

The AFRICAN Guardian

A WEEKLY NEWSFEATURE MAGAZINE

NOVEMBER 14, 1988

Onoja in Katsina
Action, more Action

The DUKE VS Mr. BUSH

What's In It For Africa?

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In 1980, I was privileged to be part of a Presidential entourage to the United States. Shehu Shagari addressed the United Nations and the American Association of International Affairs in New York and moved on with his team for bilateral talks with Jimmy Carter in Washington.

It was election year. Jimmy was attempting a second term against Ronald Reagan who seemed determined to crown his long years of film-acting and regional political significance with a berth at the White House.

We knew who was our friend of the two. Jimmy, of course. And it wasn't just because Andrew Young, his ebullient Black Ambassador at the UN had done a wonderful job of bridge-building! Jimmy Carter was seen to manifest an essentially new concern for Third World peoples. From imaginative trouble-shooting strategies as were evident in the Middle East (Camp David Accord), to a clearly sin-

cere gospel of fair play, the ultimate legacy he seemed to strive for, was a more prosperous world based on a humanist approach to all relations.

Shagari apparently couldn't hold back his emotions. More than once, he did the rather undiplomatic thing of letting it be

known, who we would rather have win the upcoming elections. Well, the Democrats eventually lost. And the hard-nosed Reagan has been at the White House ever since.

Here comes another American election year. From their track records and expressed intentions, Africa is sure to have a better friend in the Duke (Dukakis) than in the Jungle apprentice, Mr. Bush.

Assistant Editor Chukwuemeka Gahia, in an extensive analysis, acknowledges that endorsement in this Cover Choice, but says the race takes more than distant wishes, and that in any case, what is in it for Africa may never be so clear-cut, after all.



Cindy Akporugo
Editor-in-Chief

Society

In response, perhaps, to government's economic war-cry of buying made-in-Nigeria goods, investors are now looking for local sources of raw materials for their products.

And one sector that has risen boldly to the challenge is the cosmetics industry. Perfume makers, especially, are now saying they have arrived.



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Nigeria

In Nigeria care for the child, especially the abandoned, sick and hungry one, has of recent, captured attention from both official and private circles. The ministries of health and several motherless baby homes have shown commendable interest in the survival and healthy growth of these helpless children; but not so of two Benin public institutions.



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Publisher
ALEX OBI
Editor-in-Chief
AUDY AKPORUGO

Editor
"DICK" TROON
Assistant Editors
GODWIN ADEGBORO OKEY NDIKE

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JOHN NWACI OKEY FAKPA

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Production Sub-Editors
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SAMUEL OGBUNJOLU Circulation Manager

UCHE OKEKE Circulation Executive

London Office

57(2) Portico Rd. London W11 3QB Telephone (01) 229344

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Fela: U-turn at 50?

I am already addicted to your Cover choice on Fela (October, 17). I read it all over again in order to grasp firmly the philosophy of that personality.

Fela is indeed, a rare gem in the Nigerian socio-political spectrum. His political contemporaries to me include Fidel Castro, Thomas Sankara, Mumbar Gaddafi etc., because these individual's political acts include intermittent struggle for the betterment of the downtrodden in their societies. Fela's political weapon (music) tows a similar pattern. He is indeed, the people's leader.

Nigerian Progressive Youths will always derive inspiration from Fela's fearlessness which attacks the graft and venality of our capitalist system, now being systematically nurtured under a religious garb. Fela is Fela. There is no U-turn for him. The lull in his musical scene can be equated to Nkrumah's tactical action. Happy birthday, brother!

B. Steiner Ibehwa,
Calabar, Cross River State.

Peace pals wanted

The laying bay of Mobutu's defensive mechanism (October, 17) by Botha (reversing Mobutu's claim that their party agreed on the need for an unconditional release of Mandela) should caution African leaders who would like to parley with Botha for negotiations. If he (Botha) remains intransigent on apartheid, then I agree with President Mugabe that there is no use for any negotiations, since regional peace, non-racial democratic rule, etc, are contingent upon the contentious matter (apartheid).

But if Mobutu is seeking economic patronage then he should leave other African leaders who have the interest of their oppressed brothers at heart alone.

Akpaghar James,
Jos, Plateau State.

The Imo example

Your supplement on Imo State (October, 17) was a comprehensive package that highlighted, among other things, the agricultural revolution going on in that state since Commander Amadi Ikwuehgh assumed duty as military governor of the state in August, 1986.

Without doubt, that aggressive agricultural policy should serve as the Imo State example for others of how to combat food scarcity and upgrade the quali-

ty of life of the people of Nigeria.

Muyiwa Awodya
Benin, Bendel State

People: Love of computers

I draw your attention to the third paragraph of your otherwise excellent write-up October 17, where the sentence "only 17 months ago, he lost his plum job ..." tended to suggest that I was fired. The true position in fact is that I resigned from UAC of Nigeria

Ika Onunaku,
Lagos.



The power, the fury

That report (October 10) on the power-show among health-related associations in the country leaves a sour taste in the mouth. Don't these union leaders read the history of associations like theirs in other parts of the world? SOLIDARITY, in Poland, is feared and respected by the government because of the cohesion in that union. In Ghana, it was the professional trade unions, using their constitutional rights, that gave a resounding "No" to Colonel Acheampong's "Union government" bogey. Even here in Nigeria, didn't the women in Aba and Abeokuta stand up against "women taxation"?

The problems of these associations, I think, is lack of national orientation to guide them.

Beatrice Apetor,
Ojo, Lagos

Living in the red

If the Nigerian government is procuring excessive expenses (which I believe it is doing), (October, 3) then the viability of the so-called 'Structural Adjustment Programme' (SAP) stands greatly in doubt. Could our leaders be playing the ostrich game of hiding their heads in the shallow sand of SAP while their whole bodies are conspicuously out?

Why at this crucial time of SAP for economic revival could our Federal and State agencies have exceeded their foreign exchange budget by more than 93% within the first 3 quarters of the year?

Should we then re-address SAP as "Leaders' Conscience Adjustment Programme"?

Akpagher James,
Jos, Plateau State.

Wise talk too late

Allison Ayida's National Day Lecture as reported (October 10) gives the impression that our nation will never move forward. How can a man who was a part of a regime that enacted the indigenization decree turn around to condemn it. If he disagreed then but could not have his way, couldn't he have been patriotic enough to leak his views to the press for ventilation?

What does it benefit a nation when its key policy makers leave office only to lament their oversights or failures. Some of them should have been bold enough to resign on principles; at least to fine-tune our moral perception.

Tilus Okéka, Enugu,
Anambra State

Mamser: Who wants it killed?

For two years now since MAMSER came into existence both the literate and the illiterate citizens of Nigeria are yet to understand what it is all about. It seems its existence is only noticeable on the number of cars they keep on the road. MAMSER might as well become a political party by 1990 or is it 1992 with Banbangida as President and Dr. Jerry as vice.

Mike Oforibuka,
Washington DC

Address Letters to the Editor, typewritten double-space, with writer's name, address and, if available telephone number, to: The African Guardian, Rutam House, P.M.B. 1217, Oshodi, Lagos, Nigeria. Letters subject to editing.

A quiver full of yarns

REMEMBER an incident in J.K. Randle's book, *The Natives are Friendly* in which a soldier from a country called Zimbodia goes to a bank in Switzerland and demands details of bank accounts held by all Zimbodians?

Let's go over the story again, which was actually an after-dinner tale from Randle's humour bank. When the soldier refused the information, he brings a forged letter from Zimbodia's ruling body, the supreme military council.

Still rebuffed, he brings out a gun. But it is all hopeless. The soldier then relaxes and says: "Now, I know I can trust you. Here is my own deposit." And out of his briefcase came three million U.S. dollars in 1,000 dollar bills.

A similar story has turned up in the latest book by British best-selling author and former conservative M.P., Jeffrey Archer. Now, J.K. Randle had sent a copy of his book to Archer when it was published in 1986. Randle and Archer are friends. Randle sent a copy of *The Natives Are Friendly* to him because of Archer's obvious literary interest and business links with Nigeria, and he had hoped to gain a large audience through the English best-selling author. Could it be mere coincidence or would this be another case of plagiarism to find in Archer's book the story of a Nigerian finance minister who goes to a Swiss bank to investigate details of Nigerians holding accounts there?

The rest of the story is just like the account in J.K. Randle's book. The important difference is that Archer claims his story is actually true, that a Nigerian finance minister did travel to Switzerland for such an anti-corruption mission, but ended up depositing his own funds (Archer's version: five million dollars notes in 100 dollar notes) in the bank.

J.K. Randle says he is going ahead to sue Archer at an English court for plagiarism. What disturbs him most is that Archer's story is capable of casting a slur on Nigeria's image and damaging her credibility.

Besides, Nigeria has not had any military finance minister since Major-General Oluleye in the Obasanjo regime and he is just not that kind of person, Randle said last week.

Mr. Archer claims that he got the story from an unnamed Nigerian diplomat two years ago but Chief Randle who has told the British press that he thinks Archer's claims are "outrageous" and "patently untrue" insists that no Nigerian diplomat "will ever say that kind of thing."



• Randle: Threatens Archer with legal action

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Andy Akporugo

Intellectual puppetry

It is beginning to look quite fashionable for rulers of all shades to attempt to demonstrate a 'high' level of attentiveness and intellectual 'sophistication' and be heard to throw in "philosophical clangers" from time to time in the manner of the very learned-Kuru and Jaji, as policy amplification outputs have in the past couple of years provided occasions for grandstand treatises and sometimes spurious academicism.

The 'new' federal capital of Abuja, fast becoming the hub of great conferences has quickly caught the bug. Every key-note address at even a ventably in-house seminar, has been known to create an excuse for a profound lecture on Man and Society.

Prolific and visionary but often too extenuated, too unfamiliarly erudite, some of these lectures generally fail to impress as genuinely held viewpoints of those from whose lips we hear them. They sound distant, borrowed, and are usually roundly betrayed by extremely poor elocution.

The situation is somewhat historically rationalised. The average post-independence African ruler has had some tendency to be seen as embodying the best of everything in the emergent nations. He probably inherited a paternalistic attitude from the colonial predecessor. But I think it is also true that he picked up a bad habit of his own and is suddenly fascinated by the prospects of investing his political pre-eminence with an omnibus, and invariable front pew.

He actually canvasses a right to special placement in the commanding heights of almost every other elitist sphere. Well, the argument about the primacy of politics is very well known, but doesn't necessarily hold here. Primacy as entailed in institutional differentiation and competition was never intended to confer on the incumbent of a high political office intrinsic personal superiority across the board. Nor can we honestly behave as if the acquisition

of political power manifests talents that are irreducible or even instructive for success in every other endeavour.

Academic distinction, for example, is a desirable and pleasurable thing. So may be distinction in chivalry. But they require almost always, different types of cerebral accomplishment to attain. In the fantasy of the typical African leader, unfortunately, "attributes of greatness" are indistinguishable. They merge in his singular passion to excel even in other people's games.

So, as president, for instance, he

"An imaginative head of state or government or even a minister, ought to situate himself between the 'extremists.' He should ensure as much as possible that he lends his personality to whatever he says, and that the 'bookish' fervour in the speeches is not inconsistent with popular knowledge of his ordinary capabilities in such matters"

does not know why he shouldn't also be the richest millionaire or why the essential perspicacity and sagacity of men of letters can run any deeper than the depths he permits for himself. In other words, he is almost certain to be a thief and a plunderer of the national treasury as well as an interloper or intellectual fraud. Perhaps the highest forms of this abuse and mockery were epitomised in the 'transcendental' foolery of Uganda's President-for-life, Field Marshal, Alhajj, Professor Idi Amin Dada.

Incidentally, Nigeria has never really seemed quite impressed with the need to have 'philosopher-princes' at the helm of government affairs. That may well be a validation of an old universal contention that the best politicians are not obliged to be the most intelligent people around. But I think it speaks additionally of the regularity and intensity with which we have been inclined to assault, by the barrel, the established processes of political re-

ruitment.

There haven't been at the State House, therefore, many men of the calibre of Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Leopold Senghor, Augustine Neto, Obafemi Awolowo, Nnamdi Azikiwe and Robert Mugabe; men of ideas who sold their wares with unmistakable conviction and made them infectious, partly because they wrote their own speeches.

I am of course aware that a head of state or government need not jump on his typewriter anytime he has an address to deliver. There are such creatures as speech writers paid by the State as part of his performance package. A good many of them, especially those subscribed from within the bureaucracy can be a sickening bore, making every speech sound like a slightly varied version of the same bad song, hewed from a weather-beaten repertoire of "acceptable" moulds and styles.

At the other extreme may be speech writers usually contracted as a private think tank; professors and other intellectuals seeking cheap favours on the corridors of power, whose armoury of ill-digestible conceptual language and 'elevated' abstractions, comes off heavily flouted, in "speeches from the throne," more to intimidate the barely literate master, than to humour him. An imaginative head of state or government or even a minister, ought to situate himself between the "extremists". He should ensure as much as possible that he lends his personality to whatever he says, and that the "bookish" fervour in the speeches is not inconsistent with popular knowledge of his ordinary capabilities in such matters.

As it has turned out intellectual puppetry appears to have a charm about it. Governmental speech making has grown gradually into an enchanting theatrical enterprise and is making great authors, and if I may add, authoresses from archives of tremendous surrogate contributions ... to knowledge (?).

WEST AFRICA

Wise talk from the west

Helmut Schmidt talks on economic crisis in developing nations

EIGHT years after Helmut Schmidt left office as the West German Chancellor, his dream about what the developed nations should do for the developing nations — revamping their poor economy, helping them control their sky-rocketing populations and closing gaps in standards of living between the northern and southern hemisphere — have been pursued even more vigorously than in the eight years of his tenure.

Last week, Schmidt was at the African Leadership Forum in Otta, a suburban town near Lagos to plug his ideas. The forum, organised by former Nigerian leader, General Olusegun Obasanjo was designed to, among other things, find "lasting solutions" to third world economic crisis.

Schmidt's paper, entitled "Leadership in an inter-dependent World and what is expected from Africa," advised

Africa and developing countries to shun the International Monetary Fund and World Bank conditionalities and look inwards to formulate their own survival strategies; experts of these bodies are not all-knowing, he said. He cautioned Nigeria, in particular, about the adoption and application of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). The only solution to Third World's debt and other problems, Schmidt said was for the nations to create additional exports which could enable them to generate foreign exchange, rather than continue to borrow from developed nations. He urged that they diversify and create markets for new products.

Schmidt (now the Editor-in-Chief of "Die Zeit", the respected West German daily newspaper since October



• Schmidt Timely(?) advice

1, 1985) described SAP as new to developing nations, adding that its operations and effects are not conducive to developing economies. He advised developing nations not to be over-impressed about economic developments in developed economies because he emphasised, they (the developed economies) operate under different conditions. He said he is not happy with the increase in developing nation's population from 2.2 billion to 3.6 billion in the last 20 years since food production did not increase proportionately unlike in the developed nations, adding that their economic problems are directly attributable to this problem of population explosion.

NAMIBIA/ANGOLA

Celebrations in limbo

UN optimism no guarantee for Namibia's immediate independence

IT is difficult knowing exactly what to believe about the progress (or lack of it) in the nearly six-month-long Angolan and Namibian peace process. U. N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar says the talks, which have been held across three continents since it began last May, have brought Namibia's independence "closer than ever."

Still, beyond de Cuellar's optimism are indications that the tri-partite negotiations between South Africa, on the one hand, and Cuba and Angola, on the other, have so far not produced particularly stunning results.

• de Cuellar. Continued optimism



Experts agree that South Africa's troops withdrawal (since last September) from their base in southern Angola was a major victory for the negotiators. In fact, the action immediately set off expectations over the eventual independence of Namibia by November 1 (the date set by the negotiators). But, by last Tuesday (November 1), it was apparent that the agreement on Namibian independence was, perhaps, no nearer than it was at the commencement of the negotiations. Now, speculations are rife that even the limited gains so far made in the talks — notably the South African withdrawal from Angola — may be eroded before early next year when negotiations (now stalled) are expected to resume.

It is not that Pretoria has both the political will and the military muscle to engage in new cross-border offensives against the Angolan government troops (superbly armed by the Soviets, and backed by Cuban soldiers). Such adventure would seem out-of-place, given the present poor state of both the South African economy and the

military (hit by spiralling inflation and shortage of spare parts).

If the racist troops eventually return to Angola, however, chances are that they will present the continuing presence of Cuban troops as an excuse for their action. This would be in line with their attempts, since the beginning of the talks, to portray the Cubans as the real obstacles in the talks. But the truth, it appears, is that Pretoria is disturbed by the particularly vulnerable position of its sponsored rebel UNITA group. In the event of the war finally becoming a two-way affair between the Angolan army and the guerrillas, the authorities know that the rag-tag rebel troops led by Jonas Savimbi, stand little or no chance of facing the superior Angolan forces.

This fear by South Africa is seen as the reason behind the new demand by President Pieter Botha, that the Angolan authorities should, apart from sending home the Cuban soldiers, negotiate with UNITA as a precondition for Namibia's independence. Expectedly, Luanda has turned down the request. Hence the present impasse, and the deferment by Botha of the tentative date for Namibian freedom from November 1, to January 1, 1989.

By Emenike Okorie

PAKISTAN

Preparing for polls

Pakistanis in a frenzy as partisan politics returns

ISLAMABAD, the Pakistani capital, has suddenly become a beehive of political activities. As the count-down to the parliamentary (national and provincial Assemblies) elections reads just 12 days ahead, almost every segment of the Pakistani society appears immersed in the ensuing political whirlpool.

Along with the Pakistani People's Party (PPP), led by family of the late Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, and Mohammad Khan Junejo's Pakistan Muslim League (PML), there are no fewer than 10 political groups canvassing for votes.

To most observers, however, this sudden surge in political activities hardly comes as a surprise. It is seen as a natural reaction to the decade-long political repression by late Gen. Muhammad Zia ul-Haq. Until his violent death three months ago, Zia had effectively muzzled the nation's political leaders whom he, on occasions, referred to as "riff-raffs".

His death (August 17) and the subsequent Supreme Court's ruling last

September in favour of party politics have, however, altered the political landscape. The nine-party opposition coalition formed during Zia's era — Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) has almost completely disintegrated, with each of the groups (especially the major ones) charting their separate path to the November 16 polls.

The break-up of the opposition coalition has been hailed in some quarters as a healthy political development. It offers voters a wide range of choices, supporters say. Even so, analysts suspect that the unwieldy number of parties — some of them representing only very narrow interests — may, at the end, only serve to build walls between the Pakistani people.

