

COVER: Shehu Musa Yar'Adua is a soldier turned politician. As a soldier he knew how to carry his troops to war front without losing a single soul. The feat, not attributable to his military prowess or fervour but to his inexhaustible tactical abilities.

Musa thinks without good, solid financial base, influence especially in politics will be a farce and so he ventured into business. The success in business is not due to his darting all over the world but his enterprising and business wizardry.

Yar'Adua as a politician wields power, has money and commands respect. He is a political percolator in the political sand of Nigeria. Musa is a kingmaker. He is a great political schemer, strategist and tactician. No other person is more powerful and influential politically as he is: Whoever gets his blessing gets victory and smiles away with success, whoever gets his wrath, his frown gets cursed, loses everything.

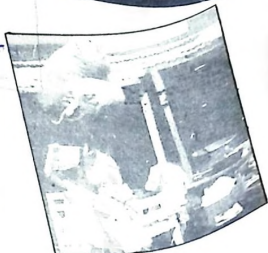
Musa is no doubt the most single powerful politician who has himself in his own power. A political power broker who possesses organising and executive ability in deciding quickly and getting somebody at the right time, in the right place, and in the right way to do the right thing for him. His political accuracy surpasses any intelligent sage. His political admiration transcends religious bounds, ethnic chauvinism and geo-political divide.

Breaking Musa's influence is an herculean task, a feat that seems impossible, at least for now. All hail political bulldozer, political builder and destroyer, maker and spoiler.

.....
Professor Anya O. Anya is a distinguished, world acclaimed scholar. A genius in the field of science. He combines scholarly erudition with political economy philosophy. The National Merit Award winner is however, sad that Nigeria is still backward in scientific and technological development. He is sad that mediocres occupy vital positions and that explains why the country is still lagging behind. Over politicization of everything especially in education contributes in no small way to the nation's still-search for a direction. The reason academic guru believes is responsible for decay in educational system.

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World Bank boss

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EDITOR'S NOTE



It was after the SDP National Convention in Jos that we decided to do a story on Shehu Musa Yar'Adua. But we weren't going to write on Yar'Adua's powers or how he gradually became "General SDP."

After the convention, we felt it was time to present Yar'Adua in a different light. Like from Yar'Adua the all powerful to Yar'Adua the loser.

We had our reasons. For the first time since the retired army Major General floated the defunct People's Front, PF, which along with the defunct PSP gave birth to SDP, Yar'Adua lost an election — in Jos.

His candidate, Abubakar Anku, lost the presidential primaries to MKO Abiola and Baba Gana Kingibe. That was humiliating to the Yar'Adua group which to save its face, quickly backed Abiola to win.

Now, we felt that with Anku's defeat, time was ripe to do a story on the neutralization of the Yar'Adua factor.

But Yar'Adua spoilt our story when he bounced back at the reconvened SDP Convention in Abuja, installing virtually every member of the New SDP National Executive, thus getting himself firmly in a position where he would have everybody grovelling before him.

In Abuja, Yar'Adua humiliated the Kingibe group, the Nzeribe group, eleven governors, buried the PSP faction and forced Abiola to support his (Yar'Adua's) candidate for chairmanship.

The question, however, is for how long will the Yar'Adua power endure in SDP? Is Yar'Adua's much flaunted power helpful

or destructive to the SDP? What implication does the Yar'Adua power have for the Abiola presidential ticket? What is Yar'Adua scheming?

Our impressive **Yusuph Olaniyonu** has a low-down on all these here for you. Politics never reads so sweet.

Now, there also this. While MKO Abiola is being delayed by the Yar'Adua factor from picking a running mate, NRC's Bashir Tofa has cleverly picked an economist of the first order, Sylvester Ugoh, as his running mate. Here, we give you a portrait of Ugoh and what he feels about his ticket.

Have a fun-filled week.

Comfort Obi

by the Hausa/Fulani to conflicts elsewhere ought to be regarded as ethnic, namely Hausa/Fulani versus all other ethnic groups. So how does the religious flavour come into the conflicts and why don't retaliations take place in say, Igbo, Yoruba, or Tiv land when their kith and kin are being attacked in say, Zaria, Bauchi and Kano?

The Hausa/Fulani can be said to be the only ethnic group who treat its own kith and kin as outcasts if they profess faith other than Islam. Hausa/Fulani who profess traditional Hausa religions are even called by a different name, namely, Maguzawa. At the same time the Hausa/Fulani can also be said to be the only ethnic group who treat and regard the non-Hausa/Fulani who profess the Islamic faith as non-Muslim or at best muslim of lesser ranks or counterfeits.

If we insist on freedom of religion then the only way out of religious and ethnic conflicts is for all to be tolerant of all religions, foreign and domestic, as well as for all to respect all our fellow Nigerians and treat them not only as equals but as brothers and sisters.

unrestrained jubilation today as news of your victory at the SDP Congress was received.

We do not consider this victory a vindication of our unreserved support for your candidature, support which is unprecedented in the history of PMAN.

We would only be vindicated when you take office and work like never before to put hope in the eyes of our teeming poor who are hopeless; in our compassion in the hearts of our many rich who sometimes act like they are heartless; break down the walls that exist between the North and the South, the Christians and Muslims, the Minority and Majority.

When the incredible latent energy of our countrymen is released, and we are no longer scared that we will soon need a basketful of Naira to buy just a Dollar, and one can get a good day's pay for doing a good day's job in Nigeria, then Nigerians will walk tall in every Country of the World - then can we look the doubting Thomases in the face and say - didn't we tell you?

Tony Okoraji
PMAN President.

Refutal

I WRITE to express my utter embarrassment and disappointment over the publication captioned "CORRUPTION SHAKES NIGERIA PORTS PLC", which appeared on page 44 of the Sunday Magazine Vol 6 No. 27 March, 28, 1993 edition of your Weekly Magazine TSM, in which one of your Senior Correspondents, Mr. Obinna Nwachukwu credited me with some false and mischievous statements.

It is totally incorrect that I told Mr. Obinna Nwachukwu that "Chief Awoye's appointment as Managing Director was abnormal because it ran contrary to civil service structure which emphasises upliftment on the basis of position."

I did say to Mr. Obinna Nwachukwu that the relationship between the Union and the Management was cordial under the administration of Chief A. Awoye. And that the Managing Director took care of staff welfare and never paid salary late in preference to contractors.

**Congratulations,
M.K.O.**

PMAN Headquarters was a scene of

Speakout



Lekwot, Justice & National Stability

DEAR Sir,

The first observation is that not all ethnic/communal conflicts in Nigeria have been turned into religious conflicts. A case in point is the Tiv/Jukun conflict in Taraba State.

The second observation is that not all ethnic conflicts have spread to the traditional heartland of the ethnic groups involved. For example, the Tiv/Jukun conflict never reached Gboko or Wukari. Also the recent Funtua conflict did not spread outside Funtua although, it should be noted that while the former was a bonafide ethnic conflict, the later started out more or less as strictly religious.

On the other hand, virtually all ethnic conflicts elsewhere involving the Hausa/Fulani have spread to their heartlands. For example, the Tafawa Balewa and Zango Katak conflicts led to retaliations against all non-Hausa/Fulani irrespective of their religious affiliation in Bauchi and Zaria respectively. Both Christian and Muslim. Yorubas, Igbos, Igalas, Tivs, Efiks, Ogiris, Idomas etc. all of them innocent and without provoking anyone, became targets. On the surface, therefore, it would appear that retaliations

Adedele Omo-Alaperu

Abia, not God's own State

THE strained relationship between Abia State civil servants, mostly the juniors and the state government over the implementation of the 45% interim salary is an unwelcome development. The state could be the most dangerous if all the acts of harassment or molestation and cheating of the grassroots work force is uncontrolled and will constitute an assault on the public service's right to decent life and self respect.

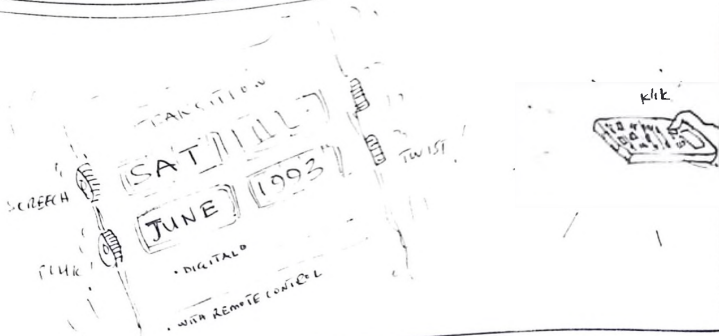
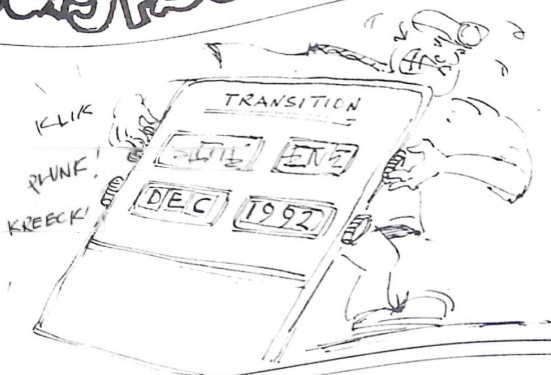
The duty of Governor Onu and of every honest adviser in Abia is to strive for socio-political stability of the Third Republic and peace in Abia State.

