

Zangon Kataf: An update

JUNE 8 — 14 1992. Vol. 3, No 23

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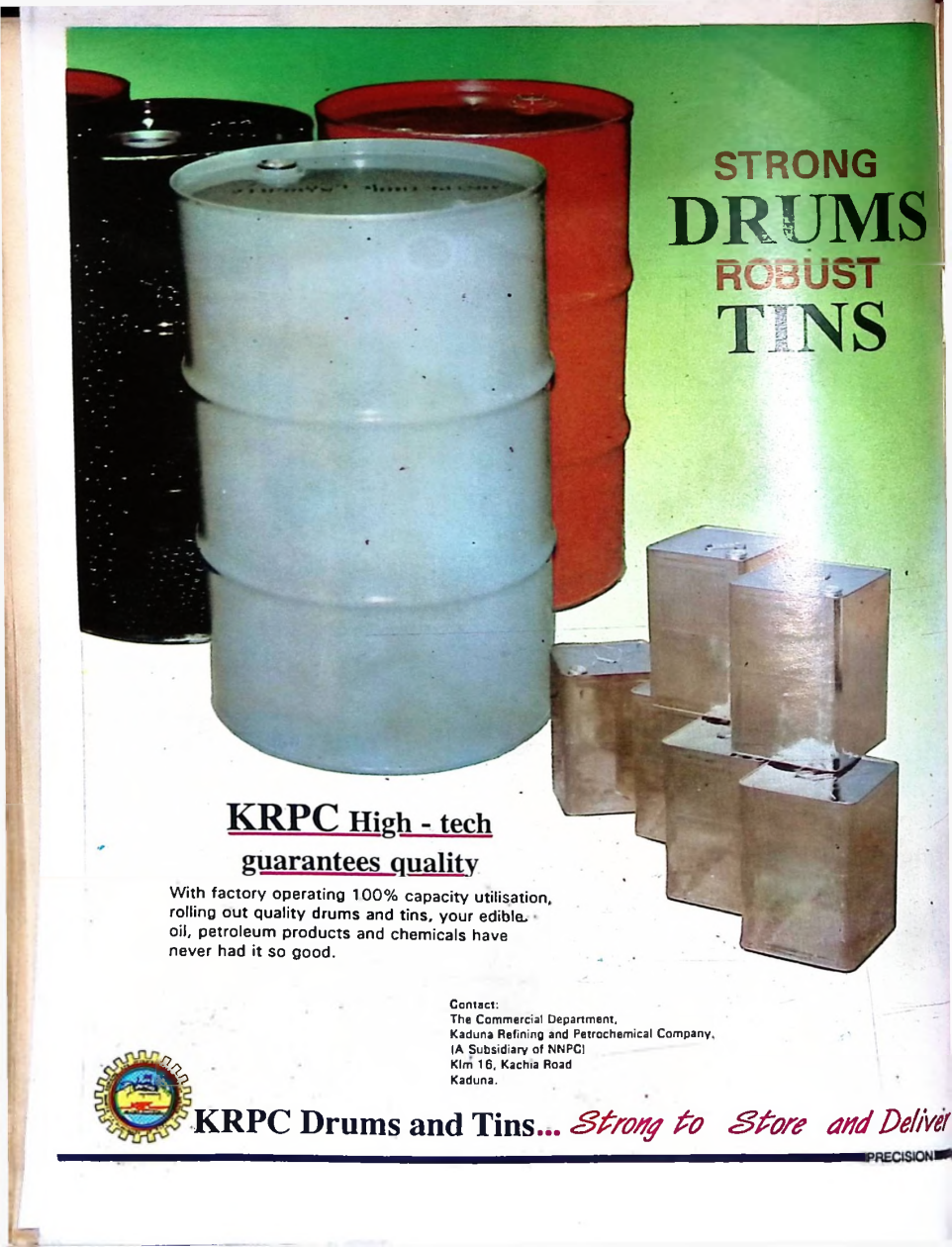


Presidential race

“I am the bridge”

— Shehu Musa

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In a frenzy of hate, Jukuns and their Chamba henchmen turn their fire power on the Kutebs

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"I am the bridge"

Shehu Musa, the last of the big names to join the presidential race, says he is the bridge for national unity

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FROM THE PUBLISHER

Although we were pre occupied with the tragic events of the past few weeks in Zangon Katag, Zaria and Kaduna, we did not lose sight of the gory effects of the prolonged ethnic war in Jukun Land. The spate of destruction in what essentially started as a Jukun/Tiv war was massive and sadly it received scanty media coverage. *Citizen* of course gave it adequate coverage in October 1990 and again last January. But when the war expanded into a third front involving Hausa-Fulani and Kuteb communities an update became necessary. For this, we sent Tawey Zakka, himself a Kuteb, to cover the multi-dimensional war of the Jukun/Chamba and the Kuteb. Jenuwa Kogi, a Kuteb village in Takum Local Government of Taraba State was razed to the ground, leaving 50 people dead. The casualty included women, children and the handicapped while thousands were rendered homeless. Zakka covered the vast area already devastated by the conflict and talked to influential community leaders, victims and law enforcement agents. His report leads the two cover stories we present this week.

* * *

His name became a household word long before he declared his interest in the nation's number one post. But when Alhaji Shehu Musa, *Makaman Nupe* and former chairman of the National Population Commission finally submitted the Census results and launched his campaign for nomination as the NRC's flagbearer in the presidential race, he declared that his many testimonials in the course of his career as a dedicated public servant would speak for him. Apparently, only few of his fellow presidential aspirants had nursed ambition for the plum job before 1983 when the *Makama* did. He was encouraged after scaling the hurdles as the only top lieutenant of President Shagari who was not detained by Buhari regime. *Makama* who sees himself as "the bridge between the north and south" radiated hope when he talked to *Citizen* team. Shehu Musa "the bridge between the poor and the rich" emphasised that money is not the major determinant in the race and called on voters to "take the money when it comes but vote for the person you are convinced will perform".

The story, anchored by Mohammed Haruna is the second cover.

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LETTERS

Genocide in Kaduna

Sir,

The attention of the Kaduna State government has been drawn to your editorial of 25th - 31st May, 1992, captioned **Time to act decisively** — where you accused the government of inaction when it became clear that violence was about to erupt.

In the interim, the government has been responding to reports of possible eruption of violence by requesting for effective police presence in the location. The two mobile police units already sent there after the first incident was reinforced by another set of two units after reports that the Kafafs were destroying crops planted by the Hausas. The government provided means of transport



and has consistently assisted with the means of sustenance for the police personnel sent to the area.

Apart from serious appeasement trips and meeting with the peace loving members of the community by a top government delegation led by the deputy governor, the government kept on responding to security reports by informing the police to take all action necessary to stop any outbreak of violence. When, for example reports reached the government that the Kafafs were refusing to allow Hausas farm and that crops planted were being vandalised, the government informed the

police to moved a further two units to the location. Trucks, pick-up vans and some money for sustenance were provided by the state government to the police. All the time the government had received assurance from the police that the situation was very much under their control.

The incidence of the 'black' Friday, 15th May, 1992 was relayed to the governor by a private source at 2am early hours of Saturday morning. Immediately, the police was informed and its request for means of transport was immediately met. To the best of our knowledge a further four (4) units of mobile police contingents left for the area and it was confirmed that the units arrived Zonkwa by 11am., Saturday. The worst of the violence took place by 1pm., Saturday. For one reason or other the police reinforcement units remained at Zonkwa and reached Zangon Kafaf town only by 4pm. Saturday 16th when the worst had already occurred.

With the number of conventional police and the mobile units that were supposed to be in Zangon Kafaf at the material time, the state government believed that the security arrangements were enough to quell any civil riots.

At the same time, the governor made contact with the federal military government stating that in his opinion the police lacked the capability to control the situation in the shortest possible time. By Monday 18th, police inability to contain the situation was confirmed and the Nigerian Army was formally invited to come and stop the violence.

As soon as the violence reached Kaduna as a result of unauthorised movement of corpses and injured people to Kaduna and when skirmishes were reported, the police still gave the assurance that they would control the situation.

We are therefore requesting that you please enlighten your readers, a large number of whom are citizens

of the state so that the confidence they have always had in the government remains unshaken.

Dr. Sa' ad Usman
SSG, Kaduna State

Sir,

The noble role played by Major-General Hassan Usman Katsina (rtd) and Group-Captain Usman Jibrin (rtd) in bringing last week's disturbances in Kaduna to an end deserves the commendation and appreciation of every Nigerian. These two gentlemen have indeed exhibited true qualities of leadership and statesmanship. Hassan became the father of all and the rallying point for all communities within the Kaduna metropolis and its environs. He and Usman Jibrin, at great personal risks to their lives, went to every nook and corner of the town pleading and pacifying all communities for a return to peace and harmony.

Until it happened, I never believed that this nation has still got such dedicated and committed leaders who feel concerned about the welfare of the masses and are willing to sacrifice their lives for the peace and stability of this nation.

I believe it will not be asking too much of these to gentlemen to extend this conciliatory efforts to Taraba State and try to bring peace and harmony between the warring Jukuns and Tivs in that area. May Allah reward your efforts with success and we shall continue to pray for your success and safety.

Halilu U. Bida
Kaduna

Sir,

I pray that the authorities concerned will do something about those already in custody in connection with the riots and act decisively. This time around, the guilty must be punished.

Danladi U. Garba
Kaduna

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

Avoiding a golgotha

Ukwe Takum, Alhaji Ali Ibrahim Kufan II told *Citizen* in his palace on May 21 that his people, the Kutebs on one hand and Jukuns and Chambas on the other have never before fought a war. He also said that in the good old days it was hard to tell one of these three major ethnic groups in Takum Local Government from the other.

The reality today, however, is that it is not only very easy to tell the Kuteb man from a Jukun or Chamba, but the three are effectively at war — a bloody war.

The Jukuns had resented the 1976 local government reform which led to the break-up of the defunct federated Wukari division. The Kutebs became a majority in the new Takum Local Government. They refused to join in a so-called Kwararafa Congress, formed, on the face of it, to give people of the area a "strong political voice". In fact, they saw it as a machinery for the perpetuation of Jukun/Chamba hegemony.

That sowed the seed of the hatred between the Jukun/Chamba alliance and the Kuteb. One important symbol of this mutual hatred is the violence that has surrounded the annual Kuteb *Kuchicheb* cultural festival which is a festival of peace and thanksgiving.

That was the state of affairs up to March 25, the date for this year's staging of *Kuchicheb*. That day the procession of celebrants was waylaid and attacked exactly in front of the residences of Sarkin Jukun, Sonji Ade, and Chamba wardhead, Tamti Gambo Usman. This happened despite an undertaking by the Kutebs, Jukuns and Chambas that there would be no violence. The Ukwe abruptly ended the festivities. Still the killing of unarmed women, children and youth went unabated right under the nose of watching mobile police.

Eight people were shot dead there on the spot and 28 who sustained serious injuries were rushed to hospitals in the town. More deaths among the Kutebs were reported on subsequent days. Families were still counting and burying their dead when news came of the attack on Jenuwa Kogi, a Kuteb village of some 20,000 broke on April 28. Official local government record put the number of those killed at 30 but the villagers themselves bur-

ied the 50th body on May 20. The dead were mostly the aged, the handicapped, women and children.

Thousands of homes were set on fire, barns full of grain were levelled. Domestic animals were taken away. Other Kuteb villages are brimming with refugees from Jenuwa Kogi and Acha. Housing is inadequate and food hard to come by. Children are dying from malnutrition and diarrhoea.

There is evidence that the Jukuns may have been preparing for a war. Last year, at the resumption of the Tiv/Jukun fighting in nearby Wukari, Jukun youths were alleged to have openly declared that after the Tivs they would "face" the Kutebs in the battlefield — for "refusing" to help their cause. The *Kuchicheb* festival provided the excuse they needed.

There is yet a much more fundamental reason for the rift between the Jukuns and the Kutebs, namely, the chieftancy of Takum. The Jukuns want not only to have a say in the selection of the Ukwe but also have their kinsman on the throne. But the 1963 Northern Nigerian gazette No. 24 of 1963 made the throne the exclusive right of the Kutebs. In 1975 the Jukuns and Chambas, using their influential position in the old Benue Plateau state government, got late Governor Joseph Gomwalk to repeal the established order.

The 1975 law not only "legitimized" the claims of Jukun/Chamba to the throne but effectively denied the indigenous and more populous Kuteb their birthright. They went to Jos high court which said it lacked jurisdiction to adjudicate in what was an executive matter.

Meanwhile, a few months after the creation of Gongola State there was a disturbance in Takum. The trouble started over irregularities in the demarcation of electoral wards. But the real cause was the stalemate over the chieftancy issue. The government appointed commission of inquiry said the repeal of the 1963 law was "high-handed" and recommended that the Kutebs, as in 1963, retain the exclusive right to the throne and told the government of Major General

Muhammadu Jega so. But the government dragged its feet, and the stalemate persists till date.

Unless this matter is laid to rest by pacifying the aggrieved parties, Takum may be turned into a burial ground — a golgotha. The executive and legislative arms of the Taraba State government have to work pretty fast and tidily too to clear up the 1975 muddle.

In the meantime, there are thousands of refugees to rehabilitate and feed. Many people have acquired large caches of arms and turned Takum into a highly militarised zone. Allegations that outsiders are arming their kith and kin in Takum to prolong the war have to be investigated, and the warlords so identified, no matter how highly placed, made to face the law.

The police came in for serious criticism because of perceived partiality. It is a relief

to hear the inspector-general of police say that the decision to post police officers to their local governments had been a mistake. In the case of Takum, Jukun officers played a major role in aggravating the current crisis. Their transfer therefore is welcome.

The influx of non-Nigerians, specifically Camerounians must be checked. Not only is it that they do not have valid papers but their means of livelihood is not known. Some of them, if not all, have turned into soldiers of fortunes, selling themselves to the highest bidder.

Lastly, all suspects arrested by police should be promptly investigated and those with a case to answer turned over to the newly constituted federal tribunal for trial. The ordinary courts cannot be trusted to handle these cases, because they are not entirely insulated from political influence.

Saving the earth

Last week the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), better known as the Earth Summit, began in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. This is the largest and most complex conference ever held on Earth, and with good reason since this is the summit to save the Earth itself.

No one doubts by now that human beings have abused their temporary tenure on this planet. In the last 20 years alone, deforestation, overgrazing, overcropping and pollution have severely put pressure on the ability of the environment to stabilise itself and provide for us a nourishment. Climates are being changed; rivers, lakes, the sea and air are being polluted; the topsoil is being washed away; forests are disappearing; plant and animal species are being exterminated and the earth's beauty is disappearing. Humans have no right to do this in the name of "civilisation". The planet is 4.5 billion years old and our kind has been here for half a million years. And long after we are gone, the earth will still be here.

While all human nations have contributed in some way to the problem, the more "advanced" ones have made the worst contribution. They generate 80 percent of

the waste; they emit three quarters of the green house gases; they consume most of the wood, fuels and minerals; their agricultural machines move most of the earth.

According to *Time* magazine (June 1), the United States alone of the Western nations and with only 5% of the world's population, uses one quarter of the world's energy and emits 22% of the carbon dioxide produced which is the principal cause of global warming, perhaps the single biggest threat to the environment.

The bill is now due, and each should pay according to his contribution to the destruction. The North must cut its profligate consumption if the earth is to be saved. At present, their position at the summit is another example of shameless double standard. The South should conserve forests, they say; well, there used to be many forests and species in Europe and America. We will preserve the forests but someone must pay for the loss of that resource, we say. All that is needed, according to UNCED, is 125 billion US dollars a year; this is less than half what the US alone spends on "defence" every year.

Well, this is the mother of all defences, the defence of the planet. The North should quit pussyfooting and pay up.

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

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ADAMU ADAMU

And what was to be done? No borders would contain his influence.

He was a person the world couldn't ignore when he was alive nor could forget after his death. Three years ago, he went back to his origin. And of him it could truly be said that when he died he finally rested, after having accomplished what is not given mortals to achieve. The muslim world must be congratulated

too high a price to pay for western pittance.

If what is happening in Iran right now is right then the Imam must have been wrong in countless acts that placed questions of belief, ideology and commitment before those of bread and butter.

He it was who cut off oil supplies (90%) to South Africa and precipitated the economic down turn in

Imam: remembrance and prayer

He was made from Qum — a frail old man who spoke in commanding whispers and lived the simplest of lives. He was an unchallenged ruler of a different sort — his turban was his crown, the hearts of muslims his kingdom and his potential army a billion strong. No wonder he gave imperialism sleepless nights. He forced it into a hurried comprehensive retreat.

No sooner had he led the Islamic Revolution to victory 13 years ago and settled firmly on the world stage, than the propaganda began. Initially they thought they could coexist with him or he would coexist with them. They soon found out that one thing he would not compromise on was his independence.

Then they thought the communists would do the job for them. Soon enough he outwitted them and sent them to the dust bin of history. Then they turned to the monarchists — he outwitted them. They turned next to the materialists — and they fared no better. They used every possible opponent within Iran and they failed. Then they used those without.

Of the outside lot Saddam Hussein (someone called him *Sodam-Insane*) suffered the most. He broke down trying to break Khomeini; and then his patrons in the west went in to finish him. Khomeini grew stronger by the day.

lated for producing such a man — even if the majority of its inhabitants do not now understand why.

Only on very rare occasions does a period of three years look like a lifetime — indeed like an eternity in reverse. For the supporters of the Imam, the period 1989-1992 is one such occasion. Even if the death was not announced you knew he was dead. Piercing through your heart, down the sinews of the marrows of each bone you knew a support had given way. You needn't have to be told that your armour is gone — for whom you poured your love without bounds and who, for your sake, have had to suffer every conceivable hardship. He held global arrogance in check.

Even the new world order had to wait for his demise before it could raise its ugly head. And instead of decapitating the head, the new Iran is more interested in economic development and pursuing an unwinnable fight against so-called radicalism — the very kind that brought the Islamic order to power.

Though we did not expect that the Imam would join Saddam during the Gulf war, we were confident that he would not have been neutral as an assortment of rascals from America and its satellites in Europe and the Arab world carry out the horrendous massacre of up to a million innocent muslim lives. This was a tragedy without parallel and

the racist enclave. It is not improbable that De Klerk's bowing to the ANC was a direct result of the blow dealt to him by Khomeini.

He, it was who had written the most wonderful works, the most moving words that could only have issued forth from a purified heart from purified household and from a personality who had traversed all the rings of spiritual perfection.

He, it was who alone, unaided and indeed opposed, raised the banner of Islam when all the standard bearers feared the wrath of imperialism and international Zionism.

He, it was who, oblivious to the sneer and blame of a so-called civilised world, defended the honour and sanctity of the most holy personality, the prophet Muhammad (SAW) and forced the satanic brigade to retreat.

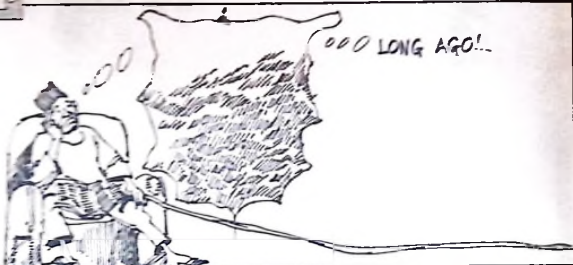
There is little doubt that Iran will continue to prosper only when it unswervingly keep to his path.

O Allah, give us the ability to keep the torch of hostility to imperialism burning forever. O Allah, make it fiercer beyond our small abilities.

