads to carry out government programmes at the grassroots level.

**The Emirate Council:** The Emirate Council has as its Chairman, the Emir of Zazzau Suleja with Madaki, Wambai, Makaman Dikko, the District Heads of Gawu and Barde Kankana as members.

**Local Government Administration:** The administrative structure of Suleja Local Government is made up of five departments namely: Personnel Management; Works and Engineering; Health and Social Welfare; Agriculture and Natural Resources, Cooperative, Trade and Industries; and Finance, Supply, Planning, Budget Research and Statistics. The former education department now known as Local Government Education Authority is an autonomous legal entity created by Decree 31 of 1988 which also established Primary Schools Management Board and Education Commission.

When local government councils were dissolved throughout the federation in July 1989, a sole administrator was appointed to run the affairs of Suleja local Government. However, in January 1990, in compliance with the federal government directives that care-taker committees be appointed for local government councils throughout the federation in replacement of sole administrators, a care-taker committee headed by Alhaji Adamu N. Suleiman was appointed to run the affairs of Suleja Local Government Council. Exactly a year after the care-taker committee took over the administration of the local government, it is pertinent to review its activities, achievements, and its constraints in office.

**Staff Welfare:** Suleja local government did well in the area of staff welfare notably in the provision of housing and transport services. During the period under review, the Local Government rented houses to Senior Staff who came on transfer from other Local Governments as a result of the unified Local Government Service. Also, these houses were provided with furniture.

The Local Government negotiated with Comrade Bicycle

Company at Zaria to provide its staff 409 bicycles to be paid in one year instalment at the cost of N542,411.25. The first and second batch of about 140 bicycles have been received and distributed to beneficiaries.

**Training:** Suleja

Local Government has the policy of developing the qualities of its staff. It has therefore pursued the training programme vigorously. Institutions identified for training include College of Administrative and Business Studies with 5 staff, Kaduna Polytechnic 4, A.B.U. Zaria 7 staff and the School of Health Technology in Minna and Tungan Magajiya which have 5 staff each. A total of 21 staff were sponsored to pursue various training programmes during the 1990/91 academic year while 25 staff were earlier sponsored during the year under review. Furthermore, seminars and workshops were organised for both senior and junior staff including the messengers and night watchmen despite the economic crunch that characterised the substantial part of the period under review.

**Sources Of Local Government Funding:** There are two main sources of Local Government funding; statutory allocation from Federation Account and the internally generated revenue. The sum of N7,680,557.63 was received as statutory allocation between January and September, 1990. This amount does not include the special grant of N3,245,917.76 and the deductions from the source either contribution to common services, repayment of market constructions, contribution to Local Education Authority, to pension fund, etc.

The internal revenue generated between January 1990 and November, 1990 stood at N1,144,216.62 representing 68% of the total amount projected to be collected in 1990.

**Agriculture and Natural Resources:** The department comprises of three sections namely: Agric and Home Economics, Veterinary and Forestry, Agric and Natural resources. They provide services which include tractor hiring, sales of fruits in Local Government orchards and sales of tree crops seedling. In fact, more than one hundred and fifty thousand Naira (N150,000.00) was realised as revenue during the period under review. On fertilizer distribution, a committee of eight members under the chairmanship of Alhaji Abubakar Sadauki was set up by the Niger State Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources, Minna. The committee indeed helped with the sales/distribution of fertilizer meant for Suleja Local Government Area. A total of 990 metric tonnes of fertilizer had so far been sold to farmers this cropping season. To ensure equity and fairness in distribution, this formula was

*Alhaji Adamu N. Suleiman:  
Chairman, Suleja L.G. Council*



## SPOTLIGHT ON SULEJA LOCAL GOVERNMENT

adopted: 65% to all the five districts; 10% to Federal Government offices, State and Local Government Staff who are part-time farmers also. And the balance of 25% remained in the central pool.

**Veterinary Section:** Is made up of a slaughter house and veterinary clinics. The slaughter house realised N27,500.00 as revenue from the slaughter of cows and goats.

**Health And Social Welfare:** The department consists of three sections viz curative, preventive and social welfare. The Local Government has five basic health clinics and 12 dispensaries. During the period under review, drugs worth one hundred and fifty thousand Naira (N150,000.00) were purchased. It is indeed necessary to bring to the notice of the general public that the one hundred thousand Naira drug revolving fund (N100,000.00) was judiciously utilised as ordered by the Federal Military Government.

Two dispensaries built and donated by the Community are now well supplied and equipped with drugs and equipment and are functional. Contract for the fencing of Gawu clinic has been awarded and work is now in progress. Similarly, contract for the reconstruction of Suleja Central Dispensary has been awarded to be completed before the end of the year 1990. It will be up-graded to Maternal Child Health Centre. The dispensaries built communally are that of the army barrack and Gawu Village.

The Primary Health care programme was also given adequate attention by the Local Government. About N80,015.00 was spent for the purpose.

To ensure adequate maintenance of the drug revolving fund account, a committee was set up to take care of the supply of drugs to clinics and dispensaries.

**Preventive Health Care:** This section deals with enlightenment on public health and environmental sanitation. The second and last Saturdays of each month being "Environmental Sanitation Days" in Niger State, the local government did participate actively with a view to ensuring a clean and healthy environment throughout the Local Government.

The ever growing population town of Suleja needs to be neat and tidy and to achieve this, the local government found it necessary to appoint a committee of 10 persons chaired by the honourable Councillor for Medical and Health Services and charged with the responsibilities of seeing that people were

not only well informed about sanitation days but were always out on the days and participate actively in the exercise.

On immunisation campaign, Suleja Local Government topped the list in terms of merit in the exercise. Forty-five thousand Naira (N45,000.00) was spent to ensure proper coverage during immunisation days.

**Social Welfare:** This section deals with juvenile, family and indeed tenancy cases. During the period under review, about thirty (30) family cases were received and twenty were treated and discharged while a child was sent to Kaduna Bostal School for a period of two years. Most of the tenancy cases were received at the beginning of the year. The welfare office treated more than fifty (50) cases though most of them were referred to the court.

The section also has four trained blind men who were employed by the authority whose activities include making foot carpet, ropes, chairs, etc. These materials generated little revenue and indeed some were given to our guests as gift.

**Liquor:** Issuing of liquor licenses is indirectly under the control and supervision of the social welfare officer who serves as the Secretary to the Liquor License Committee. During the period under review, eighty-eight thousand naira (N88,000.00) was realised as revenue from liquor licensing.

An extension of the health department is now in progress in order to provide adequate office accommodation to the staff considering the fact that more staff are coming due to the transfer of primary health care functions to the local governments.

**Works, Engineering and Capital Projects:** The Works and Engineering department designs and supervises the capital projects. It provides the bills of quantities, sketch plans and designs, specifications and indeed site in respect of each project before it is awarded by the Council. It consists of the engineering section, land designs and architecture, mechanical and transportation.

The Care-taker Committee tried and ensured the consolidation and completion of projects initiated by its predecessors. During the period under review, the local government was able to complete the following projects:

1. Five blocks of four stores each at the new Garki Motor Park at N146,635.50
2. Electrification of Kwamba Market at N200,000.00



A Television Viewing Centre



A typical completed District Head residence



# In Search of Right Figures

*Population Commission takes stock and gears up to meet its task head-on come October*

**T**he forth-coming national population census scheduled for October 1991 will undoubtedly be a highly decisive event in Nigeria's socio-economic and political evolution. This is especially so now that the notion of development has pervaded virtually all nooks and corners of the nation and people have become more acutely aware of the need for an improvement in the quality of their life. For this reason, therefore, the need for a reliable census would be better appreciated as the starting point as well as an important element of any development programme.

For the past thirty years, attempts to enumerate the population of this country have been ending up in dismal failure and this lack of reliable population data has hindered research and proper economic and social

planning. All the yearly budgets and national development programmes have, since the 1963 census, been planned with population estimates that are more likely to be wrong than right. Whereas in most countries such data have been the guide for policy making and political representation, in Nigeria policies have done without reliable population figures. Subsequently, the planning and operation of schools, hospitals and social amenities like provision of electricity and potable water, are made out at best with poorly estimated figures of the people to be served.

Censuses have a long history of controversy in Nigeria as their results are always rejected due to allegation of widespread cheating and other problems. The main problem of census though, appears to be its politicisation.

Because too many things are tied to it—location of industries, provision of amenities, legislative representation etc, the tendency has been for the exercise to be fraught with fraud. In a 1962, attempt despite the involvement of about 50,000 enumerators and an expenditure of N3 million, the results of the census conducted were never officially disclosed as accusation of inflated figures in Eastern Nigeria almost led to a political furore. In 1963, 200,000 enumerators were involved with some N4 million of funding, only for the exercise to deliver

population figures that were hotly contested. The 55,670,052 national figure reached after attempted political compromise were never really accepted by the generality of Nigerians. The exercise conducted 10 years later in 1973 involved 150,000 enumerators and 130,000 soldiers to control enumeration areas. In spite of the over N30 million expended in addition to the promulgation of Decree No 26 of 1973 to guard against double counting and fictitious names, the exercise was futile. In 1984, the UN estimated that the population of Nigeria stood at 92, 037,000. The World body further projected that by the year 2000 population would reach 161,980, 000 and naturally, reactions to the projections differed. While some feel that the UN grossly over-estimated Nigeria's population growth, others are of the view that such figures are below the actual population of Nigerians.

Since the 1973 census that was eventually cancelled, subsequent Governments have steered clear from the volatile issue. Since the inauguration of the National Population Commission (NPC) on April 2, 1988 by the then Chief of General Staff, Vice Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, the



Alhaji Shehu Musa: NPC boss

Hodine Newsmagazine, January, 1991.



Nigerians: population yet unknown





*Planless slum: lack of census hinders planning.*

proposed 1991 census has been facing its own share of controversy. The country's traditional prophets of doom have been propagating false alarm through the services of a sectionally-oriented press with negative sentiments aimed at undermining the success of the exercise. Some of these cynics feel that the timing of the exercise is wrong because, according to them, since the transition to civil rule programme was bound to aggravate tension, the nation needs at least 10 years of peace and civil rule "to develop a strong political culture before even thinking of attempting a credible head-count". It is pertinent here to point out that the Political Bureau which recommended to the Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC) that census was necessary before return to civil rule had wanted it for 1988. However, it was the recognition of the historic challenge to the NPC of conducting free and fair census that will produce population data that are capable of general acceptance by all Nigerians that made the Federal Government to fix the head

count for 1991. And in the words of Aikhomu himself, the date would enable the NPC "to handle carefully and effectively all the ramifications of a successful exercise".

For those detractors who want the 1991 census to include information on tribe and religion, they should proffer explanation on how such information can contribute to statistical and demographic data that would be useful for social, cultural and anthropological purposes. Apparently it is only their desire to give the impression that the census is heading toward controversy that makes them to lose their sense of reasoning. Otherwise, how does one explain the claim by some of these individuals and organisations that the population of the southern part of the country should be larger than that of the North? How these negative thinkers convinced themselves that the South, for what is assumed to comprise thickly populated towns and villages could harbour more people than the North defies all logic. But the recent decision by the Population Commission boss

Alhaji Shehu Musa, Makaman Nupe to redeploy census commissioners to states other than those of their origin can stem the tide of distrust and allegation of partiality.

Apart from these distractions, most Nigerians are quite aware of the reason for the failure of past censuses. There would be no harm in briefly discussing

the more salient ones and unless steps are taken to enlighten the populace on the significance of the exercise to national development, general apathy might greet the forthcoming outing. Before 1960, many Nigerians simply evaded the enumeration exercises, as they linked census with taxation and to date, most of the people are simply not interested in being counted due largely to lack of proper understanding of its essence. In some cases, however, it is simply due to disillusionment with the trend of affairs generally. Also, quite a number of urban dwellers are expressing reservations about the motive of the exercise and feel that by disclosing their personal data, it could be used against them to get tax defaulters and ensure prompt settlement of other obligations to Government. Again, there is the belief that the larger a household is, the higher the amount it is expected to pay to the Government treasury. Such a situation is tailor-made reason for people to distort facts about themselves to the enumerators. Hence the need for intensive and extensive public enlightenment.

So for any census to be successful, there is the need to bear in mind an estimate of the population from which projections could be made. In this wise, the pre-tests conducted by the NPC were a great source of foresight. Also worthy of consideration for the success of the exercise, are the characteristics of the population in terms of age, sex, rural and urban residence, education, and labour force categorisation. Given the speculated fast growth rate, it would also be to the advantage of the exercise to consider current levels of fertility and mortality.

Lastly, the NPC would do well not to engage the services of the armed forces as escorts during the forthcoming census because their presence, whether armed or not, might provoke the people, especially the rural dwellers. From past experiences, Nigerians are not given to violence during such exercises and taking soldiers along during the forthcoming census would only scare the people away.