The workers' leaders had remarkably, played a double standard in the representation of junior workers who are more involved in doing the work and more affected by the economic condition.

Izoma Joe N.K. Oguikike.

by emkay

Apocalypse[®]



©emkay '93

More death at the graveyard

19 blacks died via gun shots during the burial of Chris Hani in Boksburg.

No immediate arrest was made but South African police said they were investigating the motive for the attack and offered a 250,000 rand (\$80,000) reward for information leading to the arrest of the killers.

Angry black youths vowed vengeance for the massacre of nine-teen saying they knew who was responsible but the police would not act.

One billion US dollars for Nigeria

NIGERIA will be \$1 bn richer if the on-going negotiations between Nigeria and the International Monetary Fund, (IMF) succeed under the Enhanced Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF).

The facility which will be available at one percent interest rate is a concessional scheme to help low-income countries which have protracted balance of payment problems. Nigeria's chances of enjoying the ESAF, is however, dependent on how well the nation implements a medium-term economic programme being prepared for the country by the IMF and the World Bank.

The programme which will be similar to the Rolling Plan would cover the period 1993-96, setting broad targets, which must be clearly adhered to. If an agreement is reached on the medium-term programme, it would serve as IMF's clean bill of health which in turn, would open the doors for Nigeria's debt relief consideration from the international creditors.

MPs appoint chairmen

THE House of Representatives appointed chairmen of the committees on foreign Affairs, petroleum and mineral resources when it resumed sitting last Tuesday after a prolonged recess. Messrs Anu Ajose and Ibiloro Ibiama, emerged as the chairmen of the House of Representatives committees on foreign and petroleum and mineral resources respectively.

Messrs Abdulkarim Mayana and Idris Abubakar were appointed as deputy chairmen to Messrs Ajose

(from Ogun State) and Iblama (from River State). Those who are also appointed as committee chairmen and their deputies are: Dr. Chidia Madukwe, defence chairman and Mudasinu Sekoni as deputy; Messrs Kashim Umar Ibrahim and Ncubeze Patrick, works and housing, Jude Okezie and Abdulrahman Bobboi, Abdu Yandoma for industries, Sam Ehigwe for international affairs, Abiche Adole and Umar Abdullahi for labour and productivity.

Others are Messrs Ahmed Abdulhamid Maidori and Udo Macus Akpan (agriculture), Messrs Edward Gamba and Shehu Labaran (education).

Mr. Jerimore Manwe Samuel and Mr. Orji Kalu Uzor, (finance and economic development) while Messrs Amos Dashe and Felix Mgbada are in charge of (Judiciary); Mr. Joseph Ajayi and Mr. M.A. Zalabi, (power and steel); Messrs Jack Etuludo and Umar Mustapha (public service matters), Messrs Emmanuel Ibechi and Ndanusa Salihu for banking and currency.

News Round-up

and dumped outside the high fence around the estate by the bandits whom family sources said fired sporadic shots into the air.

Impeachment in Niger, Anambra Houses

NIGER State House of Assembly members have impeached all the principal officers of the House for their "untidy romance" with the executive arm of the state government. Also impeached were Jibrin Towasha, his deputy, Adamu Hassan Paiko and the majority leader, Nasiru Abdullahi. Affected too were John Adamu (minority leader) and Ahmed Ishaku (minority whip). 29 out of the state 38 legislators endorsed the impeachment while the new officers of the house were immediately sworn in.

In a related development Anambra State House of Assembly members favoured impeachment of the Speaker of the House. In Awka securitymen were drafted to strategic places in the state capital as tension heightened following last Friday's purported impeachment of the speaker of the state of Assembly.

IMF, World Bank officials bent on subsidy removal

IMF / World Bank team pressed for a withdrawal of the subsidy before they could release money to fund public utilities and invest in productive sectors. In a heated debate on the economy especially the proposed withdrawal of subsidy on petroleum products, between government, IMF and World Bank officials, at the Federal Ministry of Finance in Abuja, the team was also displeased at records of public expenditure which it said was high while there were inadequate sources of raising revenue to sustain the economy.

Besides, the team made a case for more cuts in public expenditure through removing subsidies on certain yielding products such as fertilizer to make the economic expenditure viable. They equally urged the government to pursue vigorously, a value-added tax to raise more revenue. Although they are



believed to be sympathetic to Nigeria's quest for debt relief from the Paris Club, they stuck to their guns on the impossibility of granting such relief. Their reason being poor implementation of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) especially government's extra-budgetary spending and recurring budget deficits.

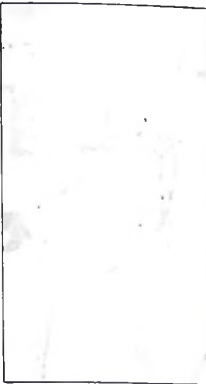
Conference on Reparations coming up

THE first Pan African Conference on Reparations, to take place in Abuja, will focus on experience of enslavement, colonialism and other problems facing people of African descent, and proffering solutions for them.

The historic event, slated for 27 to 29 April, this year, is being hosted by the President Ibrahim Babangida and members of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU's) Group of Eminent Persons. African Heads of States and distinguished guests are expected to grace the occasion. These include Nelson Mandela, Fidel Castro, Kofi Yamgnane of France, black caucus members from United States and British parliamentarians.

The three day conference will analyse the issue of reparations and its linkage to the African problem. It hinges on the principle that "a people who are wronged deserve compensation." The conference developed from the OAU Abuja Summit of June 1991 where resolutions on reparations were passed, requesting a comprehensive report to be presented to the OAU and the UN.

Compiled by
Kehinde Aremu



TOS Benson's house attacked

SEVEN armed bandits on Tuesday last week invaded the multi-million naira Benson Estate in Ikorodu, home of the first republic Information minister, Otunba T.O. Benson, carting away several highly valued items and an unspecified amount of money.

The two night guards on duty were overpowered, tortured, tied

YAR'ADUA:

How he survived "coup attempt"

- *Has taken over the Senate and majority of its key committees
- *The party exco is now in his pocket through his buddy, Aneih.
- *Insists on a Hausa-Fulani muslim veepee for Abiola.
- *Sees to the 'death' of rival PSP faction
- *Pushes Kingibe group into the background
- *Gets ready to take initiatives for Abiola campaign.
- *Solidifies his group with more South in SDP leaders.
- *Now in a position to make or mar the Abiola ticket.

All as part of his 1997 presidential race project

After an initial set back at the Jos convention, the Yar'Adua group has again stamped its authority in the SDP. But that raises the question! What is the game plan of Yar'Adua?

By Yusuph Olaniyonu
Yar'Adua...the SDP capon



ed a

NCE upon a time, there were two friends living in Warri, in the then Mid-Western region. The period was in the 1960s. One was a chubby looking policeman of the rank of superintendent and the other was a lanky army major.

The policeman was divisional police officer and the soldier, a battalion commander though the duo was not known to be trouble — courtiers, the soldier was more on the quiet lane while the policeman was reputed to be a tough cop in the Nigerian sense.

Today, the two, whose friendship later transcended the regimented job they had and later into joint business enterprises have become forces shaping events in the Social Democratic Party (SDP). Shehu Musa Yar'Adua, the retired major general and former Chief of Staff Supreme Headquarters in the Obasanjo regime and Anthony Anenih, a retired police deputy commissioner constitute a chip of the conservative bloc now in charge of the "little to the left" party.

The friends, as the election of Anenih in Abuja as the chairman of the SDP last week suggests, are now the pivots of the Yar'Adua group, formerly, known as the People's Front of Nigeria (PFN) faction of the SDP. In that group, Yar'Adua is the capon — the king-designate-turned-kingmaker, and Anenih is, in the parlance of the Sicilian mafia, the consigliere.

The short story is perhaps a mimeograph of how the Yar'Adua group evolved in the power calculus of the Third Republic. Now, Anenih's election as SDP leader has once again proved that Yar'Adua is perhaps SDP's equivalent of the Biblical ark that the Israelites were fond of taking to battle against their enemies as a sign of sure victory.

In Jos, the Yar'Adua group plotted a war strategy to capture the SDP ticket for one of its own, Abubakar Atiku, though in circumstances unacceptable to many of its strong members and as a consequence met with a failure. And for the first time it looked like the influence of that octopus was waning. In fact, the strong showing put up by Baba Gana Kingibe, described by a source close to the group as "the best product of the Yar'Adua group for any



MKO...the SDP presidential flagbearer into the 3rd Republic politics," even when it was clear he had fallen out of

favour with the group at the convention further demystified its level of influence. The emergence of Moshood Abiola as the winner at the Jos conference only after a coalition of interests within the party including the Yar'Adua group attested to the downward slope in the measure of the Yar'Adua group influence.