If the choice before us is life of dependence or one of subservience to zionism, dear Lord take back our souls.

Cause us to die before we learn to love zionism, or before we develop appetite for the transient things it dangles before lust-filled eyes.

Citizenship



COVER STORIES

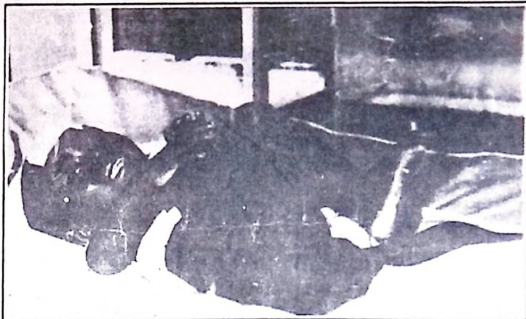
The rains came early in Jenuwa Kogi, a Kuteb village situated off the 54-kilometre Takum-Kashimbila federal road. It rained long and hard and farmers were persuaded to plant early too. By the first week of April all the fields were green with maize shoots. The underbrush was also coming alive.

The mood of the villagers was expectant. All were talking of a good harvest during the August break if the rain kept up. It is still raining, but there will not be a harvest in August. Jenuwa Kogi is no more, having been sacked in the first wave of a combined Jukun/Chamba invasion of Kutebland in Takum Local Government of newly created Taraba State.

The luxuriant undergrowth and green corn fields which gave so much promise of life until the dark hours of April 28 now are a canvas of death. Under the small trees and shrubs lie decomposed corpses of the aged, the handicapped, children and women, murdered by a mercenary army of "some 500".

Micah Yunana, 20, a student of Ahmadu Bello University (ABU), Zaria, who was holidaying at home when the invaders entered Jenuwa Kogi, the largest Kuteb village on the eastern shores of the Gamana river, hemmed in by Chamba settlements, gave a graphic account of the invasion. "The sun was just setting on Tuesday, April 28 when the quiet of the village was broken suddenly by an eerie sound of whistles", he told *Citizen*. "Gun shots followed. Next I saw tongues of flame leaping at the evening sky. People ran helter-skelter. All but one of the four approaches to the village were blocked by the invaders".

The one free route was the Acha Nyim bush path that runs parallel to the Gamana river, crossing many mountain ranges. It was too hazardous for women, children, the aged and the handicapped. Too infirm to take that route, they attempted to crawl up the nearest hill and into



A child victim of the violence

Jukun war

The third front

In a frenzy of hate, Jukuns and their Chamba henchmen turn their fire power on the Kutebs

caves that in the past had served them well against enemies from distant lands.

But the enemies who attacked Jenuwa Kogi on April 28 were familiar and they knew the terrain well. People were chased up the hills, shot and hacked to death. "They came well armed", Andenyangtso told *Citizen* in Kpambo, where many Jenuwa Kogi families have taken refuge. It was three weeks after the attack that Andenyangtso was able to recall its grim details.

"They came in a large number, some 400 to 500", said Andenyangtso, who survived a gun shot wound on his chest. "They all wore something very similar to the green shirt-over-brown trouser uniform of the mobile police. There were

three lines of attack. Those with guns were in front, followed by attackers armed with spears, bows and arrows and those with clubs and fire brought up the rear".

A source close to Ukwelra Tukura, the village head of Jenuwa Kogi told *Citizen* that the villagers were not as well armed as the enemy. They had only spears and matchets, which were ineffectual against such a well drilled and kitted army. "We suspect that the first wave of invasion was led by the mobile police, and the second which came the next day was by mercenaries recruited from the Cameroun, Benue and Plateau states", said the aide.

Many factors fed that suspicion. First, the use the invaders made of police uniform. Second, Ukwel

Returning villagers who began counting and burying their dead a fortnight ago said they lost over 50 kinsmen in the first two days.

Takum is said to have exchanged "hot words" with the leader of the mobile police unit deployed to Takum and three other officers: mobile police officer went to Jenawa Kogi on a market day last December, apparently used by a mediator to demand repayment of a loan.

The story had it that the officer shot and gravely wounded the doctor. The sight of blood roused the villagers into action and they beat the officer to death. The police authorities absolved the villagers of blame but apparently his colleagues still harboured a desire to take their revenge. The conflict between the Jukuns and their Chamba allies on one hand, and the Kutubs on the other, provided the spark. This is the reasoning of Jenawa Kogi villagers.

DSP Y. Hamidu, the outgoing divisional police officer in Takum, said people have accused the police of taking sides. "But it is not true" (see box). Mr Danfulani Kworaka, chairman of Takum Local Government, who heads the local security committee, said he had also received reports of police siding one ethnic group against another. But the evidence so far had been circumstantial. He said mobile police uniforms were first used by the Jukuns of Wukari in their wars with the Tivs and Hausa/Fulani.

He said it was the same style the Jukuns and their Chamba allies used against the Kutubs in Jenawa Kogi, 30 kilometres away from Takum. According to him, there is a Camerounian tailor in Takum who sews

the uniforms. There is a large Camerounian community in Takum, called Bafar, which long years of association with the Jukuns have made them the equivalent of their Jukun.

Abasi Ali Ibrahim Kufar II, the Ukwé chief of Takum, believes the bulk of the Jukun-Chamba fighting once that invaded Jenawa Kogi was recruited from this reservoir of Camerounian mercenaries. There, he said, was made up of the Igbu in Nsokwa Ala, whose pathological hatred of the Tivs has made them convenient allies of the Jukuns, and the Igala of Kogi State, who claim some kinship with the Jukuns of the old Kwararafa empire.

The police have no official record of casualties in Jenawa Kogi. Ukwé Kufar II and council chairman Kwetaka think "about 50" were killed the first day. Returning villagers who began counting and burying their dead a fortnight ago said they lost over 50 kinsmen in the first two days. The last two bodies were found and buried on Monday, May 18 and Wednesday, May 20. The bodies, completely decomposed, were of two brothers, identified by their clothes.

The list of the dead included a retired blind old christian evangelist, an old woman who had lost one leg, another blind old man burnt to ashes in his living room, two youths who were mental cases, and a member of the village traditional ruling council, who tried to resist the attackers but was out-

numbered. Houses were raised to the ground, barns full of grain were broken into and the grain set ablaze and livestock was caught and taken away.

Malam Kweriyasu, the Yermam Jenawa Kogi, after a fruitless first day search for the corpse of his elder brother on May 18, stood on a rocky outcrop overlooking the village. What remained of Jenawa Kogi brought tears to his eyes. "Will Father (the Kutub variant for Jenawa Kogi) be the same again?" he asked in disbelief.

The battle of Jenawa Kogi, was the second major one on the "third front" of the Jukun war of a nation, begun in Wukari against the Tivs in 1990 and the Hausa/Fulani in 1991. The first occurred in Takum on March 25th. The Kutubs, the predominant ethnic group in Takum Local Government, traditionally celebrate Kuchiché, a spiritual festival of thanksgiving to God and peacemaking with their neighbours, every March 25 — 31.

This year was to be no exception. A planning committee was formed to prepare for the festivities. The necessary police permit was sought and granted. The preparations were relatively smooth. But the first hint of trouble, according to Ukwé Kufar II, who was chairman of the planning committee, came two days to the festival (March 23), when he received a radio message from the state government in Jalingo cancelling its earlier approval for the Kuchiché to hold.

The Ukwé was shocked and protested. "I protested because, first, we already had a police permit to hold the festival", he told Citizen. "Second, it (Kuchiché) is something we have been used to doing. I suspected some people had influenced the government to change its position".

A delegation of the planning committee was sent to Jalingo to find out why the government's volte face. "The governor (Rev. Jolly Nyame) told them that the festival was stopped because there was a letter that said there would be vio-



Danjuma: prominent Jukun

lence", said the Ukwe. Who sent the letter? The governor did not say who did, but in Takum the source of the letter was an open secret: the grand Jukun/Chamba alliance which sees the *Kuchicheb* as a symbol of Kuteb ascendancy and therefore a challenge to its hegemony.

Anyhow, the governor did not foreclose all possibility of the festival holding. He told the delegation that *Kuchicheb* could go ahead provided all the contending forces, Kuteb, Jukun and Chamba would give a written undertaking to keep the peace. The three parties did so and the government accordingly dropped its objection.

Those who signed the "article of faith", *Citizen* learnt reliably, were Tanko Ubangari Kaura, representing the Chambas, Nwunuji Shidi, a Jukun representative and Habu Nathan Mijinyawa, a representative of Ukwé Takum. The Kutebs were represented by Madaki Alabura Kaigama and Kwe Daniel Kikong. Sedi Mgbe signed for the festival committee.

But an agreement is just as useless as the piece of paper on which it is written if all or any of the parties to it fail to keep faith. That is what happened on March 25. The procession of celebrants, including the Ukwé was attacked when it entered Takum town at about 4pm. "On our return we were attacked with stones

on Donga Road, in front of the residence of Sarkin Jukun, Sonji Adi", said the Ukwé. Further down the road, near Tamti Gambo Usman's house, the stone-throwing was followed by shooting of live cartridges.

When the procession reached the Ukwé's palace, he called a stop to the festivities to forestall further violence but it did not work. "Going back home was impossible for many people because the shooting had intensified", the Ukwé said. "Guns, arrows and stones were used. People ran back into my palace, all bleeding. Some were taken to the hospital. Those who slept in my palace were more than 300".

Family sources told *Citizen* in Takum that eight people were shot to death and 28 sustained various degrees of injury for which they were treated in hospital that first evening.

Ukwé Ali Ibrahim Kufan II was convinced the killings were the handiwork of the Jukuns and Chambas and he said their ring leader was one of over 40 people whom the police confirmed were arrested after the March 25 shooting for "possessing arms and causing a breach of the peace".

Many Kuteb leaders saw the violence on March 25 coming a long while. A memorandum which four such elders sent to President Ibrahim Babangida on April 6, 1992, listing acts of provocation perpetrated by the Jukun/Chamba alliance against the Kutebs prior to the festival spoke of "a rehearsal of a Jukun plan to unleash attacks on Kutebs in Akeite ward in Takum town. They began by throwing stones for four days running (March 15 to 18, 1992...)"

Council chairman Kwetaka had no illusion that the Jukuns and Chambas meant peace even though they signed the agreement. "These people were bent on fomenting trouble", he said.

In spite of the arrest of Polycarp Istitanus, a self-confessed cousin of retired Lt. General Theophilus Yakubu Danjuma, and his hatchmen, the killings in Takum continued for three days afterwards. Predominantly Jukun/Chamba areas in

Takum were no-go-areas for Kutebs. Rimamnde Joshua Adamu, a Kuteb youth was stabbed to death in broad daylight in this "zone of death" on March 27.

The police claim to have "successfully" separated the warring sides and that they are willing to smoke the peace-pipe. But council chairman Kwetaka believes it is an "uneasy calm" in Takum right now (see box).

Ukwé Takum, Alhaji Ali Ibrahim Kufan II is not sure the Jukuns and Chambas are ready to talk peace. Their leaders have shunned every peace meeting he has called, the last on May 8. Only the head of Kufi, a Chamba village, sacked in a Kuteb counter-offensive, showed up. Even so he did not sound like someone who wanted to make peace. According to Ukwé Ali, the Jukuns and Chambas are rearming themselves. "They are preparing for a prolonged confrontation", he told *Citizen*. Secret killings are taking place right under the nose of the mobile police Unit 14 based at Gbaondo and Jenuwa Kogi on the Takum-Kashimbila road.

The Kutebs on one side and the Jukuns and Chambas on the other side have been "strange bedfellows" for generations, but, according to Ukwé Ali Ibrahim Kufan II, this is the first time this no-love-lost rela-

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Yusuf: when is the end?

"Ethnic leaders outside fuel the crisis"

— Ukwe

Citizen: Did the Kutebs and Jukuns ever fight a war before now?

Ukwe: No. They never did.

Citizen: What kind of relationship existed between them?

Ukwe: They were friendly towards each other. They lived in peace together. There was a time when it was impossible to tell a Kuteb from a Chamba or Jukun.

Citizen: What do you consider to be the cause of their fighting each other now?

Ukwe: According to the chief of Kufi, the problem of the Chambas and Jukuns was the chieftaincy of Takum. Their marginalisation in the civil service and cultural blackout. He was questioned by the assistant

commissioner of police on each of the three demands but the chief failed to give any satisfactory answer.

Citizen: You said mercenaries were recruited from Wukari. Did the Aku Uka allow it? What did he say to you?

Ukwe: He didn't tell me anything. When he had his problem with the Tivs I didn't tell him anything.

Citizen: Do you suspect that influential Jukuns who are outside Takum are fueling the crisis?

Ukwe: Very much so. It is they who are arming the Jukun youths. But this is what I have heard.

Citizen: Were people like T. Y. Danjuma and Ambassador Jolly Tanko Yusuf in town during the Kuchicheb?

Ukwe: I wouldn't know since they don't call on me when they are in town. They stay in their houses

until they are ready to leave town.

Citizen: Has the state governor visited Takum since the fighting began?

Ukwe: No, he never did. I suspect he does not think the Takum situation is as serious as what happened in Wukari to warrant his coming. But I believe commitments may have tied him down.

Citizen: Where do the other communities stand in this case? I mean the Tivs, Hausas and Ichens.

Ukwe: We are friendly with all those. On May 16, they sent delegations to me. Chairman of Donga local government, he is Ichen, was one of them. They came to sympathise with me over what happened. The Chambas and Jukuns sought their support, but they refused. They went also to Gembu. Citizen: Do you believe



you have seen the last of the fighting?

Ukwe: On our part, that is the Kutebs, we won't take up arms against anybody. But Chambas and Jukuns are rearming. They are preparing for prolonged confrontation. They have not achieved their aims yet. Helicopters are landing in Kashimbila and Bete.

"Dialogue is the solution"

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Citizen: What is the security situation now?

Kwetaka: It is one of uneasy calm. There are lots of rumours of people getting ready for another attack; people are still bringing in ammunition. The Jukuns are still training people at Lufu and Bete. We had to send security officers there to investigate. They are yet to give us a feedback.

Citizen: How long did it

take the security forces to intervene to restore order?

Kwetaka: The government, because of the festival, sent in the mobile police to stop the festival holding. When the radio message (cancelling the festival) came I took it to Jalingo with a group of elders of the Kuteb, Jukun and Chamba communities. We met with the governor who accepted that the festival should go on. So the mobile police were here before the incident of

March 25. Their intervention came immediately after the shooting in Takum.

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Citizen: We understand Polycarp is out on bail.

Chairman: Yes, he was granted bail. We learnt the order for his bail came from the top. The security men couldn't do otherwise, they had to grant it.

Citizen: We understand that there was a meeting where representatives of

the Kutebs, Jukuns and Chambas agreed that kuchicheb should go ahead, promising that there would not be any violence. Did you trust the Jukuns and the Chambas to keep the pledge?

Kwetaka: As it turned out, one would doubt the genuineness or force of the agreement. When they came together, they accepted and signed a document and sent it to the security committee. The state's security council was assured that nothing would happen. But when we returned to Takum, the opposite happened. That showed that these people were bent on fomenting trouble.

Citizen: Are you satisfied with police handling of the crisis? It is suspected that the police led the invasion of Jenuwa Kogi.

Kwetaka: I also suspected the police, but in the long run there was nothing to prove that they really took side with the Jukuns.

Citizen: What has been the role of the state government?

Kwetaka: I sent them a situation report, regarding feeding and accommodat-

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Citizen: But he hasn't been here to see things for himself?

Kwetaka: No, he hasn't been here himself. His director-general (political) visited Jenuwa Kogi, two days after it was attacked. Then lately, the commissioner of police and the assistant inspector-general. Since then we have not received any state government official.

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Citizen: There have been appeals for the refugees to return to their homes. How safe is it for them?

Kwetaka: We are testing the ground. The people are going through hard times in terms of feeding and accommodation. If they go back to the areas where we have posted the mobile police, we would be better placed to talk to them. As regards their security we cannot give them 100 per cent assurance that their lives would be protected. We tell them to be alert. Let the able-bodied return while the weaker ones stay away. If there are no problems after some time then the rest could go back.

Citizen: Do you suspect any external hand in the conflict?

Kwetaka: If I were left alone to make comments I would say that what is happening in Takum is the handiwork of people who

are outside Takum. If you listen to people who are insiders, the complaints from both sides, they say it is their people outside that are causing the problem. Who are the brothers outside? These are people who have gotten their wealth, built one or two houses but are staying in Kaduna and Lagos. They only come home to give arms and ammunition to their brothers to foment either political or ethnic problems. The people who are suffering the pain of this crisis most are people residing in Takum. They lay the egg outside and bring it to hatch in Takum. They recruit mercenaries, particularly Camerounians. I suggested to the state governor to invite all meaningful sons and daughters of Takum outside, both Kuteb, Jukun, Chamba and Hausa, to sit them down and tell them the importance of living together. I think he is taking steps to act. If he does not I would send him a reminder.

By Tawey Zakka

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Outside observers, including supposedly well informed government officials have been quick to trace the trouble with Takum to ethnicism. The Abubakar Girei administrative commission of inquiry into the first disturbances in Takum on December 28 and 29, 1976 described the new local government as being "pregnant with tribal politics".

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All these injustices, as it were, opened the Kuteb man's eyes to see his Jukun "brother" for what he truly was. When the Jukuns tried, after the split of the old federated Wukari division, to regroup all the ethnic groups under a Jukun hegemonic structure called Kwararafa Congress, the Kuteb man rebelled and began to assert his distinct cultural identity. The Jukuns and Chambas regard *Kuchicheb* festival, therefore,

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as a symbol of Kuteb rebellion and will do anything to have it abrogated.

Another cause of the friction, said Ukwue Ali, is the chieftancy of Takum. In 1963, the Northern Nigeria government made the stool of Ukwue Takum the exclusive right of the Kutebs. The order was made under Native Authority Law of Nigeria (NALN) No. 56 of 1963 and gazetted April 11, 1963.

However, in 1975, the Benue Plateau state government changed the established order by replacing the 1963 law with another version which robbed the majority Kutebs of their exclusive right to the stool of Ukwue Takum and diluted the make-up of traditional kingmakers.

The argument of the Chambas is that they had ruled in Takum on previous occasions and therefore are heirs to the throne. But documentary evidence shows that their rule was localised as was confirmed by the late Sarkin Jukun, Alhaji Muhammadu Ika in his testimony to the Girei commission of inquiry on January 31, 1977. Since 1912, when Takum was officially recognised by the British colonial government as a chieftom, a Kutebman has been on the stool.

The first Ukwue whose appointment was approved by the British colonial administration was Ahmadu Gankwé II (1912-1926). In 1919 he was given a third class staff of office.

The Kutebs sent protest letters to the Governor Gomwalk to repeal the 1975 gazette but they failed to move him. They took the case to the Jos High Court, under suit No. JD/135/75 but the court struck it out on the ground that it lacked jurisdiction to adjudicate in a matter it considered "an executive act of government" and recommended that it be sorted out administratively. The Kutebs thereafter appealed to the Supreme Court to help defuse what they regarded as "a source of instability", and "a time bomb".

Meanwhile, the Jukuns and Cham-



Nyame: baptism of fire

bas were gloating over a their "victory". Mr. Ibrahim Sangari Usman, a Jukun from Wukari, and himself a commissioner under Gomwalk (1973-75) boasted at an NPN rally in Wukari in 1982 that his personal effort had secured for Chambas and Jukuns a major say in the chieftancy affairs of Takum and Donga.