In this vast sea of political movements, the PPP seems to be the only group capable of generating substantial electoral interest. This may well be so, since one of the leaders of the group, Benazir Bhutto, daughter of the former prime minister, has already

attained much international and national prominence during the Zia days, as the fearless leader of the MRD opposition coalition. Of even greater advantage to the PPP is the influence of Ali Bhutto himself, who, though executed in 1979 by Zia, is still regarded by many Pakistanis as a national hero. Benazir, and her 56-year-old mother, Begum Nusrat (who is also vying for position in the parliament) are, therefore, favoured not only for reason of their fearless crusade against Zia but for the sake of the former premier.

The active involvement of Gen. Tika Khan, former army chief and defence adviser to Ali Bhutto, in the PPP platform, again gives the party a strong edge over others. Gen. Khan is from Punjab — which makes up to 65 per cent of Pakistan's total population and has most of the nation's wealth. Punjabis also form the main element in the armed forces which still remain a key factor in Pakistan's politics.

Pakistani diplomatic sources in Lagos, however, say that it is, at the moment, still too early to predict the possible outcome of the elections. They insist that there could still be some surprises; particularly coming from former Prime Minister Junejo's camp.

By Emanike Okorie

AFGHANISTAN

Doves yet to perch

Kabul under threat of Soviet reoccupation

NO vivid report of casualties was given, but the Soviet authorities themselves were the first to acknowledge the fact that the latest 10-day aerial bombardment of rebel positions in southern Afghanistan by their Mig 27 has been devastating. Soviet Foreign ministry spokesman, Cannady Gerasimov was quoted as saying that the raid, focused primarily on the rebels' rocket launchers, caused heavy losses of men and materials among the rebels in Kadahar and south western Kabul provinces.

Under the April 14 Geneva accord, Soviet troops are due to be withdrawn completely from Afghanistan by mid-February next year. The latest Soviet military operation, however, contravenes the accord which also forbids direct military involvement of both

USSR and USA in the conflict.

But then, Washington and Moscow are yet to agree on the proposal for a total cut of military support to the warring parties. In addition, the agreement did not have the blessing of the rebels whose leader, Guldobin Hekmatyari says the only solution to the Afghan crisis is the unconditional withdrawal of Soviet Union and the enthronement of an Islamic government in Kabul.

Several attempts by President Mujibullah to invite the rebels to hold talks with government have yielded no fruit. Only last month, the rebels organised a successful rocket attack on Kabul airport, killing about 16 people, including Soviet nationals.

The Soviet's renewed military attacks on the rebels' military base is thus seen by diplomats as a kind of arm-twisting designed to force the intransigent Mujahadeen to the negotiation table. This is more so when the rebels have not only rejected government peace overtures, but refused to grant Soviet's request for the release of Moscow's prisoners of war.

Above all, whatever reasons may have informed the new Soviet offen-

sive may not be as paramount as Moscow's fear of losing Afghanistan to capitalist influence. Observers agree that Soviet Union is quite concerned about the ideological implications of Afghanistan coming under the rebel and, by implication, American control. Kabul's geographical proximity to Moscow, its significance in the East-West ideological war, is making Kremlin put aside the good faith called for by the Geneva accord, to respond adequately to the Pentagon-sponsored attacks by the rebels. In fact, there is fear that continuation of activities by rebels may culminate in a second occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union.

By Abraham Ogboda

• Gorbachev: Not yet willing to let go



COVER CHOICE



• Dukakis

WHO are you for, Bush or Dukakis? Confronted with this question, a good number of American voters have answered: None of them! Some have even, out of exasperation, branded the 1988 presidential race, a "contest between pygmies." They may not be quite right. But, to a large extent, their view brings to sharper focus, the personalities of the two men, one of whom would be the 41st president of the United States.

Judged on their individual characteristics, neither George Bush, nor Michael Dukakis, cuts the picture of a typical, dyed-in-the-wool politician — boisterous, cunning, rugged and most times aggressive. Both are known to be easy-going gentlemen (in every sense of the word), who only got entangled in the not-so-gentle web of politics either out of family tradition (for Bush), or out of a burning, honest desire to contribute to society (for

The two 'pygmies'

Dukakis).

The two presidential candidates however, may share common personality traits, but their family backgrounds, school, political and general life experiences are by no means the same. It is not just that the one is a middle-of-the-road conservative, and the other, imbued with unmistakable *laissez-faire* spirit. Bush, 64, a Texan multi-millionaire (he made his money in oil business), comes from a cushy, aristocratic millionaire-family. His father, Prescott, himself a money-bag, was for 10 years United States senator. Between Bush's election into the Congress in 1966 and his appointment as Ronald Reagan's number two in 1980, he had held such high offices as the UN ambassador and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) director. But he failed in his bid to get elected to the Senate in 1970, (he lost to fellow Texan, Lloyd Bentsen). The vice president holds a bachelor's in economics from the Yale University.

Unlike Bush, however, Dukakis' political experience, especially in the area of foreign policy, has not been so extensive. But, what he lacks in terms of experience, he seems to have made up in his job records as a super-achiever. While Bush, in his two decades in government has acquired the image of a "background man" (be-



• Bush

cause of his rather indistinct political imprints), Dukakis, 54, in his 10-year stint as governor of Massachusetts, has proven himself an economic and administrative whizz-kid. He has been likened to a pocket calculator for his precision and efficiency.

Dukakis, a Harvard-trained lawyer, and of Greek immigrant parentage, is also known for his indifference to personal wealth (unlike Bush). In fact, if he eventually gets elected, he would have performed the rare feat of being one of the few American chief executives who is not worth a million dollars.

Placed side-by-side Bush, in his 6ft. 2 inch-frame, stands head taller than Dukakis. While Americans berate Bush's so-called "wimp factor", arising from what analysts call his congenital incoherence, they mark Dukakis down for being too mechanical, passionless.

'Golden boy' Vs the patriarch

LLOYD McBentsen Jr., 67, and Danforth Quayle, 41, respectively the Democratic and Republican vice presidential candidates, represent two different generations of Americans. The one, in his well-cut suit, designer shows and trim silver hair, cuts the picture of a venerable old man. The other's boyish, handsome face and shiny golden hair makes him out for what he is — a bouncy young man. Both men could easily pass in the streets as father and son.

Indeed, Bentsen is everything that Quayle is not — and perhaps more. Described as the oldest vice-presidential nominee since 1948 (when Alben Barkley,

71, was picked by Harry Truman), Bentsen is a comfortable millionaire who drives the finest cars and lives in Washington's exclusive section. He stands to become even richer soon when he inherits (at the death of his 94-year-old father), the family's sprawling acres of farmland and business empire valued at over \$50 million.

Quayle's personal for-

tune, however, according to figures released last September, is just slightly above \$1 million. Though the son of one of America's most famous publishing families, he did not grow up in a wealthy setting comparable to that of Bentsen. Other wide gulf between the two vice presidential candidates abound. While Bentsen, for instance, for his well-known probing analysis in the Congress, and the Senate, was called

"the man with computer-chip memory," Quayle, a self-confessed dullard in school, was, until he was picked by Bush, a backbencher in the Senate. During his two terms in the Congress, his attendance was said to have been the worst in the Indiana delegation. Bentsen also made a name for himself as a bomber pilot during WW II (flying over 50 missions), but Quayle is yet to convince Americans that he did not dodge enlistment in the Vietnam War.

Bentsen and Quayle, however, are admittedly high achievers. Both, lawyers, got elected into the Congress at quite an early age (Bentsen at 27, in 1947, and Quayle at 29, in 1976).

By Emanike Okorie



• Bentsen and (right) Quayle: A clear difference



• Bush (left) and Dukakis: Who the cap fits?

The great scuffle

Americans to elect their 41st president after an unusual electioneering

CALL it a wrestle in the dust. Call it bare-faced sloganeering. But, this is it. American presidential electioneering is over. Tomorrow, Yankees go to the polls. They will tip either George Herbert Walker Bush or Michael Stanley Dukakis as the 41st President of the United States. And they will bring to an end one of the nastiest and — as some contend — emptiest of American presidential elections.

But, flash your mind back to the last few days of the campaigns. The name of the game has certainly not been moralisation about the vicious tackles and injuries — feigned or real — that helped turn this race into the Great Scuffle. What mattered most was how to generate and spin that final expectation of victory. The mop-up derby kicked off midweek when Republican candidate Bush stormed the swing states of the industrial Midwest, tell-

ing audiences that the election is "going my way." It was the usual the train-is-leaving hop-in band wagon building technique. But there was a ring to it, all the same. It seemed to tally with his front-runner status.

Back in Ohio (one of the Midwestern states), the embattled, back-running Dukakis moved to put his own spin on the expectation game — blurring it considerably. His line — millions of voters are still "listening to the issues and are yet to make up their minds." Given all the similarities, there was something in that assessment that sounded like Walter Mondale's *polls-don't-vote-people-do* exhortations to his campaign-weary staff, on the eve of his crushing defeat in the hands of Ronald Reagan in 1984. Except that this time around there were polls saying that while Bush was well ahead, many voters nevertheless continued to express doubt about Dan Quayle, his

controversial running mate. So, for now, none of the two camps has the expectation derby locked up.

But they are almost sure today to be hurting as they try to take stock. Innumerable *what-ifs* and *had-we-knowns* are going to bleep off and on across the minds of party workers today. What if Dukakis had not waited for so long to toss some mud back at Bush? What if Bush had not picked Quayle? Had the Bush people known, would they have waited until the last minute before contesting the Midwest? Had the Dukakis camp known, would it have so stubbornly rejected the idea that the ideological question is a crucial aspect of the race?

The truth from these questions may finally begin to dawn on both camps or it may not. But this, for what it is, is the day of reckoning for their teeming partisans as well. Minds will be made up today. Last minute switches will

occur.

One problem: national mood is not upbeat. Fifty per cent of the voters think that this is the most negative and insubstantial presidential campaign. Two-thirds of them wish they had a different set of candidates to choose from. "There ought to have been better candidates," Chuck Mark, Black American and dramatic arts lecturer at Obafemi Awolowo University, Ife, tells *The African Guardian*. Voters have consistently found the campaign to be bereft of issues, strong candidate appeal, and positive themes. "The worst campaign ever," charged former President Jimmy Carter. Many voters are saying that "they are unsure of both candidates and will, therefore, abstain from giving their mandate," reports Onukaba Adinoyi-Ojo, assistant editor with *The Guardian* from Nashville, Tennessee.

The problem, Mark says, is that both candidates lack concise programmes. American-trained political scientist, Professor Adele Jinadu (National Electoral Commission, NEC, member) agrees with this opinion. "It has been a campaign of superficialities instead of that of issues".

Another American-trained Nigerian expert, Dr. Luke Uche, mass communications teacher at the University of Lagos, thinks that neither Bush nor Dukakis has what it takes to ignite the flame needed to fire the imagination of voters. He recalls that in 1976, when Reagan ran against Carter, the Iran hostage issue and the state of the economy were high on the agenda. The Reagan-Mondale race raised significant questions about ideology and the economics of Reaganomics, Uche says. Now, however, "the issues are not so pronounced."

THEY may well be. However, American presidential elections have always remained issue-oriented on account, at least, of the country's pluralist character and for reason of the enduring domestic contentions over its global pursuits. Perhaps, it is true after-all that this year, the candidates simply went to sleep. Otherwise, the Quayle misadventures were quite an issue. The Iran-contra arms deal was there. Bush never quite absolved himself of involvement in the affair. And that was an issue. So were problems like protectionism, economic justice, and the federal deficit.

But time is up. And the chickens will definitely come home tomorrow to roost. White American, Jim Blackwell



• Jimmy Carter: "The worst election ever"



• Luke Uche: No pronounced issues

of Gulf Oil, Lagos, tips Bush to win and does not even think Quayle is a problem. "Bush and Quayle will blend into a progressive administration all Americans will be proud of," says Blackwell. *Guardian's* assistant features editor Harriet Lawrence (a Black American married to a Nigerian) prefers Dukakis, because he "is more practical and appeals to people's sense of judgement". Mark also leans toward Dukakis, but only because he is "the lesser of the two evils." Akpenogun Tarbunde, special assistant to former External Affairs Minister, Professor Bolaji Akinoyemi, agrees that Bush enjoys superior advantages in the race, but observes that historically America's vice presidents seldom succeed their bosses through the ballot box. "Perhaps, Bush may crack the jinx. Perhaps, history repeats itself."

To be sure, the Massachusetts governor has continued, to this election eve, to sound like a man that cannot lose tomorrow. Quite against the run of regular polls, his aides were claiming last week that he is closing in on Bush. They said that their polls show that 20 to 30 per cent of the voters are yet to make up their minds. At a rally to mark his 55th birthday (Thursday, November 2) in Philadelphia, the Democratic candidate himself announced that Bush's negative campaigns have "ignited" what he called "a turn-back" to the Democratic party.

Polls were showing that the race there had become quite tight, especially in Ohio and Illinois, hitherto thought to be safe within the Bush column. By last Thursday, the Republi-

cans were planning to have the vice president spend some two to three days non-stop, ostensibly to tighten his lead in the area.

Nationally though, polls still continued to show him with an eight to 10 per cent advantage in the ratings, with only one of the polls pointing to a narrowing of the lead.

Adinoyi-Ojo reports that the question is "no longer one of who would be America's next President but whether Republican candidate Bush is set for a landslide humiliation of his Democratic opponent." Indeed, a survey of likely voters by Columbia Broadcasting Service (CBS) last week gave the vice president a 53 to 43 per cent lead. The Gallup Organisation put it at 53 to 39 per cent. Concludes Adinoyi-Ojo: "It's been decided already. Devoid of any miracle, the Republicans will have their White House tenancy renewed for another four years."

WHAT went wrong with the Democrats? A lot. One, there was no focus in Dukakis message. It was vague and it contained no clear-cut issues. His focus on competence and leadership was hardly evocative or clear."

He managed to get away with a moderate, vague and non-issue campaign during the primaries, but either forgot or chose to overlook the fact that he needed to go beyond that in the actual presidential election.

He made the issues of economic justice and economic future a basis of his campaign but failed, as one observer emphasised, to arouse "indignation about Reaganomics. A different prob-



• Reagan: Awaiting a co-Republican successor

lem was his passionless mien. It is said that he does not easily arouse or show emotions — a definite political handicap at this level — and that he is humourless and stiff.

The result of it all was that Bush was able to snatch the image game from him. From being a gaffe-prone candidate with jerky gestures, Bush had, towards the end of the race, so improved his image that he easily won the so-called likeability sweepstakes at the second presidential debate in Los Angeles, October 13.

He was also quick to blur — and to blunt the Dukakis' edge on the traditional Democratic issues like the environment, education, health and child-care. Perhaps, the biggest of the Dukakis mistakes was that of doing nothing while Bush used highly effective negative advertisements to stigmatise him as an ultra-liberal, soft on defence, weak on the environment and willing to let off criminals. Later, much later, Dukakis began to fight back. He had one advertisement in which he would turn off the TV out of disgust over supposedly uncountable Bush's untruthful advertisements. The Dukakis camp even ran an ad imputing responsibility to the vice-president for murder, victim of an inmate of a federal furlough programme.

There is a sense in which efforts like these plus Dukakis' own attempt within the past two weeks to stand by his liberal credentials (rather than continue to deny them) will look belated. He is considered to have a hazy image. He was relatively unknown outside his northeast base before taking a shot at

the presidency. The public had expected him to extend that base by allowing the entire nation know who he is during the campaigns.

But while Bush has since overcome his inadequacies, he (Dukakis) has not dealt with his. A year in the public eye and many Americans are still asking who Dukakis is and what he wants. His greatest misfortune is running against the heir apparent of America's most popular President since John F. Kennedy. Under him, the economy has improved, unemployment is at its lowest in 15 years and many Americans are happy and "feeling pretty good" the way things are at present.

ON the international scene, he is said to have reduced the prospects of a nuclear attack through the series of agreements with Moscow. Dukakis argues that things could be better than they are at present. But no one thinks he has so far been able to make a convincing argument for that change.

His problem has been diagnosed as a "failure of personality." Unlike Kennedy in 1960, Dukakis is said to have no emotional link with the working families and the young, many of whom have been worse off under the Reagan era. Even Senator Dan Quayle, Bush's embattled running-mate, knows what is wrong with Dukakis. Said he recently: "He takes a mechanical, technical approach to people's problems. I don't think the man can really reach out there and touch people, and affect people's lives. And if a leader can't reach out

there and touch people and have feeling, compassion and leadership, he's not going to be a good President."

Quayle's observation, though prejudiced, is largely true. Everything in America has to have a bit of drama, colour and hoopla for it to appeal to the greatest number. "Dukakis is plain, too plain."

Everyone knows Reagan to be a forgetful, lazy and shallow President, a man who prefers talking about his Hollywood experience to tackling serious issues of state. Yet Americans love him. They say he comes out fine on television. During the debates, issues were not the general concern but the colour of the candidates' ties and the television image.

This was how the sharp, handsome young Kennedy whipped the dull, old Nixon in the 1960 debate. It is this lack of an accepted television image that prompted the "unlikeable" label on Dukakis.

His prepared speeches have the soul-stirring lines of Kennedy's. In fact, Theodore Sorensen, Kennedy's talented speech writer, is behind many of Dukakis' catch phrases, such as "I think we can do better." But their delivery have failed to ignite the same Kennedy passion.

It remains to be seen what actually happens tomorrow. The Dukakis race was having something of a late rally towards the weekend. The *Washington Times* found that in a five-day period (October 1 — November 2), Bush's lead had dropped 12 to eight per cent, with a three per cent margin of error. Moreover, the vice president was having to defend some very touchy issues — negative advertising and Quayle — as the campaign winds down.

A Dukakis victory (an equivalent of the 1948, Democrat Harry Truman defeat of favourite Thomas Dewey) will be a shock. But it would hardly be totally out of place in this particular presidential season. There were surprises all over, right from the start. New York governor Mario Cuomo, widely favoured to take the Democratic nomination (if he had sought it) withstood all pressures for even last-minute draft. Before then, sex-scandal had driven the earlier favourite former Colorado Senator Gary Hart (now newspaper columnist) from the race.

In the primaries themselves, Senator Bob Dole shocked Bush in the Iowa caucus earlier in the year before his own stunning defeat by Bush in the pivotal New Hampshire primary. The

Rev. Jackson made history, not just as the first Black man to be taken seriously as a contender for a major US party's presidential ticket, but also in winning a number of key primaries (and in coming second in several others in all-white states in several parts of the country). He came second to Dukakis in the number of delegates at the end of the Democratic primaries June 7, and was vigorously pushed by Blacks in the party for the vice-presidential spot.

