BIBLIO
5
1
2
25/86
86-1256

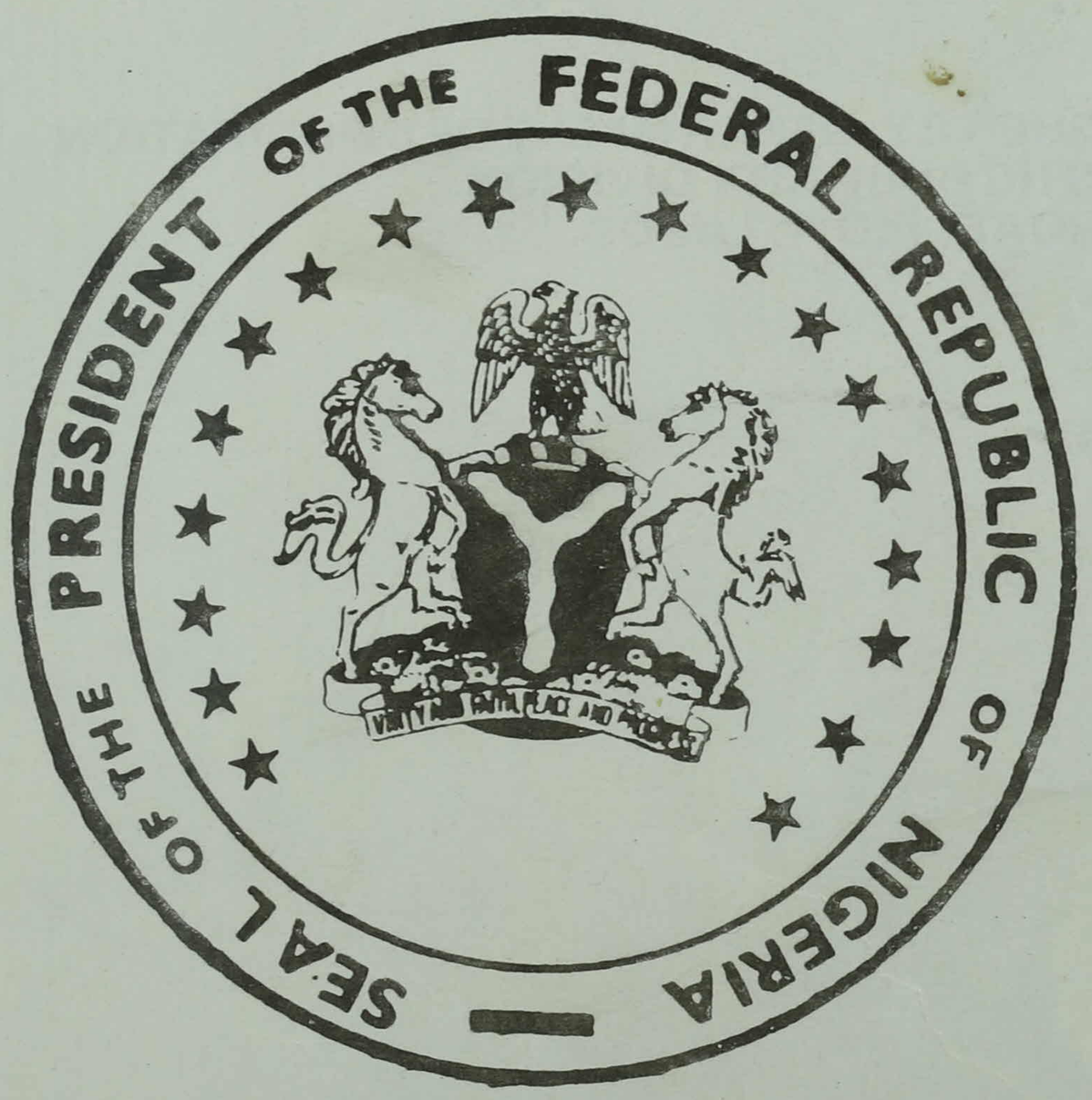
COLLECTED SPEECHES OF THE PRESIDENT

Major General IBRAHIM B. BABANGIDA

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF N
CERTIFIED TRUE COPY
24 NOV 1986
LEGAL DEPOSIT
LEGAL DEPOSIT NUMBER 86-1256

COLLECTED SPEECHES

Collected Speeches of the President



MAJOR- GENERAL IBRAHIM BABANGIDA CFR, fss, mni

FEDERAL MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND CULTURE

OD
DT
575
AZ.1
.O3B112
1985/86

Edited by: BASSEY ITA

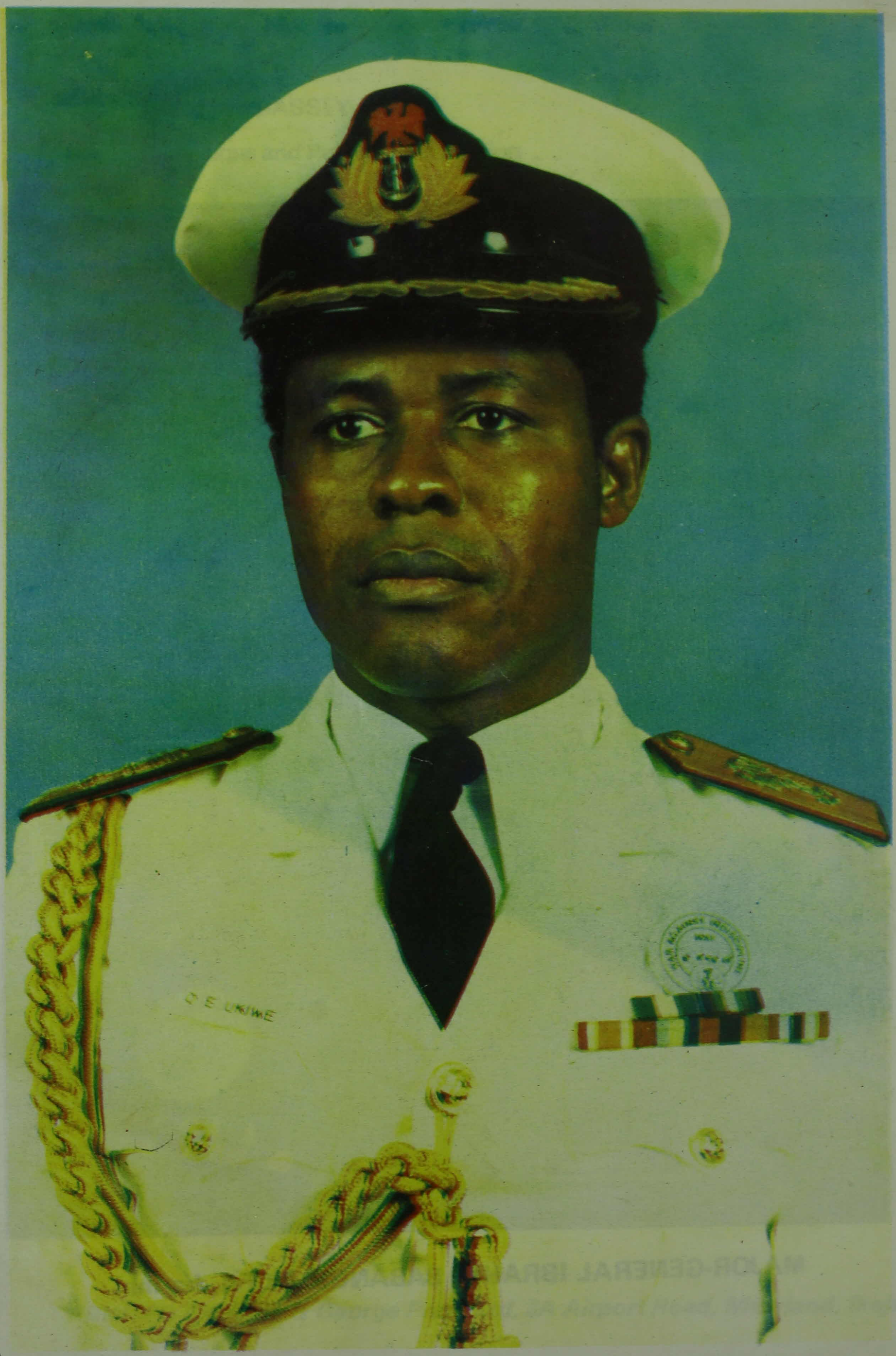
Campaigns and Publications Section

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF NIGERIA
Branch H2
Call No. ODT575AZ1.031
Date Received

**PUBLISHED BY: DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION
DOMESTIC PUBLICITY DIVISION,
IKOYI ROAD, IKOYI, LAGOS.**

PRINTED BY: King & George Press Ltd, 3A Airport Road, Maryland, Ikeja.

MAJOR-GENERAL IBRAHIM BABANGIDA CFA, fss, mni



COMMODORE EBITU UKIWE, CHIEF OF GENERAL STAFF

FOREWARD

This is the second volume of the collected speeches of the President Major-General Ibrahim Babangida since he assumed office on August 27, 1985. The first titled TOWARDS NEW GOALS AND A NEW DIRECTION was published towards the end of 1985. It contains the President's first nine speeches starting with his Maiden address to the nation on August 27, 1985.

This second volume, the Collected Speeches covers all subsequent speeches made by the President on various occasions and on great moments of importance to the nation. Collected Speeches is divided into subjects, each related group of speeches which the President has made building up a distinct part of the book. In this way there are twelve areas covered, marked as parts i to xii.

Part one carries the five most important speeches of the President in his first twelve months in office. These are his Maiden Address of August 27, 1985 and his Silver Jubilee broadcast of October, 1, 1985 re-used from the first book by virtue of their importance to the nation and to his Administration, being indicators of the character of the government and the new direction the 8th Administration is asking the good people of this country to pursue. Then follow the Budget speech of December 31, 1985, the June 26th Broadcast of this year and the ultimate speech on the IMF loan.

Other sections are on food and environment, religion, commerce and industry, political issues, addresses to universities and other higher institutions and professional bodies, international relations and the liberation struggle in Southern Africa.

Ikoyi, Lagos, 1986

Department of Information,
Domestic Publicity Division.

C O N T E N T S

		PAGE
FOREWARD		
Part I.	MAJOR NATIONAL BROADCASTS	
1.	Maiden Address	11
2.	Silver Jubilee Address	15
3.	Budget Speech	21
4.	June 26th Address	45
5.	The IMF Loan	57
Part II.	POLITICAL ISSUES	
6.	Inauguration of Political Bureau	61
7.	Receipt of Report of Enquiry on Persons convicted	61
8.	On conditional Release of Persons convicted in 1984	69
Part III.	NEW DIRECTION OF GOVERNMENT	
9.	Permanent Secretaries as Accounting Officer	73
10.	Correct image for the Government Service	77
11.	Challenge of Policy Implementation	81
12.	New Direction of Government	85
13.	Need for co-operation in Nation Building	87
14.	Re-dedicate efforts for National Survival	89
15.	Soldiers as Representatives of Government	91
16.	Honour to Fallen Heroes	93
Part IV.	COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY	
17.	Strategy for Import Substitution	99
18.	Commissioning of Akure Airport	103
19.	Commissioning of Niger Dry Dock Limited	105
20.	Opening of 5th Lagos International Trade Fair	109
21.	Iron & Steel Industry – Wheel of Progress	113
Part V.	FOOD AND ENVIRONMENT	
22.	School-to-Land Harvest Celebration	117
23.	National Tree-Planting Campaign	121
24.	National Resources Conservation Campaign	125
Part IV.	UNIVERSITIES AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS	
25.	University Community and the Nation	131
26.	Goodwill to Unife	135
27.	African Education and Identity	139
28.	Easy Communication for the People	143
29.	Path to Economic Recovery	147
30.	Accountants in Nation Building	151
31.	Management Training for Nigerians	153

32. The Bar as Beacon of Light 155
33. 100 Years of Legal Profession 157
34. Private Sector and Government 159
35. Commitment to Technological Advancement 163
36. Charge to the Judiciary 165
37. Public Relations and National Goals 167
38. Towards a Better Society 169
39. Human Rights and the Rural Environment 179

Part VII. FOREIGN RELATIONS
40. Dynamism in Foreign Policy 185
41. Let's Rise to the challenges in Africa 195
42. Need for close Affinity 207
43. Strengthening Bilateral Relations Nigeria/ Hungary 211
44. Broadening Existing Cordial Economic Relations 215
45. Foreign Policy Options up to year 2000 217
46. O.A.U Liberation Committee-Vehicle of Freedom 223
47. ECOWAS Rebirth to Foster Regional Integration 227
48. Sir. Dauda Jawara – Visit to Nigeria 229
49. Nigeria Attaches Importance to Bilateral Relations 233

Part VIII. LABOUR
50. Calling on workers 237
51. Labour as Partners in Progress 247

Part IX. RELIGION
52. 1985 Christmas Message 247
53. Response Report of Committee on OIC 249
54. Positive Encouragement to every Religion 251
55. Goodwill Message to Muslims 253

Part X. THE MEDIA
MEDIA IN NIGERIA
56. Address to Member of NUJ 257

Part XI. YOUTHS AND SPORTS
57. Identify your Performance and Disposition 263
58. NYSC and National Integration 265
59. Students must shun violence 269
60. Youth – the bedrock of National Building 271
61. Training for Greater Heights 273

Part XII. PERSONALITY
62. Recognition to Services 279

NEW GOALS, NEW DIRECTION

PART I

MAJOR NATIONAL BROADCASTS

PART I

NEW GOALS, NEW DIRECTION

Maiden Address, August 27, 1985

When the former military leadership headed by Major-General Muhammadu Buhari assumed the reins of government, its ascension was heralded with the most popular enthusiasm accorded any new government in the history of this country. With the nation then at the mercy of political misdirection and on the brink of economic collapse, a new sense of hope was created in the minds of every Nigerian.

Since January 1984 however, we have witnessed a systematic denigration of that hope. — It was stated then that the mismanagement of the economy, lack of public accountability, insensitivity to the political leadership and a general deterioration in the standard of living which had subjected the common man to intolerable suffering were the reasons for intervention.

Nigerians have since then been under a regime that continued with the trends. Events of today indicated that most of the reasons to justify the military take over of government from civilians still persist. The initial objectives were betrayed and fundamental changes would not appear on the horizon.

Because the present *state of uncertainty*, suppression and stagnation resulted from the perpetration of a small group, the Nigerian Armed Forces could not as part of this government be unfairly committed to take responsibility for failure. *Our dedication to ensuring that our nation remains a united entity, worthy of* respect and capable of functioning as a credible and viable part of the international community, dictated the need to arrest the situation.

Let met at this point attempt to make you understand the premise upon which it became necessary to change the leadership.

The principles of discussion, consultation and co-operation which should have guided the decision-making process of the Supreme Military Council and the Federal Executive Council were disregarded soon after the government settled down in 1984.

While some of us thought it appropriate to give a little more time anticipating conducive atmosphere will develop in which affairs of state could be attended to with a greater sense of responsibility, it became increasingly clear that such expectations could not be fulfilled.

Regrettably it turned out that Major-General Buhari was too rigid and uncompromising in his attitude to issues of national significance. Efforts to make him understand that a diverse polity like Nigeria requires recognition and appreciations of difference in both cultural and individual perceptions only serve to aggravate his attitude.

Major-General Tunde Idiagbon was similarly inclined in that respect. As the Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters, he failed to exhibit the appropriate disposition demanded by his position. He arrogated to himself absolute knowledge of problem and solutions and acted in accordance with what was convenient to him, using the machinery of government as his tool.

A combination of these characteristics in the two most important persons holding the nation's vital offices became impossible to contend with. The situation was made worse by a number of other government functionaries and organisations, chief among them was the Nigerian Security Organisation. In fact this body will be overhauled and re-organised.

And so it came to be that the same government which received a tumultous welcome now became alienated from the people. To prevent a complete erosion of our given mandate therefore, we had to act so that hope may be renewed.

Let me now address your attention to the major issues that confront us, that we may as one people chart a future direction for our dear country.

We do not claim to have all the answers to all the questions which our present problems have put before us as a nation. We have come with a stronger determination to create an atmosphere in which positive effort will be given the necessary support for lasting solutions.

For matters of the moment which require immediate resolution, we intend to pursue a determined programme of action. Major issues falling into this category have been identified and decision taken on what should be done. Firstly, the issue of political detainees. The history of our nation has never recorded the degree of indiscipline and corruption as in the period between October 1979 and December 1983. While this government recognises the bitterness created by the irresponsible excesses of the politicians, we consider it unfortunate the methods of such a nature as to cause more bitterness were applied to deal with past misdeeds.

We must never allow ourselves to lose a sense of natural justice. The innocent cannot suffer the crimes of the guilty. The guilty should be punished, only as a lesson for the future. In line with this government's intention to uphold fundamental human rights, the issue of detainees will be looked into with despatch.

As we do not intend to lead a country where individuals are under the fear of expressing themselves, the public officers protection Against False Accusation Decree Number Four of 1984 is hereby repealed with immediate effect.

All journalists who have been in detention under this decree are hereby unconditionally released. The responsibility of the media to diseminate information shall be exercised without undue hinderance. In that process, those responsible are expected to be forthright and to have the nation's interest as primary consideration.

The issue of decrees has generated a lot of controversy. It is the intention of this government to review all decrees.

The last 20 months have not witnessed any significant changes in the national economy. Contrary to expectations we have so far been subjected to a steady deterioration in the general conditions of living and intolerable suffering by the ordinary Nigerians has reached unprecedented heights. Prices of goods and equipment have risen higher, scarcity of commodities has increased, hospitals still remain mere consulting clinics, while educational institutions are on the brink of total decay. Unemployment has stretched to

critical dimensions.

Due to the stalemate which arose in negotiations with the International Monetary Fund, the former government embarked on a series of counter-trade agreements. Under the counter-trade agreements, Nigerians were forced to buy goods and commodities at higher prices than obtained in the international market. The government intends to review the whole issue of counter-trade.

A lot has been said and heard about our position with the International Monetary Fund. Although we formally applied to the fund in April 1983, no progress has yet been made in the negotiations as a stalemate has existed for the last two years. We shall break the deadlock that frustrated the negotiations with a view to evaluate more objectively both the negative and the positive implications of reaching a mutual agreement with the fund. At all times in the course of discussions, representatives will be guided by the feeling and aspirations of the Nigerian people.

It is the view of this government that austerity without structural adjustment is not the solution to our economic predicament. The present situation whereby 44 per cent of our revenue earnings is utilised to service debts is not realistic.

To protect the danger this poses to the poor and needy in our society, steps will be taken to ensure a comprehensive strategy of economic reforms. The cause of our economic problems have been identified to centre around four fundamental issues:

1. A decrease of our domestic production while our population continues to increase;
2 Dependence on imports for both consumer goods and raw materials for our industries;
3 A grossly unequal gap between the rich and the poor;
4 The large role played by the public sector in economic activities with hardly any concrete result to justify such a role. These are the problems we must confront.

Our foreign policies in the last 20 months have been characterised by inconsistencies and incoherence. It has lacked the clearity to make us know where we stood on matters of international concern to enable other countries relate to us with seriousness. Our role as Africa's spokesman has been diminished because we have been unable to maintain the respect African countries had for Nigeria.

The ousted military government conducted our external relations by a policy of retaliatory reactions. Nigeria became a country that reacted to given situations. Rather than taking the initiative as it should and had always been done, moreso, vengeful considerations must not become the bases of our diplomacy. Africa's problems and their solutions shall constitute the premise of our foreign policy. The realisation of the Organisation of African Unity's Lagos Plan of Action for self-sufficiency and constructive co-operation in Africa shall be our primary pursuit.

The Economic Community of West African States must be reborn with a

view to achieving the objective of regional integration. The problems of the drought-stricken areas of Africa will be given more attention and sympathy and our best efforts will be made to assist in the rehabilitation within the limits of our resources. Our membership in the United Nations Organisation will be made more practical and meaningful. The call for a new international economic order which lost its momentum in the face of debt crisis will be made once again.

Nigeria hereby makes a renewed request to the Non-Aligned Movement to re-group and re-invigorate its determination to restructure the global economic system. While we propose to the industrialised nations to positively consider the dire plight of developing countries and assist responsively to the dangers that face us, we shall remain members of the various multilateral institutions and inter-governmental organisations we belong to and do what must be done to enhance our membership and participation with them.

Fellow Nigerians, this country has had since independence a history mixed with turbulence and fortune. We have witnessed our rise to greatness followed with a decline to the status of be-wildered nation. Our human potential has been neglected our human resources put to waste. A phenomenon of constant insecurity and overbearing uncertainty has become the characteristic of our national existence. My colleagues and I are determined to change this course of history. This government is determined to unite this country. We shall not allow anything to obstruct us.

We recognise that a government be it civilian or military needs the consent of the people to govern if it is to meet its objectives. We do not intend to rule by force. At the same time we should not be expected to submit to unreasonable demands. Fundamental rights and civil liberties will be respected but their exercise must not degenerate into irrational expression or border on subversion. The War Against *Indiscipline shall continue but this time in the minds and conduct of Nigerians, and not by way of symbolism or money consuming campaigns.* This government on its part will ensure that the leadership exhibits proper example.

Criticisms of actions and decisions taken by us will be given necessary attention, and where necessary, changes made in accordance to what is expected of us. Let me reiterate what was said in 1984 . . . and I quote: "This generation of Nigerians and indeed future generations have no other country but Nigeria. We must all stay and salvage it together". This time it shall be pursued with deeper commitment and genuine sincerity.

There is a lot of work to be done, by every single Nigerian. Let us all dedicate ourselves to the cause of building a strong, united and virile nation for the sake of our own lives and the benefit of posterity.

Finally, I wish to commend the members of the Armed Forces and the Nigerian Police for their mature conduct during the change. I thank you all for your co-operation and understanding.

God bless Nigeria.

LET US WORK FOR A BRIGHTER FUTURE

Silver Jubilee Annivesary Broadcast
October 1, 1985

Fellow Nigerians,

I salute you on this momentous occasion of our 25th Independence Anniversary. We are indeed grateful to Almighty God for making it possible for us to rejoice and celebrate this great day. I extend greetings and good wishes to you and to all our compatriots throughout the world who are not able to join us in our celebrations at home.

Like all other Silver Jubilees, this is a watershed anniversary in the life of our nation. It is appropriate that after offering our thanks to the Almighty God for His merciful deliverance from the yoke of colonialism, we remember with pride and gratitude our heroic nationalists who successfully struggled for our national independence. As we celebrate 25 years of the fruits of this endeavour, we acknowledge and salute the courage, foresight, heroism and sacrifices of our nationalist leaders. Those of them that are happily still alive and who continue to make valued contributions to the further consolidation of our national gains can today justly be proud of their achievement.

I hardly need say that the history of our nation in its independent existence has been a checquered one. We have had our share of social upheavals, political instability, religious intolerance and economic hardship. During these years, we have also undergone the most painful national trauma of an invidious Civil War whose emotional scars will continue to haunt us for years to come. I believe that while we must never forget the lessons of the sad chapters of our history, we should not allow ourselves to be discouraged or overwhelmed by these unfortunate experiences, Rather, we should draw inspiration from the brighter chapters of our history and, in a determined spirit, enlarge the reservoir of our resourcefulness, creativity, sense of sacrifice and national commitment which we as a people have accumulated over this eventful period.

It should now be abundantly clear to all that this administration, while being mindful of the lessons of our history, is determined to look forward to the future unencumbered by the burdens of the past. It is our determination that we break the vicious cycle of hope and despair faith and doubt, affluence and poverty, stability and chaos which had characterised the past quarter century of our national life.

What really lies at the bottom of our past dilemma is the absence of a viable political arrangement. The political history of this nation is partly one of disillusionment with politics and with politicians. Intermittent bad governments have left us a legacy of economic mis-management and a chain of political instability. We are convinced that the apparently more immediate problem of salvaging the economy and creating a disciplined social order are the result of the lack of a coherent national ethos based on

shared ideals and values. These ideals and values have already been articulated clearly in the fundamental objectives and directive principles of state policy as enshrined in the 1979 Constitution. I, therefore, reaffirm this Administration's commitment to the realisation of these principles and objectives.

Furthermore, we must begin a most vigorous search for a New Political Order capable of ensuring sustained economic growth and social development. It is only within such a framework that we can properly address these and other urgent tasks that lie ahead. With this in mind, we shall, in the course of 1986, announce a political programme for the country.

In the meantime, this Administration is acutely aware of the need to find urgent solutions to the pressing problems facing the country today. In view of the magnitude of our economic problems, from today, I declare a state of Economic Emergency for the next 15 months. This Emergency period will require strong belt tightening not unlike what was experienced during the Civil War. However, we shall ensure that the burden of these emergency measures is distributed as equitably as possible throughout the society. During this period, we aim to visibly turn around the economy and lay a solid foundation for a healthier long term develoment.

The fundamental objectives of this Administration are ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION, SOCIAL JUSTICE, AND SELF-RELIANCE. We intend to shift the attention of the nation from the buying and selling syndrome and parasitic services to the more enduring domain of increased total real production, rising labour productivity and greater efficiency of investment. Furthermore, we shall lay greater emphasis on international competitiveness and export promotion of non-oil commodities and services. We shall insist on greater management efficiency in both public and private sectors with particular reference to:

i. a decentralised system of decision-making and operation:
ii. minimising discretionary power by administrative fiat; and
iii. avoidance as much as possible of instruments of direct bureaucratic control.

For too long, we have perpetuated the neglect of our rural populations. We are now resolved to give primacy to rural development through agriculture-led industrialisation complemented by the exploitation of domestic non-agricultural resources. In particular, we shall pursue a food policy agenda and activity programmes such that the present urban bias is reversed and the nation achieves a sustained level of internal self-sufficiency in food in the shortest possible time.

This government is committed to the principle of citizen participation at all levels of decision making. An effort will be made to utilize the local government system for the encouragement of grass-root mobilization, community governance and self-fulfilment.

Government will also seek to provide opportunities for greater employment in order to boost aggregate labour real income and reduce excessive inequities of income. More encouragement will be given to the economic

role of women and of youths in the development process, with particular reference to the articulation of a more positive population policy, the eradication of rural illiteracy, the support for rural markets and crafts and the rescheduling of the school year to rhyme with agricultural production cycles.

In respect of food and agriculture, government will shift policy from large scale to small-scale farmers, from large irrigation projects to a network of small earth dams and tube wells, for medium-sized farms, and for import dependence to internal self-sufficiency. In this connection, Government has decided to ban the importation of rice and maize forthwith. Furthermore, we shall progressively add to the list of prohibited commodities as we become more self-sufficient in their production. Programmes of expanded production will be pursued in the context of specific commodities like rice, maize, sorghum, cassava, fish, vegetable oil and animal products. Other measures that Government plans to undertake include:

i. programmes of rural roads construction and infrastructures aimed at employment generation and rural transformation.
ii. drastic reduction of the number of existing River Basin Development Authorities to no more than the old eleven.
iii. departure from the existing system of rural credit to one with a more grass-rooted orientation for the smaller-scale peasant farmers.
iv. restructuring the commodity Boards such that the price mechanism no longer works against the farmers and that the range of commodities put on their scheduled list is significantly reduced.
v. tackling more vigorously the problem of post-harvest losses through better marketing and storage.

In the Civil engineering sector, Government will lay emphasis on strong negotiated cost reduction for the utilisation of present excess capacities for the generation of employment, for rural road expansion, for urban road rehabilitation and for a sustained system of roads maintenance.

In correcting the many distortions and reducing the slack capacity utilization ratio in the manufacturing sector, it is important to emphasize that not all industries or plants deserve equal attention or support, and some may indeed have to swim on their own. There must necessarily be differential allocation of complimentary inputs and scarce resources to both existing and proposed plants. It is in this way that we can facilitate a rational profile of viable investments in the industrial sector as a whole. In this connection, the steel industry and vehicle assembly plants must be revamped to fulfil their mission as springboards for the nation's technological development.

While primary education and basic health schemes are principally the responsibility of state and local governments, the Federal Government will intervene creatively in supporting programmes of infrastructural rehabilitation, equipment provision, curricula development, staff training and maintenance system. Furthermore, four University Teaching Hospitals will be designated as centres of specialist excellence.

The development and provision of potable water is a field especially calling for Federal initiative in both urban and rural areas. In this regard, imaginative programmes will be explored for trapping, storing and utilising rainwater on an extensive scale.

As you are already aware, this country has incurred an unprecedented level of foreign and domestic debt in the past four years. I must make it abundantly clear that Government will admit only those external and internal debts which have been duly documented and ascertained. We shall not accept liability for debts which are not so incontrovertibly established. Furthermore, government will clamp down on new debts which are being uncritically committed or in the pipeline, and order a broad review of all on-going loan-assisted schemes whether public or private. In order to generate foreign exchange and attract greater investment, Government will immediately proceed with the domicilary accounts scheme both by Nigerian residents and those abroad.

As a matter of urgency, Government intends to overhaul the present system of import licence in such a manner as to reduce bottlenecks and ensure the importation of clearly essential, not simply scarce commodities. Licences not normally valid for foreign exchange allocation, will cover such critical areas as books, school equipment, drugs, medication, hospital equipment, agricultural machinery and equipment for road construction and land preparation.

Government will seek to expand and quicken the programme of issuing Promisory Notes under alternative schemes of refinancing by major financial institutions in Nigeria and abroad.

We shall also explore the possibility of mopping up a significant portion of the existing high liquidity in the Nigerian financial system by divesting its equity holdings in several potentially viable parastatals and state-owned companies as well as by large placements of debenture stocks. First on the list will be such investments as in hotels, breweries and distilleries.

In addition, Parastatals will be generally encouraged to subject themselves to the discipline of the capital market. The states and the large municipalities will similarly be encouraged to float bonds for key areas of their development financing. New and creative Financial institutions, with particular reference to merchant banking, venture capital, unit trusts and second-tier capital will be assisted and encouraged to extend their operations to the ECOWAS region and beyond.

Fellow Nigerians, we are aware of the controversy generated by the recent practice of counter-trade involving the exchange of consumer items and foodstuffs. This practice will henceforth be discontinued. However, we shall explore the possibility of a one-to-one system of project financing in kind strictly in those areas of critical importance to our industrial and technological development as identified in the Fifth National Plan.

Fellow Countrymen and women. The task of restructuring the economy is a fundamental and onerous one. The measures I have just announced and the broad policy thrust I have outlined indicate Government's recognition of

the urgency of the situation and the need to take concrete action NOW. Indeed, we are encouraged by the public's awareness of the challenges of the economy as revealed by the liveliness of the debate on the IMF loan. However, I must stress in unmistable terms that with or without the IMF loan facility, ALL of us must make hard choices involving great difficulties and requiring sacrifices from everyone and every sector, including the Armed Forces.

However, we recognise that the tasks ahead of us whether they be economic, political or social are daunting indeed and they are not capable of solution by Government effort alone. To achieve our goals, we must involve and carry along everyone. We are aware of the self-defeating apathy and alienation which an insensitive Government can induce in a people. We have assumed the reins of Government to serve; not to be masters of our own people. Whether in or out of Government, everyone of us has a stake in the good Goernment, stability and prosperity of this nation.

We are determined to leave behind us the legacy of bitterness, the atmosphere of repression, the negation of our sense of justice and due processes of the law, and the great national divide along ethnic, regional, religious and socio-economic lines.

Fellow Countrymen and women, at this juncture I consider it appropriate to clarify the issue of the release of political detainees which has generated some controversy. I wish to make it absolutely clear that our action was inspired only by the ideals of justice and fair play. It must not be construed as an attempt on our part to excuse, cover up or condone corruption in public life. I re-affirm this government's conviction that the present battered state of the economy was brought about by the gross mismanagement and indiscipline of the last civilian administration. A high powered Judicial Tribunal will therefore soon be established to review all cases relating to the following categories of people:

i. Released detainees.
ii. Those that have been convicted by military tribunals.
iii. Those still in detention awaiting final determination of their cases.

I would also like to reaffirm Government's determination to vigorously pursue the War Against Indiscipline. In this connection, the Federal Ministry of Information has been directed to devise an even more effective campaign for internalising the values of discipline, honesty, hardwork and self-reliance.

Fellow Nigerians,

I should not end this address without mentioning that our friends and well wishers all over the world have extended us felicitations and good wishes on this occasion. We acknowledge and thank them all for their solidarity. This Administration recognises that in this inter-dependent world, no nation can be an island unto itself. We are, therefore, determined to build upon the solid foundation of friendship and cooperation we enjoy with all friendly nations. This is a particularly appropriate day for us to remember our brothers and sisters in Namibia and South Africa, as indeed all other

peoples still struggling for their freedom and independence. I reiterate the commitment of successive Nigerian Governments to make all possible contributions to the attainment of their aspirations.

We should not allow ourselves to be discouraged by the difficulties and tribulations we are currently passing through. We should not loose sight of the fact that whatever the difficulties we have always managed to overcome them. We should acknowledge that our faltering steps notwithstanding we still have much to be proud of. Ours is a great country. We must rededicate ourselves to make it an even greater one. In this endeavour, there should be no illusion about any easy path. I assure you that this Administration is determined to face the challanges squarely. The time for action is NOW. We count on your understanding, cooperation and support.

Let us all work together for a brighter future under the banner of ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION, SOCIAL JUSTICE AND SELF-RELIANCE.

God bless you all.

BUILDING WITH ENERGETIC SELF-RELIANCE THE 1986 BUDGET

BROADCAST ON DECEMBER 31, 1985

In my Silver Jubilee address on 1st October 1985, I declared a state of National Economic Emergency for a period of fifteen months. This action was dictated by the serious economic problems facing us: huge foreign and domestic debts, a rapidly declining per capita income, a high rate of unemployment, severe shortages of raw materials and spare parts for our industries, and a high rate of inflation. We, Nigerians, all agreed that solutions to these teething social and economic problems must be found through our own efforts, at our own pace and on our own volition, consistent with our own long-term national interest.

We are determined, more than ever before, to harness our own home-grown efforts to solve our problems and chart a new path for our future. The 1986 budget should therefore be seen as the beginning of a new path, and the inauguration of a new era: the era of economic reconstruction, social justice and self-reliance.

As we enter this new era, each and every one of us must be ready and willing to make additional sacrifices in facing the challenges that lie ahead. These challenges involve not only a reduction in public expenditure and a general structural adjustment of the entire economy but also a fundamental and enduring shift in the attitude of our people; their tastes and demand profile should move towards our own resource based goods and services. We must reduce the excessive link of our society from external impulses and move towards a more inward-looking development strategy, involving not only the reduction of imported goods and services, but also the acquisition of and pride in our own technological capabilities. We must give primacy to rural development through agriculture-fed industrialisation.

We must pursue a food policy agenda and activity programmes such that the present urban bias and international dependency are reversed. We must achieve a sustained level of internal self-sufficiency in food, in the shortest possible time. We must create job opportunities for the teeming masses of our unemployed citizens. We must intensify our efforts at self-reliance through export promotion and reduction of our heavy dependence on oil revenue. This is the central message of our 1986 national budget.

Parallel with this theme, Government recognises that in a period of economic emergency, policies, no matter how soundly formulated, become empty words, unless they are vigorously implemented. We cannot afford to allow the machinery of policy implementation to jog along at its leisurely pace during the next twelve months. Government is therefore determined to pursue at all levels of administration, a strategy of close monitoring of all policies and programmes enunciated in this Budget. We will re-examine existing mechanisms and procedures with a view to ensuring that all facts

of the Budget are implemented energetically. Periodic targets both in the public and private sectors will be reviewed to ensure that performance keeps pace with the Budget's expectations.

Government therefore calls on all officials of the public and private sectors to recognise the critical nature of 1986 to our national economic survival, and to approach policy implementation throughout the year in that spirit of emergency. To this end, steps will be taken to make official services more efficient. This is the paralelled theme to our philosophy of national self-reliance in the coming years.

11 A REVIEW OF 1985

The external sector continued to play a critical role in defining our foreign exchange budget constraint and indicating the precariousness of over-dependence on the oil sector. Indeed, our federal budgets, in recent years, have virtually become an exercise in determining the maximum feasible expenditure for a given level of externally determined revenue.

The projected revenue from the oil sector in 1985 was ₦7.4 billion, or 66.30% of federal collectable revenue while the projected average contribution of the non-oil sector in the past two years was about 32%. The increase in projected share of the non-oil sector to the federal collectable revenue between 1983 and 1985 is noteworthy.

Also noteworthy, is the increase of 21.5% in the projected federal collectable revenue in 1985 from the 1983 estimate of ₦9.282 billion. However, the optimism involved in the 1984 total federal anticipated revenue was dampened by a projected decline of 16.3% in 1985 from ₦8.086 billion in 1984. These changes are indicative of the instability in expected federal revenue.

The 1985 federal budget estimate was ₦11.269 billion, reflecting an increase of about 12% over the revised 1984 figure. The increase was due to the moratorium imposed on capital projects in 1984 and the relative relaxation of the moratorium in 1985. However, the 1985 budget was still 11.8% smaller than that of 1983.

Recurrent Estimates – 1985

The projected federal recurrent expenditure was ₦5.473 billion in 1985, representing a 9.9% decrease over the 1984 estimate and 1.6% decrease over the 1983 figure. The 1985 estimate was relatively high because of the increase in debt service provision, which was then treated as an item of recurrent expenditure.

It is, however, to be noted that the personnel and overhead cost components of recurrent expenditure have not changed appreciably between 1983 and 1985. On the other hand, the Consolidated Revenue Fund charges have progressively increased since 1983, in view of the government's decision to improve the credibility and credit worthiness of Nigeria. Also noteworthy are the debt service ratios of 25% foreign exchange earnings in 1984 and 44% in 1985. Experience has now taught us that for some years to come,

a realistic debt service ratio for Nigeria must lie between the excessively high figure of 44% and a probable lower bound of 20%.

In terms of the allocation of recurrent expenditure among Ministries, Defence, National Universities Comission and the Police, in that order, have maintained the lead since 1983. Education, Science and Technology has been rather stable at about 4.5% over the past three budgets, while Finance and Internal Affairs have shown an upward trend.

CAPITAL ESTIMATES

The capital budget for 1985 was ₦5.796 billion, representing about 50% increase over the 1984 appropriation, but a 19.6% decrease over the 1983 figure. In 1985, capital repayment (treated as an item under capital expenditure) contributed 18.6% of the total capital estimate.

Industry, comprising Steel Development, Manufacturing and Craft and the NNPC, accounted for at least 21% of the total capital estimate every year since 1983. The share of Agriculture however declined from 17.7% in 1984 to 13.7% in 1985. The share in 1983 was 15.2%. The share of Infrastructure (i.e. power, post and tele-communication) showed a general upward trend between 1983 and 1985. Defence notably declined from 9% to 5.5% in 1985; but the share of the Federal Capital Territory was stable at about 6.3%.

POLICY FRAME

In the past, the policies thus far adopted seem to have increased the distortions in the economy and produced the unitended effects of fostering high cost industries, with little or no linkage to the domestic resource base, exacerbating the problems of dependence on imported raw materials. It has become apparent that fiscal measures alone are not enough to bring about a sustainable fiscal and external payments position with the desired restructuring of the economy, correct the distortions in cost price relations, and provide adequate signals and stimulus for productive investment in the vital sectors of the economy.

In the light of the above the Government has decided to adopt a dynamic economic recovery programme which aims at altering and realigning aggregate domestic expenditure and production patterns so as to minimise dependence on imports, enhance non-oil export base as well bring the economy back on the path of steady and balanced growth.

Specifically, the major objectives of the programme are:

(a) to restructure and diversify the productive base of the economy in order to reduce dependence on the oil sector and imports;
(b) to achieve a fiscal and balance of payment viability over the medium term and
(c) to lay the basis for a suitable non-inflationary growth over the medium and long-term.

Unlike its predecessors, one notable feature of the 1986 budget is the broad consultation with and co-operation received from major interest

groups in the process of its preparation. Furthermore, for the first time in our national history, we have attempted to build the budget around policies rather than around projects. Unlike recent years, we have also succeeded in balancing the budget.

In order to achieve these objectives the programme features the following elements:

(a) Strengthening of the hitherto strong demand management policies;
(b) adoption of a realistic exchange rate policy;
(c) further rationalisation/restructuring of the customs tariffs to aid the promotion of industrial diversification;
(d) simplification of the regulations and guidelines governing industrial investment and commercial banking activity; and
(e) adoption of appropriate pricing policies especially for petroleum products and public enterprises.

III. 1986 RESOURCE PROFILE

A total sum of ₦15.6 billion (including special funds) is estimated as federally collectable resource in 1986. Out of this sum, ₦13.1 billion, or about 84%, will come from standard or normal revenue sources in both oil and the non-oil sectors. This compares with ₦11.237 billion for 1985. The special funds consist of ₦900 million from adjustments in the petroleum sector; ₦500 million from the Economic Rehabilitation and Recovery Fund, and another ₦1 billion from the consolidated net import levy.

The projected foreign exchange budget for 1986 is ₦9.582 billion, compared with ₦8.00 billion for 1985. About ₦8.1 billion, or 83% of this, is to be derived from oil exports; and ₦1.5 billion, or 17% from non-oil sources.

The foreign exchange budget allocated for domestic production activities is estimated at about 70%, while 30% is reserved for external debt, as compared with 44% in 1985.

Given our experience in the 1985 fiscal year when ₦2.30 billion was estimated for external loan but only ₦500 million was actually received, and considering Government's recent decision not to obtain the IMF loan facility, only a sum of ₦500 million is assumed as external loan for 1986. A foreign capital inflow higher than this in 1986 will be regarded as a pleasant surprise.

IV. GENERAL ECONOMIC POLICIES

Restoring External Balance

Government will continue its policy of realistic adjustment of the external value of the Naira with a view to reducing the degree of overvaluation, correcting past structural distortions, discouraging import propensity and strengthening the international competitiveness of Nigerian producers.

Supplementary fiscal management measures will also be pursued to reduce domestic costs, dampen inflationary pressure and provide some safety valve through the operation of a second-tier foreign exchange market as a logical extension of the foreign currency domiciliary accounts system. Furthermore, Government will introduce a programme of generalised compensatory levy of 30% on all categories of imports, additional to the existing rates of import duties but incorporating the present 6.02% (for the N.P.A., raw materials development and the Nigerian Shippers Council). Proceeds from this compensatory levy will be directed at strengthening the programme of non-oil export promotion and export incentives.

In respect of external debt management, Government affirms its readiness to honour its obligations to clearly – established creditors, consistent with available foreign exchange resources accruing to the country and with the dictates of national survival. In this respect, Government has decided that not more than 30% of such resources will be taken up in 1986 for external debt servicing. We believe that this is a realistic estimate considering recent revelations in the JMB affair and other foreign exchange scandals, with the clear implication that not all purported external debts would eventually be certified. Government will however do everything possible to accelerate payments within that boundary and to encourage greater inflow of net foreign direct investment into priority areas and high-technology sectors of the domestic economy.

The policy package for export incentives will include a system of import duty rebate on raw materials and components used in the manufacture of export products, preferential import licences for export activities, retention for own-use of 25% of the foreign exchange earnings by non-oil exporters, encouragement for establishment of free export zones in selected parts of the country, support services to entrepreneurs seeking new export outlets, establishment of export credit guarantee and insurance scheme, facilitation of export financing, assistance on export costing and pricing, and revitalisation of the Export Promotions Council.

In further pursuit of a more positive export expansion programme, Government has reconsidered the past policy of prohibiting a number of food and agricultural products from being exported.

Except for commodities whose importation has been banned, such export prohibition as contained in the Finance Act, No. 2 of 1981, is hereby abolished. Henceforth, encouragement is to be given to all exportable commodities; oil and non-oil, agricultural and industrial goods and services. Export licencing procedure is to be simplified and limit principally to the need for securing necessary statistical and financial information.

A reorganised system of counter-trade will also be actively promoted in 1986 as a short-term measure towards national economic recovery. It will however be pursued on a selective basis for both oil and non-oil international trade and payments, in line with recently expressed Government's views on the Report of the Committee of Investigation into Counter-trade.

Furthermore, Government will promote the development of indigenous negotiating capabilities in both the Public and Private sectors to ensure that the nation gets greater value from all forms of international exchange and payments.

IMPORTS AND IMPORT LICENSING

It is ordinarily desirable for healthy economic development process that a nation frees all its imports by placing them on open general licence. A system of bureaucratic allocation is not only cumbersome, but is also liable to corrupt practices and to unintended distortions in resource allocation. For the period of national economic emergency, Nigeria is however not yet in a position to allow in all kinds of imports, at least until the structure problems of external indebtedness are fully addressed. There will be strict adherence to and monitoring of the foreign exchange budget. Government will also take steps to remove latent administrative abuses and block leakages in the import licencing system. Essential products like medicaments, pesticides, raw materials, spare parts and agricultural equipment will receive higher priority in the issuance of those licences. Furthermore, licences which are not to be valid for foreign exchange transfer would be issued but only for similarly approved priority imports, as an incentive for those who may have their own foreign exchange resources.

Ministries dealing with major functional subjects will be involved in the approval process before import licences are issued. State Governments will similarly be involved in the preliminary vetting of import licence applications from the domains, with a view to flushing out fake commercial institutions and non-existent industrial enterprises.

The basic arrangements for pre-shipment inspection will be reviewed in 1986 with a view to involving some Nigerian organisations in a process of learning-by-doing. Importation would also be effected on the basis of bills at sight in addition to, and sometimes in replacement of, confirmed letters of credit . Generally, the Central Bank will ensure that commercial banks effect a proper system of trade financing that ensures that the past experience of embarrasing accumulated trade arrears is avoided. Again, the burden of delayed payments arising from currency depreciation cannot fall on importers who had earlier fully settled with their banks as may be required by regulations.

Adjustments to the customs and excise tariff structure will be effected to the Import and Excise Tarrif Consolidation Decrees, Nos. 24 and 25 of 1985, with a view to correcting certain anomalies. The importation of agricultural equipment, for instance, will be discouraged such that locally-assembled agricultural equipment are not disadvantaged. Items which were also inadvertently omitted from the list of excisable products will attract appropriate excise duties.

Furthermore, in line with the recommendation of the Nigerian Conservation Foundation, the prohibition or restriction of external trading for certain endangered animals and species will be incorporated in the new Consolidation Decree.

INCOME, PRICE MODERATION AND FRINGE BENEFITS

The general effect of these policy reforms in our external trade regime is to restructure the commodities composition and reduce the excessively high demand for imported goods; especially those which are not really relevant to the stage of the nation's development. Such a reduction process will be strengthened by the decline in the level of aggregate money incomes and by reduction in the range and level of prerequisites. Substantial savings in the level of comfort will be required not only from the public sector; but also from the private sector which will now be expected to demonstrate equal reductions in their fringe benefits.

Public sector leadership will nevertheless begin by drastically pruning down the presently large number of official cars, limiting them to only one one car each by public officers on salary grade level 16 and above, including Ministers, the car being also used strictly only for official business.

All other official cars, within or outside the pooling system, will be sold in a system of open and competitive biddings. A system of restricted car rentals will however be allowed within departmental budgets. There will be other internal economic measures in the area of travel allowances, utilities and personal services.

The measure of graduated deductions from wages and salaries during the period of economic emergency is already in force in both the public and private sectors. To ensure an equitable distribution of burden among various segments of the society, a surcharge ranging from 5% to 15% will also be levied in 1986 on the after-tax profits of all companies and on all dividends and rents after withholding tax.

Proceeds from all such deductions and surcharges will be channeled into a national economic recovery fund under the auspices of the Federal Ministry of Finance and used for the national rehabilitation of educational and health facilities as well as for the promotion of employment-generating small-scale industrial and informal sector activities. Personal income taxes will however remain the same. Furthermore, taxation on retirement gratuities of workers is henceforth abolished.

OIL SUBSIDIES

Subsidies on various government-sponsored goods and services have for the past several years constituted a controversial issue. The people have themselves agonised on this vexed question, particularly in respect of the subsidies on domestic petroleum products. Considering the international border prices of these commodities and the heavy opportunity costs of consuming them at home rather than selling them abroad, Government has come to the conclusion that the nation cannot continue to support such great financial losses and uneconomic consumption of a valuable but irreplaceable wasting asset. With effect from 1st January 1986, therefore, only 20% of the present level of subsidy on domestic crude oil, calculated at the point of refinery, will be provided. This would substantially raise the pump – head prices of gasoline and diesel to 39.5K and 29.5K per litre respectively; the

market price of house-hold kerosene will however remain unchanged. Through the NNPC operations, Government will ensure that the oil marketing companies do not take further advantage of consumers in this painful process of structural adjustment.

DIRECTORATE OF FOODS, ROADS AND RURAL INFRASTRUCTURES

After allowing for some accommodation in marketing costs and the need for minimum commercial viability of the refineries, it has been estimated that the savings from the petroleum subsidy reduction will yield a total of about ₦900 million in 1986. Government has however decided not to pass this sum to its general revenue; but rather to use it for education and for the purpose of rehabilitating various categories of roads in the country and especially for the development of a national network of rural and feeder roads in order to strengthen the massive effort for food and agricultural self-sufficiency in the shortest possible period. In that pursuit, Government will establish a Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructures in the Office of the President. The Directorate will work closely with the State Governments in order to reach the various communities in each of the 304 Local Government Areas throughout the country. The fund will be administered for the stated objectives at the communities level on the basis of a matching-grants system. It will be a cardinal element of the role of the Directorate not only to effectively promote a framework for grassroot social mobilisation, but also to mount a virile programme of developmental monitoring and performance evaluation.

It is expected that under the programme, rehabilitation of some 60,000 km of rural feeder roads would be undertaken in 1986, thus absorbing about half of the proceeds accruing into the fund from the petroleum subsidy adjustment.

PRIVATISATION OF PARASTATALS AND COMPANIES

Government parastatals have, for long, been subjects of study and policy review. They too have generally come to constitute an unnecessarily high burden on government resources. They have been variously classified and reclassified for purposes of reform. Government has now decided that as from 1986, the volume of non-statutory transfers to all economic and quasi-economic parastatals would constitute no more than 50% of their present levels. They are to find the balance from increases in their prices, charges, tariffs and rates.

In respect of existing public holdings in commercially-oriented enterprises, Government has also decided to divest its holdings in agricultural production, hotels, food beverages, breweries, distilleries, distribution, electrical and electronic appliances, and all non-strategic industries.

It will also consider reducing its holdings in banks, insurance companies and other financial enterprises without losing control. The divestment process will however give special encouragement and preference to groups and institutions like the trade unions, universities, pension funds,

voluntary associations, patriotic unions, youth organisations, women societies, local governments, and State Investment Companies. Care will also be taken to avoid the divested holdings from being concentrated in the hands of few individuals or few areas of the country.

DOMESTIC FINANCE

Since the 1976 Review of the Nigerian Financial System, the economy has undergone rapid changes. Government will therefore set in motion during 1986 the process of another review exercise directed at restructuring the entire national financial system to cope with the new management demands of a turbulent international economic order. Meanwhile, Government will intensify its efforts to reschedule the domestic public debt through the bond market in order to ease the burden on the cash flow of the economy.

The high degree of liquidity arising from the recent low level of activity in the economy will provide an opportunity for the public sector to mop up some of this liquidity through the issuance of bonds. Given the vulnerability of many Nigerian companies to national economic downturns, public policy measures will also be directed at improving their debt/equity ratio and enhancing their long-term financing requirement.

The capital market will be encouraged to raise at least ₦300 million in additional foreign exchange equity investment through the sale of non-voting ordinary shares of quoted companies and within the framework of the Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Decree.

In respect of interest rate, the observed internal inconsistency in its structure will be corrected by narrowing the gap in the margin and spread, and thereby facilitating more effective competition among banks and finance companies. The existing barriers to entry in banking and finance will also be reviewed, with a view to promoting greater business competition and accessibility of credit for smaller-scale enterprises, including farming.

In respect of public Finance, Government directs that as from 1986, all Ministries, parastatals, agencies and institutions must keep systematic records of all their operations and activities for both policy planning and management. Their respective annual reports must be published within six months of the end of each financial year. Their annual accounts are to be similarly audited and published. They are, in addition, to make brief quarterly reports to the Presidency through their respective Ministries or supervising organs, highlighting the significant development in the past quarter and their expectations for the next. A culture of statistical information and analysis must be inculcated all round and be sustained as a normal management habit.