The Girei commission which probed the 1976 Takum disturbances believed the repeal of the 1963 law by the Benue/Plateau government was "high-handed", as it was done without consultation with the native authority. Its recommendation to the defunct Gongola state government of Major General Muhammadu Jega was that "the right of succession to the throne has been established years back and should be left to the Kutebs (Akente and Likam families) while the membership of the traditional kingmakers should reflect all the major tribes (Chambas, Jukuns, Hausas, Tivs, Kutebs, etc)". It figured out that "this... could be a unifying force amongst the different tribes".

The government's response was only to say that it "notes the commission's recommendation and decides that the issue of the chieftancy of Takum be examined further". Five years after, which saw two civilian governments come and go in the former Gongola State and its splitting into Taraba and Adamawa states, nothing has been

done. This government's inaction only fuelled tension the more, leading to the current war.

In 1991, Polycaip Istifanus boasted to *Citizen* in his Takum residence that after the incumbent Ukwue Takum, the Kutebs would have lost the chieftancy for ever. That cannot happen, counters the present council chairman Kwetaka. "The Kutebs are predominant in Takum", he told *Citizen*. "History and nature show that. The Kutebman should be allowed to rule himself, just as the Jukun man is in control in Wukari and a Chamba in Donga".

Samuel Danjuma Gani, himself a Jukun, who today is Governor Jolly Nyame's deputy is "convinced beyond doubt that the crisis in Takum is political". In a recent interview he charged: "Our political opponents have not been happy ever since our victory at the polls..."

The Nyame-Gani SDP ticket romped into power in last December's governorship election following NEC's unexplained eleventh hour disqualification of the NRC frontrunner, Dr. Andokari Shiaki, a Kuteb.

Shiaki, a medical doctor, had his political baptism in 1990 when he was elected, with an overwhelming vote, chairman of Takum local government. His strident nationalism brought him into confrontation with the very influential Jukun leadership.

The clique led by a retired army general and a top official of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) worked assiduously to unseat him and succeeded when an appeals election tribunal nullified his election.

The Kutebs considered it "a rape of their popular will" and protested. Though the National Electoral Commission (NEC) said he could stand in the by-election, Shiaki declined and opted for the governorship. He was heading for a runaway victory when NEC stopped him, inexplicably.

Last year, he told *Citizen* in Takum that Kutebs and Jukuns were walk-

ing "parallel political paths". When the federal government created its two grassroots parties, SDP and NRC, according to Dr. Shiaki, retired Lt.-General T.Y. Danjuma wanted the Kutebs and Jukuns to join the SDP, but he refused to take his Kuteb people to that party. That was the crossroad at which the two erstwhile friends parted ways.

Today, the Kuteb believes strongly that the fire of hate between him and the Jukun/Chamba is being stoked from outside. "I hear that a retired general and other influential Jukun leaders outside Takum are bringing arms and ammunition to their kinsmen", Ukwe Ali Ibrahim Kufan II told *Citizen*. Council chairman Kwetaka believes so. "They lay the egg outside and bring it to hatch in Takum", he said.

The *Vanguard* newspaper reported in July 4 last year the arrest of "a former Nigerian Football Association (NFA) boss for importing ammunition worth over N4 million". On March 18, 1992 two soldiers (a Jukun from Wukari and a Bachama from Numan) of the 31 airborne battalion of the Nigerian Army stationed in Takum were arrested with a consignment of firearms which they said they were taking to one Jukun man's house.

Deputy Governor Samuel Danjuma Gani, himself was indicted in 1977 by the Gongola State government's commission of inquiry which investigated the Takum political disturbances of the previous year. The commission in its report to the government identified Gani, then a permanent secretary of the ministry of local government, as a Jukun ring leader and one of the "arch-tribalists" in Takum. It recommended that such people "be bound over to keep the peace", as "we believed that by so doing, the troubles could be stopped". But the government failed to act because "no clear and direct evidence of their involvement (in the 1976 disturbances) has been established".

Government's failure to act decisively in such crisis situations has

led to a strong suspicion that it considers a certain group a sacred cow. This time around, the Kutebs chose instead to take their case directly to

random sent to the traditional rulers on April 10, this year, drew their attention to the harm incessant communal fighting was doing to the

"Normalcy is returning"

DSP Y. Hamidu

Citizen: What is the security situation now?

Hamidu: Normalcy is quickly returning in Takum. People are going about their business again. In the villages where fighting took place people have begun returning.

Citizen: Given the size and terrain of the areas affected, would you say you have enough men on the ground to prevent a fresh outbreak of hostilities?

Hamidu: I agree with you. Most of the places are unmotorable. Our men patrol on foot, but what we have done is to deploy men to the epicentre of the trouble areas. In this case, they are in Jenuwa Kogi.

Citizen: Is it safe now for people to go back home?

Hamidu: I should think so. It's to guarantee the safety of life and property that we have our men there.

Citizen: Did you find it easy mobilising your men to separate the warring parties?

Hamidu: How do you mean?

Citizen: I mean how prompt was your reaction to the crisis?

Hamidu: As soon as we received information about the crisis, we moved in.

Citizen: Is it true that the people who attacked Jenuwa Kogi used mobile police uniform?

Hamidu: I've heard such reports, but they are not true. People have accused us of taking sides. For instance, some body came to report that a dead body was found in Fete in mobile police uniform. But no such body was found.

Citizen: But did you find any in Jenuwa Kogi?

Hamidu: Yes. There were some corpses. I wonder why the people didn't bury them. Did they expect the police to do that for them? It's not our job. Citizen: Did you make any arrest? How many?

Hamidu: Yes. Quite a few. They have been arraigned in court. They are being charged

with possession of arms and causing a breach of the peace.

Citizen: What kinds of weapons did you seize? Were they of the type used by the military?

Hamidu: The weapons we seized were bows and arrows, locally made single and double-barrel guns. No military-type weapons were used.

Citizen: Other than trying to contain the situation, has there been any attempt at reconciling the warring parties?

Hamidu: Yes. There have been peace meetings attended by the leaders of the parties, some of them chaired by a deputy commissioner of police from Jalingo. All parties have shown a genuine willingness to work towards peace. They have been asking us to assist them by providing security in wards that they feared to be unsafe.

the president and the committee of northern traditional rulers, headed by the Sultan of Sokoto, Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki.

The Kuteb community in a memo-

"security and strength" of the north. It lamented their inability to act decisively to nip these crises in the bud.

By Tawey Zakka in Takum

Presidency

The *Makama* makes his bid

Alhaji Shehu Musa the *Makaman Nupe* and the last big name to join the presidential race, says he is the bridge for national unity. Will enough voters believe him to put him in the Presidential Villa, Abuja, next year?

About 12 years ago, when Alhaji Aliyu *Makaman Bida*, the deputy premier and minister of finance of the old North died, it was almost certain that he would be succeeded by his eldest son Alhaji Abubakar Daniyan who had just retired to Bida, Niger State, as a senior civil servant in the defunct North Western State. Actually the Bida Emirate Council had taken the decision to pass the exalted office from father to son several weeks after Alhaji Aliyu's death. That succession was not to be and the eventual beneficiary of the council's change of mind was Alhaji Shehu Ahmadu Musa, at that time the secretary to the federal government of President Shehu Shagari.

It is not clear how the change happened, but it is almost certain that Alhaji Shehu Musa had little or nothing to do with it. What seemed to have happened was that some influential friends of his thought Alhaji Abubakar Daniyan was ill-suited to succeed his father and, apparently, without Alhaji Shehu Musa's knowledge, successfully made a case for him with some king-makers before an announcement of the new occupant could be made. The *Etsu Nupe* Alhaji Umaru Sanda Ndayako, was reportedly persuaded that Alhaji Shehu Musa, as someone whose name, like Alhaji Aliyu's, was already a household word, was indeed better qualified than Alhaji Abubakar Daniyan. Alhaji Shehu had served the country well in many capacities, the latest of which

was as secretary to the federal government. Even then the *Etsu* reportedly told Alhaji Shehu Musa's friends that it was rather too late in the day to make a change.

As things turned out, Alhaji Shehu Musa got the title and not Alhaji Abubakar. That, indeed, was not the first nor the last time that he would be appointed to an exalted position without his solicitation, even without his knowing. Said one of his confidants who declined attribution, "The *Makama*'s middle name is competence and hardwork. These qualities shine through so much that he has never needed to lobby for any job".

The same competence and hardwork may also have informed President Shehu Shagari's decision to appoint the *Makama* as the secretary of his government back in 1979. As he himself told *Citizen* "I never filled any quota



Musa: competent and hardworking

from Niger State". Actually if the state had its way at that time, Alhaji Shehu Musa would not have been the secretary because Alhaji Aliyu, his predecessor as *Makama*, and at the time the chairman of the National Party of Nigeria, had written a letter to the president making it categorically clear that Alhaji Shehu Musa was not Niger State's candidate for any post at the centre since he

was not a card-carrying member of the party. President Shagari went ahead to give him the job regardless. Four years later when he (Shagari) was returned as president and all odds seemed against Alhaji Shehu Musa retaining his own job, what with a party stalwart like Alhaji Umaru Dikko rooting for it, President Shagari chose, in the end, to retain the *Makama*.

The *Makama's* bid for the presidency probably goes as far back as the early days of Buhari's regime in 1983. Virtually alone among the top lieutenants of President Shagari, he was never detained. One day when a friend of his went to his house to congratulate him on this piece of luck, he thanked the friend but added that "greater things are yet to come". Apparently the presidency was uppermost in his mind, in making that remark, for as soon as the Babangida regime that succeeded Buhari's lifted the ban on politics in 1989 the *Makama* was one of the first to start work on setting up a machinery for realising his political ambition.



Shagari: recognised his competence

"Before I was offered the job of the chairmanship of the NPC" he told *Citizen*, "I had worked with people who sought my guidance and leadership. We had Committee 21, which metamorphosed into PCP, which in turn metamorphosed into the Liberal Convention. Most members of Liberal Convention elected to join the NRC". These people, he said, were mostly secretaries to state governments and other public servants. However, the decisive factor in making up his mind to run, he added, was that he was himself interested. "I think", he said, "if there hadn't been the interest on my part, those pressures alone would not have jolted me into the race".

Apart from his competence and hardwork, the *Makama* believed he also had going for him his "detachable" outlook. "I am the bridge", he told *Citizen*, "between the north and south and between the rich and the poor".

The *Makama* is not alone in this belief. Two months ago when he paid a courtesy call on Chief Segun Osoba,

the SDP governor of Ogun State, the governor expressed similar sentiments. He told *Makama's* campaign team in Government House, Abeokuta, that Alhaji Shehu Musa, though an NRC presidential aspirant, was welcome anytime as he was a person who related well with people irrespective of their tribe or religion. "You are", Chief Osoba said, "more than a bridge between the north and the south. You probably have more friends in this part of the country than elsewhere".

However, of the many testimonials he has received in the course of his career as a public servant, none could have been better than the commendation he got from President Babangida at the end of his most recent assignment as chairman of the National Population Commission. In his speech, while receiving the provisional result of the census exercise on March 19, the president poured encomiums on the *Makama*. Among other things, he said he was not surprised that the population commission chairman met his and the expectations of many others that he (the *Makama*) will perform. "I am not surprised" said the president, "because in addition to the previous meritorious services you have rendered to this nation, the recent exercise has further demonstrated your personal qualities, experience and commitment to the aspiration of the present administration".

This fulsome praise fuelled speculations that Alhaji Shehu Musa was one of the military's preferences for the presidency. For those inclined to believe the speculations one additional evidence was the decision by the National Electoral Commission to shift the presidential primaries from May to August. This, some people believe, was to enable the *Makama*, who entered the race in April, to catch up with his rivals for his party's presidential ticket.

Alhaji Shehu Musa, himself, dismissed the speculations. "I don't think this is true", he said, adding that there were, after all, others who were yet to declare their intentions at the time the dates were changed.

If President Babangida was full of praise for the *Makama* on his handling of the Census '91 exercise, there were others who were not. Indeed the announcement of the provisional results were greeted with mixed reactions. Ironically, though not surprisingly, the most vehement and consistent criticism has come from organs of constituencies, specifically the old West, which the *Makama* has worked hard to cultivate.

In interviews he has given to several newspapers, notably *The Punch* and the *Vanguard*, the *Makama* often underscored the role he played in persuading Chief Awolowo to accept the highest national honour from President Shagari's government in spite of the chief's passionate dislike for that government. This perhaps explains why one of the first ports of call of his campaign team was the Awolowo's home at Ikene, Ogun State. That courtesy call, during which he was warmly received by the matriarch of the family, Mrs Hannah Awolowo, caused a stir as rumours soon spread that her

first grandson, Mr. Olusegun Awolowo, a lawyer, would do the unthinkable and declare for the National Republican Convention on the *Makama's* persuasion. Perhaps Olusegun Awolowo Jr. did contemplate such a move. He told *Vintage People*, a Lagos based soft sell magazine, last month, that it was "wrong to consider one of the two parties as belonging to Awolowo". However, if he did contemplate the move, in the end he did not make it.

In spite of the *Makama's* assiduous cultivation of support from the old West, however, the *Nigerian Tribune*, widely regarded as the voice of the West, has used every opportunity to try and discredit the census exercise and to call into question the moral right of the *Makama* to contest the elections for the presidency. Alhaji Shehu has dismissed *Tribune's* views as sour grapes. "*Tribune*", he said, "wrote even before the census that it will fail, so now that it has not, they must find something to back up what they said earlier on".

Tribune, however, has not been alone in its criticism of the *Makama's* handling of the census exercise. A few of the houses of assemblies of the states, notably Oyo, Osun and Kwara, have voted to reject the figures as they

state branch was rooting for Alhaji Bamanga Tukur from Adamawa State, as its presidential candidate. The chairman later denied the story, but by then some damage had been done.

It is perhaps ironical that the census exercise should constitute an obstacle to the *Makama's* ambition because friends and foes alike are generally agreed that he worked hard and selflessly to make it a success. Retired Lt. Colonel Chris Ugokwe, who has succeeded him as chairman said the *Makama* worked his heart out to make the exercise successful. "He rode motorcycles, and fire engines and took great risks to his life — once in Gembu they almost crashed in a light aircraft — just to ensure the exercise did not fail. It is a pity that after all that, he is being accused by some people of falsifying the census figures".

Census '91 may perhaps be Alhaji Shehu Musa's biggest headache in his bid for the presidency, but it is hardly the only one. Another is the widely held notion that with President Babangida coming from Niger State, the state has now had its fair share of ruling the country. The *Makama*, however, does not see why this should be a problem because, as he points out, this is not the first time that an aspirant would come from the same state as the incumbent. Chief Obafemi Awolowo, he said, came from the same state as General Olusegun Obasanjo, and no one raised an eyebrow.

Another problem he faces is money. The *Makama* insists he is not a rich man and so he does not have money to throw around. Not everybody believes him and this appears to be having some effect on his campaigns. For the launching of his campaign in Minna, for instance, inside sources said what he spent was small compared to what other aspirants from other states had spent. His campaign managers would not give any figures, but there were rumours that, all told, little over 500,000 Naira was spent.

If Alhaji Shehu Musa has been rather frugal in his campaign expenditure, he sees no need to apologise for doing so. "Nigerians", he said "generally have begun to believe that politicians, whatever they offer at that moment is better than to wait for promises which may not be fulfilled... It looks to me however, that in the final analysis there are articulate Nigerians and they will consider the general benefit that will accrue through a very good performance and in the end give their votes to somebody not necessarily the man who is giving them money."

Giving the role money seems to be playing in politics in these hard times, the *Makama's* position sounds rather idealistic. Still his optimism may not be misplaced. At least three times in his career his famed competence, hard work and personal integrity, has won him appointive jobs against all odds. The same qualities may yet see him through his bid for the highest elective job in the land.

By Mohammed Haruna

The *Makama* insists he is not a rich man and so he does not have money to throw around. Not everybody believes him and so this appears to be having some effect on his campaigns.

applied to their states. Even in his native Niger State, there have been charges that figures of non-Nupes-speaking local governments were inflated in order to marginalize the Nupes who had always been regarded as constituting more than half of the state. Alhaji Halilu Usman Bida, the *Kafa Nupe*, and former general manager of the defunct National Freight Company, has written to several newspapers including this magazine making this charge. As one political observer pointed out this may have had some adverse effect on his ambition on the home front.

Perhaps this explains the rather modest crowd that gathered on April 16 at Minna Stadium for the launching of his presidential campaigns. There were many delegates from other states, but conspicuous by their absence were many senior local and state officials of the NRC. And as if to embarrass the *Makama* even more, the *Tribune* carried a story a few days after the launching which credited the state's party chairman, Alhaji Abubakar M. Bosso with saying the

"I am the bridge"

Alhaji Shehu Ahmadu Musa, the *Makaman Nupe*, sat down for a two-hour interview in our board room in April, during which he discussed his presidential bid and his plans and hopes for the country: Excerpts.

Citizen: *May we begin by asking you how you got interested in the presidential race?*

Makama: It has been my desire to offer my service to the nation as long as I can. I have always, since my retirement, considered myself as being something like on the reserve list and therefore available to the call of duty. Now before I was offered the job of chairmanship of the NPC I had worked with people who sought my guidance and leadership in forming political associations. We had Committee 21 which metamorphosed into PCP, Peoples Convention Party, which in turn metamorphosed into Liberal Convention. Most of the members of Liberal Convention elected to join the NRC. That has been the history of my interest in the formation of the party. Apart from wanting to offer my services, these people with whom we formed this association or club, would not leave me not to continue the fight. That was it but I think if there hasn't been the interest on my part, those pressures alone probably will not have jolted me into the race.



Alhaji Aliyu: illustrious predecessor as Makama

Citizen: *Don't you think the ban had kind of scuttled the plans you have had? The ban was lifted maybe at the time when you were not exactly 100 per cent prepared for the big contest.*

Makama: I was all along very hopeful that this ban would be lifted one day or the other because I had always believed that was not a fair one. I felt that it would be lifted and it was lifted and by that time I weighed together my advantages and disadvantages in terms of the time lag between me and the other aspirants and I felt that in a way the disadvantages I got from moving away from direct politicking and campaigning or canvassing was fully made up by ultimately the general reception I had and the performance in my national assignment (Census '91). I had the opportunity during the period of this national assignment to go to every corner of this country and to be known for what I was in terms of the job. And it will not be difficult to go round again (this time for campaign) to remind them of my previous visit on duty.

Citizen: *You did mention the advantage the census has given you. Perhaps one will think it as an undue advantage in the sense that you were a public officer using public funds, and suddenly you've finished this assignment and you are now offering yourself on a political platform.*

Makama: People can ask that question, but certainly I expect people to be fair and equitable. No one raised such questions when Olu Falae got out as a secretary to the government and minister of finance and went straight into politics and he was in a better position in deriving direct incumbency benefit than somebody like me who was handling a very difficult national assignment. There is no doubt at all that if I am failed, that world have been the end of it. I couldn't have shown my face. So it was a risk, call it occupational hazard and I don't see how others will describe it as undue advantage, because there were only two options which were either you failed or succeeded, but it was in the national interest that I succeed. I did.