But with the victory in Abuja, the same place the group over shadowed its rival PSP faction in the SDP in 1990 when the first set of national executive members were elected, the Yar'Adua group has proved that its bad days have terminated. It has bounced back.

THE BEGINNING: But surprisingly whatever capabilities, influence or credit of one man, its leader Shehu Musa Yar'Adua. A man who is about the most praised and maligned politician in the emerging Third Republic, Yar'Adua has proved that he is the issue in the SDP. A soldier son of the issue in the Republic minister, the Katsina born came into the nation's reckoning through his role in the military coup that threw Yakubu Gowon out of power in 1975 and brought Murtala on the

saddle, to a politician of immense stature.

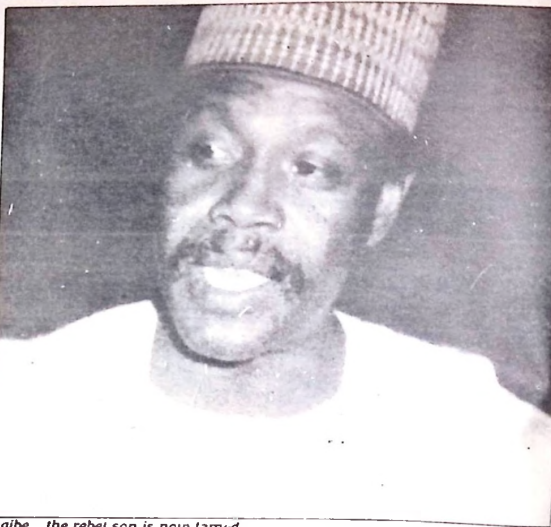
Described by his most trusted political allies and former colleagues in the army as "a schemer of the highest order", Yar'Adua looks like a man who has spent his life preparing for the role he now plays. As a soldier couched the gentle, quiet but active mode of father, Yar'Adua has over the years cultivated friendship across the country. His relationship with Anenih when the two were middle level officers presented a perfect example. His ability build a corps of loyal acolytes became more pronounced when the death of Murtala threw him up as the man necessary to use in placating the Hausa-Fulani tribe in the power coalition. Then, man like Kingibe who was redeployed from the Nigeria High Commission in Britain to the Supren Headquarter, flourished under his guide and generosity.

It was during that period that his relationship with Dele Cole, a discredited SDP presidential aspirant and member of the Yar'Adua group commenced. Same with Yahaya Kwande retired ambassador, Abdul Aze Farouk, a medical doctor and Ango Adullahi, a professor and former vice-chancellor of the Ahmadu Bello University, all of whom are strong members of his political organisation. I

later left the ministry as a two Star general at the age of 36 years.

The first entry of Yar'Adua into politics was phenomenal. After his clash with the Kaduna mafia represented by Umaru Dikko who was opposed to his interest in the newly created position of Chief of Defence Staff created by the Shagari regime which he lost to Alani Akinrinade, Yar Adua started cutting the picture of an iconoclast. He led a group of young Northerners dissatisfied with the autocratic tendencies of the elders to declare public support for the presidential aspiration of Obafemi Awolowo, the leader of the defunct Unity Party of Nigeria. The group including Dattu Ahu led, a doctor and also disqualified SDP presidential aspirant and Muhammadu Kura (who later became Awo's running mate in 1983) made it look like what their progenitors like Joseph Tarka, Abubakar Imam and Patrick Dokotri failed to achieve in the First Republic was going to be possible afterall.

The rebellion made little impact in the voting pattern that returned the



Kingibe....the rebel son is now tamed

appeared into the thick wilderness of business to empower himself, as if realising that Nigerian future politics would belong to the man with the fluid strength of the Naira.

In the business world, many big enterprises in various strategic sectors of the economy followed. Habib Bank, African Ocean Lines, Sanbo farms, Mandara Farms (bought for over 22 million naira in 1988).

NICOTES oil exploration and drilling company, SWAN water and many other business endeavours in the Middle East and Europe. He later capped it by establishing the Nation House Press, publishers of the *Reporter* newspaper with printing equipment worth N15 million as at 1987. His interests in some of this businesses were represented by his political sons like Abubakar Atiku in NICOTES, Kingibe in Nation House and Yomi Edu in Habib Bank.

On the cultural sector, Yar'Adua's position included getting his father to relinquish his powerful position of *Tutidan Katsina* to him. The old man is now the *Mutawallin Katsina*. This preparation took him into taking active participation in the propagation of Islam in the country. He became the president of the Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs in Africa (SCIA) an organisation

which raised funds to build the monumental Abuja mosque. This further solidified his relationship to the Middle East Sheikhs who saw in him a remarkable business and cultural associate.

But then, since 1989 when Yar'Adua gathered his old friends and other new political accomplices to float a political association, The Peoples Front of Nigeria (PFN) which alongside 12 others applied to the National Electoral Commission (NEC) for registration as a political party, his political journey has been clustered with mines and dynamites. And on many occasions, his ultimate goal as an individual has been blown into smithereens

Before the Federal Government refused PFN registration and decreed two parties — the SDP and NRC into existence — Yar'Adua had in March 1987 made a public statement which confirmed his metamorphosis into a fullfledged politician ready to bid for the ultimate political post, the presidency.

"The regime in which I served as number two man was nice. Why do you think a member of that administration cannot get up and do something for this country? If the newbreed cannot get up to do something for the future

Here the trait that Okadigbo, a senator, mostly cherished in him became handy. Ability to identify strong political leaders across the nation, enlist their support and manage them. His humble and tactful disposition helped in this. That was how he got the strong man of Ibadan politics, Lamidi Adedibu who was taken in by his modest disposition when they were both detained at Epe in December 1991.

northern establishment candidate. Shehu Shagari as president. But it gave in inking into future developments that would come into the politics of that power region of Nigeria.

From that experience, Yar Adua dis-

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WHITHER THE IGBOS IN THE SDP?

"THEREFORE THE AUTHORS OF THIS PUBLICATION SHOULD KNOW THAT IF CHIEF MKO ABIOLA EMERGED WITHOUT THE EASTERN VOTES AS CANDIDATE, HE WILL BY THE DIVINE GRACE OF GOD EMERGE AS THE NEXT PRESIDENT OF THIS COUNTRY STILL WITHOUT THE VOTES FROM THE EASTERN STATES IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT CHIEF MKO ABIOLA HAS AWARDED SCHOLARSHIPS TO MANY NIGERIANS INCLUDING THE IGBOS WHO TODAY ARE ANTAGONISTIC TO HIM. IF THE TRUTH MUST BE TOLD, THE IGBOS HAVE HAD MORE THAN THEIR FAIR SHARE IN THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (SDP) BY GETTING THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IF SUPPORT MUST BE A YARDSTICK."

The above is an extract from a full page advertisement, in **The Guardian** on Sunday of April 18, 1993. placed by the Yoruba Supporters of Chief MKO Abiola in the SDP.

The inference is simple and obvious — the Yorubas say they do not need the IGBOS and have nothing to offer us.

They will not scratch our back, — the question is: shall we scratch their back in the presidential election?

This is the challenge the IGBO nation must face.

What have we gained from the SDP and what is in stock for us?

"Loyal concerned Igbo members of SDP."

of this country, why shouldn't the old ones do it," the complete cycle of a tactfully planned political journey was being unfolded.

But a ban by the Federal Government on holders of public office delayed his ambition a lot more.

Yar'Adua whose party the SDP has a concentration of progressives who saw in the party their natural homestead realised on time prior to the Abuja convention that he needed to double efforts if all his life long plans are not to come to nought.

So, he later decided to build an all weather political machine ready to hold its own against any rival organisation. Here the trait that Okadigbo, a senator, most cherished in him became handy. Ability to identify strong political leaders across the nation, enlist their support and manage them. His humble and tactful disposition helped in this. That was how he got the "strong man of Ibadan politics, Lamidi Adedibu who was taken in by his modest disposition when they were both detained at Epe in December 1991. His money did the magic in some other areas as politicians who have embarked on futile but expensive political efforts, sought solace in his fold for a recoup of their vitiated financial muscle. This made Adedibu to extol him as the man who "knows what he wants, who to approach and how to get it."

In his fold are men like Okechukwu Oduzce, newly elected SDP treasurer,

Titu Ajanaku, woman activist from Ogun State, Ango Abdullahi, SDP presidential flagbearer, Sunday Afolabi, Olatunji Mohammed, both former deputy governors of Oyo State, Dosu Ladipo, Osun State flagbearer, Dapo Sarumi, disqualified Lagos State governorship aspirant, Yomi Edu and than half of SDP senators as members. This puts it in a good stead to design the emergence of Iyorchia Ayu as the Senate President.