REPAIRS AND MAINTENANCE AS PRIORITY

The economy has long been plagued by high cost, often uncompleted and ill-maintained capital projects and infrastructural facilities, resulting in large unserviceable debts and poor financial profiles. The year 1986 will be one of sober reflection and breathing space for significant costs reduction

in domestic capital formation.

The emphasis will be less on undertaking new projects as on completing and operationalising those already in the pipeline. The accent of public policy on all capital programmes will be on repairs, maintenance and rehabilitation of all national fixed assets (public and private), rather than on their mere replacement.

The Armed Forces, through the Ministry of Defence budget, are committed to demonstrating leadership in this direction. A self-reliant structural adjustment programme must not only be home-grown, it must be cost-effective. It must also be enduring. There can be no return to the days of the oil-boom; days of free for-all or business-as-usual, even after the period of economic emergency would have been over.

V 1986 EXPENDITURE PROFILE

The total projected capital expenditure in 1986 is ₦5.3 billion (₦5.8 billion in 1985), made up of ₦2.4 billion recurrent surplus, ₦2.4 billion special funds and ₦0.5 billion external loan drawn-down on on-going projects. The various sectoral allocations reflect this Administration's basic concern for food and agriculture, for mines power and steel, for education and for infrastructures.

On the recurrent expenditure side, total projected recurrent expenditures stand at ₦5.635 billion, (1985 being ₦5.473 billion). Out of this, Defence accounts for ₦742.392 million (₦806.570 million in 1985), while the National Universities Commission is allocated ₦443.810 million ₦442.595 million in 1985). This Administration places the highest premium on controlling and containing run-away recurrent expenditures. Public programmes must, henceforth, avoid the "recurrent expenditure trap" by which, for too long now, projects spent all available resources on recurrent costs, leaving virtually nothing for development.

In addition to the core budget, substantial capital expenditures will be incurred from the special funds provided for in this budget. From the reduc- in the petroleum subsidy capital projects will be financed to the tune of ₦900 million on rural roads, food and rural infrastructures. From the Economic Rehabilitation Recovery Fund, special capital rehabilitation projects to the tune of ₦500 million will be financed in the education, health and informal activity sectors. From the special import duty levy, we also expect to finance a special national agricultural and industrial export promotion and incentive programme to the tune of ₦1 billion.

VI (1) DEFENCE AND INTERNAL SECURITY

It is common knowledge that in the past decade or two, defence has always taken the lion share of our annual budget. This has been due largely to the heavy expenditure involved in equipping and maintaining our Armed Forces.

It is important to emphasis that the overall defence budget for 1986 is reduced by ₦218.591 million as compared with 1985, representing a saving of 19.4%.

However, in view of the present state of our economy, our Armed Forces have taken a lead in the general sacrifice that is called for. Apart from the provision made for recurrent expenditure at a lower level than in the overall 1985 budget (₦64.2 million less), and the sum of ₦164.666 million for the repair, maintenance and rehabilitation of existing equipment no other allocation has been made for the Armed Forces for any capital expenditure. This sum contrasts with the ₦319.1 million allocation of 1985.

Government, however, views with serious concern the recent increase in the incidence of armed robery, drug and currency trafficking and various forms of anti-social activity. Measures will be introduced in the new financial year to further combat these social maladies. In this regard, a sum of ₦123.1 million is allocated to the Police, subject to Presidential approval of a programme package for combating crime. The sum will, in any case, be used strictly for the provision of an effective surveillance and communication equipment support system. The Police is also being allocated a special vote of ₦52.9 million for its programme of personnel reform and management support.

Generally, Government will ensure that as from 1986, materials, uniforms, accessories, equipment and other supplies for the use of Defence, Police and other Security Forces which are manufactured in Nigeria are purchased locally.

VI (2) FOOD AND AGRICULTURE

Food and agricultural policy during 1986 will focus on the accelerated drive toward self-sufficiency in rice and maize and adequate production of yams, cassava, sorghum and millet. Efforts to rehabilitate groundnut, cotton, cocoa and oil palm production will be intensified in order to reduce import dependency, expand domestic production capacity and provide raw materials for agro-allied industries. Special effort will be made to increase marketed quantities of food and fibre by drastically reducing post-harvest losses. Other objectives include increased export earnings from agriculture to diversify the country's foreign exchange earnings as well as increased rural employment.

Programme formulation and implementation will be guided by four principles.

First is the need to focus more sharply on small-scale farmers as the centre-piece of the nation's food and fibre production not only because they produce over 90% of the nation's output of food and fibre, but also because they constitute the rural majority. Small-holders have clearly demonstrated that, given the right price and non-price incentives, they can produce the food and fibre required by the nation. Government at all level will during 1986 disengage from involvement in direct production and distribution of farm produce. Second, Federal Government support for agriculture will be within the context of agro-ecological zones, and not necessarily by State and Local Government boundaries. Third, grassroot implementation of programmes will be the responsibility of State and Local Governments with strong Federal support in policy and programme formulation and

coordination. Fourth, special care must be taken to prevent the emergence, as has been the case in the past, especially during implementation, of a large class of unintended beneficiaries of public policy.

National Rice Production and Distribution as well as National Maize Production and Distribution Programmes will be implemented during 1986. These programmes will be based on agro-ecological endowments rather than on State or Local Government boundaries, so that the nation can sharply focus its resources for maximum impact. Thus, the rice programme will focus on the valley swamps of Anambra, Imo, Cross River, Benue, Plateau and Gongola States, as well as the alluvial lowlands of eastern Bendel, northern Kwara, Southern Niger and Southern Kaduna States. Other areas to receive programme support are the upland rice areas of Ogun, Ondo and Bendel States, the alluvial lowlands of the Sokoto – Rima rivers and the alluvial lowlands of Hadejia – Jama'are Chad Basin.

The Agricultural Development Projects (ADPS) as well as the State Ministries of Agriculture will continue to handle agricultural extension, seed multiplication, on-farm adaptive research, input distribution and other infrastructural support activities. Evaluation studies will however be undertaken to establish the cost effectiveness and development impact of alternative forms of mobilising peasant farmers and rural communities.

The River Basin and Rural Development Authorities, now reduced to nine in number, will focus sharply on water resources development, especially irrigation and flood control infrastructures along clearly designated river basins. Encouragement will be given to extensive development of earth dams and tube wells throughout the country. The ADPS, in taking over the agricultural functions of the RBRDAs, are also to work very closely with the LGAs and organised local communities for the purpose of ensuring effective maintenance of rural infrastructures.

The eighteen Agricultural Research Institutes will be reviewed with respect to number, location and commodity emphasis. In particular, the research institutes will begin the establishment of an extensive network of on-farm adaptive research centres in different ecological zones that will henceforth be closely integrated with the extension services of the ADPs and State governments.

The National Seed Service will be vastly strengthened in the areas of quality control and seed certification. Actual seed multiplication will, however, become the increasing concern of the ADPs, other official agencies and private seed companies within a growing network of contract seed growers, and with initial emphasis on rice and maize. Developmental work on hybrid maize will continue, while the possibility for hybrid sorghum and beans would be further explored.

On farm inputs, a new Farm Mechanisation policy will be articulated which emphasises the development of appropriate small-scale and medium-scale mechanical technologies to ease the increasingly severe labour shortage in peak farming operations. Also, fertilizers, pesticides and new seed varieties will, with the assistance of the private sector and farmers' organisations, be

made available to farmers. Arrangements will be made for the commercialisation of fertilizer procurement and distribution so as to free government from direct involvement in farm input procurement and distribution.

FARM CREDIT FACILITIES

A new Farm Credit policy will be formulated which will stress grassroots availability and redefinition of what qualifies as collateral, in order to liberalise access to farm credit for the new generation of farmers who are resolved to go back to the land but have little or no capital.

In this connection, the operations of the Agricultural Credit Guarantee Scheme and the Nigerian Agricultural and Co-operative Bank (NACB) would be overhauled, with emphasis on decentralised operations and closer co-operation between NACB and the Commercial Banks. The interest rate structure will be reviewed to further accelerate the flow of farm credit from merchant and commercial banks.

On sectoral credit guidelines, all commercial banks are now required to lend at least 15% of their loan portfolio to agriculture. Commercial bank lending to agriculture is further subject to the following credit guidelines; grains production and distribution (50%), livestock including poultry (15%), and others (35%). Also, the agricultural loan portfolio of the merchant banks will be increased to 8% of total loans, while the commodity credit guidelines for commercial banks will also apply to merchant banks.

To prevent the flooding of the Nigerian market with harmful pesticides that have been banned elsewhere, a Pesticide Control Decree will be promulgated in 1986.

In furtherance of the national economic recovery programme and in addition to the existing ban on the importation of rice and maize, the following agricultural products are also banned forthwith, with effect from 1st January, 1986.

(a) Vegetable oil,
(b) Commercial day-old chicks and hatching eggs, except grand-parent and foundation stocks for research and multiplication purposes;
(c) Stockfish.

The National Grains Board is to intensify its efforts and build up strategic buffer stock for grains, and especially for maize, with a quantum of not less than 50,000 tons.

The Export Promotion Council is to encourage and facilitate the exportation of all forms of agricultural produce (food, fibre, animals, etc) especially to the ECOWAS countries, other than those commodities whose importation has been banned.

Government is convinced that its new emphasis on food and agriculture is right. In particular, it is determined that the nation becomes self-sufficient in food supply within the next two years. As our elders always say: "if food is removed from poverty, the rest is manageable."

VI (3) RURAL INFRASTRUCTURES AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Rural development policy will move away from past narrow sectoral

preoccupation with the generation of food and fibre surpluses to overall formulation of a national rural development strategy with emphasis on the alleviation of rural poverty and enhancement of the quality of rural life. Rural development holds the key to sustained agricultural transformation and national food security.

Apart from water supply, rural roads constitute perhaps the most important single factor in the transformation of Nigeria's rural sector. A National Rural Feeder Road Programme aimed at constructing and rehabilitating about 60,000 km of rural feeder roads will be launched in 1986 to be financed partly from the proceeds accruing from the reduction of petroleum subsidy. New rural feeder roads will be developed in the first instance in areas with the highest potential for the production of priority crops such as rice, maize, vegetable oils, cotton, groundnuts, cocoa and tubers.

Not less than 50% of the said fund realised from the reduction in domestic petroleum subsidies will be allocated to the rural feeder roads, food expansion and rural infrastructure programme.

To complement the food production campaign and to reduce post-harvest losses, a national on-farm storage programme will be launched to establish a network of demonstration on-farm cribs, rhumba and other storage facilities for mass adoption by farmers. The first phase, which will focus on rice and maize, will rely largely on private-sector operators.

Also, a Food Market Information Dissemination Service will be launched to further integrate the various segments of the Nigerian food market. To reduce the wide rural - urban welfare gap, Government will also promulgate in 1986 a Rural Development Decree to provide for the revitalisation and transformation of Nigeria's rural sector and the living conditions of the rural majority.

VI (4) WORKS AND HOUSING

In the Silver Anniversary Speech, I stated that in the Civil engineering sector, government will lay emphasis on strong negotiated cost reduction for the vitalisation of present excess capacities for the generation of employment, for rural road expansion, for urban road rehabilitation and for a sustained system of road maintenance.

The Ministry of Works and Housing is one of the key Ministries whose areas of activities involve services which affect the total life of the majority of our people. Its direction will be in keeping with the principle of the self-reliance through the mobilisation of the creative labour of our people.

In this direction, while the process of development will continue to rely on the use of contract labour, we must now retrace our steps and undertake our repairs, maintenance and non-complex construction jobs through a more purposeful system of direct labour. The generation of employment through the rehabilitation of our roads (both rural and urban), as well as the construction of houses and water systems will involve the direct employment of labour of all categories and skills.

We must recognise that the contract syndrome which developed after

independence has cost the nation dearly and is one of the contributory factors to the reckless drain of our resources through kickbacks and other malpractices.

Government has decided that throughout the period of national economic emergency, repairs, maintenance and rehabilitation of roads, housing and other engineering works will form the cornerstone of the Ministry's policy. As major trunk roads are rehabilitated and/or constructed, the Ministry will arrange for the installation of toll gates, with a view to generating additional revenue for the systematic upkeep of the roads. Revenue so generated will henceforth be kept and used for maintenance purpose by the Ministry, but under strict monitoring by the Ministry of Finance.

The Ministry will also ensure that unit construction costs are substantially reduced in 1986, and that no contracts are awarded until all the designs, materials and funds are available and clearly assured. A system of performance bonds will be instituted for all contract jobs.

Government will review the categorisation of contractors using the expertise of professional bodies associated with building and civil engineering construction. At every stage and in respect of all construction and maintenance programmes whether undertaken directly or under contract, Government will ensure the enforcement of strict financial discipline and public accountability.

VI (5) TRANSPORTATION

The 1986 budget's emphasis is on repair and maintenance of existing national road network as well as the rehabilitation of rural feeder roads. The emphasis in all cases is on self-reliance in food and an enlarged range of industrial products. The public transport system is thus to be improved, based substantially on the use of locally-assembled buses and light commercial vehicles. In this regard, small-scale enterprises will also be encouraged to build motor bodies.

Competition between the Nigeria Airways and the private airlines will be encouraged on more domestic routes. The competitiveness of the Nigeria Airways will however be enhanced by the provision of critical maintenance facilities and spare parts.

The Nigeria Railway Corporation will be assisted in obtaining foreign exchange for the purposes of manufacturing and repairing locomotives, wagons and coaches, tracks and workshops machinery and equipment. The Corporation will be encouraged to participate in the internal transportation of foreign exchange-earning exports, such as bitumen from the Kaduna refinery. Other sources of generating internal revenue, for example general engineering undertakings on a commercial basis, would also be examined.

The Nigerian National Shipping Line will be required to handle officially-derived cargo on a cost-effective basis, and be strengthened to participate in the international market on more competitive terms. The existing routes will be reviewed so as to discontinue clearly unprofitable ones.

VI. (6) POWER, ENERGY AND STEEL

To guarantee a good and reliable source of power for industrial and other uses, there will be provision for the procurement of the critical spare parts and equipment for electricity generation and distribution. Institutional changes will be introduced to improve efficiency in the distribution system. Efforts will also be made to complete major and other core capital projects in the power and energy sub-sectors. Financing through counter-trade arrangements will be fully explored.

An operational national energy policy is overdue in Nigeria. Such a policy will now be undertaken, so that Nigeria's energy development would harmonise with those of the ECOWAS sub-region. The possibilities of utilising idle refinery capacity in ECOWAS and selling Nigeria's natural gas in embodjed form will be more actively pursued.

The public steel sector is in dire need of rationalisation. Work on the Ajaokuta plant will be prosecuted with determination, given the amount of money already sunk into the project and the relative irreversibility of the investment.

The public steel sector is in dire need of rationalisation. Work on the Ajaokuta plant will be prosecuted with determination, given the amount of money already sunk into the project and the relative irreversibility of the investment. However, the delay in construction and start-up will now be turned into an advantage by using the plant to correct the structural distortion in the entire public steel sector. The required correction must emphasise the production of flat sheets.

VI (7) INDUSTRIES

In respect of the industrial sector, the 1986 budget aims at raising the low level of industrial output through better utilisation of installed manufacturing capacity to a rate of about 55% on the average. In this regard, import licences for raw materials and spare parts will be given to genuine manufacturers, in accordance with a scale of priorities which will be spelt out; based on discussion with the various product groups of the organised private sector.

The Ministry of Industries will complete in 1986 all the discussion relating to programmes for local sourcing of raw materials with all the various production groups and publish a firm but realistic timetable for deletion of a wide range of imported raw materials.

A Raw Materials Council consisting of representatives of Government, the private sector and the Nigeria Labour Congress, will be set up to formulate and implement progressive policies on the local sourcing of raw materials. In particular, it will evolve a package of reward and sanction for compliance or non-compliance, as the case may be. No raw material that can be obtained through the processing of an annual agricultural crop will be allowed to be imported beyond a grace period of three years from 1st January 1986 for agricultural crops and five years for tree crops.

The second priority of the industrial sector will be to support the food production efforts and programme of the agricultural sector, through manu-

facturing activities aimed at production of chemicals, equipment and light commercial vehicles in order to reduce considerably pre-harvest and post-harvest losses, as well as assist in the evacuation of farm produce from the hinterland to the urban centres.

Initiation and completion of basic industries with enormous potential multiplier effects such as petro-chemicals and flat steel will receive the fullest attention of the government. In the case of flat steel, a meaningful starting point is the reduction of thick plates to thinner guages.

The industrial sector will also assist in job creation through an intensive promotion of small-scale industries. A package will be developed which will ease the problem associated with locational permits. Also to be encouraged are technical and managerial advice through extension service and capital through fiscal measures aimed at creating a special lending category with a sub-sector interest rate for small-scale industries.

VI (8) TRADE

The most important tasks to be performed by the Ministry of Trade in 1986 will be to administer the issuance of import licences to genuine businessmen efficiently, promptly and with the highest levels of probity. In this regard, the Ministry will co-operate with respective functional Ministries and the organised private sector in determining who the genuine business people are and their relative capacity utilisation.

Also the names, the addresses (not post office boxes, or private mail bags) and the value in Naira of each licence issued will be published. Objections from the public will be thoroughly investigated.

The import licence exercise will be based on the specific priority areas to be announced by the Ministry of Finance but with discussions on sub-sectors with the organised private sector. Broadly, however, the first priority will go to agricultural chemicals and spare parts for farm machinery in order to assist food production.

The second priority in the import licencing exercise will be for raw materials and spare parts for the manufacturers so that the factories can utilise at least an average of 55% of their installed capacities. This will have the effect of providing more employment and reducing inflationary pressure through increased supply of goods.

The third area of priority will be for new machinery to be used exclusively for processing local farm produce or mineral into acceptable raw materials. Companies in the same product group will be encouraged to pull their resources together in this regard.

New agricultural machinery will fall into this category, if such machinery cannot be obtained on hire or on lease from the existing stock of agricultural machinery in the country.

The last category will be for general merchandise, and in particular absolutely essential food items which the country is short of and for which there are no alternatives. Drugs and medicaments for the hospitals will also fall into this category.

Furthermore, Government has decided to create a category of import licence not valid for foreign exchange. Such licences will be issued for raw materials and spare parts, drugs, books, agricultural machinery, salt and special-purpose vehicles. They will also be available for personal effects of citizens who have lived abroad, provided that anybody who brings in such items will be allowed to sell such effects within five years.

From 1986, it will be the policy of Government that import licences other than those not valid for foreign exchange, are utilised in three instalments; namely, one-third in the first quarter, one-third in the second quarter and the last one-third in the third quarter. Companies which infringe this arrangement which is intended to prevent bunching of imports, will have their licences cancelled.

The Ministry of Trade will as from 1986 pay attention not just to managing the demand for imports, but also make distinct effort to earn foreign exchange through export promotion for which a package of incentives have been designed. It will also encourage more vigorously the promotion of tourism.

VI (9) REVITALISING EDUCATION

This Administration notes with concern the serious neglect which education has suffered in the last few years. Indeed, education has been so relegated to the background that it is in danger of imminent collapse unless serious attention is given to it by all levels of government.

The Federal Government will therefore in the new financial year, give special assistance to rehabilitating various educational facilities in the country. In this regard, special assistance will be given to the educationally disadvantaged states. All States will also benefit from the provision of science equipment. Furthermore, some provision has been included for women's education, education for the gifted, the promotion of science teaching, reactivation of the Federal Scholarship Board and the Student Loans Scheme.

The sum of ₦150 million has also been earmarked for the National Universities Commission to be used exclusively for repairs, maintenance and rehabilitation of University buildings and equipment. These special allocations will be drawn from the Economic Rehabilitation and Recovery Fund accruing from the special levies and compulsory deductions from labour, corporate and property incomes.

Government has directed the Federal Ministry of Education to work out the modalities for adjusting the school year to rhyme with the agricultural cycle across agro-ecological zones.

As a matter of national policy, fees are not to be paid in public primary schools. Also educational institutions in the public domain are to so remain; but missions, voluntary agencies and individual patrons may be encouraged to start and manage new educational institutions, subject to regulations on standard and inspection.

VI (10) HEALTH

The health of the people is one of the essential prerequisites for

sustained social and economic development. Government will therefore seek, within the limited resources available, to improve the quantity and quality of health facilities so that our citizens can lead socially and economically productive lives. Emphasis will be laid on the provision of primary health care, on the rehabilitation of existing hospitals, and on the supply of drugs.

The University Teaching Hospitals of Ibadan, Zaria, Enugu and Maiduguri have been designated as centres of specialised excellence in medicine. Efforts will also be intensified in the completion of on-going projects, such as the Sokoto University Teaching Hospital, the ABU Teaching Hospital, the University of Nigeria Teaching Hospital and the National Eye Clinic, Kaduna.

The sum of ₦100 million has been allocated for the general rehabilitation of various existing health centres all over the country. Another ₦100 million is earmarked for the four specialist centres of medical excellence. These two special allocations will be made available from the Economic Rehabilitation and Recovery Fund.

Government views with concern the high rate of population increase in the country. Unless the rate is reduced, every effort in increasing food production will be ineffective. To this end, Government will continue to promote voluntary family planning education generally. Government will also urge the rearing of healthier children by mothers through breast feeding.

VI (II) NIGERIANISATION AND TRAINING

The employment of expatriates will continue to be closely monitored, especially now that several Nigerian graduates and technicians are unemployed. Government therefore directs forthwith that for every expatriate employed on an expatriate quota below the Board or Management Committee level of a Company, there must be two Nigerians identified within the existing organisation or employed, if they do not exist, to understudy the expatriate. If any of the understudies should leave the organisation, this must be promptly reported to Government.

A definite and realistic programme for the Nigerianisation of the posts held by expatriates on the Boards or on the Management Committees of Companies, including that of the Chief Executive, must be drawn up. Once the programme is approved by Government, it must be strictly adhered to. Where the Chief Executive is a Nigerian, an expatriate may be allowed to be one of the Deputies.

While Government appreciates the contribution of expatriates, a situation where the impression is created that certain posts are unattainable by Nigerians will not be tolerated any longer. Some very big and complex companies with international connections are already being run effectively by Nigerians who have done this country proud. Other companies must move quickly in the right direction through the policy just enunciated before they are pushed to do so. Nigerian Chairmen of Companies are therefore enjoined to be alert to their responsibility to Nigeria in this regard.

The National Youth Service Corps will have to be reorganised in 1986

in order to emphasise efficiency and probity in its administration.

VI (12) SOCIAL WELFARE

The welfare of the citizens is one of the most important responsibilities of government. Government will therefore continue to give impetus to all activities in the recreational and sports arena.

The success of Nigerians in the field of sports in 1985 will become the benchmark by which subsequent years' performance must be judged.

It must be emphasised, however, that no Government however rich and benevolent can do everything in the field of social welfare. While commending the activities of various voluntary and charitable organisations, we need to redouble our efforts in helping the less-privileged in our society. Government views with great concern the practice of social and charitable clubs spending thousands of Naira wining and dining for their own self-publicity, only to raise a pittance for charity. This is inconsistent with the spirit of humility and selflessness.

Beyond all that, the welfare of the citizens is only truly enhanced when they are gainfully employed. Every employer must therefore make special effort to help the disabled in getting employment. A progressive employer would be expected to employ a minimum of two disabled persons for every hundred employees.

VII THE ISSUE OF A POLITICAL PROGRAMME

Fellow patriots, let me now turn to the issue of our political future about which I spoke in October, 1985. In order to establish a viable and enduring peoples oriented political system devoid of perennial disruptions, this Administration has decided to involve the people in the search for a solution to the problem of political instability which charactised our past experiments in democracy.

Certain factors have continued to feature as the main contributors to our political instability. These are:

(a) Political insensitivity and intolerance,
(b) Mismanagement.
(c) Failure to effect political succession without rigging, rancour and violence.
(d) Crash opportunism.
(e) Narrow perception of power as an instrument of self or sectional aggrandisement.
(f) Corruption.

These factors, in turn often give rise to economic depression, social chaos, cynicism, apathy and total disaffection of the general citizenry from the political leadership and processes, as manifested during our two fatal experiments at establishing a democratic system of government. To avoid the mistakes of the past, we must aim at establishing a political system capable of ensuring.

(a) Justice.
(b) Opportunity for the people to participate in the decision making

process.

(c) A new social and economic order based on peace, stability and harmony, and on equitable distribution of national resources and opportunities.

We must not forget that the collapse of the economy is directly attributable to bad government, corruption and the absence of public accountability. The establishment of a viable political system is therefore an essential prerequisite for the achievement of our national goals and objectives.

We must now begin a most vigorous search for a new political order, one which the present military administration will be proud to bequeath to posterity.

Consistent with the philosophy of this Administration – that of consultation with and involvement of the people in the decision making process the AFRC has decided, once more, to sponsor a national debate on the country's future political system. In doing so, three fundamental issues must be addressed:

First, we expect the debate to concentrate on devising a smooth transition or disengagement process from military to a participatory, political system.

Secondly, we expect Nigerians to come up with suggestions on how to evolve an orderly system of political succession.

Thirdly, the debate while not excluding alien ideas should not give an undue prominence to them. Rather, it should break new grounds, provide an opportunity for the dissemination of new ideas and concepts that are firmly rooted in our social and political experience.

Consequently, a Political Bureau with the following tasks is to be established:

(a) to gather, collate and synthesize the contributions of Nigerians to the search for a new political system;

(b) to organise public discussions through debate, seminars, symposia, on the various questions relevant to the search for a new political order;

(c) to deliberate on political problems that may be referred to it by the President.

(d) to evaluate the various contributions and make proposals to government.

The work of the Political Bureau will be for a period of one year (January – December 1986). Based on the findings and recommendations of the Bureau, Government will announce a new Political Programme and prepare for a handover of power. I would like to affirm that this administration does not intend to stay in power a day longer than is required to lay the necessary institutional frame work which is to bring about a better and more stable Nigeria – economically and politically.

VIII SOCIAL MOBILISATION

In my anniversary speech last October, I stated that if the economic

emergency period is to be short but its benefits are to last, then its thrust must not be simply the negative one of mere austerity. Its lessons should be one in which the productive capabilities of the nation are mobilised as a necessary foundation for a better and prosperous future.

This Administration is conscious of the reality that all the problems of under-development cannot be solved at once. We must therefore recognise that the foundation of true development lies in the human labour of our farmers and workers. That labour will therefore be properly mobilised so that the nation's creative energies are maximally utilised. There is need for systematic mobilisation of farmers, workers and youths for production, community governance, and widespread national consciousness. There is need for our citizens to be mobilised to defend the integrity of the nation's economy, to fight corruption, discourage smuggling and expose all forms of social ill. We need to promote and preserve an atmosphere of peaceful industrial harmony, socio-political stability and unity.

Our slogan for survival and orderly development is ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION, SOCIAL JUSTICE AND SELF-RELIANCE. Economic reconstruction involves a radical review of our external dependency, building our production process more on our own national and human resources, switching our growth engine from trading to production, avoiding waste and vanity, shedding all pretences about our affluence, reversing our past life-style, and accepting the pains of structural adjustment. In the process of doing so, we must resolve as a people not to be lured into false sense of economic security while a few get away with the fruits of our land and the products of our labour.

We must create Social Justice aimed at promoting equality of opportunity in all spheres of our national life. The Fundamental principles are already enshrined in the 1979 Constitution. We are dedicated to promoting national integration, individual liberty and equality before the law. These values must be made to operate at the legal, political, social and economic levels. In the process of social integration, the country must rise above aggressive ethnic competition, statism and religious bigotry. These are the values which have bedevilled us over the years, and their exploitation to the detriment of the nation must not be allowed to continue.

We are convinced that self-reliance is the strategy for building a new society, where our people can develop the consciousness of being the masters of their own destiny. It does not mean autarky; nor does it mean that we need no help from our friends abroad. On the contrary, we need every help that we can get and we shall always strive to get it. However, it is our inherent right to map out our own options, arrive at decisions on our own initiative and through the full use of our talents. We must move from self-discovery to self-assertion, and be prepared to accept fully the consequences of our own mistakes. We must develop a sense of national pride, cultural identity and commitment to real economic development based on our own resources.

The 1986 Budget marks a watershed in the difficult journey towards economic recovery. I call on all of you to join me, with confidence, on this

journey.

Long live the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Major-General Domkat Bali
Minister of Defence and Chairman,
Joint Chiefs of Staff

ADDRESS TO THE NATION ON VARIOUS NATIONAL ISSUES

ON THURSDAY 26TH JUNE 1986

The year 1986 is a historic landmark in the political and economic evolution of our nation. Halfway through, it is necessary that we take stock of our recent experiences, assess our efforts at reconstruction and articulate further measures for the near future.

1. ON THE 1986 BUDGET

In my 1986 Budget speech on 31st December 1985, I announced a number of policy measures aimed at achieving the basic aims of ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION, SOCIAL JUSTICE AND SELF-RELIANCE. The Budget outlined specific proposals for moving the economy gradually out of its long recession by stimulating agricultural production, reactivating idle factories and containing inflation. These proposals were themselves an elaboration of the fifteen-month economic emergency measures announced on 1st October 1985, to deal more seriously with the economic crisis and to provide the foundation for a more enduring development.

As you will recall, the specific objectives of the Budget were to:-

(a) restructure and diversify the productive base of the economy in order to reduce dependence on oil export and on imported goods;
(b) achieve a fiscal and balance-of-payment viability; and
(c) lay the bias for non-inflationary growth over the medium and long term.

We were aware that the successful outcome of the economic stabilisation programme depended on a favourable and stable world oil market, good weather for agricultural production, effective implementation by the public bureaucracy, and on an enduring political understanding and mass support. Our experience on each of these factors has so far been a mixed one.

Some of the more significant statistics and economic indicators have been released by the Federal Ministry of Finance in occasional progress reports. Generally, we have been adversely affected by reduced oil receipts and slow non-oil export promotion. While inflationary pressure has responded favourably to tight monetary and fiscal measures, urgan unemployment has so far not been overcome. On the administrative and political fronts, there have been some unfortunate diversionary developments. It is however, gratifying to note that as we approach the second half of the year, the domestic situation and the international oil market are beginning to improve; and we can look at the immediate future with greater confidence and renewed hope.

In the face of recent economic and financial uncertainties, it was understandable for some vocal segments of our society to call for a revision of the 1986 Budget. However, there is hardly justification for a major review exercise. Government remains undaunted in its determination to pursue its programme of ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION, SOCIAL JUSTICE

AND SELF-RELIANCE.

Our international creditors appreciate our commitment to the path of structural adjustment which we have charted for ourselves, and they have remained in useful dialogue with us to ensure successful implementation of our programme. We are particularly gratified that the major international financial institutions have come to recognise and to agree with this Administration's position not to take an IMF loan, and not to devalue the Naira overnight.

The path ahead remains difficult. But I will urge all of us to remain committed to our declaration in the 1986 Budget; namely, that solutions to our social and economic problems must be found through our own efforts, at our own pace and on our own volition, consistent with our own long-term national interest. Our memories must not be too short in evaluating the immediate past as we lay a stronger foundation for the future.

1 ESSENCE OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT:

If we are to translate rhetoric into concrete achievement, it is necessary that we should appreciate not only the magnitude of the problems confronting the nation but also the essentials of the structural adjustment programme designed to address those problems. The various measures enunciated will only work if everyone understands them and is determined to make them work.

Our economic experience as a nation over the past two decades has revealed that there are many aspects of our life style, our attitute of work, and the ways in which we harness our resources or utilize our wealth, which have impeded true development. Our structural adjustment involves new uses of wealth, new property relations, new products and production processes, new attitudes to work, new consumption habits, and new interaction with the rest of the world. It seek to harmonize what we consume with what we produce, using our own domestic endowment of human and material resources. While government can play an active role, a structural adjustment process necessarily entails the greater participation of all citizens – as producers, workers and consumers.

An important lesson of historical experience is that structural adjustment is a very painful process, particularly for a country which had not laid the appropriate foundation for self-reliance. It is therefore important not to postpone the painful corrective measures, because delays can only intensify the consequential hardships.

True national development means increasing economic, financial and technological self-reliant in an enlarging list of products, especially food and other essential wage goods. It is in that context that the recent pronouncement by Government banning the importation of wheat from 1st January, 1987 can be appreciated as the most effective way of putting a stop to the country's unwholesome dependence on wheat bread.

Goods and services produced in Nigeria must truly reflect the resource endowment of the country. Increased use of local raw materials for our

industries must be a non-negotiable strategy of our national development policy. The technology used in producing our goods and services should be more appropriate and sustainable. The resulting products should also become gradually but assuredly competitive in price and quality with imports.

The policy inadequacies of the past, probably more than the declining fortunes of the world oil market, produced the heavy external debt burden, the bunching of debit-servicing obligations and the deteriorating trade and fiscal imbalances. What the 1986 Budget tried to do was to deepen and accelerate the process of structural adjustment.

3. TOWARDS EXTERNAL FINANCIAL BALANCE:

From July 1986 to June 1988, the main elements of the structural adjustment programme include continued strengthening of the existing demand management policies, design of complementary measures to stimulate domestic production and employment generation, and faster movement towards a more realistic exchange rate. Other elements are further rationalisation of import tariffs and excise duties, replacement of direct administrative controls with greater reliance on market forces, adoption of appropriate pricing policies especially for wasting assets like petroleum products, and rationalisation of parastatals.

In terms of major policies, the programme can be said to involve three inter-related actions. First are the measures to correct the continued overvaluation of the Naira through the setting up of a viable and substantial Second-Tier Foreign Exchange market, simultaneously with further downward adjustments to the official exchange rate. The aim of this two-pronged action is to achieve a convergence of the various exchange rates of the Naira before the end of the structural adjustment programme. Secondly, there are the series of negotiation to relieve the external debt burden and the induscements to attract a net inflow of foreign capital while keeping a lid on foreign loans. Thirdly, there is the intensification of efforts to overcome continued public-sector inefficiencies and corruption, especially through improved public expenditure control, heightened administrative surveillance and widened economic and financial intelligence.

Government is painfully aware that a system of direct bureaucratic controls is not only cumbersome but is also liable to corrupt and/or arbituary administrative practices. Furthermore, it tends to engender unintended distortions in resource allocation and enrich unintended beneficiaries. This has been particularly evident in the pricing and allocation of an increasingly inadequate foreign exchange. Government recognises that the closer the exchange rate is to a realistic level, the less will be the need for the import licencing system, the greater the efficiency in the use of foreign exchange, the higher the level of export earnings in the medium to long term, and the smaller the leakage of foreign exchange through smuggling of goods and black marketeering in currencies.

In accordance with the 1986 Budget, Government has decided to promulgate in July 1986 a Decree for the establishment and operation of the Second-Tier Foreign Exchange Market. The basic strategy is to allow the

market to operate under general market conditions and to fund it appropriately. In addition to private sources of foreign exchange supply to the market and from the domicilliary accounts scheme, the World Bank has agreed in principle to also provide some funds to support the market. Government will itself release considerable foreign exchange to support the market, within the limits of its ability and of unavoidable international obligations.

From its inception, all routine foreign exchange transactions, including all government imports, will be channelled through the Second-Tier Foreign Exchange Market. The major exception would be the servicing obligations of external debt as verified, ascertained and unambigously accepted. The other exception consists of the official contributions and obligations to international organisations and institutions of which Nigeria is a regular member. Otherwise, government expenditure on foreign goods and services will be financed through operations on the Second-Tier Market, just like all private expenditure on foreign goods and services. In this way, the risks of resource leakage, administrative corruption, price distortion and discretionary allocation would be minimised if not eliminated. Meanwhile, the downward crawling peg of the official exchange rate will continue until convergence is achieved with the free rates on the Second-Tier Market.

The Government is committed to carrying through its reform programme successfully, even in the face of an import capacity that is somewhat lower than previously anticipated. Given the continued unfavourable world oil market, the continued commitment to the servicing of genuine and authenticated external debts, and the continued slow pace of net foreign capital inflow, it is clear that the nation must continue to pursue a policy of restraint in its demand for foreign goods and services. Not only must there be greater vigilance against imports over-invoicing and other financial malpractices, consumer habits as well as producer techniques must be corrected to eliminate excessive import dependence which the nation had witnessed during and immediately after the oil-boom period.

The attainment of external balance continues to be critical for a fragile economic like ours. The main elements of our present strategy are to gradually reduce the degree of our currency's over-valuation, to correct systematically the structural distortions in the domestic economy, to discourage the high import dependce, to efficiently ration the increasingly scarce foreign exchange amongst competing national uses and to progressively strengthen the international competitiveness of our non-oil products.

In pursuit of these objectives, the Second-Tier Foreign Exchange Market will be operated like other open markets, free from undue bureaucratic controls and unnecessary paperwork. The buyers and sellers will be free to purchase and sell foreign currencies from and to authorised dealers any time during the working hours.

It is worth repeating that a vital strategy of this structural adjustment programme is the gradual absorption of the unofficial parallel foreign exchange market by the new Second-Tier Market. It is expected that when

the Market becomes fully operational, import licencing as a major instrument of allocating scarce foreign exchange would be unnecessary.

But this is without prejudice to the continued validity of other supervisory, inspection and statistical intelligence measures to ensure that the nation gets full value for its outlay on foreign goods and services. There will also be, right from the Market's inception, and updated and streamlined list of imports that are prohibited for reasons of public policy and demand management. Similarly, in due course, the existing 30 per cent generalised import levy would give way to a new profile of import tariff and excise duties.

It is clearly not the intention of Government that this new arrangement should discriminate in favour of trades, speculators and frivolous spenders. The intention is to discriminate positively in favour of domestic producers. As such, the structure of tariff and excise being designed will be geared to discriminating against importers of inessential finished products while avoiding over-protection of demestic producers in relation to their international competitors.

Government will be a major supplier of foreign exchange to the market. In the intervening period before convergence of the various exchange rates, Government will thus earn some substantial temporary surplus in terms of Naira value. It is the intention of Government to transfer significant portions of the net surplus securing from its foreign exchange operation into a special account for the purpose of financing employment generation and rural development schemes as a way of accelerating the process of national economic recovery. With good demand management measures and with continued tight monetary and fiscal policies, it is hoped that a substantial proportion of the accuring surplus would thus be expended on domestic rather than on imported goods and services.

One problem against which we must brace ourselves is that of renewed open inflation, especially of imported products and imported industrial inputs. Any form of downward exchange rate adjustment has an inherent inflationary pressure; and also tends to negate the effectiveness of comprehensive price controls. The Productivity, Prices and Incomes Board and the Price Intelligence Agency must therefore be strengthened to selectively protect the prices of wage goods that directly affect the welfare of workers and of other lower-income groups. If, however, domestic food and agriculture continue to expand and if import dependence by industries is significantly reduced, then consequential inflationary impact of the structural adjustment programme can be moderated for the socially-sensitive income classes.

Experience elsewhere shows that if not properly managed, even a second-tier foreign exchange system may introduce structural distortions of its own; and it may thus fail to absorb the unofficial parallel market. Prices on the second-teer may even be higher than on the paralled market. Its operations may also be abused, violated or subverted by unscrupulous people with inside information. For the forth-coming Nigerian Second-Tier Foreign Exchange Market therefore, suitable provision for due punishment

and sanctions is being made in the enabling Decree to discourage such latent abuses.

4. BEYOND AUSTERITY AND ECONOMIC STABILISATION:

Economics austerity and stabilisation programmes are not expected to be a permanent feature of social management. The sacrifices and burdens imposed by such programmes are worth-while only if they stimulate more orderly growth and development. The agricultural sector is an area where improvements can make an immediate impact on the supply situation to dampen inflationary pressure. The needed structural reforms for the sector that have been announced in the 1986 Budget are being vigorously implemented. The winding up of the Commodity Boards, coupled with the gradual evolution of a more realistic exchange rate, will provide improved price incentives that will enable farmers to compete effectively in farm production.

The new objectives and strategy of industrial revival were already outlined in the 1986 Budget. During the period of structural adjustment, Government will put into effect a revised tariff and excise tax profile that will be consistent with the new exchange-rate policy in achieving the desired levels of effective protection as well as provide needed support to non-oil export promotion measures. Such revamped tariff and exchange rate policies will also provide the much-needed incentives for developing locally-produced raw materials. Thus, imports of raw materials and spare parts as well as export of manufactures will be channelled through the Second-Tier Foreign Exchange Market.

Government will also accelerate action on the re-scheduling of the internal debt, especially considering that the domestic banking and financial system continues to be very liquid. Internal debt rescheduling to non-financial institutions is expected to facilitate employment generation and to restore business confidence both at home and within the international banking system.

Arrangements have been concluded to utilise a significant portion of the balances on the Escrow Accounts from previous countertrade schemes. This will facilitate the procurement of some essential raw materials and spare parts from the countries concerned, for some key factories and construction companies to resume or expand their production. Government is also actively exploring the use of new counter-trade arrangements for financing a higher level of industrial activity as well as for undertaking some uncompleted but vital civil engineering works and infrastructural developments. An example is the network of tolled expressways for which detailed designs and specifications have been established.

An important strand in the economic revival process is the generation of internal revenue by State governments, Local governments and the unit communities at the grassroots. These authorities must now intensify their efforts to implement local property taxation both as a means of financing local development projects and as a supporting tool for income

redistribution.

Social mobilisation and call to patriotism cannot be long sustained without being anchored to visible opportunities for employment generation, self-employment and gainful occupation. Such mobilisation must also extend to consumer protection and the establishment of effective market contervailling force through a network of cooperative marketing.

Nigerians have made many sacrifices during the past nine months in spite of economic hardships. In particular, all workers have contributed to the National Economic Recovery Fund. I sincerely thank you all for your worthy sacrifice. As I promised in my Silver-Independence anniversary address, the contributions will be discontinued at the end of the emergency period. Furthermore, Government has decided that such deductions from wages and salaries by the lower income groups made during the economic emergency period will be converted into savings, which will be refunded interest-free before the end of 1987

In particular, I salute all officers and men of the Armed Forces for their patriotism and contribution to the economic recovery of the nation. Patriotism is part of our life. It is in fact the totality of our life. Our valour and our sacrifice in the various wars from the World War 11 to the civil war, and our contributions to the maintenance of internal order, are without reproach. This is to emphasise that we have not at any time shirked our responsibilities to defend the territorial integrity of this country. Today, I exhort you to continue to demonstrate unquestioned patriotism and loyal service to the nation.

5 REBUILDING POLITICAL CONFIDENCE

It would be recalled that the present Administration came into power under extremely difficult circumstances. On the domestic front the general mood was that of disillusionment created partly by economic hardships, uneployment, retrenchment and almost total neglect of fundamental human rights. On the external front, the country had faced, and, to some extent, is still facing a hostile international environment as a result of the refusal of our traditional friends and trading partners to reschedule our loans on mutually acceptable terms.

In the process of tackling these formidable problems and obstacles, new problems have emerged, partly from the deterioration of our economic situation as a result of the collapse in oil prices, and partly from lack of appreciation of the real dimension of our promblems on the part of certain segments of our population.

Since the inception of the present Administration, we have, as a matter of deliberate policy, attempted to find solutions to our multifarious problems through a process of discussion, consultation, debate and some measure of consensus. We have also re-established the principles of the Rule of Law. It is for that very reason that we insisted that all political detainees and those that had been conditionally released should be brought to trial before appropriate judicial tribunals. Their investigations have now been completed and considered by the Armed Forces Ruling Council. While Government respects the Rule of Law, it is pertinent to point out that this

Administration is also aware that legal justice is not necessarily social justice.

The decision of the Military to put several past political actors on trial was not conceived in bad faith. It was meant to instil in Nigerians the principle of accountability and moral probity in public life. The intention was also not to stigmatize all past leaders. The nation recalls with pride the distinguished contributions of several past leaders, both dead and alive, on whom it had at various times bestowed its highest honours.

The time has, however, come for a new generation of men and women to take up the leadership mantle of this country. Even the few surviving elder statesmen have themselves indicated that they no longer wish to seek any public office in future. The nation thanks them for their past services and trusts that they will not deny succeeding generations the benefit of their accumulated wisdom.

Government has, therefore, decided that all past politicians are hereby banned from seeking or holding any public office for ten years, effective from the date of the lifting of the ban on politics. They may vote; but they cannot be voted for. In addition, they must not be involved in any overt or covert political, party or partisan activities.

For the avoidance of doubts, some of the politicians and public officers affected by this order are the following:

(a) President, Vice-President, Minister, Special Advisers and Presidential Liaison Officers, who served in the Second Republic, from 1st October, 1979, to 31st December, 1983;

(b) all members of the National and State Assemblies, who served in the Second Republic from 1st October, 1979, to 31st December, 1983;

(c) all Governors, Deputy Governors, Commissioners, Special Advisers, and Governor Liaison Officers, who served in the Second Republic, from 1st October, 1979, to 31st December, 1983.

(d) all public officers and officers of the Armed Forces and the Police who were convicted by various special tribunals.

The necessary machinery is already in motion to produce and gazette the names of specific persons so affected.

Government is anxious to emphasize that while the Rule of Law must be respected, the issue of the ex-politicians must also be handled politically and administratively.

Beyond the above generalized sanctions, there are specific measures against particular persons or groups whose misconduct has been established by the three recent Judicial Tribunals. Having carefully considered their reports and recommendations, Government has also arrived at the following decisions:

(a) Some political office-holders who have cases to answer are being

sent for trial by Special Tribunals;

(b) the bank accounts and properties of some others are frozen and confiscated;

(c) undeclared or falsely declared assets are to be forfeited to the Federal Military Government;

(d) the movement of some prominent political office-holders is restricted to their respective local government areas, with any violations being promptly and seriously punished;

(e) diplomatic privileges, including the privilege to own Nigerian passports (a property of the Federal Military Government), are being withdrawn for five years from some who have wantonly abused their offices; and

(f) confirmed sentences will be reduced only if the monies and assets forfeited to the Federal Government are effectively transfered.

Again, full details of these decision as they apply to specific individuals will shortly be released.

I would also like to make it clear that the exercise of investigation of wrong-doing is a continuous one. As fresh information and new charges are brought up against anybody, the investigative machinery will be promptly put into operation. Let me also emphasize the commitment of this Administration to deal decisively with erring members of the political class and to demonstrate always the importance of probity and accountability in public office.

It msut, however, be noted that no nation that thrives on rumours and exaggerated reports of events can survive. Facts are always more important than speculations. I therefore, appeal to you, fellow Nigeians, to shun rumour-mongering. We should all pool our energies and resources in order to build a strong and economically virile nation.

Towards achievement of the objective of a self-reliant and demonstrably virile nation, the Government is also embarking on a value-reorientation programme by setting up a new National Orientation Movement (N.O.M.). As you are aware, the old War Against Indiscipline (WAI), while sound in principle, suffered from problems of implementation. The impression was created that one needed to police Nigerians crudely in order to mobilize them to take actions, which would eventually benefit them. In fact, in some places, there was abundant evidence of excesses perpetrated by WAI brigades.

This Administration believes that Nigerians are capable of imbibing certain basic values, which could be useful to their lives, given some guidance, but not through coercive regulation of behaviour.

The new National Orientation Movement (NOM) is a comprehensive

value re-orientation and mobilization package, which is being launched very soon. The content of this new orientation movement includes the desirable aspects of the old War Against Indiscipline (WAI). In this new package, however, there will be four components:

(a) NATIONAL DISCIPLINE;

(b) EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC RECOVERY;

(c) NATIONAL GUIDANCE; and

(d) YOUTH SERVICE.

Unlike the old WAI programme, Government is committed to ensuring formal and regular budgetting for the new programme in order to ensure its long-term impact on the society.

As an interim measure, Government has approved the launching of a specific programme aimed at mobilization of the people for the nation's current economic emergency and structural adjustment. The theme of this component programme is "Patriotism and Economic Recovery." I seize this opportunity to appeal to all Nigerians to cherish and propagate, both in words and action, the basic message of this programme.

6 PUTTING THE PAST BEHIND US:

Our human rights policy must not be mistaken for weakness or for lack of clear direction. We shall endeavour to respect individual rights as long as they do not endanger the collective and greater rights of the nation. We have a responsibility for the security of the state, and as in all states, this responsibility is fundamental. Goverment believes in the freedom of the press; but this freedom must excite reciprocal obiligations from members of the press. Our journalists must sensitize themselves to issues of sucurity and national stability. The adage that the pen is mightier than the sword should be used not as an instrument of disinformation, but as a weapon to galvanize the general sentiments of our people towards the advancement of our fatherland.

Once again, I wish to assure all Nigerians that Government has no intention to impose any religion on them. This country has no state religion, but will continue to provide an umbrella under which all religions can thrive. We have a duty to learn to tolerate and accommodate one another and build a united nation, where all faiths can be accommodated.

It was clear from the proceedings of the Col. John Shagaya Committee on the O.I.C. that freedom of religion was, in itself, predicated on peace and progress of the nation. The meetings not only created an atmosphere of cordiality and understanding, but members also seized the occasion to resolve to seek further knowledge of their respective faiths. Nonetheless, the final outcome underscored the mutual suspicion and fears of the adherents. The Report however emphasised the need to protect and maintain the multi-religious status of Nigeria. It expressed support for the Govern-

ment's assurance to protect and preserve the interest of all Nigerians; and recommended a consultative Committee to enhance and promote peace and understanding among religious groups.

From the foregoing, it is clear that religion can become an explosive and sensitive matter. It is therefore a matter that can neither be left to voluntary organisations to regulate, nor can it be ignored. It thus remains the duty of government to attain and maintain a state of peaceful co-existence among all Faiths. To this end, it becomes imperative to have a permanent forum in which all religious groups can interact and foster understanding as unanimously recommended by the religious leaders who served on the Committee.

The Government has therefore approved the estalishment of a National Council for Religious Affairs. The Council will regulate the activities of all religious groups as well as promote dialogue, consultation and understanding amongst them. The Council shall foster national unity through mutual understanding and promotion of social harmony. More importanly, issues which tend to cause suspicion, mistrust and antagonism among religious groups will be resolved through the Council. It will also be responsible for indentifying programmes and projects (and other forms of support) that will promote religious harmony and national integration as well as enhance social and moral values of our society. It will also specifically advise government, from time to time, on all international religious matters.

We cannot forget the past no matter how inglorious it might be. This is so because it is real. At the same time, we cannot be prisoners to the past no matter how glorious it may be. To be a prisoner to the past is to mortgage the present and stultify future growth.

The faith of this Administration in the future of this country and her people remains unshakeable.

Long live and Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Major-General Sani Abacha
Chief of Army Staff

IMF LOAN REJECTED

Address to the nation on December 13, 1985

When the Armed Forces Ruling Council decided to throw the question of the IMF Loan open to debate, we did so in obedience to our absolute faith in the capability of Nigerians to rally around Nigeria in order to ensure the success of our great efforts to achieve National Salvation through deep and lasting reforms of the State and a planned re-structuring of our economy. We also believe that there is always a National Awareness of the problems facing us and the need to solve them by ourselves.

The IMF debate has proved to be a unique occasion for the people of this country. Opinions have been expressed by a wide spectrum of the society, each person acting to the best of his or her knowledge with the purest of motives and all in the interest of Nigeria. The debate cuts across professional, sectorial, religious, ethnic and age groups.

It has, in particular, helped to awaken the conscience of the Nation and to raise our democratic ideals in a way that no other public issue has done in recent times. Without any doubt, the nation is the better for it; and this augurs well for the future.

Nigeria applied to the IMF in 1983 for a balance-of-payments support loan as a result of the serious economic conditions in the country. The following dismal situation prevailed at the time the application for the loan was made:

Trade arrears of over ₦4 billion had accumulated.

Medium and long-term loans stood at ₦10.6 billion.

Yearly budget deficits ranged from ₦427.4 million to ₦6.2 billion.

The economy suffered negative growth in its Gross Domestic Product, while per capita income declined.

Factories were operating far below their capacities; while some even closed down because of shortage of raw materials and spare parts. Unemployment, inflation and shortages increased. All of these conditions prevailed despite the fact that between 1979 and 1982 Nigeria earned a total sum of ₦44.77 billion from exports.