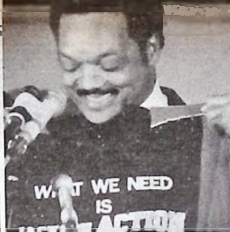
Dukakis entered his race with Bush with a lead of over 30 percentage points — completely wiped out by the end of August. A loss tomorrow will cause something of a panic in the Democratic party. And it will not just come as a result of frustrations about having to be out of the White House for 12 years (1980-1992). It is more likely going to be due to the fact that Dukakis is part of the new group of Democrats widely seen as the party's hope for greater competitiveness with the Republicans. This group is believed to have broad appeal and is adjudged capable of attracting Republican support because among other things, it de-emphasises ideology in favour of effective economic management.

The Democratic establishment, according to experts like Robert G. Becker, is no longer under the illusion that the New Deal Coalition of Franklin D. Roosevelt can no longer serve the interests of the party.

Not surprisingly, Dukakis' positions in this election have tended to centre on problems like modernising ailing plants, retraining workers, child-care, health benefits, welfare reform, trade deficit, balancing of the budget, aid to education and housing, government-industry-labour partnership, and regional development.

Experts say that a key to the Dukakis agenda is the assumption that the Republican Party is not going to be able to stem US economic decline. Therefore, he will try to enhance the competitiveness of US companies, find new markets for American goods, regain lost markets and improve the country's productive capacity. In choosing Senator Lloyd Bentsen as his running-mate, Dukakis hoped to enhance his managerial credentials and to make it difficult for the Republicans to dub him a "tax-and-spend" liberal.

Dukakis favours conventional over nuclear forces. Bush is not opposed to new nuclear weapons. Again while Bush supports unilateralism (by which



• Jesse Jackson: Echoes of a controversial ousting

the US cannot feel bound by international law), Dukakis prefers a multilateral approach. Because of this, and his commitment to the idea of morality in foreign policy, the Democratic candidate is opposed to Bush's avowed support for covert action to help anti-communist rebels or what he (Bush) calls "low intensity conflict" in support of war against communism in the various regions.

Undoubtedly, the African region will be affected, one way or the other, by the outcome of this election. Jinaidu, for instance, does not foresee a change in US African policy if Bush wins. Adds Uche: "Africa should not expect a miracle if Bush wins. Bush and Reagan designed the Constructive Engagement policy."

A Bush victory will almost certainly roll back whatever progress is likely to have been made in Southern Africa. This eventuality is clearly implied in his "low intensity conflict" strategy.

The strategy suggests continued support for the rebel UNITA movement in Angola. Bush does not also favour sanctions against South Africa. And he is not (unlike Dukakis) in support of debt relief.

Perhaps, the most dangerous implication of a Bush victory for Africa is

• Dole: Early shock for Bush



a possible South African retreat from the current peace process, into fresh intransigence, leading to a prolongation of the conflict there.

If Dukakis, wins, it is almost certain that we shall return to the constructive US-African co-operation of the Carter period. The influence of the Rev. Jackson in a Dukakis administration will be tremendous and this is likely to mean greater US understanding of the concerns of the African mainstream. Dukakis has said he will recognise the MPLA government in Luanda. He is likely to push for reforms in South Africa itself, having already agreed with the idea that the racist enclave is a terrorist state.

In the final analysis, tomorrow's election is unlikely to be a referendum on any foreign policy issue. Domestic realities are what will determine the outcome. But the real puzzle is that the race is tied up with tough pointers.

Item — the "Springsteens." Experts say that the Springsteens (named after musician Bruce Springsteen) are treated in this year's race with as much deference as the Silent Majority, the Born-Again Christians and the Reagan Democrats enjoyed in the Nixon versus Humphrey, Carter versus Ford, and Reagan versus Mondale contests of 1968, 1976 and 1984 respectively. Bush and Dukakis are said to be convinced that the group (15 per cent of the voters, white, married, mostly school certificate holders, under 45, low-income families favouring education and opposed to drugs and dirty environment, \$20,000 to \$50,000 per annum) will cast the decisive ballots this year. Which candidate will they vote for?

Item — Dan Quayle. This reputedly handsome, 41-year-old Indiana senator is adjudged unfit for the office of the vice president. Some pollsters predict that he will hurt Bush. Others say that the public is not bothered, one way or the other. Voters have not given their verdict. Tomorrow, will they vote for or against the man called President Quayle?

Item — Since 1832, no incumbent US vice president has succeeded his Commander-in-Chief in office. Richard Nixon tried in 1960 to succeed General Dwight D. Eisenhower and lost to Kennedy. Will history fail to repeat itself this year? Many, many pointers. Hardly any simple answers. See you tomorrow.

By Chukwuemeka Gahis with reports from Onukaba Adinoyi-Ojo (in Nashville, Tennessee, USA), Emanike Okoria, Debo Adesina and Abraham Ogboda

Ugly face of the race

Manipulation by campaign staff creates problem of choice

THERE is certainly no strict formula for the presidency of the United States of America. And rightly so too. The most powerful office in the world is too fleeting to have a list of how-tos for every Tom, Dick and Harry to come, read and thenceforth proceed to rule.

Yet, beyond programming as the office itself seems, getting there can be much more difficult. The race for the White House does assume certain forms. For each candidate has to design his own winning formula. But, of course, the one that captures the American mood wins.

For 1988, the trump-card has been the ability of the campaign staff to package the candidate, make him glitzy, even when he has little or no substance, and sell him to the electorates. Add to this the ability to coin the right lines with which one candidate deprecates the other's imprecations.

However, the result as it has turned out, is that Americans are going to choose their 41st president more for his gamesmanship in contest than for actual leadership qualities. Thanks to the behind-the-scenes technocrats who pivoted the entire campaign on a dexterous use of television through which the agenda for trivialities was set.

The Republican Party and indeed, its candidate, George Walker Bush, certainly raised this to the level of high art. Traditionally acclaimed as a party of the rich, the Republicans invested a fortune on the media, especially the television. Marketing and advertising via this medium formed the kernel of their campaign. And from that point, issues were manipulated to suit Bush's purpose.

In their masterly handling of the media campaign, the issues were never allowed much discussion. Rather, trivial and negative messages about Michael Dukakis, the Democratic candidate were beamed into American homes. He was endlessly portrayed in these commercials as a liberal too far from the mainstream of America, who does not support reciting the pledge of allegiance in schools but initiated the Massachusetts Prison-

Furlough programme, the most illustrative consequence of which is a beneficiary who went out to commit worse crime.

Of course, these are not the issues that should make the 1988 presidential contest tick. But the Republicans succeeded in making them "the issues". This success is due largely to the technocrats who ran the campaigns.

James Baker, head of the Republican campaign is a veteran who managed Bush's race against Reagan at the Republican primaries in 1980. Roger Ailes, Bush's media manager and Robert Teeter, the pollster,



■ Baker and Sasso (right): On their masters' service

started out on the campaign trail as far back as 1968 when Nixon contested against Lyndon Johnson. They have learnt and perfected what is known as the Republican's well-honed strategy and used it effectively against the Democrats.

More importantly, against these veterans, the Democrats pitched a group of brilliant but inexperienced staff. And observers say the team's initial inability to come up with a good strategic planning was due to this relative inexperience.

Even so, Bush's ability to shift the campaign from that of ideas to that of negativism has been made possible by Michael Dukakis himself. Dukakis was one challenger who was not forceful enough to dictate the pace and tone of the campaign. Rather, he followed the leads pointed by Bush. Instead of being aggressive he often had to defend himself. He became the prey when he should have been the predator.

While the Bush camp dished out the sound-bites especially in their commercials, Dukakis' team responded

with lack-lustre messages with pretensions of dignity. Unfortunately, in this attempt at a dignified race, Dukakis' beliefs and aspirations were never well articulated. And as Ejiro Onobrakpeya, deputy foreign editor of *The Guardian* says: "His message never came across."

Almost too late, however, the Dukakis team seemed to realise its inability to dictate the tone; that even while fighting dirty, the Bush camp was getting away with many points and succeeding even more in putting Dukakis on the defensive. Hence, with the return of John Sasso, his point-man who had once resigned, Dukakis too had to descend, fighting back at the opponent's level and returning taunts for taunts. But this happened seemingly too late.

"Where were his advisers all along," remains the engaging question. And the answer could be: "They went to sleep and since they were holding the strings, the puppet too must go to bed."

Which brings forth the new dimension the role of technocrats in the American campaign has assumed. In this race, they over-shadowed even the candidates. They have done most of the exchanges, designed the lines in commercials and candidates speeches. The candidates were teleguided beyond what to say to the ridiculous point of what gestures to make at what period of a debate and what message a particular tie could convey.

Of course the effect on the quality of the leaders-to-be is instructive. Senator Dan Quayle, the Republican vice presidential candidate once lost the script of a speech prepared for him on the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) by the campaign staff. And the senator who is supposedly an expert on defence policies gave a speech of his own. It was most incomprehensible.

With the race so teleguided and devoid of substance, observers say, the American electorate could not have known any of their candidates enough. Thus, the office and the nation is a loser against whoever wins. For it is enough that the two candidates have come across as hardly the best of America. That the electioneering process has prevented them from being evaluated in their elements further illuminates how short the country has sold herself in 1988.

By Deba Adesina



Ravaged by hunger

An abandoned child's unnecessary march to death

THIS child is starving — and, maybe, dying. For he is always yearning for food, especially when he beholds a stranger's face. He thinks they bear what his great grandmother seems always to lack.

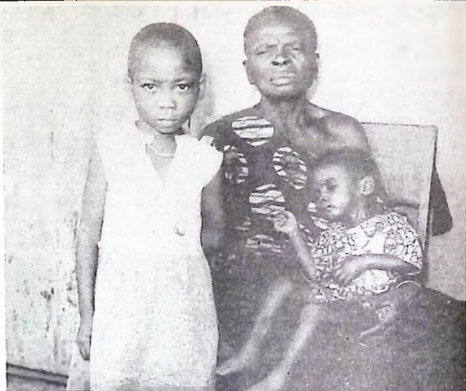
He is so weak he cannot stand on his feet. His body is frail and, coupled with the riot of rashes on his skin, he seems always to be in pain when he is lifted. He stools frequently — from diarrhoea — and his legs are swollen. That is the evidence of malnutrition.

His father is nowhere to be found. His mother, too, has ran away and his grandmother is out of sight. When nobody seemed to want him, his great grandmother, who is very old and weak and poor, offered to bear the little burden, along with other grandchildren she is saddled with. "Who knows, he could become SOMEBODY, someday," she hoped. Now, this hope is cracking. And Dare, who really could become SOMEBODY someday, is face-to-face with death, as hunger — and maybe disease — ravages the flesh and marrows of the little boy.

A concerned citizen has made a spirited effort to halt Dare's march to unnecessary death. But a combination of inhumanity and dishonesty has frustrated this effort.

On Saturday, October 22 the concerned citizen found Dare's condition so frightening he rushed him to the University of Benin Teaching Hospital, Benin City. He required oral rehydration therapy, which is supplied freely under the Federal Government-sponsored Primary Health Care Scheme. But nurses at the children's emergency ward extracted fifty kobo from the child's wards, the cost of a plastic teaspoon; and it required the generosity of the mother of another child for Dare to find a cup for his immediate dose of the sugar and salt solution. And although the concerned citizen expected the boy to be admitted to the nutrition unit of the hospital, the doctor on duty later dismissed him and his great grandmother because, according to the old woman, there was no bed.

A top official of the Bendel State Ministry of Health who was alerted



• Dare: Abandoned by his parents, for an aged great grandmother

about the boy's dangerous condition said it was the duty of the office of the Chief Social Welfare Officer to handle the matter. But an official of the Ministry of Youth Sports and Social Welfare said it was not easy to deal with the boy's case.

He could not be said to have been

abandoned since he was in the "care" of his great grand-mother. Moreover, the government official said, the case of indigency had first to be established by the appropriate authorities. Meanwhile, Dare's condition is worsening; for there is no improvement in the situation of food supply at his 18, Plymouth Road, Benin City. Neither is there any serious programme of intervention regarding his health. "What the boy needs," says a community health specialist "is an improved programme of nutrition." But since this is not forthcoming as long as he remains with his great grandmother, he needs a completely new environment. And the earlier the better. For if he is not rescued fast from this situation he may become mentally retarded even if he manages to survive physically."

Asked to suggest a possible way out of the boy's dangerous condition, a social worker in Benin said only public interest could influence the relevant government departments to step into the matter. "I don't think the Bendel State's Military Governor, Col. Tunde Ogbeha or the Federal Health Minister Professor Olikoye Ransome-Kuti will allow this innocent child to die "if they are aware of his condition."

He said the public, too, ought to be able to decide if the boy deserves to die. "If they feel he shouldn't, then they should save him."



• Should little Dare be allowed to die?

Cooling down itching feet

Passengers agonise over new airfare rates

ANNE Okwanuzor, 26, an employee of one of the federal ministries in Lagos had a dream: to go to America for her post-graduate studies before the year 1989 runs out. She had, therefore, been saving most of her earnings towards buying a ticket to New York. But last week the Ministry of Aviation threw a spanner into her works; the ministry approved a 100 per cent increase in the cost of air tickets for oversea routes.

For Okwanuzor, not only has the increase altered her timetable, but her dream of post-graduate studies in America has become even more difficult to achieve. Her days of self-denial it seems are far from being over.

Okwanuzor's plight represents that of many Nigerians whose itchy feet will be cooled, at least for sometime by the increase in airfare. The lucky ones who had, however, bought their tickets before the increase was announced turned the international wing of the Murtala Muhammed Airport into a mad house, last Monday, the last effective date for the old fares.

Passengers travelling to Europe and New York struggled fiercely to pick up tickets at the old rates or confirm their trips. Many of the passengers wore gloomy expressions, complaining about the increase as being too astronomical. Beginning from the first day of November, the air fare on a Lagos-London economy class ticket becomes N6,538 from N3,269. While first class fares on the same route which used to be N5,482 now costs N10,964. Similarly the Lagos-New York economy class fare has shot up to N7,224 from the old fare of N3,612 as the first class fare takes a gallop to N11,242 from N5,621.

Predictably, the airlines are happy over the new increase. For some time now they, through the Board of Airlines Representatives (BAR), have been demanding an increase in air fares. According to them, air fares in Nigeria are cheaper compared to that of other countries. This they claim make them run at a loss. With the increase, therefore, they believe they can recoup some of their losses.

But if the airlines are smiling over the increase, the travel agencies are not. To them the air fare would have remained as it was, before the increase. Their contention is that



■ *Osajowa: Desperate efforts to bail out sinking airline*



■ *Ogunleye: Regular air travel should be for businessmen*

the increase will lead to a drop in passenger traffic, which in effect means a cut in their profit margin. But as they have no say in BAR's deliberations, they have no option but to accept the increase as a fait accompli.

At Kalife Travel Bureau, Lagos, and Transmission Travels Agency Ikeja, the consensus is that passenger traffic, which even before the increase has been low, will witness a further slump. The representatives of these two travel agencies aver that the consolation lies in the belief that those who have committed themselves to travelling before the increase will still do so.

Femi Ogunleye Nigeria Airways chief image maker, however, agrees with the travel bureaux' position: "there will be less passengers," he says, "but the airline will make more money. Nigerians, he says, were only being hypocritical when former Avia-

tion Minister, Jeremiah Useni was criticised for saying that "air travel is not for the poor." Americans and Europeans, Ogunleye, points out, save and plan for upward of five years for their holiday. "But Nigerians always want the easy way out of things; regular air travel should be for business men," he lectured. The Airways image maker, however, denied newspaper reports that the airline is increasing its international flights, saying "even domestic flights are being rationalized."

Yemare Bisrat, chairman of BAR which lobbied for the hike, also disagreed with the gloomy picture painted by the travel agencies and Femi Ogunleye. Bisrat does not foresee a slump in passenger traffic now, or in the future. Basing his argument on the rush in the last days before the hike took effect, he said "People are still travelling, and they will continue to travel."



■ *Useni: Air travel is not for the poor*

But the turn of events does not seem to bear out Bisrat's optimism. The heavy passenger rush in the last days of the old fares has reduced to a trickle. Observers are even predicting that the traffic will still go down. And that the Nigeria Airways, the national carrier, might be the worse off for the new increase. This thinking is informed by the fact that the Nigeria Airways is unpopular, even on domestic routes, owing to its frequent cancellation of flights and the airline's woeful record of botching schedules. With such problems that defy solution, observers believe that the national carrier might not be able to compete with the foreign airlines for the few passengers on the international route.

Like a critic pointed out, "the airways may be pricing itself out of the market like the 'volkswagen beetle.'"

By John Ndega

Armour against coups

Conference suggests ways of barricading soldiers in the barracks

AFTER two botched civilian regimes and 18 years of military rule, their apprehension seems justified. Most Nigerians doubt whether the soldiers will remain in their barracks after President Ibrahim Babangida might have handed over power to an elected civilian government in 1992. The reasoning that some military personnel who have not tasted political power may want to do so, and a consensus that most vices like corruption and mismanagement which the soldiers allude to as *raison d'être* for staging coups are yet to be excised, became the focus of the two-day conference on "Stability of the Third Republic" organised by the *Concord Press* last week (November 1-2). According to Chief Moshood Kashimawa Abiola, publisher of *Concord* newspapers, the conference was aimed at finding reasons and answers to the problem of instability in the country.

The reasons and answers have come from those who should know. Alhaji Yusufu Maitama Sule (the *Danmasannin* Kano). Chairman of the occasion, has been a participant in national life since the age of 25. Nigena's former permanent representative at the UN, and a key member of former President Shehu Shagari's defunct National Party of Nigeria (NPN), Maitama Sule said that "instability in Nigeria is not measured so much in the form of active manifestation of discontent by the people but rather through the frequent and forceful incursion of the military into the inner recesses of political power." He contends that other manifestations of instability like poverty and corruption could be tackled by politicians if they are allowed to perfect a given political system.

Sule's position may not be totally correct. Before the close of Shagari's government in 1983, there was already mass dependency and discontentment arising principally from the economic mismanagement and consequent hardships brought about by Shagari's misrule. It was, therefore, not surprising to observe that Nigerians who felt marginalised, shouted for joy when Shagari was overthrown.

It may be argued that while military coups engender instability, corruption and mismanagement alienate the people from government thereby creating an unstable polity. But Major-General (rtd) Ibrahim Haruna thinks that it will be unrealistic to expect



Sule: Civilians need time to perfect a stable political system



Haruna: As Nigenans, soldiers cannot be barricaded in the barracks

soldiers to look the other way when civilians desecrate the constitution and plunder the treasury. Haruna, presenting a paper entitled "Military discipline and the stability of the Third Republic", thinks "the military as an integral part of the Nigerian society cannot be barricaded in the barracks to live in their own separate ideals of the animal farm... Sooner or later, they may bolt out of the stables for want of care, due to neglect or for want of something better to do due to suffocating boredom..." Haruna's position is understandable. As a major participant in the coup that snuffed life out of the First Republic, it will smack of hypocrisy if he should now condemn military intervention.