The group, a source said, operates as a wide network of strong people who are allowed considerable autonomy to reach decisions. This then means decisions are arrived at democratically. "Yar'Adua's technique at a meeting is usually to listen most of the time, contenting issues will emerge, he will see which directions the issues are going and then he finds consensus," a source said. And Okadigbo concurred. With this practice, members feel committed to the decision and work towards the implementation.

Yar'Adua also makes it a habit to keep in touch with members as a father always eager to hear from his sons.

His ability to respect the wishes of the group members was demonstrated during the build up to the national convention of the SDP in Jos. While it was clear Yar'Adua who had failed to run for the presidency courtesy of a disqualification by the government and

would prefer a trusted and loyal member of the group to get the ticket, he pandered to the wishes of the Western wing of the group that Abiola should be adopted as one of its official candidates. Similarly, he initially put in words for Kingibe to be on the list to satisfy old members like Mohammed Buhari, Maina Maaji Lawan, governor of Borno State and Yomi Edu who are close friends of Kingibe.

KINGIBE FACTOR: But the Jos convention put to test the solidarity of the Yar'Adua group and the result showed the group buckled under internal altercations. Infact, the period was the worst the group has undergone in the transition period. Worse than when its leader was disqualified last year. First under the much talked autonomy within the group, its western wing was ready to stand or fall with Abiola as the SDP's presidential candidate. Similarly, there are key members of the group who wanted Kingibe. Atiku remained the group's most loyal presidential aspirant from the north east zone to which SDP allotted one of the post of president or vice president alongside the western zone.

Though Yar'Adua himself preferred Atiku, there were serious discontents within the group against Kingibe who is perceived as a disloyal member all

Voters in action



the while. Kingibe's history within the group which made him the most prized politician after Yar'Adua was a long one.

At the 1990 convention, Kingibe was not in serious contention for the chairmanship of the SDP. Ango Abdullahi was PF's candidate. But compared with the rival PSP candidate, Mohammedu Arzika, Abdullahi was no match. In fact, the PSP immediately negotiated with the Yar'Adua group and raised the point of Abdullahi's bad reputation with Nigerian youths as a result of his tenure as vice chancellor of ABU. In PSP's calculation, after knocking out Abdullahi, the coast will be clear for their candidate to become a consensus candidate.

But Yar'Adua who Okadigbo said has his strength in his "ability to fish out strongmen and utilize their talents when he recognises these talents are useful" noticed that Kingibe's cloquence, amiable personality, genial disposition, guile and wit are the perfect formula to stop Arzika. The contest is now history as Kingibe later became SDP first chairman.

But after leading the party to victory in the 1990 Local Government elections, Kingibe saw in himself, a man destined to attain greater political heights. His appearance as an effective campaigner and the rousing reception accorded him across the country inspired his aspiration. He started scheming for the presidential seat.

This put him on different paths with Yar'Adua who was still hopeful that the ban preventing him from seeking elective position in the country would be lifted. And smart politician, Kingibe realised on time he needed to transform the advantages of the SDP chairmanship into a durable political platform capable of seeing him to the top in a possible clash with the Yar'Adua group in the future.

The gubernatorial primary elections of 1991 presented the right opportunity to create powerful loyalists.

So, while the PF had a list of candidates it would like to emerge, Kingibe worked to ensure that in the event of a clash of interests, his own wish prevailed. That was the case in Delta State where Isaac Ighofea the PF candidate was subverted for the incumbent governor, Felix Ibru to emerge. A similar case happened in Osun where Isiaka Adeleke defeated both the PSP and PF candidates. That was the case in Adamawa where Boss Mustapha lost because the PF (Atiku's supporters) failed to co-operate with a Kingibe choice.



Adedibu... extols Yar'Adua's virtues

That scenario allowed for PF to open up Kingibe to assault from other SDP members when the SDP could not repeat its winning streak in the December 1991 governorship election. Kingibe remained unperturbed. He later saw good solace in members of the national executive of the party.

The national executive of the party, the Using Yar'Adua's strategy of the money, appeasement and humility, he conquered even the most antagonistic members of the SDP national executive which included state chairmen.

Still, the emerging hole in the Yar'Adua group's wall represented was Kingibe's out of control position was covered with paper. The solid group which was having a free ride in the party after the systematic emasculation of the rival PSP which a source said committed political suicide "as a result of its naivety about power" was expected to move on like soldiers of the Lord for one purpose, that of electing Yar'Adua as SDP candidate in 1992.

But from the beginning, it was clear Kingibe was ready to dare the group. From January 1992, a shadowy group known as *The Stallion* was working on Kingibe to come out of his shell and run against Yar'Adua for the presidency. While Kingibe kept on denying his interest as he said "I am still happy being the party chairman", it took several months persuading him to endorse Yar'Adua.

At a point, Kingibe's dithering in supporting Yar'Adua was interpreted in the light of an expectation that he was hoping for a disqualification saga which might take Yar'Adua and others off the race and see him as the consensus candidate. In July 1992, a national executive meeting in Abuja became a strategy session in which Kingibe was

openly invited by Gbolade Osinowo, then and still, Ogun State SDP chairman to come out and be counted as the consensus candidate. The suggestion which was disclosed to reporters by Ishola Filani, an ex-officio member of the executives who was later appointed publicity secretary by Kingibe after the exit of David Iornen to contest the Senatorial race nearly tore the party into two. Other presidential aspirants became more hostile to the party chairman. Kingibe on his own insisted that he would not submit names of SDP presidential aspirants to NEC until he had an assurance that the aspirants would be screened before the primaries. The logic was that the party did not want the presidential candidate to be disqualified after going through a tortuous primary exercise. But the fact behind the argument was that the inevitable disqualification should occur to allow the national chairman make up his mind to run or not.

At the end, Kingibe did not run in the botched primaries and was subsequently accused of using the party machinery to impose Yar'Adua as the winner of the exercise.

The hullabaloo that greeted the discredited August and September primary elections led to its suspension and a probe by NEC into what transpired. Today, it is common knowledge that the feeling in the Yar'Adua group is that Kingibe's submission to NEC deliberately indicted Yar'Adua and other aspirants and encouraged NEC to disqualify them all.

That was why before and after the result of the Jos convention election was announced the stance of core Yar'Adua loyalists is "we will not reward treachery."

By the time Kingibe expressed interest in the option A4 governed presidential primaries, what a source called "a family quarrel" had set into the Yar'Adua group. A section which felt Kingibe was the best man for Yar'Adua to support and others who felt obligated to Kingibe for past support were arguing that what ever transgressions he committed should be forgiven. Majority of the group members felt otherwise. To the latter group, he had betrayed the group for the purpose of achieving his personal goal and should, therefore, be denied the collaboration of the group he had subverted.

The pro-Kingibe section consisted of M.S. Buhari, Kingibe's fellow Kanuri man, Edu who is his close family friend and business partner, Lawan, Kingibe's home state governor, Nweke Gbazuagu who owed his governor-

There are already wild speculations in the Middle Belt forum that by insisting on Abiola's running mate being a Hausa-Fulani muslim, Yar'Adua is unfolding a hidden agenda to see to his failure. Others pointed to the design of the group which saw a concentration of top posts in the Western region which now has the presidential ticket, the deputy senate presidency and national chairmanship as a ploy to create serious disaffection which will decimate Abiola's chances at the polls. Others are hinting that with the Eastern minority now aggrieved, the Igbo still dissatisfied, the Kanuri North-East sulking from Kingibe's loss and possible total annihilation, the SDP may have played itself into a dangerous position against the NRC which had the record of popular votes superiority in the past election.

But close associates of the retired general like Adedibu vowed for his straight-forwardness and honesty of purpose. This, they said, was why he had to make Kingibe pay the greatest political price for disobedience and disloyalty. Yar'Adua to all those who spoke to TSM in Jos takes his changing position in the political landscape with stoic calmness and fatalistic candour. "He recites politics like the Islamic religion which allows a man to believe Allah destines, enthrones and dethrones kings, so it would be sheer crookedness to ascribe to him a plan that will sabotage SDP's victory at the general elections," a source told TSM.

The source however added a caveat. Abiola should realise Yar'Adua has a wide network of autonomous leaders who can be disgusted by any attempt to back out of agreements reached. The Abiola - Yar'Adua coalition is already founded on suspicion. At the Jos convention, where the Yar'Adua group's favourite, Atuku, came a distant third at the first ballot, accusing fingers were pointed at some leaders in the West who reneged on the terms of the accord.

In the end, the calculations in the SDP may mean that Abiola has to carve a general party support based on his own political sagacity. This is possible in his current endeavour to unite the party and pacify all groups in preparation for the election.

However, if all goes well, Abiola can count on the new chairman, Anenih in his bid to match the opposition, mobilisation for mobilisation, strategy for strategy in the partisan war ahead.