The situation was exacerbated by the difficulties encountered in re-financing about ₦2 billion insured trade arrears, as our foreign creditors had insisted on Nigeria's adoption of an IMF adjustiment programme as a pre-condition for the refinancing.

On 25th September, 1985, the Presidential Committee on the IMF Loan was inaugurated with the specific task of conducting a national debate on the desirability or otherwise of Nigeria obtaining the loan. An Interim Report was submitted on 3rd December, 1985. From the Interim Report, it is clear that the IMF issue is basically one of whether this country should face the challenge of her economic recovery through a structural adjustment based entirely on the efforts of our citizens, or through a combination

of efforts and help by way of a loan from the IMF.

To reconstruct the economy through the efforts of our citizens is both feasible and practicable. Opinions weigh very heavily in that direction, in spite of the realisation that this option will mean enormous sacrifice from all citizens. The debate has also revealed that there exists a body of opinion which recognises that there is a limit to the sacrifice that the citizens can be called upon to make, and that therefore some help from the IMF would give relief to the country during the difficult period of adjustment. The help from the IMF is of course not without conditions, which in themselves involve enormous sacrifices.

What is important in comparing the two broad options of obtaining or not obtaining the loan is the additional sacrifice entailed. It is not at all clear from the evidence that the additional sacrifice involved by obtaining the loan is less than the additional sacrifice entailed in not taking the loan. But what is clear is that whichever option we take will involve a lot of sacrifices by our people.

After due consideration of all the opinions expressed by Nigerians and other residents as embodied in the Interim Report on the IMF loan, Government has come to the conclusion that for now the path of honour and the essence of democratic patriotism lies in discontinuing the negotiations with the IMF for a support loan. This is clearly the will of the majority of our people on the issue. We have therefore decided to face the challenge of restructuring our economy not through an IMF loan, but a determination of our own people to make all the sacrifices necessary to put the economy on the path of sustained growth; doing so at our own pace and on our own volition.

In choosing this option, we affirm that we will continue to honour our legitimate and clearly established financial obligations within the limits of our financial resources and consistent with our fight for economic survival through self – reliance. We hope and expect that our genuine international friends and trading partners will respect and appreciate our decision and do everything severally and collectively to strengthen our friendship.

We must now put the debate behind us. There are no winners or losers in the debate. We must all work together in the spirit of fellowship and in the interest of the nation. That interest dictates that all hands must be on deck. Our resources must be prudently and judiciously managed at all levels and in all spheres of our national life.

We must curb our excessive demand for imported goods and patronise made-in-Nigeria products. We must establish and patriotically defend the highest standards of probity in our commercial, public and private relations. We must, by ourselves and on our own terms, do all those things which will help to restructure our economy, no matter what pains are involved during the adjustment period. That is the path of economic reconstruction, self-reliance and democratic patriotism.

PART II

POLITICAL ISSUES

POLITICAL BUREAU INAUGURATED

Inaugural Speech delivered at Abuja on 13th January, 1986

It should by now be clear to all that this Administration is firmly set on a course of Government by consultation with the people. Since my asumption of office, I have repeatedly reaffirmed my faith, and that of the Armed Forces Ruling Council, in the sense of responsibility of the Nigerian people and their responsiveness to challenges of whatever nature. Indeed, as a nation, we have repeatedly demonstrated these qualities whenever the occasion arose.

Only a few months back, the whole nation undertook the IMF debate and, after thoroughly considering the options, decided to forego the IMF Facility as well as accept to bear the consequential hardship and sacrifices. We were indeed encouraged by this debate. We were also gratified by the sincere and widespread support repeatedly given to this Administration, especially after uncovering of a plot to effect a bloody change of Government. I would like to believe that this mutual confidence between the people and government is due to an undeerstanding that the intention and activities of government are geared towards the good of all.

We are gathered here this morning to continue this process by inaugurating the Political Bureau, which I promised in my Budget address to the nation. Indeed, this morning's ceremony is intended to "kick off", as it were, the national debate on a viable future political ethos and structure for our dear country. I am happy that the search for a new political order is taking place at Abuja, the political capital of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

We are all familiar with the political conditions which brought about military regimes. Invariably, military administrations have come about as a result of bad government. Indeed, our present economic predicament can be attributed to the nature and practice of partisan politics. It has contributed, in part, to the increasing cynicism and aparthy of individuals, economic mismanagement as well as the apparent social chaos and disorder in our society. It has also adversely affected our capacity, as a nation, to realise our vast economic potentials. The Administration would therefore like to shift our attention to the need to create a more relevant political system. Consistent with our stated philosophy of government, we are committed to popular participation in the process of evolving such a viable political order.

In commemorating our country's 25th anniversary as a Sovereign State, I reminded the nation that what really lies at the bottom of our past dilemma is the absence of a viable political arrangement. The political history of this nation is partly one of disillusionment with partisan politics and politicians. As you all know, the history of the past twenty-five years has been dominated by this political question.

The search and solutions have hung around the issue of a political system without adequate care of the supportive values. Our search has been

to remedy immediate problems without sufficient attention to the long term issues. Not surprisingly, our efforts so far only succeeded in producing inept and inherently unstable political arrangements, which have failed to syncronise our cultural ideals with our economic and political potentials.

To put it differently, apart from the immediate and more visible problem of salvaging our battered economy, our other task is to bring about a new political culture which, like a veritable fountain head, would bring forth a stable, strong and dynamic economy. Such an arrangement must enable us to harness the vast human and natural resources of Nigeria towards building a cohesive and self-reliant society. These ideals and values have already been clearly articulated in the fundamental and directive principles of state policy as enshrined in the 1979 Constitution. This Administration is firmly committeed to the realisation of these objectives.

Today, we commence the search for a new political order. The setting up of the Political Bureau is the first step. As part of the strategy towards evolving a viable political order, I expect the ensuing debate to capture the nature of the threshold of the transition process. In particular, I expect the debate to come up qith suggestions as to how we can evolve a political system which can enable us to aspire to a predictable and stable political culture. I believe the time is now ripe for us to have a system which can guarantee an acceptable and painless succession mechanism. Finally, I would want the debate, as far as possible, to be rooted in a truly Nigerian political experience. Thus, I would expect the debate to identify and clarify issues in a manner as to ensure a higher political order that is capable of sustaining our enthusiasm for a healthy future.

It is important to point out, at this early stage, that this Adminstration does not conceive the Political Bureau as an agency set up simply to serve the national political debate. The Political Bureau will do much more. In addition to guiding, monitoring, analysing and documenting the national political debate, the Bureau will provide an objective and indepth critique of our past political experience in order to serve as background information for the debate. It will also produce the blueprint of a new political mode (or models) for the consideration of the Administration. It shall be its responsibility to eventually place options before this Administration as well as work out a realistic implementation programme for the agreed model.

Our primary political objective is to beaqeath to posterity of a new political order that can endure stresses as well as contain the competive demands in our national life. Furthermore, the bureau must ensure that Nigerians collectively secure for the lives of more meaningful political future through open and free debate. As a administration, we have stated our commitment to a decision-making process that will always in authority the principles of discussion and consultation we are committed to these basic tenets of democratic government, and we will adhere to it in order to remove the interest attached to leadership by our people. We are convinced that we cannot truly make progress as a nation unless and untill we collectively take our destiny in our own hands. We equally accept that the chal-

lenge of leadership dictates that government must remain responsive to popular wishes in order to foster a sense of greater belonging.

In this regards, it is important that all those who will contribute and participate in the debate need not be afraid to be both daring and imaginative. As you are well aware, we are committed to an order that will check the excesses of government and the abuse of power by the political leadership. We shall be allowed to misuse power to the detriment of our national aspirations. Simply put, the new arrangement must promote and enhance a self-reliance society.

As you very well know, every socio-economic order has a political arrangement appropriate to it. It will be the duty of the Political Bureau to suggest the blueprint that will promote meaningful socio-economic development of our country. However, and it is important to emphasis this, both this Administration and the Political Bureau will have to operate within parameters set by the will and aspirations of our people, as well as by the historic requirement that Nigeria should emerge, in the shortest possible time, as a modern State of World Power status. Therefore, you must see the search for the new political order as the launching pad for the new Nigeria: prosperous, humanist and stable at home, a nation that possesses real capability in the African context, and one that commands and compels respect in international affairs.

Today the majority of our people must begin the process of altering the course of our history for the better by debating and discussing our way forward. Let the search for a new political order be the starting point for forging that collective consciousness. It is a matter for every Nigeian. I urge you all to participate in earnest in the debate. It is therefore the additional responsibility of the Bureau to sensitise and energize the ordinary people towards the search for this order.

I would like to warn that this Administration does not want a regurgitation of the political models of the so called advanced countries of the world. If this were our desire, we would not have wasted your time, and ours, by inviting you here. Rather, we would simply have turned to the many volumes and various encyclopeadia on these alien constitutions. It must not seek to muzzle or everharness individuals views in the name of providing leadership at the grassroots. In order to enhance wider participation therefore, I hereby lift the ban on the Medical Associations and the National Union of Nigerian Students.

The Political Bureau shall comprise the following:-
S. J. Cookey
E. O. Awa
A. D. Yahaya
Haroun Adamu
Ibrahim Halilu

Pascal Bafyan
Oye Oyediran
Tunde Adeniran
S. I. Oyovbaire
Bala Takaya
O. E. Uya
Sani Zaharadden
Mrs. Hilda Adefarasin
Mrs. R. Abdullahi
Ola Balogun
Edwin Madunagu
Adbullahi Augie — Executive Secretary

You should bear in mind that our country is blessed with experienced and seasoned statesmen, administrators and industrialists. I implore you to tap and utilise their collective experience for the good of our nation. The Bureau is also empowered to make adequate administrative arrangements including the creation of zonal centres in order to enable it reach as many people as possible.

I want to make it quite clear that government does not intend to abandon its responsibility in this regard. We will not tolerate the emergence of "leaders of thought" for any hamlet, village, town, local government area or community, state or any combination of parts of sections of this country. The ban on partisan political activities and political parties is still in force and shall remain so until the AFRC has taken a decision on the report of the Political Bureau.

The debate can, of course, be carried out by socio-economic groups; professional associations can and should also participate. In short, participation must be completely divorced from partisan leanings. We cannot, indeed we must not, lift foreign constitutions and political models: That should not be your way forward. We share neither the political history nor the political cultures of these lands. Our demographic settings and social structures differ vastly from theirs. We presently lack the sophisticated and advanced industrialism that provides the economic foundations for these alien political models.

At this juncture, I wish to make it abundantly clear that the ensuing debate is not an invitation; open or covert, for partisan politics. It is a collective search. for a new political order; or path towards the search. It is neither a call for political party formation, nor the assertion of claims and plea for leadership on behalf of the people. It is certainly not a call for post factor wholesale justification for past systems and their operators both of whom have failed us as a nation. The exercise is a call to all Nigerians to

search, identify and select options that can lead this country to better heights.

This search will be conducted by a Political Bureau composed of men and women of ideas and experience. I expect the Bureau will carry out the assignment by canvassing the views and opinions across the Federation.

In the course of my Budget speech, I identified a number of factors which have contributed to our political instability. I would like the Bureau to regard my Budget speech integrally with my present address as key notes for their work.

I hereby inaugurate the Political Bureau with the following terms of reference:

(a) Review Nigeria's political history and identify the basic problems which have led to our failure in the past and suggest ways of resolving and coping with these problems.

(b) Identify a basic philosophy of government which will determine goals and serve as a guide to the achievement of government.

(c) Collect relevant information and data for the Government as well as identify other political problems that may arise from the debate.

(d) Gather, collate and evaluate the contributions of Nigerians to the search for a viable political future and provide guidelines for the attainment of the consensus objectives.

(e) Deliberate on other political problems as may be referred to it from time time.

Finally, I wish to reiterate my promise in the Budget Speech to the effect that this Administration will not stay a day longer than it is absolutely necessary. Your assignment must therefore provide time sequences for the transition to be achieved by October 1, 1990.

I would like to end this address by commending you to Allah's guidance. You are about to embark on a difficult assignment, but I believe there is no greater satisfaction than a call to serve one's country. It is a call to duty. It is my hope that the new political arrangement would enrich our faith and rekindle our hope in the future of this great country.

Goodluck and God bless.

Mr. Etim Inyang,
Inspector-General of Police.

JUDICIAL TRIBUNAL ON DECREES 7 AND 20 SUBMITTED

Address at the submission of the Judicial Tribunal of Inquiry which reviewed cases under the Decrees.

On behalf of the Federal Military Gvoernment and the people of Nigeria, I would like to express my very sincere gratitude for the selfless service which you have rendered in accomplishing the difficult assignment of investigating the cases of persons convicted under Decrees Nos. 7 and 20 of 1984.

When your Judicial Tribunal was set up about six months ago, Government did not have any illusion whatsoever about the enormity of the task of your Panel. As we are all aware, some Nigerians and foreigners convicted under these two harsh Decrees No. 7 and No. 20 of 1984 enacted by the former military administration, have been visited with the full rigours of the law, notably incarceration and in certain instances, death by firing squad, in accordance with the stiff penalties stipulated in the Decrees.

This Administration has consequently had to act swiftly to correct the situation by setting up this Tribunal in line with its declared policy on fundamental human rights, justice and fairplay. It is therefore very gratifying to note that you have been able to complete the assignment and present your report today in spite of certain inescapable difficulties. This is an eloquent testimony to your hard-work, dedication and total commitment to the improvement of our dear fatherland. Your very valuable contribution to the arduous task of redressing our socio-political ills is commendable and worthy of emulation.

I wish to take this opportunity to assure all Nigerians that the recent amendments to Decree No. 2 of 1984 are not designed to intimidate the population neither should they be interpreted as a signal that this Administration is about to re-enact the reign of terror which prevailed during the last military Administration. As explained recently by the Honourable Minister of Justice and Attorney-General of the Federation, the purpose of the amendments is to provide legal cover for the detention of certain persons who are detained before this time and who have been there for more than three months. The amendment of the Decree is meant to tidy up the legal position thereby facilitating review of their cases. Thus. the amendments are in furtherance of the human rights policy of this Administration and not a departure from it.

We are aware that the objection to the amendments springs from the fear that they could be used in the future to detain people for long periods. Such apprehension, while understandable in the context of our recent experience, is incompatible with our policy and commitment to civilised governance. I will therefore wish to reassure the entire nation that law abiding citizens of this country have nothing to fear from this Administration. However, those who deliberately embark on breaking the laws and

committing other unpatriotic acts will be dealt with in accordance with the laws of our country. But I have no doubt in my mind that the Nigerian people are law-abiding and will not do anything that will make this Administration contemplate returning to the days of arbitary detention and punitive Decrees.

My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen, I wish to assure you that the recommendations contained in the Report just submitted, will be given due consideration by Government. Once again, I thank the Chairman and members of the Tribunal for successfully undertaking this vital national assignment.

JUDICIAL COMMISSION SUBMITS REPORT

Brief address on the submission of Report of Judicial Commission of Inqiury into cases of Persons conditionally released.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you on behalf of the Federal Military Government for the report which you have just submitted.

As we may all recall, the establishment of your review tribunal was necessitated by the intolerable situation which existed at the inception of this Administration in August last year, when we discovered that many persons were detained for long periods of time without any trial. We considered such a state of affairs as unfair and unjust, hence we decided to set up your commission of inquiry.

I must congratulate you for accomplishing the monumental task of reviewing the very large number of cases within the period of about six months, especially as many of the persons affected are former prominent politicians. I am confident that all of you, Chairman and members alike. must have handled this delicate national assignment with the required sense of responsibility, and fairness. We are grateful to you all for your selfless service and untiring efforts which have made the sumbission of this report possible today.

I wish to assure you and the entire nation, that your report is not just another Tribunal report that will be considered in a routine manner. Your report and that sumbitted earlier by Justice Mohammed Bello and his colleagues, will be taken together and used as a basis for clearing out the augean stables of Nigerian politics. For the first time, the misdeeds of political office holders have been documented in a comprehensive manner for this and future generations of Nigerians. In consonance with our policy of respect for fundamental human rights, we shall review these reports objectively, with fairness and firmness. Those found guilty, will feel the full weight of the law; they will be made to pay the legal and political price for their crimes. On the other hand, those who have acquitted themselves honourably while in public office; will be given due recognition. We are not witch-hunters; corruption and abuse of office will be punished while honesty and dedication will be acknowledged.

Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen, the report sumbitted today will consitute a water-shed in the political evolution of our country. The actions that will subsequently emerge after due consideration by the Armed Forces Ruling Council should give this nation a new beginning, after several false starts.

It has often been said that the Nigerian politician learns nothing and forgets nothing. I hope, that after the implementation of the recommendations in this and other similar reports now before the Armed Forces Ruling Council, future politicians would learn the right lessons.

Once more, My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you for success-

fully completing your assignment in good time. I am sure, future generations will also acknowledge your contributions to our political development. Well done.

PART III

NEW DIRECTION OF GOVERNMENT

PERMANENT SECRETARIES AS ACCOUNTING OFFICERS

Address to Permanent Secretaries
September 2, 1985

You are by now no doubt aware of the circumstances that led to the change of the leadership of this country. That the Government machinery has continued to function normally and efficiently in the absence of your Chief Executives, is in conformity with your avowed tradition of filling vacuums whenever there is a change in the administration of government machinery. I commend you all for holding of the fort in your various Ministries within the last one week.

Let me touch a bit on the various issues affecting us as members of Government and as citizens of Nigeria. You are aware that the Nigerian economy is experiencing a very serious recession. From 1981, the economy has been witnessing a decline in revenue, high inflation, unemployment and a fall in general standards of living. Since April 1982, attempts were made to reverse the unhappy situation but with little success. Some of the measures taken were half heartedly drawn and implemented, while in some cases, the measures were never intended to be effective. In all cases, the civil servant has been responsible for giving Government the professional advice and for implementing the decision of government. The service cannot therefore dissociate itself entirely from the successes and failures of government.

While the economic problems are still with us, and they may be with us for sometime, it is your duty to re-examine your role as advisers as well as executives responsible for implementing Government policies and decisions. This time around, the advise must be thorough and professionally provided. The implementation of decisions so reached must be comprehensive and in accordance with the laid down policies of the Government. Capital projects must be properly costed. Projects implementation must be monitored and periodic progress reports rendered. Government assets must be properly protected and utilised. The days of replacing assets for the sake of replacement are gone. What assets we have, we have to maintain and properly utilise them.

With regard to working relationship between Permanent Secretaries and their Ministers, it is essential that for the machinery of Government to operate smoothly, there must exist a proper channel of communication. The Minister is the political head and chief executive of his Ministry and he is answerable to Government for all actions relating to his ministry. The Permanent Secretary on the other hand is the chief accounting officer as well as the chief co-ordinator of his ministry. All matters of policy nature should be directed to the Minister. A Permanent Secretary should not byepass his Minister and address issues of policy to the Secretary to the Federal Military Government and Head of Service, the Chief of General Staff or to the President. Ministers on the other hand, will be expected to consult fully with their Permanent Secretaries before advising Government

on matters of policy. When Ministers are appointed, they will be properly briefed as to what role they are expected to play. Among other things, they will be instructed not to deal directly with officers working under you, as this is likely to create a division of loyalty.

In dealing with parastatals and Government owned companies under your supervision, you should not in an attempt to build empires around you make them impotent. They should be made to function properly with less interferance. Their corporate and statutory role should be respected, as their success is also your success.

However, where they are seen to be moving away from Government policy, they should be called to order. Government will in due course address itslef to the way some of the key parastatals and government owned companies should be managed.

I wish at this point to observe that matters relating to third parties have continued to cause government and indeed this country, some bad names as a result of bad handling by government officials. Whether it is an ordinary enquiry, applications for business permits and licences, requests for payments on services rendered to Government or an application for an approval to conform with Government regulations, people find it difficult to be attended to promptly. Their common experiences are frustration and disappointment. A number of investors are scared away because of the time it takes them to set up new business ventures. Even within the Government itself, it takes a long time before a correspondence from one Ministry is attended to by another. In the end, the economy and the nation are the losers. This costly act has to stop forthwith. From now onwards, all enquires and requests must be attended to within a reaonable time. If you have to say no, say so and state your reasons for saying no. We want to attract foreign investments to enable our economy develop and grow in order to create new jobs. We want to encourage our entrepreneurs to go into new ventures and modernise and or to expand their existing ones. We should not frustrate them.

Another area of concern is the long delay in the execution of Government projects. Invariably, from the time tenders are prepared to the award and the eventual execution of the contracts, many useful months and even years are wasted. In the end, the cost of the contracts escalates. Many cases can be sighted where a project costs twice its original estimates because of delays in implementation. This is not a healthy situation and it must be changed.

From now on, it is the intention of this administration to judge accounting officers by the quality of advice they give Government, the speed with which Council conclusions are implemented, the extent in which their Ministries promptly attend to public requests and the managerial skills displayed by individual Accounting officers in the efficient management of public resources and time at his Ministry's disposal. The Secretary to the Federal Military Government will draw up a format for the purpose of assessing and evaluating the performances of the accounting officers.

Finally, you need not be reminded that the success of any Government depends on the quality of its civil service. You should not let your personal problems and prejudices overwhelm you. We have a responsibility to the nation. We must discharge it with utmost dedication, loyalty and patriotism. Government will however ensure that you are properly protected and your security properly guaranteed. Do not shy away from giving us the best advice at all times. We should start with a clean slate. The problems and challenges before us are enormous but they are not beyond solution. I ask you for your full co-operation and commitment in the difficult times ahead. God willing, we shall succeed.

Prince Bola Ajibola
Federal Attorney-General and
Minister of Justice

CORRECT IMAGE FOR THE CIVIL SERVICE

Address at the Swearing-in of the Federal Pubic Service Commission
July 14, 1986

The 1979 Constitution saddled your commission with the management of the Federal Civil Service. As members of the Commission, it is your duty to pilot and manage the affairs of the Service to ensure greater productivity and better job satisfaction in the civil service. Your Commission is therefore charged, save for a few exceptions that call for mandatory consultation, with the responsibility to appoint, dismiss and exercise disciplinary control over all personnel in the Federal Civil Service. These functions are no doubt difficult to accomplish even with modern management tools.

Your task is made the more difficult by the complex-nature of our society: a plural society with an uneven pace and spread of development. We are also a society in which individuals often find it easier to impute socio-cultural motives for sanctions applied against actions which are patently wrong and punishable. Such imputations tend to lessen the sense of guilt and diminish the potency of the example effect of the sanctions.

The oath to which you have just sworn, should give you the courage to tackle the problems of the Civil Service with a sense of mission. You have sworn to serve your fatherland and to ensure fairness and justice among its citizens. You have sworn to be impartial and honest in your duties and responsibilities to our nation. I enjoin you therefore to let the virtues of truthfulness, honesty and fairness remain your watchword. I implore you to let the sense of duty and social justice manifest themselves in the workings of the Commission, and through it, the society.

Needless to remind you of the goals which this Administration has set itself. We want to build a society in which social justice remains supreme: a society in which human rights are consciouslv nurtured and respected.

We want to build an open society in which individual can be heard; a society in which they can seek and get redress as a matter of right without the need to have recourse to illegal activities. Fortunately, Nigeria still has a reservoir of men and women who can bring this about. You are, individually and collectively, part and parcel of that reservoir. Your commitment to selfless service, discipline, order, and hardwork should be allowed to be reflected throughout the Civil Service. You must discharge the responsibilities of your high office in the best interest of Nigeria and in accordance with the solemn oath to which you have just sworn.

I have no doubt that the task before you is not an easy one. The state of affairs in the Federal Civil Service today is one of turmoil: it has witnessed so many changes that its character and functions have been affected and not always for the better. These changes have also brought about certain unwholesome practices in the attitude and posture of civil servants. The Nigerian public's perception of the Civil Service has also shifted over the years from that of an object of respect and trust to one of dissatis-

faction, suspicion, and sometimes even contempt.

The reasons for the unsatisfactory state of affairs include the politicisation of the Civil Service during the Second Republic which has contributed to indiscipline and low productivity. Recruitment into the Service had been undertaken without regard for either manpower need or ability of the government to pay. Subsequently, the service had within it some individuals who are incapable, incompetent and undisciplined. Not surprisingly, therefore, rules and regulations were abused with impunity and disciplinary cases were left unresolved. Inevitably, under such conditions, the Civil Service contributed to the social malaise within the larger society outside. Consciously or otherwise, some civil servants have encouraged corruption, fraud and abuse of office. It is accepted as a fact that they move and deliver government patronage.

This perception of the Civil Service by the public is due no doubt to a few bad eggs in the Service. I believe it is an important part of your task to correct this image in a positive manner. It is your duty to correct the anomalies that exist and can be identified. You must strive to build an honest service which is capable of motivating the Civil Servant to perform better.

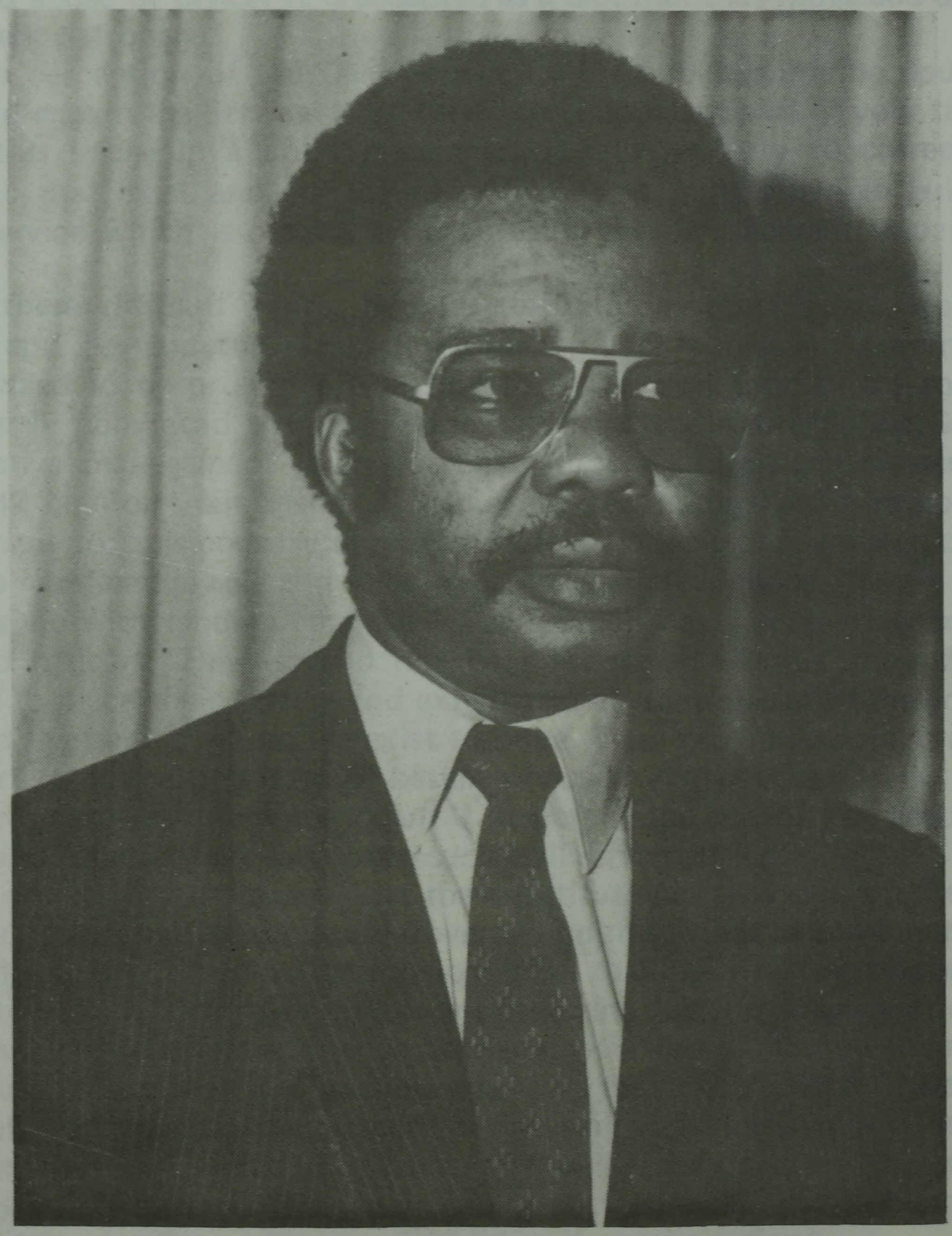
In these difficult times, there is need for more efficient hands to manage and develop the Nigerian economy; and indeed all Government policies need to be promptly executed to the overall good of the society. I am deeply convinced that the reorientation of the entire Public Service for effective management is an especially urgent and critical matter that must rank high on your agenda. The current debate on the future political arrangement for this country may also offer the people of Nigeria an opportunity to redefine the role and functions of the Public Service.

This notwithstanding, the Civil Service still has a crop of good and dedicated officers. They should not be discouraged. Rather they should continue to place their service and experience at the disposal of the government and the people whom we exist to serve. They should be bold, creative and assertive in the provision of better service to our people. On our part, the Government will continue to fulfill its part of the contract by according support and necessary confidence to such civil servants.

No doubt, you are aware that the constitutional provision of "Federal Character" has aroused some controversy and misgivings in some quarters. The pertinent task of your Commission is not to allow yourselves to be part of the problem, but to relate this provision to the better management of the service in order to effect a balance between social representation and merit. You should ensure that it is possible to ensure that the "Federal Character" is attainable without sacrificing merit or arousing social misgivings. This is an issue that must be handled in a manner that will foster unity and integration of our society. I have confidence in your ability to tackle the problem with tact, and fairness without being unfaithful to the constitution.

Finally, I would like to seize this opportunity to express, once again, the appreciation and gratitude of the Federal Military Government to the out-going Chairman and the Members of the Commission whose terms of

office have expired. I enjoin the new members to brace themselves up for the task of rebuilding the image and confidence of the Civil Service and thus motivating it to greater productivity. I count on your pledge and support.



Professor Bolaji Akinyemi
Minister of External Affairs

CHALLENGE OF POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

Address to Ministers and Permanent Secretaries on the Budget
January 21, 1986

It has been gratifying to note the positive and enthusiastic reception by the nation of the policy package contained in the 1986 Budget. It has also been instructive to observe the fear, and sometimes the cynicism, being expressed about the successful implementation of the various policies and programmes of Government as exemplified in that budget.

As I reminded you in my Budget speech, Government recognises that in a period of economic emergency, policies, no matter how soundly formulated, become empty words, unless they are vigorously implemented. We cannot therefore afford to allow the machinery of policy implementation to jog along its leisurely pace during the next twelve months.

We are determined to pursue at all levels of administration, a strategy of close monitoring of all policies and programmes enunciated in this Budget as well as re-examine existing administrative mechanisms and procedures with a view to ensuring that all facets of the Budget are implemented energetically. Indeed, periodic targets both in the public and private sectors will be reviewed to ensure that performance keeps pace with the Budget's expectations. Furthermore, both the public and private sectors were enjoined to recognise the critical nature of 1986 to the economic survival of our nation and to approach policy implementation in the spirit of emergency.

We are aware of the problems of policy implementation and we shall begin to tackle the problems with the machinery of government itself; we shall instill the spirit of the times by promoting fresh commitment to the values of efficient performance and dedicated service and by installing a proper mechanism for close monitoring and control. Furthermore, we shall ensure round pegs are properly fitted into round holes in order to promote better performance. These are the guiding principles behind the exercise of re-assigning several principal Ministers and Permanent Secretaries.

The reorganisation of machinery of Government will also affect the Presidency itself. First, the post of Secretary to the Federal Military Government as distinct and separate from that of the Head of Service is now recreated. Henceforth, substantive issues of policy design, policy implementation and policy coordination which will be the function of the Secretary to the Federal Military Government will be separated from matters of establishment, staff discipline and service-related subjects which will be the responsibilities of the Head of the Civil Service.

Secondly, a special unit for monitoring and controlling the various policies and programmes in the 1986 budget will be established in the office of the Secretary to the Military Gvovernment. The Unit shall draw its personnel largely but not exclusive from suitable staff in the Ministries of

Finance and National Planning. Furthermore, the Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructures already located in the Presidency, shall be headed by a member of the Armed Forces Ruling Council, Air Commodore Larry Koinyan. Finally, the Presidential Advisory Committee shall remain an integral part of the Presidency. This will not only ensure the continuous process of policy design and programme review but also assure an over-sight of national development.

The reorganisation for effective implementation has also affected the Ministers, some of whom have now been assigned to new portfolios in the spirit of more effective performance. From those of you who are thus affected, I demand, as always, total commitment and dedication in the onerous task of reviving the economy and I fervently trust that none of you will be found wanting.

I would also like to remind you that your performance as a member will be judged by the extent to which the policies, programmes and projects enunciated for your Ministry in the budget are successfully articulated and promptly executed. In order to further strenghten your performance capacity, consideration will be given to requests, especially in key policy areas, for each Minister to appoint one or two special assistants from outside the public service.

The main stream of Bureaucracy forms the third, and undoubtedly the largest and most vital, institution in the implementation process. From our experience since Independence, it is understandable that the public has developed strong reservations about its effectiveness. Reassignment of Permanent Secretaries can only be the beginning of a long process of restructuring the bureaucracy for greater social sensitivity, financial probity, public accountability, administrative efficiency and developmental orientation. Perhaps the time has indeed come to radically consider appointments into the higher echelon of the Service such that the career element gives way to that of political commitment.

There is, in any event the need for an established continual review of the general problems of public administration and inter-governmental relations, as opposed to the present practice of episodic reviews by special commissions. Meanwhile, the attention of Permanent Secretaries and all other officers in the entire public sector is once more directed to Government's strictures in the 1986 budget, concerning statistical data, audited accounts, published periodic reports and quarterly evaluation statements in respect of their areas of responsibility. Government is determined to enforce those instruments of programme control and public accountability.

Needless to remind you of the conditions that led to the proclamation of a state of economic emergency. But it is important that you should bear in mind that one major cause of cost escalation has been due to delays in evaluation and payment for government projects and contracts. This Administration will no longer tolerate this situation. You must, resolve,

henceforth to make cost-effectiveness the watch word of public sector performance. I expect and, indeed, demand of every minister and his Permanent Secretary, together with the Accountant General, a judicious review of existing mechanism for financial disbursement in order to ensure timely and efficient delivery system.

I do not, however, expect you to compromise on the issues of probity either in dealing with public finance or with operators of various government projects.

Ultimately, the best watchdogs of public -- sector performance is the public itself. There must be public vigilance, and the entire society must be mobilised to sustain public accountability. Government has reiterated its commitment to avirile system of community governance and grassroot development. But that system must also be harnessed for the purpose of monitoring field performance of various government functionaries and public funds; the more so that counterpart local funds would be required in important cases. Proper organisation for community government will not only foster healthy competitive local development within the framework of established national priorities, but also help engender public accountability and social responsiveness. In this connection, Government will harness the National Youth Service Corps by deploying not less than two of their serving members to each local development area or rural community, for the express purpose of regularly reporting on the progress and exact status of public works at the grassroots.

Funds and efforts expended by both government and the people must be manifestly seen to be matched by the works completed.

Goverment is aware that the various structural adjustment programmes may result in some hardships, and is determined not to make the pains unnecessarily harsh or unduly prolonged. But the discomforts of adjustment process can only be minimised if we are not only each other's keepers but also each other's watchdogs.

This Administration is conscious of the reality that all the problems of under-development cannot be solved at once. We also recognise that the foundation of true development lies in the human labour of our people; I urge you to join in the systematic mobilisation of farmers, workers and youths for production, community governance and widespread national consciousness. There is need for our citizens to be mobilised to defend the integrity of the nation's economy, to fight corruption, discourage smuggling and expose all forms and social ill. You should lead the struggle and place your know-how in the service of the nation. You must set the pace.

Our slogan for survival and orderly development is ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION, SOCIAL JUSTICE AND SELF-RELIANCE. Economic reconstruction involves a radical review of our external dependency, building our production process more on our own national and human resources, switching our growth engine from trading to production avoiding waste and vanity, shedding all pretences about our affluence, reversing our

past life-style, and accepting the pains of structural adjustment. You must resolve as operators not to be lured into a false sense of economic security while a few get away with the fruits of our land and the products of our labour.

We are dedicated to service, to leadership by example and to hard work. These values must be made to operate at the legal, political, social and economic levels. In the process of social integration, the country must rise above agressive ethnic competition, statism and religious bigotry. These are the values which have bedevilled us over the years, and their exploitation to the detriment of the nation must not be allowed to continue.

The challenge of implementation is a difficult task. It is a task that calls for initiative, consistency and thouroughness. I am confident that you, as executive and administrative heads of your organisations, possess the right qualities. Furthermore, and, in tune with the philosophy of this Administration, the Boards of parastatals and the statutory corporations are hereby dissolved immediately. The Chief executives of these Boards are instructed to carry on the day-to-day operations of their organisations, under the close supervision of their parent ministries, until new Boards are composed.

I urge all functionaries of government to face with renewed vigour and determination the challenges of national policy implementation. I have every confidence that with such commitment, we shall succeed in achieving our national goals.

NEW DIRECTION OF GOVERNMENT

Address to Officers of the Armed Forces and Nigerian Police Force at National Assembly Complex
September 27, 1985

As you are all aware, on 27th of August this year, the Government headed by Maj-Gen Muhammadu Buhari was changed in a bloodless coup. The reasons for the change have been made clear in my initial broadcast and subsequent addresses to various bodies and organs. I therefore do not wish to repeat them.

Let me however start by commending the maturity and sense of understanding exhibited by all of you immediately after the change of leadership. I also wish to seize the opportunity of this forum to express my personal appreciation for the honour done me by all of you. I pledge my determination to discharge my duties to the best of my abilities and do not expect to fail with the cooperation and support of all officers of the Armed Forces and the Police.

Let me briefly state the objectives of this government. These objectives are quite dynamic and will therefore change constantly. But essentially it is the new direction that this administration hopes to follow. Broadly speaking, therefore the general objectives of this Government will strive to achieve the following;-

(a) A disciplined, united, patriotic, productive and secure Nigerian society.
(b) Economic stability.
(c) Commendable industrial and commercial growth.
(d) Self-Sufficiency in food production to include export of cash crops.
(e) Self-sufficiency in good and clean drinking water.
(f) Sufficient and efficient health facilities and medical care.
(g) Abundant opportunity for functional education and jobs.
(h) A balanced and efficient civil public service structure and of course.
(i) An effective and efficient Armed Forces.

To achieve these objectives, the Administration expects the full participation of all of you as members of the Armed Forces on the one hand and as Nigerian citizens on the other. It is in line with this that this Administration has decided to run an open-door policy. You will have noticed from the composition of the various arms of Government that effort has been made to have fairly wide representation of members of the Armed Forces and other sectors of the Nigerian society. The Administration has also ensured that there will be Freedom of Speech so that members of the public can debate issues and contribute ideas to enable government take decisions. There shall be a pragmatic approach to administration.

Specifically, what do I expect of you members of the Armed Forces? It

is not possible to have all of you appointed into government jobs. That does not in any way mean that you cannot contribute. I expect that all the Services will set up "Services Advisory Council" at various levels which will be charged with responsibilities for advising various Commanders on topical issues. This Council would meet at specified times to debate issues that concern the government, pass on recommendations to appropriate Commanders who will forward them through members of the Armed Forces Ruling Council, State Governors or Ministers to the President to enable him make decisions for the good of everybody. In this way, it is hoped that everybody will be given an opportunity to participate in the governance of this country.

If the Government fails, it is we the Armed Forces that have failed. As members of the Armed Forces you must accept responsibility for the actions and pronouncements of government. Those of you who have been appointed into various jobs in government are to ensure that you adhere strictly to the open-door policy of government. No advice is too little. It should be listened to, analysed, discarded or forwarded as deemed fit.

With a healthy development of such an information exchange system, we as members of the Forces will create the appropriate atmosphere within which to function. Given a sense of unity amongst us, we are thus in a better position to address both the major and minor problems confronting the nation.

Finally, I will like to conclude by thanking you all for your support so far and I hope that I can continue to count on your support in the future. I demand from you total loyalty and devotion to duty. The Armed Forces will not prosper if the Nation does not.

NEED FOR CO-OPERATION IN NATION BUILDING

Address to Officers of the Armed Forces and Nigeria Police Force at HQ 2nd Mechanical Division Ibadan
October 15, 1985

It gives me much pleasure to once again have an opportunity to talk to you following the change in leadership of the Government of our country. You all, are aware that on 27th of August this year, Major-General Muhammadu Buhari was replaced in a bloodless coup. The reasons for the change were clearly stated in my initial broadcast to the people of this country and in subsequent address to various bodies and organs. I therefore do not wish to repeat them.

let me however start by commending the maturity and sense of understanding exhibited by all of you immediately after the change of leadership. I also wish to seize the opportunity of this forum to express my personal appreciation for the honour done me by all of you. I pledge my determination to discharge my duties to the best of my abilities and do not expect to fail with the cooperation and support of all of you sitting here today.

That an Armed Forces that is traditionally designed for, trained and committed to the preservation of the territorial integrity of this nation is currently running the affairs of the State is a glory to the country. That is why I am convinced that as members of the uniformed services, the onus is on you to justify the change of government by showing examplary behaviour at all times. You must rededicate your efforts to ensure that this nation survives. The alternatives are too grave to consider.

In order to achieve our set objectives, the Administration expects the full participation of all of you as members of the Armed Forces on the one hand and as Nigerian citizens on the other. It is in line with this that this Administration has decided to run an open-door policy. You will have noticed from the composition of the various arms of Government that effort has been made to have a fairly wide representation of members of the Armed Forces and other sectors of the Nigerian society. The Administration has also ensured that there will be Freedom of Expresson so that members of the public can debate issues and contribute ideas that are of national interest. We intend a progmatic approach to administration.

The populance among whom you live, look up to you as the representatives of the government. I urge you to devote as much time as is humanly possible in assisting them since an improvement in their perception of the goernment will go a long way in our eventual success at governance.

You will notice that not everybody amongst you are given political appointments, this is not because those left out are not capable. Rather, it is a deliberate attempt not to deplete the human resources of the Armed Forces. Whatever grudges you have against the system, or genuine observations and suggestions, they are no use unless they are made known to us.

There is a channel through which we should be informed. It is only in this way that we get to know your feelings and those of your men towards government policies. The very survival of this country depends on a virile and dedicated Armed Forces. Specifically, what do I expect of you members of the Armed Forces? As I said, it is not possible to have all of you appointed into government jobs. However that does not in any way mean that you cannot contribute.

This country has had a serious set back in all its developmental efforts since Independence and this could be attributed to a general lack of discipline amongst others. Indeed, It was to stem that tide, that the WAI campaign was launched. This Administration believes however that we can still fight indiscipline through a more effective educational, psychological morale and societal value approach. As members of the Armed Services I implore you to adhere strictly to the tenets of discipline and your services code of conduct. The society at large is looking up to you, for whatever you do would reflect on the overall image of this government.

If the Government fails, it is we members of the Armed Forces that have failed. You must accept responsibility for the actions and policies of government. Those of you who have been appointed into various jobs in government are to ensure that you adhere strictly to the open-door policy of government. No advice is too little; it should be listened to, analysed, discarded or forwarded as deemed fit.

With a healthy development of such an information exchange system, we as members of the Forces will create the appropriate atmosphere within which to function. Given a sense of unity amongst us, we are thus in a better position to address both the major and minor problems confronting the nation.

Finally, I take this opportunity to thank you all for your unalloyed support and loyalty to the Federal Military Government. It is particularly pleasing to note the demonstration of courage, professionalism, and support you have collectively exhibited during the recent change. I will continue to bet on your unalloyed loyalty and support.

REDEDICATE EFFORTS FOR NATIONAL SURVIVAL

Address to Officers of the Armed Forces and Nigeria Police Force at HQ 3 Armoured Division Jos
October 26, 1985

The events that led to a change of Leadership on August 27th 1985 have been exhaustively repeated immediately thereafter. For that reason, I shall once more refrain from any further repetition. I shall, however, not omit to again commend the maturity and sense of understanding exhibited by all of you after the change. Similarly, I also wish to seize the opportunity of this forum to express my personal appreciation for the honour done me by all of you. I hereby make a further pledge of my determination, with your continued support and co-operation, to discharge my duties to the very best of my abilities. No doubt exists in my mind that each and every one of you sitting here today will do the same.

This Administration intends to ensure that the Armed Forces are not held responsible for failing to administer the nation effectively. In order, therefore, to achieve our set objectives, you must all rededicate your efforts to concretize our aspirations of national survival. I have said it before, and I shall say it again, the alternatives to survival are too grave to consider. Your obligations to the nation and its people are therefore two fold; you are both governors and servants of Nigeria. To successfully perform these roles therefore, it is necessary to make the required extra effort to be dedicated members of your respective services while at the same time recognize yourselves as ordinary citizens like all other non-members of the uniformed services.

As you are all aware, I announced a 15 month state of economic emergency during my address to the nation to commemorate the 25th Independence anniversary. The idea is to within the period be able to revive the economy and put it on a second footing. There will be a lot of sacrifices on the part of all Nigerians including you, member of the Armed Forces and the Police. I wish to point out that no sacrifice should be considered too great in our efforts for economic and national revival. You should not expect any new equipment to be provided as what is currently in the inventory if properly maintained is adequate for the performance of your assigned roles. I will count on your full support and cooperation whenever the economic measures are announced for it is only in this way that we will get out of our predicament without enslavement.

Our open-door policy requires that you keep it constantly in your mind and show always by your actions that you realise the populace among whom you live look up to you as the representatives of government. You must assist them to understand various courses and decisions taken by government. You should listen to advice as no advise is too little or irrelevant.

Furthermore, the healthy development of an information exchange system is expected amongst and between you. To facilitate such an expectation, variosus services Advisory Committees are being set up. I enjoin you to make an optimal use of them, for in this way, we as members of the Armed Forces can create the unity of purpose that is so manifestly important to the future stability of our dear country. Finding lasting solutions to the problems confronting the nation will consequently be made easier, thus guaranteeing long term security to both Nigerian citizens individually and the nation as a whole. If the Government faiis, it is we the Armed Forces that have failed. As members of the Armed Forces you must accept responsibility fot the actions and pronouncements of government.

You will notice that not everybody amongst the members of the Armed Forces and Police is given a political appointment, this is not because those left out are not capable. Rather, it is a deliberate attempt not to deplete the resources of the Armed Forces. Whatever grudges you have against the system or genuine observations and suggestions, they are no use unless they are made known to us. There is a channel through which we should be informed. It is only in this way that we get to know your feelings and those of your men towards government policies. The very survival of this country depends on a virile and dedicated Armed Forces. Specifically, what do I expect of you members of the Armed Forces? It is not possible to have all of you appointed into government jobs. That does not in any way mean that you cannot contribute.

The point that I am visiting you last in not to be misconstrued for relegation. Being an officer originally of the Armoured Corps, it is not fair for me to visit you before any others since it is just like coming home. The home I believe is the last stop since that is where you are more relaxed and apt to let off steam at the end of a hard day's work.

Finally, I must thank you all once again for the confidence reposed in me. Your loyalty I again pledge not to betray, and for this reason I shall count on your continued support. I call on you all to redouble your efforts and reinforce your determination to ensure that this administration does not fail. Let us create for ourselves a record of achievements so that when the history of Nigeria is written it shall record the immense successes of the Armed Forces.

SOLDIERS AS REPRESENTATIVES OF GOVERNMENT

Address to Officers of the Armed Forces and Nigeria Police Force at HQ 1 Mechanised Division Kaduna
October 22, 1985

I once again welcome an opportunity to talk to you. It gives me much pleasure to address officers of the Armed Forces and Nigeria Police Force here in Kaduna.

Kaduna has a special significance as far as the history and existence of the uniformed services is concerned. Not only does Kaduna and its immediate environs accommodate a large number of military institutions and installations, it was the events in this city of the first military intervention that played a decisive role in the consequences which followed. For these reasons, I feel a need to make reiterations of my previous addresses to your counterparts and fellow officers in Lagos, Enugu and Ibadan.

The events that led to a change of Leadership on August 27th 1985 have been exhaustively repeated immediately thereafter. For that reason, I shall once more refrain from any further repetition. I shall, however, not omit to again commend the maturity and sense of understainding exhibited by all of you after the change. Similarly, I also wish to seize the opportunity of this forum to express my personal appreciation for the honour done me by all of you. I hereby make a further pledge of my determination, with your continued support and co-operation, to discharge my duties to the very best of my abilities. No doubt exists in my mind that each and every one of you sitting here today will do the same.

The Armed Forces is traditionally designed for and trained to preserve the territorial integrity of a nation in the face of external threat in whatever form. Circumstances in our country have diverted us from such a traditional role and thrust upon us the necessity of running Nigeria's state of affairs. We have for a greater part of our independent history, been the custodian of government. It is a new set of responsibilities the challenge of which we must overcome to assure Nigerians of a future.

This Administration intends to ensure that the Armed Forces are not held responsible for failing to administer the nation effectively. In order, therefore, to achieve our set objectives, you must all rededicate your efforts to concretize our aspiration of national survival. I have said it before, and I shall say it again, the alternatives to survival are too grave to consider.

Your obligations to the nation and its people are therefore two fold; you are both governors and servants of Nigeria. To successfully perform these roles therefore, it is necessary to make the required extra effort to be dedicated members of your respective services while at the same time recognize yourselves as ordinary citizens like all other non-members of the uniformed services.

To comfortably and easily fit into these roles, this administration's

primary objective is to provide an appropriate atmosphere within which we should all function. The central mechanism is the open-door policy.

Our open-door policy requires that you keep it constantly in your minds and show always by your actions that you realise the populace among whom you live look up to you as the representatives of government. You must assist them to understand various courses and decisions taken by government. You should listen to advice as no advice is too little or irrelevant, it should be listenedto, analysed, and discarded or forwarded to appropriate authorities as deemed fit.

Furthermore, the healthy development of an information exchange system is expected amongst and between you. To facilitate existence of such an expectation, various services Advisory Committees are being set up.

I enjoin you to make an optimal use of them, for in this way, we as members of the Armed Forces can create the unity of purpose that is so manifestly important to the future stability of our dear country. Finding lasting solutions to the problems confronting the nation will consequently be made easier, thus guaranteeing long term security to both Nigerian citizens individually and the nation as a whole.

It has occured in past military governments that splits emerged between officers occupying political appointments and those performing purely professional service functions. Such undesirable developments must not be allowed to occur in this administration. It is not possible for every officer to become a political office holder, and it must be understood that such appointments do not necessarily imply any indication of superior capacity or lack of it. Furthermore, political appointments must be seen and treated as a military assignment. Therefore, whatever type of office you hold, be it political or service, you are part and parcel of the same government. Consequently, we shall all be held accountable and should all accept responsibility for government actions and policies.

The most important pre-requisite to achieving our set objectives however rests on both your official and personal conducts. As members of the Armed Forces, I implore you to adhere strictly to the tenets of discipline and your services code of conduct. We can only succeed if we set the proper example.

Finally, I must thank you all once again for the confidence reposed in me. Your loyalty I again pledge not to betray, and for this reason I shall and reinforce your determination to ensure that this administration does not fail. Let us create for ourselves a record of achievements so that when the history of Nigeria is written it shall record the immense successes of the Armed Forces.

God bless Nigeria.

HONOUR TO FALLEN HEROES

Launching of Remembrance Day Speech
January 9, 1986

As I stand before you on this most important occasion, I recall the words of Allah Most High to Moses; "Cast thy shoes from off thy feet, for thou art on sacred ground". To us, officers and men of the Armed Forces of Nigeria; to the nation at large; to all men who honour and respect the profession of arms and to men and women of goodwill everywhere the duty we perform today is a sacred one. The observances which follow from today up to the ceremony at the cenotaph on Jan 15th form part of our hallowed traditions as a disciplined force. Through this and other events that follow we honour and salute the courage and spirit of service and obedience to duty of our fallen herpes and comrades-at-arms who made the supreme sacrifice in two world wars and in the war of our national survival. Through the honour we do them today we commemmorate those great events in our history which, under God, have shaped, and will continue to shape our destiny.