President Babangida has repeatedly said his government will not renege on its promise to return power to politicians in 1992. He has, while marking his third year in office last August, also said his would be the last military administration. Observers feel that

the president's optimism was predicated on the belief that future politicians would work harmoniously to bring about a good government.

But the question is: How do you achieve this political harmony in 1992? Here, interesting suggestions were given. For instance, Adamu Ciroma (*Dalatu Fika*), minister of finance in the Second Republic, sues for unity among politicians through a system of participatory democracy. In his 24-page paper entitled "First and Second Republic: Lessons for the Third Republic," Ciroma urged future political leaders to ensure that various interest groups in the country are represented in government to reflect the diversity in the country. Dr Doyin Okupe suggests the emergence of newbreed politicians, electoral officers, voters, and policemen and journalists. Indeed, he was calling for newbreed Nigerians. Professor D. Aihe says the country should adopt open election as opposed to the secret ballot system. Under the open election system, voters will assemble at designated polling stations on election day, and the system of voting will be by the raising of the hand. Aihe says this is to avoid rigging and the bitterness that normally ensues.

At the end of proceedings, the question was whether a panacea had been found for military coups. One participant feels that the exercise could at best be described as a rigmarole because the military, having tasted power and having no major occupation, would continue to intervene and upset the political apple-cart.

By Mike Ubani

Not yet, hangman

Lagos high court grants temporary respite to condemned youths

SINCE he was raised to the bench two years ago and later appointed chairman of the second Ikeja Armed Robbery and Firearms Tribunal, Mr. Justice Moshood A. Oribani has handled quite some celebrated cases. And he has passed a number of death sentences too.

Only last Wednesday for instance he condemned three men — Olajide Akinyemi and two others who had been standing trial since 1986 on charges of armed robbery. But the most talked about case handled by the judge to date remains that of the 12 youths he condemned June 22. The verdict has caused ripples across the nation and beyond, surpassing by far the waves created by the life-sentence verdict of the same judge in the celebrated Yemisi Akinsanmi (alias Yemo) case of June last year.

Although the death sentence has been passed on the youths by the Tribunal, the fate of the youths is by no means sealed. An Ikeja High Court, headed by Mr. Justice Victor Famakinwa, granted an *ex parte* motion calling for a stay of execution pending the determination of the appeal. Thus until the substantive suit is decided, the condemned youths cannot be reached by the hangman.

Augustine Eke, Mohammed Sanni, Jubril Ismaila, Kabiru Mohammed, Shahabu Muhasu, Isa Garuba, Saidu Garuba, Mohammed Garuba, Mohammed Ibrahim, Kiki Francis, Awujig Roshe and Oluwale Jataari are among 15 boys who stood trial before the tribunal for robbing one Alhaja Latifatu Odunnsaya and her two sons (Afolabi and Layiwola) of money and items worth N561,770 at their Ikorodu residence, September 4, 1984. One of the accused, Alkasu Mamunam had died in the course of the trial while the other two, John Alli and Sunday Peters (first and second accused who were house boys to Odunnsaya) were said to have been sent to their country — Benin Republic — in a prisoner-swap deal between Nigeria and Benin Republic.

The attention which the sentence attracted obviously stemmed from the plea by the defence counsels that the boys were under-aged (their ages were said to be between 16 and 18 years) at the time the said offence was committed, as well as alleged irregularities in



• Fadayomi: The trial was proper and fair.

the trial. Individuals and organisations, notably the London based Amnesty International sent in petitions to the then military governor of Lagos State, Captain Mike Akhigbe asking him to commute the sentence. Akhigbe was still considering the petitions when he was redeployed last July.

The matter seemed to have been forgotten by the public until the Lagos State Attorney General and Commissioner for Justice Mrs. Eniola Fadayomi in a press briefing October 27 reaffirmed the death sentence. Mrs. Fadayomi who seemed in no way impressed by the under-age pleas declared: "if we have to bend to their demand, we may have to close down our tribunals". To her, what matters is whether the trial was fair or not, and in her own judgement the trial was "proper and fair... The military governor has confidence in the tribunal and the matter is laid to rest."

This statement, seen by many as an indication that the military governor may soon sign the death warrant of the boys, once again awakened the case in public consciousness. Public apprehension was even more accentuated by the assertion by the Director of Public Prosecution (DPP), Mr. Abiodun Kessington that none of the condemned youths is under-aged. Kessington had on October 31, four days after Fadayomi's press briefing issued a statement in which he claimed that the youngest (at the time the offence was committed) was 14 years

while the oldest was 25. Thus the youngest is now 17 while the oldest is 28 years.

According to him, the convicts were duly represented by counsels during the trial and age was not pleaded by any of them. In any case, he said, only a person under seven years could not be held criminally responsible for any act of omission, quoting section 30 of the Criminal Code to buttress his point. He also quoted section 2 of the Criminal Procedure Law of Lagos State which describes a child as "any person who has not attained the age of 14", and a juvenile offender as an offender who has not attained the age of 17. He did not, however, say what punishment awaits a juvenile offender.

But in his application, supported by a 21-point affidavit, the applicant Adeleke Sanusi of the Gani Fawehinmi Chambers maintains that: "at the time of the alleged commission of the offence with which the young boys were charged, all the young boys were below the age of 17 (seventeen) years". And in arguing the motion, Tayo Oyetibo from the same chambers cited section 368 of the Criminal Procedure Law of Lagos State which says an accused person below 17 cannot on conviction be sentenced to death. "The right alternative for a person of that age," he said, "is to detain him at the Governor's pleasure". He therefore deposed that the proposed execution amounted to "felony" and, quoting the Supreme Court judgement in the Gani Fawehinmi Vs. Akiolu and Togun case given in December 1987, he argued that "all Nigerians and residents in Nigeria" are duty bound "to prevent the commission of felony".

Justice Famakinwa was convinced that Oyetibo had established a *Prima facie* case and accordingly granted the interim injunction restraining the six defendants — the Attorney-General of the Federation, the Attorney-General of Lagos State, Military Governor of Lagos State, Inspector General of Police, Chief of Army Staff, and the Director of prisons or their agents — from executing the 12 youths by firing squads or by any other means.

Legal experts approached on the case declined comment on the ground that the matter is now *sub judice*.

By Chimie Ewema

Bajowa's major tests

MAJOR General Olu Bajowa will, in the next week face one of his toughest tests since he became Sole Administrator of the beleaguered Nigeria Airways. Just two weeks ago, on Friday October 28, the French Supreme Court granted authority to SOGERMA, a subsidiary of the Airbus Industries, to dispose of the two Airbus (A310) aircraft confiscated from the Nigeria Airways — mid this year.

However, unlike the earlier court judgement against the national carrier in Bordeaux, France last September, the French Supreme Court gave the airline till December 1 to pay up the \$188 million debt owed SOGERMA or lose both aircraft. The lower court's decision in Bordeaux had given the Nigeria Airways three months, which expires in mid December to pay up or lose one Airbus to reclaim the money owed the Airbus subsidiary. Last week, Nigerian Airways chief spokesman, Femi Ogunleye said that the airline was already in touch with financial houses on the possibility of raising funds to pay the debt owed on the aircraft.

On the homefront, however, fears of retrenchment in the local offices of the airline, has gripped most of its staff. This follows the retrenchment by Bajowa of 60 per cent of the airline's overseas staff late last month.

It is believed that mobile policemen now guarding strategic locations including the Nigeria Airways house headquarters and the airline's engineering department, are to forestall any outbreak of violence or sabotage resulting from the forth coming retrenchment. Already, there are indications that various departments of the airline would be merged, leaving the national carrier with only four departments: Administration and Personnel

services Finance and Accounts; Engineering and Maintenance and Flight operations

Last week, the Pilot and Engineers association declared a trade dispute with the management of the airline. Part of their grievances included the reluctance of the Nigeria Airways to implement the Elongated Salary Scheme.

First Ladies confer

AS part of efforts to improve the living standard of under-privileged children in her country, the Ivorian first lady, Madame Therese



• Manam Babangida

Marie Houphouet-Boigny arrived Abuja on a four day note-swapping visit last week to the warm embrace of her Nigerian counterpart and hostess, Mrs. Mariam Babangida. The Nigerian First Lady who had earlier called Madame Boigny, her "dear sister" described the visit as "significant" against the background of fostering excellent relations that have existed between the two nations from pre-colonial times. In her brief response, Madame Boigny thanked Mariam for her warm reception and hoped that the visit would help cement existing bonds of friendship between Nigeria and Cote d'Ivoire.

The First Ladies with a retinue of delegates visited

Anambra state where they were showed products of women belonging to cooperative societies organised by the Better Life For Rural Women Committee in Enugu. Mrs. Babangida was presented with an award as the chief initiator of the programme.

Later in Abuja, at the Aki-Nola Aguda presidential lodge, Mrs. Boigny unfolded her plans — "Ndaya" which was created to improve the living standard of under-privileged children. Though the talks centred on welfare, there are indications that the visit might have also been to soothe the nerves of Nigeria, after Cote d'Ivoire's talks with racist



• Madame Mane Boigny

president Pieter Botha early last month

Vanguard duo arraigned

The police were not in a particularly humorous mood when they stalked into the offices of the Vanguard newspapers last Tuesday. By Friday their mood had hardly improved but they had set the ball rolling towards prosecuting Chris Okojie and Michael Oji deputy editor and reporter respectively. The duo were being tried for publishing a story which the police said was capable of arousing fear and alarm contrary to section 51(1) of the criminal code (Cap. 31 of

laws of Lagos State).

At the Yaba magistrate court where they were arraigned after their detention, the two journalists pleaded not guilty to the charge. After listening to the pleas of Messrs B.I. Abka and Emman Medugin, counsels for the defendants, Chief Magistrate Z.A. Raham granted them bail in the sum of N2,000 each with one surety each in like sum.

The "offending" report was published by the paper on Monday November 1, under the caption "Diplomats complain of Drunken Policeman". In it, Oji had reported that the Lagos State Police Commissioner, Ahmadu Seidu, had given the police at the Ikoyi station a dressing down for their unruly behaviour and poor sanitary condition.

Ogugbuaja scales first hurdles

ALOZIE Ogugbuaja scaled the first hurdle in his bid to regain his job in the police force. Pleading on his behalf, his counsel, Chief Gani Fawehinmi told the Lagos High Court that an abrupt dismissal of his client without trial was a violation of section 33 of the constitution as well as a deprivation of his fundamental human rights.

Ruling in favour of Ogugbuaja, Justice Olushola Thomas granted a stay on all further actions regarding the dismissal until the court decides otherwise. This is in order to give the defendant time to enforce his rights.

Ogugbuaja whose stormy career took a twist after his alleged interview with the Cross River State owned Chronicle newspapers, was given the boot on October 20. In his letter of dismissal, he was accused of treason under sections 37 and 41 of the Criminal Code, Sediton under section 51 and incitement under section 44.

A challenge at 40

THE attainment of the age of 40 is, in a certain sense, a significant achievement. In the case of an institution of higher learning, the attainment of that age calls for celebrations. And so, it is appropriate that the University of Ibadan is marking its 40th year with much jollity and self-satisfied assessment.

Since its birth in 1948 as University College, Ibadan, UI has grown from strength to strength and is now a leading centre for research, enquiry and academic training. The university has striven, in these glorious 40 years, to exemplify the best traditions of scholarship. Indeed, UI should take just pride in its stock of manpower, easily the most sophisticated among its peer institutions.

Beyond that, the university's verifiable success story places it in a position where modesty must be an almost impossible feat. The institution's performance in the liberal arts remains as yet unbeaten. Ibadan has the distinction of producing a good number of Nigeria's eminent writers and artists. In the social and basic sciences, UI has made enviable strides that continue to be the guiding light to other institutions in Nigeria and even beyond.

These achievements were not fortuitous; they came, instead, from long and sustained planning, and from the vision of the founders of the university who were determined from the outset, to keep it on the path of functioning within a dynamic social framework. Part of the university's staying power, its source of enduring relevance, lies precisely in its keeping faith with its foundation tenet. True to this tenet, the university has collected easily the biggest library in Nigeria.

But it has not been an altogether unpunctuated story of successes. UI remains for too long in the shadows of the designs of the colonial administration which set it up. It took a disturbing period before the university decided to embrace the social mandate of diversifying its scope of research and studies to such areas as agriculture, engineering, and computer sciences. Even so, it is a tribute to the peculiarly fibrous commitment of Ibadan that when its attention even-

tually turned to these areas, the burst of energy was such that the university made straight for the front seat. Ibadan ought to recognise that, in order not to degenerate into inebriated scholarship, it must continually strive for social relevance.

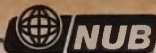
The route to continued relevance appears, for now, to lie in steering the stock of talented manpower towards a problem-solving ethic. We see nothing but exciting achievement ahead, should the departments of History and Political Science pool their resources, to found a centre for Diplomatic Studies to teach diplomacy, history and international relations to diplomats.

This is the kind of option which Ibadan must explore in some depth, for it appears that the movement towards such specialised establishments indicates the future course of the university. Fortunately, the university cannot reasonably plead that it is hit by a drought of manpower. Instead, what seems to be absent is the confident spirit to perceive the wide opportunities and embark on the profitable adventure.

The opportunities are available in a wide range of areas. In sociology for example, an attractive enterprise would be to encourage people to specialise in social work. The content and emphasis in such courses as Economics, Banking and Insurance, and Public Administration should acquire a new practical accent. There is, we envisage, one certain snag to the flowering of this vision. That snag is, predictably, the shortage of funds. This quotient has caused considerable friction between Ibadan and the National Universities Commission (NUC). The authorities of the university say the decaying infrastructure in Ibadan owe to the paltry funds coming from the NUC. The commission has been scarcely impressed, and has argued that Ibadan's deal is as fair as can be under the prevailing circumstances.

But a way out of the cash crunch is possible. UI and NUC ought to be able to meet each other half way in order to swing the university onto a new direction. At 40 — and very wise — UI are sure, will prove itself equal to the challenge.





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Military Governor, Katsina State



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Onoja in Katsina

Action, 100 days after, more action

Katsina State governor sets a fast pace to beat a two-year dead-line

AT 5 p.m. on October 27, 1988, Lawrence Anebi Onoja was tired. The 41-year-old army colonel who runs the shop at Government House, Katsina had just come back from one of those trips that few governors — in fact few people would look forward to. That morning, he had gone to Kankara, one of the more rural of the areas in the state, to commence a water supply project. It was a long slog through very bad roads to Kankara. After completing the ceremony and putting smiles on the faces of the inhabitants of the area, members of the government entourage, including journalists, were looking forward to the return trip to Katsina and sweet rest.

But Onoja was not done yet. Katsina would have to wait. First a surprise visit to the site of some projects in the vicinity. The governor and his party changed course. It was only after a thorough inspection of the projects that they headed home, back to the state capital. Said a journalist who was in the governor's entourage: "This assignment was not easy at all. We really suffered."

In spite of his weariness that day, Onoja was not too tired to talk about his favourite topic: the development of Katsina State. Said he: "This is a young and promising state; we have set ourselves a two-year deadline to achieve as much as possible."

On August 1, 1988, nine days to his 41st birthday, Onoja became the second governor of Katsina State, in less than a year. Onoja was among eight military governors redeployed to serve in various other states. He came in as replacement for Col. Abdullahi Sarki Mukhtar, the first governor of the state now in Kaduna State. Barely three months after, the impact of Onoja's unique, and functional system of administration is already apparent. Onoja's stamp is obvious in all spheres of life in the state: health, education, agriculture, rural development, provision of pipe borne water, etc. etc. And his result-oriented style as he said during the launching of the Task Force on Special Projects, October 28, has its source in his principle: "My watchword is always speed."

Speed. Action. Onoja's style of administration, as many indigenes and residents of the state can testify, is the epitome of speedy action. The Emir of Katsina, the affable Mohammed Kabir Usman says about Onoja: "We have decided to co-operate with him and support him in whatever



• Governor Onoja names Ibrahim Babangida Way: On the road to progress

plans he has for us. For we are sure he won't fail us." Abdu Bature Radda, a staff of the Immigration Department, Katsina, goes beyond the realm of the superlative in search of an appropriate way of describing Governor Onoja's achievements: "If there were something more than 100 per cent, I'll give it to him." Other residents and indigenes say as much about "The Bulldozer" and more.

In this state of 4.7 million people, mainly homogenous, Lawrence Anebi Onoja is a phenomenon. Whether it is improving the quality of education by training more science teachers, building office and residential accommodation for civil servants, making available more hospitals and clinics for inhabitants of Katsina State or increasing the Katsina Broadcasting Corporation's area of coverage by getting more powerful transmitters, Onoja is a man driven by his vision of a better developed Katsina State. Exhorting, persuading, encouraging and convincing anyone who would listen that action alone is not enough. Speed is also the essence.

It has been a hectic, though rewarding 100 days for Katsina and this governor whose ambition is to take development to every one on her 23,938km land area.

"I want to listen to the people"

Last Monday, Lawrence Anebi Onoja, army colonel and governor of Katsina State spoke to *The African Guardian's* Paul Nwabuikwu on his hopes, plans, achievements and the prospects of the new State during his 100-day tenure.

Excerpts:

ON the "people's parley"

As an individual I have felt for a long time there is a gap between the government and the people. And in order to effectively administer any group of people, you must find a way of getting close to them. It's by so doing that you can understand their problems since problems in one community may not be the same as those in another. Having listened to them, then you will be able to devise various strategies. For example, if I go to Daura, the problem in Daura may be water, acute shortage of water. But I want to listen to the people, I want to know whether, unanimously, water is the problem. There on the spot I will get the Director, Rural Development or the Katsina Agricultural Development Authority to begin to sink boreholes. The officials who come to you may be telling things that are not actually on the ground. So it is better for the governor to ascertain for himself on the spot what the problems are, rather than stay in the office in the state capital and issue directives.

Secondly, the federal government's emphasis is on rural development. How do you develop the rural areas without getting close to them? Now that there is no political party, how does a military governor close this gap? In Katsina, we



• Onoja: "Through the people's parley, we can get closer"

think that through a forum like the peoples' parley we can now get closer to the people, so that we can use that avenue to mobilise the people. Apart from devising strategies for dealing with their problems, they too can organise themselves into co-operatives, into development associations and assist themselves so as to augment the efforts of government. So, these were the factors that motivated me to start Peoples' Forum in Plateau State. I am happy about one thing, the Parley has achieved: the people now know the direction in which I am going.

In addition the Parley has lessened the incidence of petition writing because I have explained most of the things Katsina people need to know. So I have fewer problems now that people understand the government, they know the limitations of government, how much the government can spend to help them, and they know how they can come in and assist the government.