*By Adamu Abdullahi*

***Quite a number of urban dwellers are expressing reservations about the motive of the exercise and feel that by disclosing their personal data, it could be used against them to get tax defaulters.***

# Letter To An Ancestor

Ahmadu Bello: 25 Years After

**D**ear Sardauna, as you spend the last moments of your twenty fifth year in the grave, it is worthy to take stock of major developments in key sectors of Nigeria's national life where you played a luminous part. It is indeed unfortunate that the very associates of yours with whom you laboured tirelessly to emancipate our people from the bondage of colonialism, dependence, cleavages of social distress, and vintages of imperialism, are the same people who have today metamorphosed into public outcasts. Your vigorous struggles seem to have followed you to the grave. All those in whom you trusted to inherit your mantle of leadership are today swimming in rivers of selfishness, seas of greed and oceans of general lack of concern for societal progress. They have over these twenty four years decided to keep cool and watch with keen interest, the daily decaying system in our national scheme of things. They now bluntly betray not only your legacies, but the very ideals which you stood for, without apologies. As we commemorate your painful but obligatory transition, we feel it imperative to acquaint the world with the situational analysis of your former confidants in case they may wish to change for the better.

Dear Sardauna, just as you left the shores of this mother earth, your silent detractors rejoiced as their "arch-antagonist" was gone. To their utter dismay, the architects of the coup that preceded your death did not stay even for a moment to reap the fruits of their evil intentions. When they killed you, they thought they shall never die. And even if they will, at least not at that time. To prove them wrong, the Supernatural Force prompted them to follow you to the great beyond immediately. Their machinations backfired against them.

As soon as they took you away in their suicidal mission, the first military dictatorship was installed. But for lack of

foresight into the dynamics of our political paradigm, the regime only succeeded in igniting a civil war which had a telling effect on our people. The thirty month long war saw the federal troops fighting a rebellion rooted in the eastern region and led by Oxford-educated rebel (Lieutenant Colonel) Odumegwu Ojukwu, tagged the Biafran rebellion, it



Late Sir Ahmadu Bello: A nation builder

did not withstand the formidable military might of the federal forces which you nurtured in Kaduna. Although there was neither victor nor vanquished, the dream of confederation was nipped in the bud by one of those military bright-boys you mentored, General Yakubu Gowon. A period of reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction took the early years of Gowon's tenure. During this period, attempts were made to bring our people together, and so did we become but for a never ending suspicion and mistrust among ourselves.

The reign of Gowon came in an era of oil boom. There was actually money every where. Nigeria's problem then was not how to get money, but "how to spend it". Unfortunately, the reliance on agriculture which you taught us, was laid to rest. All the mighty agricultural

produce pyramids in Kano are today only a pipe dream. No one is ready to go to the farm any longer. The taste has been for the easy going urban life-style which heavily rests on the importation of essential goods. The mass movement of people from the ruralities to the towns and cities in search of white collar jobs, transformed this country into a major importer of food crops. And sad enough, the oil money was not invested in lasting ventures that would have guaranteed the total economic independence of our nation. The resultant effect of which is the prevailing economic downturn.

This serious state of affairs saw the coming of a revolutionary reformer in the person of General Murtala Ramat Mohammed. Armed with clear zeal and a sense of purpose, General Murtala however was cut short by enemies of progress from among his fellow Nigerians. Spending only six months in office, Murtala was able to give Nigeria a sense of mission at home and abroad. He instilled dedication to work, loyalty to our fatherland and almost wiped out corruption in the public service. He spearheaded the search for a new and befitting capital to replace the life of confusion, congestion and chaos that has over the years characterised Lagos. Abuja was born right inside the heart of Nigeria. Also to his credit was the masterplan for the return to civilian democracy in 1979 which General Olusegun Obasanjo fulfilled. But an era of jawbreaking economic recession which hatched since the days of General Obasanjo reared its ugly head in the second republic. Dear Gamji, unlike politics of your days, the type that was born on first October 1979, was a total disaster and shame to all conscientious Nigerians. Corruption, embezzlement, fraud, looting and plunder all of which General Murtala cleared, resurfaced in sparkling colours. Although the Executive President Alhaji Shehu Usman Aliyu Shagari was up to the task as an individual, his team ruined what remained of our battered economy. And so the republic ended up on 31st Decem-



**President Babangida**



**Sultan Dasuki**

ber 1983.

General Muhammadu Buhari strode into the corridors of power to bring back things to order. This he did in just twenty months of his reign. Prices of essential commodities came back to what they used to be. Discipline became the order of the day as the culture of queuing became the dominant feature. Corruption dropped to the barest minimum. Drug pushing, currency trafficking and armed robbery almost left our scene in no time. But because of his high-handedness or failure to understand that everything needs a human touch, he had to go.

General Ibrahim Babangida came on stage since August 1985. Unlike General Muhammadu Buhari, he is not too much to the right and not too much to the left. He understands the populace who he leads which earned him the name of "Maradona."

Dear Sardauna, up till this moment, Nigeria, your country is still battling to keep its head above the waters of the biting economic recession. Although seemingly constructive strategies embodied in a structural adjustment programme have been adopted.

Educationally, Nigeria has gone far in leaps and bounds. The baby Ahmadu Bello College which you nursed about twenty seven years ago, is now the leading force in University education as people from Nigeria, Africa, and indeed all parts of the world enrol each year to pursue one academic qualification or the other. Schools and Colleges have proliferated but decline in quality has

the path of sanctity such that they are no longer seen as the custodians of our religion and culture. As if to further aggravate the situation, acquisition of traditional titles is no longer based on merit but emphasis is now placed more on wealth. Some of our Emirs ('AMIRS') have been deposed because they were found wanting. Something tells us that if you were still breathing, they would not have metamorphosed into what they have now become.

In your revered family Sultanate, a lot of bitterness attempted to uproot its very foundation emanating from succession disputes upon the death Sultan Abubakar III who died two years ago, but it has been amicably resolved. Al-haji Ibrahim Dasuki now occupies the exalted throne of the Sultan.

Back to the national political scene, there are some fascinating and destabilising tales. In what appears to be a constructive and coordinated attempt to take-off once more on a clean slate, the type which your NPC-led government presided over, the current leadership in Nigeria has designed a masterplan to that effect. Unlike the politics of those days, the ensuing era intends to lay emphasis on the youths. All the necessary structures have been erected. The youths, newbreed, as they are referred to by the present order, have been keenly interested as they have since been channeling their energies towards the realisation of a stable and enduring Third Republic. All Nigerians and foreigners alike are now waiting with keen interest, another attempt by Nigerians at

always accompanied such proliferation. This deplorable situation has remained the order of the day without a redeemer.

Sadly too, almost all the traditional rulers installed during your time seem to have deviated from

democratic rulership. I wish to inform you however that, all your contemporaries are not allowed to participate in the new political dispensation. Reason? Because they are no longer considered credible and reliable, Nigerians fear entrusting them with any purposeful responsibility. However, they now contend themselves with the comfortable role of guest speakers at launching ceremonies. At such occasions, they humourise their predicaments yet, profess the ideals your generation stood for.

For a clean break from the past, the present government decreed a two-party system for the country and even went as far as establishing the two parties, one a little to the left and the other, a little to the right. They are christened Social Democratic Party (SDP) and National Republican Convention (NRC). It was the opinion of policy makers and majority of Nigerians that, one of the greatest problems of the country was the existence of regional and tribal based political parties during the first two republics. The outcome of the December 8, 1990 local government elections seem to have confirmed the validity of this enunciation because, the two parties were "neck-to-neck" in their exploits.

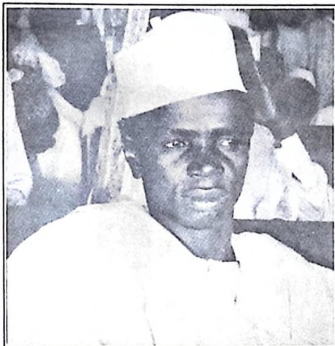
As you settle to start your journey into your post-silver jubilee years in the world beyond the reach of the living soul, accept, in absentia, our warmest, heartfelt and sincere wishes for eternal rest in peace. Just before we join you, accept also the expressions of our special prayers for a perpetual life in the Gardens.

Lest we forget, a trust foundation established in your name is going to be formally launched on January 16, 1991. We however learnt that the foundation is already facing a take-off problem which is normal in the life of a new born baby. It is hoped that the problem would be surmounted through renewed strategy, commitment and dedication on the part of the brains behind the foundation.

Yours sincerely, for and on behalf of all well-meaning Nigerians.

**Mohammed Momoh Otu  
and Abubakar Abba Tahir.**

# Faskari Local Government: From Grass To Grace



*Alhaji Labiru Musa Kafur, Chairman Faskari Local Government:*



*Alhaji Abdullahi Sada Imam Secretary.*

**F**askari Local Government Area of Katsina State with its headquarters in Faskari was created along with many other Local Government Areas in the state on 15th May, 1989. It is flanked by Chafe Local Government of Sokoto state in the West, Funtua Local Government in Katsina State in the East and Birnin-Gwari Local Government Area in Kaduna State in the South.

The present Faskari Local Government Area under the new care-taker committee chairman Alhaji Labiru Musa Kafur, has an estimated population figure of over half a million, majority of

whom are predominantly farmers, And these engage in the production of crops such as millet, guinea corn, groundnuts, cotton and maize, While animals reared by the nomads include cattle, sheep and goats, with donkeys and horses used for the conveyance of goods.

## Community Development Projects:

The Local Government had embarked on an extensive and beneficial community development projects that have put it on course for the advancement of the socio-economic well being of its populace. Such executed

projects include, the construction of drainages at Faskari Mairuwa, Yankara, Sabura and Daudawa at a cost of N240,440.00 (Two hundred and forty thousand, four hundred and forty Naira), construction of motor park and Grain market at Sabuwa at the cost of N64,000.00 (Sixty four thousand Naira), construction of Yamalalai drift at N30,000.00 (Thirty thousand Naira), the construction of a dispensary at Maraha Maigora at the cost of N50,000 (Fifty thousand Naira), and the completion of Mairuwa Health Clinic at the cost of N14,000.00 (Fourteen thousand Naira).



## SPOTLIGHT ON FASKARI LOCAL GOVERNMENT



*Some development in Faskari L.G.A. in Katsina*

Because the Local Government area has a predominantly rural farming population, it became necessary to link up the various rural areas with access roads. To this end, the Local government had pursued with vigour, the construction of feeder roads in order to enhance easy mobility of people and food crops. It has also maintained township roads while it has succeeded in constructing culverts, laterite sufficiency and side drainage system in some areas.

### **Agriculture:**

In the area of Agriculture, the Local Government's Agricultural Policy is in line with the federal government Agricultural Development Programme. A large quantity of improved seeds and agro-chemical have been purchased for sale to farmers at highly subsidised rates. It has spent N51,661.00 (Fifty one thousand, six hundred and sixty one Naira)

in procuring chemicals to combat an outbreak of locust in some areas of the local government and these have been distributed to farmers for spraying. It has also succeeded in procuring vaccines worth N50,960.00 (fifty thousand, nine hundred and sixty Naira) for cattle inoculation. So far, over 300,000 heads of cattle have been vaccinated against CBPP disease. In order to enhance improved productivity by

villages. In order to combat the effect of desert encroachment, the local government purchased, during the tree planting exercise protective covers worth N22,500.00 (Twenty two thousand, five hundred Naira). So far, over 30,000 trees have been planted and chemicals worth N10,000.00 (Ten thousand Naira) have been purchased to prevent the trees from attack by insects. In continuance of its improved



*Abu Abdullahi: Councillor for Health.*



*Dahiru Inuwa: Information Officer*

farmers, the local government has distributed improved seedlings worth Fifty thousand Naira (50,000.00) to twelve

farming policy, the local government procured over 5,000 tons of assorted fertilizers and spent N239,369.20 (Two



*Workers of the EPI programme: Community Health is a priority in Faskari*

## SPOTLIGHT ON FASKARI LOCAL GOVERNMENT



**Athaji Sani Danbaba:**  
Councillor Works Dep.



**Athaji Aminu Ahmadu:**  
Councillor Education

hundred and Thirty nine thousand Three hundred and Sixty nine Naira Twenty kobo) for transportation, handling charges, and unloading the fertilizers at the door-steps of the farmers. And in order to further assist farmers to produce in large quantities, it introduced free extension services and tractor hiring schemes which is hoped to transform the peasant farmers into mechanised farmers.

### Education:

In the area of education, the local government area has also made appreciable progress in improving the standard of education in the area. In line with national policy on education, the Faskari Local Government Education Authority which has committees at district and village levels has set on course plans for the upliftment of the standard of primary education in the Local Government Area.

It has made adequate provision in the current estimate for the procurement of instructional materials to schools within the area as well as payment of

teachers salaries and allowances. The local government has expended the sum of N73,552.75 (Seventy three thousand Five hundred and Fifty two

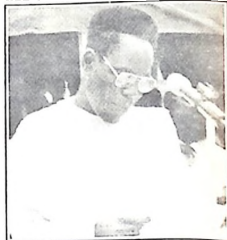
five kobo) on the purchase of teaching materials. And has spent N386,995.13 (three hundred and eighty six thousand, nine hundred and ninety five Naira thirteen kobo) on the rehabilitation of some schools. It constructed six blocks of twelve classrooms at the sum of N770,000.00 (Seven hundred and Seventy thousand). This has helped to increase the number of pupils admitted in primary one in all - schools in the local government which has risen to an estimated 8,400 pupils. - It has also constructed a community library at the cost of three hundred and fifteen thousand Naira (N315,000).