The deeds of arms of the Nigerian soldier and the quality of our fighting men are respected the world over. His contribution to the great events which have produced a better and more peaceful order in the world have been considerable.

He was the backbone of the Royal West African Frontier Force. As such he was a decisive element in the Ashanti Wars. He was a key factor in the East African Campaigns and decisive in the Cameroun War against Germany.

In the Second World War he fought with great distinction in nearly all the theatres of war.

Since independence he has been a most conspicuous factor and a belligerent but most positive and disciplined influence in the numerous peacekeeping operations under the United Nations and the OAU. As such he has earned the good opinion and healthy respect of the Armed Forces of other nations who have worked with him. His conduct has brought the nation goodwill and greater respect.

In the Civil War he fought with great courage under very difficult and trying conditions and won the day. He has since then spearheaded great and momenous decisions which have given the nation a securer future and more auspiscious conditions for peace and growth.

Let me therefore, at this moment salute his courage and gallantry; and through the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Service Chiefs extend my appreciation and that of the administration and the nation at large to all the officers and men of all units of the Armed Forces wherever they may be. The nation remembers on this occasion of the Armed Forces Day and always will.

The Chief of the General Staff; The Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff;

Distinguished Service Chiefs; Officers and men of the Armed Forces of the Republic; even if we depart from the tradition of this occasion, we do honour to the memory of our fallen heroes if we remind ourselves today of the sacred principles governing the noble profession of arms under which they served and died. This is necessary because for the second time, the nation has been shocked and outraged by the unpatriotic, unmilitary and anti-social conduct by disloyal elements within our ranks against the state, the nation and the military profession. By placing personal desires, personal opinion and personal ambition, based purely on self-will above all considerations, they have contemplated and attempted acts whose nature have threatened completely the credibility and honour of the Armed Forces as a national professional force.

It may be that our origin as a colonial force; our sudden and rapid expansion; the fact that the forces have had little expericnce of civil authority and control; our frequent exposure to political roles; the decision not to honour fully the military tradition at the end of the civil war and the lack of a deep rooted national military tradition due to the absence of long-serving superior officers may all have eroded our professional ethics. Whatever the case those two events; especially the most recent, must give every patriotic professional Nigerian soldier cause for anxiety and deep reflection. I am certain that unless we review our position and take necessary steps to recapture and reinstate our professional military virtues we may sooner or later become no better than civilians with guns. If that happens we shall have disgraced the military profession and placed the nation in double jeopardy.

Of our technical competence and belligerent capability no one can have any doubt. The problem is whether we are not gradually beginning to lose the correct perspectives in relation to our obligation to the state, the nation and to the noble profession of arms.

We all know that when a man decides to become a soldier he sacrifices the whole of his active life, body and soul to the state. His loyalty to it must be absolute and unreserved. His obedience to its will must be automatic and unquestioning. Submission to the discipline it imposes and his answer to its call to duty, whenever, wherever and however it decides to apply his skills must be his uncompromising creed. The training, equipment and resources it gives him must be used only in its defence. Apart from technical questions to which he may be asked to contribute solutions, the determination of policy is not his concern. Right or wrong, to the professional soldier the state is all.

We also know that the soldier owes the same obligations to the nation as he owes to the state. In this regard we know that each nation has its own way of life and beliefs regarding right and wrong. It is the duty of the soldier to sustain the best and noblest virtues and the highest moral values in his society in and out of uniform.

Its laws, regulations and procedures must govern him as much as it governs other citizens. He must respect the freedoms and rights of his civilian compatriots. He must guard their lives and property as jealously as he guards his own. Whatever the form and nature of its government at any

given time, the patriotic soldier owes the nation a duty to submit to the authority of the national government, its agencies and representatives. Though he pays taxes and votes, partisan disputes and disagreements must not be his concern. As a soldier and servant of society, he must not expect or extort privileges not enjoyed by other citizens except those governing his terms of service. When it becomes necessary for the nation to tighten its belt, the soldier must accept the obligation like everybody else. Indeed, he should set the example as you have done.

In view of our circumstances and experience to date, the first duty we owe to our profession is actually to belong to it. Our decision to become soldiers must be just that and not an avenue to other things.

It is a decision to join a way of life, a complete world with a comprehensive system of ethics which are familiar to all of you. The esprit de Corps, commitment, honesty, brotherhood and common cause with all comrades-at-arms regardless of tribe, religion, state of region or family status and fortune are part and parcel of our mainstay. The maintenance of the highest standards of discipline, smartness, efficiency, sobriety, moderation and integrity in private and official life, obedience to superiors as well as respect for rank and absolute comformity to the rules and regulations of the service are another. The military profession is an honourable one. Association with crime and criminal persons, corruption and extortion, enrichment and abuse of office, smuggling and drug trafficking do as much damage as the most ignoble forms of unpatriotic behaviour and damage the military profession as much. Finally the military profession is young in our national existence. It needs to grow and mature. When we join it we should aim to stay in it, make a life not a career out of it and commit ourselves to its continuing maturation and increasing excellence in all its mainfold aspects.

Nothing I have said so far is unfamiliar. That I have had to say them is unflattering to us. But we are soldiers who do not flinch from a sacred duty just as we do not flee the battlefield.

As we honour the memory and salute the courage and sacrifice of our fallen comrades let us rededicate ourselves to the obligations we owe the state, the nation and the profession of arms as totally and as completely as Moses did, dedicate himself at Sinai. Let us look within our hearts and ranks and rediscover in their purest prime those qualities which place our profession above all others and make us proud to belong in the company of those we salute and commemorate today in this sacred place.

Long live the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Thank you all.

PART IV

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

PART VI

STRATEGY FOR IMPORT SUBSTITUTION

Speech Delivered by President Babangida while commissioning the Nigerian Newsprint Manufacturing Mills Cross River State on 19th July, 1986

The Nigerian Newsprint Manufacturing Company (NNMC) is an enterprise which is jointly owned by the Federal and Cross River State Governments. It is a project that was conceived, ten years ago, to produce newsprint for our rapidly expanding paper industry. As you all know, paper is one of the cheapest and most readily available material for communication in our modern day society. It is an indispensable commodity and a basic necessity for a rapidly increasing literate world. Infact, for individuals wishing to be acquainted with events around the world, the demand for newsprint has created an unsatiable need for paper of various forms.

In recognition of the important role of paper and paper products, the Federal Government therefore decided in 1972 to establish three paper mills. These are: the Nigerian Paper Mill Limited, at Jebba, Kwara State; for the production of sack kraft and liner boards for cartons and wrapping papers. The Jabba Mill is already in production. The Nigerian National Paper Manufacturing Company which is sited in Iwopin, Ogun State, is programmed to produce fine paper for books and magazines as well as bleached, short fibre pulp for local use and export. The Nigerian Newsprint Manufacturing Company, which is now being commissioned, is programmed to produce newsprints. Our objectives in establishing these companies have been to produce the technical capability for the manufacture of paper as well as develop indigenous manpower that could knowledgeably handle the paper technology. The Mills are also expected to provide the focal point for the establishment of ancillary as well as research activities for paper-based industries.

The strategy of import substitution on which these plans were anchored, has led no doubt to the growth of a number of industries; at the same time, it has made these industries heavily dependent on importation of raw materials. Infact, the current economic difficulties in which our industries have found themselves are, in part, a consequence of this strategy. With the decline in oil revenue, it has become important to evolve a new approach. This Administration has therefore decided to encourage only those industries which can either source their raw materials locally or those which can develop alternatives in the immediate future.

Subsequently, this Administration has placed high premium on the Deletion Programme of the Ministry of Industries which is aimed at encouraging local sourcing of raw material on a steady but reasonable pace.

In this connection, I am pleased to note that NNMC derives 80% of its raw materials from locally grown gmelina arborea. With renewed effort, I am sure that your Company can achieve 100% local sourcing of its raw

material requirements. This can be realised through research efforts into long fibre locally grown wood species. Such research must be stepped up in order to quickly replace the 20% long-fibre currenlty being imported. I therefore expect the NNMC, the research institutes and the universities to collaborate in this effort.

It is also essential for the management of NNMC to ensure effective use of raw material resources. This can be achieved through proper control and maintenance of the existing plantations as well as a carefully planned programme of replenishment of the depleted wood stock. Indeed, the survival of the mill will depend largely on timely availability of pulp wood and, in particular, timely delivery of such woods to the mill. In this regard, I enjoin both the Cross River State Government and NNMC to work together to ensure the continuous supply of the locally grown gmelina species. You should also encourage individual Nigerians to grow such species as a viable and profitable means of livelihood.

With the commissioning of this mill, the newspaper houses can obtain, on a regular basis, the newsprint which they require to disseminate information. I am happy to note that our newspaper houses have already started to use the newsprint produced by this Company. The present colour notwithstanding, the product compares favourably in terms of quality and grammage with those produced elsewhere. As you are well aware, the task posed by your patronage is, apart from saving the country the much needed foreign exchange, to make our products more competitive and attractive for exportation. In tune with our national orientation movement therefore we must learn to use what we produce so that can encourage better quality production. Herein lies our salvation and our way out of the present economic difficulties.

The mill has a capacity to produce 100,000 tonnes of newsprint per annum which is about 25% in excess of our local requirement. Your company must therefore make serious effort to export its excess production in order to earn foreign exchange. In fact, once you reach full production capacity, the Federal Military Government would no longer make any foreign exchange available for your operations.

The company must therefore strive to improve on the quality of its product by taking advantage of the various Government export incentives; these incentives are designed to make Nigerian manufactured products competitive. Furthermore, in line with our desire to achieve a self reliant economy, it will no longer be necessary to allow the importation of newsprint into the country once the company has reached its full production capacity.

In conclusion, I wish to make it clear that I expect nothing but the best from both the management and staff of this company. I expect you to join the league of those companies whose effective management, proper resource control, good accounting policies have brought about profitable operation.

In the spirit of the new orientation guiding our national life, I expect that NNMC, as a commercial enterprise, to generate its own funds and

through efficient management, make handsome profit. This is the challege to all of you who have the opportunity to serve in this company. Finally, I would like to congratulate the staff and management of the NNMC as well as the Technical Partners for this laudable achievement.

I would also like to acknowledge, with warm appreciation, the rousing welcome accorded me and my entourage by the Military Governor, the Government and entire people of this State.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have the honour to commission the Nigerian Newsprint Manufacturing Company (NNMC) Mill.

Thank you.

AKURE AIRPORT COMMISSIONED

Address by the President while Commissioning Akure Airport on 8th February 1986

When I took the decision to come to Ondo State to commission the Akure Airport, I had three main objectives. The first was to have an opportunity to come to Ondo State and make a first-hand assessment of the situation in the State, just as I had already done in other parts of the country on similar visits.

Secondly, my visit would give me an opportunity to listen to the people of Ondo State and have a first-hand information on what their problems are in the spirit of the present Military Administration which believes in effective communication as a corollary of public participation in the decision-making process.

Thirdly, I must confess that each time I meet the Governor of Ondo State, either in private or with his other colleagues at the meeting of the National Council of States, I am always touched by the constant reference of the Military Governor to lack of federal presence in Ondo State. This visit would also give me an opportunity to see what is on the ground and what the Federal Military Government can do towards the development of Ondo State, particularly as a means of achieving the overall general development of our great nation, a task which the present Military Administration has set for itself.

I wish to assure all of you that I am not a new man in Ondo State as I have had occasions, either privately or during my Military assignments, to reach some areas in the state. However, as this is my first visit to the state since my assumption of office, I regard this occasion as unique and special. Shortly after commissioning this Airport, I will be commissioning the Ikere Exchange and the Akure Exchanges of the Nigeria Telecommuncation Network which will provide direct but silent link between the state and the rest of the country. I hope that after today's ceremonies, the Government and people of Ondo State will start feeling a sense of belonging.

The viability of any airport is, in the main, a function of the traffic level generated by the airport. We cannot invest an enormous sum of ₦18 million in an airport and allow it to die for want of patronage. I therefore call on the people of Ondo State and indeed all Nigerians to make full use of this Airport to foster economic, social and political development of the State.

The problem of most of our airports is under-utilisation; that is why they cannot generate sufficient revenue to offset the rising cost of operation. Our individual role should not only be to ensure the viability of this Airport but also to contribute to the safety of aircraft operating in and out of it. I therefore appeal to you all to ensure that undesirable acts such as encroachment on airport land, unauthorised movement of persons and vehicles in restricted areas as well as uncontrolled bush burning, do not take place in and around this Airport.

These are some of the ways in which we can demonstrate our appreciation of the investment made in the facilities which we are commissioning today.

I am aware that the national carrier lacks the desired capacity to cope with the increasing demand for air transportation. It has not been possible to increase the airline fleet due to lack of funds. Government therefore notes with satisfaction the efforts of some private airlines to bridge this yawning gap. It is my sincere wish that these private operators would extend their operations to all airports, especially those at State capitals. In this connection, I welcome the services already being provided at the Akure Airport by Okada Airlines. I urge other private airlines to do likewise.

The Federal Military Government has special interest in Ondo State because of the great potentials of the state as the Military Governor has enumerated in his address. With her abundant resources in tar sand or bitumen, petroleum, timber, cocoa and a wide variety of food crops, coupled with her strategic location particularly between the Nigerian coastline and the new Federal Capital of Abuja, every Government be it civil or military has to pay special attention to the state. Moreover, Ondo State has contributed immensely to the manpower resources of the nation. I have a personal regard and admiration for the resourcefulness and articulate nature of the people of the State. Obviously, her resources, if effectively tapped, are capable of contributing tremendously to the future greatness of our nation. The Federal Military Government will therefore do all in its power, and within the available resources, to activate the human and material resources in the state. Ondo State is not ordained by God to be poor and should therefore not be poor.

As you are all aware, we are in a state of economic emergency and all hands must be on deck to pull our great nation out of economic depression. I therefore seize this opportunity to call on all indigenes and non-indigenes as well as well wishers to Ondo State, to see the commissioning of the Akure Airport not only as an effective link between the state and her neighbours, but also as an incentive for the establishment of industrial and commercial ventures in the state.

Finally, let me assure the people of Ondo State that every state of the Federation is the constituency of the present Military Regime, and efforts will be made to ensure that each state has its fair share of federal presence. Ondo State will not be left out of the scheme of things. It is therefore, my greatest pleasure to commission the Akure Airport to the Glory of God, the benefit of the entire people of this State and of Nigeria as a whole.

NIGER DRY DOCK COMMISSIONED

Address by the President while Commissioning Niger Dock Ltd. on April 29, 1986

It gives me great pleasure to be here today to commission the Niger Dock (Nigeria) Limited, one of the most important service industries in this country, and the first of its kind in West Africa. This project comes into the main stream of our service industry in fulfilment of Government's resolve to harness the potentials to create more favourable sources of revenue, skill and expertise in the maritime sector of our economy.

The successful completion of the Snake Island Dockyard project at this critical time of our national economy is a good omen for the Nigerian Shipping industry. Hitherto, all our vesseis where repaired in foreign Dock-yards at an annual rate of at least ₦10 million. With the commissioning of Niger Dock (Nigeria) Limited, all those repairs will henceforeth be done locally by capable hands and experts thereby saving the nation the huge foreign exchange earlier spent for reparing our vessels abroad, and the time spent on taking the vessels there. In addition, repairs of non-Nigerian flag vessels will increase our earnings in the service industry.

The Snake Island Dockyard project now to be known and referred to as Niger Dock (Nigeria) Limited, is the first of its kind in Nigeria. It is also the only 25,000 dead-weight capacity dry dockyard in the whole of the West African sub-region.

The construction of the Dockyard is part of the measures taken by Government to give meaning and importance to the Shipping policy of Nigeria. The dockyard has facilities to service, repair and maintain both Nigerian flag-ships and foreign flag-ships whenever such services are required. Foreign ships participating in the Nigerian trade are therefore called upon to avail themselves of the modern facilities available at the Dockyard for the maintenance of their vessels.

For private Nigerians in the maritime and other related industries, this is a golden opportunity for them to patronise the Dockyard. As efforts are under way to ensure that Nigerians fully participate in the carriage of Nigeria's seaborne imports and exports, it is also the objective of the government to improve shipping services. The construction of the Dockyard is one of the steps in that direction.

On the occasion of the commissioning of this dry dockyard, I like to say a few words to the owners and operators of our private merchant marines. You are no doubt people of foresight and entrepreneural zeal. The erena of shipping requires an intrepid-mind, as becomes any sailor. You, as beginners in the modern context, in the age-old occupation, have a lot to learn from and, may be, a little to teach those before you in the occupation. Let it not be said of you that in pursuit of your economic gains, you failed to consider the well-being of the Nigerian community and the nation. The rules laid down by the Nigerian Ports Authority regarding

the new mode of payment for its services should receive the full support of all of you. With improved and up-to-date equipment, the Nigerian Ports Authority is now in a better position than ever before to serve your interest and save you a lot of embarrassment.

It may not be out of place to draw your attention to the existence of the new facilities the dry dockyard provides for performing the mandatory services required under our Merchant Shipping Act. The Niger Dock (Nigeria) Limited has facilities that will make you happier and eliminate your past headaches as you use them. As you can all see yourselves, the shipyard meets high international standards because it is fully equipped with all modern facilities for the repair of vassels up to 25,000 dead-weight.

Another objective of Nigeria's shipping policy is to promote the acquisition of shipping technology by creating and diversifying employment opportunities in the shipping industry. This dockyard will provide ample employment opportunities for young Nigerians, especially those from colleges in which maritime studies predominate.

Nigeria has been in the fore-front in the development and application of mutual maritime cooperation in the West African sub-region. The ECOWAS has meaning and relevance only when the member-states seek to advance cooperation among themselves. The commissioning today of this new and modern Dockyard is a great challenge to all the countries of the region to seek to maximise the resources and facilities available in our sub-region for the health and growth of our national economies.

At this juncture, I like to commend the efforts of the Consortium that executed this magnificent project — the Navimor Consortium, the Consultants — Gauff Consultants, the supervising Engineer, and the Minister and Staff of the Federal Ministry of Transport and Aviation for a job well done.

The cooperation between Nigeria and our Polish partners has resulted in the creation of a new industry — the ship repair and maintenance industry in Nigeria. The intention of government is to let the facility grow slowly and steadily to a point where we can begin to build our ships locally. To this end, the Ajaokuta Steel Plant and other related industries will endeavour to provide quality steel in the near future for that purpose. The Snake Island Dockyard project is the first in this sector and subject to the availability of funds, other Dockyards planned for Burutu and Port Harcourt would soon commence. As this sector of the economy is not only professionally demanding, but also labour intensive, the Dockyard project will serve as a means of reducing unemployment in the country.

The Snake Island Dockyard serves another important national need. In the unlikely event of a national emergency, the dock-yard will complement the facilities of the Nigerian Navy, thus making the country self-reliant in ship repairing and maintenance.

I am confident that the Government decision to run this industry as a limited liability and profit oriented company under a joint management with our partners, is the best course of action in the interest of the nation. I expect the industry to wax strong and become prosperous within the

shortest possible period. Members of the Board of Directors, Management and Staff of Niger Dock (Nigeria) Limited should dedicate themselves to the successful management of the company so that it may become a shinning example to many people within and outside the country.

Finally, may I on behalf of myself, the Federal Military Government and the people of Nigeria, thank all who have contributed to the successful completion of this project and the success of this event.

I now declare open, the Niger Dock (Nigeria) Limited, Snake Island.

HARNESSING NIGERIAN'S RESOURCES FOR TECHNOGICAL DEVELOPMENT

Address on the Opening of 5th Lagos International Trade Fair.

It is with great pleasure that I, on behalf of the President, the people and the Government of Federal Republic of Nigeria welcome the exhibitors and all other participants to the 5th Lagos International Trade Fair. I have been informed that the level of participation at this fair, despite the change in venue, is very high and comparable to any other international fairs organised anywhere in the world. This demonstrates convincingly, the awareness of industrialists, agricultural scientists, small and large-scale commercial organisations that a trade fair is a pedestal from where industrial and commercial connections could spring up and be nurtured to the mutual advantage of the cooperating partners.

I have been informed that the theme of 5th Lagos International Trade Fair is "HARNESSING NIGERIA'S RESOURCES FOR TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT". Accordingly, this fair will place emphasis on adaptability and development of existing internal resources, both human and material, and improvement of the acquired knowledge to meet the needs of a depressed but self-sustaining economy. The reason for this emphasis on the theme is clear and simple. Since the attainment of political independence, we have tried to escape from the tyranny of material uncertainty and poverty by adopting policies recommended by 'Experts' from all over the world. Some of their models of development strategies have been taken without appreciation of the cautioning clause in economic theory work. The effect of the misapplication of 'experts' knowledge in our development strategies has been the continuous decline in the strength and capacity of our economy to produce those things we really need, and yearn, less for those things we cannot produce or could conveniently do without. This unfortunate situation, no doubt, created the amorphous economic structure which we operate today. In realisation of this, the present Administration has decided to embark on a progressive and corrective process of change in our economic structure.

In this regard, it is my conviction and an acknowledged fact a unique opportunity to embark on the kind of new direction we envisaged, to look beyond the difficulties of the moment to a future of more lasting prosperity which is within our grasp if only we are courageous enough to take the right decision at the right time and ready to make sacrifices. I have no doubt the willingness and capacity of our people and our trading and business partners world-wide, especially the traditional ones, to rise to the occasion. Such a concerted effort and faith in the intrinsic strength and resilience of the Nigerian economy is a good investment which is bound to pay off handsomely sooner than later to the mutual advantage of all concerned.

It is appropriate, at this juncture, to reflect that for far too long this country has remained a nation of importers. Export business, except for the

export of crude oil has become a residual activity and yet, every year, we all clamour to share the nation's foreign exchange resources without bothering about how this is made or augumented.

Just as the oil euphoria made us neglect agriculture, so has it prevented us from realising the need for planned export development and promotion in Nigeria. Our industrialization through import substitution must, henceforth, be complemented by export-oriented development. In practice, this will mean that the productive sectors in this country, especially industry, should not earn some foreign exchange for the country. The import licensing policy of Government will henceforth take into account the ability of each industrial enterprises to conserve foreign exchange through the use of locally-sourced raw materials as well as its ability to earn additional foreign exchange through exportation of its products to our sister African Countries where potential markets exist now.

The new package of export incentives that would soon be announced by Gvoernment is geared towards stimulating private-sector investments in export production. It is also aimed at making Nigerian products competitive in the world markets. There is also the determination of Government to remove all bottlenecks, including excessive bureaucracy associated especially with export licensing.

With the comparative advantage enjoyed by Nigeria vis-a-vis its neighbours in the West African sub-region in particular and the African region in general, we ought to aim at exploiting our identified export potential in order to supply some of the goods and services that these countries now import. Africa should not only remain the centre-piece of our foreign policy in terms of political relations, it should also constitute an important target of our export drive. An evidence of our export potential can be seen from the array of products being displayed in the 'Export Pavilion of the Fair. It is hoped that companies having these products would be prepared to make the necessary follow-up sacrifices along with the Government, in order to realise the export promotion objectives of the pavilion. This nation is now totally committed to an aggressive export drive and everyone of us should join in this crusade. And now, at this 5th Lagos International Trade Fair, is the moment to take the crucial initial steps.

Before I end my speech, I wish to congratulate the three foreign countries present here today and all other foreign exhibitors participating in this Fair. I assure them that their good guesture is highly appreciated and everything will be done to maintain and sustan the cordial relationship between their countries and Nigeria. I also wish to seize this opportunity to extend invitation and our hand of friendship to both our old friends who have persisted and the enquiring new ones to come and join us in our effort to turn round the economy and put it on a more sound footing. It is a worth-while cooperative venture in an increasingly inter-dependent world in which no honest partner can lose. For all who have been involved in one way or the other in the arrangement and organisation of the fair at this historic square, I offer them my congratulations for a job well-done. Finally, it is my hope that our enterpreneurs would seize this opportunity, as usual, not

only to make contacts and business connections that would enable them acquire at their door steps, the needed capital goods for the development of the business, but would also secure foreign markets for all Nigeria's exportable products.

Your Excellencies, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen, with the spirit of promoting mutual friendship and benefits through increased volume and value of trade, I now declare the 5th Lagos International Trade Fair open.

IRON & STEEL INDUSTRY — WHEEL OF PROGRESS

An Address by the President at the end of Familiarisation Tour of Ajaokuta Steel Company Limited on 28th November, 1985

This brief but instructive visit to the Ajaokuta Steel Complex carries a double significance. It is my first opportunity since assuming office to undertake a familiarisation tour of an economic project of this size. It also under-scores this Administration's awareness of the fact that our scientific, technological and industrial development cannot come to fruition without a virile iron and steel industry.

I would, however, wish firstly, to express our appreciation and to congratulate the Chairman and Board of Directors, who together with the Management and staff of the Ajaokuta Steel Company, have the onerous duty and responsibility of organising this visit so ably at so short a notice. Through their sympathetic understanding and pertinacity the Global contractors, "Tiajpromexport" (TPE) of USSR have made steady progress in the erection of equipment and strunctures at a time when the country is stalled in global economic recession. The commendable efforts by Messrs Bilfinger-Berger to remain on site and continue working satisfactorily while the country is in financial straits were much appreciated. Significantly, I am heartened by the state of preparedness of the two French civil contractors — Messrs Fougerolle and Messrs Dumex — to resume works in earnest in their respective aspects of the project. I also appreciate that the ardous negotiations which led to the eventual settlement of contentious issues which bedevilled the civil works could not have been possible without the unfailing assiduities of the Consultants, PACS–MECON. This Adminstration will do all in its power, within the limited resources available, to ensure that the execution of the Ajaokuta Steel projects does not suffer any further undue delays.

Consistent with our cardinal policy, steel development as a catalyst to industrialisation has been designated as one of the high priority programmes of this present Administration. In pursuance of this objective and to be self-reliant as a developing nation we recognise that a solid industrial base is a pre-requisite. I am not oblivious of the fact that the means towards the realisation of the benign effects of these desirable goals have been offset by the global economic downturn. The problem is compounded by the suspension of new credits to the developing economies by the international banking system. At the inception of this Administration it became evident that the civil works at the Ajaokuta Steel Complex have bogged down with paucity of external loans and that bold initiatives were required to salvage a crucial project into which Government has injected huge capital. In view of the critical nature of these civil works to the accomplishment of the project, which is already three years behind schedule, and having regard to the

overwhelming economic arguments in favour of its completion as rescheduled. I decided that other alternative sources of funding the project that are open to us and on which Government has influence should be used. It is gratifying that the courageous step taken to fund the off-shore components of the project within our means has earned this Administration credibility that it will honour inherited legal obligations. With the benefit of hindsight and in the light of what we have seen during the extensive tour of the Steel Plant, I am particularly pleased that the right decision has been taken by giving the project the prompt attention it rightly deserves.

I am aware that in the absence of any existing steel plant producing flat steel products and taking cognisance of advantages derivable through economies of scale in any productive industry that flat steel production in Ajaokuta Steel Project where it has been adequately catered for is a feasible proposition. The uses of flat stell products in downstream industries are enormous while their desirability for our technological take-off cannot be overemphasised. Meanwhile, this Administration intends to allow the flat steel production as envisaged to proceed uninterrupted so as to realise the full capacity utilization of Ajakuta. Allied with this, Government is equally conscious that there is a strong case for proceeding with the mining projects at Itakpe through which the necessary local raw materials for effective utilisation of Ajaokuta Steel Plant could be procured cheaply. Given the increased demand for steel products in the country now and in the near future, there seems to be virtually no option than to increase the tempo of mining operations at Itakpe and provide the necessary development infrastructure which will enhance Ajaokuta's capacity utilisation. This Administration will certainly come to decision on these projects in the near future.

I feel it is pertinent to stress at this juncture the need to lay strong emphasis on adoption of realistic training component of the project. A well-articulated and sound training programme, procurement of training equipment as well as instructors of right intellectual calibre and orientation are necessary ingredients for any steel industry to flourish. It is the most realistic method of acquiring the much-needed transfer of technology. The construction of this splendid edifice of the Ajaokuta Metallurgical Training Complex was principally designed to prepare promising candidates to meet the challenges of the onerous tasks ahead in the steel sector of our economy. I wish to seize this opportunity to enjoin fellow Nigerians who have chosen their careers in the steel industry to endeavour to acquire sound training and to use their acquired skills constructively for the economic well-being of the nation. You need to inculcate in your professional ethics dedication to duty and resourcefulness to maintain your equipment. In this regard, your capability to maintain the facilities at your disposal always in good working condition and your innovations will go a long way to lead us to self-sufficiency in the crucial sector of our economy.

Finally, as we are about to leave you on our way back to Lagos after a most memorable visit to the steel plant, I wish on behalf of myself and members of my entourage to thank you all for the warm and splendid reception given to us during our short but most satisfying visit.

PART V

FOOD AND ENVIRONMENT

SCHOOL – TO – LAND HARVEST

Celebration Speech in Rivers State
July 10, 1986

I am honoured by the opportunity to be with you this morning and to participate in the harvest celebrations. As you all know, the harvest season is a time of great joy and high expectations. It is a time for reaping the fruits of diligent planning, labour and patience. For the moment, it is an occasion to show in practice, that agriculture, on whose future the greatness of our country depends, can again attract both the young and educated as a lucrative profession. I am happy therefore to share the joy of the time with this special and proud breed of Nigerian farmers.

Agriculture is one of the major areas in which this Administration is laying a lot of emphasis. It is the kingpin of our economic recovery programme. As a nation, we must be able to feed ourselves and feed our industries with raw materials. Infact, we must move beyond that to ensure that Agriculture can generate enough surplus which could be exported. Fortunately, the climatic and ecological variations which exist in the country underline the great potentials and the strength of the Agricultural sector. These resources must be better organised if agriculture is to remain the main stay of our economy.

This Administration has taken a number of measures aimed at stimulating agricultural development. For example the re-organisation of the River Basin Authority System is intended to accelerate the pace at which our vast water resources are being harnessed for agrucultural purposes. Our objective is to ensure an all-the-year-round agricultural production as well as minimise the effects of drought. Furthermore, Agricultural Development Projects (A.D.Ps), through the assistance of the World Bank, are being extended to reach all States of the Federation. At the same time, the enclave ADPs in Borno, Gongola, Kwara, Niger, Ondo and Oyo States will be extended State-wide under a new Multi-State APD. In fact, before the end of this year, both Rivers and Lagos States will also participate in ADP.

The recent establishment of the Directorate of Food, Road and Rural Infrastructure underscores the importance which the Federal Government attaches to the development of the rural populations. A major objective of the Directorate is to improve general living conditions and the earning capacity of the teeming population of our people in the villages. It is in this context that I wish to congratulate the Rivers State Government for providing the framework that will serve as the impetus for achieving our declared objectives of rural development and food self-sufficiency in the shortest possible time.

I am particularly happy to note that you are not undertaking the School-to-Land Programme to the complete neglect of the traditional farmers who have from time immemorial sustained this nation. We believe that in order to achieve our objective of food self-sufficiency, we must effectively mobilise our peasant farmers into a national food production

campaign. The small farmers have to be brought into this campaign, not just because it is their right to benefit from our material progress, but also to keep food production growing ahead of population.

The graduates of the School-to-Land Programme should therefore see themselves as part of the vanguard of the Campaign for self-sufficiency in food production. Apart from paving the way for the young and educated farmers to transform this country into a major agricultural nation, the programme will practically demonstrate that the profession of farming can be a commercially viable and noble enterprise. In short, the Programme has addressed the unemployment problem of the School Leavers as well as equip School-leavers with the required knowledge of production, processing, stortage and marketing of Farm products. I wish to congratulate Governor Fidelis Oyakhilome for his foresight in initiating this programme and for his patience and diligence in dealing with the initial teething problems that beset the programme.

The Federal Government has responded positively to these commendable efforts by making a grant of ₦500,000 to support the School-to-Land Programme. Other contributions made by the Federal Gvoernment to promote agriculture in the State include the expenditure of nearly ₦9.0 million to meet part of the local costs of the Rivers State Oil Palm Development Programme. The government also gave assistance in the erection of 1.5 tonnes per hour oil milling capacity at Omoku at the estimated cost of ₦1.0 million.

Those of us who believe that the aged farmer would not have a replacement have been proved wrong. You, the Pioneers of this scheme, must therefore see yourselves as part of history. You must see yourselves as heirs to a noble profession and use your youth and education to improve methods and productivity in farming. This opportunity should also be used to produce viable social organisations that will place our agriculture beyond the vagries of partisan politics and give it enduring stability. In you, the participants, the old farmers, bent and broken by drudgery in agriculture, must recognise worthy successors. You must, therefore, learn quickly, adapt quickly and share your experiences with others to bring agriculture to the fore-front of our national economy.

At this juncture, I would like to thank all those who have heeded our call to salvage the economy by going back to the land. This Administration is impressed by the response of the private sector to the call for backward integration by industries using agricultural raw materials. There is also a clearly discernible movement of many Nigerians into farming. This is the surest way to ensure that the economy can be diversified quickly away from its present over-dependence on petroleum.

I wish to seize this opportunity to further appeal to all Nigerians to join hands with this Administration in tackling the problems of the economy. A lot of progress has been made already in reducing the country's dependence on food imports. Our policy of promoting the local sourcing of raw materials for our industries is beginning to show good results. I remain confident that it will not be long before our imports are limited essentially

to those goods and services which we cannot produce locally.

Nigeria possesses the physical resources and indeed the knowledge to produce enough food to feed ourselves. The urgent task which remains is to solve the production and distribution problems together. This is a task which calls for a continued attack on all agricultural fronts – from extending farmed and irrigated lands to providing easy access to credit and scientific knowledge. We must move agriculture to the centre of our economic life. We must harness the vast agricultural resources of this country for the economic and social well-being of our people. All hands must be on deck.

It is my privilege and pleasure to formally launch the harvest of the School-to-Land-Programme.

Thank you.

STRENGTHENING AWARENESS BY INVOLVING THE PEOPLE

Address at the Launching of the Mass Mobilisation Phase of the National Tree Planting Campaign At Gubio, Borno State.
Julv 7, 1986

It is an honour and pleasure to be here in Gubio to launch this year's National Tree Planting Campaign, In the past five years, we have staged the annual tree planting campaign ceremonies in Abuja. Over the years, this annual event has created same level of awareness and recorded same successes.

The time has now come to strengthen this awareness by actively involving the people, as anti-desertification forces, in tree planting and afforestation. Thus this year's campaign has been tagged "Mass Mobilization Phase of the National Tree Planting Campaign." I am therefore pleased to be associated with the first major effort to form an army of people, from all walks of life, to establish a 10 kilometer shelter belt here in Gubio.

This mobilization approach is aimed at finding answers to deforestation, land abuse, soil erosion, provision of fuelwood, timber, natural shades and the war against the degradation of the environment.

The increasing environmental deterioration, rapid land degradation and the need for restoration of the ecological balance are some of the problems which are of great concern to the Federal Military Government. Statistics available indicate that about 20,000 square km of land in Borno, Sokoto, Kano, Kaduna and Bauchi States are severely affected by draught and desert conditions. Scientific studies have also shown that desertification can be caused by a combination of natural and human factors. While the natural factors such as the irregular and inadequate rainfull cannot be predicted and controlled, I hold the view that the human factors can be effectively controlled. These factors include: uncontrolled grazing, over - exploitation of forest resources for fuelwood and timber, indiscriminate bush burning, extensive and unplanned land clearing for agriculture and other purposes; commercial logging without adequate reinvestment as well as poor water and land management.

It is the determination of the Federal Military Government to check the abuses of our forestry resources, as well as encourage practices which will check the advance of desertification. Consequently appropriate steps will be taken to ensure that both State and Local Governments will evolve comprehensive grazing reserve programmes to check over-grazing as well as to encourage livestock production. With regards to indiscriminate bush burning, there is in existence a body of legislations which can take care of this problem. On this occasion, I wish to appeal to State and Local Governments to enforce these legislations effectively. I call on you to ensure that Forest guards are appointed to supervise and check the abuse of our forestry resources.

As an oil and gas producing nation, there is no excuse for us to continue to depend on the exploitation of our forestry resources for fuel purposes. Accordingly, the NNPC is evolving a programme which will encourage the use of kerosine and gas as alternative sources of energy for cooking and heating.

As you are all aware, we can only derive maximum benefit from our forest resources through proper management and sound conservation practices. We should endeavour to protect, individually and collectively, our forests and its resources for the benefit of the present and future generations. Henceforth, our watchward should be "If you must remove a tree, ensure that you at least plant five in its place and nurture them to adulthood".

In this regard, it is noteworthy that the maintenance of seedlings is essential to the survival and development of the planted stock. Otherwise, the whole exercise would be meaningless and the desired goal of keeping Nigeria Green will remain unattainable. I therefore appeal to you to ensure that all trees planted today and thereafter are adequately catered for until they reach the age of self-sustenance.

I am happy to note however that despite the problems enumerated above, our forest resources still give us hope for the future. The proper management of these resources must ensure the attainment of a self-sufficient and self - reliant society. This is a task which every Nigerian must face squarely.

On our part, the Federal Government and the respective State Governments have embarked on sizeable afforestation programmes to produce timber, poles and pulpwood for industries some of the programmes are also intended to recapture degraded lands, rehabilitate eroded areas, and protect other areas prone to erosion. These programmes include Shelterbelt Projects, Farm Forestry, Village Woodlots, Agro-Forestry, Pulpwood Project and Schools Forestry Programme.

Their resultant effect will protect agricultural lands, ameliorate climatic conditions and reduce human, livestock as well as wild-life suffering. Indeed, this occasion is a clear testimony of the government's seriousness in addressing the problems of desertification.

Some other concrete measures have also been taken in this direction. For example, to further enhance the implementation of forestry programmes particularly in the arid zone, I have recently approved a total expenditure of ₦14.5 million from the Ecological Problems Fund for specific projects in the affected areas. Out of this amount, the sum of ₦12.45 million is already underway. These releases, it must be emphasised, are made over and above the regular budgetary allocations for forestry development.

At this juncture, I would like to seize the opportunity to thank those international Organizations and Companies which have shown keen interest in our afforestation programmes. These are the UNDP/FAO which has trained high level manpower in Forestry Cartography; the World Bank which has assisted in the establishment of a 15,000 hectars pulpwood plantations in Ogun, Ondo and Anambra States and the EEC which assisted

in evaluating the rate of growth of our high forests.

Other Companies have also contributed to beef up our efforts in rural development as well as assist us in the raising of suitable tree species for plantation. These companies include Nigeria Tobacco Company, the African Timeber and Plywood Company Sapele, the Nigeria Paper Mill, Jebba, and the Safa Splint, Ibadan. The efforts of the Nigerian Conservation Foundation in promoting conservation practises and financing relevant studies are also appreciated. It is my hope that similar Companies and private organizations will emulate the gestures of these Companies by complementing the efforts of Government to fight ecological and desertification problems.

The theme of this years' National Tree Planting Campaign calls for mass mobilization of our people. I wish to conclude this speech by appealing to all Nigerians from all walks of life, Companies, voluntary organizations and schools to join Government in its bid to plant more trees to combat the menaces of desertification and gully erosions. On this occasion, I would want you all to take more seriously the call for a "Greener Environment". From this moment onwards, I shall expect:

i the Federal, State and Local Government to devote adquate proportions of their resources for creating forests, shelterbelts woodlots and ensure their effective management.

ii All Local Governments will beautify their environment by planting trees, ornamental or otherwise along their streets and avenues and reclaim any existing wasteland in their areas by planting trees.

iii All Schools will make special effort to create woodlands within the school premises. Furthermore, those living in the fringes of the Sahel who face the greatest threat from the encroaching desert would on their own create wood-lots which will minimise their hardship and prevent induced flight from their villages.

iv Individuals homeowners as well as ternants, whether in the urban or rural villages, will take pride in planting trees within the areas under their control.

v All public buildings, secretariats, hospitals, factories, town halls and the like will have spaces created deliberately for trees in their environment in order to promote a good landscapping culture.

While the list is not exhaustive, it is sufficiently indicative of the direction of change in our attitude to tree planting that I would like to see develop in Nigeria.

Lastly, I would like to end this address by expressing my appreciation and gratitude to the Governor, the Government and the people of Borno State for the warm and cordial reception accorded me and my entourage since our arrival to the state. The choice of Borno State and in particular Gubio as the venue for this launching is indeed a well made one. It is a manifestation of Government's concern for the areas most seriously affected by the desertification and ecological problems.

Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have the honour and privilege to launch the Mass Mobilisation Phase of the National Tree Planting Campaign. I hereby invite all of you to join me in the national Tree Planting Campaign.

Thank you.

CONSERVATION CAMPAIGN NATIONAL RESOURCES

Address at the Launching of the Campaign to Raise ₦1,000,000 in Support of the Nigeria Conservation Foundation by the British Caledonian Airways at Eko Holiday Inn – April 4, 1986

Scientists have for some time now, been calling attention to the disequilibrium being experienced in the dynamic relationship between man and the world's renewable, life-supporting resources. It is understood that this situation, along with the proliferation of nuclear arms, poses the greatest threat to the survival of the human race on earth.

Our gathering this evening has very little to do with nuclear weapons. The centre stage tonight belongs to natural resources conservation which is gradually receiving its fair share of attention and appropriate rating by governments, inter-governmental and non-governmental organisations.

At different times in the last two decades, United Nations (UN) agencies like Food and Agricultural Organization (FAD), United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP), United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), World Meteorological Organization (WMO) among others, have given prominence to conservation in almost all the programmes initiated or supported by them. Their activities are supplemented, and in many cases, complemented by those of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) like World Wildlife Fund (WWF), International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), and our fledging Nigerian Conservation Foundation (NCF).

Nigeria shares with these organisations the aspiration for a better world. Like the rest of the world we are concerned about the loss and degradation of natural resources like soil, water, forests, wildlife, fisheries and marine resources. We are disturbed that the trend is more pronounced in the third world countries where development projects are being implemented with little regard for their ecological effects.

Conservation activities have therefore become imperative in all parts of the world especially in Nigeria. Conservation, in this context, may be defined as a "rational exploitation of the various species and the management of human activities which affect them." Nigeria will be guided in its conservation activities by the contents of the policy document on the National Conservation Strategy which is now being prepared by an International Drafting Committee supported by United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), Man and Biosphere (MAB) and the Nigerian Conservation Foundation (NCF).

Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen, we are at the threshold of a great conservation movement in Nigeria. Our Nation should look forward to the time in the near future when it can put behind her the environmental degradation it has witnessed up till this time. Indeed it should be expected that gradually greater awarness of the ethics of conservation will facilitate the

amelioration of ecological problems like drought, desertification, bush fires, soil erosion and floods.

We should join hands to make this a reality in the shortest time possible. Government will give the necessary leadership in this regard. Our international treaty obligation demands nothing less. But while Government will strive to provide within reasonable limits the financial resources required to tackle the alarming environmental problems facing the country, it should be emphasised that individual and corporate support for programmes designed to foster conservation ethics are not only desirable but are vital to the success of the programmes.

It is in this regard that I welcome the initiative of the British Caledonian Airlines. Its plan to support conservation work in Nigeria could not have come at a better time. For although our nation is presently facing serious economic problems, we cannot afford to ignore desirable conservation programmes. Conservation holds the key to good food, abundant water supply, raw materials for industrial and for pharmaceutical uses and indeed good environment for the health and vitality of our people.

Ladies and Gentlemen, useful programmes which will discourage resource abuse and consequent impoverishment of the countryside and the nation at large have been developed and are already being implemented. They include:-

(a) Desertification control through rational exploitation of our forest resources as well as their replenishment through tree planting.
(b) Water Resources Conservation through the preparation of a Water Resources Master Plan and construction of dams.
(c) Protection of aquatic and terrestrial ecosystem and habitats through the establishment of National Parks, Game and Forest Reserves.
(d) Protection of Endangered Species of plants and animals by the Endangered Species Decree.
(e) National Campaign against bush burning which is being accorded prominence in the Rural Development Sector.
(f) Establishment of manpower training and research centres to provide background material for the policy making arms of government.

The degree of intervention in these and similar areas will continue to be intensified as Government's resources improve. The on-going work on the 5th National Development Plan presents a useful opportunity to review existing programmes and where necessary re-design them for implementation during the plan period. Appropriate roles will be created for the private sector to enable it to complement Government's efforts so that a wider national impact is achieved. The private sector I am sure would support these programmes after all, it is about time we explore the possibility of employing the advantages of vast areas of land, stretching from the tropical rain forest to the fringes of the Sahel water, the sought after tropical weather, the wildlife in its rolling hills to the advantage of mankind.

It is with this vision, that I want to extend the gratitude of all our citizens to the Founder members of the Nigerian Conservation Foundation and particularly to the Board and Management of the British Caledonian Airways for this voluntary assistance to pioneer conservation work in Nigeria. The British Caledonian determination to raise one million Naira for the foundation is significant not only because of the size of money to be raised, but because it has succeeded in spotlighting the conservation issue and has presented a unique opportunity for Nigerians to be told of the conservation problems facing the nation.

I seize this opportunity therefore to call upon national and international organisations to come forward and assist Nigeria in the renewed crusade for nature and natural resources conservation.

Once again, I congratulate the British Caledonian Airline for marking the 15th Anniversary of their business relationship with Nigeria in this memorable way. I wish them many more years of useful and fruitful service to Nigeria.

PART VI

UNIVERSITIES AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS

PART VI

UNIVERSITIES AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS

PART VI

UNIVERSITIES AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS

UNIVERSITY COMMUNITY AND THE NATION

Address to members of the Academic Community
November 16, 1985

This occasion has been arranged primarily as a get together to enable me, as visitor to all the nation's universities to meet, and get to know the leadership of the nation's universities and some of the senior members of the teaching and other staff. Some of you have had to travel far and all of us have just had a heavy lunch. Ideally we should all take our leave and look for a comfortable corner to rest and to digest our meal. However, since it is unlikely for me to meet so often with such a large number of the very best brains in the country in one and the same place, I have exercised the privilege to "detain" you a little longer for some remarks concerning our universities and their role in the community in the circumstances we face today.

As I observed in Kuru some 3 – 4 weeks ago, we as a nation have a lot to be proud of in the 25 years of our nationhood, even though our circumstances today do not give room for complacency. As I observed on that occasion, the field of education, particularly university education has witnessed the most spectacular growth. From a mere 5 universities in 1965, there are in this country today 24 federal and state universities a growth rate of almost one new university each year. Enrolment has similarly grown at a very fast pace. In the 1965/66 session there were only 7,709 Nigerian university students. Today the number exceeds 122,000 or a growth rate of some 5,800 students per year. Today, we can confidently boast of owing the largest university in the whole of Black Africa.

The contribution this growth represents towards the solution of the nation's manpower needs can not be underestimated, especially when we consider the various programmes and courses mounted by nearly all the universities to cater for intermediate and vocational fields in which the nation was sadly deficient at independence.

Perhaps, even more critical is the readiness and willingness of the university community to break out of the conventions of the old university traditions of the European system and to accept the burden of the pre-degree and Basic Studies Schools as a means of creating opportunity and access to university education for the educationally disadvantaged areas of the country. Whatever the controversies may be, the university system has also lived with the various schemes of admission which have served the same end. Taken as a whole, the record of the university system schemes towards greater national integration commends itself to me and to the Administration. You have reason to be proud of your achievements in this regard and you have absolutely no reason to abandon your general approach whatever the criticisms might be.

Over the same period also, the university community has moved out of the ivory tower and has come to play a role in society which is envied by the members of other academic communities the world over.

The positive aspects of this development include the growing participation of members of the academic community either as supporting research teams or as direct participants in the programmes and ancillary institutions of government at the national and state levels. Others include the various seminars aimed at evolving national policies especially in the field of agriculture, education, and government and administration to name only a few.

The national conferences of the Institute of Administration of Ahmadu Bello University and similar ones of Ife and Ibadan among others have assisted in clarifying issues and made positive suggestions on ways in which we may serve the needs of our society better. I am aware, as you must be, that this raises many serious questions not all of which produce flattering or reassuring answers for the relationship between the university and society.

Some of these questions relate to what may be regarded as the true and morally justifiable role of the academic. It may be said that when the emphasis shifts away from the conception of the academic calling, and moves to the idea of self-defined and self-determined mission to change society as a primary objective and to make this the central focus of activity; without proper and due regard to the will, wishes and beliefs of society, then the academic has changed into something completely new and problematic for himself and for the society which supports his activity. I appreciate that this is a contentious matter.

In this regard it is my belief that the Nigerian academic environment is probably the freest in the world, for there can hardly be any other university system in the world in which the academic, especially in the arts and the humanities enjoys a similar degree of freedom to define exactly what he teaches as and how he teaches and the latitude to judge almost summarily anyone. May I in passing commend to all our academics the address of the Waziri of Sokoto Alhaji Junaidu on the occasion of his graduation to an honorary doctorate in Ahmadu Bello University in 1971. It represents I believe, the best conception of the correct relationship between the university community and society at its best.

These observations must not be understood in any way to mean an intention by this administration to curtail the freedom of the academic community. In fact, we regard academic freedom as an indispensable ingredient of all the freedoms we are committed to uphold and to promote.

We are however trustees of society as you are and it is essential that we behave and act in such a way that we justify their confidence and faith. The overwhelming majority of our people have had no access to Western education. They have a way of life, beliefs and values which they cherish. It is the duty of the university community to accept the rare and unique challenge to move centre stage of the pursuit of a painless marriage between their work and the world outlook of all of our peoples. Only then can we regard ourselves as having fulfilled over mission to our past and to posterity, for only then can we have given our society a sense of self and identity. Only then can we have become the torchbearers and champions of our own destiny.

In this respect the most important relationship in the university community is the relationship between the academic and his student. For it is through this relationship that society eventually feels the impact of the academics work. At all times in history, this relationship has been conceived as one of love, care, conern, affection, guidance, protection and education. The academic must in all respects stand for the parent and for society at large in relation to his student. He is obliged morally to expose him to all existing knowledge as objectively as he can. He must avoid the exploitation of the student for any games or causes outside the strictly intellectual. He must avoid any judgement of the student's work which is not directly related to the known and accepted standards of performance. Morally he must act as his guardian and parent. He must shield him from tendencies and influences which will disrupt his life and render his education valueless in his later years. He must likewise mould him to become a useful member of society and keep him away from those things which place him at odds and at war with his fellowmen.

In other words he must seek not only to arm him with knowledge but also to impact to him those social skills which equip him to be at peace with society, and contribute to his own survival and betterment and to those of soceity. How much you have been able to do this during those years of your greatest achievement is yet an open question; but such issues will no doubt engage your attention in the years ahead.

In this respect you may well consider useful an examination of the reasons why so many Nigerians who can afford to do so, prefer to avoid the Nigerian university system and educate their children abroad. You may also find useful an examination of the view held by many that the standard and level of university education in this country is on the decline. True or false it is not an opinion you can ignore.

All this means that even as I congratulate you for the great contribution you have made to national life in an outside academic work, you are being challenged to do better in the years ahead. I need hardly remind you of the statements made in my speech at Kuru. This Administration regards you and similar institutions such as NIPSS as the intellectual and moral trust fund of the nation. We are faced with an economic and financial crisis which has necessitated the declaration of a 15 month period of economic emergency. We have curtailed military expenditure and have halted planned investments in hardware and various military projects until the economy improves. We have reversed the decision to move the Armed Forces Headquarters and thus avoided an expenditure of well over ₦20 million. We have cut the salaries of members of the Armed Forces and Police through their voluntary co-operation. Similar cuts have been applied to public servants in the civilian sector.

Those and other schemes such as the ban on the importation of rice and maize will no doubt make an impact. However, it is true that part of the underlying causes of this crisis, apart from mismanagement and corruption, has been the burden of rapid and spectacular growth of development expenditure over a very wide field. The pattern of growth in expenditure on

university education has been part of that story. As the moral and intellectual trust fund of the nation you will be relied upon by the Administration to make a serious contribution to the efforts necessary to restore normalcy to the economic system.