Citizen: *You think you succeeded, but there are people who think you haven't. The house of assembly in Oyo voted to reject the census figures as it affects them. I think they also did so in Kwara. We read in The Nigerian Tribune the other day that it was impossible for people in the savannah to be more numerous than people in the forest. What do you think?*

Makama: This is not new. *Tribune* wrote even before the census was conducted that it would fail, so now that it has not, they must find something to back up what they said earlier on. We have carried out enumeration in a very systematic manner, i.e. we have all the records, the AFRC has met and received our report, the provisional

result. So also is the newly constituted national council of states and the governors of the states concerned were present when the result was more or less accepted. They asked questions and I responded, I believed, to their satisfaction. And they know there is a tribunal. There is nowhere in the world, at least I know in the United States and in Britain, after the conduct of census where some people would not disagree with certain figures for their own interest or for some other interest they want to serve. So ours is not different. On the whole the result has been accepted and where you have complaints you are free to go to the tribunal but I hope such people will go to the tribunal. The fact that we made provision for such tribunal shows that government is fully aware of the possibility of disagreement but that doesn't invalidate the acceptance.

Citizen: *What was it you wanted to be rewarded for after the exercise, because you were quoted as saying you deserved a reward.*

Makama: No, no, no, that was quoting out of context and when you talk of reward I was talking about the kind of commendations from various quarters. Because you see, you are talking about Oyo State house of assembly, Kwara State house of assembly but these people are professionally incompetent to pass judgement on the exercise. Because they are not professionally competent, they are just talking on sentiments. People who are competent, the statistics department in the universities of Ibadan, OAU, people like Professor Aluko, people like Dr. Omololu Olunloyo who is a mathematician of repute, they all looked at this thing and they acclaimed its outcome. This, I believe, is the biggest reward I can get out of this.

Citizen: *Do you attach yourself to any of these groupings in the country i.e. Middle Belt, Northern Elders etc?*

Makama: Not at all.

Citizen: *The party that appointed you a secretary to its government accepted zoning as a principle.*

Makama: I wasn't part of that. I was a civil servant clear and simple and how and when the decision to appoint me secretary to the government was taken I wasn't part of that. I was just invited. I was in far away Malta attending a meeting of the World Bank when I was asked to come back. I was aware, at that time, that some party loyalists were interested in the position, but how and why at the end of the day it fell on me to be the secretary to the government, I don't know.

Citizen: *You are talking of 1979 sir, the NPN decision to accept zoning as a principle was taken in 1982 and at that time you were already the secretary to the government.*

Makama: In 1983 it was very clear that the president was considering other people.....

Citizen: *Excuse me Sir, I thought the question was about zoning not your appointment as such.*

Makama: I had already become the secretary when they started zoning, since they didn't ask me to leave, I was there. When I assumed the position of the secretary to

the government, people of Niger State where I come from made it clear that I was not filing any quota to them because I was not a party man. This was in a letter written by the late *Makama* to the president. So that was that. I was not filling any quota from Niger or from Middle Belt or whatever.

In 1983 again the president was thinking of giving this position to some other active party members and I was offered the position of a minister and I told him that that was not my hobby. Since the position of the secretary to the government was not available, I thanked him very much for the opportunity given me in the past and I was going to take my exit but later on I got the appointment. In any case as of now the position on the zoning is very clear. Both the NRC and SDP have said that there is no question of zoning the presidency and this is where we are now.



Babangida: full of praise

Citizen: *Sir, in launching your campaign in March, you said you will restrict yourself to one term. You think much can be achieved in four years? And supposing at the end of your term you want to contest again?*

Makama: That is a different matter, we will wait for that, but whatever you do from my own discipline and experience you should have a plan, and when you have a plan you should be able to implement it. My desire is to have a plan for four years and be able to achieve certain targets. Besides, Nigerians are clamouring that they don't want a sit-tight president. They want the thing to go round different people. Of course these are all symptoms of underdevelopment and diversity but I believe that we might reach a period where it won't really matter where you come from, as long as you are competent and accepted in the

country. We must take the first step and that first step will be this Third Republic. Anybody who is going to lead the Third Republic should include in his plan a programme which will make Nigerians feel at home wherever they are, that is one of the things I would state in my statement. *Citizen: What are your plans to revive the Naira because everybody agrees now that it is one of the biggest problems the country is facing.*

Makama: It is, but you see, unfortunately it has gone so bad that it requires more than a plan. I am inclined to agree with Professor Aluko that we might need to scrap it and think of another currency. You see I have made reference to the fact that when we talk of market in terms of Naira value you are being formal. In developed countries when you go to the market you see a price tag on anything in any shop. In developing countries, we know that there is hardly any price tag in the type of market we operate. A tuber of yam if I go to that market today, as I am, because they know me, it may cost me twice (or because I don't speak the language of the seller) as much as somebody else down the ladder will buy.

I remember as permanent secretary in the finance ministry between 1978/79 I had a running battle with the IMF to devalue the Naira and my answer was no, that it was not going to benefit Nigeria because once you start, it is just like falling into mud, you sink and sink until probably you are completely sunk, and that's why you don't start in the first place. The four years I served as secretary to the government my contribution to the case of IMF request that we should devalue the Naira was on the side of no, we are not going to do it.

When people talked about Naira being over valued, I think they are talking about parallel market. It is a wishful thinking in my opinion to say that parallel market would collapse. It won't collapse because two parallel lines never meet as far as geometry is concerned. The moment we try to have the official rate equal to the parallel one, another parallel market will emerge and probably we will have a phenomenon called parallax. I believe that it has gone so far that even for the interest of getting the present hardship ameliorated, we should as a matter of urgency have a body to constantly review the

The man Shehu Musa

Alhaji Shehu Musa was born on January 16, 1935 at Bida in what is now known as Niger State.

After primary education in his native Bida, young Shehu moved to the famous Barewa College, Zaria where he obtained his Cambridge School Certificate grade one in 1954. A brilliant student, blessed with a sound analytical mind, Alhaji Shehu Musa obtained a B.Sc (Hons) in mathematics and physics from the University of Ibadan in 1960. He also holds a Master of Public Administration (MPA) degree of the University of Minnesota, USA.

Shehu Musa has had a distinguished career in the public service. From the post of auditor in 1960, he rose to become a federal permanent secretary, serving the nation in key ministries. His vast experience and administrative acumen were of immense benefit to the nation when as

secretary to the federal government of Nigeria between 1979 and 1983, he had the onerous task of ensuring a harmonious working relationship between the federal and state governments, many of which were controlled by opposing political parties. All who came in contact with Shehu Musa during this testy period in the nation's history testify to his patriotic zeal and detribalised nature and the gallant way he strove to ensure unity of purpose among the nation's leaders. Perhaps the most eloquent testimony to his experience, courage, organisational genius and patriotism is his handling of the 1991 census.

Shehu Musa is devoted to the welfare of fellow human beings. Since 1978, he has been the national president of the Nigeria Red Cross Society. He has also



been chairman, board of trustees, of the Pan African Relief Fund.

Alhaji Shehu Musa's tireless efforts have not gone unappreciated. He has to his credit, titles and awards too numerous to mention. Of note is the title of *Makama Nupe* and the award of Commander of the Order of the Federal Republic CFR. He has also had honorary doctorate degrees conferred on him by the universities of Jos and Calabar.

A devoted muslim, Alhaji Shehu Musa is happily married with children.

value and to bring it up to a more respectable value. Some people were suggesting pre-March value, but even that to me is not good. Anything more than seven Naira to a dollar, I think is an undervalue.

Citizen: Sir, let's turn to the crucial issue of money politics. Many people have admitted that money is making the difference that one does not have to worry about candidates who do not have money. What do you think?

Makama: I am the bridge between the poor and the rich. That is part of my jingle as you might have seen on the screen. Nigerians generally have begun to believe that

politicians, whatever they offer at that moment is better than to wait for promises which may not be fulfilled, so there is some tendency to give credence or importance to hand-outs or money that has been paid. It looks to me, however, that in the final analysis there are articulate Nigerians and they will consider the general benefit that will accrue through a very good performance and at the end find their votes given to somebody not necessarily the man who is giving them money but the man who they think can perform, provided you can even get the minimal to make them know that you perform. Because even then, it is quite expensive. I am not worried or concerned because I do have some kind of support from here and there. I am just coming back from Kano and I think that private visit has been quite useful and cheering.

Citizen: You seem to base a lot of your campaign on the southern newspapers giving the notion that you are more concerned about cultivating the south...

Makama: What makes you say that?

Citizen: Well, even now you are talking about antagonism to the Shagari regime as the cause of the collapse — rather than the competence of the people. That makes it logical for you to try and woo the Lagos press in particular which made a consistent attack on Shagari.

Makama: But the antagonism to Shagari was not limited to the south. This antagonism was manifested in Kano, Borno and other non-NPN states very very strongly.

Citizen: Sir, are you not worried about so many years of Babangida in power when you are from the same state?

Makama: I have said this before that the parties have not zoned these things; I quoted the case of Indira Gandhi, Nehru, Rajiv Gandhi, let me quote another one. In 1979 the late Chief Obafemi Awolowo from Ogun state also went into the race in the bid to take over from Obasanjo from Ogun state and nobody raised any eyebrow. If he had succeeded at that time, it would have been from Obasanjo to Obafemi Awolowo. In fact their names even start with "O".

Citizen: Let me take you back sir, you spoke of one term presidency during which you have a plan... can we have an insight into some of these plans...?

Makama: Well, they will be coming out in my various rallies, subject on each area, say economy, agriculture, industry, education, health even sports and what have you, they will all be properly articulated.

Citizen: Does this plan include fighting corruption?

Makama: Yes, it is and it is there.

Citizen: Sir, we want to know how you are going to confront corruption.

Makama: Corruption has many factors, I have submitted many papers to the various anti-corruption groups in this country. I am patron of one of them. It is a very very difficult situation. I was very much involved in President Shagari's ethical revolution idea and we put together a team, a task force which went into the various aspects of corruption and came up with things like

brigades. A minister was appointed to take care of the implementation of this thing, and I feel an approach similar to that may help solve the problem, but obviously there must be a very good and visible example from the top, ministers, the members of the government, this is where the thing will start. Now I give you an example of a situation where we are fighting smuggling of textiles and you find ministers of government or other top people not worrying about going about in the Swiss made brocade or jackets — things which are not produced in the country. I know quite a number of Nigerians enjoying the idea of equating themselves with people at the top, so whatever material that is being used by the people at the top for his *abanriga* or his suit somebody else will want to use that same material. A similar strategy can be used in various aspects of corruption but I believe that it is not a subject which can be tackled in one single stroke. Shagari's administration came up with some guidelines, but the implementation became a little difficult, so with that experience one will lay emphasis on getting something in the ground which

I want to draw the attention Nigerians to the evil of being lured to support or vote by money which is dished out to people, which has temporary benefits and which may not necessarily be in the best interest of Nigerians.

will be implementable.

Citizen: There are rumours that the government shifted the primaries to August 15 for you.

Makama: They should be asked that question, but I don't think so. Even though since that time, it seems that so far I am the only one to have declared but there are others, especially some of those you also quoted in your own magazine who might be coming out.

Citizen: Finally, what important message would you want to send across to the voters?

Makama: For this very time of politicking and campaigning for the primaries, I want to draw the attention Nigerians to the evil of being lured to support or vote by money which is dished out to people, which has temporary benefits and which may not necessarily be in the best interest of Nigerians. When the money comes, take it, but be very clear in your conscience and vote for the person who you are convinced will perform. To me giving money is a malpractice and in mathematics we think that, if you have minus times minus, you get a plus. Since it is minus to give money the best thing is adopt another minus so that at the end of it, it will be a plus for the country.

By Mohammed Haruna, Bilkis Yusuf, Mohammed Bomoji, Mahmud Jega, Kabiru Yusuf and Tawey Zakka

NIGERIA

Zango riot

Putting behind the past

Registration of the riot victims kicks off at two centres in Kaduna

Imrana Idris and his classmates at Government day Secondary school, Zango Kataf had anxiously looked forward to completing their final examinations last week.

This was however not to be. When the bitter ethnic riot broke out at Zango Kataf last month, only three papers stood between them and their ambition. Distraught Idris who spoke to *Citizen* last week at Sardauna Memorial College, Kaduna, where muslim victims of the riot have been taking refuge pleaded that the Kaduna State government should do something to help them.

"We want the government to arrange for us to write our papers in November or December" he said. Rabi'u Abdullahi ATK, a part one student in College of Education, Kafanchan is in a similar dilemma. Until the riot, he has always shuttled between Zango Kataf and Kafanchan using a motor cycle. He lost both the motorcycle and his house. The alternative which does not sound attractive to him is to look for a place in Kafanchan to continue his education.

Both Rabi'u and Idris are among the early callers that have registered waiting to be rehabilitated by the state government. Since the exercise began last Sunday, the number has been swelling daily. *Citizen* learnt last week that those so far registered including men, women and children came from Zango Kataf, Kaduna and Zaria respectively, the scenes of the last riot. An official who spoke on the condition of anonymity said on

Tuesday, that about 90 people had been registered but quickly added that more people were still being expected.

Citizen learnt that victims reporting at the centres are screened thoroughly. They are expected to give particulars including their name, age, town, residential area/address and what was lost. They are then asked to indicate whether or



Lere: rehabilitating the victims

not they want to remain at the centre until the government comes to their aid. Those who opt to stay at the rehabilitation centre are then issued with conveniences such as mat or mattress, toilet soap, cup, spoon and plates. Not only that, they are entitled to meals and accommodation. The feeding is being handled by members of the resettlement com-

mittee.

The situation is not altogether different at the rehabilitation centre, Kakuri, where the christians are also being settled. Here the victims are also made to produce letters from pastors of their churches or sworn affidavits showing that they actually qualify for government's assistance. *Citizen* gathered that this stringent condition has slowed down the registration exercise at the centre. Only 30 people have been registered as at Thursday last week.

Joshua Tabat, who registered at the centre decried the lukewarm attitude of the officials. He said although he and his wife reported for registration last Wednesday, they had to go back home because the officials in charge were unprepared to assist them. Nuhu Tambari spoke in similar vein when he said they had not been given any of the materials promised.

Mr. Henry Steven Gyams, director of Kaduna State Rehabilitation Board and who is also a member of the rehabilitation committee declined to comment on the situation at the centres, pleading that only the honourable commissioner of health and social welfare currently away on Hajj is competent to talk.

Mr. Gyams, however, said, it is premature to give precise figure of the people registered for rehabilitation, pointing out that it is a continuous exercise.

Last week, emirs and chiefs from the 16 northern states met in Kaduna for a day. The Sultan of Sokoto, Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki who presided at the meeting, said the 13 men committee for peaceful co-existence was to discuss and proffer solutions to the frequent civil disturbances in the northern part of the country.

By Abu Mommoh

Reparations

Progress report and future prospects

Recently, *The Sunday Times* of London, the *Evening Standard*, and *The Spectator* have written on reparations, with varying degrees of seriousness, accuracy and empathy, presumably in response to the series of lectures I have delivered on the issue. Only *The Sunday Times*, whose article was the least offensive of all three to the black race, had the courtesy and the sense of fairness, to publish my rejoinder.

For those who might not have read the *Evening Standard* of January 10, this year, its columnist wrote: "the reparations game", which took a very lighthearted view of the whole issue. While it would be unfair to deny levity to an author noted for his wit, it is also necessary to note the serious side of what he himself agrees is "so emotive", affecting as it does the prospects and future of a continent of six hundred million, and the several other millions of men, women and children of African descent, who struggle in far-off lands, all over the globe.

In considering a serious issue, and considering it seriously, one must first state the principle on which it rests. The basic principle of reparations is that group and individuals have rights to be compensated for injuries done to them, whether the perpetrators are gangs of criminals or states, victims are compensated when they are dismissed unfairly, when they suffer racist or sexist discrimination, when they are invaded, occupied, and massacred by Germany, Italy, Japan or Iraq.

The columnist's jokes about the responsibilities of the "missing link" between ape and man, Cain and Abel, the Norman conquerors of Great Britain, the Goths and Vandals who terrorized Europe centuries ago, suggest that there is some historical statute of limitations for crimes against humanity which

should determine the right to reparations.

But, I ask you, how do we establish the cut-off point where victims of crimes such as slavery, colonialism and genocide lose their rights to be compensated for pillage, rape, terrorism and mass murder? If we are not to be arbitrary, rational criteria must be used. In the case of reparations, we must be able to identify the violators and the victims, damages must be capable of assessment, and recompense capable of payment.

In the case of the Germans and the Jews, all these criteria are satisfied, and it is unlikely that Germany will



Chief M.K.O. Abiola

cease paying reparations to Israel, even if the present German state lasts another one thousand years. There is also no statute of limitations for German or Japanese war criminals who committed crimes against humanity in the second world war.

Why then should Africa be treated differently? The victims of slavery and colonialism are identifiably in Africa and the diaspora, in Cote d'Ivoire, Nigeria and Mozambique, as well as in Barbados, Brazil and the United Kingdom. The columnist cleverly tries to sow division between Africa and the diaspora in the typical strategy of divide and rule, by highlighting the fact that Africans collaborated in the shameful

By
Chief M. K. O. Abiola

crimes committed against their own people.

But my humble person, whom the columnist mentions as a supporter of the reparations movement, I am also patron of the Congressional Black Caucus of the United States, which placed the reparations issue before that nation's highest legislative body. The slaves transported across the Atlantic suffered incredible hardships, as did the pitiful slave communities established in the United States, the Caribbean and Latin America. Indeed, I believe we must pity those African leaders who sold their own people for glass beads, alcohol and rifles, because, like the child who, in ignorance, sets fire to his parents' hut, the ensuing conflagration of war, conquest and colonialism did not spare them.

One final point on this issue of collaboration. Historians of the Holocaust inform us that there were many Jews who worked hand-in-glove with Hitler's forces, either to purchase their own security or to enrich themselves. Chroniclers of the Iraq-Kuwait war tell us quite clearly that Saddam Hussein's forces were able to over-run, occupy and administer Kuwait so easily only because they found many willing collaborators. Does history not make it clear that such monumental crimes against nations, peoples and races are possible only with the active collaboration of indigenous populations? Why, in our case, should that now constitute a mitigating factor against reparations?

And let me make it quite clear that collaboration takes many forms. If Africans of my generation, newly freed from the shackles of oppression and silence, fail to fight for reparations, then we shall be judged no better than the kings and princes who collaborated with slave-trad-

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ers. And if the Europeans and the Americans of today, now convinced of the evil of slavery and colonialism, and hearing our cry for restitution, if you fail to stand up for truth, justice and atonement, then I fear that you will be bracketed with the likes of Frederick Lugard and Cecil Rhodes. For you and for us, on which ever side of the fence we stand, silence today is tantamount to complicity in the atrocities of the past.

The *Evening Standard's* columnist was correct to point out that European enslavement and colonization of Africa were not unique. Asian and African communities experienced conquest and enslavement by Mongol, Mocol, Zulu and Fulani conquerors. But these conquerors tried to absorb and assimilate their victims into their own communities. Unlike the Europeans who excluded even their own children produced through rape.

Shaka the Zulu created a mighty nation from peoples he conquered in war, while the Manchu and Fulani practically disappeared into the Han Chinese and the Hausa respectively, they conquered but despite centuries of "assimilation", the French and Portuguese still treat their former African subjects as second class citizens at best, or seek to exclude them completely as unwanted immigrants at worst.

As we gaze at the horrors of Los Angeles and other rioting American cities unfolding on our screens, we see the tragic irony of a people who have lived in a country for centuries, but are still treated worse than aliens or newly arrived immigrants. While Rodney King's ancestors were brought in as slaves hundreds of years ago, the white policemen who brutalized him, and the jurors who acquitted them for doing so, were mostly first and second generation immigrants. Skin colour, not length of stay, or practical contribution to the nation's progress, has given Sergeant Koons and his uniformed

hooligans the right to batter and bludgeon black people wherever they come across them, with the confidence that they will be applauded by a small but significant section of the white community.