Anenih is a versed politician in the art of fighting political wars that would result from the June elections.

As a former NPN chief like Tofa, the NRC candidate and Hammed Kusamotu, the national chairman, the old NRC ruthless strategy of turning the opposition party into a ruling cabal would not be the exclusive preserve of one of the parties. Anenih perfected this method in the 1983 election in which NPN governorship candidate, Ogbenudia defeated incumbent, Ambrose Alli.

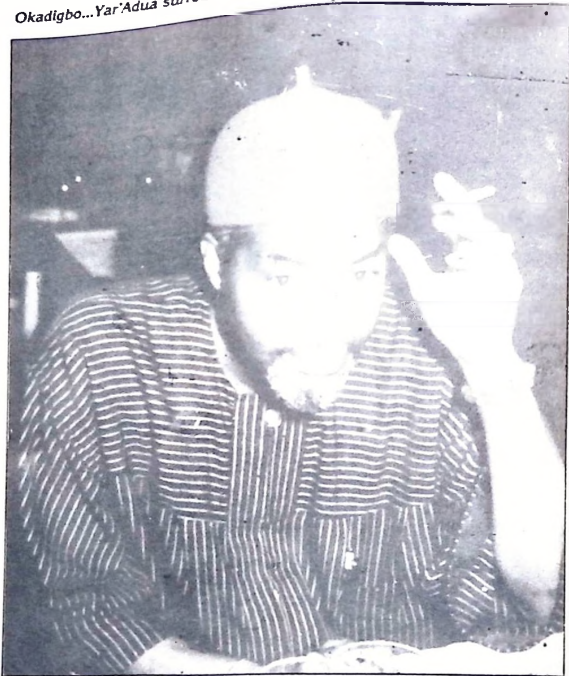
The new SDP chairman, has a lot in common with his friend and group leader, Yar'Adua. A great mobiliser and political tactician, he is given to demanding absolute loyalty. As Yar'Adua can boast of being one of the architect of SDP victory in past elections, so he can claim to achieve the victory of governor John Oyegun of Edo State from

the primary election to the government house. His candidate as the speaker of Edo State assembly, Matthew Egbadon, was recently removed for suspicion that the house was remote controlled from outside.

Anenih was one man who wrested control of the NPN machinery from the hands of wealthy Okada Airline Chief, Gabriel Igbinedion, in the second republic. But then, this is one man who Yar'Adua can count on to ensure his interest reigned supreme. No half measure for Tony.

Definitely events in the SDP will be interesting in the coming weeks as Yar'Adua displays the stuff that made a former NRC chief to call him "the most powerful politician the transition programme has produced."

Okadigbo...Yar'Adua surrounds himself with strong men



A test of stallion's strength

"Strength does not come from physical capacity. It comes from indomitable will"

— Mahatma Gandhi

By Steve Raymond Ohakwe

THE choice of Abuja for the reconvention of the final session of the national convention of the Social Democratic Party, SDP, to elect party officials looked reasonable for logistic reasons. At least the two alternate venues - parade Ground and International Conference Centre were a stone's throw away from the party secretariat. The Abuja convention held April 17 - 18, was the continuation of the national convention held in Jos March 27 - 31, 1993, which was not concluded for what party sources described as "logistic reasons."

And due to the lean resources of the party, the then Caretaker Committee advised delegates to the Abuja convention to arrange to be in Abuja on Saturday April 17, 1993, cast their votes and go back same day, if possible, while party officials would tidy up the results by Sunday April 18, 1993. So, against all odds, the delegates trooped to Abuja to elect party officers. Early arrivals at the party secretariat had information that "all delegates shall be accredited at the designated locations at the International Conference Centre, Saturday, April 17, 1993 between 8.00 am and 11.00 am."

But that was not to be. It kicked off on a false start. And when it did kick off about nine hours late by 4.00 pm, the convention lacked the lustre, pomp and ceremony that give party conventions the glamour which pro-

vide stimuli to the world of politics. Newsmen had gathered at the party secretariat's auditorium for accreditation by 10.00 am when the Director of Research and planning, Babalola Borisade a professor breezed in to address them that the permit for the use of the venue had been withdrawn a few hours to the commencement of accreditation.

Answering reporters questions, Professor Borisade explained that the police gave them the information on withdrawal of the permit for use of the International Conference Centre verbally. Ordinarily, he said, the permit was given to them by the Clerk of the House and the police did not inform them who gave the withdrawal order. And since police was responsible for security, it would be unreasonable to insist on the use of the place without police assistance.

And that was the beginning of the ordeal of the delegates who had to spend the next 50 hours in a stretch at the Sheraton Hotel. The convention never commenced till 4.00 pm when only 20 delegates were admitted into the conference hall due to limited space for briefing. When the chairman of the Caretaker Committee briefed the delegates on the procedure, intense lobbying went on in the premises which had been taken over by over 5,000 delegates to the convention.

The delay in starting the voting

which commenced late became a blessing to the various power blocs in the party lobbying to grab power. It became clear from the group lobbying that alliances and loyalty to power blocs was going to be the deciding factor in the election of candidates and not competence. As the governors and party elders zoomed into the premises, their supporters trooped to identify and pledge their loyalty. Although the party elders were not allowed into a bles-hall, the change of venue was a blessing for most of them who were lodging there. From there, they directed the affairs of their groups. In fact Abubakar Rimi, and Solomon Lar, former governors of Kano and Plateau States respectively were parleying with delegates at the lobby. The suites were converted to political meeting venues in Sheraton and Hilton Noga Hotels.

Three distinct power blocs that emerged at the convention were the Yar'Adua group, the Falae group and the Kingibe group. Each of these groups was flying papers among their followers instructing them on their choice of candidates for the various party posts.

TSM gathered however that the scheming for the posts began from Asaba, Delta State after the party's reconciliatory meeting in Benin early this year. In fact, the general speculation before the convention was that Shehu Yar'Adua has lost power to Kin-

Sule Lamido....Secretary of Social Democratic Party, SDP



gibe following the defeat of Atiku, who was Yar'Adua's candidate at the Jos convention. The former national Secretary of SDP, Alexis Aniello, told TSM "There is no way anybody can side-line Kingibe. There is no way any one can ignore Kingibe. He has been the spirit of the party, he continues to sustain the party. Today, despite everything, the spirit of SDP continues."

But contrary to the speculation that Kingibe was now the king pin, wielding the governors' support behind him, and that Yar'Adua's power has waned, he came up strong to put a stamp of authority on his popularity by installing his men.

Although the victory of Yar'Adua took the power brokers unawares, inside sources, which claim that surprise is the hall mark of a good army general, revealed that the other groups in the party lost out of the power game because they underestimated the damage he could do at the convention. TSM gathered that before delegates arrived Abuja, three groups had already set themselves at war to grab the party posts. But while Yar'Adua underplayed his plans, the other groups put their cards on the table. The main groups were Yar'Adua group, Baba Gana Kingibe group and the Unity group which is a coalition of party elders otherwise known as Falae / Rimi group. Then, of course, there was the Abiola caucus.

In Asaba where a meeting of the party elders was held with the governors in attendance, about three names were shortlisted at the meeting which also had Yar'Adua in attendance. The names were Ojo Maduekwe, (Abia), Ekong Etuk (Akwa Ibom), and Eric Aso (Rivers). The elders, however, adopted Ekong Etuk as their candidate. And at the second meeting of the party elders in Benin, which was chaired by John Oyegun, Edo State governor, the candidature of Ekong was ratified, since the thinking of the party was that the chairmanship had been zoned to the minorities of the East and Ekong holds a promise for the elders.

But after the Benin meeting, party sources disclosed that Abiola and Kingibe held a meeting in Lagos and agreed on a working relationship to enable Abiola mobilise Kingibe's resources and structures for the presidential campaign. Kingibe then traded the idea to Abiola that he had a candidate for the chairmanship of the party which he needed Abiola's support. Kingibe gave a list of his group's candidates but Abiola did not commit him-



Olabiji Durojaiye... coordinated the party elders meetings

self to the agreement. Rather he delegated one Adclabu to attend the ratification meeting with the Kingibe group and Eric Aso was adopted as their candidate, with the support of the governors who were on Kingibe's side.

While Abiola and Kingibe were working out strategies for the outing, Yar'Adua's intelligence machinery was at work. And so, prior to the Kano summit, Tony Anenih showed interest. The Yar'Adua group agreed that as a measure of compensation for the support Oyegun and Anenih gave to Yar'Adua during the botched presidential primaries, Anenih should be adopted as their candidate after the Kano summit.

The elders, led by Olu Falae complained that Yar'Adua has reneged on the Benin accord at which it was agreed that their candidate from the eastern minorities should be adopted. But the Yar'Adua group was said to have been aggrieved by the alliance of Kingibe group with Abiola caucus. The matter was compounded by the fact that the Kingibe group became suspicious of their alliance with Abiola and adopted Ojo Maduekwe as an alternative to Eric Aso because of Ojo's high rating in the East. Maduekwe had to withdraw from the race in Abuja, for reasons said to be not unconnected with the suspicion that brewed between the two groups that fielded him.