In this connection you should give greater cognisance to what is feasible and what produces results as opposed to what is ideal, for we are not in a position to please ourselves. In as far as this affects the university system you have to examine and reconsider aspects of the administration and financing of university education. This is a very wide field but we can make a start by a reconsideration of the Cinderalla system of university education through undergraduate in-campus residence. There is a universal decline in this approach as the costs of modern university education mount. You may also have to re-examine the desirability of concentrating purely on applied research in your programmes.

While this Administration will do all that is possible to ensure that the university system does not suffer unduly because we consider you indispensable instruments of building the future, you may find it useful to yourselves and to the Administration to organise a national seminar on this subject. If you do the administration will take the keenest interest in the proceedings.

In the meantime I draw your attention to the declaration of this administration of its commitment to work towards a better society. Men of learning such as yourselves will admit that it is in the midst of the greater hardship that men are challenged towards greater achievements in future years. To this end the administation's immediate attention is directed to the restoration of our economic health.

I thank you for coming and listening. I congratulate you once again for the economic contributions you have made to our progress and look forward to your contributions to our future growth.

GOODWILL TO UNIFE

Address delivered at the Sixteenth Convocation Ceremony of the University of Ife, Ile-Ife
December 14, 1985

I bring you warm greetings and felicitations from the President of the Federal Republic, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Nigeria and Visitor to your University, Major-General Ibrahim Babangida, CFR., on this joyous occasion of the Sixteenth Convocation Ceremony of the your impressive University, located in the historic city of Ile-Ife. It is indeed a pleasure for me to be here on his behalf to rejoice with all graduating students and their parents, sponsors and friends for having attained their academic goals in this seat of learning. I congratulate you all most heartily.

For me, the pleasure for today's occasion is doubled because of the number of eminent personalities that will be conferred upon with the honorary degrees of this university. I congratulate the Chancellor of the University, the Etsu Nupe, Alhaji Umaru Sanda Ndayako, one of our respected natural rulers, whom I had the pleasure to work with in one of my previous assignments. Let me specially congratulate His Excellency, Ambassador Alberto Vasconcellos da Costa E Silva on his own award. The University of Ife has indeed done well not only to have taken the thoughtful decision of honouring the Brazilian Ambassador, but of, as I understand it, promoting a positive academic linkage with reputable Universities of the South American Republic with which we share so much by way of cultural, economic and recreational ties. This additional gesture should help to strengthen the already powerful bonds of commerce and developmental aspirations between our two countries.

Finally, I congratulate the other two recipients, the Hon. Justice Akinola Aguda and Mr. Hubert Ogunde, neither of whom needs much introduction in this country. I hope these additional laurels will fire in the deserving recipients greater zeal for service and leadership in their respective callings.

Today, the university is graduating a very large number young men and women, in various disciplines of learning, at both the first and the higher degree levels. Once more, I congratulate you all, especially those who have passed with first class honours and those who have won the numerous and varied prizes. I must remind you all that your degrees are not mere convenient passes, or, as commonly referred to, meal tickets. This excellent academic achievement, the product of years of dedicated hard work by yourselves and your respected teachers, will be of little use unless you use what you learnt for the services of the human race, especially in your beloved country, Nigeria. Regardless of what fluctuations the job market may be experiencing these days, you must no doubt appreciate that an educated man is always at an advantage with or without a job.

While the issue of employment is certainly important, education, especially university education is essentially intended to equip you for

problem-solving, for quality service to your fellow men and women, wherever you may each find yourselves. You, therefore, need to demonstrate creativity and imagination and aim at contributing to our economic and social progress whether in a paid job or as a self-employed person in a professional practice, small business, agriculture or whatever. It is the service you render that matters, not where you report to for work in the morning. It is what you do to earn the pay that is of essence, not who pays you. I wishyou well.

In addition to the excellent job of training the youths, the university has numerous functions, of both academic and social service nature. The University Communities are always fond of holding conferences and seminars on the role of the University in the society, especially a developing society like ours. And the debate is endless because of the changes that are always occurring simultaneously in all societies. But we in this Administration expect our Universities, including the University of Ife, to contribute positively towards finding the solutions to the problems facing our country today, both in the education sector and in the rest of the entire system. In the unfettered atmosphere of academic freedom, we call upon our dons and all other members of the university community to demonstrate high quality intellectual citizenship and leadership. Comments from the University community are highly prized because they are presumed to have a high level content of up-to-date information, competent thought and intellectual honesty. The contribution on any particular issue would be even more valuable if it is presented after an organised effort instead of coming from disjointed groups that often-times contradict each other. I earnestly invite our universities to take each major current issue facing the country and present their view or views in a clear and organised manner for proper study by the advisers and policy-makers.

Our country is passing through a difficult but exciting period of challenges, both social and economic. Whether we realise it or not, we are all engaged in the struggle for nation building, for evolving a viable political and economic system that will take us and our succeeding generations through the turbulent decades ahead. We must not fail, and we in this Administration are determined that, by the grace of God and the support of our peoples, Nigeria shall keep her date with glorious destiny.

This Administration came into being to give leadership to the people, leadership imbued with a sense of purpose, dedication, probity and discipline. We are not any less resolute on these matters, and let there be no mistake about that on the part of anyone. But we are also committed to guarantee every Nigerian his or her full human rights, and to carry on our mission in the spirit of compassion, unity and justice.

We also urge in everyone the love for this country, for what it means to each and everyone of us. If we love the country, we shall each be willing to make sacrifice for it. Sacrifice is called for all the time, but especially at this time. Personal and group conveniences must give way to the greater needs of the survival of our country and the basic welfare of our people. It has been said before, each one of us needs Nigeria more than Nigeria needs him

or her. That is why the Economic Emergency was declared to place the needs of Nigeria first, and details of what this means will soon be spelt out to the nation.

In all that we shall ask of our people, we look forward, indeed, rightly expect full support and co-operation from the academic community and from our youth, some of whom are today graduating out of this beautiful higher institution of learning. The academic community must first start by husbanding their own scarce resources, as every one will be required to do. We call for patriotism and the quintessential academic sense of values; values which include integrity, tolerance, honesty and sobriety.

AFRICAN EDUCATION AND IDENTITY

Address to the 5th Session of the International Congress of African Studies at the University of Ibadan
December 16, 1985

I consider the invitation to open the Fifth Session of the International Congress of African Studies as a tribute to Nigeria and a recognition of our role in the sponsorship of the current session of the Congress. I would like to believe that the invitation is also a recognition of our immense and long-standing support for a scientific study of Africa. We have, as a nation, recognised the significant role played by Africa towards human civilization: and, as an Administration, we have an abiding faith in the capabilities of Africans to continue to discover new ways of ameliorating the living conditions of our peoples, wherever they may be. In this connection, I am aware of the significant role played by some Nigerian academics in the formation of your Association. One such Nigerian is the late Professor Kenneth Dike, who, during his life time, was committed to the objectives of the Congress as an instrument of increasing our understanding of the African continent.

I would like to seize this opportunity to associate myself with the feelings and sentiments of my predecessors who, as heads of African Government of Ghana, Senegal, Ethiopia and the Federal Republic of Zaire, have had the rare opportunity to addres the Congress. Furthermore, I am in full support of the aims and objectives of the Congress in promoting the scholarly study of Africa all over the world. I hope the result of these studies shall be adapted in solving the problems of development of Africa. I believe that the Congress provides appropriate venue for leading scholars of Africa, from all over the world, to meet and exchange ideas on the state of the art and science of African Studies. It is a venture that should be encouraged and supported.

Not long ago, Nigeria was called upon to host the second Festival of Black and African Arts and Culture. This task was accepted with enthusiasm and accomplished with honour. It was, indeed, an occasion that attracted the attention of the whole world. Festac 77 lasted for a month: a month in which Africans from the four corners of the world, saw each other, exchanged ideas, shared experiences and reflected together. It was a month in which Nigeria offered Africans, from both the New and the Old world, an opportunity to reverse the course of history. It was a period in which Africans, consciously and deliberately, reforged links that were severed by the Slave Trade.

Indeed, it was the first time, since the slave trade, that Black and African families came together as one whole entity. Deriving from that experience, the Government of Nigeria has established the Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilisation (CBAAC) to document the variety of talents and accomplishments brought together during Festac. The centre is committed to the scientific study of Africa in an effort to make the results of such studies available to the wider world.

It is therefore a rare honour to welcome the International Congress of African Studies to its original home, Nigeria and, in particular, to Ibadan the citadel of learning and the seat of our premier university. I am happy to see so many distinguished scholars come to Nigeria to exchange ideas about the growth and directions of African Studies. I am informed that there are delegates from Africa, Europe, North and South America, Asia, and the Islands of the Seas. Such a gathering is a healthy indication of the importance which academics have come to attach to the development of African Studies.

I share the view that an improved knowledge of Africa and its problems can and should be used to promote better understanding and international co-operation. Such a knowledge should be put to good use by educating your colleagues and, indeed the world, about Africa.

I am particularly happy about the theme of the Fifth Congress: African Education and Identity. The timing is ripe and the subject is apt and thought-provoking.

As you are aware, education has been the cornerstone and major priority of most African countries. Since political independence, we, in Nigeria, have devoted proportionally higher resources to education than the colonial regimes ever contemplated. Consequently, we have had a tremendous expansion of elementary, secondary and tertiary education; Adult Education has also received a fair attention. We cannot however, say that the results, especially in terms of impact on our social, economic and political development, have always been commensurate with the resources so far invested. We cannot pretend to have won the battle, particularly, the battle against ignorance in Africa.

Traditionally, the explanation that has been proffered tend to blame our colonial heritage as the major cause of our under-development. While this may be so, I believe the time has come to examine the lack of recourse to our historical past and the supporting human values which under pinned it. In such an examination, we may find answers to the problem of inadequacies. For example, we live at a level of subsistence that we are at once faced with the twin problems of food surplus and food scarcity depending on the season and geographical location.

Indeed, every drought produces famine; sometimes on a disastrous scale, that we require international food aid. Our economies suffer from various imbalances and contradictions that so often, we are weighed down by the cost and consequences of these dislocations. Even now, we are yet to develop the scientific and technological base that is necessary for our economic take-off, in spite of our educational development. I hope your Congress will examine these issues in depth, not merely as an academic exercise, but as an issue-area requiring policy options and solutions.

At the time of your inauguration, over twenty years ago, very few countries whether inside or outside Africa, paid adequate attention to African Studies. At that time to, we, in Nigeria, were just about transforming the University of Ibadan from a colonial University College to an independent University. We were also faced with teething problems of establishing

the Universities in Nsukka, Zaria, Lagos and Ife. Now, we have established several other universities and centres of African Studies. I know that a similar pattern of development has been going on in Africa and other parts of the world have also established centres for African Studies.

There are, of course, many other countries of the world in which African Studies is unknown in their schools or universities. What is more, in Europe and North America, where the initial initiative was taken to foster the growth of African Studies, there is now a creeping lack of interest in such studies.

It is therefore a major challenge for the International Congress to sustain and expand the scope of African Studies in the world. This can only be done by your continuing demonstration that African Studies do, in fact, contribute to African development and international co-operation. Such studies, rooted in our history, also offer solutions to our problems. Thus, apart from the excitement of scholarship, you should endeavour to relate your research and academic exchanges to the socio-political and economic conditions of Africans, wherever they may be found all over the globe.

I believe there is a lot to be learnt from the academic and practical roles of African Studies. African Studies have come to be accepted and recognised as a legitimate field of intellectual pursuit; and Africanists, particularly in recent times, have legitimately concerned themselves with decolonising African history as well as projecting the true image of Africans and African history.

The intellectual history of Africa and the contributions of Africans to world civilization should continue to be pursued with vigour. There is an urgent need for a wider dissemination of information either in book form or in any other form, so that our cultural achievements may be better known and appreciated. In these difficult times, we need to appreciate the history of our kingdoms, particularly their survival strategies as well as the integrative values which underpinned such kingdoms. We need to be reminded of the great Empires and Kingdoms of our ancestors and the ultimate values that sustained them. We need to adopt and adapt the technological tools with which they conquered and tamed their environment in order to subdue our own environment.

Inspite of the coming of age of Africa, we know very little about ourselves and the scanty information which is available is neither disseminated nor diffused around the world for the greater understanding of humanity. I hold the view that those who are engaged in African scholarship should regard themselves as permanent ambassadors of eminence: you should, like modern ambassadros; reflect the views of your countries, in this case, your chosen fields of pursuit in African Studies. You have a crucial role to play in disseminating truthful information about Africa. In this regard I am aware that there are Universities and Centres of African Studies around the world that are anxiously looking for fresh materials by Africans and Africanists, about the true situation in Africa. They are looking for such

studies, partly to correct the damage done to Africa by colonial historians and anthropologists. Partly too, as a mark of recognition of a legitimate academic pursuit. You should therefore engage in the book trade and ensure that more books are produced to inform and correct traditional views of our society. You should also ensure that research on Africa does not remain scattered, duplicated and unco-ordinated.

At this juncture, I would like to remind you that this Congress is taking place at a most opportune time in our history. It is a time when the Federal Military Government is determined to canvass for ideas on major issues affecting the politics and economy of our nation. We believe that through public debates and discussions we could arrive at policy options which, apart from being best suited to the peculiar conditions of our economy, would also guarantee and sustain a stable political order. We are, as a matter of course, committed to Africa and the cause of oppressed peoples of our continent.

Only recently, a Committee was set up to organise an all-Nigeria Conference on our foreign policy with the genuine intention of reflecting all shades of opinion in our society. In short, you have come at a time when our doors are wide open to ideas and information in our bid to harness the enthusiasm and willingness of our people towards building a self-reliant and self-sufficient society. It is my ardent believe that, given the opportunity to participate, Nigerians can chart a path of self-sufficiency. We are capable of building an orderly and stable society that can guarantee us peace and progress.

In considering the issue of "African Education and Identity" therefore, I hope you will not ignore the issue of Human Rights in Africa. The goal of Education and the aim of the War Against Ignorance must be to improve the conditions of Africans in such a manner that will enable them to live their lives in peace, dignity and honour. It is therefore essential that the war against ignorance must be extended to include a war against injustice and inhuman treatment, in particular against any form of aparthied.

In conclusion, I wish your Congress a successful and meaningful discussion. I also wish the participants a pleasant stay in Nigeria, and at the end of the meeting, a safe and happy return to your homes.

Thank you and God bless.

EASY COMMUNICATION FOR THE PEOPLE

Nitel Seminar at Nitel Training School, Oshodi
July 21, 1986

I am happy to open this Seminar on Satellite Communication System for Nigeria. The Seminar organised by the Ministry of Communications, is very timely, because we are all aware of the usefulness of a reliable and adequate telecommunication service. It has become an idispensable tool for the commercial and administrative machinery of any nation; in particular for the efficient running of industries as well as easy communication among the people. It is in recognition of this fact that this Administration has made the provision of this service one of our policy objectives.

At the beginning of the Third National Development Plan a considerable investment was made in telecommunication. This investment also gave rise to a contingency programme to provide modern telephone switching centres in the urban areas throughout the country. In addition, 147 location projects were provided with telephone exchanges in local government headquarters and economic rural areas. At the same time, the integrated transmission and the Domestic Satellite systems remain the conduit through which telecommunication messages are passed between switching centres and broadcasting stations.

Today the network is unreliable and inadequate to meet the demands in the country. In order to improve this situation, a programme of expansion and modernisation of the network is being planned. The planned expansion will involve the provision of more telephone exchange in both rural and urban areas. Furthermore, back-up systems are being provided to improve the reliability of transmission routes. I am aware that there are no alternative ways of providing exchanges, but at least there exist options in transmission systems. The choice facing us today is between terrestrial transmission and Satellite Communication Systems. Each of these systems has its merits and demerits but our choice has to be influenced by the nature and pace of our development.

This seminar provides a rare opportunity for participants to discuss, analyse and resolve on the choice of a viable Satellite System for the country. As I mentioned earlier, Satellite Communication System is currently being used in the country for international as well as for domestic services. The present Satellite transponders are leased from INTELSAT, and international organisation of which Nigeria is a member of its Governing Board. The Seminar should also examine the need or otherwise to continue to lease these transponders from INTELSAT for our domestic communication network. You may even want examine the possibility of Nigeria purchasing her own domestic satellite system. Whatever your recommendation, you must bear in mind the need for a reliable and viable system which can bring profitable returns on our financial investment. Furthermore, the problems and experiences of the present system owners, both national

and regional, should be carefully considered.

At this point, it would be appropriate to examine the relevance of Satellite Communication System in relation to our immediate sub-regional group, ECOWAS. As we are all aware, Telecommunications is a highly dynamic and capital intensive industry. There seems to be a positive correlation between efficient telecommunication system and developed economies. Our effort to build and foster viable economic links with our sister countries in the ECOWAS subregion should also be related to the provision of efficient telecommunication. The opportunities should be explored for the mutual benefit of our countries. A sub-regional satellite system may be therefore considered in view of the great political and economic potentials of such a system for the region.

I would like to recall that Article 2 Paragraph 1 of the ECOWAS Treaty clearly spelt out the need for co-operation and development of telecommunications in the sub-region. We must intensify our efforts towards the realization of this noble objective in order to contribute to the progress and development of the African continent. I must emphasize further that our efforts in this direction are without prejudice to other satellite systems either being contemplated or in practice elsewhere in the continent.

I hope that at the end of the Seminar, the implication of an effective Satellite communication system to defence matters would also not escape your attention. There exists today in our continent a number of tension areas such as Southern Africa, the Sahara region, and the Horn of Africa. It is very clear in my mind that the defence strategy of Nigeria must take into cognisance the provision of efficient telecommunication system to enhance its mobility and combat readiness. I would like to invite your attention to the relevance of Satellite communication system vis-a-vis defence and foreign policies and their implication and importance to Nigeria.

Needless to remind you that a major condition in the establishment of a satellite system is the cost. In these difficult times, it is pertinent to examine other alternatives including the transponder lease, in our projected utilisation plan. The cost of a Satellite system is made up of the costs of the space craft, launch arrangements, insurance and associated earth stations. Whatever the choice, your consideration must be informed by a cost/benefit assessment before you arrive at a decision. Operation and maintenance are also very important management activities which are associated with the operation of satellite system. Apart from the operation and monitoring of in-orbit satellites, there is also the need for operation and maintenance of the Telemetry as well as Tracking and Control facilities.

This address is an attempt to point out issues which you will no doubt treat exhaustively in your deliberations. You have been invited, in tune with our policy of consultation, to bring your expertise and knowledge to bear on the implications of using Satellite technology in complementing and augmenting our telecommunication network. This Administration wants to build a more efficient and reliable telecommunication services. We even want to make sure that the system which we have works efficiently and

reliably. I believe this is an adequate forum to make the correct choice. Your contributions to the Seminar will be of immense value in assisting us to make a wise decision.

I wish you a very useful deliberation.

PATH TO ECONOMIC RECOVERY

Seminar of African-American Institute at Eko Hotel
September 24, 1985

In the next two days, very knowledgeable people drawn from a wide section of the Nigerian and the international community will devote time to examine issues related to Nigeria's Economy Recovery. In view of the wide spectrum of our national life covered by this topic, I regard this seminar as part of the ongoing national debates devoted to finding consensus on the problems that face our country.

In organising such an extremely important and high level seminar therefore, the Institute and the Chamber are not only contributing to the economic progress of this nation but are indeed fostering international understanding and intercharge both of which are vital to the development progress. It is my earnest hope that at the end of this seminar, constructive and useful suggestions would have emerged to assist us in facing our economic future with renewed hope and confidence.

The theme of your seminar, Mr. Chairman, is most timely, considering the enormous task facing this administration and our desire to quickly put this country on the path of economic recovery. We cannot go on, as we seem to have done in the past, on a care and maintenance basis hoping that everything will come our right at the end of the day. This administration recognises that now is the time to plan for tomorrow and take the measures necessary, some painful, to place this nation once more on the path of growth.

After a quarter of a century of nationhood, Nigeria is still trying to cope with the numerous problems of a backward economy, these include a very weak industrial and technological base resulting in massive importation of machinery and even raw materials; inadequate foreign exchange earnings with its attendant balance of payment problems; unemployment; poor infrastructures such as electricity, water, telecommunications, roads, banking services etc; high rate of population growth; unskilled manpower; food shortages etc. Our problems have, to a large extent been self inflicted. Successive Governments have tended to be unable or unwilling to alter course even when the economic policies being pursued have turned out to be, to say the least inadequate but more often ill-concieved. This administration is determined to take the bull by the horns and get on with the structural changes that will get the economy back on its feet.

I do not intend to profer what I consider were the reasons for the present state of affairs. Rather, during your seminar I expect you to undertake a thorough analysis of the nature and type of past economic policies, objectives and programmes and see to what extent they had been defective. Before arriving at any suggestions, you need to properly diagonise the character and reasons for the economic crisis which we, as a nation, have tended to experience from time to time and also why we have failed to attain a reasonable degree of self reliance and sustained growth inspite of

the comparatively substantial resources at our disposal. Other important and related issues to which this seminar should address itself include:

i. the development of domestic raw materials and substitutes wherever possible;

ii. the sustained and measurable development of agriculture in order to attain sufficiency in food and to provide raw materials.

iii. development of the Export subsector in order to diversify our foreign exchange earning potential away from oil;

iv. privatisation versus commercialisation of government commercial undertakings;

v. investment promotion and the related issue of incentives;

vi. adaptation of foreign and the development of indigenous technology,

vii. development of skilled manpower, and

viii. development of basic and intermediate industries etc.

These and other issues which I expect your seminar to advert to will be of immense assistance to us especially as we look forward to taking decisive steps in the near future to unbottle the economy.

Mr. Chairman, without prejudice to the outcome of this seminar, I must emphasise that in the future, our watchword will be self reliance. In this connection we intend to consolidate whatever achievements this nation has managed to achieve at so great a cost in the past. We especially accord top priority to certain key projects most of which are already at various stages of implementation. These include:-

a. the papermills at Jebba, Oku Iboku and Iwopin,

b. the fertilizer project at Onne and the SSP at Kaduna,

c. the machine tools industry at Oshogbo,

d. the petrochemical projects (phase 1 & 11),

e. the various steel projects,

f. the LNG project, and

g. the third refinery at Port Harcourt.

Though committed to the completion and or consolidation of these projects, the administration nevertheless welcomes ideas on how this can be achieved at least to boost the economy.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I could not help but notice that the organisers of, and participants at this seminar are drawn from within and outside the country. This international flavour is most welcome and is indicative of the desire of our foreign friends to see us succeed. It is perhaps appropriate at this juncture for me to turn attention to the important issue of foreign investment especially by American enterpreneurs. I am aware that the Nigerian-American Chamber of Commerce and similar groupings exist

to promote business between our two countries.

I am also painfully aware of the frustrations which prospective investors suffer in their efforts to establish in Nigeria arising from bureaucratic insensitivity and endless procedural hurdles. I would like to assure our foreign friends that urgent efforts will be made to streamline procedures, eliminate bottlenecks and introduce workable incentives. In a world where the competition for investment capital is so fierce, I am surprised we have even got this far! I believe that in this part of the world, Nigeria with its size, population and resources, represents a new frontier for serious minded investors. What we need to do now is to create the right conditions and atmosphere that will attract badly needed foreign capital to supplement our local resources.

I am aware that we had set up a few study groups to examine some sectors of our economy. These groups, in which the Private Sector participated very actively, have since submitted their reports which were considered during the tenure of the former leadership. Let me assure you that this administration will get down to work to ensure immediate implementation of those aspects of the findings that are in our national interest.

Since ours is an open administration, we intend to benefit from the vast experience and knowledge of others at various levels and sectors of this country. The private sector is one such reservoir of experience and knowledge that we must tap from. The Ministers in charge of the Economic Ministries will be required to hold regular and meaningful dialogue with all of you in the private sector so that your collective wisdom can help in enriching the basis of our decision making.

Mr. Chairman, I wish to end this address by further extending my warm regards to the organisers of this timely seminar. I look forward to the ideas that will emanate therefrom and wish to assure you that Government will examine them with every seriousness and those that will lead Nigeria to the path of economic recovery will surely be adapted.

ACCOUNTANT IN NATION BUILDING

Address to members of the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Nigeria
October 16, 1985

I am very pleased for the opportunity which this courtesy call has given me to express my appreciation to you for the assistance which your Institute has given to Government in the past in the budget preparation exercise by presenting a memorandum on aspects of the Federal Government Budget each year.

You have indicated clearly that it is the desire of I.C.A.N. to see that the Federal Government succeeds in its efforts to face squarely the economic problems facing this country. I expect your Institute to make available to Government in the near future your observations and comments on what other measures you consider that Government should take during the period of economic emergency.

The role of Accountants in Nigeria cuts across the wide spectrum of activities in the public and private sectors. In the public sector, emphasis has been on expenditure control, performance evaluation and the preparation or audit of the accounts of the government and its agencies. The failure of many of these agencies to prepare their accounts on time has led to inefficiency, frauds and losses which jeopardise Government's financial investment in them.

This Administration will ensure that its public enterprises re-organize their accounting systems and other data collecting systems. Management accounts of operations must be produced on a timely basis. All persons entrusted with the management of public funds must not only be of the highest integrity, but possess a keen sense of urgency in the conduct of their activities.

There is a great need for the Institute to insist on high standards for the Accountancy profession so as to create a good image of the accountant in the Society.

I congratulate the Institute for its contribution to the development of the economy over the 20 years of its existence.

MANAGEMENT TRAINING FOR NIGERIANS

Response to the delegation of the Nigerian Institute of Management
December 11, 1985

I am pleased to welcome you and the delegation of the Nigerian Institute of Management. Your chairman has given me a succint account of the functions of the Institute and its contributions to the practice of management in Nigeria. I am also aware of your activities in the training and retraining of Nigerians in order to expose them to modern management concepts, practices and ideas. The seminars, conferences and consultancy services which have been organised under the aegies of your Institute have also served to keep your membership up-to-date in the latest management techniques. Indeed, the details of your activities have been impressive to the extent that you can now boast of your claim as the foremost management institute in Nigeria.

Taken together therefore, your activities have proved to be in conformity with the objectives and goals for which you have set yourself. implore you to strive harder to make yourself more relevant to the pressing needs of our country, especially during this period of economic depression. Times, such as we found ourselves, provide the acid test of your relevance. It puts to test the soundness of your managerial analysis, it puts into focus the social responsibility of managers and companies and their ability to cope with social dislocations resulting from economic depression.

I believe, the capacity of the individuals to adjust to the situation in itself poses a challenge to your training programmes. In short, your proffered solutions to the problems that faces the nation shall determine, to a large extent, how thoroughly and quickly we can pull through the present battered state of our economy.

I believe that the time is appropriate to examine dispassionately the role of management in our concerted efforts to restructure and revamp the economy. As you rightly pointed out the present situation has turned every individual into managers; we are all managers of austerity. You are also aware, that the most significant factor in the whole process of production is the human capital – the man, as the agent of change. He is the manager and the focus of your attention for training. The ratio in which the factors of production are mixed to produce goods and services is the exclusive responsibility of the manager. You should endeavour to turn him into good manager.

To my mind, the good manager, in our context today, is that person who turns the resources available to him to good advantage. He is that Nigerian who maximises those factors of production of which the nation has natural advantages, to good and proper use. He is that Nigerian who takes pride in our produce and products and, given the opportunity, can compete with any other producer in the world. A great responsibility lies therefore on your institute and its members as well as those who, by virtue of their

managerial positions, are called upon today to contribute to the resumption of growth of our economy and the progress of our nation. It is a task that calls for personal sacrifice and our sense of mission.

I would like to seize this opportunity to thank you for bestowing on me the honour of the Grand Patron of your institute. I feel most honoured by this award. I assure you that I shall always look forward to hearing from you, particularly on, the problems and issues which face the Institute in its endeavour to achieve its noble objective. I urge you to ensure that the positive impact of your activities can be felt by the big company, the small-scale business, the one-man business and indeed the government. It is through this means that your institute can affect the number and quality of management in this country.

THE BAR AS BEACON OF LIGHT

Response to a delegation of the Nigerian Bar Association on the Occasion of a courtesy call to the President
November 6, 1985

I am delighted to receive this distinguished delegation of the Nigerian Bar Association.

Your Association has continued to play a most commendable role in fostering fundamental human rights, civil liberties and social justice. I am happy that the Association has taken cognisance of the respect for fundamental human rights and social justice which this Administration has amply demonstrated since its inception. I wish to assure your Association that in accordance with our goal of social justice, we will always give adequate and thorough consideration to your candid suggestions whenever they are proffered in the interest of the nation. Our society, more than at any other period in our history, needs the services of Social Engineers.

Nigeria is particularly lucky to have highly respected Legal luminaries of international repute amongst you who have rendered distinguished services, not only to Nigeria, but also to sister African countries and can therefore provide the engineering services necessary for the development of the society. The trend must continue. You should ensure that Nigeria remains the leading light in legal matters in Africa and beyond.

The belief of this regime in the independence of the Judiciary is incontrovertible. We do not want, in any form, to interfere in the dispensation of justice, and the powers of the court will remain supreme. The present arrangement whereby the finances of the judiciary are met from the Consolidated Revenue Fund has the advantage of strengthening its independence. Special attention will be given in the next Budget to the problems arising out of the level of funding of the judiciary in relation to its estimate of its needs for efficient and effective discharge of its duties.

I have noted your Association's request for more funds for the Nigerian Law School and the Legal Aid Council. While I wish to assure you that both institutions will be funded within the context of overall budgetary provisions, cognisance should be taken of our present dwindling financial resources. At the inception of this Administration the promise was made to review the Decrees promulgated by the last Administration. As you are already aware, action has commenced on this.

I have noted with delight that your Association will be 100 years old next February. I look forward to your centenary celebration, and hope that your Association will seize that opportunity to highlight nationally and internationally, its achievements in the pursuit of social justice.

100 YEARS OF LEGAL PROFESSION

Address on the Centenary Celebration of the Legal Profession in Nigeria
February 18, 1986

I feel highly honoured and priviledged to address this august gathering of distinguished members of the Bench, and Bar from all over the country on the occasion of the opening of the Low Week marking the centenary of the Legal Profession in Nigeria.

I want to congratulate all members of the Nigerian Legal Profession who have upheld, built upon and kept alive the spirit and the enthusiasm which were kindled by the founding fathers of the legal profession 100 years ago. Our presence here today confirms my belef that the legal profession has succeeded in attracting to itself a very large number of the population of this country as compared with other professions.

A look at the programme for discussion during the course of the week as well as the topics of the papers to be delivered convinces me that at the end of the week, this conference would come out with a programme and strategy that will ease congestion in the courts, streamline the rules of procedure, map out the strategy for uniform sentencing and also deal positively with other areas of the Law. Above all, I do expect that you will come out with a solution to the problems of congestion of cases in our courts, reduce costs of litigation and definite proposals on the uniformity in our laws.

My administration will endeavour at all times to ensure that the rule of law is maintained in this country.

It is on record that on taking office, this administration declared the belief in the fundamental human rights of the citizens of Nigeria, and has taken positive steps towards its realization by repealing Decree No. 4 of 1984, and releasing from detention all those we thought have been unduly detained without trial. To this end, three tribunals headed by judges, were established.

One to review the cases of persons already convicted under the Recovery of Public Property Decree 1984. Another to review the cases of persons convicted under the Exchange Control (Anti-Sabotage) Decree 1984 and the Miscellaneous Offences Decree 1984 and yet another to review the cases of person released conditionally from detention and those that may still be detained under the State Security (Detention of Persons) Decree 1984. I need not emphasise the fact that all the tribunals are sitting in public and the laws setting them up are not made retrospective.

Lest I forget, I also made a promise at the inception of this administration that some Decrees shall be reviewed. This promise we hope to fulfil at the end of the present exercise being carried out by the three Tribunals. Apart from all the cases now being handled, recommendation would have been received from the tribunals on such Decrees and the inherent problems and defects contained in them.

Before I conclude, I must bring to your notice the present economic situation of the country and the steps being taken by this administration

towards the improvement of the economy.

As Lawyers and a very important section of the community, I wish to solicit your support for the various measures under-taken by my administration to revamp the economy. You are all aware of the National Economic Emergency Powers Decree of 1985, the purpose of which is to regulate and legalise the economic measures taken in order to revamp our ailing economy. The role of your profession is to ensure at all times in your daily interaction with your clients that the necessary deductions are made from the salaries and remunerations of your workers as well as yourselves. The nation will expect unalloyed patriotism from your end at this time in rebuilding the ailing economy of this nation. While on this point, I am reminded of the biblical quotation that "to whom much is given, much is expected".

With these few words, My Lord the Chief Justice of Nigeria, the Honourable Attorney-General of the Federation, My Lords, President and members of the executive of the Nigerian Bar Association, distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen of the Inner and Outer Bar, I declare the Law Week Open. May God Almighty be with you and guide you in all your deliberations.

PRIVATE SECTOR AND GOVERNMENT

15th Annual General Meeting of the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria at Eko Holiday Inn Victoria Island March 12, 1986

It is a great pleasure to address this august gathering on the occasion of the 15th Annual General Meeting of the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (M.A.N.) Although since assuming office, this is my first meeting with your Association, I have had both formal and informal interactions with a cross section of members of your Association.

I am happy to observe that the objectives of your Association include the desire to develop and promote the contribution of the manufacturing sector to the national economy and equip yourselves for influencing public policy in the areas of industry, labour relations, commercial law, etc. In this connection, I should state that during the preparation of the 1986 budget, the consultations with and contributions by your Association were found to be very constructive and useful. In keeping with the open door policy of this Administration, relevant government organs had dialogues with the organised private sector in order to evolve realistic programmes and find solutions to the economic problems facing the nation. It is the intention of Government to continue to involve the organised private sector in the management of the national economy in the years ahead.

It is gratifying to note that your Association has already held a seminar devoted mainly to examining the 1986 budget.

You will discover that on the whole, the main concern of this Adminstration is to find solutions to the critical and recurring problems plaguing this economy. There was a tendency in the past to gloss over such problems because they were considered extremely difficult. In putting the 1986 Budget together, we took the opportunity to come to grips with these fundamental problems which require restructuring of the national economy. As you know, any restructuring exercise is painful, but with a clear understanding of the issues at stake, perseverance and dedication, I have no doubt that we will overcome the present difficulties.

I am aware of the fear being entertained in certain quarters regarding the ability of the country to accomplish the tasks set out in the budget; these fears are due mainly to the deteriorating situation in the oil market. It is common knowledge that oil has been for sometime the engine of growth in our economy, contributing at a certain stage, more than 90% of the country's foreign exchange earnings. While we are very much concerned about the falling prices of oil, we believe that oil prices will stabilise in the near future. We should not lose sight of the fact that artificially maintained low prices for oil, has great potential for causing disruptions, not only in our own economy, but also in the economies of the advanced industrial nations which are themselves major producers of oil and in which the oil companies and their bankers play a pivotal role in the financial system. Such instability

can lead to bankcruptcies nd plunge the whole world into a new round of recession.

It is clear therefore that the on-going battle of nerves in the oil industry, cannot go on for too long. Whatever happens, we must now embark on an aggressive programme of promoting non-oil exports. This is the true solution to the problem which the recurring instability in the oil industry poses to the growth and orderly development of our own economy. It is indeed a sad commentary on the resourcefulness of our people that in spite of our abundant natural resources and the variety of industries across the nation, the country is still virtually a mono-product economy. This fact makes us very vulnerable to external pressures, over which we have little influence or control. It is therefore not only desirable but in fact imperative, for the country's economic survival and self-reliance, that we should develop our non-oil exports. Indeed, this factor constitues the rationale behind the determined policy of this Administration to restructure the economy away from oil and place increased exphasis on agriculture and industry.

There have been calls in recent times for a review of the Budget in view of the collapse of the price of oil. Our response to these calls is simply that a review is premature at this time when the market is still unsettled and a new and stable price, cannot be determined. Whenever the market settles down, we will re-assess the situation and decide whether or not a review of the budget will be necessary. Ladies and gentlemen, we must do all that is possible to ensure that Nigeria retains her pride of place in the world market for the traditional products like palm oil, palm kernel, cocoa, coffee, cotton, groundnuts, sheanuts, chillies, etc., either in the processed or semi-processed forms. We must also exploit whatever potential we have, for the production and exportation of industrial goods such as indigenous textiles, wood products, processed foods and drinks based on local raw materials, etc. Nigerian-made-products command wide acceptability in the ECOWAS sub-region. It is pertinent to recall here that the package of export incentives introduced recently were designed to make the prices of our products competitive in the world market. Your Association should take up the challenge in order to free the country from overdependence on crude oil.

Mr. Chairman, you mentioned in your address that the Government should take over the Raw Materials Committee established by your Association and expand it into the proposed Raw Materials Council. This is a good suggestion and it will be carefully looked into by Government. I am also aware that some industrial sub-groups are working out arrangements to develop raw materials for the common use of their factories. This is a welcome development. Let me however mention at this juncture that the Raw Materials Research and Development Council being proposed by Government will be an umbrella Organization to co-ordinate various research efforts and evolve broad policy guidelines and action programmes for raw materials acquisition, exploitation and development. The membership will reflect the different interest groups, including representatives of industries, research institutes, Government, NLC, etc. I have no doubt that your Association will play a prominent role in the Council since manufacturing

industry is the major user of raw materials. It is my earnest desire that we should achieve some breakthrough in the shortest possible time as this is the surest way to achieving self-reliance in the supply of local raw materials for domestic industries.

Mr Chairman, distinguished ladies and gentlemen, as I indicated earlier, the organised private sector should be ready to take up more responsibilities in the management of the national economy. Although profit is usually the dominant motive for your actions, Government expects that companies should respond to the needs of the society within which they operate. In this connection, I wish to remind you that the nation has a core of educated unemployed people who need to be absorbed into employment. While we are now contemplating incentive schemes for encouraging employment in private industry, Government expects to see substantial improvement in the employment performance of your members in the course of this year. The unemployed are not only our fellow citizens, they are also our own sons and daughters whom we have educated at great cost to ourselves and to the national economy.

I should not end this address without mentioning the important role played by import licencing in the rationing of available scarce foreign exchange resources. There is no doubt that this has become the most important single instrument for managing the economy in the short run. In my 1986 Budget Speech, I mentioned that representatives of the Private Sector would serve on the Committees to consider import Licence applications. I am pleased to note that the Import Licence exercise has now been completed and licences would soon be issued to successful applicants. Let me take this opportunity to thank the Private Sector representatives who laboured night and day along with their Public Service colleagues to examine the several thousands of applications for import licence. Encouraged by this year's experiment, we are now reviewing the method of considering import licence applications in the future. As from 1987, foreign exchange allocations will be made to various industrial groups who will in turn meet to share these allocations among themselves on the basis of criteria to be established by each group.

This method has already been successfully tried within one or two industry groups. For this approach to succeed, it is essential that every applicant for import licence should belong to an industry or trade group. I hope the new method when fully articulated, will eliminate fake applications, ensure that the available foreign exchange is distributed among industries in a fair and objective manner, and that the business community is fully involved in the managment of a very scarce national resource.

COMMITMENT TO TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCEMENT

Laying of the Foundation Stone for the Faculty of Law University of Benin
May 7, 1986

Let me first congratulate you on your appointment as Vice-Chancellor of this University and more so as the first woman Vice-Chancellor in a male dominated society. We see your appointment, as part of the crusade of this Administration to guarantee equal opportunity to all Nigerians irrespestive of sex, class, religion or ethnicity.

Furthermore, for those who believe in the inevitability of Patriarchy, your appointment has not only proved that the Nigerian woman has come of age, but they should begin to reverse that retrogressive thought which tends to suggest that the woman's place is in the kitchen. It is the belief of this administration that the quest for human rights cannot be separated from the quest for equal rights between sexes, more so, in our country, where the women have been under-privileged for so long.

The University of Benin provides the ideal location and crucial starting point for launching a major offensive against all manner of domination, oppression, and discrimination. The mission of the University is to neutralise for good, the antagonism which flows directly from the domination of the under-privileged by the privileged. In particular, the domination of women who are often reffered to as the weaker sex. From its location in the ancient city of Benin, we have the unique examples of veritable women in our history. One recalls the noble roles of Idia, Emotan, and Adesuwa to mention a few.

Madam Vice-Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen, let it be known, that here in Benin, we have started what appears to be a silent revolution to bring women directly into the mainstream of the government and administration of higher institutions in our country. The appointment of Professor Grace Alele Williams as the Vice-Chancellor in Nigeria is part of this process. We do not want to be deterred in this process by self-professed male-chauvinists in our midst, rather the door of other Universities will be flung wide open for every experimentation, along the Benin line, in the future. However, this should not be misunderstood to mean that the mere fact of feminine gender is an automatic qualification for leadership.

Verily, the challenge before the under-privileged is precisely to prove his or her worth so that he or she can justify his or her appointment to high office and so inject confidence into the reversion process. Only demonstrated quality performance can generate individual confidence in the system; only such a quality performance can trigger off the beginning and the end of all manner of domination, oppression and discrimination.

This brings me to the kernel of my short address — the relationship of law and human rights. Law, so defined has provided the final instrument for pursuing the goals of a just and humane society. Law can neither afford to remain aloof from this whole process nor can it afford to be marginal to it.

Law must be seen to be actively promoting justice and fair play. It must be seen to directly contribute to the creation of a truly democratic and a humane society. This, I dare say, is the quintessence of a virile human rights policy. Such is the policy that this administration holds very dearly in name and in substance.

In opening the faculty of Engineering of this Univeristy, I fully endorse the sentiment expressed by you, Madam Vice-Chancellor that your Engineering Faculty is committed to the technological development of this country. I dare say that this is what this country needs now. By opening this faculty I hope that the march for the propagation of technological advancement has therefore begun. I implore you to hold seminars on various aspects of technological development and that those who go through this Institution will constitute the core of our technological advancement. This Administration is committed to making our government and society that of technological advancement. This means also that undue academic qualification at the expense of practical training will not be tolerated by this administration.

Your bold step in seeking other avenues for funding development projects will receive the support of this administration especially when it is anchored on the goal of self-reliance. I can assure you that the Federal Government will guarantee worthwhile venture of this nature. I shall refer the matter to the appropriate arm of government for consideration.

CHARGE TO THE JUDICIARY

The Swearing-in Ceremony of the Chief Justice of Nigeria at Dodan Barracks November 11, 1985

You have just witnessed the swearing-in ceremony of the Chief Justice of Nigeria. The choice of the new Chief Justice of Nigeria in the person of Hon. Justice Ayo Gabriel Irikefe, to succeed Hon. Justice George Sodeinde Sowemimo who retired recently is made bearing in mind is experience, merit and hard work.

I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate the new Chief Justice of Nigeria and wish him a successful tenure of office. As clearly stated in your oath of office, I hope you will discharge your duties and perform your functions honestly and faithfully in accordance with the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeira.

I wish to re-iterate that this administration has no intention to interfer with the judiciary. In accepting the independence of the judiciary, the law officers must live up to expectation. They must dispense justice with transparent honesty, without fear or favour, and ensure fair play at all times. The experience today is that to obtain justice in Nigeria is very expensive and outside the reach of the ordinary man. There is also delayed justice which does no one good. I urge all judicial officers and practitioners of law to ensure that these problems are looked into with the aim of solving them.

I wish to take this opportunity to thank the outgoing Chief Justice of Nigeria, Hon. Justice George Sodeinde Sowemimo for the patriotic and dedicated service rendered to Nigeria. I wish him and his family a happy retirement from public life.

PUBLIC RELATIONS AND NATIONAL GOALS

Response to the Nigeria Institute of Public Relations at State House, Dodan Barracks
October 30, 1985

I am very pleased to receive this delegation of your Institute which has paid this courtesy call on me. I thank the Institute for the many good things said about me and the new Administration in your President's address. I have noted the issues raised very carefully and assure you that those of them which required action will be critically examined by the appropriate government agencies. This Administration will not change its policy of open government and will endeavour at all times to engage in dialogue with various groups in its search for the best ways to enhance the participation of all segments of the Nigerian community in the act of governance.

I agree with you that good public relations is vital to the creation of mutual understanding between the government and the people. It is important for organised groups in the society, be they professional, cultural or social to contribute to the development of our society. As an organisation, whose members have direct access to the public through the print media, radio broadcasting, television and advertising, you can influence every section of the society considerably. Although your primary concern is to project a good image of the material which you set out to advertise, you must ensure that all your activities are such as will enhance the achievement of our national goals and objectives. This Administration will cooperate with you in the performance of your tasks.

The abrogation of Decree No. 4 is the present Military Administration's way of stating unequavocally that it has confidence in the ability of the press to monitor its own activities, in accordance with the ethics of the profession of journalism. All sections of the mass media, including you, public relations practitioners, must be responsible and objective in news reporting and in commentaries on issues of national importance, particularly where they concern the security, integrity and economic progress of our country.

I congratulate the President and Members of the Nigerian Institute of Public Relations for the Institute's initiative in fostering the art of public relations in Nigeria. I hope that you will liaise closely with the Ministry of Information and Culture so that you may have a full understanding of Government objectives, policies and programmes for the mass media in this country.

The President of your Institute said in his opening statement that this Administration has started well. I assure you that the cooperation of men of goodwill like you, and by the grace of ALLAH, we will continue to provide selfless service to the nation.

Thank you.

TOWARDS A BETTER SOCIETY — KURU ADDRESS

Address to the Graduating Senior Executive Course No. 7 at the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies — Kuru
October 26, 1985

You have invited me to address you this morning in my capacity as President of Nigeria. As I stand before you now however, I am consious of additional reasons why I am filled with a sense of satisfaction at being with you today. As you know, I was a member of the Government which took the decision to establish the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies. Subsequently, I was privileged to be one of the foundation students of NIPSS. Since then, I have been invited here to give addresses on a number of occasions. In all these contexts, it has always been a pleasure to be associated with the work and activities of this institute. My feelings this morning are no exception and I thank the institute's authorities for their kind invitation. NIPSS was conceived as the premier centre for the conduct of study programmes, research and policy analysis. It was also set up to evolve ideas, new techniques and skills, as well as policies and new directions for the guidance of decision-makers at the very highest level. The National Institute was, in short, designed to function as the chief source of ideas for strategies pertinent to national consolidation, betterment and survival.

You were kind enough to allow me to focus my address to you on any topic of my choice. I have therefore decided to take as my theme, the motto of the National Institute: "Towards a Better Society." I intend, by this choice, to underscore not only the essential contribution of the National Institute in our effort to build the Nigeria of tomorrow, but also to reaffirm the importance attached by this Administration to the Institute and its work. I would like to place on record, my appreciation and that of the AFRC to the contribution made by NIPSS in such a short time since its establishment towards the charting of new directions in policy and policy implementation and in pointing out new perspectives and techniques in the management of the affairs of our society. I therefore assure you of our full moral and material support for the valuable work you have been doing.

I am aware that the reasons which led to your creation are as strong and as valid today as they were six years ago. They will be felt even more urgently as the nation continues the search for new ways of fulfilling the dreams and vision contained in your motto.

I have had occasion before to observe that at various points in our history, we have experienced a sense of what true greatness could be to Nigeria. Today, however, we are now faced with despair. In the course of this address, I intend to allude to the nature of this despair and make some remarks to evolve some reflections, in order to provide the basis for the formulation of better policies and programmes. Such reflections should enable us to chart new directions and rediscover neglected alternatives so

that we can fulfill the goal of creating a better society.

Under our current conditions, it may be thought audacious to talk of creating a better society while we are still battling with the problems of a battered economy. This may be so: but I believe wholeheartedly in the promise of God that in the middle of the utmost adversity, He creates and brings forth a new and greater glory and more auspicious circumstances for people that suffer. In this moment of hardship and difficulties, we should therefore take a close look at ourselves with renewed vision and together resolve to conquer our adversity.

Man's endeavour to adapt old habits and discover better and more efficient ways has been a constant process since the beginning of time. It is through this process that human societies make progress thorugh the art of making instruments, the domestication of animals, the shaping of his environment by creating settlements, the growth of cities, nations and empires; right down the ages to the age of space science, technology, computers and modern medicine. Throughout this evolution, man has been addressing the question, "what makes for a better society?"

Attempts to answer this question have not been free from passion and prejudice concerning such ultimate and complicated issues as the purpose and quality of life, individual liberty, man's responsibility and obligations to society, etc. The emotion and the prejudice arise, I think, because such issues are not only inseparable from, but completely dependent on the philosophical commitments the moral beliefs of the individual and society as a whole. With this background, I would like to briefly sketch out my personal conception of the society we should all strive to evolve. I do so fully conscious of the fact that this is a long historical problem which the best of philosophical minds, through the ages, have addressed without resolve. However, we all have the duty to reflect on this eternal problem and, by so doing, we have the right to hope that we shall leave the world a better place than we found it. I would want us to evolve, in general terms, the kind of society which has the capacity to sustain itself and survive even against the determined onslaught of its adversaries. It is a society that resolutely rejects anarchy arising from the sickness of body, spirit and mind; the corruption of morals and manners and the decay of institutions.

I would like to see us build a society which guarantees the individual, freedom of thoughts, speech and action; and protects society as a whole from threat to the security of persons, family and property. In such a society the individual should be free to seek and attain self-fulfilment within the limits of the law, while at the same time voluntarily subsuming self to the wider and greater claims of the overall good. In material terms, all citizens should have the opportunity to lead useful and satisfactory lives and make their contribution to the common good in fields of their own choice, according to their ability. In such a society there should not exist wide disparity of wealth that the affluent and poor classes cannot live together in harmony.

Any good society must be prepared to ensure that, as a minimum, no citizens suffers any inequity on account of his innate disability. For their

part, the citizen must learn to conduct themselves in such a way as to inspire the approval of their fellowmen. Only thus can they develop and sustain a positive view of each other. In short, "the good society", if you like, should be one in which the conduct of individual member, especially those who are entrusted with the responsibility of leadership, should behave in such a manner as to show that they have a direct personal stake in the survival, growth and betterment of the common good. The despair felt by many of our citizens is a reflection of their measure of how far short is Nigeria society of today from the ideal elements which go into the society we all aspire to build. It is therefore a measure of the need to make a conscious and determined effort to create the conditions which ensure the emergence of such a society.

Whatever may be said concerning our current conditions compared to the recent past, we are still one of the few nations in the world where there exist most of the necessary conditions and means on the basis of which the greatest and most spectacular achievements in human development and growth can be realised.

Since our independence we have followed the tradition of planning for development which commit resources to particular courses of action without question. This is partly because we have come to believe in development plans as the sure instrument of increasing the quantity, variety and quality of the needs of our people. The central goal was meant to be the raising of the level of incomes of our citizens and their standard of living: through import substitution based industrialisation leading to eventual sustained economic growth. Thus, our approach tended to emphasise a broad based strategy which sought to attack our perceived backwardness on every front and to transform all sectors of society at once by the same means. In some measure, we have been successful in this respect because of the spectacular increase in revenue, mainly derived from oil.

We can speak today with greater justification than we could have done in the 1960s of an industrial sector in our economy. The range of goods we produce today has come a long way from the mainly textiles products of the 1960s. They now include electrical goods, plastics and the assembly of passenger cars and commercial vehicles. The contribution of the industrial sector to our gross domestic product has grown from 3.6% to 9.6% in the fifteen years between 1960 and 1975; while our per capital income has risen from ₦60 to ₦75 in 1983. This per capital income is higher than most black African States, and it is particularly significant when we take our great population factor into account.

The decentralisation of the centres of government and administration and the application of the principle of even development have multiplied, many times, the centres of urban development and growth. Cities and major towns in existence before the 1960s such as Lagos, Kano, Ibadan, Enugu, Kaduna, Portharcourt, Benin etc have doubled or trippled in physical size and population. The quality of housing and other modern facilities even in rural settlements have experienced remarkable improvement. The number of medical centres, hospitals and clinics has increased beyond the wildest

dreams of our founding-fathers. There is hardly a local government area without any medical facility however inadequate. Electricity supply has grown phenomenally and today reaches a wider segment of the population, both rural and urban.