"He is a blessing to us"

— Emir of Katsina

ON October 29, Alhaji Kabir Usman Katsina, the Emir of Katsina, spoke to *The African Guardian* enthusiastically about Governor Lawrence Onoja. The interview took place in the evening at the Emir's farm, 33 kilometres from Katsina town. Excerpts.

On his impressions of the Governor

The governor has surprised everyone and has shown how able he is by his open door policy. It was really good of him to accept his transfer from Plateau State to come here to serve.

Katsina people are open, they like to be welcomed with smiles. The governor has done this. He has shown that he holds us in high esteem. He respects us the leaders, our traditions, religion and so on.

In Plateau his former place, we understand that he was called *The Bulldozer*. Fortunately

"He respects us the leaders, our traditions, religion ... We are sure that he was posted here to fulfil the plans for which the state was created."

• Mohammadu Kabir Usman, Emir of Katsina



On revenue generation

Revenue generation is one of the things the task force on the best local government will consider. The local government that has generated more revenue than the others will have some extra marks. So right now, the local governments are setting up their revenue generation task forces, using primary school teachers to go round and collect revenue.

Also, each local government for now is trying to build markets and motor-parks so they can generate revenue on their own. In the next couple of months, with all these efforts put together, the



• Onoja

We have in addition approved that all female schools will now be boarding schools. This is to encourage girls to study hard and go further.

On health

Immediately I came I ordered the construction of six health clinics: four in Katsina, one in Mashi and one in Bakudu. Within two months, the clinics have already reached roofing stage. The clinics are located in strategic points in and around Katsina so that the General Hospital will not be unnecessarily crowded.

Also, recently, I approved the sum of ₦7 million which has been distributed to all the hospitals in the state. We also have the problem of lack of

doctors. I have appealed to people in the whole country to come and take up appointment as doctors in the state. I've been getting a lot of responses.

On accommodation

We have appealed to the administrator of the Federal Housing Authority to come in. We have promised to give them a piece of land to build houses. The design for the secretariat which will house the ministries is almost ready. As soon as it is ready I will start building it in phases.

On asset sharing between Katsina and Kaduna States

The Federal government has just set up a task force to share the assets. And the task force has been given up to December or thereabouts to complete the assignment. So very soon all the outstanding issues about assets will be solved.

Katsina is a state like any other in the country. The needs of the people here are basically same as those of others in any other parts of Nigeria. They need health facilities, they need water, they need light. And so I feel great. I'm happy also that the society is very homogenous.

"I have fewer problems now that people understand the government, they know the limitation of government... and they know how they can come and assist the government."

internal revenue generation will be enhanced.

On measures to attract investors

We have got three industrial layouts in Katsina State, located in strategic areas in Katsina around the steel rolling mill. They are located there deliberately, so that the proposed central modern market, will be close to them. This will make it possible for the products of the steel rolling mills to be available to the industries.

On moves to improve the quality of education

Recently we approved series of incentives in terms of scholarship. The scholarships are for students who want to study science in polytechnics or colleges of education before going to university.

We have also started a crash programme for science teachers. I have further approved eight boarding schools in each local government so as to reduce the number of day secondary schools.

ly enough, he arrived here to meet very dedicated and patriotic people (commissioners) who are like caterpillars. As a result work immediately progressed. I will say that his arrival here is a blessing from God to us.

On what Onoja has achieved so far

He has achieved a lot. At the time of his arrival, before he even settled down, I received a complaint from the District Head of Jibia about unpaid compensation. When I met the Governor, he immediately ordered that the ₦2 million payment be made.

Also, he made possible the payment of compensation to those displaced for the Zobe dam. I also took up the complaints of teachers in the state who complained about irregular payment of salaries and allowances. The governor also acted promptly. The governor also did well in taking up the execution of Katsina City drainage and sewage system. The governor also gave us the sum of ₦5 million for the purpose of buying and storing surplus grains. Governor Onoja always listens to the views and complaints of people where-ever he goes. And he is always ready to help.

"Governor Onoja always listens to the views and complaints of people where-ever he goes."

• Kabir Usman (right) and Muhammadu Bashar, Emir of Daura



100 days of dizzying action

ORDINARILY, 100 days in the life of an individual, an organisation, or a state is not considered a very important landmark. For instance, 100 days is not considered as symbolic as one year, one decade, a quarter century or half a century. The reason is obvious. A hundred days which is barely three months, is seen as too short to make a



• Onoja: "My guiding philosophy is to do my utmost best"

reasonable assessment of the achievements (or lack of them) of any entity. This view is certainly valid, especially under normal circumstances and normal barometers of human achievement. The snag is that theories such as this are limited necessarily by their definition.

Lawrence Anebi Onoja is not satisfied by "normal" or "standard" definitions of achievement. As he says: "My guiding philosophy is to do my utmost best for humanity; that is to improve the lives of the people as much as I can. That is why my doors are open to people. I help them. I want to be remembered as somebody who gave service. That's my guiding philosophy."

It's been 100 whirlwind days of putting this philosophy into practice. Since he alighted at Katsina airstrip after President Ibrahim Babangida's August 1, 1988 announcement of his redeployment to the state, Onoja has been, literally, up and doing. In the process he has earned the respect of the Katsina people and the admiration of many. Perhaps the greatest compliment paid to this army colonel is the nickname which the Emir of Katsina, Alhaji Muhammadu Kabir Usman has given him: *The Bulldozer*.

On the streets of the fast-developing capital of the state, people speak enthusiastically of Governor Onoja, of his obvious and boundless urge to work to improve the state. The compliments are usually in superlatives. But the man who has given

himself a two-year (1990) deadline for Katsina to catch up with others is under no illusions. He knows that being the governor of an infant state, work, hard, grinding work and not a little planning are involved. And his prodigious ability to work hard stands him in good stead. As he states confidently about his deadline: "I believe it is possible because I've done it earlier." He has a masterplan for making Katsina State the best of all and the envy of other states:

Education

Governor Onoja has adopted a multi-dimensional approach to this problem. Like most states in the north, Katsina is designated an "educationally-disadvantaged state." Formal education, in the Western sense, is only just catching on. Scores of children, as Onoja has noted, can be found in the streets of Katsina and other parts of the state loitering, begging, playing, hawking. "I'm not happy about it at all," he says. Onoja plans to make primary school education not only free but compulsory to ensure that no child in Katsina is left on the street.

In addition to these measures, a crash programme for teachers has been initiated. The aim is to enhance the teaching of science in post primary institutions. The governor has also given approval for the establishment of eight boarding schools in each local government area. The aim is to reduce the number of day secondary schools. Females in particular will benefit from this measure as girls' schools have all been made boarding schools.

Moreover, a task force for the rehabilitation of



• Old Katsina Teachers' College where Sardauna schooled. Educational modernisation is on



• GRA roundabout, Katsina. New looks



• Construction work in progress: For a new Katsina



• A minaret, some beautification

schools has been set up. It is to renovate and improve infrastructure in schools. The price tag: N1.3 million. Recently, the governor signed a N4 million contract for the provision of school equipment. The objective is to encourage the learning and teaching of science in secondary schools.

Among other measures, some of which date back to the administration of Governor Sarki Mukhtar, additional science equipment worth N1.5 million for the four science secondary schools has been approved; N2.6 million has been made available for the purchase and installation of additional electricity generators in rural secondary schools while another sum of N1.2 million has been released for the purchase of vehicles to ease transportation of staff and materials in the headquarters and zonal education offices.

Health

"So far as health is concerned," says Onoja "we have a very aggressive programme to make sure that by the year 2000 everybody in Katsina would have some kind of health facility close by his door." Onoja intends to turn his dreams in this direction into reality. Apart from construction of health clinics, and various large sums of money made available for health projects, the governor has made public appeals to doctors in other states to come and take up attractive jobs in the state. The response from Lagos and Rivers, among others, has been encouraging.

Immunization against the deadly diseases that kill children has received Onoja's backing. He has also set up a task force which is on stand-by for the out-break of any disease. Apart from this, the governor has instructed the State Health Services Management Board to embark on the renovation of special wards such as maternity wards. Patients now spot clean new uniforms as part of hygiene-boosting measures approved by the governor.

Accommodation

It is not surprising that one of the problems that stared the new Katsina State in the face was

accommodation. Residential and office accommodation was virtually non-existent when the state's first governor got to Katsina. Even though wealthy indigenous businessmen pitched in, giving out office accommodation for free. But the problem was far from solved. Apart from the immediate concern of accommodating civil servants, it is imperative that permanent structures be put in place, at least in the long-term.

To illustrate the magnitude of the problem, consider: Abdullahi Sarki Mukhtar, the state's first governor had to put up in a small office, now being used by the Press Secretary, Sani Dangogo. Mr. Dangogo, on the other hand, during office hours, was "ensconced" under a tree in front of the then governor's office for eight months. It was due to the paucity of accommodation that the Government House, Katsina was built in a record six months.

Onoja's solution to this problem is pragmatic and effective. For one thing, the Federal Housing Authority has been appraised of the state's accommodation predicament and they have replied favourably (see box). The design for the secretariat is on the way. Onoja considers the piece-meal approach to the problem the best option. Says he: "We will build in phases so that any incoming administration will complete the other phases."

Specifically, the state's housing authority, at Onoja's bidding, has acquired land in all the local government areas for accommodation purposes. Thirty two low-cost houses will be put up in the state capital, Katsina, while the other local government areas will have eight each. Apart from this, construction of the 160-low-cost housing units along Dutin-Safe Road in the state capital will soon be completed. The beneficiaries are the staff of the local government. The state government, under Onoja has also awarded a N2 million contract for the construction of the head-quarter of the state housing authority. Dorina Construction Company which is handling the project has a one-year deadline for completion.

ACCOMMODATION for visiting dignitaries is seriously lacking in Katsina. But something is being done. If things go according to plan, four government guest houses, each valued at ₦213,000 will be standing along the Dallaji/Modoji Road, in GRA Katsina, not too long from now. The deadline for the contract awarded to Babajo Construction, A. A. Sokoto and Zafa Ben-Harris Construction company is 24 weeks. A project dear to Onoja's heart is the Presidential Lodge. Says the governor: "I hope to receive the President there in March next year." The site for the lodge, located around the Press Secretary's Office, just off the Government House is being cleared now by workmen.

Industry: An investor's delight

If Governor Onoja had his way, Katsina would have a surfeit of investors, establishing industries of all types for the purposes of providing employment, goods and services. The package of incentives for would-be investors is so comprehensive that the governor wonders aloud: "Why are they wasting time?" Among other measures, Onoja's Katsina hopes to lure investors through the following means.

- Approval of certificates of occupancy for all applicants within one month of its submission;
- The slashing of mortgage fee from one to a half per cent;
- Provision of industrial estates with essential facilities such as access roads, water and electricity to minimize hardship encountered by investors;
- Waiving of ground rent for a year or two for some investors depending on their qualifications;
- Re-activation of the Katsina airstrip so that investors would not have to come through Kano airport, nearly two hours away.

Two Fridays ago, Onoja launched the Task Force Committee on the implementation of industrial projects located in the seven local government areas of the state. Onoja's mandate to the committee whose members are drawn from business and the professions was the resuscitation of seven projects began by the civilian administration in 1980. Ultimately, says Onoja, the projects will be sold to interested citizens of the state whenever they are successfully put into operation. Government initiatives on industrialisation are contained in a comprehensive industrial blue-print which charts the course, as well as offers details on industrialization in the state.

Agriculture

Katsina, like the rest of Nigeria is solidly agrarian. At least 80 per cent of the indigenes of the state till the land. It is no wonder then that Onoja speaks of this most popular occupation of the Katsina people in terms of reverence. Recent moves initiated by the governor are eloquent testimony. To enhance storage as well as keep farm prices stable and profitable, the Katsina State Farmers Supply Company (FASCOM) will spend ₦8 million on the purchase of cotton this year alone. In addition, the company plans to purchase a tonne

of cotton from farmers at a cost of ₦2,000. More centres for the purchase of cotton will be opened by the company to augment the 101 buying centres currently in existence.

Wheat farming, highly profitable since the ban on imported wheat, is on the priority list. FASCOM plans to purchase diesel powered irrigation pumps which are capable of pumping water up to a distance of one kilometer. Apart from this, FASCOM, under Onoja's watchful care, is well fortified for eventualities. For instance, more than 7,000 tonnes of fertilizers and enough insecticides to counteract any outbreak of worms has been made available by FASCOM. The cost of the fertilizers is very reasonable: ₦200.00 per tonne. Livestock and poultry will also benefit from Onoja's comprehensive agricultural programme. A feed mill factory is in the works.



• Onoja commissions Kankara water project. Water supply is a priority

Water supply

During a recent meeting with contractors handling water supply projects in the state, Governor Onoja was unequivocal about the importance of water to a semi-arid area like Katsina. Says he: "Water shortage is a phenomenon which features in all nooks and corners of this state. To reduce this problem (if it cannot be eradicated at the first attempt), the state administration put water supply as its number one priority." Among other measures taken to enhance urban and rural water supply, 14 contracts have been awarded. The projects are liberally spread over the state.

In spite of the state government's desire to make water available at little cost and with despatch too, financial constraints pose a problem. As a result, the programme will be carried out in phases. Onoja also emphasises self-help. Ten days ago, he commissioned the Kankara water project which the people had contributed through helping in the excavation work for the laying of the pipes from

Malumfashi to Kankara.

Typically, Onoja is impatient with bureaucratic delays. At the meeting with contractors handling water projects, he expressed his displeasure at the slow rate of completion of some of the water projects. In his words: "This is disturbing to me especially, as I have only less than two years within which I hope to provide the people of this young State with basic amenities and facilities of which drinking water is in the forefront."

There is no doubt, however, that as in other areas, Onoja is making progress by leaps and bounds in the supply of water to various communities in the State.

On Specific projects

In Onoja's multi-pronged approach to problem-solving, there is virtually no aspect of life in the state that escapes his attention. Two of the projects to which he makes frequent reference provide evidence. One of these is the new stadium for which arrangements have been completed. A temporary effort to renovate the old

stadium is in progress. Onoja explains the rationale for the stadium arrangements in almost combative terms: "Next year we are going to participate in the All Nigeria Athletics Open in Bauchi. I don't want to come last."

The governor has instructed the ministry for social development and sports to produce designs of mini-stadia in all the local governments, as well make available proposals for sports equipment.

Another project on the drawing board is the open air theatre. The function of the theatre will be the promotion of the culture of the peoples of the state through the hosting of traditional dances, cultural nights and so on.

There are other reasons too. The governor got the idea for an open-air theatre from the Niger Republic where dignitaries are received in such buildings. Onoja would like to have them performing a similar function in Katsina. There's also the element of pride: "Since it is not common in Nigeria, Katsina will be the first to have that type."

A parley for Katsina people

IF there is any one project that symbolizes the dynamism and result-oriented system of administration that Governor Lawrence Onoja has made his trade-mark, it is the Katsina People's Parley. Modelled along the lines of the Peoples' Forum which Onoja introduced in Plateau State during his stint as governor there, the People's Parley is perhaps the most talked about of the projects initiated by Onoja.

The governor explained the objectives of the programme when he launched the premier edition at Soro, Katsina on August 30: "The aim is and has been to ensure adequate participation by all and sundry in the decision making process. This is in realisation of the fact that the power and legitimacy of a government emanates from the people..."

Simply put, the parley constitutes the best weapon in the government's arsenal for shooting down the disenchantment brought about by

lack of contact by government towards the people. A case in point was the launching of the parley at Daura on October 17. When it got to time to field questions, one of the questioners made a scathing and bitter complaint against the local government authorities. It was so bitter that everybody thought the man would be arrested; but the commissioner of police called him to get the details of his complaint, this fear was heightened. But the governor reassured everybody, stressing that nobody would be penalized for what he said at the Parley or for giving the police information. Everyone was relieved.

"The idea of a Peoples Parley is good, it brings the government closer to the people, says Bilikisu Alhaji Yaro, a Katsina civil servant. "The governor himself concurs. During the Daura Parley, he asserted that the idea was "conceived of in line with this government's belief in the pursuance of a people-



• Parley time: Mobilizing the people

oriented programme, more especially during this period of political transition. It is the responsibility of the government to ensure that you are all protected from any menace of natural calamities and their consequences".

Governor Onoja explains further that apart from these well-known functions of the parley, a vital rationale for it is that "the people have to be mobilized to do certain things so that, jointly and collectively, we can begin to see results in terms of concrete development in the state". He was gratified that already the fruits of his labour are apparent.

Says he: "I am happy about one thing the parley has

achieved; already the people now know the direction in which I am going". Governor Onoja cited the example of Mani Local Government where the people were already getting set for one of the biggest contests in the state this year: the selection of the best local government. He considers the feverish preparations as good evidence that the lessons of the parley — self help and the engendering of the spirit of competition — are catching on.

But the best compliment paid the parley so far comes from the Emir of Katsina: "At this rate, one day he will not have even one man with a problem at a parley."



■ Alhaji Mohammed Bawa, Commissioner for Education



■ Aminu Abdullahi, Agriculture & Natural Resources



■ Alhaji Engr. Bello Bello, Commissioner for Works and Housing

Fact file

Onoja's team

THESE are the men and women who help to give substance to Onoja's dream of making Katsina a model state. Inherited from the Mukhtar administration, these commissioners have proved durable. Small wonder. As the Emir of Katsina noted, they are the caterpillars to Onoja's bulldozer.

One state, one destiny

Katsina, Governor Lawrence Onoja's responsibility in the past 100 days, is probably the most homogenous state in the country. It is a predominantly muslim state; Hausa and Fulani are the only two ethnic groups. Here are other facts that the state whose peoples are, in Onoja's view, "good, experienced and development-oriented."

Local Government Areas — (Seven) Dura, Katsina, Dutsin-ma, Malumfashi, Funtua, Mani and Kankia.

Population: — 4.7 million (1988)

Geographical Location — Lat. B/W 11° 07' 49N° 13° 22' 57N°

Long. B/W 6° 52' 03E & 9° 02' 40E"

Area in Sq. Km — 23,938.

Weather — Weather varies according to the season of the year. Generally, the weather is cool in the morning, hot in the afternoon, cool again in

Ethnic group
Major crops

Major industrial/commercial ventures

the evening. Between November and January the harmattan lowers temperatures. The wind is dry in January to April.

- Hausa and Fulani.
- Maize, cotton, groundnut, guinea corn and millet.
- Cotton oil mill, Textiles Steel Rolling Company, Groundnut oil mill, Mamada Carpets, Northern Dairies.
- Kaolin in Malumfashi Local Government Area which can be used in the paper industry, ceramic production and as filler in rubber, paints and plastics.
- Asbestos in Funtua and Dutsin-Ma Local Government Areas which can be used for lead pencil manufacture, in the manufacture of crucibles, electrodes, generator brushes and foundry facing.