On Thursday April 15, Yar'Adua summoned delegates at a Hotel in Kaduna and decreed that Tony Anenih should be elected the chairman of the party. When the delegates came to Abuja Friday April 16, they told those that gave them ears that no money was given to them and so may not abide by their mentor's order. This was the ruse that gave out the other power blocs.

On Friday night, Kingibe rallied his group at a meeting in Abuja attended by SDP governors and adopted Eric

Aso as their candidate. That same night, the elders held a meeting coordinated by Olabiji Durojaiye in Abuja and in which they adopted Ekong Etuk as their chairmanship candidate. An-Arthur Nzeribe, desirous not to be played out, flew into Abuja and held meeting with a faction of the Kingibe group and came out with a list including his men.

By Saturday morning, tension mounted at Sheraton venue of the convention that the election has become a straight fight between former members of People Solidarity Party (PSF) and Peoples Front (PF). Word went round that Yar'Adua was coming to destabilise the Abiola - Kingibe alliance and would have only the elders to contend with. By 5.00 pm, it was near certain that the Kingibe group was in disarray and so Eric Aso became apprehensive. In spite of the intensive lobbying by the Falae group, Ekon Etuk saw his dream dying. In fact by 5.00 am Sunday when the voting ended, delegates were in agreement that Anenih was in the lead.

Oyegun drove in with the latest craze in town - Lexus, the other power bloc began to shiver. It was a signal to the "boys" that the "big guys" are here. The presence of the governors gave some morale boost to the convention. While Abiola's arrival sort of gave some life to the place which was tensed up.

The voting proceeded slowly as states were called out from outside the hall to queue up.

Early in the morning of Monday April 19, 1993, Chima Okeme, agent of Eric Aso addressed newsmen and said he had withdrawn "from the counting of votes for the chairmanship elections for the following reasons because, "I observed in the process of sorting the ballot papers that a reasonable number of the ballot papers in favour of Chief Tony Anenih were written in green ink in the same handwriting. My estimate is that these votes are in the hundreds and are most likely to determine the result of the chairmanship election."

He complained that after sorting the ballot papers, he demanded that all interested parties be allowed to inspect the said ballot papers and certify that they were properly returned. He explained that the inspection became necessary because of the large number and the likelihood that one person may have written the name of Anenih on the ballot papers and fraudulently put them into the box. "Despite my protest, he alleged, "both oral and written to the Secretary and chairman of the SDP National Caretaker Committee, I was

refused from inspecting the said ballot papers."

Okene also alleged that he was convinced from what he observed that "there is a fraudulent design to force Chief Tony Anenih on the entire SDP members," and vowed that his group, the Kingibe faction, regard the election as inconclusive as proper accounting of vote is yet to take place.

For whatever it is worth, the protest did not hold. By 12.30 p.m. on Monday, the Chairman of the Caretaker Committee, Ishaya Shekari declared "I conducted the election for the purpose of endorsement of the national chairman of the party. That the candidates received the following votes:

1. Odo Emmanuel Odo — 12
2. Tony Anenih — 2,063
3. Etibom Bassey Ekpo Bassey — 7
4. Eric Aso — 1,344
5. John Ekong — 9
6. Ekang Anan Ndu — 10
7. Ekong Etuk — 1,343
8. Ojo Maduekwe — 2
9. Gbazuagu Gbazuagu — 1
10. J.C. Ogbonnaya — 0
11. Ebere Osieke — 41

He therefore certified Anenih as duly elected. The Yar'Adua supporters who were among the few delegates that remained to hear the result went on jubilating with the song "Winner ooo ooh, winner. Winner ooo ooh winner, Anenih you don win ooh, winner, surely you go win again ooh, winner."

Shekari said he was now relieved, revealing, "there was even a bomb scare at the venue of the convention."

In his acceptance speech, Tony Anenih thanked delegates for a wonderful convention that started from Jos and ended in Abuja. he predicted "our campaign is starting from here, and we are ending up in Abuja. Others may start their convention and end up where they are." He extended his hands of fellowship to the other two defeated candidates, Etuk Ekong and Eric Aso, to ensure that SDP wins the presidency.

Amidst the fears that some geo-political groups are marginalised from the outcome of the elections, former military governor, Yohanna Madaki, now a lawyer and stalwart of the party said surely somebody who contested and lost election cannot feel good. But unfortunately it's not an allocation or appointment, if it were, then you can say you did that. But when you put it to vote, and people decide to vote the way they have done, there is no other thing you can do."

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How to repair the nation

— Prof. Anya (NNMA, FAS)

Anya O. Anya, an accomplished scientist, a chartered biologist and 1993 NNMA winner dares Nigerians and tells us why we are in trouble.

Interview by:

Comfort Obi &
Ochereome Nnanna

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we asked for his Curriculum Vitae, he gave us one. We thought he had picked the wrong paper because what he gave us looked like a well researched paper. It was all of 17 tightly typed pages, and that was compiled as far back as March 28, 1989 at Nsukka.

Since then, Anya Oko Anya, a char-

tered Biologist, and a Professor of Zoology has left the University of Nigeria, Nsukka from where he compiled his C.V. Since then too, Anya has won Nigeria's highest Merit Award, the Nigerian National Merit Award, NNMA. That should enter an up-dated C.V.

Born on January 3, 1937, Anya, a fellow of the Nigerian Academy of Science was the first Director of the School of Postgraduate Studies in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka and the only person to have won both the Faculty and the University prizes in the university.

He was educated at Hope Waddell Training Institution, Calabar, University College, Ibadan and Cambridge University (St. John's College) England where in 1965, he took a Ph.D. from the famous Molteno Institute. Anya has published extensively ever since in professional and scientific journals especially on the physiology,

biochemistry and epidemiology of parasites in which field he is a recognised international authority. He has published over 80 papers in the press. Anya's latest work is a book of essays on *Science, Development and the African Economic Crisis*. This will be presented to the public on April 30, 1993.

His academic pursuits aside, he has maintained a healthy and informed interest in the problems of development particularly on the relevance of science and technological innovation and education to socio-economic development.

In this interview granted TSM last week, Anya looks at Nigeria, the University system and the level of corruption in the country and concludes, "Nigeria has broken down."

"First of all we have to congratulate you on the award in arrears. So how do you feel reaching the level where many people will regard as the ultimate, after many years of your career?

Naturally, I feel a sense of gratitude to God and a whole lot of people, mostly the very bright students it has been my privilege to work with. Many of them are professors now and many of them will be due for their own merit awards in their own right. I have been lucky to have worked with that bright crop. Really, the award is not for me. It is a recognition of their effort. And, to that extent I feel gratified for two reasons. First, that commitment to excellence — not to myself but to those who worked with me has been recognised by the nation. And I also feel gratified because this award is the first time that it is going to a scientist in the core sciences, the basic sciences — namely Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics, Biology. It has gone to engineers, it has gone to medicine but it has never gone to science, real science.

So, one feels grateful that we have been chosen to start this new stage in the nation's push to development. Why do you consider it unique that the National Merit Award went to the core sciences now. What is the uniqueness? What makes it different?

Because science has to do with understanding the environment, nature and the laws that govern it. And as

"We are running a tall gate economy."



you'll find in my book that is going to be published, *Science and Crisis in Africa Development*, the tropical environment in the biological sense is unique and certainly different from temperate environment and to that extent therefore things we have to do in the tropical environment in science have to be different, especially in the biological sciences, not so much in physics, not so much in mathematics but certainly in the biological sciences. It has to be different from what some of my colleagues in Cambridge, in Harvard and so on, are doing. And the fact that the basic scientist's whose work is experimental, whose work is recognised means that Nigerian science has come of age. Our work has proved that hard core science is possible in Nigeria. Of course it is more difficult because the environment for it is not there. How do you pursue a hard-headed science in a situation where you cannot take electricity for granted, cannot take water for granted? There are experiments you may plan that will have to run continuously for 6 months. For those 6 months it means there will be running water and there will be power all the time. Now how do you do that kind of thing in a situation where you can't take any of those things for granted? But nevertheless, we have managed that and because we manage it means that it is possible to solve problems in Nigeria.

Many people felt you were long over due for the award, were you expecting it at the time it came?

Well I am happy it wasn't post-humous. I trained in an institute that is quite famous, that has produced lots of notable graduates — that is Cambridge. And one thing you learn within a place like that with some of the brightest minds in the world, is that some of the sharpest minds who won various prizes are also very humble people. In other words, you do your work to the best of your ability. If recognition comes, you thank your God and thank your country men. But you don't presume that you are entitled to anything. The race of life does not always belong to the fastest. To that extent one is happy that it came at a time that I still have some breath and some worth left. I mean it could have come when I will be an old man and I would just spend one more year and so on.