Passenger cars and a wide variety of buses have become the chief mode of transport for those who do not possess their own. Car ownership is common among the higher and middle income groups. In the public and private sectors as well among the self-employed. The motor cycle, the scooter and a variety of machines have replaced the bicycle as the commonest private means of transport for lower income groups. Improvements have also been recorded in rail transport even though that sector still presents a sorry story. Telephone services; no matter how inadequate, have reached at least the major cities of the nation. The ownership of radios and television sets, once a mark of distinction, is now common. At the very least, all over Nigeria people can now listen to and watch the same version of the news of their world, local and foreign, at one and the same time.

People are, on the whole, better clothed and have access to better facilities in and outside their homes today than at independence in 1960. There has been, a complete revolution in tastes and styles over the last quarter of the century. This can be appreciated somewhat, from the fact that rice has for many years threatened to become the common staple diet of all income groups, no matter at what cost.

In religious activity there has been an epidemic of church and mosque buildings and the number of pilgrims has grown several hundred times since 1960. In the field of education, the growth has been even more dramatic. Each of the states of Kano, Borno and Sokoto, which had the lowest educational attainment at independence, today contains a far greater number of institutions of education at the lower, secondary and post-secondary levels than did the old Northern Region of which each was a part in 1960. There is at least one post secondary national institution in each state. The growth in the population of professions and teaching staff at all levels and in the general administrative cadre has also been quite spectacular over the same period.

In terms of our position in the world we have earned a major place in the community of nations. Even if we have had to take steps to guard our interests, as in recent times, we remain the strongest force in the West African region and the greatest hope of Black Africa. We have, among our unique achievements, fought and won the struggle for national self-survival. We have, in the economic field, fought and won the battle for greater indigenous participation and control in the economy especially in banking, insurance and the distributive and other service trades. In summary, there is a lot to be proud of despite our mood of national despair.

It is true that we have run through one of the greatest financial bonanzas that ever happened to a nation truly in need so fast and so recklessly that we may wonder if it ever happened at all! We are now in debt and face a serious short term trade credit and cash crisis which threatens our economy and national well-being in every respect. Jobs are no longer secure and

thousands have had to be retrenched. Trade and economic life in general face a near stand still.

The neglect of agriculture has turned this once largely agricultural nation into a net importer of food. Our neglect of rural areas continues the unhealthy and dangerous drift of able young men and women from the rural areas to turn our cities into over-crowded centres of filth and crime. The oil bonanza has turned a very few into very rich men leaving the vast majority too poor to satisfy their minimum needs.

Part of the problem lay in the conception of government and our philosophy and attitude to what is good for us. We have maintained by world and deed that direct government participation and public sector dominance of the economy are the best means to ensure justice and equality of opportunity.

Yet there is a loudly proclaimed view which can not be easily dismissed that almost as soon as government agencies take control of the supply of any commodity or service, it becomes more scarce and more expensive; and a new class of emergency distributors directly or indirectly linked with the officials working in the agency emerge overnight and become suddenly very rich. Yet another view which is not so easily dismissed is that most of the revenue-yielding establishments owned by government harldy ever return to the public purse more than a small percentage of the revenue justified by the volume of business that they do. Whatever the correct view, is the public critic not justified in his view that such utilities appear to be run for the benefit of those employed to work in them? On a more objective plane do other commercial monopolies owned by government perform as well as they should?

Give its relative monopoly position; the patronage of Government and Government-owned organisations including its rich resource bases has made it wise, prudent and justifiable use of the means at its disposal to make the necessary impact on the economy? Would the executives of such organisations, were they private companies, escape the wrath of their shareholders? I think not.

It is pointless to blame multinationals, their partners and agents for any such persons alone; because in the good society, we want those who represent the public interest to have the primary responsibility of protecting that interest. Is there perhaps hidden in our attitude a belief that we do not have a stake in the present as well as the future of this society? This is a serious questions; and there are many others more which we shall have to take seriously if we are to overcome and make this society a better one. Above all, the hour has now come when we should examine everything we do and question some of the assumption about the best way to proceed.

More to the point, now that the oil revenues are gone, should the citizens of this country be encouraged to believe that the glittering years are still with us? While it is true that we have undergone a revolution in tastes and styles, should we now insist that only the most glittering products of the most advanced and richest societies will suit our taste? Are we not bound to borrow a leaf from China and Japan to content ourselves with

simpler products of our own make, no matter how crude? In the area of household goods of everyday use, for example, should the consumer taste not be made to make do with a simple cooker of local manufacture which makes good use of our kerosine and gas?

This address can go on without an end because what is at stake is our very future and survival as a nation. I should not end it however without mention of two fundamental aspects of this problem. I would like to observe that most discussions of our experience as a nation invariably return to the issue of leadership in common Nigeria usage, leadership tends to be concerned with rulers and the consequences of their attitudes and behaviours.

I think we make a very serious mistake if we think of leadership only in terms of the top men, especially those in control of government; be they politicians or military men. The idea of the leadership should not be restricted to such a narrow confine; for to do so is to provide a hatch for the rest of society to escape our responsibility and commitment to the cause of the nation. Whoever acts in any situation on behalf of more than himself alone plays a leadership role. The trade union official, no less than the Chief executive of the organisation for which he works, is a leader in and outside his union work. The business-man, no less than the governor of a state, is as much a leader as men of the bench. Put another way, everyone in his own capacity; whether in formal or informal situations of life, bears the same obligation to promote and to protect the stake we all have in the survival and growth of our society.

If we look at things this way, at once the gap between the necessary standards and our attitudes becomes very clear. The teacher, at every level of the educational system must accept his role as that of parents to the pupils in his charge. He has the responsibility to give them the skills which would enable them to fend for themselves and to serve society; and to give them a proper grounding in those hard and difficult lessons which will see them safely through life. The trade union leader in turn, must learn to place the general interest above the claims of the members of his union. In a climate of general economic depression it makes no sense to pursue traditional aggressive nionism and call, at the same time not only for full employment, but also for an increase in wages.

The business organisation must learn that prudent business imposes the obligation to use the funds accumulated in boom years to absorb the shocks of the depression by saving existing jobs; if only as an investment in their own future security. Our local business tycoons must learn that they have an obligation to deploy the vast rices they have made in our boom years by virtue of their membership of this society, in productive investiment in agriculture and industry. The public servant must learn to count and save every kobo of Government funds and protect it as his very own. The cost of public sector projects must be brought in line with economic realities; for today money poses a serious obstacle to our national ambitions. If we change our attitudes in this way the survival of Nigeria becomes everyone's soncern.

I am convinced that the record so far does not give us reason to be

complacent about the future. I am gratified also that certain developments so far have justified our confidence in our ability to safeguard the future and win the battle for a better society. The realisation that there can never be a return to the easy riches and the opulence of the oil boom years has been rather slow in coming; it is now a matter of fact. It is the duty of every citizen, especially those in the media, to ensure, that the lesson is not lost on anyone that the goose that laid the golden egg has died as accidentally as it had come. A complete revolution in our attitudes is therefore necessary.

The debate on the IMF loan proposals has shown a remarkable and gratifying determination on the part of the ordinary citizen that he is prepared to endure sacrifices in order to turn round our economy. It is this same attitude of endurance and perseverance that won us the civil war. This administration has already declared a 15-month period of national economic emergency. Our first step is the banning of the importation of rice and maize. Other tougher measures are bound to come in order to save the nation from a calamity that we wrought upon it by our attitudes to work, our consumption patterns and tastes and our selfish definition of our obligations and responsibilities to society. My speech for the 1986 Budget will dwell upon such necessary sacrifices that we will have to make to save our nation.

At this point, let me reiterate a number of steps which this Administration has evolved to tackle the problem.

(1) we shall continue to give strong support to agriculture in order to improve the food supply at low prices.

(2) We shall redress the imbalance in development between rural and urban areas and ensure a better standard of living for the majority of our citizens who live in rural areas.

(3) We shall continue to re-examine with a view to revise the direct and wasteful over-commitment of government in the economy without jeopardising the principles of justice; equality of opportunity; even development and the general well-being of our citizens. In this regard we shall do everything to encourage the citizens towards individual self-reliance and the realisation of his ambitions.

(4) We shall give the strongest support and encouragement through appropriate incentives and schemes to attract and promote local and foreign investment in industry and agriculture. The strongest emphasis will be laid upon those proposals which will ensure the creation of jobs and employment on a large scale in the shortest possible time. No effort will however be spared to protect our economic independence.

(5) We are dissatisfied with the duplication, waste of resources and heavy burden on our foreign reserves caused by the policy and

planning which encourages the proliferation of assembly plants. We are unalterably committed to a complete review of policy and action in that regard. The provision of alternative employment and re-direction of resources which arise will receive priority attention. We shall listen with sympathy to any proposals to manufacture the parts instead of continued importation and assembly.

(6) To this end we shall take steps to cut the red tape and end the period of delay to avoid the death of any scheme before it is realised.

(7) We shall continue to promote the search for local raw materials for industry and give active and vigorous support to inventions by Nigerians in order to increase the pace of indigenising industrial technology and industrial manufacture. In this regard inventions by Nigerians in association with non-Nigerians at home and abroad will receive similar consideration.

(8) We shall as a matter of course intensify and sustain the campaign for a new national awakening through the War Against Indiscipline with respect to the general conduct of our citizens at home and abroad; and with respect to probity, financial responsibility, devotion to duty and accountability in the conduct of affairs by the servants of the state.

Let me in this regard that we in the AFRC are aware that since the change of leadership, some Nigerians have interpretted the change in the style of government as an indication of tolerance and a return to the era of social irresponsibility. Needless to remind you that every citizen is a witness to the nightmare this nation went through for some 20 months. We have all known what it is to live in uncertainty, dread and suspicion. Every citizen has known what it is to live in fears and suspicion of his friends, his neighbours and even of his wives and children. We in this administration do not believe in the unfortunate idea that Nigerians can never be made to accept responsibility for their own cause except through government sponsored terror and repression.

We believe that every Nigerian knows it when he does wrong. We believe equally that every Nigerian knows within his heart that the situation of a generalised and combined assault on national destiny has to be brought to an end. We believe just as strongly that the means of creating a better and orderly society and national discipline must be based on the highest personal standards. It must respect the most elementary and fundamental human rights of the citizen and the dignity of man. It is our belief that is only when due and legitimate process of law has proved that an action endangers order and good government should the state resort to apply the necessary and appropriate measures against such abuse.

For the avoidance of doubt therefore, let it be known that the AFRC

will apply with unremitting determination and zeal the full force of its own authority to impose national responsibility and discipline. We shall however do so through the due and legitimate instrument and process of the law. Jungle justice is not part of the better society. We accept that many may have lost confidence in some of our public institutions. In the coming months therefore, I shall hold closed door meetings and address in unmistakable terms the institutions of state and organised groups to leave no one in doubt what the AFRC expects. Similar meetings will be held by the state governors in each state. Henceforth let us not have any doubt what we can expect.

I thank you for your patience and attention. if I have talked at length, the subject and venue befit one. With the active contribution and co-operation of NIPSS and such similar institutions and the active support and determination of all our citizens, I believe we shall succeed in our joint launch into a better future. It is a future which ultimately brings our nation and race nearer our dreams and aspirations to bring our generation and society a place of pride in the family of mankind.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE RURAL ENVIRONMENT

Address to the International Conference on Human Rights Education in Rural Environment
November 26, 1985

I am indeed pleased to be called upon to deliver the Opening Address to this very important Conference which has drawn as participants eminent jurists. Judges. Socioligists, Lawyers, Educationists and other professionals. These are people chosen on the basis of their concern for and involvement in and special knowledge of the problems related and connected with the plight of the rural population and the urban poor in the exercise and enjoyment of their fundamental rights, freedoms and duties and the advancement and improvement of those rights. My special thanks go to the International Law Department of the University of Lagos, the organisers of this Conference in collaboration with the Ford Foundation and the UNESCO for using the medium of this Conference to focus on the often-forgotten rural and urban-poor sectors of the African Community.

The Theme of the Conference is HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE RURAL ENVIRONMENTS It is a known fact that in Africa in particular, the majority of our people, indeed about 80% of the entire population, live in the rural areas and in urban slums. These rural and urban poor populations are almost ignorant of the law and their legal rights. In those place, centrally controlled or centrally directed legal services do not reach out to the populance and when they do, they are neither sufficient nor effective The rural people even view lawyers with traditional suspicion as instruments of their oppression rather than of their liberation. Infact the rural community has almost become synonymous with the poor community.

The task before this Conference therefore, is by no measure a mean task. It has set out, as the Conference papers suggest to address the means by which the rural population will be educated as to their legal rights and duties and also devise means which will enable them become consumers of available legal services at affordable prices. The system devised must enable the rural people know their legal rights and claim those right without undue hassle and expense Above all, those solutions and strategies must be typically African, since the persons concerned are also African. This is my challenge to you this morning.

The issue of Human Rights is not a new concept to us in Nigeria. Successive Nigerian Constitutions since our independence have carried a charter of Human Rights. This present Administration, though a Military one, accords great respect to the protection of individual human and communal rights. Chapter of the 1979 Constitution which relates to fundamental human rights was not suspended. It has been left virtually intact both in letter, in intendment and in implementation. Infact, Administration aims to repeal outright, amend or modify some provisions in our existing

laws which in any way impede or abridge the full enjoyment of individual rights as enshrined in our Constitution. Without fear of contradition, we have on several occasions declared our intention to leave the adminstration of social justice to the Judiciary.

It is no secret that Nigeria is one of the most vociferous antagonists and critics of the Apartheid regime of South Africa. We have marched our declared aversion and opposition to the Pretoria regime with moral and material support to the oppressed people of South Africa. Nigeria believes in the equality of race, peoples and sexes. To this end, Nigeria has signed, ratified and enacted into municipal law, amongst others, the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights, and the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women. The Constitution of the Federal Repblic of Nigeria 1979 makes comprehensive and elaborate provisions for the enforcement of human rights.

It therefore becomes clear that in Nigeria there exist the guarantee and the legal framework for the enjoyment by every person of his individual freedoms. The most serious obstacle this Conference is likely to encounter in its desire to take legal education and legal services to the grass-root is chiefly, the persistence of certain traditional attitudes. This under-lying obstacle impedes progress in the elimination of all others, primarily illiteracy, lack of general education and the closely knit structure of the family and the community in the rural areas.

These attitudes are very difficult to change and the more established and more extreme the attitude, the harder it is to change. Further, the more central a belief, the more it will resist change, The mass media can be a powerful ally and an aid in changing attitudes. Its assistance must be enlisted now. Happily, the radio has become available in the remotest areas of this country

Every State of this country owns a radio station which broadcasts in virtually all the local dialects. The mass media is in direct contact with the rural people. They understand each other. Religious institutions are another formidable ally in the effort to change traditional attitudes and in their place, plant the knowledge of basic civic rights and duties.

The lowly town crier should not be overlooked. It is a vital link. Audio visual, mobile films and Government Information services are all vital links.

Programmes adapted to the needs of different countries should concentrate on specific problems peculiar to such areas.

I cannot complete this talk without touching on the specific issue of the rural women in the African rural and urban slum settlement communities. Women in these areas are the chief victims of illiteracy. They lack general education, they have inadequate vocational training and do not participate in decision making within the family and in the community.

Discriminatory attitudes towards women are both central and well established. Such discriminatory treatment begins in the home, is reinforced in school and is rooted in society in general. The integration of women, primarily on the principles of human rights and social justice and go hand-

in-hand with attempts to raise a country's gross national product.

Rural communities must necessarily be considered as a homogenous whole, if we are to reach out to them. The full participation of the entire population is essential. The rural people must organise and mobilise themselves. They must be encouraged to overcome their sense of helplessness Rather than devise new methods, the solution may lie in building upon existing systems which the rural folk understand. Their communal system of reconciliation of disputes, greater interest and desire of administration in contact with grassroots and respect for 'traditional' knowledge is absolutely relevant and all these must be harnessed.

The existing legal aid and legal education systems should reach out to the grassroot. Here mention must be made of the suggestion now being considered to expand the jurisdiction of the Legal Aid Scheme to cover issues of any alleged infraction of fundamental human right under the 1979 Constitution. Paralegal staff from the local area should be encouraged and not seen sa competitors with lawyers. More importantly, it should be recognised that certain foreign legal theories are inappropriate in the African contest and the law and lawyers should not fitht shy of "indegenising to accommodate local situations. Village and communal heads who wield considerable influence in their local communities should be cultivated as partners-in-progress.

Finally, let this Conference be the beginning of a positive process wherein Africa's rural dwellers and urban poor communites taste the result of the sustained efforts to accord them equality before the law, educate them on their human rights and all the civic rights as promised them in numerous pronouncements including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the African Charter on Human and People's Rights and the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women, to mention but a few.

Uncomplicated and practical machinery and modalities for achieving these aims must be devised by this Conference. The language must be the language of the people and not the language of the law or the language of lawyers. For once, let law and lawyers come down to the level of the rural and urban poor. For once, let lawyers talk with and not "talk at" their target rural people. For once, let lawyers woo and win the rural people with a matter of sole benefit to the rural community.

If this conference, which boasts of such an array of eminent jurists, lawyers, judges and people who by their concern for, special knowledge of and intimate involvement in the problems of the rural poor can achieve this objective, then this Conference would have succeeded and I have no doubt that the Conference will definitely succeed.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I wish you very frank, sincere and forthright deliberations, a pleasant stay in Nigeria and a safe privilege to declare the Conference open.

PART VII

FOREIGN RELATIONS

FOREIGN RELATIONS

PART VII

DYNAMISM IN FOREIGN POLICY AND SELF RELIANCE

Address by the President on the Occasion of the Patron's Dinner of the Nigeria Institute of International Affairs on November 29, 1985

You have invited me here in my capacity as the President of Nigeria and the Patron of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs. I am here today, therefore, in fulfillment of a tradition that is longstanding.

The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs was conceived in 1961 to fulfill a set of national objectives among which were:-

To encourage and facilitate the understanding of international affairs and of the circumstances, conditions and attitudes of foreign countries and their peoples;

To provide and maintain means of information upon international questions and promote the study and investigation of international questions by means of conferences, lectures and discussions, and by the preparation and publication of books, records and reports, or otherwise as may seem desirable so as to develop a body of informed opinions on world affairs.

To provide such information and advice to the Government of the Federation and members of the public as respects matters concerning international affairs.

I want to state categorically that in the twenty-four (24) years of the NIIA's history, the Institute has not only justified its existence by fulfilling the Founding Father's mission but has in addition, continued to live up to the national expectations in the area of international affairs. In short, the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs was designed to function as the chief source of articulate ideas on world affairs and public enlightenment in matters concerning international affairs. And I would like to place on record my appreciation and that of the AFRC to the contributions of the NIIA towards enhancing the achievement of national objectives in the area of our external relations. Having said that, may I state categorically, that whatever may be said about our current conditions, Nigeria, in world affairs has earned a major place in the community of nations. In fact, even if we have had to take steps to guard our interests, as in recent times, we remain the strongest force in the West African region and the greatest hope of Black Africa. Indeed, peace or war in the African continent without the consideration of Nigerian position has become inconceivable.Somewhere along the line, whether a friend or foe, would have to confront the reality of Nigerian presence in the African international sub-system and as a factor to be reckoned with.

I wish to recall that in my maiden broadcast to the nation, I pledged an open administration. I also pledged full and regular consultations on all issues of vital importance. This Administration does not lay claim to

exclusive wisdom. We do not lay claim to exclusive knowledge. Neither do we claim exclusive right to profer solutions to all problems. In confirmity with that pledge, I have, therefore, decided to convene an All-Nigerian Conference on Foreign Policy in the first half of 1986. The conference will draw participants from across-section of our country – the organised private sector, the Universities, Labour Unions, Students, Women's organisation, the Media, professional bodies, the Armed Forces, Parastatals and the Civil Service. Participants at the conference would focus attention on all areas of our external relations. Furthermore, they would be given the opportunity to chart the course of our external relations up to the year 2000. This is a challenge to the youths, intellectuals, workers and industrialists. This Administration welcomes ideas and would be guided by the proposals and recommendations emanating from the Conference.

DOMESTIC FACTORS

Every foreign policy begins with a realistic analysis of the nation's domestic political, economic, and social settings. Consequentlv, mention must be made about Nigeria's ailing economy which is the hottest topic of discussions and debates here at home and abroad. But before giving the diagnosis of the nature, cause or cure of our present economic malady, it is important to note that inspite of the dark clouds surrounding our economy; Nigeria is still one of the few nations in the world where there exists most of the necessary conditions and means on the basis of which the greatest and most spectacular achievements in human development and growth can be realized. We hope that this fact should not be ignored by both Nigerian citizens and foreigners alike, for it is upon that reality that the country's optimism and determination to achieve national economic recovery hinges.

AGRICULTURE AND FOOD PRODUCTION

The development of self-sufficiency in food production is one of the cardinal goals of this Administration. It is for this reason that the agricultural sector has been accorded special role in the 1985 budget with an allocation of 18 per cent of the total national budget. We have incentive packages for both the industrial/mechanized farmers as well as the rural farming population. We have banned the importation of certain farm products such as maize and rice in order to encourage the local producers.

THE IMF

Ironically one of the most crucial domestic economic issues today is the debate on the IMF. It could be recalled that at the inception of Administration we stated our determination to resolve the IMF dilemma one way or another. And consequently, we threw the debate on the IMF loan open to the Nigerian public as well as set up a committee of experts to study the implications of the IMF loan. So far we are waiting for the verdicts. However, we have been vigorously tackling the conditions that forced our country to the doorsteps of the IMF – that is the problem of depleted

and diminishing foreign reserves. These dual problems we have traced to two tangible causes:

(a) the oil glut and the diminishing revenues from the sale of our principal foreign reserve revenue earning product – petroleum; and

(b) mismanagement of the foreign reserve itself due to excessive and reckless policy of importation of several products into the country.

This Administration is vigorously promoting the search for local raw materials for our industries. Part of our greatest foreign debt problems arose because a considerable among of our foreign exchange was spent on importing raw materials for our industries over a long period without any to develop local alternatives. A situation like this was bound to spell a disaster somewhere along the line and is partly responsible for our present heavy debt burden. However, we are devising all sorts of incentives to develop a relative degree of local raw materials through the efforts of both the public and private sectors. Related to these efforts is our honest belief that a situation where 44 per cent of the nation's foreign exchange earnings is spent in debt-serving is totally unacceptable. It is economically unwise and politically misleading.

It is therefore to be expected that at the appropriate time, we shall call upon our creditors to sit down with us and amicably resolve our debt problems through re-scheduling.

REGIONAL ISSUES

Regional integration arrangements such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) represent useful means for the promotion of accelerated economic development among countries. However, we will be the first to admit that the ECOWAS has a long way to go before it can fulfill the stated objectives of the Founding Fathers. We recognize the inherent problems of the organization, particularly those emanating from competing allegiances in other regional organizations with the African international sub-system. Nontheless we in Nigeria must state that we shall continue relentlessly in our efforts to see the ECOWAS survive and prosper and we shall continue to make all the necessary sacrifices within the limits of our economic resources. We therefore call upon our fellow ECOWAS member state to take similar firm and dedicated resolutions in order to make the dreams of the ECOWAS Founding Fathers the reality it deserves.

ON CHAD

Given the nature of the conflict, we are not in a position to unilaterally break the political and military impasse in Chad today. But we shall continue to work within the framework of the OAU resolutions to resolve the Chadian crisis. Paramount in the OAU formua is the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all non-Chadian troops in Chad.

It is the belief of the OAU that the presence of foreign troops in Chad

help to aggravate tension in that country and frustrate all efforts towards a lasting solution. And we agree with the OAU and use this opportunity once more to call upon all non-Chadian troops in Chad to adhere to the OAU resolution on withdrawal of all foreign troops from the Chadian territory.

THE OAU

Nigerian dynamic support for the OAU since its inception in 1963 will continue under this Administration. We see the OAU as Africa's last hope towards achieving its collective economic and political survival.

Thus, the OAU is a core factor in all our foreign policy postures and positions. The OAU may not have fulfilled all the dreams of its Founding Fathers, but it has managed inspite of odds to establish itself as the only credible continental agent of conflict management in Africa. As evidenced, we can point to the recent reactivation of the Defence Commission of the OAU charged with the responsibility of an effective defence arrangement.

Nigeria's leadership role in the OAU has been demonstrated on several occasions. The most recent role in this area was the bold but timely recognition of the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR) which saved the OAU after two summits had been postponed because the SADR issue and the irreconciliable positons of the concerned states. Thus, Nigerian recognition of the SADR pulled the OAU out of its dilemma and threat of disintegration.

Also in the Horn of Africa, Nigeria has through the instrumentality of the OAU tried vigorously to resolve the incessant crisis between Ethiopia and Somalia. In 1964 Nigeria played an active role in the OAU Resolution that "enjoined all member states to accept colonial boundaries at independence as a tangible reality".

And in 1981, Nigeria too, as a member of the OAU ad hoc committtee resolved that the Ogaden is part of Ethiopia and therefore inviolate. Today, Nigeria still maintains our position on the issue of boundaries in Africa and the crisis in the Horn of Africa.

NAMIBIA

It is unfortunate that South Africa and her supporters continue to obstruct the road to independence for the Namibian peoples. It is hard to believe that South Africa has consistently been allowed to disregard all UN resolutions calling for Namibian independence. In this connection this Administration wants to state categorically our opposition to those who link Namibian independence to the Cuban troops in Angola. The Republic of Angola is a sovereign and independent nation. And as such has the inalienable and legitimate right to call for the assistance of any friendly nation to assist it in its efforts to ensure its territorial integrity and safeguard its political independence.

We therefore condemn the dangerous 'linkage' of Namibian independence to Cuban troops in Angola. On our part, we will continue to render

support to SWAPO, the only authentic and authoritative representive of the NAMIBIAN peoples in their legitimate struggle for their right to self-determination and independence.

APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

Apartheid South Africa remain adamant to the pleadings and resolutions of the international community. In fact, developments in South Africa in recent times have taken a turn for the worse. Hundreds of innocent blacks have fallen victims to the ruthless and remorseless state terrorism in apartheid South Africa. And that was why we were seriously disturbed by the decision of the Commonwealth Nassau Declaration which opted for a limited sanction against South Africa. We have said it before and must say it again that to us apartheid is morally wrong, politically unacceptable and philosophically unjustifiable.

Among the inherent dangers of apartheid is that it constitutes the most single de-stabilizing element in the Southern African sub-region and poses a serious threat to the peace and stability in the African international sub-system. Yet, what has not ceased to baffle us is why the world that has declared apartheid illegal and a crime against humanity has not deemed it wise to take sterner measures which would be logical in such events.

On our part, however, Nigeria will continue to assist the South African freedom fighters to the best of our ability. And our co-operation with the African National Congress (ANC) and other nationalist organizations representing the South African majorities must continue to constitutute the focal point of our struggle against apartheid.

In addition, we call upon the international community to continue to support the struggle of the blacks and other oppressed South Africans until apartheid is eradicated in that part of the world. Consequently, we support and call upon the international community to consider a mandatory comprehensive economic sanction against the Preteria government as imperative in breaking the apartheid regime's resistance capability.

NON–ALIGNMENT

We want to re-affirm our position as a member of the non-alligned nations. We have held this view for the 25 years of our history as an independence and sovereign nation. And our good standing with the movement is clearly justified by our strict adherence to the major tenets of the Founding Fathers of the Non-Alligned Movement. Among these are:-

(a) Non-participation in multilateral military alliances in the context of East-West politics;

(b) Non-violation of the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of other nations;

(c) Renunciation of the use of force or threat of its use in settling international disputes among sovereign states, and resort to peaceful negotiations and diplomacy in the settlement of such disputes; and

(d) The policy of active peaceful co-existence as the preferred basis of international relations.

We in Nigeria will continue to endorse the policy of non-alignment because it is the surest way to guarantee a well balanced diplomatic relationships between the Eastern and Western bloc nations as well as promote international peace and stability.

SOUTH–SOUTH RELATIONS

We support a greater and more active contacts among the Third World nations. This Administration is convinced that dialogue with other Third World countries is necessary. We believe that such dialogues if they could be systematically pursued, will lead to effective useful and lasting co-operation in the long run.

The reality remains that the common experiences we share with other Third World countries in such areas as colonialism, neo-colonialism, dependency, exploitation and underdevelopment make it imperative that we increasingly co-operate to explore new avenues for serious dialogues and solution to our common problems.

THE MIDDLE EAST

We in Nigeria are seriously concerned by the endless conflicts in the Middle East sub-region. I refer particularly to the Arab-Israeli conflict as well as the Iran-Iraqi war. We believe that the failure of the international community to find an acceptable solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict is responsible for the tension in the area. We in Nigeria support the United Nations Resolution 242 which guarantees both the Israelis and the Palestinians their respective rights, and call upon both the Israelis and the Palestinians to consider the peace options within the said UN Resolution.

On the Iran-Iraqi conflict, it is our belief that the war has lasted longer than expected. It is definitely in the best interest of these two neighbours to settle peacefully by using the good offices available in the various international organizations to which they are members. These include the Arab League and the United Nations.

THE COMMONWEALTH

I wish to briefly touch upon a debate which has been going on in Nigeria for the last two years. Essentially, the debate revolves around the question as to whether Nigeria should continue to maintain her dynamic posture in foreign policy given our current economic difficulties. Two schools of thought deriving from their varied appreciation of our economic circumstance are discernible. First, there are those who argue that Nigeria should concentrate all her resources on pulling the economy out of its current difficulties through a drastic reduction in our external commitments. The second school of thought on the other hand, argues that Nigeria is not doing enough for the cause which we profess. The protagonists of this school argue that no sacrifice is too great for the cause of Africa.

Nigeria will continue its active membership in the Commonwealth

of nations. We have found our long history of association with the Commonwealth as a useful factor in the overall foreign relations of our country. And today, inspite of our serious objection to the Nassau Declaration of limited sanctions on South Africa, we still cherish our membership in the Commonwealth of nations.

OPEC

OPEC is a very important international organization and we in Nigeria have had no cause to regret our membership in that organization. And we remain committed today as ever, to the principal objectives which gave rise to the formation of OPEC 25 years ago. Therefore, I want to state categorically that Nigeria has no intention of leaving OPEC. Instead, OPEC remains the only hope for an orderly and peaceful co-operation between the oil producing countries on the one side and oil consuming states on the other.

THE UNITED NATIONS

Active participation in the United Nations has been a central focus of Nigeria foreign policy in the 25 years of our independence. In all those years Nigerian contributions in all aspects of the United Nations activities have been recognized by the international community.

However, a particular mention must be made of Nigeria's crucial role in the fight against Apartheid which has earned for us the continued chairmanship of the United Nations Anti-Apartheid Committee for over ten years. Nigeria has also played significant roles in the United Nations peacekeeping efforts in many parts of the world including the Congo (Zaire) and the Middle East.

Equally, essential has been our role of championing the total implementation of the United Nations Resolution on the rights of people to self-determination and political independence particularly within the African continent.

Consequently, in the past 25 years we have supported the United Nations efforts towards decolonization and elimination of all forms of racial discrimination. Let me use this opportunity to ensure that all the remaining pockets of colonialism all over the world are eliminated in no distant future. And here in Africa, we expect the UN to find ways to overcome the artificial obstacles and expedite actions towards Namibian independence as soon as possible.

We welcome the economic and social activities of the United Nations throughout the world but particularly in Africa. We have always appreciated the willingness of the United Nations to participate as partners in progress with several Third World countries who seek solutions to their various problems of economic underdevelopment and social malaise. We think that these aspects of the United Nations activities ought to be given priority in the future.

However, we believe that the present situation where a vast majority of the United Nations members are denied veto powers is morally wrong and politically unjustifiable.

We therefore, propose an immediate review of the United Nations Charter in order to accommodate an equitable distribution of power within the United Nations. There can be no justification whatsoever for the continued denial of a veto power to the entire continent of Africa with 51 member states and constituting approximately one-third of the entire United Nations membership of 159 states. We therefore ask as of a right that at least one African member state of the United Nations be considered eligible for entry into the club of veto powers in the Security Council. And that means, that there is an immediate and urgent necessity for increasing the number of permanent members of the Security Council of the United Nations.

We call upon the super powers to re-dedicate themselves to the principles upon which the United Nations was founded 40 years ago. We see the present postures of the super powers in relation to the use of the United Nations as an instrument of solving international problems as dangerous. We have observed in recent years a new trend in the super powers' attitude towards the United Nations which borders on 'tactical avoidance' of this world body in preference to increased bilateralism.

This in itself is contributing to international tensions and general instability. We believe that there are adequate options available within the UN for settling international disputes, and that these UN instruments should be utilized by the super powers since resort to unilateral actions by the super powers either create or aggravate local conflicts blowing them out of proportion.

ON HUMAN RIGHTS

This government is committed to the promotion and protection of human rights both domestically and internationally. We fully realise that in order for us to effectively act out this commitment at the international level, we must begin at home to build a society that guarantees freedom, within the limits of law, to the individual. The Nigerian must enjoy the freedom to think, act and express himself; and this government will endeavour to protect his person, family, and property. At the international level, we will not relent in the fight against racial discrimination and apartheid.

Consequently, the objective of this Administration concerning human rights is to demonstrate that a Nigerian Government can be both competent and humane.

ON FOREIGN INVESTMENT

This Administration will welcome genuine foreign investors with genuine commitment to participate with us as partners in progress in our efforts to revive our national economy. To such foreign investors we shall provide all kinds of incentives and favourable economic and investment environments. We are aware that in the past some foreigners were involved in mischievious activities in collaboration with some of our own unpatriotic elements to do havoc on our national economy. But in my view it is pointless to blame the foreigners or the multinationals, they are here because we

allowed them and should not hesitate to deal with those of them or their agents whose actions become detrimental or inimical to our economic goals and objectives.

Instead, we should screen the foreign investors and multinationals thoroughly and make it categorically clear to them that the bottom line of our agreement with them is that they are here and remain here only on the grounds that they do not constitute themselves into nuisance or a national menace. This is an option legitimately belonging and exercised by all sovereign states. Yet the reality remains today that we need foreign investors in order to accelerate and realize some of our national economic objectives.

CONCLUSION

The constancy of our national character is what gives stability and continuity to our foreign policy. Throughout our short but crowded history, we have had no desire to impose upon others the patterns of our thought and our institutions. Rather, we have always taken pride in the fact that our principles no matter how conceived are drawn from the role history has bestowed upon us. Hence towards friends or potential foes, we will continue to act as a people, proud of our heritage, assured in our convictions and confident in our destiny.

I sincerely thank you Ladies and gentlemen.

LET'S RISE TO THE CHALLENGES IN AFRICA

ECOWAS Chairman's Address
June 30, 1986

On behalf of myself, the Government and the People of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, I welcome you all to this 9th Meeting of the Authority of Heads of State and Government of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) taking place here in Abuja, the new capital of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

I want to recall the honour done to my country during the 8th Meeting of the Authority held in Lome, Togo last year at which Nigeria was elected Chairman of Council, and the Authority of ECOWAS. As this is the first meeting that is being held since that event, and also my very first meeting with you, Brother Heads of State and Government, I cannot but re-assure you of the unflinching support of the Government and People of Nigeria for the noble objectives of ECOWAS and my personal faith and commitment to the ideals of the Organisation.

Dear Brothers and Distinguished Guests, I also want to express my appreciation for your overwhelming response to my invitation to attend this Summit Session here in Abuja, despite the unavoidable shift in the original date of this meeting and the fact that Abuja, Nigeria's capital in the making has never been honoured before with this galaxy of dignitaries as are assembled here for this occasion. I chose to bring you all here in recognition of the true African tradition of inviting one's brothers, sisters and best friends to the opening of one's new house. I could not think of a more appropriate group of people to invite to step on this virgin soil than you, my ECOWAS compatriots. I hope that in the true African spirit you will happily bear with me any inconveniences that you may experience during your stay in Abuja. With your traditional blessings, the door will be flung open for the movement of the first set of Ministries to this new capital later this year.

Although this is my first meeting with you, I have nonetheless followed very closely the progress and problems of our organisation since its inception, and been deeply involved in the last few months in pondering over the options open to us as a community. Since assuming office, I have paid an official visit to the Secretariat, held discussions with the Executive Secretary and the Chairman of Council, as well as others who are involved in one way or the other in the task of developing this great community.

From what I have seen and heard, I am convinced that we as a community have come a long way from where we were when the Treaty of ECOWAS was signed in Lagos in 1975. I take this opportunity to pay tribute to the foresight, sacrifice and indomitable spirit of brotherhood and solidarity which characterised the leadership that founded this organisation.

I salute the pioneering efforts of our indefatigable President Gnassingbe

Eyadema, President of the Republic of Togo; Yakubu Gowon, former Head of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria; our Doyen, President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of the Republic of Ivory Coast, former President, Leopold Sedar Senghor of Senegal, President Mathieu Kerekou of the Republic of Benin and all of you Dear Brothers who have in your words and deeds, sincerely contributed to the birth of this organisation and nurtured it to this age.

Progress in the ECOWAS has not matched the ambitious expectations which accompanied its establishment in 1975. Enthusiasm for effective integration disappeared shortly after the formation of the Community and the hallmark of integration has been inaction and cosmetic commitment. This pattern of development is well illustrated from the responses of the Member States to the implementation of the provisions of ECOWAS Treaty and the resolution of certain critical sub-regional issues.

Admittedly, the Treaty envisaged only gradual implementation of the two different phases of trade liberalisation scheme. The first phase was adopted in May 1980 to deal with the consolidation of ECOWAS trade barriers. The second phase involving the progressive elimination of trade barriers in the sub-region was adopted three years later at the sixth summit of the Authority of Heads of State and Government held in Conakry, Guinea. However, it is a well known fact that this programme is still one of the dormant problematic issues in integration. The adopted provisions have not been implemented by most Member States either because of the cumbersome legislative procedures in each state or the insensitiveness of relevant governmental organs to the requirements of the Community. The impediments to the procurement of trade liberatlisation must be eliminated if the ECOWAS is to make appreciable impact on the inherited colonial pattern of intra-sub-regional trade and accelerate economic development.

One major obstacle to trade expansion in the sub-region, which needs no emphasis, is inadequate transportation and communication. Regional integrators, conscious of these limitations, have revived the initiatives of the Economic Commission for African (ECA) in this area. In June, 1981, agreement was reached on the implementation of the West African part of the trans-African road projects. The road project together with sixty air transport projects for the sub-region was estimated to cost U.S. $2,000 million. But the eventual execution of these projects still rests on the extent of co-operation of the Member States and the availability of foreign financial support.

Progress has also been made in the area of telecommunications. The Board of Directors of ECOWAS Fund for Co-operation Compensation and Development on November 14, 1982 acceded to the commencement of this project which aims at the provision of improved telephone, telex and television services to thirteen Member States. The project was planned to cost U.S. $35 million. Progress in this project has been slow partly because of paucity of capital. Until the ECOWAS telecommunication project is operational telephone calls from Lagos to Lome, a distance of 150 miles will be

routed through London and Paris.

In this second decade of the life of this organisation which by happy coincidence we are embarking upon here in Nigeria where the Treaty was signed, we will have to reaffirm our faith in ECOWAS and resolve to show far greater achievements than we have made up to now if we are to fulfill the expectations and aspirations of our people.

We are meeting at a time when our economies are confronted with severe problems that are posing a formidable threat to our economic survival. The persistent worsening in the terms of trade of the countries of the sub-region, the massive balance of payments deficits, acute shortage of foreign exchange and the debt servicing burden facing our countries are symptoms of structural imbalances which must be corrected to guarantee our future as individual nations and as a community. The critical situation in which we find ourselves should be regarded as a challenge and we should resolve to evolve positive measures aimed at reducing the adverse consequences of external economic forces on our countries and the sub-region.

The economic situation in our sub-region in particular, and the African continent in general, has been so serious that a special session of the United Nations General Assembly was specifically convened to consider in-depth the critical economic situation in Africa. Most of our Member States were represented at this meeting. I am happy to say that our Community actively participated in the continental preparation of Africa's Priority Programme for Recovery which was presented to the General Assembly.

I should seize this opportunity to express on your behalf the gratitude of our Community to His Excellency Abdou Diouf President of the Republic of Senegal and current Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity who with dignity and eloquence, put across to the international community our case on the economic problems confronting the African continent. It is now our responsibility to play our part by rising to the challenges embodied in the African Priority Programme for Economic Recovery for the period 1986 – 1990, and use every opportunity to press Africa's position for the world to understand.

Our problems, I dare say quite often go beyond those caused by structural imbalances to others caused by natural forces. These include the problems of drought, persistent desert encroachment, flood and erosion, pest menace, endemic diseases which affect human beings and livestock, etc. In recognition of the current weakness of our economies there is an urgent need to act in concert to give emergency relief to anyone or group of our countries that is bedevilled by such natural calamities. For this, I propose the setting up of an Emergency Relief Fund, the details of which should be worked out by the Council of Ministers. Such a Fund administered by the Secretariat should attract donations from multinational and other financial and aid institutions.

We in the sub-region had recognised the importance of collective self-reliance and had taken concrete steps in the Lome Declaration on the Economic Recovery of West Africa to evolve a system for the effective

and speedy realisation of the potential gains to be derived from the creation of conditions favourable to the expansion of collective productive capacity.

This particular session of the Authority is all the more important for the Community since we will be called upon to adopt a set of policy reform measures for the recovery of the West African economy. Important features of our sub-regional Economic Recovery Programme include the establishment of priority sectors, emphasis on rehabilitation, strengthening incentive schemes, especially in agriculture, and improvement in economic management including efficiency in the use of resources. There should be no self delusion that ECOWAS and the international community can ever be substitutes for individual national effort. Policy reforms and accompanying programmes will therefore have to be appropriately addressed at the national, sub-regional, and international levels, but with the motive force anchored at the national and community levels. The strategy for implementing the programme will include ways by which we can mobilise the maximum level of resources to achieve our developmental objectives.

Brother Heads of State and Government,

Excellencies,

In past years, decisions have been taken at the Community level which are of major significance; now is the time for us to pause and take stock of these decisions and how well they have been implemented. Surely, in relation to the enormous problems facing the Community, ECOWAS is making too slow a progress towards contributing its quota to the solution of our problems, notwithstanding the fact that the major building blocks for the successful implementation of ECOWAS programmes have been laid. In fact today, the raison d'etre of the Community needs reaffirmation. For example, the level of trade between our various countries remains abjectly low even after so many years of our existence as a Community. We set for ourselves the achievement of a Customs Union in the Community by 1990 but four years to this target date, there is little concrete proof of movement in that direction. We must resolve here in Abuja to achieve a significant increase in the level of legitimate trade amongst ECOWAS Member States by 1988. All obstacles to the achievement of our trade liberalisation objectives must be properly identified and removed if ECOWAS is to make any appreciable impact on our inherited pattern of trade flows and accelerate the overall pace of our economic integration.

Our performances in the area of the development of infrastructure, particularly telecommunications and road linkages, acting in concert to combat all acts capable of undermining our economic development and integration efforts, have not been too encouraging either.

Perhaps we need to re-examine regional co-operation within our own economic, social and cultural context. The main areas where change is necessary in order to achieve desired results have to be identified. All too often we appear to pay only lip service without committing the will and the wherewithal for impiementing the policies and programmes of the

Community.

Excellencies,

I am submitting this particular issue of slow and, quite often, non-implementation of agreed ECOWAS programmes for your consideration. I trust that the Authority will give it the attention it deserves to make the work of the Community more effective.

Dear Brothers,

Excellencies,

This brings me to the critical issue of financial support to our organisation. Lack of adequate financial support has virtually crippled the operation of the Executive Secretariat. In order to deal with this problem, I personally addressed messages to Member States whose countries are in arrears of payment of their financial contributions to the ECOWAS Budget and the called-up capital of the ECOWAS Fund. I also despatched a delegation which was accompanied by the Executive Secretary of ECOWAS to these states to hold discussions and reach some undertaking on a time-table for meeting the outstanding obligations.

The situation remains very serious and I wish to place the matter before this meeting of the Authority so that the Community may benefit from our collective resolve. Unless we can demonstrate the political will to meet our obligations to the Community despite our economic predicaments, the pace of development of the Community may be unduly compromised to the disappointment of our peoples.

It is important that we strengthen our sub-regional organisation, ECOWAS, not only because it represents our efforts to translate into action the Lagos Plan of Action and the Final Act of Lagos which prescribed the Year 2,000 for the take-off of an African Common Market, but more importantly because economic integration has become a strategic weapon for achieving speedier economic growth. ECOWAS remains the most important sub-regional experiment at economic integration in the African continent, which fact bestows on us a very heavy responsibility to see it survive and grow as part of our own contribution to the attainment of Africa's economic emancipation.

We must all accept the fact that ECOWAS is the largest economic community ever formed in Africa, embracing sixteen (16) politically independent states, and also that our Treaty is one of the most comprehensive and ambitious of all the sub-regional economic groupings in the Third World. In order not to spread our meagre resources too thinly in too many project areas, our experts should define priority programmes and sectors which will best fulfull our priority objectives and give hope to our people. I would not pretend that this suggestion is a novel one as it is on record that similar suggestions have been made in the past.

What is now required is the translation of deliberate strategy into concrete actions. Given the limitation of resources, we must not pretend

to be in a position to commence the implementation of all our programmes at the same time. This calls for a resolute determination to make the hard choices. Our Executive Secretariat and the Fund must give the required sense of direction to the Community and ensure effective husbandry of our meagre resources.

Brother Heads of State and Government, I honestly believe that we have for long paid insufficient attention to agriculture in our sub-region. Agriculture is a sector which is not only crucial in any attempt to raise output and exports, but also one that gives most of the poor in our sub-region their livelihood. Besides, our sub-region is bedevilled by large scale urban and rural unemployment, and a lack of such modern facilities as pipe borne water, electricity and health care for large segments of our population.

The African priority programme for Economic Recovery which African Heads of State and Government adopted in July 1985 in Addis Ababa drew attention to these lapses and enjoined us all to evolve effective policy adjustment programmes in which agriculture and rural development will be given top priority. It is my sincere hope that this session of the Authority of ECOWAS will adopt, inter alia, a programme of action which will enable our community play a leading role in the development of our rural communities by increasing investment in agriculture particularly in food production, food processing and rural infrastructures.

To this end, I propose for consideration the creation of an "Agricultural Facility" within the ECOWAS Fund to attract soft loans and grants from within and outside the community for on lending to member states for the improvement of agriculture, and rural life in general. The Economic Recovery Programme for the sub-region will have to give adquate emphasis to Agriculture and Rural Development.

Next, I wish to touch on the vexed issue of smuggling. In our sub-region, smuggling is credited to account for about two-thirds of the total value of intra-ECOWAS trade. Consequently, our Governments have individually sustained considerable losses in revenue due to this nefarious business. Apart from the loss in government revenues, smuggling has threatened the survival of our infant industries and encouraged illegal trafficking in currencies and dangerous drugs, to the extent that the security of some of our nations are threatened. This calls for urgent concerted action to implement the relevant protocol on mutual assistance in customs matters and for the adoption of additional measures to combat the menace. We must also take simultaneous action to expand legitimate trade as I earlier proposed, in order to provide avenues for our commercially versatile peoples to display their talents.

Dear Brother Heads of State and Government, as you are all aware, South Africa has once again challenged all civilised forms of government, and in panic declared a state of emergency in the hope that it can use force to prevent its apartheid regime from its final collapse. That enclave has refused to read the handwriting on the wall. We must reponse as a sub-regional group to the situation in that region of the world. Our political

independence will continue to be undermined so long as apartheid thrives and flexes its muscles. Silence on our part will be construed as acquiescence to these continuing acts of cowardice by South Africa. It is my fervent hope that we will all support the imposition by the international community of mandatory economic sanctions on South Africa.

I will not end this address without reaffirming the unflinching commiment of Nigeria to the aims, objectives and aspirations of ECOWAS. Inspite of resource limitations, Nigeria has fulfilled her promise to provide residential accommodation to some senior staff of ECOWAS outside its statutory obligation. Nigeria has almost completed the renovation of all the thirty-four (34) housing units allocated by the Federal Government and these have been handed over to the Executive Secretariat. I hope this will go a long way to alleviate the residential accommodation problem facing the Secretariat staff in Lagos and give needed relief to the Community's budget.

I also wish to inform you that additional land has been earmarked for ECOWAS for the construction of the Headquarters of the Secretariat as well as for the construction of residential accommodation for staff here in Abuja. With regard to the construction of the ECOWAS Headquarters, Nigeria has decided to set aside a sum of ₦5 million (equivalent to about US $4.5 million) to augment the amount of money approved by the Authority for the implementation of the project.

Nigeria's land borders which were closed in April 1984 as a result of serious security problems posed by organised smuggling, currency and drug trafficking, as well as other vices have been reopened despite the persistence of these destablishing activities across our borders. Having reopened the borders in the spirit of ECOWAS, we hope that our neighbours will in the spirit of solidarity take all necessary measures to curb all illegal activities which are capable of undermining our economies and the objectives of the Community.

Nigeria has also commenced the implementation of the second phase of the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons and Right of Residence with effect from June 1986. We all have collective responsibility to educate our citizens about the requirements of this Protocol and the relevant national laws and regulations under which it will operate. This we must do to help our people and community.

Dear Brothers and Distinguished Guests,

The challenge ahead is great. Since the reward for our efforts is prosperity for our peoples and stability in our sub-region, I have every reason to believe that we shall do all that is within our power to make ECOWAS succeed. I wish you all a very happy stay in Abuja, and every success in our deliberations.

Long live ECOWAS,

Long live African Unity and Solidarity.

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

The Authority of Heads of State and Government of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) held its Ninth Ordinary Session at Abuja, the Federal Republic of Nigeria on 30th June and 1st July, 1986.

Present at the Summit were the following Heads of State and Government and/or their accredited representatives:

- His Execellency, Brigadier Mathieu Kerekou, President of the People's Republic of Benin.
- His Excellency, Captain Thomas Sankara, Chairman of the National Revolutionary Council President of FASO.
- His Excellency, Mr. Aristides Maria Pereira, President of the Republic of CAPE VERDE.
- His Excellency, Alhaji Sir Dauda K. Jawara, President of the Republic of The Gambia.
- His Excellency, Major-General Joas Bernado Vieira, President of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.
- His Excellency, Dr. Samuel Kanyon Doe, President of the Republic of Liberia.
- His Excellency, Colonel Maouiya Ould Sid'Ahmed Taya, Chairman of the Military Committee for National Salvation, Head of State of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania.
- His Excellency, Major-General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, President and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.
- His Excellency, Abdou Diouf, President of the Republic of Senegal.
- His Excellency, Major-General Dr. Joseph Saidu Momoh, President of the Republic of Sierra Leone.
- His Excellency, General Gnassingbe Eyadema, Founder-Chairman of the Togolese People's Rally President of the Republic of Togo.
- For the Republic of Niger, Honourable Mr. Hamid Algabid, Prime Minister, representing His Excellency, General Seyni Kountche, Chairman of the Supreme Military Council, Head of State of the Republic of Niger.
- For the Republic of Cote D'Ivoire, Honourable Mr. Simeon Ake, Minister of Foreign Affairs, representing His Excellency, Mr. Felix Houphouet-Boigny, President of the Republic of Cote D'Ivoire.
- For the Republic of Ghana, Honourable Alhaji Mahama Idrissu, Member, Provisional National Defence Council, representing His Excellency, Flight-Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings, Chairman, Provisional National Defence Council, Head of State of the Republic of Ghana.
- For the Republic of Guinea, Honourable Major Kerfalla Camara, Minister, Permanent Secretary, Military Committee for National

Recovery, representing His Excellency, General Lansana Conte, President of the Republic of Guinea.

- For the Republic of Mali, Honourable Mr. Dianka Kaba Diakite, Minister of Finance and Trade, representing His Excellency, General Moussa Traore, President of the Republic of Mali.

Attending the Session as observers were:

- The Secretary General of the Organisation of African Unity.
- The Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa.
- The Executive Secretary of the West African Clearing House.
- The President of the Federation of West African Chambers of Commerce.
- The Acting Executive Secretary of the West African Rice Development Association.
- The President of ECOBANK.
- The African Development Bank.
- The West African Development Bank (BOAD).
- The Central Bank of West African States (BCEAO).
- The West African Economic Community (CEAO)
- The Mano River Union.
- United Nations Industrial Development Organisation.
- United Nations Development Programme.
- United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.
- United States Agency for International Development.
- The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.
- Islamic Development Bank.