### Information:

In its efforts to provide adequate coverage of the activities of the local government and to acquaint the people of those of the state government, the local government authority made available information materials worth N65,000.00 (Sixty-five thousand Naira). The materials include still and motion cameras, video recording machines,

television set, public address system and centres. Similarly, three community viewing centres are under construction.

The Local Government has been having it not so smooth as it had to contend with series of problems in its effort at providing the best for its people. Some of these problems it has had to tackle within its limited



**Athaji Ahmed:** Faskari Councillor of agriculture

resources include:

- The terror of gradual desert encroachment.
- Lack of adequate drinking water.
- Illiteracy, most especially among women.
- Neglected rural communities.

Owing to the limited resources at the disposal of this infant local government, regardless of the efforts made to solve its pressing problems, many would continue to loom large on the horizon unsolved. This speaks much of why the Katsina state government should come to the aid of the local government to at least further minimise some of its attendant problems.

# A Soldier and A Gentleman

*A conscientious American fighter refuses to be deployed to the Gulf, saying he can only fight against injustices, not to put the earth's wealth in control of the few.*

**O**n August 29, I was ordered to board a military transport plane for deployment to Saudi Arabia. I refused. When my staff sergeants attempted to push me on to the aircraft, I sat down in the hangar. It was from this perspective that I watched friends and co-workers being shipped off to the largest US military operations since Vietnam. It is yet to be seen how the body counts will compare.

I enlisted in the Marine Corps nearly four years ago, right out of high school in Hollister California. I joined for the same reasons that most do - training educational opportunities and maybe some adventure. Somewhere within was a desire to serve my country.

My outlook changed during deployments to Ikinawa South Korea and the Philippines. Exploitation and prostitution were rampant around our bases, and sexism and neo-colonial condescension were the approved attitudes toward our hosts. I began reading about US involvement in El-Salvador and Nicaragua and concluded that we were on the wrong side.

When returned to Hawaii, I joined Central American Solidarity movements and worked with the Refuse and Resist! organisation. The military knew nothing about these activities, which I considered private.

I had seven months left to serve when the Saudi deployments began and I refused to go, seeking conscientious-objector status. It was for me the only rational course.

I felt that tens of thousands of lives were being threatened for imperialistic economic interests. President Bush claims that nothing less than "the American way of life" is on the line in the

sands of the Kuwaiti desert. But why are 200,000 US troops expendable to secure less than 5 per cent of this nation's oil supply? What is really at stake here is who will manipulate the Earth's resources in the post-Cold War Era.

It would be inconceivable for me to defend Saddam Hussein. It would be just as inconceivable to overlook who made him. Was it not the US that tacitly endorsed Iraq's invasion of Iran 10 years ago? Was it not America's allies, the West Germans, who sold chemical weapons to Hussein? Where was the international condemnation when



US Troops set for bloodshed in Saudi Arabia

*Today the Arab would resounds with bell-cose rhetoric and teeters on the verge of a perhaps apocalyptic war. Terrified by what the Persian Gulf Crisis might bring many Arabs are consumed with impotent shame at being the toys of big Western powers yet again and furious at what they see as the United Nation's double standard: reacting to Iraq invasion of Kuwait within 24 hours, yet waiting 23 years without compelling Israel to withdraw from seized Arab lands. They are also aghast at the Arab stereotype impoverished camel drivers spendthrift oil sheikhs cutthroat terrorists.*

James Wilde in Time Magazine

Hussein used these weapons on Iranians and his own Kurdish population?

After refusing deployment, I spent three weeks in the brig until a federal judge ruled against the military argument that I was a "national security threat". I am now awaiting a court-martial.

Many assert that because I signed a contract and placed myself in the indentured servitude of the military for four years ago, I should fulfil my "obligation" regardless of my belief. I have been chipping away at my soul for two years now, fulfilling that contract to the best of my abilities and I am going to have to live with being an accomplice to the military-industrial complex.

I have, as an artillery controller, rained burning white phosphorous and countless tons of high explosives on the Big Island at the Pohakaloa Army Training Area, and blasted away at the Island of Kahoolawe. The Hawaiian people equate this assault of the land with the destruction of their culture and their people.

I can bend no further.

I will never take up arms in defence of this country in any conceivable confrontation it chooses to enter. That is not to say that I will not fight for the people of this land or any other land. But my weapons are ideas, commitment and a sense of justice, not bullets or nuclear warheads. And my battles are against injustice, inequality and the placing of the Earth's wealth in the hands of the very few. Only we can deter this blitzkrieg on the people of the Middle East. It is up to us to stop this war.

By Jeffrey A. Patterson,  
Konehe Marine Corps Air  
Station Hawaii.  
Culled from Africa Events,  
November 1990.

# Thatcher: Era Recollections



John Major, British Prime Minister



Mrs. Margaret Thatcher

**H**ad she known. Just had Lord Dennis Thatcher's one and only wife known that the politico-moral blunder she committed in the infamous Sikorsky-Fiat deal for the rescuing of the dying Westland helicopter manufacturing company would shamefully dispossess her of the coveted seat at 10 Downing Street, she would have thought better than to obstinately forge ahead with the deal. Because of the deal and her increasing bellicosity, she stirred the hot blood in her erstwhile Defence Secretary, Michael Heseltine and her Foreign Secretary, Geoffrey Howe all followed by barkings of the raging Labourites. Her public image immediately plummeted. The Tory's political image was put on the line. The back-benchers in the Conservative Party would not take it. Hence Margie had two options - hold on to office and suffer ignominious defeat or get the hell out. She, penultimate weekend of November 1990, took the latter option. I remember it all, I remember it as if it were yesterday.

Reacting to her unsung exit, former President of the United States, Mr. Ronald Reagan, a long time ally and

soul-mate of Margaret Thatcher, said "England owed her a great debt and was going to miss her. The United States and many other countries would miss her as well". The Third World countries would only miss the daily enhancement of their painful penury from high interest rates, lower demand for raw materials and a debt burden, (put as at the wake of Margie's third electoral triumph in 1987 at over U.S. 1,000 billion and Africa's share of it was well over U.S. 100 billion), desire to increase profit level, international market manipulation and crave for resources at deafeningly low price which prompted her stance on South African affair and the fanning of the ember of discord in Malvinas and the Gulf.

Margaret Hilda Thatcher, a.k.a. Attila the hen grabbed power in Britain in 1979 at a time it was facing the threat of socioeconomic and political decline. She placed the bane of the British economy on social welfare and the unions and hence pitched her policies against these factors both at home and abroad. In blitzkrieg international campaigns, she found her way into Nigeria in January 7, 1988 amid stiff opposition from

organisations and individuals in the country. They hate her stances on Africa and Third World issues. A case in point was her lone opposition to the Commonwealth policy on the Zimbabwean independence in 1979. Nigeria was shaken by this that it nationalised its oil industry on the eve of the 1986 Commonwealth Summit the same year. All these I remember and I remember them very well. I also recall that Britain's opposition to sanction against the apartheid enclave, Nigeria took the radical position of boycotting the August 1986 Commonwealth Games slated for Edinburgh. This was emulated by Scotland and Ghana and over thirty other countries including India and Kenya. This move irritated India's Thatcher administration who never forgave the Nigerian government.

The wobbling relations between Nigeria and Britain under Thatcher never helped in the least by the fact that since the lioness assumed office on May 4, 1979, fees for foreign students most of them Africans and Asians had taken a big leap, frustrating the ambition of many prospective students. Coupled with this is the tightening of visa awards to Nigerians and other selected countries.

Perhaps the most damaging threat to the collapsing walls of Nigeria-British relations was the controversial Dikko affair. Umaru Dikko was the Second Republic minister of Transport who allegedly looted the country and fled at the wake of the December 1983 military putsch along with other fugitives including the Ibadan-born politician and chairman of the now defunct N.P.N. Alhaji Adisa Akinloye. Dikko was kidnapped in London, crated and but for the eagle-eyed British security agents, he would simply have wakened up to find himself in Lagos neat and dry. Margie, the mother hen was piqued and during the ensuing diplomatic wars, ambassadors were recalled from both sides. A Nigerian, Mohammed Yusuf who claimed to be working with the Nigerian Security Organisation was jailed 12 years at the old Bailey in London for the alleged role he played in the Dikko



abduction escapade. Response from Nigeria was even more dramatic when it arrested and jailed two Britons, Kenneth Clarke and Angus Patterson for 14 years each for theft of an impounded plane.

Next came the astonishing revelation late 1984 that billions of Naira were siphoned to Britain by Asians, Nigerians and Britons through British financial institutions notable among which was the Johnson Matthey Bank (JMB). Request by Nigeria that Britain investigate the scandal only produced cosmetic cooperation from Thatcher who was not interested in getting to the bottom of the matter which to her was too trivial to warrant consideration. All these I recalled vividly as if they happened only yesterday.

These were not all, at Vancouver, Canada, venue of the 26th summit of the Head of States and governments of the Commonwealth, then revelling in her third electoral triumph, Margaret Thatcher kicked hysterically against economic blockade of South African racist ruling minority. Her reasons? Such a sanction would adversely affect the black majority and economically stifle frontline African countries. Hear her: "We want to crush apartheid itself, not the victims of it." So much concern. She must have black blood running in her veins. But many would say the argument flies in the face of her endorsement of sanction against the recalcitrant Muammar Ghaddafi of Libya. The man,

the pipe-hot iron in the noses of both Thatcher and Reagan. Thatcher, the head-girl of 10 Downing Street though gone, I remember all these numerous evils she unleashed against human race.

I am still nagged by the memory of Margie's unwarranted parochialism in the event of any dagger drawing involving Islamic States. The Western world has the long awaited opportunity to destroy the military prowess of the Muslim world in the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq. Was it not funny that just before she quit the stage, Thatcher saw Saddam Hussein's misadventure in Kuwait as an outrage? This is especially so when one views her stance on Iraq-Kuwait crises against the background of the encouragement she gave Iraq under the same mad dog of Baghdad when he launched an unprovoked attack on Iran in 1980. Iraq then was aided with deadly weapons, chemical, biological and all. Iraq only incurred British wrath when it made it's next target the Iraqi Kurds using same weapon given by it's Euro-American big brothers. Was it not the same Britain that invaded Egypt and occupied Suez Canal in the late fifties? Contrary to what she offered as reason. Thatcher was simply protecting the Arabian oil fields and prices and not the Arabian nations. Check out Thatcher's vested interests.

After the defeats of Communism, the Muslim world becomes the target of the West. The Arab world, as pointed out by Mr. Michel Rocard, the French Foreign

Minister, is a potential threat to the Western security. The possibility of developing nuclear capability by Muslim countries such as Pakistan, Iraq, Egypt and even Libya, the possession of chemical warfare weapons and the likely use of OPEC for political advantages drive the West scary. Hence the blind scramble to destroy, with the Iraq invasion merely providing an excuse. The aim is simple. Knock Iraq out and all other Islamic nations allied to it; occupy Iraq and use it as a convenient base in the Gulf, launch an attack and ensure easy flow of oil to the West. The UN is simply arm-twisted and used.

At the domestic front, Thatcher was adamant in pursuing what she thought to be good for her country. Her tax policy hurt the average Briton, but purchasing power relatively increased, more owned houses under her privatisation policy. She ignored Bobby Sands and paved the way for his death after a long period of hunger strike; she travelled 8,000 km to wage and win the Falklands war against Argentina in 1982 to raise British morale. She dealt a deadly blow on trade unionism, strangulating it completely when she wouldn't budge over almost a year of industrial action by coal miners. The embattled miners later returned to work weary and defeated. She contended with Britain's worst race riots in Birmingham in 1984. Tax policy pained the English majority who took to the streets, but the iron bends not. Notwithstanding, the domineering lady of English political scenario deserves kudos if for nothing else but for being sensitive enough to know when she was no longer wanted. Thrice victorious over her political opponents, Margaret Thatcher, quickly quit when the intra-party intrigue against her put at stake the very principle her party, the Conservatives, represents. Anglophiles the like of Kamuzu Banda of Malawi and other dictators in Africa who think the government house is their family throne, an extension of their lineages and property, should take an appropriate cue.

*By Sola Jumat Lawal*



*Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan of the US: Soul-mates*

## For A Better Police Academy

*In its second generation, the Nigeria Police Academy battles to provide amenities and adequate training to law enforcement agents.*

**A**n academy is an institution for special learning. The mandate, and by extension therefore, the staff of an academy should be specialised; teaching such subjects in which they have both knowledge and in which they have practical experience.

It took more than a decade of convincing to persuade the police to establish the institution. But, it seems as if the establishment and maintenance of the police academy are two different things entirely.

If the father of the police academy wanted a police institution of this nature just for the purpose of competing with the military, then one would have called for the cancellation of the project as unnecessary. But that was not the intention. The police has just a single objective: enforcement of law. Whatever the police does, it is done within the confines of the law and for the sole purpose of enforcing same. This single pre-occupation makes the police a special agency.

As society progresses it becomes complex as it strives to sophisticate its various structures and their functions. The society thus carries along with it all aspects that combine to make it an entity. To meet up with the changing conduct of human behaviours as a result of these changes, laws are enacted and those existing obsolete ones are either modified or abrogated. At this stage, it is imperative for a police force to open up to realities of the time.