But coming at the time it did, it becomes a different kind of challenge, challenging you now to say look Nigeria has given me so much, what



Any... 'Let's think of the 21st Century'

can I put back in gratitude in the time left. So to that extent, the issue of whether it came early or late I don't know. The important thing to me is that I am a merit award winner as of now.

What else do you have in mind?

If you asked me that question a few months ago, I wouldn't... But my mind is clearer now on what one should do. Actually this is an idea I have been toying with over the last 5 years. I have been interested in the question of how or why we have failed to develop and I believe it is because we have not been able to understand and manage science and technology properly. And I think that need to be done in this country can be done through the auspices of private initiators with government goodwill.

I will spell out a bit more of it perhaps when the public presentation of the book *Science and African Development* comes round. What I intend to do is that the N100,000 I was given and whatever returns that come out of this book will go into a trust fund and whatever else I can raise to start planning for the establishment of multi-dimensional think tank. As you see from the book, those who insist on developing the mind and utilising the fruit of the human mind are more likely to go further than those who do not. When you look at Japan, when you look at the United States, I think this is the secret. In other words, in Japan there are about 160 research institutes under private auspices. Even the United States. The corporations, are really the power houses where the future of the United States is determined, because they do the work... say, look what the United States

will look like in the 2060 A.D. But we do not plan sufficiently for our future and we do not put in enough thought into our preference and I believe we should start making efforts to do that. I hope to start planning to establish a think tank. My friend, Claude Ake, has already built his mission to the... society. What I want to do is slightly different. In fact the think tank will focus on science and the economy. There is inter-relationship between the two because if you can focus on that you might start understanding why we have not developed, what we should do to develop and you might start providing information and the data base for planning our development.

But one of the unfortunate things that you find in this country is that there are not enough basic scientific researches going on. The result is that even the multitude of studies that the consultants do for various governments in this country are recycled data. So the result is that a lot of the planning data are either based on outdated data or manipulated data or even in some cases outright COOKED-up data. And this is why, quite often, a lot of the plans made as a result of that during implementation can not work because they are not based on hard, real facts. So I think that anybody thinking about a think tank focusing on the economy of this country must think of a research laboratory as part and parcel of that. But I have also decided that if this dream comes true, it will not just be research laboratory dealing with all kinds of things. If we focus on that we will be dealing with our present and how to move forward from our present. If we deal with bio-technology we are thinking of our future because biotechnology is going to be the determinant industry in the 21st century.

Assume of course that the politicians will allow us but that's a different matter. The third aim is an ambitious idea. It's in fact to have an industrial estate. An industrial estate that is focused on industries that are the result of research and development that have been done and can be done in Nigeria and are visible and workable and make them as efficient, economic propositions producing and selling as commercial enterprises. If of course the example of those industries now lead other people to want the same industries established for them, then you have the expertise and the manpower to do it for them. But it also means that the industry or those industries

if they are the kind of success that one expects will in fact generate the wealth with which the research laboratories will be maintained, with which the work of the people in the think-tank bureaucracy. So to that extent the exposure has been useful because I am not now talking theory, I can now give practical examples of why the theory is correct.

What is your impression of how the economy and politics of this country have been run so far?

Well, we couldn't avoid that, given the ignorance that I indicated existed. We didn't understand the environment.

To put it slightly in a different way, I see the history of post-independent Nigeria in three stages. The first stage was impatience. We were so impatient that we didn't try to understand what we ought to do and what ought to be our priorities in terms of the kind of life our people should now look forward to or we as a leadership should offer our people since the British have now left us on our own. That piece of impatience led to the kind of crises we had in the early 60s that culminated in the civil war because it was in the struggle between those who thought we ought to move in a particular way and those who thought we should evolve slowly. That impatience gave way to the next phase. The phase in which a lot of the leadership in this country was self centred and because it was self centered it tended then to be ethnically based because people wanted to have a base. That second phase of ethnic-based politics finally gave way to the current situation in which we are, which is characterised by bureaucracy, mediocrity and corruption.

Instead of thinking of Nigeria as a nation, and what they needed to do to establish a nation, everybody fell back to his little village enclave to see how he can exploit the Nigerian system using the bulwark of his village or ethnic position. When that finally erupted into the civil war, we scattered in different ways only to return having learnt no lessons at all. And in fact luckily because of what happened to oil, the states were now there. The greed and avarice that came of that self-centredness led to our trying to establish systems that we can control, which gave rise to bureaucracy. The military came into it. The civil service came into it. We started hearing about super-permanent secretaries and the rest of it. It was now what you took out. And to take out a larger chunk you organised the system so that you can control it. So bureaucracy took over.

The problem with bureaucracy is that once it starts, the exceptional people, people who can make a difference seem to pull out. Because they will not tolerate the routine that bureaucracy engenders. They will not tolerate the uniformity and conformity that the bureaucracy insists on. So when the bright people, that is the people who are not conventional, the people who are unorthodox move out then you have the routine men. And mediocrity develops confidence. And that is exactly what happened to us. There is an organic linkage between the bureaucracy leading to mediocrity and finally leading to corruption.

Do you think the answer lies in a national conference?

Well you know Nigeria has become very interesting in the last 10-15 years. We are a nation of seminararians. You go to this seminar... I am sorry that another seminar is going to take place in the country in my name.

We are always going to talk about this, talk about that. But unfortunately, we do not think sufficiently which is why we don't even

But we do not plan sufficiently for our future and we do not put in enough thought into our preference and I believe we should start making efforts to do that.

create the conditions for thinking. So the national question has become so important because we have not thought through about that what is important and what kind of life, we think an average Nigerian ought to take for granted. Because if we have thought through then the question of justice which is what the people are talking about... we would not be preaching about it. It will be part of the natural life that in this country.

It means simply that until you get back to recognise certain basic values it will continue to be everybody for himself and Nigeria for all. Unfortunately nobody has built Nigeria. So there will be no progress until we get back to the drawing board as to what is important and what sort of society we want to build. May be that is what those who talk about the national question need. But I think that when you emphasise it that way it looks as if it is just another political

strategy. You want to take advantage of others and impress your own. But I think it should go beyond that. The point really is that this is a fantastically endowed country, some of the best minds that Africa has produced are here. If we put our priorities right, the first concern would be what kind of society do we want? A society that would give satisfaction and self fulfilment to every Nigerian.

Indeed, as I said somewhere in the book, this country is not a poor country. We are supposed to be owing 30 billion US dollars. The amount of resources of Nigerians that is outside Nigeria now, private banks is estimated at between 120 — 160 billion dollars. That is why whether it is America, whether it is Britain they look at you and laugh because if you are a serious government you know what to do. I have already made my suggestions to the government on what we can do.

Where did that estimate come from. It's very important.

Why is it important?

Because nobody can just sit down and make a rough estimate without any verifiable....

Let me tell you these estimates are available in the records of financing institutions including the World Bank.

What suggestions do you make?

Basically people are saying this money belongs to individuals, so you can not take from them. Fine, I agree. Although I don't want us to go into the morality of how they got it in the first place. All I am saying is this, you can have money which is the money that belongs to this country and is in your bank and it is creating wealth for you, you allow us borrow from you for a very small fraction of that money. You can now use that as a collateral since it's already with you anyway. But then the money we borrow will be money that will be used for definite programmes that will change the lives of everybody here. So that we can pull ourselves up and start developing here.

Now we can not develop because whatever we get goes into so-called debt-servicing up to 50 per cent. But even what is returning is getting less and less which means over time what we can pay back will dwindle further because there is no increase in the wealth creation potential of the country. But when I also understand the attitude of foreigners. They don't have to tell you how to set your own house in order for you to do that. In other words, they are things Nigerians or the Nigerian leadership must do, to

show the outside world that they are serious. And I believe that if we show that we are serious and can use extra resources responsibly in a transparently accountable manner. The details of how you work out to allow us have access to these funds, is, not beyond international negotiation.

What's your idea of things we can do?

Like I just said you have to convince people that you have a government in which every other person is not thinking about the 10 per cent or 50 per cent that he wants to take. In other words if resources are returned to you what are you going to do? Is it going to go into practical visible projects that will improve the infrastructure here and yield once more to production or is it going to be... away in consumption and then recycled back again into foreign accounts. But once you show people that you are serious I think you will be surprised how much good will we

will have from the outside world, know how much he pays the bank manager to get dollars for his importation outside what official book says. All that is added to the cost of the goods before he starts selling it. So, the consumer is suppressed by the things the trader pays upfront before he imports and he now is to be oppressed by what the trader has to pay after the goods have arrived. And he sums that all up to whatever he now wants to sell. And then why should anybody be surprised that the naira is falling because there is no production to sustain it any longer. Of course we know now that we are running what I call a toll gate economy. You pass each toll gate how much toll you pay is clear for those who deal with that business. No society runs that way. And you can not tolerate it and expect things to change. That is the only issue over which there should be a national question and a national conference. National conference over do we want to build this country or not? If we want to build this country what do you have to do so that you this money that you do not need, you do not have to take it out of the system. There is a limit to how much you can consume. So what do you accumulate late all these for? Part of the reason is that being not scientific we can't even count. So people who close their eyes and say add 10 million to this contract don't even know what one million looks like, in terms of either production capacity or in terms of their own need except that they know that 10 is bigger than one. Some of the people who have served the government in the last few years are billionaires not mil-

lionaires what do they use it for? In any case has it made them any more intelligent or any more worthy people. Do they have a better life than I have? I sleep when I want to, some of them when they open their mouths, they make a fool of themselves because the brain packed up a long time ago, because they've been calculating the billions and since the brain cells were never meant for calculating such large sums the brain gave up.