In declaring the Ninth Session of the Summit open, the current Chairman of the Authority and host Head of State, Major-General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, President, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, called for the observance of a two-minute silence in memory of those African brothers and sisters who had lost their lives in the on-going struggle against the apartheid system in South Africa.

The Chairman welcomed most heartily all his brother Presidents and delegates to the new Federal Capital of Abuja. He also highlighted the major economic and social issues facing the ECOWAS sub-region. The issues were also underlined in the statements made by His Excellency Aristides Pereira, President of the Republic of Cape Verde, His Excellency Alhaji Sir Dauda K. Jawara, President of the Republic of the The Gambia and by His Excellency Major-General Dr. Joseph Saidu Momoh, President of the Republic of Sierra Leone. The OAU Secretary General, Mr. Ide Oumarou and the Executive Secretary, Professor Adebayo Adedeji also addressed the session.

In their statements, their Excellencies dwelt extensively on the persistent economic difficulties facing the West African sub-region and the continent as a whole. They noted that in order to overcome the economic crisis which is attributable to both deep-seated structural and exogenous

problems, greater attention is being given to the strategy of collective self-reliance and economic co-operation. It was pointed out that ECOWAS was meant by its Founding Fathers to serve just such a purpose. In spite of its great potential, the Community has not yet made much progress to fulfil the justifiable expectations of the peoples of the sub-region. Their Excellencies reiterated that there is an urgent need to take measures to enable ECOWAS attain its objectives and play the role expected of sub-regional groups in Africa's Priority Prorgamme for Economic Recovery.

The Authority called for the revitalisation of the Community in the spirit of its Founding Fathers. Member States re-affirmed their faith in ECOWAS and renewed their commitment to the attainment of its laudable goals and objectives. They directed the Ministers with responsibility for National Planning in Member States to meet to review the draft Economic Recovery Programme of the sub-region taking into consideration their various national development plans and priorities. It was recognised that, to enable ECOWAS make its expected contribution to West African development and become a creditable institution, the Community must be provided with the necessary financial and manpower resources.

Warm tribute was paid to His Excellency President Abdou Diouf of Senegal for the role he played in bringing Africa's economic plight to the attention of the international community in his capacity as current Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity. The Heads of State urged Member States to implement the Programme of Action for Africa's Economic Recovery and Development that was adopted by the United Nations. It was recognised that the much needed contribution of the international community to the implementation of this Programme would depend on the commitment and efforts of the African Governments and peoples themselves.

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers presented the report of the Nineteenth meeting of the Council. After a discussion of the different points raised in the Council report, the Authority adopted the following decisions:

1. Entry into force of the Second Phase of the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, Right of Residence and Establishment

The Authority reaffirmed its decision to move on to the Second Phase of the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, Right of Residence and Establishment. The Authority declared the entry into force of the provisions of the Protocol relating to the Right of Residence as from June 5, 1986; the Second Phase was to runs for a period of four years.

2. Financial Contribution

The Executive Secretariat should agree with each Member State in arrears of contribution to ECOWAS on a time table in such a way that such Member States will settle their arrears up to 1983 by 31st October 1986. Outstanding balance should be settled by 31st March, 1987.

3. Financing of Construction of Community Headquarters

On the construction of the Community headquarters, the Authority decided that financing should be the proportion of 60% from the resources of the ECOWAS Fund and 40% from Member States' contribution.

4. Disputes

The Authority mandated the current Chairman and the Head of the Guinean delegation to mediate in the dispute between two Member States of the Community, i.e. Liberia and Sierra Leone with a view to resolving the issues involved.

5. Protocol on Non-Agression

The Authority recalled the existence of the Protocol on Non-Agression and called for implementation of its provisions to facilitate peaceful settlement of disputes among Member States.

6. Election of Chairman

The Authority elected Nigeria as Chairman for the 1986-87 period.

7. Venue and Date of Next Meeting

The Authority decided to hold its Tenth meeting in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria, in June 1987, at a date to be communicated later.

8. Vote of Thanks

Their Excellencies the Heads of State and Government thanked their Brother and Friend, His Excellency Major-General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, President, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, the Government and people of Nigeria for the very friendly and brotherly welcome and for all the facilities they enjoyed during their stay in the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

NEED FOR CLOSER AFFINITY BETWEEN NIGERIA AND NIGER REPUBLIC

Response to the Toast by Brigadier – General Seyni Kountche, President of the Republic of Niger at the Banquet in Niamey on June 16, 1986

I consider it entirely appropriate that my first journey abroad as President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria is to your great country. To a great many Nigerians, Niger Republic is like a second nome. The geographical, economic, historical and demograhic affinities between our two countries are factors which our governments must for ever take into account in the conduct of relations between both countries.

Mr. President, I would like to convey my deep and sincere gratitude to you, your government and indeed the people of the Republic of Niger for the very warm and cordial reception accorded me and my entourage on our arrival this afternoon. The huge turnout of cheerful men, women and children along the route as we drove into town from the airport is very heart-warming, and illustrates not only the great reservoir of goodwill and good neighbourliness toward Nigeria but also our remarkable common identity. We are indeed grateful and most impressed.

The close affinity between Niger Republic and Nigeria means that the destinies of our two countries are inseparable. Whatever affects one also naturally and inexorably affects the other. In very large measure the economies of our two sister Republics are separated only by the fact of separate sovereignties. It is therefore gratifying for me to note the encouraging structural and other developments in relations between our two countries which have taken place since independence in 1960.

At this juncture, I would like to refer to the Nigeria – Niger Joint Commission. It is our most viable organ for promoting that virile bi-lateral co-operation which will improve the economic and social well-being of our nations and peoples. In order to achieve those noble objectives we have set for ourselves, it is imperative for us to continue to strengthen the Commission. In terms of the instruments of the Commission, you and I are its highest authorities. On the part of Nigeria, I wish to assure Your Excellency that we shall do everything within our power to fulfil our joint aspirations for the success of the Commission. May I, in this connection, suggest, that the Council of Ministers of the Commission resume their meetings twice a year as had obtained in the past. It is my fervent hope, Your Excellency, that the task of "identifying the ways and means of coordinating and harmonising the economies of the two countries in all fields..." will continue to be pursued in a substantial and fraternal manner for the mutual benefit of our two countries. Joint measures and projects should continue to be identified and implemented for the progressive development of our common resources in the interest of the economic will-being of our peoples. Mr.

President, the difficult events of the last two years and the closure of our common border have as never before starkly demonstrated the inseparable common destiny of our two countries. Equally significant are the fraternal imperatives that brought about the re-opening of the frontier two and a half months ago. It has been proved that no injunction could separate our peoples. Practically nothing could stop the peoples of both our countries from interacting daily across the border. The lessons of that experience are most instructive for all concerned.

I wish to assure Your Excellency that there was never any intention to punish or to deliberately inconvenience our friendly neighbours. Given our close affinity, it was inevitable, and this is more clearly seen in retrospect, that an action taken purely as part of the overall effort to revamp the Nigerian economy, has had adverse effects on the economic life of our peoples on both sides of the border.

Family differences could generate undesired resentments, but the exigencies of kinship, as has been proven in the past, have always easily triumphed over such differences. By re-opening the border, the Nigerian government has manifested its avowed confidence and trust in the wisdom and understanding of her neighbours. The difficult economic situation is still with all of us, but we believe that it is entirely possible to rely on the cooperations of our brothers, especially when we all know that the genuine economic interests of our individual countries are so closely linked to those of other neighbouring countries. None of us in this sub-region could really benefit from the economic collapse of any other country in the sub-region.

Mr. President, the links that bind our sister countries need no elaboration. Suffice it to say, they are very strong, multifarious and permanent. I, therefore, look forward to our tete-a-tete in the coming two days which should provide us with the opportunity to examine in broad perspective some of the important issues of bilateral, sub-regional, regional and global interest. Our officials will also be able to discuss in some detail, particular aspects of our bilateral relations and multilateral issues of common interest.

The economies of our sub-region and our continent, perhaps more than other parts of the world, have gone through very difficult times in the last few years. Indeed our current efforts are concentrated to the task of reordering our economies, and we need to maximise our cooperative endeavours, as well as sacrifices, in order to ensure a better future for our peoples. Our real hope lies in our determination to succeed.

It is my since

It is my sincere belief that frequent visits at all levels between our two sister countries are essential if we are to achieve fruitful cooperation. We need to share our experiences and insights concerning topical issues which are important to our counties. Your Excellency's wise, able and dedicated leadership has brought unprecedented period of peace, stability and national cohesion to your great country. We have observed how the people of Niger Republic have stood as one man in their unrelenting determination to overcome all difficulties even at a time of worldwide natural and man-made calamities. We shall not hesitate to seek your wise and fraternal coun-

sel whenever the occasion demands. We pray the Aimighty Allah to endow Your Excellency with good health for many years ahead, to enable you to continue with your noble and fruitful efforts of ensuring peace, happiness and prosperity of the brotherly people of Niger Republic. We thank Your Excellency, the Government and People of Niger Republic for your very warm welcome and hospitality.

My I invite all those present to kindly raise their glasses and drink to the health of His Excellency Brigadier-General Seyni Koutche, to the prosperity and happiness of the People of Niger Republic, and to the everlasting friendship and brotherliness between the Republic of Niger and the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Long Live Niger/Nigeria Relations'.
Long Live the ECOWAS.'
Long Live the Organisation of African Unity'.
Thank you.

STRENGTHENING BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN NIGERIA AND HUNGARY

After Dinner Speech on the Occasion of the State visit to Nigeria of the President of the People's Republic of Hungary, Mr. Pal Losonczi on April 23, 1986

I have the distinguished pleasure to welcome and honour in our midst, the President of the Hungarian People's Republic, Mr. Pal Losonczi; Deputy Ministers of the Hungarian Government as well as other members of the Presidential delegation.

I wish to observe, Mr President, that you are not a new comer to this country. You once had the privilege and opportunity to be the guest of the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigerian in 1973.

During that visit you opened a big hospital in Kano which was built and fully equipped through the generous assistance of the Hungarian government. In 1980, you had a technical stop over in Lagos on your way from some sister African countries. On that occasion, you had the opportunity to review matters of common interest to our two countries at the time. Since these encounters, you have personally followed with keen interest, developments in this country, particularly in areas where the government of the Hungarian People's Republic had been very active. These are medical, educational and agricultural sectors of the Nigerian economy. Above all, your keen interest in Nigeria has, once more, brought you to visit us after a spell of 13 years.

I wholeheartably welcome you in our midst. I have every hope that the deliberations of the last few days in which members of your delegaion were able to meet, discuss and iron out matters of mutual interest between our two nations would countribute immensely to the strengthening of our bilateral relations. I have no doubt in my mind that in your country, Hungary, we have found a genuine friend, willing at all times to co-operate with us in our quest for progress and development.

The entire Nigerian nation, I must admit, values and is proud of the excellent relations which exist between the Federal Republic of Nigeria and the Hungarian People's Republic — relations which were further boosted by the interaction of the Nigerian leaders who have visited your country. IN 1981, former President Shehu Usman Shagari was in your beautiful country. Since then, other important Nigerian Ministers have visited, and some still maintain excellent ties with your country.

These visits and increased contacts, as well as visits by officials of the Hungarian government and Specialists, to Nigeria have not only culminated in the signing of more agreements, and in the increase of socio-economic activities between our two nations, but have afforded all of us several opportunities to reappraise events in the contemporary world and to renew our understanding and concurrence of policies on many burning questio

Such questions have included those of decolonization, the situation in Southern Africa, the efforts of the liberation movements, peace and security in Europe and the World at large. We have accorded particular attention to the issues of disarmament, the struggle for a just and equitable world economic order, mutual respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

We in Nigeria, have followed with great interest the constructive contributions of the Hungarian government to efforts at resolving African problems. It is my hope that these encouraging contributions and support will continue and be given added impetus through your present visit to Nigeria.

Nigeria pursues policies of non-alliignment, a commitment to Pan-Africanism, a commitment to the liberation struggle as well as to international peace and security The South African situation continues to give both hope and worry Hope in the sense that the internal processes in South Africa, itself would lead inexorably to the liquidation of the obnoxious system of apartheid. At the same time, there is tremendous worry caused by the illegality and recklessness in the behaviour of the apartheid regime of South Africa which has persistently committed mindless and brutal aggression against African States.

In this connection, Mr. President, Nigeria has determinedly stepped up its material, political and diplomatic support to the liberation movements, as well as its liaison activities with the front line states with a view to minimising the effects of the destabilization policies of the South African apartheid regime.

Over the years, in consonance with Nigeria's declaration of the affairs of the African continent as the centre piece of its foreign policy, Nigeria has supported Southern African liberation movements, given moral and material support within its capacity to them and to Southern African Front-line States resisting racist South African agression. Nigeria has placed itself in the vanguard of diplomatic action and solidarity effort against apartheid, in the Organisation of African Unity, in the Non-Aligned Movement and in the United Nations Organisation.

It has been a matter of encouragement, Mr President, that in the United Nations particularly, Hungary and Nigeria have shared an identity of views over important world issues, including economic, political and social issues, as well as those of nuclear disarmament and militarisation of outer space. Although we in Nigeria are geographically distant from Europe, we have nevertheless followed with keen interest the results of the Geneva summit meeting between Soviet leader, Mr. Gorbachev, and United States President Reagan, and the proceedings of the Vienna Disarmament Conference and the Stockholm Conference on European Security. All these dialogues and conferences have no doubt contributed immensely not only to the creation of a better climate of understanding in Europe but also to an improvement of the international atmosphere, the strengthening of detente and co-operation in the interest of world peace.

Mr. President, we have followed with keen interest and admiration, the considerable political, economic and social developments that have taken place in your beautiful country over the past three decades. We salute the efforts of the Hungarian leadership to improve the lot of the Hungarian people. Your efforts have been very successful and commendable

With special regard to relations between our two countries, I wish to thank you personally, Mr President, and through you, the Government of the People's Republic of Hungary, for all the various contributions you have made towards the socio-economic development of Nigeria. The fruitful co-operaton of Hungary with Nigeria in the educational, health, agricultural as well as cultural fields are highly appreciated by the government and people of Nigeria. We appreciate the role of the Hungarians working in various fields of our economy — in our joint ventures, in our schools and hospitals and on our farms. We believe that they will continue to do their best for the greater glory of Hungary and future development of Nigeria.

Furthermore, some Nigerians have studied, and others are currently undergoing various courses of study in Hungary under your government's scholarship. Those who have returned are already contributing to the steady development of Nigeria.

Mr. President, over the past few years, the world economy has been experiencing a global recession fraught with many attendant difficulties particulary for developing countries. In the face of these difficulties, your government has consistently supported Nigeria through the grating of several credit lines. This attitude of Hungary has ideed been a manifestation of the confidence reposed in Nigeria and the resilience of its economy. Nigeria wishes to thank Hungary for this manifest gesture of confidence, and hopes that the Hungarian example would be an eye-opener to her other friends who tend to stand on the fence during our hour of need.

Distinguished ladies and gentlemen, I invite you to join me in a toast to the good health and happiness of the President of the People's Republic of Hungary, His Excellency Mr. Pal Losonczi, to all the guests from Hungary who are here with us and to the friendship and fruitful co-operation between Nigeria and Hungary.

Long live the People's Republic of Hungary

Long live the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

BROADENING EXISTING CORDIAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS

Speech at the Opening of Bilateral Talks between Nigeria and Hungary on April 21, 1986

I extend to you, once more, a very warm welcome to Nigeria. On this occasion, being your second official visit to Nigeria, I would like to seize this opportunity to discuss issues of common interest to our two countries as well as the international community.

Mr. President, permit me to acknowledge the fact that we, in Nigeria, appreciate and acknowledge the deep sympathy and understanding which the people of your country have shown towards our aspirations.

As you are well aware, the Federal Republic of Nigeria is a non-aligned nation. Furthermore, Africa and the happenings within it remain the special focus of our attention. We remain strongly committed to the preservation of fundamental human rights of the individuals. It is in the light of these principles that we are vehemently opposed to any system – be it political or economical – that is based on the doctrine of superiority of one race over the other. This is the reason why my Government sees the apartheid system in South Africa as the greatest challenge not only to Africa, but to humanity as a whole.

Apart from being an inhuman system, we regard the system as abhorrent to a peaceful and just world. The Federal Military Government and the Nigerian people remain committed and unrelenting in the struggle for the liberation of Namibia and eradication of apartheld on our continent and wherever it may exist on the globe.

Mr. President, you are aware that the international political climate today has further increased the areas of tension. No one should underestimate the effect which this development has on the peace and stability, particularly of Africa. In Europe, you are aware that the stock-pile of weapons is to be further increased by the additonal deployment of medium range nuclear weapons. I believe, Mr. President, that this situation will increase the fear of confrontation to a level that it threatens mankind.

It is understood, Mr. President, that industrialisation in Hungary has been concentrated on science-related industries and agriculture. I am pleased to note that the greater part of Hungary's activities in Nigeria is also concentrated in these areas. Furthermore, during the visit by the Hungrarian delegation, ably led by your Deputy Prime Minister, different aspects of our bilateral relations were examined critically. In fact, far-reaching conclusions were reached which were aimed at further broadening and deepening the existing cordial economic relations between Nigeria and Hungary, particularly so, in the areas of agriculture and water resources.

Over the years, Mr. President, we have seen a careful nurturing of our bilaterial economic relations. I therefore look forward to greater participation of your country in the implementation of our National Development

Plan. We count on Hungary, as a member of those friendly countries, to make available to us its technology and the know-how in our effort to improve and sustain our economic recovery. As you are already aware, we have increasingly focussed our attention on the need to tap and use our local raw materials for the sustained growth of the economy. We are endowed with good natural resource-based that, with your co-operaton in the areas of agriculture and indeed the supply of managerial and technical know-how, we are assured of a healthy economic take-off.

As you are patently aware, Mr. President, the present international economic climate is not favourable to the efforts of developing countries such as Nigeria. Apart from the basic inequities in the economic and monetary system which arose after the second world war, many developed countries have begun to use the present economic conditions as an excuse to shirk their responsibilities to the international community. Our experience to date, with international negotiations, amply indicates that inter-dependence, the anchor on which hangs stability and world peace; is on the neglect. The assumed mutual benefits of inter-dependence among nations is also no longer so. Furthermore, in the height of this experience, especially the present global economic recession and fall in prices of petroleum, the Federal Military Government has had to re-order our priorities.

Mr. Presient, our two countries have already established modalities for fruitful co-operation. We have a bilateral agreement on Economic, Industrial, Scientific and Technological co-operation; we have a Nigeria/Hungary Joint Commission, and we have a number of Nigera/Hungary Joint Ventures. I would want particular emphasis placed on agriculture. It is an area in which we can particularly explore the potentials for more Joint Venture projects for the mutual benefits of both nations.

I have expressed these few thoughts as elements which can form the basis of detailed discussion between our two delegations. I look forward to the benefit from your views and comments.

FOREIGN POLICY OPTIONS UP TILL THE YEAR 2000

Address to the All-Nigeria Conference on Foreign Policy at Kuru
April 7, 1986

This is a very unique gathering. At no other time in our nation's history have we assembled such distinguished personalities from every facet of our national life to deliberate on our external relations. Indeed, it is the first time they have all been brought together in any forum to share their experiences as well as their hopes for the future course of our nation's foreign policy.

Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen, from the theme of this Conference, "NIGERIA AND THE WORLD: FOREIGN POLICY OPTIONS UP TILL THE YEAR 2000" I believe, your task is not only a formidable one but is also of great historical importance because; you are being called upon, as representatives of a cross section our our society to come up with ideas that would sustain us in a dynamic international environment up till the year 2000 and possibly beyond. I believe that a Conference of this nature is long overdue, given the periodic but sustained doubts that have often been expressed by critics in the conduct and management of our foreign policy; and the new and rapidly changing realities.

At the inception of this Administration, we identified certain areas of search which has led us to raise many questions about our national life; because we believe that a life unexamined is not worth living. The decision of this Administration to set up this forum is to further emphasise the need to subject all facets of foreign policy to examination and re-examination. For example the economic life was subjected to review and this has given rise to the present economic emergency measures, the political life is also being actively examined by the Political Bureau which, from publication, has ably reduced my terms of reference into 28 questions to which Nigerians must seek to privide some answers.

This conference fits into the style of this Administration in which issues of our national life are subjected to popular participation. More importantly, this Conference should provide an opportunity to evolve a new national consciousness and consensus on the goals and objectives of our foreign policy and thereby forge national cohesiveness and support for our foreign policy programmes.

As part of my contribution to the debate, we should take an excursion on the part of Nigeria's foreign policy in the past 25 years. by posing some basic questions. What were Nigeria's goals at Independence and have these goals remained static? If no; What are our goals today and what should they be in the next quarter of a cuntury? Have we related these goals to the instruments for implemention? Have these goals been clearly defined to meet Nigeria's place and position in the world today?

The foregoing questions would automatically lead to an examination of the context of our foreign policy, especially a survey of the international

landscape and its trends. To put it simply: Foreign policy can only be carried on within an international system. What, then was Nigeria's conception of this system in 1960: A "billiard ball" of many states, a bipolar world or multipolar world?

For a long time, the international system was dominated by European powers: however since the 1950s, the international system had changed, and the advent of inter-continental ballistic missile has reduced the world to two super-powers. Again, with the introduction of new members into the nuclear club a situation of nuclear stalemate now exists. The world is now properly approaching what Winston Churchill called "balance of terror" as distinct from "balance of power" of the old international system. Indeed, the argument about non-proliferation of nuclear weapon, besides its racial overtone, now seem to border on the irresponsibility of weaker nations.

It is argued, that the developing countries are too patently irresponsible to be entrusted with nuclear weapons. The fact is, today, the world has become increasingly insecure with the proliferation of nuclear and multi-polar nuclear nations. It is in this circumstance that Nigeria and other third world countries now find themselves coping with the development of peaceful use of nuclear weapons in the face of growing racial intolerance, and arrogance from South Africa and those who believe in racial supremacy in the world today. How do we match our goals with our resources in such an uncertain world, now dominated by super-powers, allies, neutrals and non-aligned? What should be our position in such a world?

An appreciation of our position should begin with an understanding of our foreign policy, which can be divided conveniently into three phases. The first phase, (i.e. from 1960 to 1965) can be conceived as a period of uncertainty; it was a period in which our foreign policy was based on trial and error. This was partly because Nigeria was a new actor in the world arena; and partly because of our unstable domestic politics.

In this period, Nigerian leaders were faced with (1) the Congo crisis, (2) the Anglo-Nigeria defence pact, (3) finding foreign markets for Nigeria's commodities, (4) the Rhodesian crisis and the Commonwealth response to it, and (5) the Middle East crisis. By and large, the Balewa Government was not quite prepared and well equipped to respond adequately to these policy issues. The government was pre-occupied largely with finding solutions to our domestic political disequilibrium

The second phase of our policy is the period of the civil war and the consequent traumatic internal confusion from 1967 to 1970. The lessons and the experiences of the civil war produced a swift adjustment of Nigeria's foreign policy. On the domestic scene, the centralized and hierarchical nature of the military was able to break the strong regionalism of the East, West and North; and by creating twelve States, the Military thus terminated the regional challenges to the Federal authorities over foreign policy goals and implementations. Thus, during this period, our foreign policy was concerned with prosecuting the civil war. Certain consequences arose from this position.

Firstly, the Nigerian military leaders soon saw the need for friendly

relation with neighbouring African States and the need for these governments not to be replaced by forces hostile to Nigeria. In short, the military began to see the security of Nigeria as being closely linked with the internal political situations of our African neighbours. Secondly, the civil war brought out the importance of the OAU and the role it could play in resolving African problems. For example, the OAU played an important role in preventing the world from recognizing Biafra. Thirdly, deriving from the support or otherwise given by the Great Powers, Nigeria was forced to readjust its relations with such powers.

Finally, the civil war led to some subtle definition of non-alignment. Thereafter, Nigeria, refused to follow the Western diplomatic initiative. This explains the Nigerian decision to adopt a none-China policy in 1971 and Nigeria's persistent criticism of Western support for Portugal's colonial policy. The latter thus paved the way to the progressive radicalization of foreign policy in the 1970s. Since the end of the Civil War Nigeria has been playing an important part in the non-aligned conference.

The third phase of our foreign policy, that is the period of progressive radicalization of foregin policy goals, also coincided with the period of internal political peace, continued Federal dominance of the States and, of course, the period of massive oil money. The foreign policy initiative during this period culminated in the famous speech by General Murtala Muhammed at the Extraordinary OAU Summit Conference in January 1976 at which he declared that "Africa has come of age. His statement to the effect that Africa does not need foreign counsellors to warn Africans against communisim". This has become a signal mark of Nigeria's foreign policy Furthermore, Nigeria took to a mediating role in African conflicts, reconciling warring factions in Chad and in many of the front-line States. During this period also, Nigeria's support for progressive forces in Africa, examplified by the recognition of the MPLA as the sole legitimate government in Angola, was a decisive step in the independent struggle in Angola, Mozambique Guinea Bissau and indeed in the democratization of Portugal and Spain in Western Europe. Nigeria also took the initiative to bring about the formation of ECOWAS.

It is very clear that this Africa-oriented policy which has since remained a cardinal programme of successive Administrations needs greater clarification. The time has come when we should spell out in more specific terms, its parameter and indicators. The time has come when we should use the acquired invaluable experience of the past twenty five years to do a proper stock – taking. How do we confront the problems of today as well as prepare ourselves for the future? To answer this question, we should think of and bring about a new focus on foreign policy for the next twenty-five years.

My contribution to this quest hangs on the paradigm of national security. In 1980, as part of the concluding seminars at the National Institute, I suggested the need for policy planners to disagregate the ominibus term called National Interest into manageble components. As a concept, national interest may offer guidance and a basis for broad consensus, but the term is

so vague and elastic that we run the risk of permitting everyone to label any foreign policy pronouncements with such an attractive and deceptive name For purpose of clarity of focus, I would like to think of national interest simply as national security interest.

My thesis is that we can no longer take the concept of national security as a rhetorical phrase to be employed by slogan loving political leaders. It is neitner a slogan to serve as a rallying cry in times of national need, nor a concept to justify partisan or discriminatory treatment in a competitive political system. Rather, and as Walter Limppman has argued, National security denotes that "a nation is secure to the extent to which it is not in danger of having to sacrifice core values if it wishes to avoid war and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by victory in case of war".

Social scientists have warned us that national security has many ramifications. They argue that threat to natioal security has many tangible ingredients which may be more menacing than external military threat. It can take subtle forms such as subversion of core values through economic sabotage, counterfeiting, drung trafficking, espionage, and cultural subversion. We are all aware of the damage which these elements can cause on a nation's psyche and survival To put it differently, our foreign policy should focus on our capacity as a nation to protect our internal values from external threats no matter what form the latter may take or from what quarters they may appear. In common parlance, National Security interests can be used to refer to such concepts as "self-preservation" "self-defence" .and even "survival" In short, National Security means that the state should survive; It means it should live without serious threat to all values that are regarded as important or vital. I hope at the end of this conference, you will be able also to define what the vital interests for Nigeria are; at the same time you will be able to specify how they can be preserved.

I am aware that my plea for a new focus for foreign policy analysis in Nigeria has several implications. For example, our national security has to be defined within the context of its external environment and in a way conducive to the free pursuit of our national goals and purposes. Nonetheless, it is my view that a meaningful Foreign Policy for Nigeria should be pursued within the context of her Security interests.

I cannot end this address without dwelling on the problem of competing values. How do we reconcile these values and which values are to be displaced? These are problems for the political leader. For displacement to be effective, however the government must carry the citizens along with it. This can also be a tricky problem in a democratic society.

We must recognise that even though people want security for their national community we should not forget that the same people also want food and some level of comfort for themselves As Arnold Wolfers put it, "It would seem to be a fair guess that the efforts for secutiry by a particular nation will tend to vary, other things being equal, with the range of values for which protection is being sought". National security experts are very worried that unless care is taken political leaders may consider the preservation of national core values as ends in themselves where the security of the

nation is placed at the pinnacle of the hierarchy of values

My argument here is that goals we want to pursue in foreign policy must be justified in terms of the higher values which they are meant to serve. Thus money for or spent on foreign policy goals defined in national security terms, must be justified not on the ground that it will protect National Security but that by enhancing such security, it will serve to protect ultimate values such as individual liberty and human welfare.

We can also look at two other questions that are closely related to this which I think this conference should examine. One is whether goals in foreign policy are ends in themselves or serve as means to other ends. The other is whether one's goal in foreign policy can serve one or more ends. These questions arise from the fact that nation — states are not single purpose organisations.

The purpose of this soul searching conference must be to offer us the opportunity to examine our place in the world today and in the future. I implore you to move away from the traditional terrain by breaking away from the static conception of foreign policy analysis; you should be able to disaggregate our national interests into quest for national survival as distinct from "national aggrandisement" and "national self-extension."

I expect this forum to be able to identify the changing character of the international system. You should recognise that the International system of today no longer consists only of nation-states and their traditional allies. In addition, there are within it powerful individual actors as well as multi-national organizations which, sometimes in league with nationals in the third world countries, influence the political process of these countries in significant ways We are equally faced with many alien ideological and religious groups that masquerade as "salvation armies" in the third world but who actually are surrogate political groups manipulating the political process of the third world countries.

A conference of this nature must therefore address itself to how Nigeria can pursue her goals of national survival within this complex international power configuration. We should also identify the international entities — theyare relevant to our national survival and objective. I am sure that such an excercise will bring to the fore, the issue of value — conflict, in a plural societv such as ours. I leave the problem of reconciliation of such values to this forum. We must however recognise that there are apparent conflicts between the goals for survival within the international setting and domestic scene. Should there be?

A conference of this nature must come up with fresh ideas on now Nigeria, in the next 25 years, can relate her resources, both human and material, to the all-pervading quest for national survival You must evolve new responses for dealing with challenges posed by a complex world of powerful states, international organizations, multinationals and various ideological and religious groups. We want to survive and Nigeria must indeed survive even though the complex and threatening world we might not be able to change.

Mr. Chairman, this Conference presents you with a great challenge and

you should dare to think and explore new vistas, new approaches to the issues on the agenda of the Conference. Your discussions must be informed and guided by the realities of our national security. You should strive to strike the delicate balance between opinion and thought, between what is desirable and what is possible.

Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen, Nigeria remains a land of hope. It remains a country endowed with plenty. It is a nation, full of potential eagerly waiting to be tapped and harnessed.

It is a country whose words and actions can no longer be ignored in the world scene. I have faith in Nigeria and in its innate capacity to influence the international scene. Let this conference therefore decide to give this Nigeria a sound and meaningful foreign policy which can mobilise its entire people for the greater benefit of mankind.

I wish you a fruitful deliberation.

O.A.U. LIBERATION COMMITTEF AS A VEHICLE OF FREEDOM STRUGGLE

Speech delivered at the Opening Ceremony of the O.A.U. Liberation Committee Meeting
January 27, 1986

Distinguished delegates to the 45th Conference of the Liberation Committee of the Organisation of African Unity this is not the first time that Nigeria has played host to your Committee; and so long as an inch of African soil remains under the yoke of the evil forces of colonialism and racial discrimination and oppression it shall not be the last time that the Government and people of Nigeria will be happy and proud to accept the privilege and honour of hosting you.

Distinguished delegates, colonialism and the denial of freedom racial oppression and exploitation and the forcible occupation of the territory of one people by another have always constituted the greatest source of disorder in the world and the biggest obstacles to the brotherhood of man. The struggle of the peoples of Africa and the Third World, and the victory of the forces of independence over the forces of colonialism and oppression are among the greatest and most heroic in human history; and are a monument to the courage and dignity of the dark skinned and oppressed peoples of the world. That notwithstanding, I feel sure that the African Continent and the peoples of Africa have been and continue to be dominated, oppressed, denied, abused and exploited for a longer period and to a greater degree than any other people in any other continent in contemporary as well as ancient history.

Though most of Africa today is free the ravages of prolonged control domination and physical as well as other forms of colonial exploitation are evident in the poor, undeveloped state of most of the continent and in the fragile nature and in the persistent instability of our economic, social and political systems. It is evident too in the inability of African nations so far to break free from the unimposed notions and values which continue to curtail the ful expression of our personality and identity in most facets of our social and other institutions. The real importance of our independence then must be seen in terms of the opportunity it gives us to begin to look around ourselves and to fashion the forms of society which accords with our dignity as human beings and gives us the chance to create for our selves a proper place in the world.

The continued existence of colonial control and racial oppression in South Africa and Namibia, the subversive and agressive drive against the economic and political independence of sister Front Line African States such as Mazambique, Lesotho and Angola; the terror violence and repeated wanton massacre of innocent freedom fighters; the harrassment, detention and torture of heroes of the independence struggle of the black majority in South Africa and Namibia and the obstinate rejection of the racist regime to come to terms with that majority, pose a danger and a serious threat no

only to peace in the world but also to the independence of all African nations and to the cause of freedom all over the world. In the struggle to eliminate and to remove this threat Nigeria and all African nations are not and will not rest until victory is fully attained.

The Liberation Committee has been and continues to be the vehicle of that struggle. Since your creation by the OAU you have served that cause with remarkable success bringing independence to Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe Guinea Bissau and other citadels of colonialism and racial oppression once thought impregnable. Your tenacity had forced the more obstinate and reluntant forces in the international community to come to terms with the idea and possibility of the independence of Namibia. Your efforts and achievements as well as the concerted action of African States and sympathetic allies of the freedom struggle all over the world have strengthened the will and the resolve of the freedom fighters and nationalists in the racist enclave to intensify the blackman in South Africa is no longer running or looking for a place to hide, but standing firm and fighting back. Because of your work the world today no longer looks upon the apartheid regime as the impregnable fortress it once thought itself to be but as a lost cause waiting for the final blow that is certain to come. Through your relentless efforts the conscience of the world has been stirred to actions. For the first time in history both the US Senate and Congress have voted for sanctions against South Africa. Nations which once stood alone in the application of sanctions against South Africa have today been joined by multitides and the struggle will thus continue to its inevitable conclusion.

We have travelled far in this struggle but there is yet further to go. In this journey Africa has shown remarkable solidarity, unanimity and resolve. We in Nigeria have been proud to have been and will continue to be proud to be in the forefront of that struggle. We acknowledge with grateful thanks, your appreciation of our leadership role in this respect. We give you the fullest assurance that your work and your Committee will continue to receive our maximum and consuming attention and support. It is indeed our belief that your Committee is not just the most important to the OAU but among the most important organisations working for the cause of mankind today.

We are statisfied from our own experience as one of those nations which gained independence without armed struggle that freedom is most highly valued, cherished, protected and nutured by those who have had to struggle for it. The example of the United States and of sister African States whose freedom came out of the barrel of the gun provide contrasting but affirmative examples of our view. We therfore fully intend to lend all possible support, moral and material to any policy which seeks to diversity the base and approach to the struggle within South Africa until the racist regime in South Africa crumbles as others before it nave done in Angloa, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau and Algeria. We shall continue to provide all necessary support to the Front Line States to withstand subversion and aggression from the reactionary forces of racism and oppression.

We espouse at home a policy of fundamental human rights. The United States which is the most vociferous and most outspoken defender of this

all-important principle has not found it possible to extend the same principle to the South African question.

We shall use all available opportunity and do hereby seize the opportnity at this forum to invite the United States of America, to recognise the indivisible nature of the fundamental human rights of all men and to make common cause with us in establishing the regime of fundamental human rights for all citizens, black, white or brown in Southern Africa.

Through our role within your Committee, the OAU, all available regional international bodies, the United Nations and our bilateral links to enjoin all nations to accept the principle of effective and comprehensive sanctions against South Africa. We look forward with enthusiasm to any schemes which your Committee will evolve to enhance progress in this regard.

You will also no doubt have realised that we accepted with the greatest reluctance and only after the strongest persuation membership in the Commonwealth Contact Group. The aim is to persuade South Africa to enter into a full dialogue with its black majority to fashion a new independence constitution which guarantees full rights to all its citizens.

We shall play a full part in this endeavour even though we believe that ultimately the racist regime will never give up until it has been forced to do so. The key is the intensification of resistance in all its forms within. We shall give full consideration and support to any concerted action programme you recommend.

Distinguished delegates, you have specific matters to discuss I wish you successful deliberations and a happy stay and assure you of the fullest support of the Government and people of Nigeria in your work.

ECOWAS REBIRTH TO FORSTER REGIONAL INTEGRATION

Speech delivered during visit to the Ecowas Secretariat
January 24, 1986

The other purpose for this visit is to acquaint myself with the workings of the Secretariat as the nerve centre of the organization. I also hope that in the process I will become more familiar with the set-up of the organisation, the available facilities and your constraints.

Nigeria, you are well aware, is committed to playing her part maximally to ensure an uninterrupted growth of ECOWAS and the attainment of the lofty goals and ideals which Member States have set for themselves. As one of the founding fathers of ECOWAS Nigeria believes that the organization has great potentials for the steady economic growth and integration of the sub-region. She also believes that a strong ECOWAS will ensure meaningful political-social stability in the sub-region. For, despite the varied colonial experiences of Member States, which imposed artificial boundaries on the peoples of the sub-region, I am convinced that, given the political will of the leadership of the sub-region and the discipline and dedication to duty on the part of the staff members of the Community Institutions, the achievement of economic integration for our sub-region is not an unattainable goal.

You are all aware of the economic stress which Member States are experiencing at this point in time. They, therefore, look up to you for the judicious use of the meagre resources to the utmost advantage of the Community. You must regard your service in ECOWAS both as a sacrifice and a rare honour which your individual countries have bestowed on you. The Community therefore demands the best from you.

On behalf of Nigeria which is playing host to the Secretariat of this very important organization, I wish to assure you that we shall continue to do our best within the limits of available resources to make your stay more comfortable and fruitful. Of course, Nigeria has signed the Headquarters Agreement for the Secretariat and will continue to discharge her obligations thereunder. You should, therefore, feel free to alert us, through the appropriate channel, whenever you encounter difficulties during your stay here. I am aware of your problems, especially your residential accommodation problems. In this respect, I am pleased to let you know that work is going on at a reasonable speed to enable you move into the new accommodation units which have been provided by the Federal Government of Nigeria. Naturally, when the time comes for you to move to your permanent site at Abuja, the future capital of Nigeria, problems of accommodation and related issues should no longer arise.

I want to reiterate Nigeria's total commitment to ECOWAS. You are aware that Nigeria is up to date in her contributions to the budget of the Secretariat, the paid-up capital of the ECOWAS Fund as well as all other

financial obligation to the community. I wish to take this opportunity to appeal to Member States to continue to give their moral and financial support which are vital for the fulfilment of the ideals and noble objectives of the community.

Finally, as I observed in my inaugural address to my fellow Nigerians: "The Economic Community of West African States must be reborn with a view of achieving the objectives of regional integration."

I hope that the Community can continue to count on your unalloyed loyalty and cooperation in this process of progressive rebirth.

NIGERIA'S COMMITTMENT TO RESOLUTION OF AFRICA AND OTHER REGIONAL PROBLEMS

Toast at the State Dinner in Honour of the visiting President of Gambia at State House Marina.
January 15, 1986

On behalf of the people and the Federal Military Government of Nigeria, on behalf of my wife and myself, it gives me great pleasure to welcome, once again, my dear colleague and brother, the distinguished and illustrious son of Africa, His Excellency Alhaji Sir Dawda Jawara, President of the Republic of the Gambia and his wife, Lady Njaimah Jawara. When we welcome Sir Dawada to Nigeria we are not just welcoming the President of the sister state of the Gambia, we are also welcoming an African nationalist whose love for Nigeria and Africa qualifies him to be a Nigerian.

Your Excellency,

I hope that you and Lady Jawara are feeling very much at home among your brothers and sisters. In addition, I wish to take this opportunity to express our deep and sincere appreciation and gratitude to you for visiting Nigeria and launching a book on the life of one of the architects of modern Nigeria, the late Premier of Northern Nigeria, Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto, of blessed memory. That Your Excellency have found time to honour our invitation in spite of the relatively short notice given to you in a manifestation of the high degree of mutual cordiality existing between our two peoples and countries and a vivid reminder of the soft spot which the late Sir Ahmadu, though now dead, still occupies in your heart. Indeed, your close association with the late Premier was probably one of the factors which has endeared Nigeria to you and made it easy for you to establish and maintain very close personal relationships with successive Nigerian leaders featured by frequent exchange of visits at the highest level since the Premier's death twenty years ago.

These relationships are also rooted in our common historical past which was characterised by continuous movement and fusion of our peoples, resulting in the existence of strong ethnic, cultural and linguistic ties between our two countries Our common historical experience of colonialism did keep us apart for a while. But the attainment of independence in the 1960s has generated the urge for unity and mutually beneficial cooperation based on the sovereign equality of our two states and formalised by the signing in 1983 of the Agreement on Economic Scientific and Technical Cooperation providing for a regular meeting of Nigeria — Gambia Joint Commission, the first of which was held last year. Also last year, a Fisheries Agreement and a Programme for Technical Assistance Cooperation were signed between the two countries. Other fields of cooperation include cattle

trade and Air Services. I believe by the time Your Excellency leaves Nigeria we will find time to discuss exhaustively and in an informal and relaxed atmosphere, the plan already in the pipeline to increase the level and scope of this cooperation.

Given the iniquities inherent in the present international economic system in which our countries are caught up in a vicious circle of poverty and underdevelopment, accentuated and perpetuated by the refusal of the more advanced nations to implement the imperatives of the New International Economic Order for which we have been searching over the years, our two countries, indeed all the developing countries, have no alternative but to cooperate with one another. In this regard, your preoccupation with Senegembia confederation is a commendable experiment in inter-State unity in Africa and a stepping stone towards sub-regional integration in West Africa.

The lessons of the last five years have inspired us in Nigeria to reject the IMF Loan facility, to look inwards, harness our human and material resources and chart a new course aimed at reducing our external dependence. We have set, as our mission, the building of a prosperous society based on human justice. For this purpose a 17 – man Political Bureau has been innaugurated two days ago in our effort to vigorously search for new political order which will take into account our previous political experience

We hope that after the search, we will be able to evolve a cable and viable political culture which would make possible the emergence of a new generation of leaders imbued with patrotism, discipline and public accountability so that the Military may bequeath to posterity a new political order that can endure stresses as well as contain the competitive demands in our national life by 1st 1990

In spite of our preoccupation with efforts to build a solid, sound and stable home base, we remain sensitive and committed to the resolution of African and other regional problems and to the pursuit of international peace and security. The situation in Southern Africa is still close to our hearts. We are grieved and saddened by the maiming and killing of thousands of African men, women and children in South Africa and Namibia by the South African soldiers and police just becuase they demand their inalienable right to freedom and national self-determination. We are equally distressed by the occasional acts of aggression perpetrated by the South African racists against the neighbouring frontline States under the pretext of hot pursuit of the freedom fighters.

But we gain consolation from the recent upsurge of intense and vocal opposition against Apartheid which sweeps across the United States and Western Europe. At the same time. freedom fighters in Southern Africa are more determined, more defiant, and more daring in their quest for freedom than they have ever been before. Apartheid is about to suffer "a great fall" and when it does nobody can gather the wreckage again.

Our two countries and the rest of Africa share a common responsibility to maintain and increase the momentum of this opposition against Apartheid. Let us therefore persuade some of our friends in the West to stop allowing themselves from being blinded by the glitter of South African gold and diamonds. Their long – term interest would be better served if they impose comprehensive economic sanctions against the racist regime until it abandons its obnoxious system of racial segregation; and let us continue to assist, in whatever way possible, the Southern African freedom fighters bilaterally and through the OAU in order to increase the effectiveness of their struggle.

Mr President and My Dear Brother,

The stalemated and tense situation in Chad is a source of considerable anxiety to us in Nigeria as, I am sure, it is also to you in the Gambia. The peace process in that war-torn country has been paralysed by the failure of the Chadian leaders to put their national interest above their narrow selfish interests. Like-wise, the failure of the external actors in the conflict to heed our counsel to pressurise their proteges to negotiate an end to the conflict is inimical to the peace process in Chad. It is our hope that the next session of the Organisation of African Unity will come out with concrete proposals for the resolution of the problem.

Similarly, the dispute between the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic and Morocco over Western Sahara has defied solution. Our two countries should make use of our good relations with the kingdom of Morocco to persuade it to agree to negotiate directly with the Polisario for the purpose of achieving a cease-fire and conducting a referundum for the final settlement of the dispute according to the OAU Resolution 104 and subsequent resolutions passed by the United Nations General Assembly.

As we address ourselves to the major regional conflicts afflicting the African continent, we must not be unmindful of other serious conflict situations which pose very real threat to international peace and security.

The Arab-Isreali conflict is steadily but inxorably taking a turn for the worse because of the failure of all the parties concerned to recognise and accept that a homeland for the Arab people of Palestine in which they must be allowed to exercise their inalienable right to national self determination is an essential ingredient of any solution to the problem. The Gulf-War between Iran and Iraq is to be regretted not only for its sheer destructiveness effects on economic activities in the area but also because it tends to cause disunity in the Third World. We call upon all the parties concerned in these conflicts to seek a settlement of their dispute by peaceful means.

With hope and prayers to the Almighty that all our noble objectives will be achieved to justfy our efforts and sacrifices particularly with the inspiring encouragement of elder statesmen like Sir Dawda. I invite you, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen to rise and toast to our illustrious distinguished African, Alhaji Sir Dauda Kairaba Jawara, President of the Republic of the Gambia and his wife, Lady Njaimah Jawara.

NIGERIA ATTACHES IMPORTANCE TO BILATERIAL RELATIONS

Address delivered to the Dean of the Diplomatic Corps on January 6, 1986

On my own behalf and on behalf of my colleagues of the Armed Forces Ruling Council, the Government and people of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, I wish to convey through you to the Governments and people that you represent, seasonal greetings for a happy, peaceful and prosperous New Year.

Nigeria is passing through an undoubtedly difficult economic period but, this Administration and indeed the people of this country are determined to work together and to make the necessary sacrifices to see us through our present transient problems. It is my sincere hope and desire that with your support and co-operation, Nigeria will continue to strive for the necessary peace and stability conducive to rapid economic and social development and the protection of the fundamental human rights of her citizens.

Your presence in our country is a clear indication of the desire of your various Governments and peoples to co-operate with the Goverment and people of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in a mutually beneficial relationship. Nigeria attaches great importance to the maintenance and strengthening of her bilateral relations with each of the various countries that you represent here. More importantly, Nigeria believes that the solution to the economic and social problems which we currently face in Africa lie in our common efforts at economic integration at both the sub-regional and continental levels. This is why we attach the utmost importance to ECOWAS and the Organisation of African Unity. As the current Chairman of ECOWAS, I intend to continue to take necessary diplomatic initiatives to ensure the peaceful resolution of inter-State disputes within our sub-region. Our recent modest efforts in the conflict between Mali and Burkina Faso are no more than a continuation of our consistent mediatory role in Africa.

We also remain fully committed to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The maintenance of international peace and security is a collective responsibility of all members of the international community.

The Federal Military Government is aware of the difficulties which some of you have been experiencing as a result of the closure of our land borders. I wish to assure you that Nigeria is fully conscious of her obligations under international law to facilitate the discharge of your diplomatic responsibilities especially in neighbouring countries to which some of you are concurrently accredited. The borders will be opened as soon as we put into place necessary arrangements with our immediate neighbours. This will be done with the minimum of delay.

I am confident that our efforts to work for a politically stable and economically virile and united Nigeria, to improve our relations with our

immediate neighbours, to promote economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and our ceaseless endeavours through the Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U.) to protect the freedom and the fundamental human rights of our brothers and sisters in Southern Africa will continue to enjoy the full support and encouragement of the Governments and peoples of your various countries.

PART VIII

LABOUR

CALLING ON WORKERS TO HELP BUILD A NEW SOCIETY

May Day Address
May 1, 1986

This May Day 1986 is an historic one. On this day a hundred years ago, workers in the United States of America staged the first strike in support of an eight hour working day. Their employers crushed the strike but not the solidarity of the workers. It was the triumph of the workers' strike of 1st May, 1986 which became a symbol of workers' solidarity observed throughout the world. The eight-hour day was eventually conceded and today, we are observing the centenary of its origin.

Since this historic event, all employers of labour and economic analysts have come to accept that the labour of the working class is an important element in the creation of national wealth. Under whatever system of Government, rulers of the State have recognised the vital significance of labour in the production process. We in Nigeria, particularly in this period of economic emergency, salute our workers on this special centenary day.

From 1912, when the earliest trade unions were established in this country, through the great militant era of the 1940s and 1950s and the struggle against colonial rule by trade unionists, side by side with nationalist leaders, the labour movement has maintained its determination to survive. In spite of arrests and jail sentence for union leaders, inter-union rivalries and factions, and the sometimes hostile regulatory decrees of the early military administrations, trade unions have won recognition today as a vital part of the nation's socio-economic structure. Their contribution to the political awakening of our people has been equally recognised in the nationalist history of our country. To all of them and to you their successors in that struggle, this country owes a debt of appreciation. We salute their courage and acknowledge your sacrifice, as we celebrate this centenary year of Labour Day with workers throughout the world.

LET US BUILD ANEW:

Yet as workers of this country, you have much more to do for yourselves and for your country. This Administration has pledged its commitment not only to build a just, dynamic and virile economy, but also to pursue a humane government and to give our people an active part in shaping their destiny. In my anniversary speech last October, I urged that we should "shift the attention of the nation from the buying-and-selling syndrome and parasitic services, to the more enduring demand of increased total real production, rising labour productivity and greater efficiency and investment." As part of that determination to pursue our fundamental objectives, the Federal Military Government declared a state of economic emergency for fifteen months.

As we all know, following the decisive expression of our people's will

to salvage our economy through our own resources, we also decided to break off negotiations on the IMF loan. We resolved to endure whatever hardships were required for our economic survival as a virile nation.

Today, on this anniversary of Labour Day, I wish to address myself particularly to our working people throughout the Federation; to call on them to join hands with us to build a new society based on co-operation, social justice and self-reliance; and to evolve a new attitude in the labour movement for the benefit of our country.

This Administration made a break with bureaucratic tradition in drawing up national budgets when we invited your leaders in the Nigerian Labour Congress to participate in the formulation of the 1986 Budget. I wish to pay particular tribute to their valuable suggestions in the exercise of betting out our new economic policies, which you have all welcomed. I also commend the maturity of your response to our call for co-operation with the Ministry of Labour and the Private Sector, in working out an acceptable distribution of the levies and sacrifices involved in our Economic Emergency. All of us have accepted that such an emergency while it last is bound to be harsh. All of us must therefore maintain our determination to endure those sacrifices including wage restraints and certain scarce commodities, in the knowledge that the fate of our country depends on us. I take this opportunity to thank all our citizens who are continuing to make these sacrifices towards our economic recovery.

ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION

Over the last twenty-five years, our economic policies have been tailored to the economic vagaries of the outside world, and our efforts have failed to generate sufficient faith and confidence in our own ability to solve our economic problems. Through our 1986 Budget, our policies have been re-oriented and founded on the conviction that our recovery depends on total mobilisation of our human resources and our productive capacity. It recognises that economic policy must address the quality of life of the generality of our people as its cardinal objective. It seeks to ensure through its various measures, greater production of goods, an increase in the national wealth and a more equitable distribution of such wealth, in order to reduce the gap between the rich and poor in our every day requirements.

This Administration is committed to an environment which encourages workers not merely to increase their productivity but also to share in the fruits of their labour. Our agricultural programmes seek to increase food, lower its cost and give to small farmers, through liberalised credit facilities and through co-operative organisation, a share in the control of such production. Our industries are encouraged by Government policies increasingly to utilise legal raw materials and reduce our excessive dependence on western industrialised production.

Our determination to share the burden more equitably led us, among other things, to abolish the taxation on the retirement gratuities of workers. While maintaining the policy of wage restraints because of our economic emergency, we nevertheless have continued to allow cases of collective

bargaining on fringe benefits by workers in order to minimise inevitable hardships. All possible measures which would assist us to reduce inflation, and increase production by not closing down factories, have been initiated in the 1986 Budget in seeking to solve our nation's economic problems.