It is important to also come to specifics. Experience has shown that a society is bedevilled by criminal tendencies more often than not, forced to innovate ways to deal with the new situations. People are not only forced to change their behaviour or attitudes toward others, but manufacturing firms come out with inventions of all kinds of products with intentions to assist members of the society to protect and/or defend themselves. Where the police fail, the whole society is held to ransom. To change

therefore, the police require an institution that provide studies and teaching of new methods of combating the menace of crimes.

In law enforcement, the police do not expect to be monopolistic but broaden its activities in such ways as to involve the general society. For instance, the police can make researches into ways by which different groups in the society can play a role, one way or the other, in crime prevention and detection, which are good ingredients for successful law enforcement.

Today, unlike in the past, criminal activities have assumed international dimension. So much that if a country is not exporting crime unique to it, it is importing a foreign one, or dealing with one that has common international denominator. In such a situation, the law enforcement agency does not only have to contend with the one known to it, and that alien to it, but must study and employ methods in use elsewhere.

Considering what the nation is passing through, the establishment of the academy for the police is a necessity. It is absolutely in the interest of the nation and so should not be seen as a glory seeking venture by the police.

The Police Academy has passed out a set of officers and inspectors and is currently training another. However, one may not be entirely wrong to describe the Academy's training as crude. To begin with, there is virtually not a single member of the academy staff who has attended any course in any similar police institution elsewhere. In fact, not even one member of staff visited in official capacity, the only academy we have in this country, the Nigeria Defence Academy, NDA, Kaduna to its staff an opportunity to learn, even if in general terms, an idea of the working of an academy. NDA, although a military academy, at least a few things, especially administrative matters, could be learned from it. After all, it does not cost

much considering the proximity and the fact that the two institutions are federal establishments. To worsen matters, the academy is seriously understaffed. This situation creates a condition in which the staff are over-worked which eventually becomes counter productive.

One, of the basic components of an institution, no matter its field of speciality is a library. It is the power house of such an institution for, it accommodates the sources of research, teaching and learning materials. It is a sad commentary on the police academy that its annex in Kaduna cannot boast of relevant books, in law, sociology, psychology, policies, behavioural science, etc. In fact, there is no structural provision, for a library. How can the cadets learn much when there are no sources of reference?

The police academy if it should function effectively, also needs audio-visual equipment. Instruction through this means helps in creating lasting pictures of what is taught to students. No matter how much they cost, their availability is necessary if the academy is to achieve its aims.

In short, for the efficient and effective functioning of the police academy, all the things that constitute a stumbling block should be removed. In addition therefore, there is the need for provision of good accommodation, transport, schools for the children of the staff, etc.

Crime as an industry has become a productive venture, with negative social bearings in this country to the extent that the nation's law enforcement agencies are almost seen as non-existent. The police, though a government body, is a national property for it was established to serve each and every individual citizen. Since government exists in the interest of the citizen, it should live up to its responsibility of protecting him from criminals by giving serious attention to the police academy so that it can achieve its objective.

*By DSP Idris Umar  
Police Force Public Relations  
Kaduna Command.*

# Getting Maddier and Maddier

*A look at the menace and plight of Nigeria's mentally ill*

**A**s one takes a walk down any major street in Nigeria today, the presence of the mentally ill or lunatics at major city centres is glaring. This proliferation of mad men in our streets leaves one wondering whether the whole country is gradually going mad. When recently, the Minister of Culture and Social Welfare, Major-General Yohanna Kure (rd.) said that the federal government has concluded arrangements to clear beggars and destitutes off our streets, and government's intention to expand rehabilitation centres for them at federal, state and local governments levels, one wonders whether the lunatics that now roam our streets are included in this lofty scheme.

In as much as some of these mentally ill people caused their plight directly or indirectly, through drugs or alcohol abuse, it is disheartening to note that the government has adopted an indifferent attitude to this problem that is now eating deep into the society. It is not enough for government to clamp down on drug trafficking and abuse in isolation. The end result of this problem should also be put into perspective as some of these mad people now constitute themselves into a nuisance and pose a serious threat to law abiding citizens that go about their normal businesses. Suffice it to say that not all mentally ill people are violent, though a great number of them certainly are.

Every individual suffers from one form of mental illness or another, as experts agree that nobody is one hundred percent mentally balanced. This is because mental illness comes in many forms. Most people suffer from neurosis with or without the knowledge that they are suffering from it. It could be the inability to sleep, extreme nervousness or recklessness. There is

no physical damage to the brain, so they still make good judgment and the brain functions normally. There is also no severe consequence in their day to day living.

Most madmen on our streets however suffer from a more serious type of mental illness known in the medical world as psychosis. This type of illness is further categorised into organic brain syndrome (OBS) or functional psychosis. OBS is a situation where there is a physical damage to the brain cells which could be caused by alcohol abuse, stroke, tumour, or accidents resulting in severe head injury. Functional psychosis is characterised by extreme depression, mania, and schizophrenia. The patient here is extremely energetic and euphoric, may have disillusion and hallucination or phobia. He may also be sad, withdrawn and have suicidal tendencies depending on the type of functional psychosis being experienced. Most madmen on our streets suffer from this type of mental illness, some of them having tendency for violence in the case of mania of schizophrenia.

Asma'u, 19, a light-complexioned, well-dressed English undergraduate of Bayero University Kano was one of the patients interviewed by *Hotline* at Ahmadu Bello University Psychiatric Hospital, Kaduna. She has so completely recovered that it will take a long time to convince one that she is really a patient at the hospital who is waiting patiently to be discharged. She speaks with unbelievable articulation and intelligence. When the nursing sister in her ward was contacted, she confirmed that she has been hospitalised for three months as a result of severe depression which resulted in affective disorder. "Patients respond to treatment when they take their drugs but



*A mental case*

could suffer a relapse should the treatment be discontinued." Apparently, not all patients there have responded to treatment and recovered fully like Asma'u. Emmanuel Adaba, a 40 year old auditory hallucination patient has suffered from his illness for 22 years. Each time he responds to treatment and is discharged, he suffers a relapse. This goes to say that not all forms of mental illness could be cured, especially psychosis but it could be kept under control.

We might at this juncture ask what causes mental illness in people? Dr. I.S. Baka, the chief psychiatrist at Kaduna State Psychiatrist Hospital, Kakuri, pointed out that the root cause of the increase in number of the mentally ill in Nigeria today could be traced to the impact of socio-economic changes on the populace. Frustration, he said is one of the chief causes of mental illness. The economic hardship being experienced in the country today is taking its toll on Nigerians. Research has shown that most alcoholics and drug users are sometimes driven by the unpalatable events in their lives into taking solace in drugs and alcohol. The proliferation of drugs in our markets is not helping matters. People easily get addicted to one drug or the other especially when they notice that such drugs which are potent actually helped them initially. They more often than not, tend to obtain such drugs from the pharmacist in future without doctor's prescription. What happens in the end is that the



**Professor Olikoye Ransome-Kuti,  
Minister of Health**

subject gets addicted to that drug and cannot function normally without taking such drugs. When he realises his predicament and tries to discontinue the use, it results in breakdown. Drug abuse is therefore an issue yet to be addressed properly in this country. Adopting the western practice where a patient cannot obtain a drug from the pharmacy without doctor's prescription may go a long way in curtailing the increase in mental illness in the society.

Some people claim that mental illness was inflicted on them or their relations at one time or another by their adversaries. Traditional medicine men readily support this claim and emphasise that no form of orthodox medicine could cure or control this form of madness. They pointed out that such cases should be brought to them so that they can use their traditional and the magical methods in treating the patients. Dr. Ibenbe, a psychiatrist at Ahmadu Bello University Teaching Hospital (Psychiatric Department) was contacted but he refused to comment on this. However, orthodox doctors constantly refute this claim. Dr. I.S. Baka is of the opinion that the practice of sending patients to traditional healers should be discouraged, as prompt detection and treatment of cases goes a long way in determining the extent of cure that could be achieved. He said that a good number of patients report to hospital for treatment only after they have seen these traditional healers, having taken a lot of concoctions, with

parts of their body mutilated. A case which could hitherto be cured at the early stage may no longer be curable when it has reached an advanced stage.

Until government comes up with a clear cut policy on the rehabilitation of the mentally ill in our society, the citizenry may know no end to destitutes who daily walk the streets, tossed around by the tidal wave of deprivation. Those who report to the few existing hospitals are the cream of these lunatics. They are those who have relations to take care of them. What then happens to those who have nobody? Government policy on mental illness implies that the patients are the direct responsibility of their relations. Where they fail to take care of them, they become the responsibility of their local community. They only become the responsibility of the government when their local community fails to cater for them.

Treatment of mental cases at government psychiatric hospitals are free. However, these hospitals are so few that they are grossly inadequate. At the psychiatric hospitals visited, it was observed that there were insufficient beds, mattresses etc. Acute scarcity of drugs was also apparent, and the equipment being used are all obsolete. This leaves the patients and their relations with no choice but to purchase their own drugs and needs. Dr. Baka of Kaduna Psychiatric Hospital, Kakuri said that most of the patients prefer to remain in their present mental states instead of purchasing their own drugs since psychiatric drugs are very expensive. Government in order to tackle this problem squarely, needs to build more psychiatric hospitals and thoroughly equip them.

Mental illness is a social disease. It increases as the society gets more and more sophisticated. What could be done to stem this hazardous scourge which is gradually destabilising the society as well as taking a great toll on an already bad economy? Dr. Akceb Adeotokun of Lafia Clinics, Kaduna believes that since the root cause of mental illness is socio-economic, education could be used as an effective tool to check the disease in the long run.

We could start by educating Nigerians to live a better life and to bring up their children in a peaceful and conducive environment. He said that prolonged frustration of a child from a broken home, especially during the formative years could lead to mental illness in future. Furthermore, prompt diagnosis and treatment of illness in children, especially brain disease related illness, will help ensure that the patients brain cells are not affected adversely because this can lead to organic brain syndrome in future. Vaccination is also of profound importance so as to ensure that the disease did not attack the patient in the first place.

Economically, times are so hard for most Nigerians that they find it rather difficult to make ends meet. This notwithstanding, eating good food is very important in circumventing mental illness. Good nutrition cannot be over emphasised because acute shortage of certain vitamins in the human body, for instance vitamin B2, could lead to physical impairment of the brain. The current economic crunch in the country which makes it difficult for the common man to afford two square meals daily is not in the best interest of this country. Therefore, making good food available at affordable prices for the masses should be a priority of the government.

A well-articulated policy on drug and alcohol abuse, drug addiction and trafficking, as well as rehabilitation of destitutes and lunatics should be considered. This is because abuse of alcohol and hard drugs is the direct cause of mania and schizophrenia. Prompt diagnosis and treatment of addicts goes a long way in enhancing their cure. This is why government has to clear the wrecks that now roam the streets and rehabilitate them at hospitals or centres where they will receive treatment. Most of the craze we see everyday can be cured, if only such treatments could get to the needy. Government should realise that it is wasting a lot of manpower by letting that percentage of skilled and unskilled labour to rot with the excuse that they are mad.

**By Humphrey Ezeamaka**



# Bad for the Head, Good for the Hair

*The story of the free use of Indian hemp, an illegal drug, as major component of various hair creams*

**T**he timely arrival of a patrolling policeman saved a young lady from being lynched by an irate mob when three wraps of weeds suspected to be Indian hemp fell out of her hand bag in a commuter bus last month in Kaduna.

A crowd of commuters had started raining insults on her and calling her names while other daring ones were pushing her around before the policeman arrived the scene and took her away.

The lady later said that she bought the weeds with the intention of adding the ground substance to her hair cream. She pleaded with the police constable not to take her to the station, saying that Indian hemp stimulates hair growth and is widely used by many people.

The strange encounter all started when commuters were rushing to board a bus on Ibrahim Taiwo Road, Kaduna, and an unknown person unwittingly knocked the lady's bag from her hand whereupon the contents spilled out. Before she could pick the wraps, another commuter stepped on one of them. The lady aged about 20 years was embarrassed when it became public knowledge that she was carrying hard drugs.

But uptil the time of this report, the case has not been documented at the Kaduna State Police Command Headquarters because as the Police Public Relations Officer, Mr. Basil Nwadike said, "the arrest was not reported". The PPRO said anybody who possessed Indian hemp was liable to arrest and prosecution for possession of illegal commodities. He stressed that "whether the drug heals or not, anyone caught with it has contravened the law."

Meanwhile, *Hotline* investigations revealed that Indian hemp is becoming

popular among girls, not as drug though but as an important item in their hair-dressing kits. Most of the girls spoken to said they have heard of the efficacy of Indian hemp as a hair growth enhancement agent.

Others who admitted to having used it talk glowingly about it. They said Indian hemp de-tangles hair when boiled in water, strained and the residual liquid added to hair creams or conditioners. It also said to make the hair supple to



*Hemp: Good for the hair?*



*But not good for the head*

touch.

But when these girls were reminded that there is a law against the usage and possession of this drug, they said they were not breaking any laws so long as they do not use it as drug.

A receptionist who refused to disclose her name said she has used it for over a year. She said that there was a hair cream in the market manufactured in the U.S.A. which is made from Indian hemp. According to the receptionist, "if the manufacturers were not prosecuted for using the weeds how can anybody bother me because I use something that is similar to the one always on display in the market. Is it because I don't make mine in the U.S.A.?" she asked.