This kind of atrocity can continue to happen in the United States only because the American government and people have never paid reparations to their African-American victims, as they have done to Japanese-Americans. They have not said sorry for their crimes of slavery, meaning that they still believe that slavery was justified, and this was proved when they compensated slave masters for the loss of their slaves, rather than the slaves themselves for the loss of their lives, dignity and humanity.

To the usual arguments for reparations, therefore, must be added racism which, after centuries of close contact, makes it possible to identify the victims and violators, as separate, distinct and unequal. This is why black Americans, Brazillians and British have reacted to the reparations issue with equal "emotiveness" as their Nigerian and South African brothers and sisters.

Where do we go from here?

Tremendous progress has already been recorded, and reparations have been placed on the agenda of international dialogue and action. But that is the beginning, not the end. Our task is to ensure that those who have been the world's favourite victims are given an apology, to ensure that a debt of six hundred years is finally repaid.

We ask that the United Nations does for us what it has done for the Jews and for the Kuwaitis, that our mountain of debts be substantially reduced, and that a comprehensive network of roads, railways, bridges, telecommunications facilities and other infrastructure be constructed across our continent with an internationally funded Marshal aid package. We ask that the international financial system be restructured and turned into a level of a playing field, that we all put a halt to the slide in commodities prices, and that Africa,

as the true battleground in the ideological war, be recognised as the legitimate beneficiary of "the peace dividend". Above all, we demand our self-respect, our right to participate, fully and effectively in the global system, neither as slaves nor as beggars, but as free men and free women, co-equal citizens of the world.

Conclusion

I do not think that there are many reasonable people today who do not accept both the fundamental logic and the implicit justice of our cause. The facts are plain enough, and the history books have begun to chronicle the atrocities to which my people have been victims. Our holy books clearly tell us the difference between right and wrong, and what must be done to atone for wrong-doing. And increasingly, the statute books point the way both to precedent and to redress.

I believe that there are now two reasons why people have not embraced this cause as their own. One is scepticism, and the other is racism. One doubts whether we can succeed, the other hope that we do not. I do not have much to say to the racist, the one who wishes to deny us our rights only because of our colour, only that I shall continue to pray for him.

But I do have a few words for the man who, though he wishes us well, believes that we have taken on more than we can accomplish. I remind him that Samuel Johnson said that "nothing will ever be attempted if all possible objections must first be overcome". And, finally, I refer him to James Baldwin, who said, "I know that what I am asking is impossible. But in our time, as in every time, the impossible is the least that one can demand. And one is after all emboldened by the spectacle of human history in general, and American-Negro history in particular, for it testifies to nothing less than the perpetual achievement of the impossible".

Chief Abiola delivered this address at a fund raising dinner organised by the Finet Club, The Porchester Centre Queensway, London, England.

Sudan More meetings planned

Sudan peace conference ended in Abuja with the two warring factions agreeing on some and disagreeing on many

President Ibrahim Babangida will have no fear of executive joblessness even after he may have handed over to the next civilian government and vacated the Organisation of African Unity's chair. He will be busy helping to bring peace to Sudan.

That is one demand made by the warring factions of Sudanese delegations attending the peace talks brokered by Nigeria. The communiqué also noted that both sides have agreed to meet again for further consultations.

Before the conference, the situation looked ideal for the government of General Omar Hassan al-Bashir. It has successfully cultivated the image of a peace-lover, pursuing the southern Sudanese rebels — almost begging them — to the negotiating table.

Since the National Salvation Revolution came to power Saïd Mohammed at Amin Khaligha, head of the government delegation, "we did recognise that there is a problem of Southern Sudan; we did sincerely and openly called for a peaceful settlement of the problem. We extended invitation to the SPLA/SPLA rebel movement. But, alas, they turned down the offer

The rebel themselves were divided. The division came into the open after the 1991 visit by al-Bashir to request President Babangida to mediate in the dispute. A mutiny followed by a protracted gun battle split the Sudanese Peoples Liberation Army into two. All this should have given Khartoum a walk-over in the negotiations. It didn't.

The Sudanese government is no doubt going through a difficult economic situation. While its hands may not have been tied by any donor agencies dictating peace terms, its

own success in the field forced the rebels to unite on hardline viewpoints. Already the Nasir faction had declared its intention to secede; and it kept away from the discussions on Monday, June 1.

What is under discussion, said its spokesman, assumes the unity of the Sudan. Since we are here only to discuss its break-up, the discussion on Monday was irrelevant to our members, he added.

After the meeting the Nasir faction teamed up with the SPLA and produced a joint statement signed by Commander Williams Nyoun Bany, deputy commander-in-chief of the SPLA and Commander Lam Akol, leader of the Nasir faction. The statement, titled "joint declaration of common position on self-determination", questioned the status of the sharia and called for a democratic secular state. In his opening remarks, Ike Nwachukwu, Nigeria's foreign affairs minister, in a clearly undiplomatic gaffe, took sides. He specifically called for a secular constitution in a conference that regards the issue of secularism as the thorniest and possibly most important issue.

This emboldened the Garang faction that had up to that time refrained from advocating secession. In a separate radio interview Richard Muller, Garang's faction spokesman said the issue of self-determination must be on the table. "If the Khartoum government accepts our demand for self-determination — to be determined in a referendum — then there can be an interim arrangement," Muller said, "but if (it) does not yield to our demand for self-determination — to be determined in a referendum — then I cannot see much that will come out of this conference". Some foreign organisations that came as observers were

believed to have helped in hardening rebel positions.

Dr. Ali Mohammad, a government spokesman, said modalities for power-sharing, one of the rebel's key demand, would soon be made public. There would be other concessions, he said, but the SPLA militia would not be absorbed into the national army as demanded by the rebels. Nor would there be any reference on self-determination. "Sudan must remain one", he declared.

The concessions also would not affect the constitutional status of Islam. The government said secularism was alien and inoperable in Sudan. The main issue, it said, was the equality of citizens before the law irrespective of religion or culture.

To speed up proceedings the delegates were broken into three committees with two delegates from each faction in each of the committees. One was to chart out a political arrangement for a future Sudan, another to devise a new revenue-sharing formula while a third was to look at the country's judicial system. They submitted their reports on Wednesday calling for the reconstitution of the country's revenue allocation committee.

Later, another committee comprising five Nigerian officials and five each from the Sudanese government delegation and the SPLA was formed to look into such issues as the ceasefire, lifting of the state of emergency, the formation of an interim government and a permanent constitution.

When the communiqué was finally written, there was no mention of the cease fire or the interim common government. Perhaps these will be decided by the meeting scheduled for Abuja in the next few weeks.

Meanwhile, exiled former Sudanese president, Ja'afar Nimeiri predicted the talks would fail. He offered the rebels help saying he would cooperate with SPLA leader for Garang to overthrow the government of al-Bashir.

Whether this will add another dimension to the Sudanese crisis remains to be seen.

By Adamu Adamu

Citizen, June 8, 1992

Hajj airlift

Snail speed affair

Touts surface again at pilgrims camps affecting speedy completion of Hajj airlifts to Jeddah, Saudi Arabia

This year's airlift of pilgrims to Saudi Arabia started on a bad footing. In the beginning, the planes waited for the pilgrims in all the zonal departure points. The turn out of pilgrims was slow and frustrating for the two airlines awarded the contract for pilgrims airlift, the Nigeria Airways for the south and Trans Air Services for the northern states. The pilgrims failed to turn up on schedule due to the delay in processing of passports and allocation of the Basic Travel Allowance (BTA).

Then the scales turned backwards. By the time the pilgrims had obtained those vital travel documents, there was unprecedented congestion at the airports and the three aircrafts chartered by Trans Air Services to transport them was insufficient for the operation.

The disenchanted pilgrims languished for several days at various zonal airlift centres — Malam Aminu Kano Airport for Jigawa, Kano, Katsina and Bauchi states, Kaduna for Abuja, Niger, Kogi, Benue and Plateau states; Sokoto's Sultan Abubakar Airport for Kebbi and Sokoto states and Maiduguri Airport for Borno, Adamawa, Taraba and Yobe states. As tension mounted doubts were raised about the possibility of completing the airlift on time, the various agencies involved in the airlift pointed accusing fingers at each other. The minister of state in the ministry of foreign affairs, Ambassador Zakari Ibrahim blamed the states pilgrims welfare Boards for the hardship experienced by the pilgrims by delaying the processing of pilgrims travel documents.

The states' pilgrims officials on the other hand blamed the commercial

banks charged with allocating BTA to pilgrims for delay in the release of the money without which pilgrims could not travel. The banks passed these lapses to the Central Bank which they claimed did not allocate sufficient foreign exchange to the pilgrims on schedule.

Those at the receiving end of all the lapses were the officials of the states' pilgrims board and Trans Air, the contractors for the airlift operations.

When *Citizen* visited the Kaduna camp last Thursday, none of the zonal officials could be reached. Sources, however, said the officials disappeared because they could not stand the pressure from the pilgrims. One Yusuf Sambo Rigachikun, leader of the *Izalatul Bidi'a* expressed his feelings when he said "You cannot see any of them, they have all run away". According to him the minister of state in the external affairs ministry, Ambassador Zakari Ibrahim was at the camp on Wednesday and all they got was an assurance. Sambo doubted the ability of the officials to airlift all the remaining pilgrims to Jeddah before the closure of the airport.

A lot of the intending pilgrims alleged that airline officials were



Ibrahim: beating the deadline

selling boarding passes to those who could afford to pay about 300 and 500 Naira. An old woman from Funtua, who had been at the camp for 14 days, said she was still there because "I do not have anybody to struggle and get the boarding pass for me and I do not have money to buy one".

Last Thursday, Trans Air Services, the carrier company responsible for air lifting the pilgrims from Kaduna, Kano, Sokoto and Maiduguri zones chartered three additional aircrafts, each capable of carrying 480 passengers in its bid to beat the deadline for the closure of Jeddah's King Abdul-Aziz Airport. With less than 48 hours to the closure earmarked for Friday.

By Thursday last week however, about 3,000 pilgrims were still waiting to be airlifted from the Kaduna zone although pilgrims from Sokoto and Kebbi had all been transported to Saudi Arabia.

In Maiduguri 2,000 pilgrims had been airlifted in four trips while another 2,000 were still at the airport and pilgrims camp. In Kano, which had the largest number of pilgrims, about 4,554 had arrived at the holy land leaving about 3,000 at the Malam Aminu Kano International Airport.

Sources close to the Trans Air Services however, disclosed that "the Saudi Arabian authorities had approved an extension of one day for the completion of the airlift operations. King Abdul Aziz Airport in Jeddah will now be closed to traffic on Saturday 6, at midnight by which time the airlift would hopefully be completed".

The leader of the government delegation and *Amirul Hajj*, Admiral Murtala Nyako along with Governors Ali Sa'ad Birnin Kudu, Dahiru Mohammed of Jigawa and Bauchi states and Central Bank governor, Alhaji Abdulkadir Ahmed left Lagos on June 4, promising that no pilgrims will be left behind. Other officials on his entourage to this year's Hajj also departed Lagos on the same date.

By Bilkisu Yusuf and Abiola Moronfoye

Health

Who needs two lungs?

Tobacco producers say Decree 20 of 1990 is too harsh on them

Barely two weeks after the promulgation of decree 20 of 1990, that among other things banned smoking in public places, a police corporal attempted to enforce the law within the premises of the National Theatre Iganmu, Lagos. He failed. The culprit took to his heels and the police never caught up with him. But the culprit's victory over the law officer was pyrrhic as tragedy struck so soon. He got knocked down by a car while attempting to cross the road.

Almost two and half years after the promulgation of this decree, the aspect that deals with smoking in public places seems to have been thrown into the cooler for two reasons. First is the difficulty in defin-

ing to the general public without a warning on the dangers of smoking to health have been in enforcement. Also, the advertisement of tobacco products on both the print and the electronic media got a blackout.

Since the decree came into force, those in the tobacco industry felt the federal government has dealt them a fatal blow. Said Chief Solomon Oyebanjo, general secretary of the National Union of Food, Beverage and Tobacco Workers, "the guidelines would in the long run lead to lower sales of tobacco and alcoholic beverages and result in unemployment."

Advertising Practitioners Council of Nigeria, APCON, set up by decree No. 55 of 1988 got the big

stick to enforce the regulations to the letter. APCON registrar, Dr. Charles Okigbo told *Citizen* that there is no cause for alarm stating that contrary to the popular belief, the federal government did not ban the advertisement of tobacco and alcohol. Said Dr. Okigbo, "we found along the line that the advertising of alcohol has to be monitored and therefore we came out with guidelines which regulate not

only what they can say, but also when you can have such advertisements on radio and television as well as where you can have them in outdoor and prints."

Consequently added Dr. Okigbo, such advertisement will not



Kutu: a successful campaign?

come before network news on the television and before 6pm on the radio or during children's programmes. In addition, children, pregnant women and sports person are barred from appearing in alcohol advertisement. The advertisement contents, the guidelines provide, should also be free of misleading claims and, "anything that is offensive especially with respect to public morality."

Still crying foul, organising secretary of Food, Beverage and Tobacco Senior Staff Association, Ade Omosanyin said that his association is opposed to decree 20 of 1990. He stated: "What the decree set out to do is to cause a fall in the demands of cigarettes and therefore a fall in the employment figures of our members." He further told *Citizen* that as a responsible trade union, members' interest must be balanced with public morality. Omosanyin's stand is that "government should just educate people about the danger of taking too much cigarettes without necessarily coming out with any decree which is more or less asking people not to smoke." The move, added Omosanyin, is also against government's deregulation of the economy which allows for free enterprises.

APCON's registrar, however said that there should be no ill-feelings from tobacco producers against the decree as it does not prohibit the advertisement of the products. Dr. Okigbo stated that guidelines have already been provided. "Our respon-



Okigbo: we have nothing against tobacco industry

ing a public place and the reluctance of the Nigerians to join in the crusade against smoking in "public" places.

However, aspects of the decree like section 2(1) that makes it an offence to display tobacco products

sibility is to producers, advertisers, smokers and of course the media. While we want the tobacco industry to survive, we wish that producers of the tobacco products must obey the laws of the land," said Okigbo.

Taking the battle outside the court of public morality and health, tobacco producers want the government to take into consideration the economic implications of the "slow death" of the industry.

According to the tobacco producers, research carried out for them by Nigeria Institute of Social and Economic Research, NISER, the tobacco industry sustains the livelihood of 9.6 million Nigerians with participants earning over 350 million Naira annually. It also provides labour for 28,000 farmers with 280,000 dependants. The research findings also stated that the industry injects about 100 million Naira annually into the rural economy with a tax turnover of over 290 million Naira.

With May 31 of every year dedicated for campaign against smoking by the World Health Organisation, WHO, the battle for the reduction in the number of smokers becomes a global affair. According to WHO figures, about 2.5 million people die annually from cigarette smoking. WHO also revealed that 300,000 sticks of cigarettes are smoked every second globally. Ironically the third world countries, tagged "the ashtray of the world" has the highest consumption and casualty figures. About 4,000 billion sticks of cigarettes mostly imported are smoked in the third world countries yearly.

The domination of smuggled foreign cigarettes in the Nigerian market, may, according to Chief Solomon Oyebanjo, be part of the death of the nation's tobacco industry. Since the imported products do not carry health warnings, said the general secretary, Food Beverage and Tobacco Workers, consumers are likely to prefer them to the locally manufactured ones.

Though with accompanying health hazards like male infertility,

bronchitis, cancer, chronic lung diseases, cardiovascular ailments, still births in women and the risk of spontaneous abortion and miscarriages, a world that seems to downplay morality and health in

the quest for wealth may not be able to win the war against tobacco and the attendant health hazard. At least not before the "golden" year 2000.

By Aluko Akinyele

Politics

A "progressive" front

Jakande's presidential campaign which formally kicked off, Saturday May 30, evokes the ghost of the moribund Progressive Parties Alliance

To an onlooker, Lagos simply seemed to have stood still for five hours Saturday, May 30. There was spectacle on the streets and Alhaji Lateef Kayode Jakande, a second republic governor of Lagos State was at the centre of it all. That day, he was billed to formally launch his presidential

arranged for Jakande to have a jolly ride in an open boat-shaped float with Alhaji Balarabe Musa, a former Kaduna State executive governor and Alhaji Mohammed Goni, his Borno State counterpart. As it were, that decision nearly marred the rally as restive supporters including Professor Jerry Gana, himself a presi-



Goni, Jakande (centre) and Musa at the Lagos launch

campaign with a well-advertised address to his "supporters nationwide." Getting to Tafawa Balewa Square, venue of the rally from the Jakande's residence at No. 2, Bishop Street Ilupeju, should ordinarily take 20 minutes in the presidential aspirant's rickety-looking Toyota Crown car. The organisers of the rally, with an eye on novelty, had however

dential hopeful and Professor J.S. Lambo, national president of the Association of Medical Herbal Practitioners had to endure a three-hour delay as the launchers scheduled to take off by 2pm could not get underway until well after 5pm. Reason? The Jakande convoy, according to eyewitness accounts, had to contend with a snail-pace movement as it

was mobbed all the way by bands of sloganeering youth who were simply excited at the sight of "action man original."

But if the Jakande campaign soon assumed a character which is all its own, it was when the trio of Dr. Bala Usman (Jakande's national campaign coordinator), Alhaji Mohammed Goni and Alhaji Balarabe Musa lined up on the campaign podium to commend their candidate to the Nigerian people. Said Dr. Bala Usman, the leftist Ahmadu Bello University (ABU) lecturer: "We are supporting Jakande because we don't want the military to continue. If you want to stop the military you have to build democracy with people like Jakande who has an unsurpassable record of concrete achievements...." Dr. Usman who argued that Jakande has an "organic link with the tradition of progressive democracy" then cautioned Nigerians against a disguised military take over. According to him; "You can't whitewash a former permanent secretary and call him a democrat or dress up a former chief of staff and call him a politician."

Alhaji Balarabe Musa, who openly courted detention in 1989 when he defied a government ban to float the Peoples Liberation Party, PLP, also spoke in the same vein. Musa said Jakande was being endorsed because having been the "pillar" of the nine progressive governors, he can be recommended to Nigerians for unity, stability and socio-economic progress. He told the

crowd: "You know why we were together before. We are together again for the same reason... Time has come for us to work with strategy to give real hope for the redemp-

and the eradication of unemployment by December 31, 1994 were already well-known to his supporters. To maintain the momentum of "action" however, Alhaji Jakande

Jakande said he would not only declare education free at all levels, he would also announce the scrapping of SAP and its replacement by the Programme for Structural Adjustment, (PSA)

tion of our fatherland." Alhaji Mohammed Goni later gave vent to this theme of "hope" when he said he was breaking a self-imposed sabbatical from politics because hope had been rekindled for the nation with the entrance of Jakande into the presidential race. Added he: "I can testify to his commitment to the good of the country."

Another latter day returnee to active partisan politicking, Chief Josiah Olawoyin was also on hand to add his bit: "Alhaji Jakande stood for freedom, liberty and progress for the past 43 years. He was tested and he passed creditably with distinction." Kano's Shehu Shanono and Cross River's Chief Jacob Duke also gave their own testimonies as the crowd cheered.