Number of health establishments — 55

State-owned hotels — Seven

Number of primary schools — 1,532

Number of post-primary institutions — 102.



• Alhaji Sule Kurfi, Special Duties



• Alhaji Lawal Dano, Commerce and Industries



• Hajiya Amina Mohammed Ibrahim, Social Development, Youth & Sports



• Hajiya Hinde Sulaiman Giwa; Information Culture and Home Affairs



• Lt. Col. Isa Kacharo, Commander, 82 Mech. Battalion, Katsina



• Dr. Sule Sani, Health



• Alhaji Kasimu Ibrahim, Finance Commissioner



• Alhaji Aliyu Kangiwa, State Police Commissioner

Under the searchlight

Onoja's programmes get a unanimous approval

"THE governor is very good at approaching people. I travelled with him to Zinder, Niger Republic. I was surprised at the way he received the people of Zinder and the public officials. He received them like a commonman." "The governor is a hard working administrator. This has been obvious since he came to this state." "The people have benefitted from the People's Parley because they now have more direct contact with the government."

These statements were made by Alhaji Abu Bature Radda, a staff of the Immigration Department, Katsina, Asibi Aroni, a sales representative with a firm in Katsina and Alhaji Ibrahim Mani, a Katsina-based contractor. They represent as random a sample as can be obtained anywhere. And these are truly representative of the indigenes and inhabitants of Katsina. The mere mention of Governor Onoja's name in Katsina is likely to get an enthusiastic response from the odd man around, as he gropes for adjectives with which to describe the governor's achievements in a mere 100 days.

"To me, a Katsina State indigene who has been observing the governor, there have been many changes for the better, since he came, in health, education, industry and so on. So, we are very happy about it," enthused Alhaji Abdullahi Maikudi, the chairman of the Katsina Chamber of Commerce about Governor Onoja. The renowned businessman also refers to the instances of physical development such as the renovation and construction of new gates to replace the old city gates at Kofar Kawara, Kofar Durbi, Kofar Sauri and Kofar Guga. He adds: "See our roads. Everyday, surveyors are working on them, from Ibrahim Babangida Way up to Kofar Guga, the story is the same. We are really happy about it all."

Bilikisu Alhaji Yaro, a civil servant echoes the same sentiments. A mother of three, Bilikisu considers Onoja as a good administrator who is obviously sympathetic to the cause of women. She cites the instance of the directive by Onoja, that all girls' schools should go boarding. She says: "His behaviour is good. He is hardworking. He has been ruling well."

Bola Alake, the manageress of the popular Maikudi Hotel just before the gate leading into the capital city, says she "likes the way he acts." She recalls that during the Independence celebrations, he urged the people to co-operate and said he was ready to help. I was happy that he gave the President's name to the old Kano Road."

Maikudi also recalls that he and other representatives of the state's chamber of commerce had



• Alhaji Maikudi: "There have been many changes for the better"

a meeting with Governor Onoja on the modalities for improving the state's fledgling economy. Onoja had listened sympathetically to their submission that small scale industries were the option for a growing state like Katsina.

Alhaji Radda, obviously a great admirer of Governor Onoja's, says that he had seen the governor on several occasions supervising the work on the state's new stadium. He adds that other projects also get the governor's personal attention. "The governor is not ready to have a rest." Radda recalls that on the day the governor came back from Zinder, everybody in his party was tired. "We wanted to go home to our families, but the governor left immediately for some other engagements."

Radda also says that even before Onoja arrived, he and most others were anxious. Some misconceptions about the man's stance on religion had gained currency in the state. But within a few days after the governor arrived, "we knew that the rumour was false and that the governor is a good man. When he came, he contributed the sum of ₦300,000 to our mosque."

Another side to the governor — his deep humility — was revealed during the party to mark the first anniversary of the state. He not only served guests personally, he also urged them to have a good time, bring their friends along, etc. Franca Megwa who works in a restaurant in Katsina city, is a fan of Governor Onoja's. According to her, "his administration is fine, his programmes are good." What particular programmes are her favourites? The prompt answer: the new roundabout (at GRA) and the new street lights.

An indigene of Katsina who works in the Ministry of Information, on the other hand, is full of praise for the state government's policy of awarding 90 per cent of contracts to indigenes of the state. In his view, the policy would not only lessen the number of the unemployed, it would also gender a feeling of belonging to indigenes.

Radda summarizes it simply, yet effectively: "As an indigene of the state, I am so happy to see somebody who wants to make my state the best in the country."

PASSAGE

A monarch departs

Sultan Abubakar III passes away, but influence lingers

5:30 p.m. November 1 — The announcement by Alhaji Mohammad Kamaru, secretary to the Sokoto Emirate Council, when stripped of the magnificence of royal expressions, becomes more direct and distressing: The Sultan of Sokoto is dead! A few minutes later, the local radio and Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) stations sent paralyzing news of the Sultan's death to all parts of the state.

Within an hour, news of the Sultan's death reached Dodan Barracks in Lagos. A message of condolence was quickly put together; and Yaro Yusuf Mamman, press secretary to the Chief of General Staff, was detailed to make sure that the Federal government's shock at the passing away of Sir Abubakar III was announced on NTA's network news at 9 p.m.

In the western sector of Sokoto, at the Hubbare Shehu where the founder of the caliphate, Usman Dan Fodio was buried, and now the traditional tomb for Sultans of the caliphate, law enforcement officials had a hard time controlling the thousands of people that surged to have a last glimpse of Sultan Abubakar III, before he was lowered into the grave at 8:35 p.m.

According to records, only one Sultan of the caliphate, Sultan Abdulrahman, the last of Dan Fodio's grandsons and 11th ruler of the caliphate, was not buried at the Hubbare Shehu. Records also have it that the 85-year-old Abubakar III was the longest reigning Sultan, staying half a century on the 184-year-old throne of the caliphate. The last days of the Sultan were days of personal quietude and withdrawal from the public. In 1986, a committee was appointed by the Sokoto State government to represent him in public functions because of his advance age and a serious leg pain which had been afflicting him for the last 10 years. Says Major Said Abubakar, a son of the late Sultan: "He doesn't usually talk to people, he communicated with members of the family freely, and he eats and chats with us a lot."

But the health of the Sultan had long been deteriorating. A palace source revealed to *The African Guardian*: "When President (Ibrahim) Babangida came here in June during the 50th anniversary of his coronation, he



• Sir Abubakar: A long reign and peaceful parting

didn't say a word. After the President departed, we told him who he was, he just smiled, he did not apparently recognise the President. When we told him that people were speculating that he had died, he also just smiled."

But for the late Sultan Abubakar III, it has not always been a life of quietude. His birth in 1903, during the reign of Sultan Mohammed witnessed the routing of the caliphate (1902 — 1903) by the British. The arrival of the British thus ended the century old influence of the caliphate spanning two thirds of Nigeria.

During his reign, the political map of the Sokoto caliphate was further broken down in a process which began in 1966; leaving the north now with 11 states. This, however, does not necessarily mean that the Sultan's political influence was completely eroded. Every military ruler has had to send an emissary or go personally to Sokoto at one time or the other to explain its case to the Sultan. It is from this standpoint that General Yakubu Gowon said on an NTA programme last week that "he was a man who would like to co-operate with any administration in the interest of the country."

It seems that every federal administration also respected the Sultan's view. For instance, it is speculated that the Babangida administration last July decided against changing the Sokoto

state governor, Colonel Ahmed Daku because of the personal recommendations of the late Sultan. General Obasanjo, on a condolence visit to Sokoto last week said of the late Sir Abubakar

III: "I have always been like a son to him." The General and former head of state was definitely speaking with the benefit of hindsight.

On the religious front, the caliphate remains intact. The Sultan, through respect and as the leader of all Muslims (*Sarkin Musuluhi*), is a profound restraining influence on the various Islamic groups in the country. But it seems that with his death, it would be difficult for anybody succeeding him to wield the influence of the late Sir Abubakar held over these Islamic groups.

Political observers say that in the long run, this might be good for the secularity of the country. Their observation stems from the opinion that no one group can now invoke the name of the Sultan to enforce its particular brand of Islam.

The respect the Sultanate, commanded on the political plane seems now dimmed. For instance, it would take Sir Abubakar's successor a lot of hard work to earn the respect of emirs of the northern states. This, in effect, means that the tendency in the future to swing towards a particular political party which the Sultan favoured may not be feasible any longer. In the same vein, the north it seems has lost the binding force that made it one north, one voice.

By Wale Akin Alna and Abdul Orah

Nectar in the throne

Sokoto princes cross swords to capture the sultanate

“IT has never happened for a son to succeed the father on the throne, except in a special case where the son is proven to be religious and socially competent. Shehu Usman Dan Fodio discouraged hereditary succession. This kind of appointment or election has never happened before. The race is still open.”

Shehu Malami, the *Sarkin Sudan* of Sokoto and district head of Wurno was obviously piqued on Friday, November 4, when he made this statement. He had good reason to be. The 51-year-old Sokoto prince is one of the contestants for the coveted throne of the Sultan of Sokoto, following the death of Sir Abubakar III last Tuesday.

The struggle for succession started long before the demise of Sir Abubakar. Major contestants for rulership of the house of Usman Dan Fodio, include Malami; Ibrahim Dasuki, the *Baraden* of Sokoto and a seasoned civil servant, Alhaji Abubakar Alhaji, now minister of state for budgetary affairs in the Presidency, and Alhaji Muhammadu Maccido, the *Sarkin Kudu* of Sokoto who is the eldest son of the late Sultan.

Before now, the princes had kept their ambitions bridled. Last Friday the premature pronouncement of Maccido as the new Sultan of Sokoto threw to the winds whatever caution the princes had hitherto employed in seeking the throne.

Malami may not have been entirely right in his statement last Friday. For one, the founder of the Caliphate, Usman Dan Fodio was succeeded by his son, Mohammed Bello as the Sultan of the Sokoto empire in 1817. But then, this has been the only case in the history of the Caliphate where the son had succeeded the father as ruler of perhaps the most politically revered throne in the country.

It is not the first time Malami had fired shots against other contestants to the throne. In a lecture in 1985, the lawyer/prince had said that descendants of Muhammadu Buhari, son of Usman Dan Fodio and brother to Sultan Bello had never produced a ruler for the Sokoto Caliphate. Ibrahim Dasuki is a direct descendant of Muhammadu Buhari. Malami, according to reports, was called to order by king-makers who resolved that all descendants of Dan Fodio were



• Malami: Succession to the throne is open



• Alhaji: Caught between ministerial job and the sultanate

eligible to aspire to the throne in the sultanate.

Interestingly, last week's struggle for succession is typical of ascendancy to the throne of the Caliphate. Fifty years ago, the late Sultan Abubakar III had the same experience when he, against the opposition of nine king-makers, was turbaned in an army barracks by the British. About a hundred years ago in 1873, chronicles a book written by Malami to commemorate the 50th anniversary of Sir Abubakar III last June, a case was recorded, when Sultan Abubakar II was turbaned. His brother, Muazu was said to be disappointed and refused to recognise the authority of the new Sultan. Abubakar and Muazu later resolved their differences with Abubakar predicting that when Muazu became Sultan, he would be succeeded

by his direct descendants. The prediction came to pass when Muazu in 1877 became Sokoto's ninth Sultan. His son, Hassan, became the 16th Sultan while his grandson Sir Abubakar III was the 17th and the last ruler of the Caliphate.

But it seems that Sultan Abubakar II's prediction was going a bit too far when on Thursday, both the Sokoto State-owned Radio Rima and the NTA Sokoto announced Maccido, great grandson of Muazu and son of Sir Abubakar III, as the new Sultan of Sokoto.

On Friday, the Sokoto State government dissociated itself from the purported enthronement of Maccido as the Sultan. Maccido who had been carried shoulder-high at the Sultan Bello Mosque where a jumat service was scheduled to be conducted by him, received a letter from the secretary to government, Alhaji Yahaya Maigari. Contents of the letter were unknown, but contrary to expectation, Maccido did not lead jumat prayers at 1.45p.m.

At 4.00p.m., an announcement on radio by the palace said that there was no nomination. Deputy police commissioner for Sokoto State, Hashim Abdullahi was also to announce that no Sultan had been nominated by the king-makers. He called the announcement on radio the previous evening the "handiwork of disgruntled elements with evil machinations." Chairman of the Kingmakers, Dr. Muhammadu Juniad, also announced that the kingmakers were yet to decide on a Sultan. He appealed to the public to "exercise patience and maintain peace and harmony."

Meanwhile, security officials moved fast to arrest five officials of Radio Rima, including the General Manager, Sanda Adamu Tsafe. Two officials of the NTA Sokoto, with the controller of programme services, Kabiru Yusuf, were suspended indefinitely for placing management in "a state of embarrassment."

For 61-year-old Maccido, who had served as the presidential liaison officer to former President Shehu Shagari and was chairman of the Sokoto State National Party of Nigerian (NPN), it would seem he is out of the race. For the other princes, Malami, Dasuki, and Abubakar Alhaji, it is now a straight fight for the throne. But then, only one Sultan would emerge. The others would take solace in the fact that they contested to establish a link for their off-springs to become Sultans in the future

By Wale Akin Alna and Abdul Orah

Again, the debt problem

African economic woes re-echo at Otta Forum

AFRICA is a continent fighting for breath. The problem is how to reduce its big debt obligation to a manageable level, which has risen in the last ten years. Most attempts at solving the problem, merely increased the debt burden, which today stands at half the continent's Gross Domestic Product. Worse of all, the prices of its principal foreign exchange earners — agricultural produce and minerals — continue to slide while the costs of imports reach for the sky. To bridge the widening gap, many countries have embarked on massive external borrowing. The result today is over \$200 billion debt whose servicing has stalled developmental programmes as well as worsened the standards of living of its peoples.

In the past five years, African leaders have expressed concern over the issue, and the need for the continent to resume economic growth — whose prospects dimmed after most of them embraced their creditors' prescription for turning their ailing economies around.

Perhaps the debt would not have been so staggering, if the debtors had been honouring obligations on schedule. Increasing defaults have not only increased the debt burden, but more importantly raised the question of Africa's ability to pay back the huge debt.

The issue dominated discussions at the just concluded inaugural "African Leadership Forum", in Otta, Ogun State. The meeting which was co-ordinated by Nigeria's former Head of State, General Olusegun Obasanjo, saw the presentation of over 14 papers by participants from various parts of the world. In spite of the varied interests represented at the gathering, many participants agreed that Africa's economic woes were being aggravated by external pressures.

In this paper, "Africa in Today's World", General Obasanjo under-

lined the gravity of Africa's debt. He said that the \$27 billion the continent spent in debt servicing in 1987 was very uncomfortable. "The price at which we pay our debt is literally in blood", he said. His submission was that no matter the number of reschedulings, many African nations would not be able to pay the debts. General Obasanjo also came down heavily on the Structural Adjustment Programme, which many African nations had been implementing with little success over the past ten years. He said that



• Adebo (left) and Obasanjo at the Forum

SAP was a prescription from foreign creditors and could not work in Africa. He queried Nigeria's decision to implement the programme when other countries became worse after its adoption. The Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission of Africa, Professor Adebayo Adedeji, equally admitted that the African economy was not only decaying, it was more dependent on Europe today, than thirty years ago. His conclusion: "SAP may be good for Europe, its not good for Africa". But Adedeji does not see an alternative. According to him, over one hundred and fifty African economists engaged by ECA are yet to find another strategy.

The former West German leader, Helmut Schmidt was in agreement with both Obasanjo and Adedeji. He saw SAP as a bait dangled by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank before the Third World. He asked African leaders to ignore the bait and seek internal solu-

tions if their economic predicament was not to worsen. Dr. Tariq Hussain, World Bank representative in Nigeria, equally advocated the need to look inwards. His recipe was that Africans should create a large market, improve training of manpower, and increase internal trade.

However, not all the speakers saw only the ugly side of SAP. The chairman of the Presidential Advisory Council, Professor Ojetunji Aboyade stood up in a stout defence of the programme. Aboyade acknowledged that the weakness of the programme emanated from lack of cohesion in government's effort, implementation inadequacy, defect in information management, as well as inequality in the distribution of the gains of the programme.

He suggested that for any development impact to be felt, Nigeria must stem its growing population.

At the end of the nine-day meeting, which ended last Monday, participants came out with a communique. In it, they urged African leaders among other things, to regard SAP as temporal, as well as to reduce military spending in favour of the more productive sectors.

With unending conflicts and the shaky seats of most African leaders, the later option may prove a hard sell.

By Felix Obanya

• Schmidt. Sees SAP as a bait



Curbing the abuse

Government introduces measures to check expatriate quota

ON April 6, this year, the Federal Ministry of Internal Affairs issued a circular letter to companies reviewing all expatriate quota positions on Permanent Until Review (PUR) status. A month later, it was further strengthened by another circular on May 5, 1988. The PUR allows foreign investors or their agents to stay in the country for as long as their business exists. This enables them to oversee their business interests. This was the privilege revoked by the circular.

The action immediately became unpopular with the Organised Private Sector (OPS) which said the measure might reverse the country's current efforts to woo foreign investors. But officials of the ministry are not impressed. They say the measure is meant to check abuses of the expatriate quota by some companies and to ensure that only genuine foreign investors are attracted into the country.

The Government, say these officials, suspects that some companies have been flooding the country with foreigners under the expatriate provision with no genuine business intentions and without due notification of the relevant authorities.

The circular requires all companies to submit fresh applications for the restoration or grant of the PUR quota. The application attracts a non-refundable fee of ₦100. Other documents to be included are the initial share capital, the present share capital, if there is a change, the certificate of incorporation, the tax clearance certificate; the total annual turnover, the annual balance sheet; the certificate of compliance with the Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Board (NEPB) Decree, 1977; approved business activities; the number of Nigerians employed, evidence of tax to the tax authorities, evidence of tax and remittances in respect of expatriates, organisational chart; training programme and the amount remitted to Industrial Training Fund (ITF) for staff training, as well as the composition of the Board of Directors.

After the approval of the minister, the company is equally expected to pay 1,000 dollars for each PUR quota granted. Unlike the previous system, all PUR quotas will now be for an initial period of two years. If after that, the activities of the company are

seen to be viable and in the nation's interest, a more permanent quota could be granted; otherwise, the expatriates may be asked to leave.

But the OPS contends that the whole package is a complete breach of the rights of foreign investors or their agents to preside over their business interests. This, say officials of the OPS, would do incalculable damage to the investments and operations of



● Aikhomu: Government to look into the protest

business by foreign investors. They fear the new measure would frustrate the nation's drive for technological transfer as well as justify the industrial, agricultural, construction and other related policies of the country.