Indeed there are two brands of hair creams made with Indian hemp circulating within the country. *All Ways* natural 100% Indian hemp hair cream, and *Icuza* scalp and hair treatment cream are some of the popular brands freely available in the markets. The legends they bear proclaim their advantages on the hair and scalp.

The Force spokesman says the police is not aware of the presence of these products. But Dr. J. A. Anuka, a lecturer in the Faculty of Pharmaceutical Sciences at Ahmadu Bello University, A.B.U., Zaria thinks it borders on indecency and security lapse to allow such creams into the country. Dr. Anuka said "it will require a laboratory experiment to verify if it is Indian hemp that works on the users' hair or just the creams. And if it is actually Indian hemp, then we should be able to know if there are side effects."

A dermatologist at the A.B.U. Teaching Hospital, Dr. Ozo said since the mixture of Indian hemp and cream "penetrates the scalp to stimulate hair growth, there is a possibility that there are other psychedelic effects."

While noting that it is a new phenomenon which deserves further observation and research, she said it is important to watch those who use it for possible changes in behaviour. "It cannot be ruled out that the Indian hemp is affecting the brain even if in infinitesimal proportions", she said.

*By Tony Inwulate*

# Incredible Rituals of Hunting

**B**y the time a man is about 35 years old, it is assumed, under normal circumstances, that he has reached the stage when it would be difficult if not impossible to make any appreciable impact on his thoughts, beliefs and experiences. Such a man must have stored in his memory-bank for instance, childhood moonlight tales from his grandparents or even his mother that have remained frightening. Quite a number of these tales, innocently intended to keep the child away from mischief under the cover of darkness, might have had happy endings. However, those that remain indelible to the child as his thoughts mature, are the tales he found incredible when he first heard them.

Even today the culture of belief in what is often referred to as the supernatural and in some cases what passes for "juju" is quite rampant. You could excuse the fear of juju and the varieties of influence it inflicts on the average juju-believing African by the mystery of creation itself. Cashing in on our fear for *juju* and things we consider mysterious, confidence tricksters and other crooks daily get their pockets lined up with naira - the sweat of innocent and unsuspecting citizens. Daily, we hear of men and women with great mysterious powers either acquired or inherited. Some of these people claim the powers to change their form. They claim the ability to transform into various creatures - goats, hyenas, frogs, snakes and so on. Others say they can make accurate predictions and give you "luck" for any adventure you want to engage in be it travelling, hunting, fishing or sitting for examinations. They are reputed to cure ailments by mere incantations, sprinkling of some concoction or applying some powdery mysterious substance. Their abodes are treated with a mixture of dread and awe because they can, among other fears, tell if a sick person will live or die and even predict the future including pregnancy and sex of an unborn baby.

**An investigation into the secret rites and mysteries of game-killers in northern Nigeria. By Adamu Abdullahi.**

*"My father will then use the remaining liquid in the pot to bathe me and then order me to run home naked without a backward glance."*

One of such people is Mallam Dauda Yahaya, a 77 year-old hunter and farmer. Dauda, who resides at the outskirts of Tudun Wada in Kaduna hails from Gudiri in Borno state. His father, Mallam Yahaya, who was also a hunter and whom Dauda claims is over 100 years old lives in a small village near Rigachukun also in Kaduna state. Dauda's residence at Tudun Wada is unique because it is mud-built and the roof is made from thatch. he has four wives and 22 children but does not know the exact number of his grandchildren. From about 6 a.m until 9 p.m daily Dauda's residence is a beehive of activities with people trooping in and out. On enquiries about the going-ons around the house, this writer was told that the people visit Dauda either to seek treatment or request for "luck" before embarking on hunting expedition. When after five attempts, I was finally allowed to enter Dauda's room, through the assistance of one of his sons, the belief that wonders never end became more firmly entrenched in my mind.

Dauda, a frail old man with his head fully covered with grey hairs was sitting on a mat in the room which is full of various odds and ends. There were pots of all sizes and colours; there were assorted feathers, bones, cowries and the

four walls were covered with the skins of various animals including that of a black monkey. The head of the monkey was still attached to the skin and at first glance it would appear the monkey was grinning at you. Also hung on the walls were bows and arrows in their sheaths.

By Dauda's side were two monstrous cats - both black - that appeared to be ready to pounce on you any moment.

Dauda said he inherited the vocation of hunting from his father - a trader, which he claimed runs through the family. His father, Mallam Yahaya started going to hunting with Dauda when he was about 10 years old. Before then, Mallam Yahaya would wake Dauda up at about 2 a.m. and the two walk to the outskirts of the village with Dauda carrying a large black pot and accompanied by two of their hunting dogs. While Dauda remained sitting under a tree, his father and one of the dogs would plunge into the darkness only to reappear about 20 minutes later. Mallam Yahaya would then improvise a stove with stones and stuff the pot with leaves, barks and roots and when the contents are boiling he would then after some incantations, sprinkle some powdery substance into the pots. He would order Dauda to strip and drink a calabash full of the solution.

"My father will then use the remaining liquid in the pot to bathe me and then order me to run home naked without a backward glance," Dauda said. On one occasion, and that was the last time we performed this ritual, after taking the bath my father told me to close my eyes. When he ordered me to open them, I found myself and my father, including the dogs, in the middle of our compound. The morning he gave me five leather-covered rope-like strips, three of which he told me to tie round my waist and the remaining two were tied, one on each arm."

According to Dauda those tied around his waist and which he still has on him were each for a purpose. One, he claimed, has the potency to warn him of

any impending danger. For instance, whenever he is preparing to go hunting and his heartbeat suddenly increases, he would automatically postpone the expedition because "if I go ahead, I would meet some sort of misfortune".

Dauda continued: "One occasion, when I was about 20 years old, I refused to heed the alarm and (pointing to a hole on the right side of his head where his earlobe should have been) this is the consequence. The ear was bitten off by a hyena that appeared from no where and almost killed me. The second charm tied to his waist, Dauda said, enables him to disappear, "the moment I am badly frightened," while "the third and the one tied on the right arm have the potency to make me able to see what cannot be seen with ordinary eyes. The remaining one on my left arm enables me after some incantations and the consumption of specially prepared concoction change into any animal, bird or reptile of my choice. Expatiating further, Mallam Dauda said: "You see, there are some animals that can transform themselves, and to the normal mortal eyes they appear like human beings. Naturally, if you look at what you think is a human being, you would not shoot at it and it is only when the "human being" is set to pounce on you that it would revert to what it really is and by then it would be too late for you to do anything."

The old hunter said that in his youthful days they sometimes spend up to two weeks in the bush hunting mostly at night. "There are times when some animal appears from nowhere and you stand face to face with it just one yard apart. In that sort of situation, there is no time for you to bring out your arrow from its sheath, set it on the bow and shoot. So you are left with two choices - either to vanish or change into an animal that is stronger than the one confronting you." Mallam Dauda remembered an incident when he was confronted by a wild pig and could not disappear.

Says he: "It wasn't that my charm for disappearing had lost its potency. What happened was that the appearance of the

beast was so sudden that I was more surprised than frightened and since the charm only works when I am badly frightened, I could not disappear. My only way out then was to transform into a tiger and the resultant confrontation was fierce. I, however, succeeded in killing the pig."

Most of the people who know Dauda, his relatives inclusive, said like his father, people regard him with awe, fear and respect. What is the reason for this? Apparently Dauda found this question funny because he smiled and retorted: "I can smell fear from you, young man. You have been restless since you set your feet in this room and that is because of the powers I possess - powers that my father passed on to me over both animals and human beings. I've told you I can disappear; I can change into any animal or bird; I can cure any type of ailment or wound including snake bites; I can even communicate with animals." At that stage Dauda looked at one of his brutes of a cat and told it to go and urinate just outside the door and the cat did just that.

So, are all the people hanging inside and around the house patients? Dauda said some of them were seeking treatment while others are hunters seeking for protection and "luck" before embarking on an expedition. He claims that by merely looking into the eyes of a man planning to go hunting, he is able to see what the man would encounter while in the bush. Pointing at two men sitting close together in a corner of the room Dauda said: "Those men are waiting for some charm I am preparing for them before they go hunting. They are partners. If they don't go with the charms, the man on the right there will be killed and eaten by a python and the other one would be mauled by a hyena".

Would they still meet the python and the hyena even after being in possession of the charms? "Yes, they will," Dauda answered, "but they will kill the python and the hyena will escape. You can come back to confirm what I am telling you in three weeks time if you like."

Dauda further said that apart from his ability to cure various wounds inflicted

by animals on human beings, he has the power to make a man bullet-proof and render poisons ineffective. He also claims to be able to make a man stab-resistant.

Asked how he makes his medicines, Mallam Dauda said that to make a man stab-resistant, for instance, the leaves of a special type of tree are procured from the bushes and allowed to dry for seven days. "Mark you this is not an ordinary tree. It is a special tree that you can only find in a thick forest. You can only see the tree if you have the powers to do so because the tree appears and disappears at will. And even if you have the powers you can only locate the tree in the middle of the night say between 1 a.m. and 2 a.m. after plucking the leaves you have to sit under the tree until it disappears just before dawn otherwise you would come to some harm." After drying the leaves, they are ground and mixed with other powdered substance and then eaten with a white boiled hen. The man is then given two talismans (laysa) one wrapped with white leather and the other with a black one. The man must carry these two items anytime he has need for protection but the moment he crosses the legs of a woman with the laysa on him, that ends their potency.

Although Dauda refused to disclose how he prepares his other medicines or throw more light on the sources of his powers, he agreed to take this writer to his father, Mallam Yahaya, whom he said could transform into an animal at will. On meeting him, Mallam Yahaya, declined to oblige and change into another form of animal, but performed two feats. One of such feats was to accurately imitate the cry of any animal or bird named by this writer.

The second feat was more compound. He made the writer hold firmly to a sheath containing five arrows. He selected one, fixed it to a bow and shot the arrow through an open window. Behold, about 15 seconds later there was a thud in the sheath held by the writer and when I counted the arrows there were five - exactly the way the were before Mallam Yahaya took one out. Like they say - wonders never end.

# Abuja: A Forward March

**T**he Abuja Municipal Area Council comprises the Capital City and the Karshi and Bwari Development Areas of the Federal Capital Territory. It occupies an area of about 2,700 square kilometres with an estimated population of 224,030 comprising basically the Gbagyi, Koro, Gwandara, Bassa, Hausa-Fulani and cross-sections of Nigerians. The Council took off in 1987 after the nation-wide elections of same year.

The dissolution of the local government councils of the Federation in July, 1989 was followed by the appointment of sole Administrators and later Care-Taker committees to take charge of the affairs of the councils. The Abuja Municipal Area Council care-taker Committee took-off after a formal swearing-in ceremony on Tuesday, the 13th of March, 1990.



**Alhaji Yakubu Adamu: Chairman, Abuja Municipal Area Council**

with Alhaji Yakubu Adamu as Chairman, Mr.E.C. Obiechina, Secretary, Miss. Janet Makama, Councillor for Education; Malam Saliu Agere, Agriculture; Chief J.F.O. Jegede, Councillor for Works and Mr. Ndubuisi Ezuma, Councillor for Health and Social Welfare.

**Markets:** Markets as designated centres for the exchange of goods are very prominent in the area council. Presently, there are numerous ultra-modern shopping complexes in the city such as the Areas I & II shopping centres, the Wuse modern market and a lot of other community-type markets. To supplement the services of these markets, the council built the 116 No. stall Garki Open Air Market to provide room for squatters who were already laying a siege on the side walks of the major streets.

On assumption of office, the council embarked upon its landscaping project as well as the extension of electricity to the stalls and its premises. The stalls have since been allocated to successful applicants after a balloting exercise conducted in November, 1990.

To give the rural markets a face-lift, the council embarked upon the renovation of 13 No. blocks of open air market stalls in Karshi and constructed 6 No. new ones spread across various locations such as Karshi, Kabusa, Ketu and Gosa. It renovated 7 No. blocks of open air market in Nyanya market and re-roofed all the stalls with blown-out roots following the violent storm of the last rainy season.

## Agriculture:

In the agricultural sector, the varieties of crops such as cowpea, maize, soya-bean, upland rice, etc worth over N30,000.00 were sold to farmers at 40 percent subsidy. In all, a total number of 480 metric tons (9,600 bags) of fertilizers were received in the area council through the M.F.C.T department of agriculture. To improve extension services in 1990, 5 No. agricultural extension services offices were constructed in Jiwa, Kabusa, Jikwoyi, Shere and Byazhine while renovation works were carried out on the ones in Karu and Bwari. Further more, the council procured agro-chemicals valued at over N190,000 as well as veterinary drugs worth over N90,000.00 were sold to farmers at subsidized rates.

The council's pilot farm in Karsana continues to serve as a demonstration centre for improved varieties of crops as well as for seed multiplication. Last farming season, it was cultivated with 5 No. hectares of maize, 2 No. hectares of rice and 1 No. hectare of plantain suckers. To further consummate these services, a farm office has been constructed on the farmland to facilitate instructional services.