By the time Jakande mounted the rostrum, the crowd was already worked up. It was obvious that they would tolerate him even if all he did was grin benevolently at them. But Jakande who prefers to call himself a "presidential applicant" has a 13-point programme which includes amongst others the afforestation of the country's northern borders in two years, fullest development of the resources of each state of the federation within 12 months, provision of potable water and electricity in every local government areas within four years

took the crowd on a two-week trip into a federal administration under him. On January 2, 1993, for example, Jakande said he would not only declare education free at all levels, he would also announce the scrapping of SAP and its replacement by the Programme for Structural Adjustment, (PSA) as well as unveil plans for the re-evaluation of the Naira. Within his first 15 days in office, Jakande also plans to call a mini national conference, at which a blue print based on his 13-point programme would be put in place for the socio-economic development of the country.

If there was one voice the audience patiently wanted to hear, however, it was that of the former national chairman of MAMSER Professor Jerry Gana who according to Professor Femi Agbalajobi was in Lagos in solidarity with a "senior progressive." Two weeks earlier, Jakande had been in Kaduna to witness the launching of Gana's own presidential campaign. Gana's presence in Lagos therefore further fuelled speculations that the two may run on a joint ticket.

Even as the Gana-Jakande connection remains something of a mystery to practised political hands, not many were ready to discountenance a "real deal" from the progressive camp this time around.

By Yinka Tella



Usman: We want democracy

BUSINESS & ECONOMY

National Bank

To the funeral pyre

After 59 years as a pioneer indigenous bank, National Bank of Nigeria call it quits

Even for banks, there is time to die. And so after working as an underwriter for its numerous customers for almost six decades, the National Bank of Nigeria has finally been forced to throw in the towel—and call the undertaker.

The task force appointed January 8, by the Central Bank of Nigeria to decide on its fate, has advised that the best thing to do is to close and liquidate the 59 year old bank.

Before coming to this conclusion, the task force said it considered the background, the current condition of the bank and all relevant factors. "After an exhaustive and soul-wrenching consideration of all possible alternatives and options for solving the problems of National Bank", the task force said in its report, "we came to the painful conclusion that the bank should be liquidated".

Though the end has been predicted for the bank many times before, the task force's conclusion came as a surprise to many. There is widespread belief in banking circles that both the CBN and the National Deposit Insurance Corporation (NDIC) will do everything to shield banks from failure.

There is the fear that if National Bank's difficulties are allowed to drive it to the grave, a chain-reaction of shake-outs will begin and destabilise the financial system. In addition, the bank's sole administrator, Alhaji M. Adedokun Ademola had, to the end, continued stressing that the rescue effort by the CBN and NDIC was not a plan to liquidate his bank.

The task thought otherwise and

force recommended the pay off of insured depositors as provided by the laws of the NDIC and the immediate liquidation of the bank's realisable assets to pay uninsured ones. This, according to the report of the task force, "provides a final and determinate solution, and will turn out to be the most cost-effective way out of the problem" faced by the National Bank.

The task force rested its recommendation on four main considerations. First, the age, pervasiveness and complexity of the bank's problem left room for only one thing—despair. None of the conditions that led to the problem has changed since the rescue effort was launched soon after the bank was sent out of the clearing house in June 1990.

Second, about two billion Naira in fresh capital and credit was needed to revive operations. Raising this was not possible from shareholders, internal sources or bad debt recovery.

It would be recalled that when Colonel Adedeji Oresanya, then military governor of Oyo State and chairman of Odu'a Investment Company, owners of the bank, launched a recovery drive in 1991 less than one per cent was collected.

Third, there was no possibility that capable managers would be found to help turn the bank around. And fourth, even with all this, the chances of reviving the bank were slim especially in the face of deregulation and fierce competition in the industry.

The task force indeed said the liquidation of the bank was consistent with the dictates of the structural adjustment programme and



Awolowo: founding father

would add some credibility to the financial system.

"The failure of the National Bank should force national attention on the need to adopt urgently needed reforms required to ensure the viability of the entire banking systems", declared the task force.

It is indeed ironical that a bank established to give life to indigenous banking would only do so by its own death. It had only been saved from previous close shaves by government intervention. In the mid 1950's, the bank encountered serious difficulties from which it was rescued by the then Western Nigerian government. A decade later that government acquired 99 per cent of the bank's equity. Its difficulties, however, continued and when it again became serious, the federal government gave it a 30 million Naira loan. But it never fully recovered.

Established in 1933, the bank has grappled since 1950 with problems which include capital inadequacy, crippling bad and doubtful debts, massive frauds, lack of profitability, persistent deficiencies in liquidity and inadequacies in management.

The bank's capital base has remained at 10 million Naira until it was raised August 1989 to 20 million Naira. This, according to a CBN examination in 1990, was inadequate for the volume of operations of a bank with 112 branches. At the end

of 1990, the bank's adjusted shareholders' funds was negative. It stood at minus 967 million Naira.

In the decade from 1981 to 1990, the bank's loans and advances grew from 316 million Naira to 1.12 billion Naira. Most of this was doubtful of recovery. And by the first quarter of March 1991, total fraud including unauthorised lending was 341 million Naira.

The bank dabbled in maturity mismatch of assets. For instance, it acquired non-productive long term fixed assets using short-term depositors' funds. The effect of all this was to wipe out the bank's profitability and lead to serious liquidity problems.

According to the report by the CBN task force, this problem was effectively masked by the availability of cheap deposits from the public sector and unremitted foreign obligations. In 1987 the CBN withdrew all public sector deposits; and, in 1989, all unremitted foreign commitments.

Meanwhile efforts by the regulatory agencies foundered. In 1989 a

loan of 550 million naira was advanced to the bank. It defaulted in the pay back; and by the time the CBN took it over, the loan and compounded interest stood at 900 million Naira.

The take-over was what the CBN had wanted to do since the beginning of the problem but existing legislation did not allow it. This was remedied with the promulgation of CBN Decree No. 24 and the banks and other financial institutions No. 25 of 1991. Immediately the CBN took the bank over, it appointed NDIC, with the assistance of the task force, to determine the current financial condition of the bank and recommend solutions.

Though the task force said it found the bank's accounting system inadequate and unreliable — "it could not produce accurate or timely reports for management or external parties" — it was able to reconstruct a balance sheet as at January 6, 1992. The following is how the balance sheet looks like with book values (values at acquisition) adjusted for realisable and forced sale values.

A summary of the balance sheet shows the bank having a total asset portfolio of 2,983,568.910 Naira. This, on closer examination, was found to be fiction. The truth, after adjustment, came down to less than one-eighth of that figure. And according to professional valuers, most of these assets were in a terrible state of disrepair.

Total liabilities stood at 2,953,163.260 Naira of which 737,146.960 Naira couldn't be ascertained. Net worth was negative, at 1.88 billion Naira. All other performance ratios indicated a troubled state and an even more uncertain future.

The bank's liquidity ratio plummeted to minus 91 per cent. CBN minimum level stood at 30 per cent. Capital adequacy shrank to minus 645 per cent. The international standard minimum requirement is 8 per cent.

On loans and advances, the bank over-extended itself and over-lent to shareholders, their companies or to other Odu'a interests, the task force found. Its system of appraisal, approval, disbursement and administration of credit was very defective. Recoverable loans stood at not more than 20 per cent.

It was clear that National Bank was at the end of its tether, but it would not go lying down. Indeed the fear of a political backlash might have delayed the inevitable liquidation.

In an open letter to President Babangida, one Dr. Olayide Farawe, who said he was a consultant who had worked for the World Bank and the African Development Bank, said closing National Bank will have no benefit. "It will only cheer those who want it dead", he said — "to 'deal' with the Yoruba bank".

He charged that the Yoruba bank was being killed to justify the existence of the NDIC. "The problem of our ailing banks", he said, "is due to bad debts which are recoverable". He cited the case of the Bank of the North which used military gover-

	Book value N'000	Realisable N'000	Forced sale N'000
Cash in hand	2,425	2,436	2,436
Treasury Bills	17,334	17,334	17,334
Investments	16,500	13,914	13,914
Balances with Banks	53,491	74,897	74,897
Loans & Advances	61,353	61,353	61,353
Other Assets	117,696	91,373	91,373
Fixed Assets	99,161	480,699	378,406
Total Assets	397,960	742,006	639,713
Deposits	750,753	754,038	754,038
Sundry Creditors & Other Liabilities	489,554	591,440	591,440
Contingent Liabilities	69,320	69,320	69,320
Term Loan	6,206	6,206	6,206
CBN/NDIC Facility	900,184	900,184	900,184
Total Liabilities	2,216,017	2,231,188	2,132,188
Capital/Reserves	30,403	30,403	30,403
Deficit	(1,878,460)	(1,609,588)	(1,711,878)
	397,960	742,006	639,713

nors in an extra-judicial fashion to recover its own then crippling debts.

Even before constituting the task force, attempts have been made to solve the problems besetting the National Bank. One of the efforts was that by the board led by Oladele Olashore, a seasoned banker. His solution was to have a two-year moratorium on the massive CBN loan to the bank and a fresh injection of 500 million Naira. The recommendation was termed belated and inadequate. It was thrown out.

A consortium of senior bankers led by Chief S.O. Asabia, chairman and chief executive officer of First Interstate Merchant Bank, gave a more serious package of recommendations, but for some reasons these were not implemented. It was essentially a reconstruction package. Its refusal may fuel the speculations of conspiratorial undertones championed by Dr. Faware, the consultant.

Dr. Farawe advised the president to leave National Bank alone or at least deal with it along with the nation's other problem banks. So far, the owners of National Bank have not made any open plea on behalf of their bank. Perhaps they couldn't care less — each of the states in the former western region, except newly-created Osun State, has a bank of its own. Oyo has Trans International, Ondo, Owena and Ogun, Gateway. All their attention is now shifted to the new creatures.

But whether President Babangida approves the recommendation of the task force or not, the case of the National Bank is already changing the banking environment — for the better.

According to a preliminary report given by the task force earlier in the year, the National Bank lost 1.2 billion Naira as a result of sharp practices by its officials. The fraud, said the task force report, continued even while its investigation was taking place.

For a long time, the CBN was unable to do anything because most of the legislation as regards banking operations was too mild or irrele-

vant. It had to wait for decrees 24 and 25 of 1991.

And because of the central role played by a profession that abandons its fiduciary role, the CBN has now decided to remove directors who involve themselves in boardroom disputes or other acts that threaten the financial system and place deposits in danger.

To stem the tide of bad and doubtful debts, the government has moved against those who take loans and escape censure by "going" bankrupt. A new Bankruptcy Law is now in the offing. Though its details remain sketchy it is expected to be in line with the provision in section 64 of the 1989 constitution, which states that: "No person shall be qualified for election to the Senate or to the



Ebhodaghe: sanitizing the banking scene

House of Representative if he is an undischarged bankrupt, having been adjudged or otherwise declared bankrupt under any law in force in Nigeria".

The CBN in a move to improve capital adequacy gave all banks a deadline in February this year to increase their capital base. The deadline was later extended to June 19. Commercial banks must now have 50 million Naira, up from 20 million Naira, while that of Merchant Banks rose to 40 million Naira from 12 million Naira.

In concluding its report, the task

force also urged that past directors, auditors, management and staff of the bank must be investigated to determine their culpability and negligence. It suggested an aggressive debt recovery strategy with full use of extra-legal methods to be followed by an orderly sale of assets and settlement of claims by an agent bank.

The task force advised that "existing arrangements aimed at barring crooks from the boards and management of banks" must be fully implemented.

It called on the Chartered Institute of Bankers to sanitise the system along with making its membership mandatory for all bank officers. Bank inspectorate departments must be up and doing while a list of dismissed staff in all banks should be compiled and circulated more properly.

Clearly, the task force is in favour of precipitating a shake-out. It urged that support from the regulators should only be given to solvent banks. "Insolvent banks", it said, "should either be closed and liquidated or supported as part of a comprehensive restructuring programme". The regulators themselves need to re-examine existing mechanism of bank supervision, the task force said; and suggested that tougher auditing standards be introduced for banks as well as a minimum disclosure requirements in addition to SAS 10.

The task force said it considered three restructuring options but abandoned them all because of financial reasons and the death of competence in the profession.

At the end of the day, only National Bank might be buried and not without some measure of dishonour, but it was the whole banking industry that was on trial. The undertaker is in no hurry to go away as he may yet have work to do. As the trial continues, one can see him standing by the court room with the bier by his side.

By Adamu Adamu

BUSINESS BRIEFS

Osun state set for industrialisation

The Osun state governor, Isiaka Adeleke last week in Lagos said that the state government would soon embark on industrialisation of the state.

Answering reporters questions after his press briefing he enumerated some of the mineral resources in the state such as gold, bauxite and kaolin pointing out that his government would soon harness the resources for the improvement of the state.

On agriculture he said that about three million Naira had been set aside



Adeleke

to complement the activities of the National Land Development Authority (NALDA) in the state.

He also explained that his government had made funds available to clear lands free of charge for use by farmers.

NITEL completes test-run of digital lines

The Nigerian Telecommunications Limited (NITEL) had completed the test-run on its 45,000 lines digital exchange at Odunlami, Lagos. The digital exchange which goes into operation next month offers new services, including three part call whereby a subscriber could discuss with

three subscribers simultaneously on one line and warning signals of an incoming calls while subscriber is resting or asleep.

The system will also be used for the integrated services digital network (ISDN) for transmission of data to banks, insurance companies and stock exchange.

NERFUND

Approves 151 projects for implementation

The National Economic Reconstruction Fund (NERFUND) last week in Lagos said it had approved about 151 projects valued 1.2 billion Naira under its small-scale and medium-scale entrepreneurship programme.

NERFUND's senior manager, research and public affairs, Mr. Regi-

nald Ibe explained that the projects were expected to create about 2,000 jobs for Nigerians.

He noted that the deregulation of the Naira had boosted activities of NERFUND through the removal of import duties on industrial machines. He however regretted that only 48 of the 151 projects were fully operational.

NEXIM disburses 2.09 billion Naira

The Nigerian Export-Import Bank (NEXIM) last year disbursed 2.099 billion Naira to exporters across the country under its export credit Rediscouinting and Refinancing Facility (RRF).

The chairman of the Board of NEXIM and deputy governor of Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN), Mr. Victor Odozi, disclosed this in Lagos while making public the bank's first year report. He said that the amount which was disbursed through some commercial and merchant banks benefited 343 exporters, all over the country.

According to Mr. Odozi, 1,505 billion of the amount disbursed was

repaid by the end of the year, representing 71.8 per cent of the total disbursements. The NEXIM chairman further said that RRF was only one of the five facilities introduced by the bank to boost the access of exporters to credit at an affordable and stable interest cost.

Others are stocking facility for the procurement of commodities needed by processing firms to keep their plants at reasonable operating capacities and Foreign Input Facility (FI) through which exporters were provided with foreign exchange to enable them import raw materials, packaging materials and capital equipment to manufacture for export.

Costain makes profit

Costain West African Plc has announced a pre-tax profit of 10.7 million Naira for the year ended December 1991, an increase of 84.4 per cent over the 5.8 million realised in 1990.

The company's turnover also rose by 116 per cent, from 85.6 million Naira in 1990 to 85.4 million Naira last year. The

company's chairman, Alhaji Shehu Malami said at the company's 44th annual general meeting in Lagos that "as a result of the company's increased profit from the period, the board had recommended a dividend of 125 Kobo per ordinary share based on the increased total ex-rights shares."

He further said that the company has concluded plans to issue a 15 million Naira floating rate mortgage debenture stock for 1989/99. The fund is required to raise additional capital to support the company's expansion.

The chairman informed shareholders that the rights issue of 28 million Naira raised by the company was also over subscribed.

By Tola Sunday



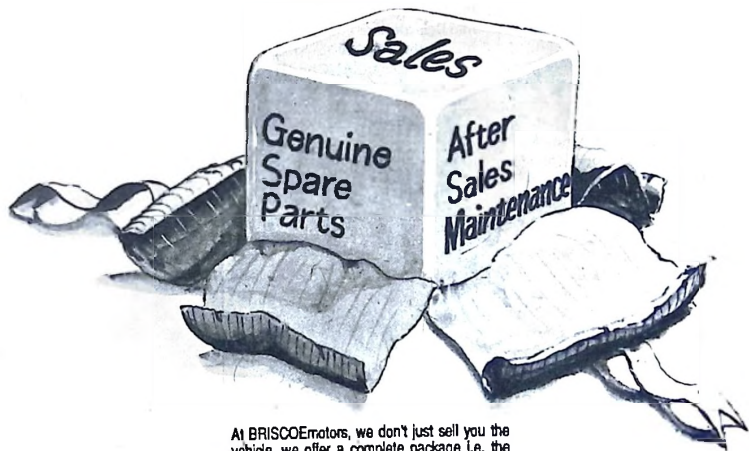
Malami: Costain chairman

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AFRICA

South Africa

End of honeymoon

President de Klerk turns the heat on ANC and runs

It is characteristic of South African president Frederick de Klerk to take a breather outside the country whenever he feels too much pressure on him at home. He did exactly that last week.

Under pressure by the African National Congress (ANC) to break the stalemate in the negotiations on a new democratic South Africa and end the fighting in black townships, which has claimed over 14,000 lives since 1984, Mr de Klerk hurried out of the country on state visits to Russia, Japan and Singapore.

Ironically, part of the heat the president brought on himself. He had twisted the interim report of a government appointed commission headed by Justice Richard Goldstone to read that the investigation found the rivalry between the ANC and the mainly Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party to be responsible for the black-on-black killings in townships around Johannesburg. In other words, Justice Goldstone's report had absolved the South African police and army of instigating the violence, a position held by the ANC.

Before the conference, Mandela had stung the white establishment with personalised attacks on President de Klerk, holding him personally responsible for the black township violence.

The ANC leadership reacted angrily to the report, calling it "superficial". Opening a four day policy conference of the ANC at Camera, outside Johannesburg on may 27, ANC president Nelson Mandela declared: "Firstly, to attribute the violence to political rivalry between the ANC and IFP is to ignore that the rivalry has been fos-



the ANC leader was over. Mr de Klerk and Mandela are the key players in the Conference in a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), which began in Johannesburg last December. The third phase of the talk, could not take off last month because of disagreements over arrangements for a constitution making body.

Government's distortion of Justice Goldstone's report compelled him to make a clarification last week. He said in a statement that the government interpreted his interim report "selectively" and it had caused confusion.

According to him, the report did not apportion blame, but only tried to appeal to both the ANC and



De Klerk and Mandela: what went wrong?

tered and manipulated by the South African government and its security forces".

Before the conference, Mandela had stung the white establishment with personalised attacks on President de Klerk, holding him personally responsible for the black township violence. At a press conference he addressed in Geneva recently, the ANC leader said d

De Klerk allowed the violence because the victims were black.

The government reacted by announcing that its romance with

Inkatha to persuade their supporters to abandon violence. The clarification was accepted by the Inkatha leader, Mongusuthu Buthelezi.

Mandela, on his part, may have been reacting to Justice Goldstone's appeal, when he said during a visit to an ANC's squatter camp in Soweto that the organisation had difficulty controlling its members. They were angry, he said, adding that he feared the violence might spread to white areas.

By Tawey Zakka
with agency reports

Citizen, June 8, 1992

Togo

No respite for Koffigoh

Ethnic clashes threaten Togo's democratic process

Obviously, the interim prime minister, Joseph Kokou Koffigoh could not have foreseen the sad tale of trouble that has bedevilled his administration when he was appointed September last year.

His appointment was at the instance of a national conference which stripped President Eyadema of his executive powers.

But barely a month in office Koffigoh tasted the bitter pill when mutinous soldiers acting in concert with President Eyadema sought to terminate the government last October when they took over the national radio and demanded the resignation of Mr. Koffigoh. They were later "ordered" to the barracks at the instance of President Eyadema, who refused to support the coup.