In July this year, the president of the Nigerian Association of Chamber of Commerce, Industries, Mines and Agriculture (NACCIMA), Dr. Nigoha Okeke, led a delegation of the OPS which included Alhaji Babatunde Jose, President of the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (MAN), Mr. M.O. Akanbi, Vice-President, Nigerian Employers Consultative Association (NECA) and eleven other operators in the private sector, to the Chief of General Staff (CGS), Vice-Admiral Augustus Aikhomu. Their mission was to register their grouse against the new dispensation. Their grievances contained in the mid-year

memorandum of the OPS to the government, centre on the 1,000 dollar payment which they claim is difficult to rationalise. They wondered why a company based in Nigeria should pay in foreign currency instead of naira. They are also not happy with the number of documents to be submitted. They think the clause on documents was deliberately inserted to make it "supremely difficult if not impossible" to secure the PUR quota. All these, they argue, give credence to the suspicion that the government does not appreciate the rationale for the employment of expatriates.

As a way out, they recommend that



● Jose: Not happy with the new package

the government should avoid the arbitrary determination of expatriate quota for companies. Except on purely national security question, the government should be "generous" in granting expatriate quotas, they counsel. They asked the government to intervene and ensure that the present order is not executed.

Although, the government promised to look into the protest, it appears that events are overtaking it. A Ministry of Internal Affairs source say companies are already complying and they have not been having it difficult paying the 1,000 dollars. This is because some of the companies in Nigeria pay most of their chief executives in hard currencies. Financial experts believe that the revenue generated from the exercise could be used to fund the FEM to the benefit of the industries and the whole economy.

By Lucky Flekpa

STOCK MARKET WATCH

And now, a drop

Trading at the Exchange drops lowest in three quarters

THIRD quarter shares trading at the Nigerian Stock Exchange dropped significantly when compared with the previous two quarters and it appears that the trend will continue till December, if trading in October is anything to go by.

Transactions during the third quarter was ₦22 million, down 45.5 per cent against the second quarter. While figures for the total transaction for October is not available, lukewarm sectoral price changes during the month seems to confirm a down-ward course that had marked effect on September trading.

Automobiles and Tires sector saw the value of its equities pick up 4.21 per cent in September but dropped to only 0.30 per cent on the average, by October 31.

While companies in the Commercial sector came out even in September, their prices had dropped by 0.65 per cent last month. Also in October, six sectors had negative price changes. In September, only the Computer and Office Equipment and Conglomerates were that worse off. However, traditionally strong sectors like the Breweries, Chemicals and Paints and Petroleum Marketing managed to maintain a fairly substantial improvement in price gains even in thin volumes.

The reasons for the prevailing lull says some stock dealers is that third quarter corporate reports are not yet available. It is believed that as companies trading results begin to reach the brokers, a more active market would kick-off in the face of performance and dividend related share market. Attributing the shortfall in the market to continuing investor apathy, market watchers suggest that a majority of small investors still want to keep their shares and wait for dividends. Besides, says a source at CSL securities, investors who would normally borrow money from the banks to deal in securities are hard put to do so under the present interest rate regime.

Also companies have not been doing well. Mired by a weakened naira and high cost of funds, many companies have tightened their belts to stay alive. Others have stayed with the low capacity utilization and taken their losses. For example, the Nigerian Sewing Machine

Manufacturing Company, makers of Singer, having piled up nearly ₦4 million in losses since 1984, has been battered at the NSE trading floor. Singer's stocks closed at 15 kobo per share, some 30 per cent below par, last Monday. The company last paid dividends to investors in August, 1983.

But it has not all been bad news in the market as some made impressive gains in October. Delta Glass breathed some fresh air into the near dormant Secondary Securities Market with an 11 point gain to close at 68 kobo. NTC and Van Leer picked up 10 kobo each. Nigerian Breweries Limited (NBL) gained nine points, trading at 209 points after going ex-dividend for 15 kobo on September 29.

Bouyed by a favourable trading result, CFAO stocks closed at 122 points per share on October 31, an 8 kobo improvement compared to its showing a month earlier. Also among the conglomerates, UTC which went ex-dividend on September 29, for 10 kobo, closed at 57 kobo per share.

The NSE common Stock index closed at 229 points while *The African Guardian* composite market measure wound up at 479 points.

Price for fraud

Top broker jailed for illegal trading

PHILIPPE Hecker, the chief stock trader for Den Norske Credit Bank, Norway's largest bank, was slammed into a three-year jail sentence for stock trading fraud last Wednesday.

Hecker was arrested last year after the October stock market crash because he had made substantial transactions without his bank's authorization. The bank lost about 83 million kroner from Hecker's deals to bring the bank's total losses in stock dealing to 962 million kroner or U.S. \$145 million in 1987.

The court found him guilty of trading illegally and siphoning his 1.3 million kroner takings through private accounts held in the name of his mother and sister-in-law.

By Herbert Ojeh

THE AFRICAN GUARDIAN ECONOMIC INDICES

Leading contributors to African
Guardian Index as at Oct. 31, 1988

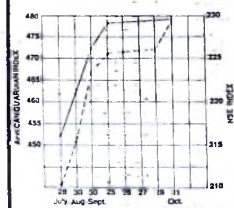


Union Bank	8.08
Firstbank	9.75
USA	7.52
Total	6.50
Food Companies	6.54
AF	6.26
Others	8.54
	48.52

Summary of Supply &
Demand Stock



NSE & Guardian Indices
as at Oct. 31, 1988.



October 1988 Price Gainers

Stock	Price Gain (K)	Price (K)	Total Dividend (K)	Last Div. Date
Delta Glass	+11	68+	0.0	02-9-87
NTC	+10	186+	27.0	27-11-87
Van Leer	+10	100+	17.0	08-6-88
Nig Breweries Ltd	+9	210+	17.0	25-5-88
AP	+8	170+	18.7	08-6-88
CFAO	+8	122+	10.0	06-5-88
WAPCO	+6	222+	12.0	28-8-88
Guinness (Nig) Ltd	+5	148+	4.0 Int	24-5-88
Grommac Ind. Ltd	+4	96+	30.0	26-9-88
Golden Guinea	+4	57+	3.0	10-8-88
Food Specialties	+4	117+	1.0	27-9-88
Inter. Paints	+3	106+	15.0	13-7-88
N. N. Flour Mills	+2	111+	16.0	29-8-88
Flour Mills	+2	80+	4.0	27-9-88
NCR (Nig.)	+2	182+	44.0	11-8-88
Alpini	+2	118+	15.0	27-7-88
Pfizer	+2	120+	15.0	10-5-88
Nigensan Hoechst	+2	83+	10.0	18-5-88
Baecham	+2	162+	17.5	26-8-88
Julius Berger	+2	62+	11.8	15-8-88
UTC	+2	57+	10.0	29-9-88
Weatec	+2	150+	15.0	08-11-87
UNTL	+2	108+	20.1	03-8-88

Above compares price increases from September 31, 1987 close to October 31st, 1988 close.

Nigeria and OPEC's survival

NIGERIA'S commitment to the survival of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) should not be seen as compromising her national interest and sovereignty. But it is in the national interest for the country to remain in OPEC and strive to persuade members to adhere to OPEC's directives. Dr. Rilwanu Lukman, Petroleum Resources Minister said, last week in Lagos.

He observed that in a situation where every country is allowed to produce whatever it likes, prices could tumble to as low as \$5, \$13 lower than the OPEC target price of \$18 a barrel. The only way out, he said, is for the organisation to reach a reasonable quota agreement with the Gulf States of Iran and Iraq which have refused to adhere to OPEC directives so as to bring some stability to the market.



• Lukman

But observers contend that as long as members remain indifferent to OPEC regulations, the option proposed by the minister does not appear reasonable enough. It is believed that if members could easily float production quotas, and go free and non-members produce virtually at full capacity, a picture which

the minister acknowledges to be true, the best option would be for Nigeria to opt out of OPEC and produce at full capacity as well. The inability of Nigeria to pull out is seen as a result of the OPEC presidency which the country has been holding for the past two and a half years.

Dr. Lukman describes this notion as unfortunate. It is true, he says, that Nigeria has worked hard to persuade other members to reach a consensus on all the important matters. But the country has never once considered her position in the organisation more important than its national interest.

To safeguard the nation's oil industry, the minister said the policy on natural gas and petroleum will soon be promulgated, and construction work would start on the Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) plant in Bonny in 1991 to be completed in 1994. On the refining front, CALSON, an off-shore joint venture company between NNPC and Chevron, would engage in the purchase of crude at international prices to be processed at the new Port Harcourt refinery for export.

JIB takes over Plateau Bottling

THE Plateau State Government-owned Plateau Bottling Company is to be given a new lease of life by Jos International Breweries Limited (JIB). Having accumulated N11 million in losses over the last five and half years the state government issued a directive for the bottling company to be wound up.

Jos International Breweries is to refund the equity interests of private indigenous investors in the take-over exercise. Institutional owners of the fledgling bottling company include Jos International Breweries and the Danish Government Industrialisation Fund for Developing Countries.

Before resigning their appointments last Septem-

ber, members of the Board of Directors had taken some measures to turn around the dwindling fortunes of the company, but improvement has been insignificant.



• Olashore

Olashore bounces back

THE former First Bank Managing Director, Mr. Oladele Olashore is at it again. This time not aching the Federal Government with frank opinions, which earned him an abrupt retirement in 1987. Now he is poised to run a new bank, that may come on stream in January 1988. At the moment, Olashore manages a consulting firm, Leads Consult and spends his leisure writing books.

VWON introduces Amazon

THE Volkswagen of Nigeria Limited looks set to re-enter the small car market. Last Tuesday in Lagos it formally introduced the long awaited, Amazon. The car comes in two models, TS and CTS, and is expected to replace the Beattie which was phased out about a year ago. Amazon has a load capacity of 420kg, and can speed up to a maximum 159 kilometers per hour. The car which is currently imported from Brazil and America, sells for N53,000.

Glaxo edges up

THE Glaxo Group, makers of pharmaceutical products, recently edged up to number two position, controlling about 3 per cent of the World pharmaceutical market. Merck and Company is currently the market leader.

The group's 1988 sales rose 18.3 per cent, to clock 2.06 billion pounds at the close of business year ended June 1988. The Glaxo Group has a Nigerian subsidiary, Glaxo Nigeria Limited.



• Utomi: VWON's image maker

JOB GUARDIAN

Service Manager: Qualification, B.Sc. or HND in Electronics/Electrical Engineering with seven years experience in Electronic industry and not less than 35 years of age. Apply to: Group Admin. Manager, Box 4957, Lagos.

Civil Engineer: Qualification, B.Sc. or HND Civil Engineering with five to ten years experience. Apply to: Administrative Manager, Advance Civil Engineering Construction Company Ltd., P. O. Box 745, Ikeja, Lagos.

Underwriting Manager: Qualification, ACII or B.Sc. Insurance with five years minimum working experience. Apply to: The General Manager, Credit Bonds Insurance Co., Nig. Ltd., P.M.B. 5355, Port-Harcourt.

Little comfort from the poet-president

Ezenwa-Ohaeto's use of Pidgin confirms a growing trend

Title: *I Wan Bi President*
Author: Ezenwa-Ohaeto
Publisher: Delta Publications
 (Nigeria) Limited
Price: N10
Reviewer: Isi Omoifo

EZENWA-Ohaeto's latest collection of poems has more than half of its contents in pidgin English. This shows the growing vitality of pidgin as an alternative to standard English in literary creation, with its potential to capture local nuances and concerns. *Aig-Imoukhuede* in verse form, *Ker Sarki Wiwa* in the novel and *Tunde Fatunde* in theatre are among those actively engaged in the evolution of the form.

Pidgin may be quite apt for those intent on cultivating a public voice. Ezenwa-Ohaeto's first collection, *Songs of a traveller*, was remarked for a conscious sympathy with the socially disadvantaged. *I Wan Bi President* reveals a thematic continuity. In the poet's own testimony, the pidgin poems were first read to audiences in Awka, Owerri, Abuja, Calabar and Nsukka. The reception was "stupendous". With the current publication, the poems are now available to the wider public in cold print. The warmth is still evident.

There is almost a temptation to flip hastily through the 11 or so poems in formal English which begin the collection. The poems in this section have not much arresting quality. The free verse form may occasionally detain the reader with some interest-

ing or effective organisation but the diction more often than not descends into very ordinary prose. Take these concluding lines from a poem in the first few pages:

A desperate clutching at reality.

Reminds me that even gentle joys.

Can be maliciously exterminated.

But for the breaking up of the lines, it could read like a smooth sentence with little of that intensity that distinguishes fine verse.

These poems leave the reader clutching at the shadows of an earlier poet, Christopher Okigbo, especially with references to the wind, the gong and such-like poetic freight. Even some of the more complimentary lines give a feeling of imprecise imagery. Like the following:

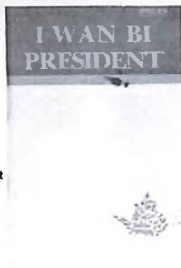
*Lagos, you wear lights
 Glittering like fairy robes*

Your hairs gleam and glow

With moon lights of the night.

The poem from which the extract is taken, *Looking at Lagos*, lacks the verve of its close counterpart in pidgin, *Township Life*. Here, the rhythm is strong; the imagery is homely and memorable. In effect, the poet comes across.

The title poem, *I Wan Bi President*, falls into the pidgin section. It tells the



transformation in the lifestyle of a person who becomes president in a country like ours. His physical proportions too are transformed as if he had been to a "fattening room." Such wondrous change is possible to the poet only in a dream:

For night when I lie for bed

When hunger dey blow



• Ezenwa-Ohaeto: Strengthening the role of pidgin in Litera

*me
 When I never see food chop
 When I never get water drink
 Na him de dream go come.*

On the whole, the poem is a little disappointing. Beyond the implied criticism that some presidents in different climes strive to improve the material conditions of their citizenry, no indication is given as to the alternative direction to be followed by the poet if he secures the power he craves, even if in his imaginative flight.

An apparent danger in pidgin poetry is to slide into the world-view of the man in the street or the girl next door. The string of poems. *Sisi Eko Im complain*, *Sweet Sixteen Dey Sweet*, *Na Fine Face I Go Chop*, *Na Money Make Fine Soup*, which engage in woman-bashing, fail to see the female character as a product of the system.

Ezenwa-Ohaeto, who teaches Literature and English at the Anambra State College of Education, Awka, is currently completing his Ph.D work at the University of Benin.

PEOPLE

Rich focus

FOR Chief Billyrose Adeyemo, photography is a childhood delight which has taken him to the top of the profession. He started snapping away, mostly at his schoolmates, when he was 15, with a box camera bought for him by his mother at that time for 15 shillings. Today, Adeyemo is President of the Society of Nigerian Advanced Photography (SNAP). On Saturday, October 22, he called together colleagues and friends to mark his 60th birthday as well as 45 years in photography.

He particularly likes portraiture. Ex-President Shehu Shagari and Dr. Kumuyi of Deeper Life Ministry are among those captured by his lens. Adeyemo, however, complains about government policies. "We find it very difficult in this profession because the government does not recognise photography in the country." He is quick to cite the difficulty in obtaining photographic equipment and materials as example.

Chief Billyrose regards himself as a fulfilled man. "I have achieved everything I want to attain in life and I am as happy as a king," he says.



• Iyayi and wife, Patricia: Working hard for a good life

Ain't doing badly

HOW does a banker celebrate his birthday? Of course, he invites friends for a well-attended bash, SAP or no SAP. That was what Macaulay Iyayi did when he turned 40 on October 27.

Understandably, he doesn't spoil himself too often; for most of the time, he is busy piloting the six-month-old Alpha Merchant Bank to the fair land of rising profits, as its pioneer Managing Director. "After

one month of operation, we broke even; a result of the hard work of Alpha's management team," he says. With Alpha's total assets at N4 million, Iyayi "ain't doing badly at all".

He brings to the task a Masters Degree from De Paul University, Chicago, U.S.A. Married with six kids, he has only praises for his wife, Patricia. "My success in life really depends on her advice," he says.

Three times a lady

THE train of the emerging new woman recently stopped to pick another passenger. Hauwa Ali. You know them, the likes of Zulu Sofola, Tess Onwueme, Zaynab Alkali, etc., combining domestic roles with their professional careers as well as finding time for creative work.

To all those attributes, Mrs. Ali, 39, adds those of a pacesetter. She was one of the first to graduate with a doctorate degree from the University of Maiduguri and the first female author on Delta Publications' book list. On Saturday, October 29, at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, her novel, *Destiny*, winner of the 1987 Delta Fiction Prize, was launched into the market.

She wrote *Destiny* to "help find a solution to the problem of child marriage that is a household practice in northern Nigeria. "Formal education of young girls should be encouraged at the expense of early marriages," she says. A senior lecturer in English at the University of Maiduguri, Mrs. Ali has four children.



• Adeyemo: "I have achieved everything I want"



• Ali: A lady of substance



• Waziri: A moment of fulfillment

A high flyer

BIODUN TOKI has moved several times in his career, but the causes may lie in his personality.

He has been a lecturer at the University of Lagos, research economist at Nigeria Industrial Development Bank, NIDB, marketing manager of a pharmaceutical company, UpJohn (Nigeria) Limited, research economist at First City Merchant Bank and now holds an executive position at the International Merchant Bank, IMB.

"As a young man, I had a way of being curious which might have been re-

sponsible for my movements but in all the movements, the common thing was research," he explains.

At IMB, Toki has just moved from the Corporate Affairs Department to Corporate Finance as manager. In spite of his long attachment to research, he believes strongly that marketing is a vital link in the business.

"I discovered this during my sojourn at UpJohn," he says. Away from research matters, he splits his time between reading and his kids. He also jogs on a weekly basis.

Setting records straight

EX-Senator Mahmud Waziri published *Stewardship*, mostly a collection of his speeches during the ill-fated Second Republic, "so that the future actors on the country's political stage may find it useful if they are to avoid making the same mistake thrice."

Fine sentiments. The launching of the 112-page book at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, Victoria Island, Lagos, on Saturday, October 29, was the cynosure of

a number of second republic dramatics persons. Present were ex-governors Abubakar Rimi and Abubakar Barde as well as Dr. Chuba Okadigbo, Dr. Olu-sola Saraki, Dr. Ibrahim Tahir, Chief Jonathan Odebiyi, etc.

Looking at the hall packed full, Waziri said it was "a moment of fulfillment." And quite aware of the general reservations about those four years, he hastens to add: "It's just a strong need to put the records straight, not to exonerate oneself."