## Roads And Culverts:

In order to link up various rural communities with the rest of their counterparts in the Federal Capital Territory and most importantly, to improve their living standards by facilitating



**Mr. E.C. Obiechina: Secretary Abuja Municipal Area Council.**



## Spotlight On Abuja Municipal Area Council



*The newly completed Garki open-air market*

their economic interaction with others, the council constructed several access/feeder roads, culverts and drainage systems. Among these projects are:- the 8.5 kilometre Zhidu access road including a multiple ring culvert, the 6.5km Mabushi-Jahi-Kado access road, the 17.5km Chorimbisa-Takushara road and of course the 1.8 Shere-Galuwuyi-Mpape access road executed by joint efforts with the DFRRI. Other road projects include a 2km feeder road for Pyakasa involving 2 No. culverts and 1 No. drainage and an access road for Kurudu and another road rehabilitation project on Karmo-Tsoho involving drainage system. Other projects executed in this area include 4 No. culverts in Gwagwa, a culvert and drainage in Bwari, drainage at Jiwa and Kurmo-Tsoho as well.

### Health:

As a demonstration of the council's commitment to the effort to make health for all by the year 2000 at the early part of the year, the council put into operation 5 No. dispensaries and 11 No. health-posts. To supplement these facilities and to further extend their spread, the care-taker council embarked upon the construction of 3 No. standard dispensaries in Kawu, Shereti and Guyi; 3 No. Modern Health Posts in Piko, Kurudu and Iddo, while it renovated same number in Jiwa, Karu and IduDarmo. To facilitate the operation of these medical centres, it procured drugs and dressings worth over N450,000 under the drug revolving fund scheme. A training scheme was provided for 15 No. Voluntary Village Health Workers (V.V.H.W) as well as 20 No. Traditional Birth Attendants (T.B.A) with the sole purpose of extending first-aid medical services to the rural areas pending when the present dearth of high-level medical manpower might have been arrested.

### Housing:

In its bid to ensure adequate housing accommodation for its staff, the council renovated 2 No. blocks in Bwari, rehabilitated 2 No. quarters in Gwagwa to provide accommodation for its N.Y.S.C members, completed work on 5 No. blocks of Junior staff quarters in Karshi. Also, 3 No.

Television Viewing Centres were constructed in Nyanya, Jiwa and Kawu. Furthermore, renovation work valued at N565,000 was carried out on the Bwari Old Secretariat.

### Youths Sports/Culture:

The Abuja Municipal Area Council enjoys a rich reserve of cultural heritage. For instance at the National Festival of Arts and Culture in Bauchi, 1989, the Kabulu Dance from Karu won a bronze trophy in the traditional instrumental music event.

Women in the area council are excellent potters. Most of the ornamental clay-ware useful for potted plants in the city are made locally. The council's encouragement and assistance to these women are channelled through the Better Life for Rural Dwellers Programmes to which the council has provided numerous domestic/craft centres.

In the area of sports, the council this year renovated the Nyanya football pitch with a total sum of N90,000.00 and procured various sporting facilities including footballs, jerseys, table-tennis boards etc. As if to reward the council for this endeavour, the Municipal contingent carted home the first prize trophy in the recently concluded F.C.T. Area Council's sports festival.



*Award for the excellence Abuja Municipal Council.*

### Adult Education:

With the creation of the Local Education Authorities, the management of Primary Education was severed from the mainstream of local government administration, but Adult Education remained an area of concern. The council has 3 No. adult education coordinating centres in Igu, Karu and Jiwa, with a total number of 64 instructional centres as follows: 24 for Jiwa, and 20 each for Karu and Igu. These centres are fully equipped with 6No. knitting machines and 3No. sewing machines. Also, instructional materials valued over N120,000 were procured to facilitate their full operation. Subjects of emphasis here include, basic arithmetic, reading and writing, modern domestic home management skills, crafts and health education. So far about 1,280 learners are enrolled with over 21-member fully trained staff.

*Compiled By The Information Officer, (AMAC)*

# Farewell 1990

**T**he year 1990, like any other year, has come and gone. Nigeria and indeed the whole of the world, is looking into the New Year, 1991, with new ambitions and hopes of attaining greater heights and winning increased relief from the hard times.

1990 has not been a strikingly unusual year for Nigeria and its similitude to the proceeding year is striking. In the budget speech of President Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, on the 1st of January, 1990 it was announced that the administration had abandoned the erstwhile system of fixed five year development plans and adopted in its stead, two types of national plans vis- the perspective plan which will span over a period of 15-20 years and the rolling plan which will cover three years at a time, with provision for review every year in order to evaluate performance and ascertain whether the economy has made appreciable advancement.

The first National Rolling Plan (1990-92) has as its core objective the consolidation of the achievements made so far in the implementation of the Structural Adjustment Programme. It also has the objective of dealing with the pressing problems of inflation, unemployment,

the sluggish performance of the productive sector, particularly manufacturing and the madequate availability of foreign exchange to service the economy at a much higher level of capacity utilisation, all due to the external debt burden and the slow growth of non-oil exports.

The plan size is put at N144.2 billion and it intends to give the higher priority to the agricultural sector in line with the objective of self-sufficiency in the production of good and agro-allied raw materials. The plan further has among its priorities, the provision of infrastructural facilities in urban as well as rural areas with a view to improving the productive sector and enhancing private participation in the various facets of the economy.

One of the most prominent features of the 1990 New Year speech however, was the bold, remarkable, and historic step taken to enhance the decongestion of our prisons as well as to enhance the administration's principles of human right. The budget speech granted amnesty to a number of prisoners and detainees. The category of those to enjoy this rare gesture was outlined as follows- those who have served three quarters of their sentences, those jailed

for minor offences whose sentences do not exceed one year, those serving life jail terms and detainees who had served not less than ten years and all those who had been held in Police and Prison custody for more than a year provided the offences for which they had been arrested were not related to drugs, economic sabotage, armed robbery, fraud, murder and manslaughter.

Politically, 1990 had been an eventful year. In the most decisive reorganisation of government so far, President

Ibrahim Babangida, on the 3rd of September, formally announced the dissolution of the five year old General Staff Headquarters (GSHQ) and the introduction of the offices of Deputy Governors in each of the states. The President had earlier hinted on these imminent changes on the 27th August, fifth year anniversary speech that the nation will have for the first time in a military regime, a Civilian Vice President who will step into an office in the Presidency, replacing the office of Vice Admiral Augustus Aikhomu now retired. What the President did not disclose was whether the "Second in Command" was going to come from the military or the civilian population being prepared for the 1992 handing over. The President, like his usual Maradonic self, surprised every Nigerian with his appointment of Vice Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, now retired as the Civilian Vice President of the country. This came with announcement which promoted the new Vice President to the rank of Admiral in retirement and retired Lt. General Domkat Bali to the rank of General. All military officers holding political offices were retired but still retained their office. Lt. General Sani Abacha, the former Chief of Army Staff, became the Minister of Defence and Chief of Defence Staff, with promotion to the rank of General.

Political preparations towards 1992 intensified in the second half of the year after the primaries of the two political parties - Social Democratic Party (SDP) and National Republican Convention (NRC). After electing members into executive posts as the national convention of the parties in Abuja ... the preparations further became intensified with the parties looking towards the Local Government elections in December.

Prior to the election, there was heated debate on the viability of the open ballot system which the National Electoral Commission (NEC) made up its mind to adopt for the Local Government elections in order to check against the electoral vices of old. The open ballot system to the relief of everyone, was however found to have greatly checked



President Saddam Husseln: Man of the year

malpractice at the nationwide elections on the 8th of December.

In the efforts of the Babangida administration to revamp the Nigerian economy and to curtail excessive expenditure, it embarked on a mission that will go down in the history of the Nigerian Armed Forces as the most massive wholesale retrenchment of military officers and men, in a bid to prune it the forces a manageable strength.

Special Military Tribunals were set up to recover public funds from public officers who were found guilty of misappropriation. One such officer found guilty in the year's most dramatic court case, of causing public funds to enrich others, was the celebrated Professor of Virology from the University of Ibadan and former Petroleum Resources Minister, Tam David-West. On Friday 10th of November, he was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment on the two-count charge preferred against him. The jail term of 10 years each on the two counts are to run concurrently. This means he is only going to serve 10 years. The Special Military Tribunal for the recovery of public property which handed down this verdict, found the ex-minister guilty of contributing to the economic adversity of the country, and corruptly enriching an American Oil firm, Sinnes Interior Inc to the tune of \$7 million dollars (\$450 million).

The tribunal further held that it was established beyond reasonable doubt that Sinnes owed the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) \$55 million for crude oil lifted in 1983 and January 1984, and that the minister acted contrary to the directives of the former Head of State, Major General Muhammadu Buhari (rtd) to cancel Sinnes' contract.

The transition to civil rule programme lined out and envisaged to terminate military participation in governance came 1992, with the handing over to an elected civilian government, was almost most disrupted by the antics of one Major Gideon Gwaza Orkar and his tens of military colleagues. They were to set the country on a course for disaster on that fateful day of April 22nd, 1990. Nigerians were in the early hours of that



*Prof. Tam-David West: To spend 10 years in prison.*

day roused from their sleep to the tune of martial music and the intermittent lone voice announcing some kind of a revolution.

It was a day Dodan Barracks, Ribadu Road, Nigeria's seat of government, actually saw war. It was bombarded from all angles with heavy artillery with the apparent sinister aim of razing it to the ground and all therein, which included of course, the President himself. Fate would have none of it, as the mutineers, were soon rounded up, but not before they left many fine soldiers dead including the Aide De Camp (ADC) to the President, Lt. Col. Usman Kakande Bello.

On the sad side, Nigeria lost two of her prominent and illustrious political figures in the persons of Dr. Kingsley Mbadie and Sir Kashim Ibrahim. Dr. Kingsley Mbadie "Man of Timber and Calibre" who was a bag of humour, died at 73 at St. Nicholas Hospital Lagos. While Sir. Kashim Ibrahim, "The Power Broker", died on July 25, at the ripe old age of 80, all years well spent in the service of God and humanity. Nigeria will not forget the loss of these rare gems who created, by their deaths, a vacuum that will be hard to fill.

In the field of Sports, the year wasn't too impressive, as Nigeria had to fall out of most international meets especially in football where her teams became eliminated in advanced stages. On Friday, March, 16th, 1990, Nigerian national Football team, the Super Eagles had an opportunity to immortalise their names in Nigeria's Sports history by

playing in the very final of the Nations Cup that had been elusive since 1980. They engaged the Algerian Desert Warriors in the final of the 17th version of the African Cup of Nations. The squad however missed the coveted trophy by a slim 1-0 defeat in the hands of host Desert Warriors.

Nkana Red Devils of Zambia further added to the tale of woe by thrashing Nigerians representatives in the African Champions Club Cup, Iwuanyanwu Nationale by 2-0 aggregate after winning 1-0 home and away in semi-final stage of the competition.

Benue Cement Company (BCC) Lions Football Club of Gboko however redeemed Nigeria's image in continental football by winning the Mandela Cup thereby becoming the 16th winner of the continental trophy. The BCC achieved this face-saving feat by defeating the Club Africain of Tunisia by a 4-1 aggregate margin. The first leg of the two legged final played in Nigeria was won by BCC via a 3-0 scoreline, while it was held by Club Africain to a 1-1 draw in Tunis a fortnight later. B.C.C thus brought Nigeria back according to CAF President, to the centre stage of African football after a 13 year absence.

On the continental scene, the year started off on high spirits with the unconditional release of Dr. Nelson Mandela from the famous Robben Island Prison in Apartheid South Africa where he served 23 years of his life-jail sentence since 1963. Mandela, a symbol of unification for blacks in South Africa in their struggle for emancipation from the claws of white domination, is a prop to the brutalised will of the black people of South Africa while at the same time, a symbol of a human response to the need for freedom. He is a moral force for the regeneration and salvation of the racist South African society. And it was his struggle that saw his arrest, trial and imprisonment in 1963.

His unconditional release by the government of President De Klerk in February therefore became a significant gesture to the blacks. It is a landmark in the history of the black race in its struggle for emancipation.

President De Klerk of South Africa had in the year, made some significant turn around from the very rigid Apartheid policy. He had comprised with the black majority and granted them some concessions which became pointers towards a very bright future for democracy in South Africa. Some of the laws that had segregated the blacks for so long were finally removed and political exiles were allowed to return to South Africa.

In the spirit of world-wide political changes begun by USSR's Perestroika and glasnost in 1989, a number of leaders on the continent witnessed unprecedented challenges against their regimes by their people in the form of sporadic revolts and expressions of this dissatisfaction. The African people showed they had become more politically conscious and had therefore refused to remain a marginalised mass ignorant of the antics of their leaders. The people wanted to be part of their government and to express their political views as citizens. And to see their leaders uphold the tenets of a true democracy instead of the political deceit that is characteristic of most regimes in Africa. Prominent among these nations where dissatisfaction was expressed more include Cote D'Ivoire, Zaire, Zambia and Togo.

When little known Master-Sergeant Samuel Kanyon Doe came to power in April, 1980, it thoughtfully marked the end of an era of domination by a clique. His arrival was hailed by a series of hallelujahs that befitted a messiah in a military putsch that ousted the government of William Tolbert. But no sooner did the frail Master-Sergeant assume power than his people started seeing that he was there only to hang on to it as brutal dictator. He didn't drag his feet as he let them have it full blast by systematically establishing a dominance of yet another dominant clique from his Krahu tribe. He embarked on a systematic marginalisation of the Nimba tribe.