A more daring and bloodier attempt followed three months later. This time, soldiers laid siege on the residence of the prime minister from where he was abducted and taken to President Eyadema's palace. Mr. Koffigoh was later released after he agreed to form a national government of unity with the army most of whom are President Eyadema's loyalists. Over 50 people were killed in the violence.

As if this is not enough a threat to the country's democratic process, violent ethnic clashes erupted a fortnight ago. The violence which took place in the town of Sotouboua, 270 kilometres north of Lome began following disagreement between the Kotokoli and Kabye people over land. The Kotokoli reportedly attacked a Kabye tribesman who was farming without the permission of its Kotokoli owner.

The violence later spread to Lome, where reports said a house belonging to a former minister, Zoumara Lantame was ransacked.

A grenade also exploded at the house of a relative of President Eyadema's press attache, Koffi Panou. Although official sources put the dead at 20 and 40 wounded in last week's fracas, independent sources said the figure may be higher. President Eyadema belongs to the northern Kabye tribe which also dominates the army and are very loyal to him.

Already, a constitutional refer-

endum and local elections due to be held on May 31 were postponed indefinitely. The transition government said the action became necessary because of the tension. Foreign minister, Abdul Toure Sheka told reporters in Paris last week that even without violence the election could not hold because both the constitution and the electoral code were not ready.

He said the high council of the republic, the highest decision body appointed at the national conference last year, is still studying the draft constitution and the electoral code, adding that they will be ready in a fortnight. Mr. Sheka said despite the clashes, the electoral process will continue saying that they have made

Ethnic tension has been rising in Togo as it began moves towards multi-party democracy last year. There are also fears of the crisis degenerating into a full scale tribal war that may torpedo the transition to multi party democracy



Eyadema: the hand in many pies

a choice to "establish a democratic state".

Ethnic tension has been rising in Togo as it began moves towards multi-party democracy last year. There are also fears of the crisis degenerating into a full scale tribal war and will torpedo the transition to multi party democracy unless the army remains neutral in the conflict while security of people and property is assured.

By Abu Mommoh
with agency reports

WORLD

Brazil

Battle for the earth

We have no other planet but this, but can the world's leaders agree to save it?

The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), better known as the Earth Summit, formally opened in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil last week. It was the largest and most complex conference ever to be held on earth. A five-week preparatory meeting in New York had produced 24 million pages of documents and UNCED secretary-general Maurice Strong himself described it as a "Herculean task".

reluctantly attending. Four hundred official and unofficial events are lined up in Rio in the two weeks the summit will last including an environmental technology fair and a meeting of city mayors.

The Rio summit is a follow-up to the Stockholm conference on environment held in 1972. In December 1989, the UN general assembly authorised this meeting in order to explore means of saving the planet from a catastrophe.

There is much to talk about at the summit. The central problem confronting ecologists and environmental planners is how to strike a balance between economic development and environmental protection, how to ensure "sustainable development", that is, without destroying the planet.



A rainmaker in Zimbabwe: the price of environmental pollution

Some 160 countries were represented at Rio, more than 100 of them by their leaders, including British prime minister, John Major, German chancellor Helmut Kohl, Japanese Premier, Kiuchi Miyazawa and American president, George Bush who is

Reports prepared by the UN show that 1.2 billion hectares of land, equivalent to the tillable farmland of China and India combined, has been lost to the world since 1972 by the combined processes of overgrazing, deforestation and poor agricultural

practices. The first two occur mainly in Africa and Asia and the third in developed countries. At the same time, 200 million hectares of trees and 500 million tonnes of topsoil were also lost.

Preliminary talks to prepare UNCED's agenda were complicated by a North-South clash. The most contentious issue was Agenda 21, a document outlining a plan of action on global goals, targets and programmes for the rest of this century and the next.

The south argued that developed countries, the north, which has only 25 per cent of the world's population consumes three-quarters of the world's energy, 85 per cent of its wood products and 72 per cent of its steel. The north also generates 80 per cent of all the world's wastes and is therefore primarily responsible for pollution, global warming and climatic change. The north should therefore foot the bill, the south argued.

UNCED planners calculate that the south needs 125 billion US dollars every year to protect the environment. This is twice the 55 billion US dollars it presently receives from the north annually as development assistance. The south owes the north 1,300 billion US dollars as debt and every year, loses 300 billion US dollars to the north by way of debt service and unfair trade.

Leaders of the north refuse to cut their societies' profligate consumption on the grounds that it will cause economic recession. Instead, they want the south to preserve its forests, especially the jungles of the Amazon, Zaire and south east Asia. They also set high environmental standards for third world exports to their countries. The south is not impressed by the northern talk; if China and India were to increase their per capita emission of greenhouse gases to the levels of France, studies show, global emission of these gases will rise by 70 per cent.

Indeed, the south argued that UNCED should discuss poverty as

an integral part of the development question. A 64-page report sent to Rio by the Indian government said the elimination of poverty must be part of an environmental protection strategy. President Fernando Collor de Mello of Brazil agreed; "You can't have an environmentally healthy planet in a world that is socially unjust".

During the preparatory talks in New York, the US said it won't sign the treaty on global warming until the goals and time tables set in it for cutting the emission of greenhouse gases is removed. The treaty called for the attainment of 1990 emission levels in the year 2000 AD, a modest goal, but US objections forced a revision to call for the attainment of "earlier levels" of emission in 2000 AD.

Only two days before the conference opened, President George Bush announced that he won't sign the treaty of bio-diversity, aimed at protecting animal and plant species from extinction, as 100,000 species have become since 1972. To sign the treaty, Bush said, will rob US corporations of "their patents for biotechnological inventions". Gordon Shepard, campaigns and treaties director of the World Wildlife Fund for Nature, said the American action was "an inauspicious start to the summit".

The biggest hurdle to be cleared at Rio concerned who will foot the earth saving bill. Indian minister of environment and forests, Kamal Nath said, "the bottom line is money. If the north does not give funds, the earth summit will die a natural death". It did not appear as if the north will pay. British environment secretary, Michael Howard said it was "unrealistic" to expect the north to foot the 125 billion dollar annual bill in the midst of a recession. In that case, the earth summit, originally expected to be a charter-signing photo opportunity, might well degenerate into a north-south buck-passing.

By Mahmud Jega
with agency reports

Yugoslavia

Ending the bloodshed?

The United Nations took a decisive step and imposed sanctions on Yugoslavia for its role in the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict

The UN Security Council last week ignored the last minute appeal from Belgrade and imposed sanctions against Serbia and Yugoslavia to put a stop to the on going fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The vote in the 15 nation Security Council was 13 in favour and none against, with China and Zimbabwe abstaining. Despite strong ethnic and cultural links with Serbia Russia voted for the resolution.

President George Bush said in a letter to the congress that the "the grave events in Serbia and Montenegro constitute an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy and economy of the United States". Within hours of the approval of the sanctions, President Bush froze Yugoslavia's assets in the United States. The White House said Mr Bush had ordered the treasury department to freeze the assets, totalling 214 million dollars.

The sanctions banned all trade links with Serbia and Montenegro. The embargo includes oil shipments which Belgrade imports from Russia, China, Romania and Iran but exempts medicine and humanitarian food supplies. It also severs all other links with Yugoslavia, freezes its financial assets overseas, calls for a reduction in the size of its diplomatic missions abroad and bars Yugoslav representatives from sports events and cultural exchanges.

Shortly before the Security Council meeting, the Serb-dominated Yugoslav presidency tried to meet with the UN secretary general, Dr Boutros-Ghali to deny responsibility for the fighting and asking for

the vote to be delayed. It proposed convening an international conference between the warring sides and representatives of the United Nations, the European Community and the 52 nation conference on security and co-operation in Europe to resolve the crisis.

The Serbian president, Slobodan Milosevic also wrote to Mr Bush and Russian president, Boris Yeltsin asking them to use their influence to end the conflict. "The first step is to help stop the fighting and get all forces under control", he said in his letters which were released to reporters in Belgrade.

The Serbian leaders however condemned the UN sanctions imposed on the country because of the grave consequences that would face the country's economy. The president said it would be unfair if sanctions would be the price it would pay for its role in the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The foreign economic relations minister, Mr Bozo Jovanoci remarked that sanctions would paralyse the country's economy and also denied that Serbia was the aggressor in the conflict.

The United Nations has since sent the peace keeping force to keep vigil in Bosnia. The peace keeping force was attacked at the country's airport while trying to keep open the airport for humanitarian and food materials to the country's refugees. The attack came in spite of the assurance that they would be given safe passage.

By Abiola Moronfeye
with agency reports



KABIRU YUSUF

tants of the town were Hausa-Fulani. The Katafs are the natives. If the Hausas were the aggressors, then someone has to rewrite the final outcome of that fatal encounter. As the colonel himself admitted; "I do not believe that anyone should be forced to leave any part of the country. So I do not think it is right for anyone to say the Hausas should get out. But when these things happened

survives without the blessing of the emir." Colonel Madaki said the solution is to give "people their independence to manage their affairs, otherwise, Kaduna will continue to be a boiling point".

I agree with Madaki that there is the need to clip the turbans of the northern emirs. Normally their authority should wane with time, but it appears that under this military

Kataf versus emirate system

It is easy to blame Colonel Yohanna Madaki (rtd), if not for the terrible events in Zangon Kataf, Kaduna and Zaria, than for what happened afterwards. He granted many interviews to newspapers and magazines, which went into fine details about what actually happened, complete with behind-the-scene intrigues, background history and offer of solutions. Speaking to *African Concord*, for example, Colonel Madaki claimed that the Cudjoe commission of inquiry on the first Zangon Kataf clashes, was deliberately undermined and another secret body set up, "under a top federal civil servant." He went on: "The secret commission was set up at the instance of the emir. Why didn't he wait for the public commission to submit its report? They want the solution to the problem to be favourable to the emir. Now they instigated the latest riots and killings. The Hausas uprooted the natives yanis and when they protested they were shot at, and this riot broke out again."

This significant version of what happened at Zango was widely reported by other publications. After all are the Hausa-Fulani not the eternal culprits of Nigeria? However even Yohanna Madaki could not ignore the hard truth, that irrespective of who uprooted whose yam tubers, the town of Zango was destroyed and its inhabitants killed or forced to flee. Most of the inhabi-

(i.e when the Kataf set upon the Hausas) Friday to Sunday, government did nothing until Zango was brought down" (by whom?).

Despite his bold effort to excuse the terrible carnage committed at Zango, it makes a lot of sense to listen and understand the deep-seated grudges of people like Yohanna Madaki. When I re-read the interview he gave to *Citizen* on the disturbances, I almost titled this article, "The colonel who was ignored." As he told Mahmud Jega, "as a former colonel, today, I am proud to say you cannot go to Zangon Kataf and ignore me. Okay, I may not be number one, but you count 50, I must be there. You go and count 15 in Zangon Kataf and you don't count General Lekwot—it is a mistake. The solution is, let us start talking to ourselves."

Sure, let's. The main problem, according to Madaki, is the emirate system, specifically the one whose authority emanates from Zaria. "Today in southern Kaduna", he complains, "we have village and district heads who are Christians and natives, but whose behaviours are worse than their masters in Zaria. So there is demand for independence, it is on, but then the emirate continues to entrench its authority using Kaduna State government. Now if our people resist, because emirate rule is the same with Islamic religion, it is termed anti-Islam or anti-Hausa. No government in the north

government in particular, the encroachment of

democratic forces into their domain, achieved during the Second Republic, has been reversed. While some of them are widely respected on their individual merit, the institution is restrictive and retrogressive and open to corruption and other abuses.

In Zaria in particular, the influence of the emir should be limited to his natural domain. It is a sad irony that to liberate themselves from the emirate system, the tribes of southern Zaria are proposing to impose a new chieftain on themselves. But if that is what the "Christians and natives" want, they are welcome to the club.

However, what will the natives do about established Hausa-Fulani communities like Zangon Kataf? Where they are in a majority, these people too have the right to have chiefs of their own. Above all, as Madaki said he accepts they have the right to remain where they have lived and farmed for many centuries. Which means that Zangon Kataf must be rebuilt and its survivors resettled and made to feel secured. The principle that people can live, farm or work in any part of Nigeria must be upheld. Those who thought they can get rid of people of Zangon Kataf by destroying their town must be made to realise their mistake. Otherwise, they or others in similar circumstances, might be tempted to repeat it. The Katafawac can demand for their rights without encroaching into that of others.

PRIVATE EYE

Why? Ojukwu why?

Chief Adisa Akinloye, remember him? Well, for those with selective amnesia, Akinloye was the celebrity chairman of the defunct National Party of Nigeria (NPN) in those good old days. And the days were really good, so good that Akinloye had special designer French wine produced for a chieftaincy ceremony he planned to celebrate. If it smacks of conspicuous consumption then you must be writing history upside down. Akinloye said a few weeks back that he was getting ready to correct history by revealing the names of those who "actually" looted our money pot. He, like a hundred and one other "authors" has realised how lucrative it is to write books, so all the facts will be published in England. Who will blame the chief for wanting his royalties in hard currency after the newly acquired toilet paper value of the Naira?

As we're calmly but curiously waiting for the memoirs that we hope will reveal to us NPN outsiders who

took what, when, where and how, someone here at home is singing a different tune. Here is an unrepentant fugitive volunteering to give Nigerians several million dollars worth of classified information; something the kidnap and subsequent "crating" of Umaru Dikko did not extract. Then suddenly a citizen no less controversial in the person of the *Ikemba of Nnewi*, Chief Emeka Ojukwu begins to campaign for the return of all fugitives. Chief Ojukwu is calling on government "to review the continued exile of people like Umaru Dikko, Adisa Akinloye, Richard Akinjide, because they served Shagari loyally." Perhaps Ikemba should tell us who sent these fugitives into exile in the first place. If they fled the country on their own, by the same vein they have a right to return. Now Ikemba Ojukwu is telling us that "they should in fact be invited to come back home and participate in the building of their country."

The best way any fugitive can participate in "the building of his



country" is to tell us those who stole our money so that we can recover our stolen wealth. Now that SAP has done its worse, that money should help build Nigeria's armour against SAP. By pleading for return of fugitives just when we were about to hit the jackpot with Akinloye's book, the Ikemba has constituted himself into a stumbling block in our effort to conquer SAP. He is also trying to thwart Akinloye's plan to become a millionaire from the royalties of his "bestseller" book if and when it is published. For this reason I say Ikemba please! Please! Shut up!

The tobacco war

We, the members of the National Association of Tobacco Smokers, NATS, are disturbed by the unwarranted harassment of smokers in Nigeria. Since the anti-tobacco lobby gained a foothold where it matters, discriminatory policies have been churned out to curtail our freedom. We are being denied the right to smoke where and when we wish. Above all, lies are being told with statistics to show that people risk their lives by inhaling secondary smoke. If the surgeon general has determined that cigarette smoking is bad for your health he should tell you that it is also an anti-SAP remedy.

Facts and figures	Facts and Tact
<p>Nigerian Tobacco industry has achieved the following in the past 50 years.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Livelihood for 9.6 million Nigerians. • 1.5 million Naira spent yearly on manpower training. • 28,000 tobacco farmers with 280,000 dependants. 	<p>Nigerian Facts and Tact company has collated these in the past 50 years.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Penury for 9 million Nigerians and lung diseases for 8 million Nigerians. • 2.6 million Naira spent on curative medicines for smokers. • 88,000 non-tobacco farmers with one million dependants want incentives to grow other food and cash crops.

In view of the above statistics, we the members of NATS want the government to let the people decide what they want to do with their lungs and their money.

POETS' NEST

Of poverty and riots

If all is far from right, if tempers are high, violence erupts. When hunger takes its toll and the hungry man becomes an angry man, hatred spreads. As soon as hardship becomes endemic and the deprived have no hope of redemption from the clutches of SAP, fuel riots begin. And in the ensuing confusion, looters take cover and raid the affluent to whom their anger is directed. Until poverty is eradicated pent up fury will always find a vent.

Poverty

Poverty has habit of the sun
Too much burns
a little keeps sober
Cognizance and perception
a full belly
Is a fool's belly
a moderate nourishment
keep concrete stature
An arrogant nature
Is an ignorant gesture
A vain proud countenance
Is a broad inconvenience
a humble nature
Is a respected stature.

Kabiru A. Muhammad

The masses plead

We plead with the privileged and elites;
To be merciful, merciful, and merciful;
To help the youths to survive tomorrow — to de-SAP the economy;
And restore our honour and proud life;
So, free us now!

Abubakar A. Ada

Inflation

You need not call my name;
Whenever I am clutching your throat.
For I am in existence,
but always needs SAP to make me known.
You have heard of me from the neigh-

bouring houses;
but here I am right away in your domain.

I am inflation
SAPping, sipping and sucking you to death.

I call them OH, OH, one.
For those that cannot afford a meal twice in a day.

And OH, one, one for the fortunate — that can miss a meal once in a day
I pity you, who cannot afford a meal thrice the whole day.

For that may sink you down;
Sink you down, in swimming for survival.

Blame me not;
But those, that named me SAP,
And brought me up to hunt;
But are unaware of my existence.
I was born and bred to sap;
for SAPping your nutrient is my proposition.

Isah Ibrahim

The brain-child of hate

We thought our civil war was our own way
of cleansing colonial pollution to usher in independence
We thought WAZOBIA was the brain-child of love
But listen, listen!
A religious' slaughter reddens Kano
And Kaduna takes up arms
civil arms against infidels
Darkness falls in Yola
as even children yet unborn
wail from the massacre
of distorted politico-religion
Echoed in Bauchi
and re-echoed in Bulunkutu
Tribal wars spark off in Gombe
And engulf Numan and Wukari
like wild-fire
Now smell the foul part
released at will by hate
Look, look!
Everywhere corpses have become common sight
to wide-eyed children
blinking questions unanswered
Where do we lean

poets'
nest

EDITED BY Bilikisu Yusuf

as green men
armed to the teeth
take sides to slaughter
the unarmed civilians on the enemy side?

Now we know that WAZOBIA
is not the brain-child
of pure hearts blooming
red with love

It is the brain-child
of hearts polluted with clots
hearts permanently seeded
with hate
hearts bleeding raw
with unforgettable pains of love
Emilda T. Nyuidze

The song of the drunkard

In vain I ponder on hidden truths
of a world bereft of love
In vain I try to unravel
the mystery of man's existence
In vain I search for honesty
But I see only a corrupt world
where greed, nepotism
Rule and subdue a fragile nation
In vain my piercing eyes
Dart endlessly from side to side
searching for smiles on faces
But frozen faces and frosty smiles
Boldly confront me
In vain I search for a caring soul
To salvage a lost world,
But then,
Cold, unfeeling eyes rest menacingly
On a poor, beggar peasant
And I wonder why love has grown
so cold.
And why my song fades into nothingness

Ifcanyi Omen

BOOK REVIEW

Plight of Hausa women

Title: *Hausa women in the twentieth century*

Author: Edited by Catherine Coles and Beverly Mack

Publisher: The University of Wisconsin Press, U.S.A. (1991)

Price: Not stated

Pages: 297

Reviewer: Tawey Zakka

It is over 100 years now since Amina, a powerful queen of the ancient Hausa city state of Zaria and "conquering warrior" died. Ever since, the like of her has not emerged any where in Hausa land.

The legend had remained a role model for today's many Hausa women who regrettably may never become like her. According to Beverly Mack, one of the editors of this volume and herself a contributor, such warrior-like roles for women have "decreased considerably with the spread of Islam, and especially after the Fulani jihad and the establishment of the Sokoto caliphate".