UNEMPLOYMENT

In the vital area of unemployment, a cardinal objective of our policy has been to seek to increase employment opportunities. It is generally accepted that the world economic depression has made its damaging impact on all countries and their economies. Statistics of unemployment in other countries abundantly confirm this situation. The social and political repercussions of closed-down factories, soaring unemployment figures, rising crime rates and inflation in all countries are all too familiar. It is because of Government's determination to deal with unemployment that the Federal Ministry of Labour recently set up a Committee to examine strategies for dealing with mass unemployment. That Committee has now submitted its report and the relevant Ministries involved are currently studying its recommendations. Our aim is to strengthen or adopt new measures for creating employment opportunities, improving Nigerianisation and encouraging self-employment.

This Administration will therefore undertake prompt action on all proposals arising from the Committee which are duly accepted by Government, in order to tackle unemployment. Furthermore, the sectoral allocations of import licences envisaged in our 1986 Budget are intended to address not only our industrial, agricultural and other priorities but also to increase employment avenues, raise production capacities and encourage self-employment opportunities.

To ensure that these policies succeed, I must seize this opportunity to warn that this Administration will neither tolerate nor condone the breach of our country's laws or economic regulations by any commercial organisations operating in this country. Under our present economic emergency, such action will be considered as economic sabotage and liable to be dealt with in that light.

NATIONAL VIGILANCE AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

In this connection, I wish to remind you of my appeal for public vigilance addressed last January, to all patriotic citizens, when I said:

"Ultimately, the best watchdogs of public sector performance is the public itself. There must be public vigilance . . ."

We must apply our vigilance to the implementation of our economic and social policies. None of us can absolve ourselves from the obligation to assist in arresting the evils of corruption, nepotism and criminal collusion of which we all complain. Your unions cover both parastatals, Government departments and private sector organisations. While this Administration does not encourage witch-hunting and character-assasination, it is incumbent on all patriotic citizens to fight these evils and identify those who use their

positions to undermine our economy, wherever they are employed. To fail in that duty, is to condone greed, sabotage and the perpetuation of social injustice. Neither fears of victimisation nor the selfish gains of sharing in such collusion can be in the country's interest.

This Administration is aware that there may be cases of reports or complaints that have not been energetically pursued or have evaded the hand of the law for whatever reason. Yet, we are determined to bring to justice all cases where authentic information is brought to our notice concerning the activities of economic saboteurs and unpatriotic citizens, who seek to frustrate this Government's efforts. I call therefore on all your unions to exercise vigilance among yourselves and to work out mechanisms by which economic sabotage and corruption in our society can be arrested so as to achieve a healthy social justice in the distribution of our nation's wealth.

WORKERS' EDUCATION AND ORGANISATION

On this centenary of Labour Day, the issue of workers' education and labour organisation are matters of concern to this Administration. Our policy of social justice aims at creating equality of opportunity in all spheres of our national life including equality in the promotion of education, health and employment; it also includes equality before the law and in the administration of justice.

All of this implies a recognition that trade union's education of workers in our society is essential to their effective participation in policies of economic reconstruction and social justice. It was this recognition that gave rise to the establishment of the Labour Training Institute at Ilorin. It is evident that labour unions will only be truly effective if their members are better educated about such matters as the purposes of trade unions, their principles and methods, industrial relations participation in the State enterprise, the management of union finances as well as the many social benefits of union membership. These benefits could include rest-houses, health-facilities, shops, holiday resorts and scholarship awards to children of workers. We believe that in these ways, the raising of workers' consciousness of their positive role in the national endeavour will generate their demand for better internal democratic management which strengthens workers unity.

Intra-union disputes and rivalries sometimes leading to unnecessary litigation have also created administrative and financial paralysis in unions. These have invariably detracted from union negotiating effectiveness and the essential unity of the voice of labour.

On this day of labour solidarity throughout the world, I venture to suggest that the task of workers' education can only be performed by your union leaders and I urge on them the importance of this responsibility.

This Administration's policy of economic self-reliance also encourages effective union organisation and participation at the grass-roots in order to help to solve inflation problems. In this regard, the idea of co-operative managements which would mobilise all workers in both urban and rural

communities in all the states, has much to recommend it. They would become the nucleus of co-operative shops run by their members in each area, and their possible role as distributors of essential commodities, is an idea which your members would no doubt find attractive. The direct availability of goods at prices fixed by co-operative societies, without the necessity for middlemen would be an obvious advantage. All of these ideas, which have been discussed before but with little progress, must constitute a challenge to all responsible unions, and this Administration's concern is a demonstration of our interest in the welfare of your union members as an essential part of our society.

CONCLUSION

In concluding my address to you today, I wish to assure you of the commitment of this Administration to the development of a positive labour movement. It is a commitment based on our conviction that the workers of this country, irrespective of ethnic origin, sex, religion or political inclination, are committed to our nationhood. It also accepts that their labour which is essential to national development, may be negatively exploited unless a common ideology of participation in national issues is developed among labour unions.

As you continue your activities marking your centenary, I am pleased to wish you every success not only in your immediate programmes but also in facing the challenges before you and confronting with determination, the threats to our national unity and solidarity. The Federal Military Government will continue to encourage our workers to contribute their quota to our national economic emergency. We welcome their active co-operation with their public and private employers and the progressive elimination of unnecessary occasions and issues of conflict. We believe that industrial harmony is an essential ingredient to our national success, particularly in the present emergency.

We also believe that through self-reliance, we can transform our present social and economic environment into one of pride and achievement. I therefore call on all workers of this country to re-dedicate themselves on this May Day 1986, to the national challenge of re-vitalising the economy, increasing participation, productivity and progress in our march towards the future and a new era of social justice. We can only succeed through a united effort, each giving of his best, and through a firm resolution neither to be discouraged nor to despair in times of crisis or uncertainty. .

Long live the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

LABOUR AS PARTNER IN PROGRESS

Address to NLC Delegation on September 23, 1985

In my maiden address to the nation, I had pinpointed some of the weaknesses of the past administration as insensitivity to public opinion and lack of consultation.

My administration believes in dialogue. We regard the Labour Movement as a partner in progress and in salvaging this country.

My administration is not interested in confrontation with the Labour Movement.

We have, already, on our part declared our commitment to creating an environment that is condusive to the creation of jobs by reducing to the barest minimum government interference in the daily lives of Nigerians.

We cannot and will not tolerate a situation in which primary school leavers, secondary school leavers and even graduates remain unemployed for an unreasonably long time.

I have already directed that there should be stricter screening of applications for expatriate quota to ensure that no expatriate is employed where qualified Nigerians are available. My government will soon provide a list of posts which will be reserved exclusively for Nigerians.

We are going to enforce the penalty for any breach in the expatriate quota employment and there is going to be a constant monitoring of the private sector to ensure that there is no abuse in expatriate employment practice.

We are going to ensure strict compliance with agreements which provide for training of Nigerians for eventual take over of jobs from expatriates.

My administration is also determined to streamline the procedure for investments so as to create an atmosphere that will be more condusive to creation of more jobs with the necessary skills and capacity will be encouraged to set up businesses of their own.

Opportunities for training and skill development will be offered to those without skills by intensifying the activities of the existing vocational institutions.

My government is looking into the practical details of mobilising unemployed persons who have no immediate prospects of employment to engage in public works or other activities of communal and social value until such time as they can secure suitable jobs.

The government and the country will now be looking forward to positive responses from the Labour Movement to these bold initiatives by Government. Just as this period is a test of leadership for those in government, it is also a test of leadership for those at the helm of affairs of the Labour Movement.

Even though the temptation may be strong, the labour movement should not put its emphasis on demanding higher wages because in the developing world, we Nigerians put in the least number of hours per week

at work. International Labour Organisation (ILO) figures show that the average hours of work in a week in:

Egypt is	56
South Korea is	54
Malaysia is	52
Singapore is	49
Mexico is	46
Venezuela is	45

While Nigerians work only an average of 40 (forty) hours a week.

And yet average wages tell a different story. To take just one example, the Egyptian who works 56 hours a week earns ₦9 per week in the manufacturing sector and ₦15 per week in the mining sector. His Nigerian counterpart who works 40 hours per week earns ₦30 per week in the manufacturing sector and ₦17.60 per week in the mining sector.

In other words, we work the least number of hours per week, our productivity is the lowest, our labour costs and salaries are comparatively high of all the countries in the developing countries.

My government looks forward to your proposals on how to mobilise to increase productivity so as to take advantage of government moves to create the correct economic atmosphere.

Government is looking forward to a Labour Agenda from you that will include suggestions as to how to:

1. Increase employment,
2 Increase productivity,
3 Reduce Government interference in the economy,
4 Reduce imports,
5 Increase exports in non-oil sectors.

"THE PRESENT MILITARY ADMINISTRATION WILL NOT FORCE ANY DECISION ON THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY. RATHER BEFORE ARRIVING AT DECISIONS, IT WILL TAKE COGNISANCE OF THE YEARNINGS AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE NIGERIA PEOPLE."

PART IX

RELIGION

1985 CHRISTMAS MESSAGE

December 25, 1985 National Broadcast

On this important occasion of Christmas, a religious festival commemorating the birth of Jesus Christ, celebrated worldwide by all Christians, I send sincere and warm greetings to all our Christian brothers and sisters both at home and abroad.

The birth, life and death of Christ symbolise humility, modesty, obedience and sacrifice which are good ingredients for a harmonious and peaceful co-existence in a community such as ours with diverse cultural, linguistic and religious beliefs. I wish to enjoin all Christians and non Christians alike to embrace these principles which should guide us as a people towards the building of a strong and united nation where the individual's liberty and freedom is guaranteed and protected.

It is to be noted that as Christ symbolises discipline and sacrifice, we as a nation also can learn the lesson of sacrifice in our bid to build a disciplined, just and united nation. However, this sacrifice is required from each and every one of us. In this regard, I am delighted to observe that when the Government decided recently to reject the I.M.F. loan the entire nation accepted the decision and resolved to endure whatever sacrifice was needed. Since the objective was to build an independent, self-reliant and bouyant economy. For this understanding and support, I salute all Nigerians. In a few days time, the Federal Military Government will announce certain economic and fiscal measures which are all aimed at revamping our economy as well as asserting our economic independence. I expect all fellow Nigerians in the true spirit of patriotism to bear with the Government and accept these measures as part of the sacrifice which we have to make towards laying concrete foundations for a strong and united nation.

Perhaps this occasion is also appropriate for me to address our mind to the moral decadence which is threatening the nation as evidenced by the get rich quick syndrome which has pervaded the fabric of our society. Crimes of violence in which our youngsters are involved are an indication of the malaise which afflicts most of our communities. It is time we re-examine our social systems and ask ourselves where we have failed. While the society examines the issue along this line and gropes for answers, the Government on its part would re-examine its strategy of combating crimes to safe-guard the properties and lives of our citizens. The Government will provide the security agencies with the financial and other requirements necessary to enable them cope with the ever increasing rate of crimes.

In conclusion, I urge all Nigerians of different faiths to learn to live in peace and harmony with one another. And to our Christian brothers and sisters celebrating the Yuletide, I wish you the best of luck and a prosperous forthcoming New Year.

NATIONAL INTEREST AS FIRST PRIORITY

Address on Presentation of Report of the Commnittee on Implications of Nigeria's Full Membership of O.I.C.
March 21, 1986

I wish to seize this opportunity to express my gratitude to all members of the Committee on the implications of Nigeria's full membership of the O.I.C. I am impressed by the way and manner in which you carried out your assignment; more so, with the frank and brotherly atmosphere which, I am informed, prevailed throughout your deliberations.

I am aware of the touchy and personal nature of religion to all Nigerians. I am equally aware of the multi-ethnic and multi-religious nature of Nigeria.

I am deeply touched by the fact that in spite of these differences, you have shown, both as a group and individuals, that we can continue to place the national interest above everything else. The way you have handled the assignment and the greater bond of friendship and brotherly love which emerged at the end of it, has given me greater hope and faith in our country. I wish to assure you that the same love and goodwill exist in abundance among our people. We will continue to mobilise and canalise this fund of love, goodwill and mutual respect amongst our people towards building a more united, stronger and more prosperous nation.

Your Lordships and Gentlemen, I would like to seize this opportunity to remind you that our economy is still battered and the effects of previous bad government are still very much around. This Administration has had to make some tough decisions and I am glad that, despite the hardship and sacrifice entailed, the support of our people has not wavered. We need the continuing strength and resourcefulness of our people as well as their hope and faith in our country to overcome the difficulties and challenges of these hard times. Indeed, we shall continue to require the wise counsel of elders such as yourselves.

Finally, I wish to assure you that we will carefully study the comprehensive report that you have just handed over. Furthermore, I reassure you that, as vanguards of our faiths, we shall take all your observations and recommendations seriously because the manner you handled the assignment has shown wise leadership and understanding. More importantly, your deliberations have amply demonstrated your love and concern for the continued peace, stability and progress of our country,

Once again, thank you and God bless.

NATIONAL INTEREST AS FIRST PRIORITY

POSITIVE ENCOURAGEMENT TO EVERY RELIGION

Speech to Delegation of Catholic Institute of West Africa
January 22, 1986

It is indeed a privilege and an honour to welcome you. Your visit is a mark of the goodwill and high regard which exists between us; and signifies the continuing interest and commitment of the Catholic clergy to the progress and well-being of this country and all its peoples, christian and non-christian; Catholic and non-Catholic alike.

Let me at once assure you that the administration and Nigerians as a whole are very well aware of the enormous contributions the Catholic Church has made to the development of Nigeria, especially in the areas of education and social development. The Church continues to play a significant role particularly in the promotion of a strong community spirit, family life and healthy human relations all to the benefit of mankind. The voice of the church leaders in the continuing struggle to define the values of our society and to fight pervasive small evils is loud and clear. If such evils and vices continue to flourish in our midst it will certainly not be because the church has not tried to stem their tide.

At this critical time when we are battling for economic recovery and reconstruction under the most challenging circumstances, the role of the church in promoting the necessary spirit of sacrifice, discipline, sobriety, hard work and commitment is even more crucial. Fortunately our people, of whatever creed, tend to take their religious tenets seriously, and do try to pass same to their children. The religious spirit is in fact so strong among Nigerians of all faiths that the religious leaders are in an excellent position to assist Government and this nation in the struggle in which we are now locked. As your Lordships know, we are engaged in the effort to evolve a new political order which should bear the imprints of our deeply cherished indigenous mores and norms. This is a delicate exercise which will require painstaking effort which will tax our courage and the ingenuity to the utmost.

I feel sure that given its history over the ages and its unmatched experiences in government and in the management of change the Catholic church is most eminently placed to assist government in its task of reshaping our society. I am therefore extending to you the hand of partnership in our struggle to build a strong, secure and better society based on justice and fellowship among all men and women.

I am also inviting you to partake wholeheartedly, and without reserve, in this administration's visible policy of positive encouragement of all religion and of the religious freedom of every Nigerian. We in this Administration recognise the dominance of religion in every thought and action of every Nigerian.

This brings me to what I consider to be the negative interpretation of

the secular principle in our constitution. This approach to the issue has unnecessarily placed the State in a position of either neglecting religion outright as a factor in our national life or treating it with benign neglect. This would be quite inconsistent with the central role that religion plays in the lives of our people as already referred to above. Apart from that the normative role of religion in the attitude and conduct of our people cannot simply be ignored. We have therefore decided not to so ignore religion as a potent weapon of social mobilisation.

For this reason we have welcomed, encouraged and will further strengthen the moves to reinstate most vigorously the teaching of religion and moral education in all our schools at the same time, we have placed no obstacle against the establishment, of primary and secondary educational institution by religious bodies, provided that no discrimination on any grounds is practised and no one is compelled to worship outside his or her chosen faith. Nationally, we insist, and will continue to insist, that proper educational standards are maintained and that moral and civic instruction in order to promote patriotism, social responsibility, national cohesion and brother-hood among all Nigerians are taught in all institutions.

In this connection, the Federal Military Government notes the existence of the Catholic Institute of West Africa with the objectives so ably stated in your memorandum.

Accordingly, in response to your request, I am hereby directing the Federal Ministry of Education to enter into immediate negotiations with your accredited representatives on the issue of recognition and on the prospect of affiliating the institute to one of our Federal Universities.

This Administration will always encourage genuine efforts by individuals and organisations to promote the social and educational aspirations of our people in accordance with our laws and our systems.

It is clear from this address that the issue of religion in our polity goes far beyond the educational system. It should be given the opportunity to assist in our development efforts in all spheres. Accordingly, we shall not neglect any opportunity to serve our national interest in any reasonable international forum. The same policy of propagating our national interest has been pursued by many nations inside and outside the African continent with very positive results to their national well-being and international standing. To this end, the Nigerian flag will be raised in every international forum to which we have sufficient reason to belong or to attend. Our attitude to the world must not be based on fear but on a spirit of engagement, discovery and co-operation.

On your part, and consistent with what I have already stated, we look forward to receiving ideas and recommendations from you on all matters that will promote the genuine interests of our country and our peoples. Your Lordships will bear witness to the fact that we are always receptive to the advice of all well meaning people like your goodselves.

Thank you and God bless.

GIVE PEACE A CHANCE

Goodwill to Muslims on Id-El-Kabir
August 15, 1986

On this auspicious occasion of the Eid-El-Kabir celebration, I send my warmest and sincere fraternal greetings to our Muslim sisters and brothers throughout the country.

The Eid-El-Kabir ceremony is an important religious event which signifies the total submission of mankind's life and way of life to the supreme will of Allah. The spirit of total submission to the supreme will and obedience to the injunctions of Allah are the qualities that are most needed for the maintenance of peace and progress of any society.

As Islam enjoins its adherents to live in peace and harmony with one another, I wish to seize this opportunity to appeal for religious tolerance throughout our national life. Recent events in some parts of the country have shown that some disgruntled elements who do not wish this country well have attempted to whip up inter-religious sentiments in order to achieve their selfish interests. Let it be made clear that Nigeria is greater than any individual and shall survive any mischievous acts. May I therefore appeal that rather than using religion to divide us, we should use it as vehicle for mass mobilization to foster unity, progress and economic development. It is my considered view that we as a nation should use religion to fight social crimes and vices such as armed robbery, drug trafficking, prostitution and corruption which have pervaded deeply into our social fabric and are threatening the basic foundation of our unity and progress as a people. I therefore implore all Nigerians irrespective of their religious beliefs to give peace a chance so that we can channel our energies to the solutions of our socio-economic problems.

The Nigerian Pilgrims Board should be congratulated for the prompt and orderly manner the airlifting operations of pilgrims from Nigeria to Saudi Arabia for the 1986 Hajj were handled. I am also happy to note that reports reaching me from the Holy land indicate that our Pilgrims are not facing hardship as had been the case in the past. To our Muslim brothers and sisters who are currently performing this year's Hajj I wish them all a safe return back home.

In conclusion I once more send my sincere greetings to our Muslim sisters and brothers and non-Muslims alike, and wish everybody a happy Sallah.

PART X

THE MEDIA

PART X
THE MEDIA

MEDIA IN NIGERIA

Address to Members of NUJ
January 20, 1986

I am honoured by the opportunity to address this distinguished group and would like to seize this occasion to parley with you on the role of the media in Nigeria today.

Let me begin by congratulating you and the National Union of Journalists on the successful outcome of your recent convention. I am impressed by the conduct of the proceedings: in particular, the cordial and mature atmosphere which prevailed before, during and after the convention. By this conduct you may well have begun to justify the popular description of yourselves as the Fourth Estate of the realm. Indeed, you begun to justify your confidence in the capacity of the media to rise to the standards necessary for the fulfilment of its true mission in our society. The mission, I believe, assumes a certain standard of personal account and knowledge which should put you in a position to act as the barometer and articulator of public opinion, the link between government and people as well as an important part of the checks and balances for the orderly conduct of public affairs. When you achieve this standard as well as, if and when your activities remain conducive to the achievement of the maximum national good, you will have fully justified our confidence which led to the abrogation of Decree No. 4.

The basis of such confidence in the past is not far to seek. In those days, the giants of the media and the political leadership were intrisincally locked together in the struggle for the emacipation of our country from colonial rule. Coincidentally, the media giants and the nationalist leaders were also one and the same persons. It is a matter of record, indeed a source of pride to you, that your founding fathers rank high among our national heroes. They have become the most useful of our citizens in many facets of our national life, be it in government and administration, industry and commerce. To this day, media giants have ranked among our most valued citizens. The media has also distinguished itself as a major nationalist force during our civil war. It is a most critical period of our history. It was a period when forces, local as well as foreign, were mobilised to destroy our fatherland and the hopes of the black peoples of the world. Following the successful outcome of the war, the media was most helpful in promoting the correct attitude towards reconciliation, rehabilitation and reconstruction. Its activities made it a lot easier to heal the wounds of the civil war.

In more recent times, I am equally impressed with the campaign of the press against some of those developments which have threatened our well-being as a nation. It is a matter of satisfaction that the media have maintained watchful eyes on the conduct of public men, private persons and organisations, both Nigerians and foreign, who have done damage to our national economic well-being and to our public morality. The same watchfulness has been maintained and been given to the position of Nigeria in Africa and international community. I wish to congratulate the media for the sustained support for our position concerning the struggle aginst colonialism and

racism in South Africa including Namibia. You have also maintained the correct perspectives on the Middle East question and in all the resolutions of the United Nations to which we and all members of the OAU are signatories.

In the current grim climate, the media have begun to move in the correct direction concerning the national economic question. The AFRC had noted a growing media awareness of the gravity of the heavy burdens that face the nation. There is also a growing consciousness of the sacrifice which the situation calls for, if we are to create a better tomorrow.

I have spoken in the past about the society I would want us to evolve. It is a society which has the capacity to sustain itself and survive even against the determined onslaught of its adversaries. It is a society that resolutely rejects anarchy arising from the sickness of body, spirit and mind; tne corruption of morals and manners and the decay of institutions. I would like to see us build a society which guarantees the individual, freedom of thoughts, speech and action, and protects society as a whole from threat to the security of persons, family and property. In such a society the individual should be free to seek and attain self-fulfilment within the limits of the law, while at the same time voluntarily subsuming self to the wider and greater claims of the overall good.

It is my belief that you have the capacity to see the situation correctly and to promote the right orientation and the correct attitude among the public as to what this administration and the nation must do. I am confident in our people and their ability to cope with the stifling economic situation. I have faith in our ability to, individually and collectively, weather the storm. I have confidence in the resilience of our economy and its capacity to adjust to meet the challenges of the time. It is not an easy task. It is a task that calls for total understanding of the present conditions as well as the relevant and genuine strategies of bailing ourselves out of the situation. We need to reawaken in our people a sense of pride in achievement, self-reliance and individual responsibility. We need to find pride in the things we make and produce. We need to discourage and spurn those habits, customs and tastes which have brought our economic life into this mess. We even need to rebuff those leaders and opinion makers, who by their habits and tastes, encourage us to live beyond our means. I wish to remind you, ladies and gentlemen, of the saying of the wise that if your ideas and actions consistently and persistently put you in difficulties and your purpose in jeopardy, then those ideas and actions must be wrong.

The grim economic situation which we face today are the bye-products of our wrong consumption habits, wrong policies and strategies which have made us extensively dependent on foreigners. We cannot continue to do so any longer. We have to join in the new national economic liberation.

In the task of the reorientation of the minds of our citizens in this recovery, there are welcome changes which should make the structural adjustments possible. There are today far more trained persons and professionals of higher level educaton in the media. They are knowledgeable about our present conditions and you could use that knowledge to educate and inform

our people accordingly. You should persistently increase the information and educative content of the media in order to enlighten our people. The use of cartoons has risen greatly, they should be put to better use to inform and direct our sense of responsibility. Since Maigani of the old "Nigerian Citizen" and "Totopioko" of old, the gossip columns and the strip cartoons have been developed into major instruments of information, satire and criticism. Most of them have been good and brilliant. If I were to play the role of Amebo the village gossiper, I would switch my focus to those essential virtues which are necessary for our national survival, rather than to those callous rumours that tend to bring confusion, cynicism and despair. As fellow travellers in this train, and as partners and friends, we must avoid confusion. For this reason, although there is a strong body of opinion which questions the abrogation of Decree No. 4, the Administration has neither reason to regret its decision nor intentions to bring it back. The successful outcome of the NUJ conference already indicates a good omen; it has already indicated that the burden of responsibility to maintain the highest standard of your profession is now entirely your problem.

Sometimes ago, one media practitioner was of the opinion that a visitor who reads a cross-section of Nigerian press will carry with him three clear but wrong conclusions. The first wrong conclusion is that the country as a whole must be sitting on a time bomb and is bound to explode any minute. The second wrong conclusion is that the media is at war either with itself or with the rest of society. The third wrong conclusion, is that nothing good ever happens and the entire nation is engaged in rape, armed robbery, fraud, ritual murder, smuggling, drug trafficking and incest. The portrait of our country is that of a society in a state of permanent and total tension and our national way of life is that of corruption, nepotism and idleness.

Sure the media are so central to public life that the most meticulous care and the highest scruples must be observed by all those in the profession. There is no doubt that the role of the media as watch-dog is indispensable to our campaign for public accountability and responsibility. Apart from this, we are also concerned that objectives be attained within the context of justice, fair play and equal protection for all citizens under the law.

To a certain extent the media have a quasi-magistrate role than any other professional body. You are purveyors of information, you are moulders of opinion as well as judges of the time. I implore you to be custodians of the food of society, the barometer of national unity and security, the protector of its moral climate and the defenders of its interest. It behoves on you therefore to learn to distinguish between freedom and licence as regards the ethics of profession; selfish and narrow interest as opposed to broad interests of the nation. It is a distinction that calls for your fine sense of judgement and a noble commitment to the ideals of a good society and the overall welfare of our poeple.

Let me demonstrate the point. In the border crises between Nigeria and the Camerouns and the border clashes with Chad Republic, the Nigerian press reported everything in the tradition of the so-called free press. It gave

detailed and vivid descriptions of our preparations, troop movements and positions including the nature and type of arms which were deployed. It is doubtful whether this information, gleaned from our newspapers and other media, was in the interest of our national cause. As a comparison, only recently the British electronic media treated the Falklands War with Argentina as a spectator sport. You may have been misled by the amount of information that was made available to the world. It is however true that no one went to town with detailed reports of the preparation or the actual invasion until it had taken place. What is true of such situation is equally true of non-military situations which involve national interests and the well-being of society. As Nigeria moves into the next century and as we grapple with the enormous economic problems before us, we all have to accept a higher degree of responsibility to ourselves as individuals and to our country as citizens. I urge you to join this Administration to fight this war of national economic recovery. It is a war against those negative habits and customs: it is a war that calls for a re-orientation of societal values for the good of all.

In recognition of the trying conditions under which journalists cover the activities of the Presidency, this Administration has decided to build a modern Press Centre.

The Centre shall be adequately equipped to provide the essential commmunication for about 100 journalists. To this end, and in appreciation of the role of media towards the national economic recovery progrmme, it has further been decided to name the Centre after one of your founding fathers. I leave it to you to recommend an appropriate name for the Centre. You should also nominate and recommend someone to lay the foundation stone of the Centre.

Distinguished ladies and gentlemen of the media, this occasion is appropriate for dialogue because the nation is in a great difficulty. A new generation of Nigerians has no personal memory of the hardship which Nigeria went through in order to be free from colonial yoke. Many have taken for granted, because of the era of oil boom and its free-spending culture, the kind of sacrifice and the tradition of collective will and sense of direction which are essential for national survival.

I thank you for coming and I look forward to your positive contributions towards the enlightment and re-orientation of our people on the very hard choices facing our country. I also look forward to a more constructive role from you all in the ensuing debate of the national political question.

Thank you.

PART XI

YOUTHS AND SPORTS

IDENTIFY YOUR PERFORMANCE AND DISPOSITION

Address on the Occasion of the National Awards Ceremony for NYSC Members

December 10, 1985

I do not consider it out of place, nor do I think the audience before me will disagree if I begin this address by congratulating and extending my felicitations to our very special guests of today.

Our special guests today are the young men and women who, by exhibiting a determined sense of patriotism, by acting in accordance with the spirit of service to the nation, have qualified themselves as deserving recipients of the National Youth Service Corps Award.

Therefore, to the Distinguished Award Winners, I hereby express with deep sincerity, on behalf of the Federal Government and people of Nigeria, heartfelt congratulations.

Not too long ago in our history, our nation was in the process of overcoming the stress and strains of a just concluded civil war. One of the immediate steps that were considered necessary to facilitate a reunification of the country was the need to reintegrate our people. The Youth Corps scheme was on constitution borne of that imperative, and we must all rejoice that it has endured to this day. It is also worth recognizing that the scheme has made contributions to our national development to scopes beyond the original dimensions for which it was created.

In supporting this view, several examples abound. The services rendered by corps members has curtailed the damage that would otherwise have been caused by the rural to urban drift of the last decade. Young doctors and teachers, especially, need special mention in this regard. Network of lasting relationships began between corps members in the course of their service year have in no small measure assisted in building harmonious working relationships in both public institutions and private enterprises. Certainly, this has had its impact on our economic development efforts.

Many more tangible manifestations exist, but since I got my degree a long time ago, I do not suppose I need to seek for more marks by citing several many more examples to impress my lecturer!! However, I cannot end my enunciation of the contributions of the corps scheme without mention of a singularly significant effect, that of ethnic inter-marriages. The fact of young people meeting in the course of national service and deciding between them to continue it together even after the establishing Decree had freed them to go where they desire is most refreshing!

The record of achievements, therefore, in all sectors of national development — health,, education, agriculture, rural expansion and so on — left by successive members in various locations and communities where they served are proud legacies for the Nigerian youths.

At this point, my address will digress slightly from the Youth Corps

scheme to send a message to the existing generation of young men and women. Some of you have already completed your National Service, and to those in this category, I urge that in whatever you may be doing now, do not forget that National Service did not end with the collection of your certificates of discharge. If any thing, that certificate charges you to continue discharging loyal and dedicated service to Nigeria.

For those still in the Universities, Polytechnics, Colleges of Education and other institutions of higher learning, you are all requested to bear with the government in its determination to make conditions better for you. We all in the present administration are not unaware of the difficulties facing you in your efforts to become educated citizens. I urge you not to allow the existing economic constraints to deter you, march forward is your determination so you may one day perform your own duties to your country.

The future of this country, indeed of any country, depends upon the aspirations of its youth. This government is doing all that it can to provide an atmosphere within which your legitimate aspirations may be fulfilled. I call upon you to feel at home in any part of Nigeria. On our part, we shall ensure that the obstacles militating against ex-corps members, indeed including any category of Nigerian, from taking up permanent appointments in states other than their own are removed.

Unfortunately our nation is presently in a state of economic emergency, and one of the major reasons we find ourselves in such a state is the problem of unemployment. No doubt, you can all see the resolute efforts the government is making to alleviate this cankerwarm. However, government does not exist in a vacuum, it needs the support of all and sundry, including each and every one of you in the uphill task facing it.

The twenty-three (23) recipients from the twelfth (12) batch of the National Youth Service Corps who are being honoured today must see themselves as continuing in the service of the nation. More directly, you must receive your awards in a mood of satisfaction for your achievements, at the same time in a state of sober reflection. You must reflect on your service year and identify those aspects of your performance and disposition. You must then ask yourselves, "how come I, of all others that were serving with me, was chosen as a distinguished corper". Having identified and recognized the basis upon which your service was considered meritorious, you must then resolve to be guided by the same precepts and in the same spirit in your future endeavours.

Once again, accept on behalf of all Nigerians, our expression of pride in you all and our very best wishes for your continued success in life. Congratulations.

NYSC AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION

Address on the Occasion of the Passing-out Ceremony of the 13th Batch of NYSC Members
July 19, 1986

The ceremony today marks another milestone in the history of the National Youth Service Corps. At the conclusion of this passing out ceremony, the nation, through the Youth Service Corps, will have registered a brigade of some 260,000 youths who have been duly oriented to lift up Nigeria into bright horizons of modern nationhood. Your orientation should ensure that nation makes positive efforts towards socio-economic and technological upliftment. Indeed, the 13 years of the scheme has been a positive experience in nation-building by harnessing the immense energies and potentialities of our youthful generation. The participants in this scheme should therefore feel delighted and proud that they have been priviledge to serve the nation.

At this point, I would like to seize this opportunity to salute the founding fathers, whose imaginativeness and foresight, crystallized in the birth of this noble national scheme. We also recognize the efforts of the pioneers of the scheme as well as those who strive to loyally and conscientiously serve to keep the spirit behind the scheme going, despite the dent that the image of the NYSC suffered not quite long ago. As you are all aware, the National Service Corps was created to serve as a catalyst and vehicle in the process of national integration.

Today, it remains an important institution for re-directing and utilising our abundant material resources towards better and positive nation building. Infact, members of the NYSC are still much sought after in local communities and their services are in greater demand for the good health of our society. I am proud to say that the individual and corporate activities of your members have helped to boost the national economy. Apart from the fact that Corps members have been contributing to the development of games and sports in their various state of deployment, I am aware that many secondary schools would also have closed down for lack of instructors but for the patriotic presence and dedicated services of NYSC members.

The contributions of the corps towards our health-care delivery system is by now a familiar matter. It is the case today that several health centres, clinics and hospitals, notably those situated in rural areas and, particularly in areas with difficult terrains, would have been left unmanned and unattended to except for the presence of corps doctors and other health personnel. Your contribution to the rural dwellers as well as your legal aid services to the poor are matters of which every corps member should be proud. You have not only opened up many villages through access roads, culverts and bridges but you have brought joy to other communities through the construction of Amusement parks, motor parks, civic centres and market stalls.

Those of you, who are passing out today, must have felt distressed, like all of us, by recent happening in our institution of higher learning: In particular the tragic but unfortunate deaths of some of our youths. I wish

to seize this opportunity to appeal to both the students and staff of these institutions to put behind them the events of the recent past as well as guard against similar occurrences in future. I urge all of you to brace up to the task of fending for our corporate existence.

This is the time for the nation to harness all our resources to refurbish our battered economy, implant strong pilliars of social justice as well as create a healthy culture. This administration recognizes the immense potentialities of the youth in our efforts to build a united, stable and self-reliant nation. It is against this background that we solicit and welcome your participation and contributions in the evolution and execution of our programme.

As you are already aware members of the National Youth Serrvice Corps are involved in the monitoring of Government Projects at the local government level. Under the newly established Directorate of Food, Roads, and Rural Infrastructure, we also intend to generate more employment opportunities by creating jobs at the grassroots. This is part of the reason for the new direction in your community development programme. Agriculture remains the kingpin of our economic survival; as such the large hectarages of land acquired by the NYSC in all states of the Federation are intended to engage corpers in commercial farming in order to enable them contribute more visibly and directly to the national economy.

It is also intended to acquint your members with the tools of agricultural management and entrepreneurship in order to be able to embark on viable self-employment projects at the end of your national service. If we are to survive as a nation, we must learn to take our destiny in our hands. We must lay the foundation by emphasising the development of Agriculture. Hence, the restructuring of our economy has placed greater emphasis on agriculture and the establishment of agro-based industries. We shall also continue to pursue a policy of incentives in this sector which would give increasing opportunities for self-employment.

Given your exposure and experience over the last twelve months, you are now better equipped to face the task ahead. You should face the future with hope and determination to rescue the nation from its ailment. You should see yourself as part of the vanguard that give pride to Nigeria. The theme and the new direction of War Against Indiscipline is to emphasise the need for both Patriotism and Economic Recovery. We have to take pride in what we make and, above everything else, we must use what we grow and make to get what we require to survive as a nation. Thus, one of the cardinal components of the National Orientation Movement (NOM) is the need for Youth Service.

It is hoped that our youths will rise up to the challenge in this mobilization package. We must inculcate in all strata of our society the attributes of patriotism, discipline and self-reliance. Your mission, as you go into the wider society, is to succeed. You must be determined and, with the courage that has seen you through difficulties in this past year, you should succeed. I am confident that you will conquer. Be not afraid of or be discouraged by the first wavering steps. It is your determined personal and collective efforts that will ultimately help to uplift Nigeria to greater heights.

As you leave the confines of the National Youth Service Corps, you will be joining the mainstream of a world which is becoming more and more complex each day. It is a world where self-reliance remains the watchword. Nigeria is part of the world scene: She is neither completely rid of the unpatriotic elements nor economic saboteurs. She even harbours a few individuals who continue to debase the moral values of our youths for their selfish ends. You must refuse to be associated with such individuals whose ultimate aim is to destabilise your country. You must remain and continue to be good ambassadors of this noble scheme and its most laudable objectives. On our part, the Federal Military Government shall continue to give you support and guidance in your honest ventures.

STUDENTS MUST SHUN VIOLENCE

Address while Accepting the Report of Commission of Inquiry into the ABU Students Crisis
June 23, 1986

I thank you, Mr. Chairman, and Members of your Commission for submitting so soon the Report of your Inquiry into the tragic incidents at the Ahmadu Bello University in May, 1986. Your Commission was inaugurated exactly four weeks ago in this very chamber and there can be no doubt that you must have all worked yourselves flat out to be able to present your findings and recommendations to me today on that unfortunate occurrence.

I am very grateful to you all and, I believe, the whole nation also is grateful to you all.

When your Commission was inaugurated with the specific terms of reference to investigate the causes of and remedies to that tragedy, the nation was still reeling under the shock of what happened. We were also all very anxious because no one was certain in what way and to what dimensions the crisis would develop. But the portends did not appear favourable, because we had lived through that terrible experience before, in 1978.

As it turned out, our forebodings were well founded. The crisis spread rapidly and, within a few days, engulfed nearly all of our higher institutions of learning and spilled over to affect the whole nation through the activities of unpatriotic elements and organisations. National security became gravely threatened and the Federal Military Government had to take a decisive action to control the situation. Some of the steps we had to take, like the preventive custody of some particularly intransigent people, were none-too-pleasant to us, but had to be done nevertheless. No responsible government will stand aside while mischievous elements undermine it and society.

We thank God that, although our higher education industry is virtually at a standstill right now, peace and calm have been restored to the nation. The appointment of your Commission, and the businesslike way you took up your assignment, in spite of all odds, contributed in no small measure to the restoration of normalcy.

It is with the foregoing in mind, that I express my appreciation for the dedication shown by you, Mr. Chairman, and all serving members of your Panel. There is no doubt that the wider context of the crisis we have just scaled over will be better understood, and assailed more speedily, when we have the full details and nuances of the origin of it all. It is, therefore, with considerable relief and expectation that I receive your report today.

All the same, it is a pity that our higher educational institutions sho be closed at this time. This is due entirely to the way and manner the students went about expressing their sympathies for and solidarity with their colleagues at the Ahmadu Bello University.

Sympathy and solidarity are noble human attributes, but the way the students expressed these in our various institutions of learning, with considerable lawlessness and violence, left much to be desired. Events in some of

the sympathising institutions were almost as tragic as those in the ABU. That is no way to express sympathy and solidarity and I, once more, call upon our students to shun the path of violence and lawlessness, both of which tend to discredit us a:people and cast a shadow of gloom over the future of our society. Students, as their name states, are to study, to learn and to be trained for careers, for service to the society as good citizens and as potential leaders.

Right now, they cannot do any of those things because their various institutions are close down. I hope that your recommendations, Mr. Chairman, will contribute towards an early resolution of the outstanding issues in the crisis, so that we can consider reopening our higher institutions of learning and resuming the academic process soonest.

Your report and its recommendations will be considered with the greatest dispatch and with a sharp sense of justice without fear or favour. We did promise the nation that there will be no cover up, and there will be none. As a matter of fact, we shall try to learn as much as possible, and as speedily as possible, of the events in the other institutions and deal with the findings with similar dispatch and firmness. In all these, we never overlook the importance of taking the key decisions that will touch on the many issues that together combine to precipitate the periodic violent eruptions in our higher institutions of learning. It is time the issues were boldly tackled once and for all to the best of our ability.

The best way we can demonstrate real appreciation for your dedicated hardwork is to seriously consider your recommendations and to implement those of them that we accept as fully as possible, in the wider interest of our country. Whatever happens, your work is a significant contribution to the solution of our acute problems at this time and nation owes you an enormous debt of gratitude for your dedication, commitment, and sacrifice.

I thank you all very much and am profoundly moved to receive the Report of your Commission of Inquiry into the unpleasant incidents that occurred in the Ahmadu Bello University in May, 1986.

YOUTH – THE BEDROCK OF NATION BUILDING

Address on Children and Youth Day May 27, 1986

As we celebrate the 1986 Children and Youth Day, I would like to express, on behalf of the Federal Military Government our heartiest greetings and felicitations to you all. As you know, the Federal Military Government has great hope and confidence in our youth as a bedrock for building a more united, strong and economically virile Nigeria for tomorrow.

For this year's celebration, the theme is "Our youth as instruments of peace and progress". This theme is in consonance with the declaration by the United Nations, of 1986 as the International Year of Peace. It also highlights the importance of peace as a condition for development in any given society.

As you are all aware, we are members of a single individuals and indestructible nation. While our nation is a multi-ethnic community, the cultural similarities that bind us together are more important than those diversities which divide us. Culture is not in – born but is received from society. It is the policy of this Government to rear our youths in an environment in which these common cultural characteristics are emphasised. I therefore use this occasion to urge members of the mass media, artists, creative writers and teachers to use their institutions and their creative talents to socialise our youths, and inculcate in them the love and unity of our fatherland, in order to create and develop more respect for our cultural values, more tolerance for our peculiar cultures and more sensitivity to one another's feelings.

In this task, we appeal to parents and religious leaders to carry out the crusade of socialisation in order to facilitate the emergence of healthy, energetic, and dynamic leaders for the future. I therefore appeal to your sense of national loyalty and commitment to our fatherland. This can best be demonstrated through our words and actions in accordance with our national pledge.

In pursuit of these objectives, the policy of the Federal Military Government is to encourage programmes which will promote the health and welfare of our children. Among such programmes may be included the following examples:

(i) the Expanded Programme on Immunization (EPI).
(ii) the provision of primary health facilities.
(iii) the provision of water and sanitation programmes which are being vigorously executed, with the assistance of the United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF), and the World Health Organisation (WHO).

As a testimony of this Government's commitment to ensuring a healthy, peaceful and suitable environment for our children, a national child welfare policy is being prepared to accord with the rights of the child as approved by the United Nations. No doubt, the ultimate success of this policy will depend largely on the goodwill and co-operation of every Nigerian.

There is no doubt that Nigerian youth have contributed over the years

to the achievement of peace and unity in our country through participation in the National Youth Service Corps and other related programmes. These programmes have brought together the youths of our diverse ethnic groups to work in States other than their own to promote cordial relationship amongst our people. They have also helped to minimise the negative stereotype conception held by our various communities about one another.

Recognising that the greatest bulk of our population live in the rural areas, and the important roles our youth can play in developing and transforming these rural areas into better places to live, this Administration decided to create the Directorate of Food, Roads, and Rural Infrastructures so that our rural population can also benefit from the amenities being enjoyed mainly in the cities. It is our belief that the Directorate's programmes will not only make rural areas more attractive for settlement, but will also encourage our young people to take up agriculture as a viable occupation. In essence, urban areas will subsequently be decongested.

Before I conclude this message to our youths, I must re-state that the Federal Military Government has been greatly disturbed by the news of the unfortunate incidents at the Ahmadu Bello University, the Government Science Secondary School, Hong, in Gongola State, and the University of Lagos.

I wish to seize this opportunity to send my sincere condolences, on behalf of the Federal Military Government, to all families, relatives and friends of the students who lost their lives as a result of the violent clash between the students of Ahmadu Bello University and the law enforcement agencies. It was indeed a most unfortunate incident. As you already know, the Federal Military Government has appointed a high-powered Commission of Inquiry to look into the causes of the incident at Ahmadu Bello University. I therefore wish to appeal to all concerned, particularly our students and families of the dead students to be calm and maintain peace in the interest of all of us.

My dear young ones, let this occasion be used for reflection on our society's problems, and let us resolve to dedicate our energies to solving them and creating a better society which will be a pride to generations to come. May God guide us all to build a nation where peace and justice will always reign.

TRAINING FOR GREATER HEIGHTS

Address at Opening Cerernony of 6tn National Sports Festival, Ilorin
December 14, 1985

This is the sixth in the series of National Sports Festivals which have brought together the very best of our athletes from all over Nigeria to compete with each other in their different events, and help to forge and to strengthen the bonds which build sportsmen and women the world over. It also happens to be taking place under a series of coincidences. This occasion would be important enough without these coincidences, but their existence make our presence here even more significant.

Indeed my decision to be here in person to inaugurate the occasion is owed partly to the added significance of this particular National Sports Festival, notwithstanding my personal interests in sports; and my administration's determination that Nigeria shall make significant contributions to world achievement in the field of sports, no less than in everything else we do.

The Festival is taking place some 25 years since we gained independence and entered the international sports arena in our own right. Before that occasion our athletes had done honour to our nation, to the African continent and to the world of sports in the Commonwealth Games.

The name of Nigeria had also exploded on the world with the spectacular performance of Hogan Kid Bassey, World Featherweight Boxing Champion who was followed years later by the equally astounding exploits of Dick Tiger-World Middleweight Boxing Champion. Since that time, our sportsmen and women have won our national colours in the various international sporting arenas and brought us and themselves individually great distinction and world recognition. In both the Commonwealth and Olympic Games we have never returned without a medal. In the Inter African Games we have distinguished ourselves and proved keen competitors and many of our athletes have won fame and dominated various events.

We have won so many honours in the field of football at different levels; but perhaps our most memorable moments are associated with victories of the Senior Eaglets in the Inter-African Championships and above all the historic ascent of the World Golden Eagles in proving Nigeria the unbeatable footballing nation of the world at that level.

To these, must be added the innumerable occasions when the names of our best field and track athletes are called; and ranked; as the greatest threats to the world championship ambitions of those who have become household names all over the world. I have in mind; those of our athletes who top the score boards in the various sporting events in the United States of America and else where; those who have made break throughs to world class in such indoor games as table tennis and others; while in the professional world of Lawn tennis; we remember with pride the sensational appearance of Nigeria as a realistic contender for the coveted Wimbledon title.

We are, as a nation, entitled to a great deal of pride in the achievements of our sportsmen and women over the years for the honour done to us as a

nation by their successes. It would have been enough that we were able only to compete, and to show our national flag, but the world of sports has moved much further away from the old view that winning was not the thing, but taking part. In this sense, our achievements, the expansion in expenditure and facilities in the sporting sector and devotion and care shown by our various States and National Sports Commissions notwithstanding, we have yet to attain the level of achievement justified by our size and prominence in the African continent and in the international community.

In the great sporting nations of the world, sports is no longer a casual affair but an industry. Concern for the appropriate level of expenditure devoted to sports is as high as for expenditure in the essential services and defence. Those who make a profession and a career in the production of athletes of the highest standards, approach their work with as much devotion and commitment as those who toil in the laboratories of the industries which specialise in the production of the finest precision tools. A vast amount of new science in training, psychological conditioning and field tactics concerning each competitive sport has been developed. They, athletes and trainers, work as hard as if winning and excellence, even without winning, are a matter of personal and national honour. Training is no longe a week-end activity but takes the whole of the athletes' time; and the programme is carefully related to all forthcoming competitive occasions in a precise and co-ordinated way. The selection of talent and the development of potential world beaters start early, so that the athlete is exposed consistently, fashion to a cult of the disciplined pursuit of excellence and victory throughout his sporting life. This is so because, the dividends for the nations concerned are high. Victory, especially spectacular victory in the sporting field, gives a nation today as high a status as the most dazzling achievement in diplomacy. After all, the world loves a winner.

I am aware that the level of development and the availability of high standard equipment and modern facilities contributes much to the athlete's work in those nations. I am also aware of the co-incidence of the sixth National Sports Festival with conditions of serious economic emergency. The condition under which other sectors of our national life will have to do their work will naturally be much the same for the sports sector. Nonetheless, talent is always at its best when it faces serious challenge. In this sector, as in others, I invite our athletes and the sports authorities to be like the good soldier – 'when facilities are short use your natural gifts.'

This statement notwithstanding however, I wish to assure you that my Administration will ensure that as much resources and facilities are made available to ensure that we attain the highest standards and rank with the best in the world. We are also determined that our various sporting authorities cultivate a new spirit and emulate the example of the greatest sporting nations of the world in the areas to which I made reference. In particular, I would like to see a more business like approach to training, and preparation for competitions. The athlete should not be invited to camp a week, a month or even two months only before he is exposed in the arena.

The original idea of sporting occasions of course is not the game but the

bonds of human relationship and affection which grow from greater knowledge and contact with each other. The National Sports Festivals are in this sense one of most important and indispensable avenues for the forging of that unity which we all crave and deserve.

Over the six years since the first Festival, we have reaped huge benefits from the event, through the discovering of new talent, the inculcation of the right attitude to training and greater awareness of our potential in sports as well as in other spheres. I expect the Sixth National Sports Festival to maintain and enhance this tradition.

I wish you all very goodluck and congratulate the States and the National Sports Commissions for organising this event and thank the people and Government of Kwara State for hosting this important national event.

PART XII

PERSONALITY

RECOGNITION TO SERVICES

PART XII

PERSONALITY

RECOGNITION TO SERVICES

Address at Conferment of 1985 National Merit Award on Dr. T.A. Aguda
October 2, 1985

The occasion of the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of Nigeria's freedom and independence from colonial rule presents a unique opportunity for Nigerians to reflect on the events of the past 25 years and determine what contribution, if any, they may have made to the development of the nation.

It is well known that the wealth of a nation derives not only from the human and material resources with which it is endowed but also from the energy and drive with which its citizens harness those resources. There is no doubt that although we have had a great many problems including political instability, a civil war, near economic collapse, corruption, etc., Nigeria has come through its first quarter century fairly well. This is because Nigerians have risen up to challenges. We must learn to consolidate our gains. We can only do so if we look to our past to enhance our vision of the future and if we pay deserving honour and tribute to those to whom it is due in acknowledgment of their contribution to national development.

Each generation produces its leaders of thought and ideas, men of action and achievements. It is to enable us to honour such persons in our midst that the Federal Military Government instituted the Nigerian National Merit Award in 1979 to accord proper and due recognition to men and women of character, vision and creativity, who have made unique and outstanding contribution to our national endeavours.

To ensure that the strict criteria involved in the selection of recipients for the award are maintained in spite of the vagaries of political changes, an independent and autonomous Board of Trustees was established. After the initial endowment from Government, private sector organisations and individuals, the Board is almost completely independent of governmental control. The Board determines whether it is expedient that an award be made. The Board is not obliged to make awards every year. If it decides to make an award, the President is requested to confer the Award on National Day.

On behalf of the Federal Military Government and the entire people of this country, I wish to express my sincere gratitude to the Board of Trustees for the mature way in which they have so far discharged the onerous responsibility entrusted to them by this nation.

Since its inception in 1979, 15 Nigerians have received this most coveted award. These fourteen men and one woman are representative of the excellence that every Nigerian can achieve in his chosen field of endeavour. They are in every sense symbols of excellence.

I am very pleased to perform the conferment today of the 1985 National Merit Award on another distinguished Nigerian who the Board of Trustees has adjudged worthy of recognition because of his unique contribution to Legal knowledge in this country and outside our borders. He is Dr. Timothy Akinola Aguda, OFR, who is at present the Director-General of the Nigerian Institute of Advanced Legal Studies. A courageous judge, a very brilliant man

with an unassuming mien and a humble dispositon, Dr. Akinola Aguda is a formidable legal luminary. Although he was for the most of his career a practising judge, yet his contributions to the legal field through research and writing dwarf those of many academicians in the University. His original contributions in the area of the procedure and practice of the law courts are unique and outstanding.

It is therefore, my pleasure and privilege to confer the Nigerian National Merit Award for 1985 on Dr. Timothy Akinola Aguda.

I congratulate you Dr. Akinola Aguda on your contribution to the knowledge of the Law. I hope that you will continue to give commendable and unalloyed service to our beloved nation.