Apparent dissatisfaction with Doe's government by the Nimba people culminated in the formation of a guerrilla movement- the National Patriotic Front, led by Charles Taylor. This Front engaged the loyalist army of Doe in a

confrontation that resulted into eleven-month civil war in Liberia which saw the division of Taylor's army into an opposite faction led by Prince Yormie Johnson. As the civil war dragged on, it became necessary that interventionist or sub-regional interference be called, and at a meeting in Banjul, Gambia, five West African leaders, resolved to send a peace keeping force to the country. Incidentally, it was at the ECOMOG Forces Headquarters that President Samuel Doe was captured by Prince Yormie Johnson and eventually killed.

The ECOMOG was however able to maintain a level of sanity in the war torn region by making possible the constitution of an interim government headed by Dr. Amos Sawyer. And leader of Liberia's main rebel group, Charles Taylor on Wednesday, 28, November, agreed to sign an immediate cease fire agreement.

The perennial problem in Chad rekindled again when in November an estimated 2,000 dissident troops armed with sophisticated weapons and led by former Chadian Army Chief of Staff under Hissen Habre, Idris Debby, attacked the country through the North-Eastern border. The fierce battle that ensued between the rebel forces of Debby and those of Habre, ensured victory for Debby as he soon pushed and gained control of N'djamena, the country's seat of government. This resulted in the sacking of Hissen Habre's government and the constitution of a new one headed by Idris Debby. Habre and some of his afraidists have since gone into exile in Senegal.

President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt became the recipient of the 1990 Louise Michel Prize. This was announced by the chairperson of the Political and Social Studies Centre in Paris on 4th, December- At a news conference at the Egyptian Embassy in Paris, Janette Brutell announced that the prize is given to the world's most prominent political or social figure of the year. She said President Mubarak was awarded the prize in recognition of his role in establishing democracy and safeguarding human rights in Egypt and for turning his country into a cross-roads of peace.

Kenya opened up her air-space for use by the South African Airline as a gesture towards the recognition of President De Klerk's policy of gradual dismantling of the obnoxious policy of Apartheid in South Africa. Although, Kenya did not make known her intention of scheduling her Airline to fly to South Africa. It is still very cautious about making such moves as most other nations who still say that De Klerk has not made enough irreversible changes in Apartheid.

On the same international scene, the year had presented a mixed package of events. A historical landmark was attained in early hours of October, 3, 1990, when the hitherto East and West Germanys became one United Federal Republic of Germany after 45 years apart. This historical move thus makes the new Germany the most populous, powerful and richest country in Europe with Chancellor Helmut Kohl as it's President.

The two Germans had been kept apart since the end of the Second World War which saw the end of Hitler's Third Reich and reign of terror in Europe by the victorious allied forces in 1945. At the end of the War, conquered Germany, as part of the spoils of war, was shared out among the emergent allied powers - U.S.S.R., Britain, United States and France- The U.S.S.R held on to East Germany and East Berlin as part of the communist empire with its capital at Munich. While the United States, Britain and France gained control of the West which was re-christened the Federal Republic of Germany with its capital in Bonn.

In Pakistan, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, daughter of former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who was sentenced and executed under late General Zia Ul-Haq, was formally sacked as Prime Minister in August by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan. Khan dismissed Bhutto's 20 months old government on August 6, accusing her of presiding over corruption. He dismissed the National Assembly as well and ordered a general election for October 24 which ended with the election of Ayub Khan as new Prime Minister.

She was formally charged before a



special court in Lahore, Islamabad in a corruption case relating to the Lake View Hotel project on the 17th of November. The former Prime Minister was charged with the crime of allotting 287 acres of land in Islamabad to a British based company owned by her Cousin for building a five star hotel.

The most shocking event of the year which had kept the relative world peace on an edge was the August, 2, lightning invasion and annexation of Kuwait by a 300,000 strong Iraqi forces backed by tanks and heavy artillery units. The Iraqi troops seized all major installations, including the palace of the Emir, Sheikh Jaber Al-Ahmed Al-Sabah.

The invasion resulted into an unprecedented unanimity among nations condemning this act of muscle-flexing by Iraq. The Soviet Union which was Iraq's major arms supplier, condemned the act by halting arms supply to Baghdad. The United States froze Iraqi assets in the U.S. And even most of the Arab World condemned the action too.

Condemnations also came from the United Nations where had the United States is spear-heading resolution. And like the Vietnam war, which was agreed among some sections of American society as a demoralising national mistake, the United States, through its formation of the 'Operation Desert Shield', had moved up to 400,000 fighters of the American Forces to Saudi Arabia in preparation for a showdown with Iraq. The UN Security Council on Thursday 22, November, adopted a resolution effectively authorising countries wishing to do so to wage war against Iraq if it failed to withdraw from Kuwait by January 15, 1991.

Iran and Britain resumed diplomatic relations on Thursday 27, September. The move took immediate effect and embassies in London and Tehran had since reopened. Diplomatic relations were served in March 1989 following Britain's refusals to co-operate with Tehran in denouncing British author Salman Rushdie's novel "The Satanic Verses" which Iran among other Muslims nations considers blasphemous. British Prime Minister, Margaret

Thatcher, the 'Iron Lady' finally resigned her number one position in November, after holding office for 11/2 years on the Conservative Party platform the second longest reigning British PM this century after Churchill.

Her decision to resign came a few days after former Defence Secretary in her cabinet, Michael Heseltine had denied her first ballot victory in the first serious challenge to her 11/2 years reign.

John Major 47, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who made his intention to contest late however, surprised bookmakers who had thought all along that victory belonged to Michael Heseltine, by winning the British election to become the new British Prime Minister. He thus became the youngest Prime Minister in the history of the office.

The changing face of the Russian economy which had allowed for an open market economy, had also opened up a number of areas which were hitherto enclosed in a communist shell. Under 'Perestroika', the Soviet economy had been opened up to accommodate foreign investment and to also invest in other European economies. As a manifestation of assuming a new outlook, and willingness to become integrated into the international community, the Soviet Union recently joined the International Police Organisation (INTERPOL). The Soviet Security authorities have thus become more forthcoming with information on crime prevention and had called for increased international cooperation to beat terrorism and drug trafficking.

On the 15th October, the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, was declared the winner of this year's Nobel Peace Prize. In winning the award which carried a cash prize of \$700,000 dollars (\$5.6 million) the Swedish Nobel committee cited his "leading role in the peace process which today characterises important part of the international community".

The Mexican Poet and essayist, Octavio Paz won the prize for Literature while two Americans doctors, Joseph D. Murray and F. Donnel Thomas, won the prize in medicine for pioneering organ and bone marrow transplant.



**Soviet Leader, Mikhail Gorbachev.**  
1990 Nobel Prize winner.

In the world of sports, the 1990 World Cup in Italy saw the German national team under World Cup Veteran coach Franz Beckenbauer, winning the most prestigious Cup at the expense of the Argentine national team by a slim 1-0. By this victory, the Germans joined the league of three time winners of the coveted Cup which include Brazil and Italy.

Two spectacular upsets were witnessed in the year in international boxing especially in the heavy weight division. In February, the then sensational wonder kid of world boxing, 'Iron Mike Tyson' finally met his match in a relatively unknown James 'Buster' Douglas who kayoed him in the 10th round in Tokyo, Japan to become the new heavy weight champion of the world.

About nine months later, James 'Buster' Douglas defended his title against Evander 'Red Deal' Holyfield. In that fight and against all expectation, the champion slumped out of the deal via a knockout in the third round to make Holyfield the new heavy weight champion.

On the whole, the year 1990 has been a year that could aptly be described as a mixed bag of experiences treasurable and regrettable. The goings in the year had been tough for Nigerians and indeed Nigeria as well as for the world community, and what is left is to hope, perhaps against hope, that the new horizon of the year 1991 holds the luminance to brighten our tomorrow.

*By Danjuma Bawa*

# Crisis Without End

*Centre for Democratic Studies enters third month of structural unease.*

**A**fter writing a petition to Secretary to the Federal Government alleging "general victimisation based largely on ethnic, religious and tribal grounds" in the Centre for Democratic Studies, Abuja, a conference officer with the centre was down graded and several other senior and middle level staff redeployed to zonal units. And the presidency is yet to wade into the matter. That is no longer news.

What is news, is that attention is gradu-

ally diverted from the CDS's set goals. The staff are aggrieved.

Petitions are written with equal fervour including press exchanges between the embattled head of the Centre and some staff. The leadership of the Director General Professor Omo Omoruyi is denying every grain of allegation brought against it. Even so, no tangible result can be pinpointed as achievement of the Centre since the last August 4 workshop the CDS organised for executives of SDP and NRC and the repetitious course organised for political correspondents in November last year. Another workshop for party candidates did not hold, and amounts running into millions of naira were said to have been spent. Expectedly, the

Centre's Director General says that the CDS is having a smooth sail. The Centre is steeped in controversies arising from allegations of breach of a constitutional provision in staff recruitment, nepotism, victimisation of staff who hail from the northern part of the country, hobnobbing with one of the two political parties and financial imprudence all traced to the Director General's office.

Also alleged is a "promotion jamboree" in the centre which affected only members of the Senior Staff from the Southern part of the country. One Joseph Ikhumetse, Personal Assistant to the Director General was alleged to have risen from his USS-9 salary to USS-13 step 8, while Theodore Olaiye rose from USS-7 to USS-11 step three. This staffer finished the National Youth Service programme in 1989.

In all, those allegedly elevated by leaping more than three grades are five. But the D.G. debunked these allegations saying that the petitioner acted "on gross misrepresentation of facts." The D.G. also explained that Clement Ayashim, one of the petitioners, was not demoted because of the petition. Earlier, on April 20, some officers had sent a petition followed with another dated October 10, to the SFG warning that the CDS had degenerated into a "centre for destructive studies or a centre for the promotion of undemocratic attitudes." The attitudes range from "outright victimisation and marginalisation" to "promotion of ethnic and religious division". All the petitions alleged that 70% of Senior Staff come from Bendel State, the home state of the D.G. 20% hail from Oyo and Ogun States while the 11 Northern states have the remaining 10%.

The D.G. says recruitment of Senior staff has since November 1989 been based on federal character. "The alleged domination by one ethnic group cannot

be defended in the light of my recommendation and subsequent approval by the Presidency for secondment of staff from a government agencies". He stated that in the D.G.'s officer, Dr. Adesina Sambo, a director is from Ogun State and Mallam Mohammed Ahmed Abdullahi, the press officer is from Bauchi State.

In the Studies Department, Prof. J.A.A. Ayode, Director, is from Oyo State, while the directing staff are Dr. Umaru Hussaini, Sokoto State; Dr. Bawa Hassan, Sokoto State; Dr. Sam Bamidele, Kwara State; Dr. Abdulhameed Ujo, Benue State. The Research Department is headed by Dr. E.J. Nwabuzor from Bendel State and the research staff comprise of Mallam Ya'u



*Prof. Omo Omoruyi: D.G., CDS*



*Alh. Allyu Mohammed: Secretary to Federal Military Government.*

ally diverted from the CDS's set goals. The staff are aggrieved.

Petitions are written with equal fervour including press exchanges between the embattled head of the Centre and some staff. The leadership of the Director General Professor Omo Omoruyi is denying every grain of allegation brought against it. Even so, no tangible result can be pinpointed as achievement of the Centre since the last August 4 workshop the CDS organised for executives of SDP and NRC and the repetitious course organised for political correspondents in November last year. Another workshop for party candidates did not hold, and amounts running into millions of naira were said to have been spent. Expectedly, the

Haruna, Kano State, who is the Principal Research Fellow; Dr. R.R. Bature, Kaduna State; Dr. Dan Mou, Benue State; Dr. O.O. Adedeji, Oyo State. The Senior Research Fellow Mr. Imuetinyan hails from Bendel state. With him as principal librarian is Mallam Apagu Gadzama, an indigen of Borno State. Alhaji Mohammed B. Saleh from Bauchi State is the director of finance and Administration and the Assistant Director from Lagos State is Mr. Akinola Ajoni.

Dr. Umaru Hussaini was dropped in favour of Alhaji Saleh as Director of Finance and administration allegedly for holding independent views, but Professor Omoruyi countered that "Dr. Hussaini was never made a director of

## NIGERIA

# New Nigerian is 25 Years

finance and administration. Therefore to talk about his being dropped in favour of Alhaji Saleh does not arise". According to the D.G., since the centre moved to Bwari, Abuja, the centre recruited majority of intermediate and junior level staff from the "catchment area", apparently to compensate for the "top-sidedness" of staff recruitment which is not in favour of the North.

Dr. Hussaini does not think that the imbalance has been remedied by merely "recruiting cleaners and messengers from around here". A pioneer officer of CDS, Dr Hussaini was a Senior lecturer in Political Science at Usman Danfodio University Sokoto. He said he spoke out purely out of "the purest patriotic motives". No personal motives, he insists.

During the National Conventions of the two political parties in Abuja last year, members of the Senior Staff of CDS were alleged to have served as consultants to one of the parties. Not only that, "CDS vehicles were openly used in conveying some of the top-notchers of the said party from Benin to Abuja" and within Abuja.

The result of the intrigues and wranglings smouldering in the centre is the flight of qualified staff and resource persons and none is accepting to come into the CDS "despite being served with letters of appointment". The D.G. says he is not aware that resource persons from the North are unwilling to come over because of the discriminating posture of the centre.