The power of muslim Hausa women in the 20th century is one of several themes explored in this book. According to the editors, it aims to, first, break the silence on 'women's issues', and more importantly, re-define the framework for explaining the place of women in Hausa society.

The book is structured in a way that makes reading quite easy. A lengthy introduction (29 pages) written by the editors is followed with 14 chapters, almost evenly divided into four parts of four to five chapters each. There are altogether 14 contributors or "panelists", only three of them Nigerian women with Hausa backgrounds.

The rest are non-Nigerian, almost all of them American. Not much is said of their backgrounds but the publishers would want the reader to trust the non-Hausa contributors simply because "all of (them) have

done field research in Hausa land". Mr. Neil Skinner, who wrote the book's forward, probably appreciated this suspicion of the "outsider", when he cautioned that the foreign scholar must be "more than scrupulous in how she interprets data, and wherever possible to quote informant's own words".

The book explores the participation of Hausa women in four areas: Islam (religion), power (politics), the economy and feminine gender in ritual, the arts and news media. Under Islam the contributors look at two central issues: wife seclusion and divorce. They argue that wife seclusion has no justification in Islam, saying that it is more a way of expressing husbands' prestige than a religious injunction.

In any case, they conclude that muslim Hausa women, in the matters of seclusion and divorce, "selectively apply Hausa and local norms as opposed to those proposed by Islam, when it is advantageous for them to do so". Balarabe B.M. Sule from Kano and Priscilla E. Sturatt, discussing Islamic leadership positions for women in contemporary Kano society, argue that it is possible for women to take active part in public affairs, for which they can find justification in Islam.

Hajija Bilkiu Yusuf, editor of *Citizen*, one of the three Nigerian women contributors believes subjugation of women has "no justification in Islam". It is the "evil working of men", exploiting customs and distorting Islamic principles to favour themselves.

Herself an indigene of Sokoto, Hajija Bilkiu believes that access to both western and Islamic education would enable Hausa-Fulani become "active leaders". She says that "in a society where men distort Islamic injunctions to suit themselves, the acquisition of Islamic knowledge apart from being necessary for the

perfection of one's faith, becomes indispensable for articulating one's claims and demands..."

She traces the history of Nigerian women's efforts to "liberate" themselves from man's tyranny, a history which also reveals a considerable conflict of interest, as the one between the National Council of Women Societies NCWS (1958) and the Federation of Muslim Women's Associations in Nigeria, FOMWAN (1985). According to her, FOMWAN was formed to provide muslim women with a representative view at state and national levels, a view which she believes, the non-religious women groups had been unable to articulate.

According to Hajija Bilkiu, NCWS and FOMWAN parted ways over a seemingly innocent proposal for alimonies for divorced wives. On further examination, she says, the proposal by NCWS showed "a disregard for the multiplicity of cultures that exist in Nigeria" — What FOMWAN considered "faulty generalisations that have a direct bearing on muslim women..."

Ayesha M. Imam, a Kano indigene and sociology teacher at Ahmadu Bello University (ABU), Zaria, the other Nigerian woman panelist, analyses news media treatment of "women and women's issues". She says that her "study" of three Hausa programmes of the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) station in Kaduna "over a period of seven weeks from January 19 to March 9, 1985" showed that the media reflect the ideology of the dominant class. Therefore, she concludes that since Hausa society is "male-dominated", the news media reflect exactly dominant ideology in both ownership pattern and content.

The tone of the various writers may be too serious as to cast a gloom over the future. But after reading the whole book, one cannot fail to be infected by the optimism of the women. The future is bright if only women will "seize the day".

SPORTS

Udemezue passes on

After a tremendous contribution to the nation both as an outstanding player and a successful coach, Christopher Udemezue dies at the age of 55

Death, humanity's most abhorred enemy, has a way of giving a false sense of security while sneaking for a fatal blow.

Former junior national team coach, Christopher Udemezue lost his agonising battle with death on Sunday May 31 at Ahmadu Bello University Teaching Hospital, ABUTH Kaduna at the age of 55 years. But the irony of his tragic death was that it happened when most people who were familiar with the accomplished footballer and seasoned coach, thought that the most feared of all human tragedies had let him be!

Late Udemezue who until his death was an assistant chief football coach with the National Sports Commission (NSC) zone six, Kaduna, had fought a debilitating battle with a mysterious illness for almost two years. He was first put under intensive medical care in August last year at Nursing Home Hospital, Kaduna on the order of former Kaduna State military governor, Colonel (now Brigadier) Tanko Ayuba. That happened after his repeated pleas to then Federal Ministry of Youth and Sports, to be given adequate medical treatment went unheeded.

The former Flying Eagles coach who hailed from Nnewi in Anambra State was given intensive treatment and discharged a hail and healthy man from the Nursing Home, Kaduna. Late Udemezue himself told *Citizen* in his Ahmadu Bello stadium office that he felt completely cured of his illness and could now return to his coaching job. Congratulatory messages poured in from friends and well-wishers from different parts of the



Late Udemezue: sad end

country and the coach and his family felt that the threat of premature death had gone for good. Alas! death was merely playing one of its age long pranks. Udemezue's illness suddenly relapsed and efforts by ABUTH medical personnel to keep death at bay proved abortive.

Mr. Christopher Udemezue's sparkling records of achievements both as player and a first class indigenous coach speak for themselves. Late Udemezue began his football career in Jos, in 1958 where he played for Plateau team Eleven. From 1958 to 1967, he played for many clubs in the northern parts of the country and in Lagos. His prodigious football skills took him to the national team, the red Devils (now Green Eagles) between 1958 and 1966.

After a worthy contribution to Nigeria as one of the best players of his playing days, Udemezue chan-

nelled his football talent into full-time coaching. Like his playing days, late Udemezue began his coaching career at club level. His skills at transforming dying clubs to instant success brought him to the national limelight in 1983. It was the year he

took Defence Industries Corporation (DIC) Bees (later Ranchers Bees) of Kaduna, a club that was virtually unknown beyond the borders of Kaduna before then, to the final of the nation's most cherished football honour: the challenge cup. Coach Ude-

mezue stunned the nation when his club played highly rated Rangers International of Enugu to a standstill. Luck rooted for the Enugu based club when they eventually defeated DIC Bees through penalty-shootout.

Bigger challenges, this time at the national level, were put on Udemezue's shoulder. He was saddled with the tough and unenviable task of grooming the country's youth team, the Flying Eagles. He proved himself a competent and serious minded coach when he took Nigerian U-20 team to win the continental Tesema cup for the first time in 1983 and when it secured a ticket to represent Africa in the Junior World cup the same year in Mexico. The late coach, a stickler for discipline among players, guided the junior team to an impressive outing in Mexico. Nigeria won instant recognition as a burgeoning football power when the flying Eagles

shocked the then USSR 1-0, lost 0-3 to Brazil and drew goalless with Holland. The coach who had attended series of coaching courses in Nigeria, Germany and Yugoslavia, also handled the national senior team, the Green Eagles in 1985.

A shattering blow that seemed to have haunted the amiable and hard-working coach till his death came in 1987. Udemezie took over the Flying Eagles' training in 1986 and successfully secured a ticket to the world youth championships in Chile in 1987. The Flying Eagles' team to Chile was composed of youth players regarded as among the best not only in Africa but the world over as at that time. Having won the

maiden edition of FIFA Kodak world youth tournament in 1985, the world was expecting Nigeria under 20 team to be the team to beat in Chile but Udemezie suffered his worst career set back when the Flying Eagles lost 0-4 to Brazil, 0-3 to Italy and drew 2-2 with Australia. The ensuing controversy over what the press dubbed "Chile disaster" led to Udemezie's exit from the national team. He was still struggling to convince his critics that what happened in Chile had more to do with the intractable problem of the nation's sports administration than coaching, when the illness that eventually took his life struck.

Meanwhile, an elaborate plan is

in the making to give late Udemezie, who is survived by a wife and four children a befitting burial. A proposal for the burial arrangements put together by zone six co-ordinator, Alhaji Abba Yola and sent to executive chairman, National Sports Commission Chief Alex Akinyele for ratification, states that the body will leave Kaduna for Lagos on Wednesday June 17, where it will lie in state at the National Stadium. The body will be moved to his home town Nnewi the following day where it will lie in state before it is finally committed to earth on Friday June 19.

Boxing

Funds kill the shine

Inadequate fund and unredeemed promises rob the first Bakin Zuwo memorial boxing tournament of expected glamour

The organisers of the first Sabo Bakin Zuwo memorial boxing tournament which was concluded at Kano indoor sports hall last Saturday, were not thinking of merely honouring the late Kano state governor. The memorial boxing tournament was packaged to be one of the most glamorous and best organised boxing events in the country. It was also to serve as a breeding ground for boxers of talents for Kano State in particular and the country in general. Elaborate and extensive arrangements were put together by its sponsor, New World Communications Ltd and other organising committees to make a huge success of it.

By Sunday, May 31, when the event was to take off, the organisers realised too late that they have committed some grievous mistakes and took many things for granted. The major sources that the main organising committee was hoping to generate money to fund the highly publicised sporting event were not

forthcoming. By Sunday morning the financial problem haunting the tournament was so acute that even some of the organisers mooted the idea of calling it off. But it was realised that calling it off would have scandalous consequences for those who packaged the event since it has attracted a national interest and 17 states and Abuja were already in Kano at the time in response to the organisers' invitations.

Investigations by *Citizen* in Kano revealed that the organising committee which was chaired by Mr. Alfa Ikpeama, chairman of Kano State Amateur Boxing Association and owners of the sponsoring company, based their plans for the boxing tournament on assumption that generous donations would come from both state governments and wealthy individuals. To this end, the organisers wrote to all the states sports councils to send teams to the boxing events, promising that they would take care of feeding, transport and accommodation of all par-



Bakin Zuwo: a deservice

ticipants. The organisers, according to the chairman of the fund raising sub-committee, Alhaji Garba Abdullahi, sent letters to all the states of the federation, corporate organisations and individuals soliciting for fund to enable them successfully stage the tournament. By the time the organisers did all the running around and repeated follow up soliciting for fund, about 80 thousand Naira was said to have been spent but virtually nothing came in return.

Alhaji Abdullahi, the fund raising sub-committee chairman attributed the financial problem of the tournament to "sabotage by some people who made promise they could not fulfil". He explained that the organisers made promises of free feeding, transportation, and accommoda-

tions to participants, hoping that their state governments would chip in some money to assist them. Alhaji Abdullahi was further piqued by the fact that the Kano State government which made a promise of 50 thousand Naira and Jigawa State government which also promised to assist the organisers with undisclosed sum of money had not redeemed their promises as at the time the event took off on Sunday.

Owing to the shortage of fund, the

proposed one million Naira billed for staging the competition had been trimmed down to 500,000 Naira, and even that amount was still far from being realised when the tournament took off. Part of the initial one million Naira projection was to be used to purchase boxing facilities for the state. But with the turn of event, that will have to wait till another time.

The first Sabo Bakin Zuwo memorial boxing tournament was put together to immortalise the name of

the former governor of the state who died last year, for his immense contribution to boxing in the state. According to Governor Kabiru Gaya of Kano State in his address at the opening ceremony of boxing tournament, late Alhaji Sabo Bakin Zuwo, first chairman and later patron of Kano State Boxing Association "helped to develop boxing in the state to the extent that Kano State is now rated among the best three boxing states in the federation".

Zone six clinic in place of bar

Last Tuesday June 2, the zone six of the National Sports Commission (NSC) commissioned a spacious and well equipped medical centre at its headquarters in Ahmadu Bello Stadium, Kaduna to cater for the medical needs of its 150 staff and their families and other states and national athletes who from time to time may use the place as training camp.

There is however an air of sig-

nificance about the relocation of the medical centre from a tiny one room apartment it had been confined to for so many years, and its present spacious place on the ground floor of Ahmadu Bello Stadium. Its new location had served as a bar for over 25 years. The zonal coordinator, Alhaji Abba Yola, who assumed duty in the zone a couple of months ago promptly sent the bar operators parking and converted the place to a medical centre.

Alhaji Abba Yola said at the commissioning ceremony that he had no apology to offer for sending the bar operators packing because his sole concern was the security of life and property at the stadium and the welfare of the staff working there.

The zonal coordinator said that he closed down the bar and converted it to a medical centre that could benefit all the staff to save the multi-million Naira worth of property in the stadium from

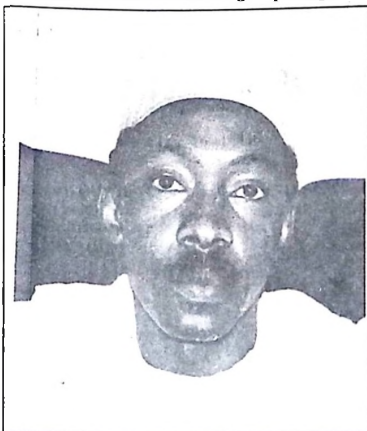
being damaged or stolen by people of questionable character. The operation of the bar, he observed, had led to a very lax security system that allowed people of dubious character to go in and come out of the stadium unchallenged even in the late hours of the night.

Alhaji Abba Yola disclosed that the well-equipped medical centre was put in place through the internally generated revenue of the zone. The medical centre was declared opened by the chairman of ABC

The zonal coordinator said that he closed down the bar and converted it to a medical centre that could benefit all the staff to save the multi-million Naira worth of property in the stadium from being damaged or stolen by people of questionable character.

group of companies, Alhaji Bawa Garba who was represented by his personnel manager, Malam Ibrahim Chibado. Malam Chibado commended zone six for initiating such a laudable scheme to cater for the welfare of its staff. He also urged all the staff to emulate the attitude of the zonal coordinator by giving their best to the zone.

By Joe Olajuwon



Yola: for the sake of people's welfare

ADAMU ADAMU S

DEFINITIONS
IN HUMOUR

Bankers

What is the difference between a bunkerer and a banker?

None — they all bunker; one with oil, the other with other people's money. And they both work in places full of contradictions and ironies. The bank, for instance. When you are looking for a loan, you are always left alone. What more can one ask for?

And when it finally pleases their majesties to approve the loan for you, you must have demonstrated that you didn't need it. Their whole system depends on interest and credit, both of which remain a burden on the people — to idle capital, accrues active profit. There's no end to it until perhaps we revert to the gold standard, by which time all the gold is where the standard isn't.

The origins of banking can hardly be separated from its other lesser known antecedent — spiritual Zionism. The goldsmiths and their famous insistence on their pound of flesh, after cornering all the gold and insisting on usury, just made another kill. It is therefore not surprising that those who see banking as nothing more than taking a personal loan and paying interest on it oppose it vehemently. Those who understand its financial intermediary role take it more charitably — and treat it as a necessary, currently indispensable helpful *haram* that it is.

It is all too easy to be infected by bankers. Sometimes all it requires is

to be in the bank. Just see how otherwise honest individuals change in a jiffy:

"Did anybody drop a roll of bills with a rubber band around them?"

"Yes, I did," said several voices in the bank lobby. "Well, I just picked up the

rubber band," said the old gentleman calmly.

Here is a graphic account of how the bank itself affects employees:

June 1 — WANTED — Cashier, Third Bank of Nigeria.

June 5 — Adamu Maikudi appointed Cashier at Third Bank of Nigeria.

June 8 — WANTED — Adamu Maikudi.

All these of course may be the result of picking from association — much like magnetism by induction. The banker distrusts everyone: his depositors, his employees, his colleagues — everyone. Look at the result:

"I used to know Mr. Smithers, who was with your firm. I understand he is a tried and a trusted employee —" The senior banker looked at his questioner coldly.

"He was trusted, yes; and he will be tried, if we're fortunate enough to catch him."

The Banks

CBN — Captive Bank of Nigeria.

BON — Bank of the Knot, tied tightly by the Northern Knot.

AFRIBANK — A free bank, free to do as it pleases with your funds.

TBN — Tread Bank of Nigeria; it does tread on all toes.

ABC — A Bank still trying to learn the alphabets of finance.

ACB — African Constipated Bank — financial pile is a terrible and incurable ailment.

MEB — Meridian Equity Bank — when equity and earnings are past meridian.

BBN — Bread Bank of Nigeria — that's what they bake in the strong room.

CBA — Crystal Ball of Nigeria — your earnings depend on astrological signs.

MIDAS — Midas Merchant Bank — the right place to put your money if you believe in fairy tales and ass's ears.

GATEWAY — Get-away Bank — with your deposits.

CITIZENS — Citizens International Bank — international Peoples Bank.

NIDB — Nigerian Individuals Development Bank.

UBN — Usury Bank of Nigeria, and so what is new?

UBA — Unsatisfied Bank of Nigeria.

FBN — Fuss Bank of Nigeria.

NBN — "What is a debtor, pa?"
"A man who owes money."
"And what is a creditor?"
"The man who thinks he's going to get it".

Transition — The government announces a contest for the best essay on "What is Wrong with Our Government?" The first prize is 20 years.

Open Ballot — We shall now hold a democratic vote. All opposed will signify by raising their hands and saying, "I resign."

— Levenson.

and you thought
ASWANI
meant clothing?

you're correct, but just.



and the rest?
QUALITY

ASWANI TEXTILES - *a household name.*



Aswani Textile Industries Limited

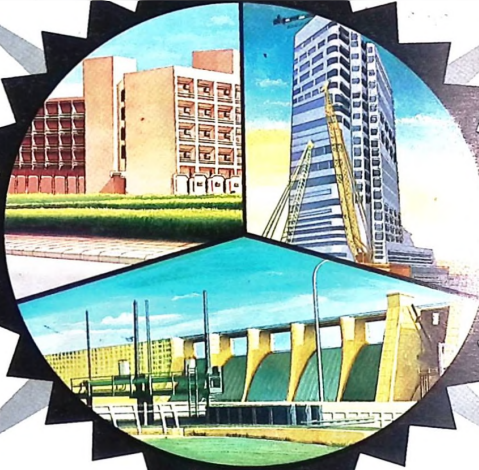
P. O. Box 93 Oshodi (Lagos Nigeria).

Factory: Plot 2D, Block A, Oshodi Scheme, Ilupeju Tel: 520560, 520569, 522818

Cable: ASWANITEX Lagos. Telex: 21494 ASWANI NG

SOKOTO CEMENT

..a commitment
to progress



The development of SOKOTO CEMENT from raw materials to finish product is symmetrically ensured to give you topmost quality cement/performance.

Some qualities of SOKOTO CEMENT that attest to this age-long commitment:

- Low heat of hydration - which makes it suitable for massive construction jobs i.e. Bridges, Dams, heavy structural supports etc.
- Medium setting time - allows transportation of mixed concrete to sites.

- Low alkali content - makes it resistant to chemical and corrosive attacks. Best for heavy and marine construction.
- Highest strength achievable in concrete structure by any Portland Cement.
- Dark grey finish texture bestow an appealing lustre.
- Most competitive market price per 50kg bag.
- Availability nation-wide.

The high quality of SOKOTO CEMENT has been affirmed through its numerous applications from the commonest blocks to residential buildings, dams, bridges, sky-scrapers, etc.

*Whenever the job requires real cement,
make sure it's SOKOTO CEMENT*



Winner of the seal of NIS quality (NIS No. 11) 1982-1988 and 1989 Silver Award from the Standard Organisation of Nigeria.



.. the shining star of quality



**CEMENT COMPANY OF
NORTHERN NIGERIA PLC.**

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LAGOS LARSON OFFICE: 1, PARK LANE, APAPA LAGOS, TEL: (81)