• Toki: Moving in the upward direction

Manning the midfield

WHEN Kim Lawani says: "Nigeria has been operating with just defence and strikers and without midfielders," he's not talking about football. He is referring to the entertainment scene. Together with his colleagues, Kim has formed a body called the Association of Artiste Managers and Music Promoters (AMMP).

The body which is about 100 days old intends to "organise the midfield

which is lacking." Says Kim: "In this country, the artiste is in most cases his own producer, manager, promoter and booking agent. And it is probably for this reason too that the artiste does so much he doesn't get the best of his creativity out." If AMMP succeeds in their goal, then lovers of music, especially live performances, could well be on the road to getting better value for their money.



• Lawani: Poised to organise the midfield

Climbing to the Peak

Lagos night club marks one year with charity gig

It was past midnight when six zombies emerged from their graves. Their clothes, some dripping with blood, were in tatters as they shuffled onto the stage in stiff jerky movements. Time stood still for a few seconds, and suddenly the quiet was shattered by the pulsating beats of Michael Jackson's 1983 monster hit, *Thriller*. In living colour, the *Thriller* video dance moves were re-enacted by the ghostly figures with such mastery and faithfulness to detail that Jacko could have really gone wacko with envy.

The act performed by students of the University of Benin (UNIBEN), who went by the name Illusion, might run away with a medal for the weirdest and most mesmerising side-attraction in the entertainment circuit. But the show was not in UNIBEN's main auditorium. It was in the posh Peak Night Club in mid-profile Surulere, Lagos.

To celebrate its one year anniversary, Peak Night Club and Restaurant, on October 29, hosted friends and patrons to a night of wining, dining and dancing. Meant also as a charity show, Peak donated N2,500 and over N11,000 worth of gift items to the S.O.S. Motherless Babies Home in Lagos. Attracting a gate fee of N150 for uninvited guests, the night fulfilled the promise, by compare Soni Ibor, of a mouthwatering musical menu.

In his first public appearance, since releasing his debut album last month, Mike Okri reaffirmed that he could become a voice to reckon with in the music industry. The audi-



• Onyeka: Thrilling the audience

ence could not help calling for an encore of the hit track, *Omoge*, on which he anchored his exit.

Since they wanted an *Omoge* (a damsel), Peak obliged by providing one for a N10,000 fee. Flaunting a pair of long legs that distracted quite a few, Onyeka Onwenu, sporting her low-cut hair-do, could have just passed for an *Omoge* in her knee length green costume. It might not be surprising (perish the thought) if it wasn't only Onyeka's superb rendition of *Ekwe, You and I* e.t.c. that yanked Chuba Okadigbo, a presidential adviser in the Second Republic, from his seat to crown her forehead with naira notes. Thrilling as ever, Onyeka further freaked out the audience with a taste of the title

• Illusion: A chilling visage



• Inegbese (right), wife, Mary and Kiebe: Cheers at one

track of her forthcoming album, *Dancing in the sun*.

The audience, itching to boogie down on the dance floor was presented with one final act. Velvety voiced Funmi Banjo and her five male companions roped the audience into singing with them the theme song of Peak's television advert. Impressed by her brilliant singing, Mike Inegbese, the 40-year-old proprietor of Peak showered a rain of naira notes on Funmi. Beside the anniversary of his club, Inegbese had other

reasons to be generous. He is due to be a father soon, seven months after his grand society wedding in Port Harcourt, Rivers State. "I feel on top of the world. The baby is due in three months," he beamed. Inegbese was joined in cutting the Peak anniversary cake by his wife, Mary, and Richard Kiebe (christened "Small minister"), the Personal Assistant to the absent guest of honour, Information Minister, Prince Tony Momoh.

By: John Nwaobi

Overheard

► "I'm launching this book with N364. There are 365 days in a year and tomorrow — October 30, will mark one year of my graduating from the University of experience (his prison sentence)."

— *Ex-Governors of Kano State, Abubakar Rimi, at the launching of Stewardship*, by Mahmud Waziri.

► "To me life is still the same. Life continues. And you you know that age is in the mind not in the body."

— *Maryam Babangida on being complimented for turning 40.*

► "I don't feel defunct. I asked Jonathan Odebiyi (Second Republic Senator) 'Do you feel defunct?' The English language is a brutal instrument!"

— *Ibrahim Tahir, minister in the Second Republic.*

Back to nature

Rural settings dominate theme of art exhibition

MURAINO Oyelami returns to the exhibition stand after seven years to reveal that he is still a fine colourist and progeny of the Oshogbo School. One of the works, *Crowded Suburb*, is enmeshed in his favourite theme of tradition and the negative impact of foreign influences. He creates a chaotic settlement of huts that is at the same time tinged with balance and nostalgia. That may be a way of asserting that no place is totally shorn of joy or its positive aspects.

The exhibition from October 19 to 31 at the Goethe-Institute, Victoria Island, Lagos, had works divided into two major parts; six pieces of oil painting on hard-board and 12 of oil painting on paper.

Rural settings dominate the canvas of the artist who combines painting with music (Oyelami is an accomplished instrumentalist on the Dundun and Bata Drums and a music teacher). He emphasises aspects of rural beauty in *Village scene 1*, *Village Scene 11*, *Village Scene 111*, *Northern Village 1*, *Northern Village 11*, and *Village in Desert*.

Oyelami paints the hilly country-side of his native Iragbiji in Ifelodun Local Government Area of Oyo State. The traditional mud houses are now giving way to modern cement block buildings. He seems to be saying that the old buildings were serene and beautiful in their own way.

Village in Desert tells the story of the people in the



● Oyelami: Fulfilment in art

Sahel who dig deep into the ground, under the sand dunes for shelter. The place looks nondescript, but deep within, it bubbles with life.

Oyelami's love for structures goes beyond landscapes to embrace structures of life. *Reflection* is a contemplative work revealing the distant summit of a hill against a valley. In-between, the artist reproduces, in a multiplicity of colours, the disorder in human settlements as well as in the mind. The use of subtle colours manages to invest the work with a certain peace. The application of violet tinted with white lightens the overall mood while the Naples' yellow rivets the eyes of the viewer.

Gypsy represents such wanderers as the beggar, cassanova, the woman or the man who changes partners in quick regularity. Oyelami's concern is that many more people are becoming gypsies because of prevailing social cir-

cumstances but this does not make them less human.

In most of his works, Oyelami uses animated colours. Even when he paints the pathetic side of life like *Hunger* (Prussian blue over glazy background), there is always a ray of hope in the form of the golden yellow colour somewhere around.

A product of the Oshogbo art school and Mbari Mbayo Art Group, Oyelami has opened an art centre at his hometown, Iragbiji after his retirement from the Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife where he taught music and dance.

By Humphrey Bekaren



● 'Egungun' and (below) 'Gypsy' Works of realism



Night of stars

Funds keep away several award winners

It was festival time on teevee, and so for a whole week, bouncing off from Sunday October 23, viewers were treated to a "veritable feast" of 14 categories of programmes. Tagged the Nigerian Festival of Television Programmes (NIFETEP), the tube affair had for its theme "Mobilization for National Development through Television."

It was a combination of serious stuff like documentaries, historical dramas and hilarious comedies, animation and puppetry as well as variety and light entertainment presentations. Tube stations nationwide switched into the biennial event during which a total of 88 programmes was transmitted as against the 67 programmes featured in 1986.

The climax of the festival whose budget was over N200,000, was probably the award gala night held Saturday, October 29. Hundreds of people thronged the main bowl of the National Arts Theatre, Lagos, to catch a glimpse of television stars in the flesh. The organisers of the festival, Television Organisation Of Nigeria (TON), brought further spice to the event by featuring reggae musician, Mejeck Fashek and 13-year-old Festus Eghaghara as part of the performances.

The night saw the presentation of 14 gleaming trophies and about 40 certificates to individuals, television stations and production companies. Chairman of the nine-man national jury, Dr. S.O. Amali said the panel's criteria included colour, lighting, sound, rele-

vance, directing and script writing. "From the 102 entries, we observed a high standard of television emerging in the nation and most producers articulated a drive towards social mobilization," he said.

Tar Ukoh a principal producer with the Nigeria Television Authority (NTA) Jos, was adjudged best producer, director and scenic designer in the variety and light entertainment category with *Song of Wisdom*. "It didn't come as a surprise to me," he said. The production was dedicated to freedom fighter Nelson Mandela, and his wife, Winnie as well as other matrys and heroes of Africa. Ukoh states that some deficiencies, like poor technical quality, were due to lack of funds. "A programme may have a good concept but with poor execution ends up a bad production."

The cry over poor finance hit the organisers as well. This was glaring in the absence of many award winners. One of the lucky ones who could attend was

Zack Amata. A popular face on the screen, Amata plays a strict father in NTA's soap opera "Behind



Amata receives his trophy from Mrs Aikhomo

the Clouds." He was cheered all the way to the stage when he went to receive a trophy for being "overall best actor" in a thriller called *Game of Frustration*. Amata observed that though "NIFETEP was a fantastic idea, there are still a lot more areas to be improved upon, especially the dramas. Stage plays were aired as television plays. It became so boring that I switched off my television on a number of times."

The star prize for the "best comedy" was clinched by an independent production by Global Playhouse, Jos, for a play entitled *All in a days job*. Dr. Victoria Ezekoli, chairperson, Festival Planning Committee, believed that the entire viewing public might have reached 40 million and that the programmes had been of high quality. A member of the audience, Eddie Igboke, said of the festival: "They were very interesting program-

mes. NIFETEP should be made a yearly event so the programmes will eventually replace those imported."

Dr. Nwokedi Amatokwu, Mass Communication lecturer at the University of Lagos, says NIFETEP is a very useful event.

Reviewing the state of television today, he says: "There's no doubt that they need technological help. They have brilliant men and women who can achieve a lot. They have shown considerable initiative."

Dr. Amatokwu gave the NTA pass marks with respect to news and situation comedies such as *New Masquerade*, *New Samanja*, *New Village Headmaster*, etc.

"Where they exhibit considerable weakness is in movie for television. Some of the dialogues are over-stretched, making it look like someone is trying to stretch the time. After all, there's no sacred injunction that movies should be two to three hours. Also nothing says that several movies can't be shown for a movie slot," he says.

This year's NIFETEP is the last to be organised by TON. NTA Director-General, Shyngle Wigwa revealed at the closing that subsequent activities like the festival would now come under the umbrella of the Broadcasting Organisation of Nigeria (BON).

By Omatayo Afolabi

Ukoh re-enacts "Song of Wisdom" at the awards night



Feast of fragrances

Local perfume, cream producers fight foreign competition

NO prizes will be awarded for guessing the common link between the following labels—Agi-sheen, Kessing-sheen, Satin sheen, Super sheen, Extra sheen, Dyna, Venus, Bref, Impulse, etc. Your guess is right. They are all perfumes, or hair creams, though with exotic names. And they are made in Nigeria. At least, some percentage of the raw materials is locally sourced.

Mr. Enang Inyang, Marketing Manager of Flurex Industries based in Ikeja, Lagos, says that 85 per cent of the raw materials used in the making of Agi-sheen, its hair cream product which made its debut this year, is derived locally. He mentions some of these raw materials as anti-dandruff oil, hair-root formulated oil, Vitamin E, Petroleum jelly, Paraffin, etc.

Cybelle Cosmetics, Lagos, producers of various brands of deodorants like Fa, Bref, etc., sources about 55 per cent of its raw materials internally. Mr. Ahmad Suleiman, the Sales Manager, says that the company relies a lot on its research to produce quality brands to enhance competition with imported ones.

Netac (Nigeria) Limited at Ikorodu Road, Lagos, obtains 75 per cent of raw materials used in the production of Savlon hair cream locally. These include colourant, keratin, vitamin extracts, mineral oil, etc. Cheseborough Industries (Nigeria) Limited, Lagos, has gone a step further. The company, with factory and office complex located in Isolo, has an in-house plastic production



■ Locally-made perfumes on display

section. Says the Marketing Manager, Mr. Wole Olaleye, "the quality of our products matches international standards. Our laboratory is well-equipped and every item of material used at every stage of production must go through rigorous quality control tests."

Local perfumeries and cream factories face stiff competition from longer established foreign brand names, especially from the US, France, and other Western countries. Inyang of Flurex Industries says of the demand profile: "A lot of elegant Nigerian ladies prefer foreign cosmetic products to home-made ones."

He says that the company tries to break the foreign stranglehold on the industry by giving test samples to young sophisticated ladies. "A lot of the ladies come back to buy our products after using the samples." Mrs. Clara Maduka, salesperson of Netac (Nigeria) Limited also identifies the giving-out of samples to prospective clients as a major strategy to break foreign competition. Some of the companies are strongly into advertising, devoting

a major part of their budget to arouse appeal especially among the well-to-do who are disposed to spend extra on accessories. Mr. Cedric Ogo, who works at Zainab Hair-dressing and barbing Salon, Sabo, Yaba, Lagos, says that there are now a lot of hair creams and hair relaxers in the market to choose from at cheaper prices. "It is unlike the situation sometime ago when the products were scarce and expensive."

The Nigerian skin and hair products compare favourably in prices with foreign competitors. For instance, while imported T.C.B. hair cream costs N25, Nigerian-made hair creams cost from N2.50 to N7.80. Locally-made perfumes or deodorants can be got at N7.80 or N8.00 but

■ Ajaane Believes in value for money



Parfum de passion is being sold at N12.60 and Sergio Soldana at N15.

Ngozi Ajaane, 21, a school teacher, has a taste for foreign cosmetics. "I prefer using imported cosmetics because they last longer than local ones," she says. She also complains that indigenous hair creams damage the hair.

A fashion designer, at No. 209 Ojo Road, Lagos, prefers home-made deodorants. Nigerian firms are producing perfumes and deodorants which compete favourably with foreign ones, she says.

Mrs. Shola Olupona, a hair-dresser, says she uses a perfume made in Paris because of its nice odour. In her hair-dressing profession, though, she uses Dyna hair cream in styling the hair of customers. It is good and cheap, she says. Miss Funmi Oyetunde prefers creams made abroad. Citing a popular hair styling cream, she says that it burns the scalp of the head about 30 minutes after application unlike the one made by the same company abroad which relaxes the hair without any pains.

With more fragrances from local product works coming on stream at the scale witnessed in the past few years, the industry could be geared to make a major impact on the Nigerian sense-and-sensibility.

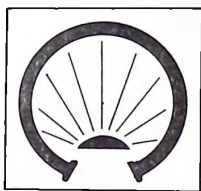
By Chinweoke Oluoha and Augustine Anyanwu

A Biafran bank?

WHAT is in symbol? This is the problem we hear is before the board of the Orient Bank, the relatively new Anambra State government-controlled financial house opened by President Ibrahim Babangida last year. We hear that members of the bank's board met all day long sometime last week beating their heads against the proverbial wall to come up with a new logo for the bank. What is wrong with the present one, you ask? Well, it so happens that the present logo, after just over a year of its existence, does not find favour in the eyes of some high-ups in government.

It seems that the symbol of the Orient Bank, which has the rising sun peeping out of the horizon, brings back unsavoury memories of the secessionist period of Biafra to mind. So what happens? We hear that promptly, with immediate despatch and all vocabulary military governments often muster to underline the sense of urgency, Orient Bank was ordered to change the symbol which it uses in order for Nigeria to sleep more soundly. But you ask, what is an "Oriental" institution without a rising sun? Or what is Biafran about Orient Bank? Well, we do not know, but what we do know is the saying by William Shakespeare (their own W. S.) that "there is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so."

TOPIC OF THE WEEK



ORIENT BANK

A case of selective reporting?

YOU have probably heard of how the Chief of General Staff "rebuked" his Press Secretary, Yaro Yusuf Maman the other day at the Presidential Wing of the Murtala Mohammed International Airport for locking out airport correspondents from the Press Centre. And you have probably heard also of how the CGS returned to the Press Centre to "rebuke" airport correspondents for blowing out of proportion his overturning of Maman's order.

We hear that the disaffection between Maman and the journalists goes way back to last Christmas when the CGS, on his way to Iruwa (remember that is where he comes from) promised the correspondents a Christmas gift. The story is that the CGS' Christmas gift, the nature of which we are still unsure, never materialised and the journalists were said to have held Maman responsible for not taking care of his "constituency."



Yet, there is the other story that airport correspondents had been accosted by a lieutenant colonel attached to Dodan Barracks and accused of being over enthusiastic in reporting that the colonel came back without medals but with enough luggage from their shopping spree to fill up a department store. According to this story, it is said the lieutenant colonel had complained to

Maman who was a member of the Welcome Committee and the Press Secretary had promised to call the "boys" to order. It is speculated that Maman's attempt to lock up the Press Centre was part of his "calling to order" the airport journalists.

Anyhow, we do feel that for the airport journalists to blow up Maman's "embarrassment" and ignore their "rebuks" by the CGS is a case of selective perception. The journalists did not see the CGS' second visit to the Press Centre to "chide" them for making a "family affair" public as what would make a story. We have since learnt that Maman, rebuked or not, will continue to serve as Press Secretary to the Chief of General Staff. A piece of bad news perhaps for those who saw his "rebuks" as an opportunity to get him out of Dodan Barracks.

A tortuous wait

WE are quite happy that the Concord Newspapers' forum on "Stability and the Third Republic" ended with what we consider a resounding success. Therefore, we shall not tell you about the amount of legwork, headaches, and near emotional breakdowns that went into organising the two day brainstorm.

For instance, we will not mention that when the Chief of General Staff was first contacted to open the forum, he expressed reservations. Why? We do not exactly know, but we can only speculate that the CGS' apprehension stemmed from the observation that some of those invited to speak looked rather like the "radicals" and the "extremists" that government would want to keep at arms length.

Come opening day, Tuesday November 1. The CGS was there. Those to give lectures (both radicals and non radicals) were also present. Invited guests were on their seats, all were ready except the Chief Host, Chief M.K.O. Abiola. After what seemed to us a tortuous wait, the master of ceremony had to announce that the wife of Chief Abiola, who also happens to be the Managing Director of the Concord group, will stand in for her husband. We shall, therefore, not say how visibly shaken Mrs. Abiola herself was as she apologised and rept wondering why Abiola was not around as arranged, or mention that from the CGS' countenance, one could observe that he was not quite happy. But as Mrs. Abiola finished her apology, Chief Abiola burst into the hall. The guests could not help giving him a standing ovation which we guess was more out of relief than welcoming the Chief Host of the occasion.

We will, therefore, try not to say that Mrs. Abiola heaved an audible sigh of relief capable of shaking the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA), venue of the forum, to its foundation.

But why the lateness which caused both invited guests and speakers, including the organiser, so much heartache? Chief Abiola was to explain; he was indisposed due to "local difficulties". We are not sure if many listened to this explanation, but we are sure that they were happy that Isha Allah, he finally made it.



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