Though the D.G. has clearly denied all the allegations and has obviously convinced(?) the Secretary to Federal Government that all the allegations were figments of some aggrieved persons' imaginations, the task still remains therefore to put the CDS in order.

There is no smoke without fire, a hackneyed saying goes. If the Centre must retain the confidence reposed in it, and if as the D.G. says, the Centre's goal "still remains one of serving as fountain head of democratic thought and culture from which will drink all those who aspire to govern this great country", then let the CDS be put above board of alleged shady, undemocratic misdeeds.

By Tony Inwulate

January 1, 1991, marked the beginning of another calendar year in the life of the *New Nigerian* group of newspapers, which are twenty-five years old. The paper's management had already set January 8 and 9 to mark the occasion. The paper hit the news stand January 1, 1966. When *New Nigerian* newspaper was established there were two newspapers already circulating in the northern part of Nigeria namely, *The Mail* owned by the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC) and published by federal press in Kano and the *Nigerian Citizen*, owned by the northern government and pub-

lished by Gaskiya Corporation in Zaria. These papers however could not adequately cover events and happenings in the north in the face of growing political awareness and intellectual culture among northerners at the time. Moreso, most of the existing newspapers in the country then were based in the South and they championed the cause of Southerners.

The recommendation to set up the paper was accepted by the then Northern regional government and Sharp himself was saddled with the task to carry out the implementation. And on January 1, 1966 the first edition of the *New Nigerian* newspaper hit the news stand, launched by the late premier of the North and Sardauna of Sokoto Sir Ahmadu Bello two weeks before his tragic death.

In its debut edition on January 1, 1966 the paper did not fail to tell the world among other things that "There are many things we shall strive to achieve, but above all we shall try to be a good newspaper, dispensing news and comment without fear or favour". It went further to say that "As a northern newspaper we shall seek to identify ourselves with the North and its people, their interests and aspirations. For that we offer no apologies".

The *New Nigerian* is also known for its commitment to truth, social justice and adherence to the ethics of journalism, just as it chronicled in the editorial comment of its maiden edition "...the principles by which we stand are simple, but should truth, justice and tolerance challenged by prejudice, then we shall fight and, if necessary, fall".

The reconciliatory role the newspaper played after the civil war cannot be overemphasised. The paper through its editorial comments and news reports advised the government on the need for reconstruction of the battered economy of the country and resettlement of dislocated war victims.

With these and other social vices it waged war against, it won the admiration of many a Nigerian. Most importantly the names of some of the men of proven professional integrity,



whose indefatigable efforts launched the paper into its present fame are worth mentioning. The likes of such men as Charles Sharp who was the first managing director, Malam Adamu Ciroma who was the paper's first substantive editor and later managing director, late Alhaji Rasaki Aremu its acting editor for 10 months, Mamman Daura and Malam Turi Muhammed. These people happened to be the pioneer staff and what the paper is today is a testimony of their commitment and hardwork.

All these achievements notwithstanding, between 1980 and 1990 internal wrangling as a result of varying political views almost dragged the paper image into the mud, as there were petitions and accusations that the paper was being used as instrument for sectionalism and sectarianism and giving undue publicity to some of the politicians. What followed was the changes of the management and top editorial staff, which breaks continuity and can almost kill the paper.

By Ajai Shehu Abdullahi

# National Sports Reorganisation

*Open letter to the Vice President on sports management in 1991. By Shehu Abubakar*

**I** believe you are now busy with the new budget and how funds allocated to states will be released as well as other official matters, but it has become necessary that I add my problems to the numerous types already on your table both in the office and at home. I know as an ex-military officer you do not take national interest a light matter.

Sir, I apologise for not firstly wishing you a happy new year. It only shows how worried and anxious I am to state the way sports administration is heading to national disaster if immediate action is not taken. Sir, do not mind the media publicity about what good is going on. The future of sports development in Nigeria is in danger.

Since the creation of the National Sports Commission in 1971 there has been no time when nobody knows what is really happening as it is now. Despite the country's achievements in the different sports competitions world wide in 1990, there are fundamental conflicts between the Commission and the supervisory Ministry. The main conflict is that of management rights as stipulated in decree 34 of 1971. Panel reports, prominently those of Justice Williams

and of recent Justice Irekefe, did not mince words in recommending reorganisation in the Commission, to enable the staff work without Ministry's interference. But 1990 would continue to be remembered for changes which disregarded the law of the land in sports administration in the country. The ministry took over the functions of the Commission without legal respect to decree 34 of 1971 that established it. It has never happened to any parastatal even during the discredited civilian administration.

Sir, I wish to remind you that the coming of the present Minister of Youths and Sports Group Capt. Tony Ikhezabo was greeted with applause because of his considered immense experience in national football and military sports administration. Observers interviewed then, were of the opinion that Nigeria was about to have meaningful direction in sports management. But it was a shoddy impression because politics and exercise of power for self satisfaction and entrenchment of ethnic domination have become the order of the day since his appointment to reorganise the Commission.

The Commission was scrapped without repealing the decree that established it. This is unfortunate, especially since this administration respects human rights a lot.

The Director-General of the Commission, Alhaji Babayo Shehu, whose appointment was approved by the

President has been made redundant and left to be ridiculed. He is suffering for an offence he did not commit. He cannot put into practice what he learned at the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies NIPSS. The offence may be that he contested for the position of Director-General some years ago with those who are now with the Minister and who see nothing good in allowing a person from Bauchi State or that part of the country to head the Commission anymore.

Sir, the issue now is not that the Commission has not done well as the media propagandists claim, but that of "power play" in the country's sports administration with the domination of the particular state of the federation where the Minister comes from.

Sir, it is not my intention to embarrass you because you come from the same state but the truth must be said. Appointments and action of the Minister demonstrate the reality of the allegations so far.

There is no doubt that people in the northern part of the country live in fear because their only Director-General of the Commission is being victimised, and we cannot openly raise the issue in the interest of this great nation.

Sir, Please intervene before the Minister gets too far in marginalising us. The affairs of this nation cannot be left for a section of the country particularly in sports management. The truth of the matter is that the reorganisation and scrapping of NSC is aimed at skimming out selected individuals particularly Alhaji Babayo Shehu. What Nigeria needs now is the changes in the development of Sports facilities and good training programmes for athletes. The taking over of all Southern stadia and Bendel state government institution at Afuze to the detriment of the development of sports facilities at Jos, Mambilla Plateau and Abuja Sports Complex because they are located in the North, is another evidence of attempt to marginalise already backward sports states of the North. NSC can still exist and the so-called reorganisation can take place but not with domination and seclusion of some sections.



**Group Capt. Tony Ikhezabo:**  
Minister of Sports



**Alhaji Babayo Shehu:**  
Director General



## PEOPLE



**E**verybody calls him Akpama. But his name is Inalegwu Ijeche. He cuts an image of struggle. Full of the motivation to rise from the hole of nothingness to the haven of being a somebody. Now he has done something he says is his leverage to finding fulfilment. Akpama barbing salon is his baby. There he makes a living cutting hair.

Akpama dreamt of being a soldier. He applied to the NDA. He lost out. He picked himself up. He went onto dream of running a fashion centre. His one desire was to make people look good. When the fashion ambition died on him, caring for the people through the stomach rose in him. The idea fizzled for lack of funds. However his friends got together, consulted and put money together. And Akpama barbing salon was born.

Akpama can now look back with gratitude to his resilient spirit and believing friends and declare, "patience has seen me through". So has the money started tolling in? Akpama who has also dabbled in boxing smiles, looks into space and says, "the young shall grow". Yes, the young shall grow indeed.

**H**ajiya (Chief) T.O. Mogba, the Ayabimbe of Weppa Wanno, is a woman of many parts. She is a mother, wife, herbal medicine healer, trader, politician and a woman activist. It is hard to pinpoint which of these parts she is more into because she gives equal attention to all of them. She tells it all when she says "all these I am and I like doing the work

involved."

She learnt the craft of healing fractured bones, dislocations, barren wombs and other ailments from her father whom she said she adored. Treatment with roots and herbs to her is the quickest and simplest form of healing;

Chief Mogba who is 50 years and looks younger has eight children. Because of her unwavering belief in the worth of the African woman, she is never tired of mixing with the women folk. She belongs to several women organisations. In addition, is patroness to various clubs including Ugabi supporters club, Agiere Women Wing in Kano, Imonote Women Wing back home in Agenebode in Bendel State where she hails from. But Kano is the Chief's second home the city where all her children were begotten.

Hajiya Mogba urges women to get up and fight for their right "What is good for the men is equally good for women. Our women should go on to drive trains," she said. The Chief also sells fabric and is a strong member of the Social Democratic Party (SDP). She would want to be remembered for the healings she has done so far. But one thing she will always remember is the solid support of her husband of over 30 years, who like a guiding angel is behind her in everything.



**O**nce a soldier always a soldier. Playing the lead role in the TV Programme SAMANJA, Usman Baba Pategi enacts and relives the life of a soldier every week even though he dropped the Khaki more than one and a half decades ago. His is



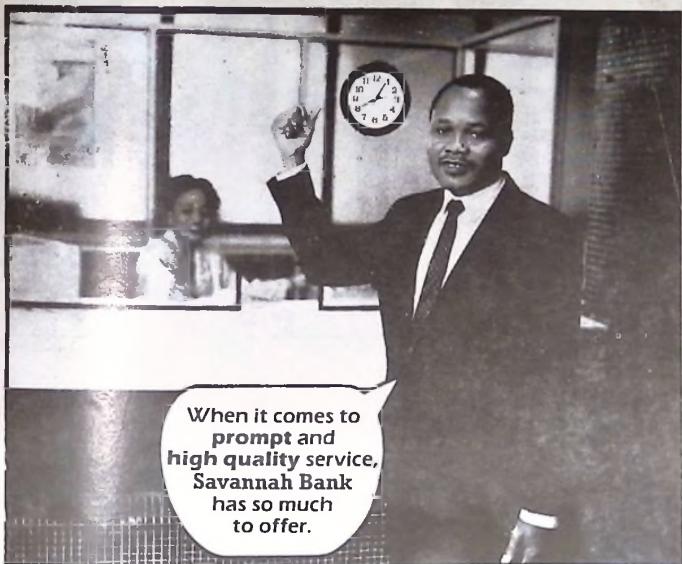
the life of an artistic soldier fighting a war of wits on the screens, shooting at the sad moments of living, and if he has been able to remove the boredom of everyday life then he is winning the war.

But one war remains which he must win. That is the question of placing artists on better remunerations than is now theirs. He bemoans the exploitation of the Nigerian artiste who though admired and appreciated by the public is remunerated so poorly.

"Artistes deserve more than they are getting right now", he said, "its their right, but if you lay emphasis on claiming your royalties, you are termed unpatriotic."

Viewers in Kaduna may have been seeing a different version of SAMANJA on their screens lately. It is a Sterling products sponsored local production of what SAMANJA used to be before the programme went network. Though, the programme might run for sometime, characters like Dan Zaria and Bariki might yet surface. This is because since the passing away of Mrs Yero no suitable cast has been found for the role, and 'Dan Zaria' right now is not physically fit.

47 years old Usman Baba Pategi is optimistic about the new year plan of the NTA. "With NTA going commercial, the future looks bright for SAMANJA", Pategi predicts. He sees a brighter future for the new generation actors. And so he would gladly encourage any of his nine children to pursue a career in the theatre. Unfortunately, of the three grown children, none has chosen acting. They are all into electronics.



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

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

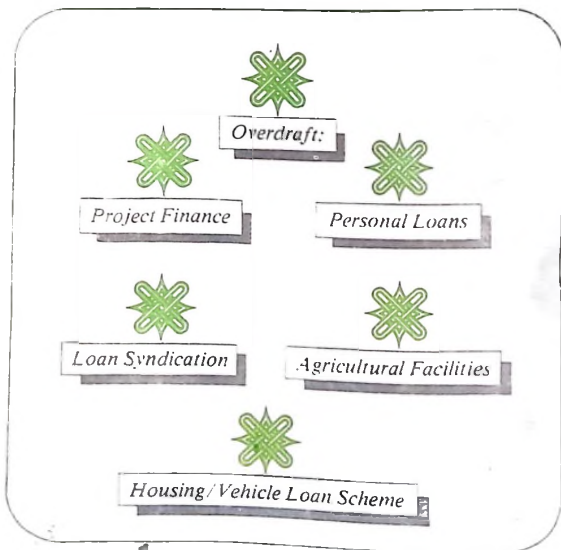


**Savannah Bank of Nigeria PLC**

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

— the Personal Service Bank

# More people trust Bank of the North



.....And now you know why.

Bank of the North Limited having evolved through the years as outstanding specialist in local and international banking services, insists you know where your financial transactions would be well favoured, in then doing business in Nigeria or contemplating doing so. Whether your sphere of business is commerce or industry, channel it through Bank of the North where the major pre-occupation is

to make your business successful. Our close cooperation with major banks in all parts of the world as well as our strategically located branches all over the country ideally place us to handle quickly and efficiently all your banking transactions. More than a commitment in this regard, it is our responsibility to our customers

**Bank of the North Limited**  
HEAD OFFICE: AHMADU BELLO HOUSE, 2, LARIJA ROAD, P.O. BOX 217, KANO, NIGERIA  
TEL 084 600250 TELEX 77233 NG