How do you see the standard of education?

I went through the Nigerian system. I got my degree at the university of Ibadan before I went to Cambridge. My going to Cambridge and doing as well as I did was a testimony to the Nigerian higher education. It showed how good Ibadan was at that time.

So what is happening now?

Many of the younger people are getting to a point where they are asking themselves; "Is this life of working on intellectual matters really worthwhile?"

The truth of the matter is that when a country abandons the pursuit of truth and excellence which is the basis of university education then nothing else can work well. The same mediocrity we are talking about afflicts the university. On the 23 of March 1987, the *Guardian* interviewed me. I said at the time with 2 or 3 exceptions that we did not have one real vice-chancellor in the entire university system. You know how many universities we had at that time and now there are many more. I am not even sure that you will get one vice chancellor properly conceived as what a vice chancellor ought to be in the entire Nigerian university system now. And the reason is simple. When we abandoned the pursuit of excellence through politicisation of the position of vice-chancellor... I noticed that that Biobaku I still have to read the book to know what he said. That is his autobiography. I hope he will at least tell us why he helped in destroying Nigerian university system. Or what

happened in (UNILAG) because that is where it started from. Once you had a situation where people became vice-

chancellors and professors by methods that were slightly less than the usual academic method, slowly the system will be under-mind. The students themselves will reduce their expectations. Senior lecturers will reduce their expectations. Sooner or later people now expect to be preferred to certain positions even when they've not done the work. And when in 1964, late Professor Kenneth Dike, out of nowhere made Onwumechili a professor at 31, it sent a signal throughout the universities as a result, a real competition among very bright minds emerged. That's what produced *de Ajayi*, that's what produced Ezeilo, that's what produced the late Oluwasanmi, Abovaye, Mabogunje and so on. There was a goal, there was a standard. Have you considered that not one of the Nigerian national merit award winners has been a vice-chancellor.

Kelsey Harrison...

He was already a vice-chancellor before he became a national merit award winner...

What do you expect to come out of this launching?

I think that question belong to the friends who put it together. Mine is simple. They've asked me to come and sit and have people look at me and so on. And I think it should be interesting. The reason I agreed to it are two-fold. I think the nation itself needs to be reminded that even though things are so difficult and conditions are difficult, the nation has to accept itself. That it has some of the capacities and human resources that are available to decide and to conquer its problems, including the scientific and technological problems. Many of the younger people are getting to a point where they are asking themselves, "Is this life of working on intellectual matters really worthwhile?" But if they now see very eminent and achieved people in the country spending a whole day and all for the sake of one person some of these young people can say if only I can have one such day even for one day in my life, it is worth it. So it is to regenerate hope and confidence in the younger generation that there is a lot to live for even in Nigeria in the present circumstance, particularly if we invest on the intellect. And then it is not only the women who enjoy appreciation. So I look forward to my friends saying well done. I have heard it many times but don't think I would not like to hear once more.

SYLVESTER UGOH:

Back on the beat

That this Harvard product got Bashir Tofa's blessing for the Vee-pee shows that real poititics is not all about sound and fury.

By Ochereome Nnanna

POLITICS is a game that does not fail to surprise. Before the past week, few field political reporters and analysts ever threw up the name of Sylvester Ugoh, a doctor and former minister, as a possible choice for the NRC vice-presidential slot. Eyes were firmly trained on convention high-fliers, such as Joe Nwodo and Pere Ajuwa.

But then, the strategists were at work. The elders of the party, who, incidentally, were chieftains of the defunct National Party of Nigeria, were shuffling a different pack of cards for Bashir Othman Tofa, the NRC presidential flag bearer. By Tuesday evening, a name was picked. It turned out to be 62 year-old Ugoh whose only notable activity so far, was that he was a delegate at the Por-Harcourt Convention.

By Wednesday evening when TSM paid a visit to his Ikoyi residence, the place was abuzz with people. You bet. Many of them were clutching the day's newspapers that carried banner headlines. And the man himself was upstairs, holding a meeting. After some time, he finally descended, dressed in a white Igbo bush shirt and red cap, looking rather simple, calm and elderly.

Nothing about the way he carried himself suggested that this was a man preparing to mount the soap box to campaign for votes. Almost absent was the usual flamboyant gestures of politicians. The man who sat in front of our reporters and cameraman looked more like a diplomat than a vote-hunter.

But, Ugoh said he knew the game. He was familiar with it. He was ready for it. "When I joined NPN in 1979," he said, "people wondered how I could campaign among Igbos. They thought I couldn't speak the language. But I showed them that I could."



Ugoh... "I bring experience and maturity."

Here are excerpts of an impromptu chat we had with Bashir Tofa's vice-presidential hopeful, Sylvester Ugoh. Many people were saying the vice president is not good enough for the Igbos?

The main thing is, what is the constitutional power of the vice president? You have to ask that questions first. Now, how do you assess the performance of vice president? If you don't know what his powers are, then how can you assess him? Then, once you realise that constitutionally he only does what the president wants him to do, it is only on that basis that you can assess him.

In other words, what happened in the Second Republic when Alex Ekwueme was said to have performed poorly in that position...?

(Cuts in) What I am trying to say is that those who said he didn't perform did not know what he did. Those of us who were insiders knew that he performed very well.

We are talking of the power game (Cuts in) What do you mean by the power game?

What we mean is that you are coming from NRC controlled state unlike Ekwueme who was from an NPP controlled state and serving in an NPN government, there is an element of power in the present situation

where you are being backed by voters must cle...?

No, not at all. The power you have is what your president allows you. Whether you come from NRC controlled state or not, if the president does not delegate power to you, you have nothing to do because the constitution does not give you any separate responsibility. That is what I am trying to say. Even if you come from an SDP controlled state and the president delegates you a lot of power, you can only operate within the ambit of delegated powers

So, what it means is that the vice president is at the mercy of the president?

You should have known that before now. I am now telling you what is it the constitution (laughter).

But would you have it otherwise? If you have your way would you say no, let it have a situation where the vice president has constitutional provisions allowing him some responsibilities?

I was a member of the Constituent Assembly in 1978. I believe then and believe now, that the executive power must be reposed on the person. Otherwise you will have intractable conflicts. It only depends on the personalities of the president and the

vice president that would determine how much vice president does. Nowhere can he have defined powers for the vice president without having conflicts.

This time around you are talking of the powers to be concentrated on one person so that he can perform without unnecessary conflicts, but you have an SDP controlled National Assembly and obviously you are going to have a very long drawn conflict of ideas. So how do you reconcile that?

In the Second Republic, the NPN did not control the National Assembly. The NPN was a minority party and what it means is that you have to compromise with the opposition party. You cannot have your way all the way but if you are dealing with reasonable people, you can get on. After all, in the United States, you find out that when the Republicans controlled the Presidency, the democrats controlled the

Congress and bills were passed. But there is nothing unique in our situation.

Okay quite apart from the Tofa-Ugoh tickle, obviously we need a change in political attitude in the Third Republic. So what are some of these changes you will advise as we enter into the Third Republic?

We need a change in the attitudes of the voters, that is how to start, and once you get the right change in the attitude of the voters, you will definitely set corresponding change in the performances and attitude of their elected, whether they are national assembly members or in the executive. But when the voters don't know what they want, then they give a field day to their elected representatives. Well, it has to start from the grassroots, that is where the change has to start, if you want to have a meaningful change at the top.

In any case, do you think IBB is going to hand over to elected civilian government on August 27?

I believe that. If I didn't I won't be wasting my time. I believe that he is going to hand over, that is why I am in this race.

But he has said it before and he was not able to deliver. What makes you think this time around he will keep the promise?

But at least the election has not, nobody has shouted of rigging or malpractices. That is why so far, the A4 option has been successful and there is no reason why he will not handover.

Why do you think you were chosen as running mate to the NRC presidential candidates?

I was chosen on the basis of my records — the experience, the integrity, I have the maturity and these are what

Sylvester U. Ugoh

Place of Birth: Umuokrika, Ahiazu Mbaize, Imo State.
Date of Birth: 20th April, 1931.
Marital Status: Married with five children.
Schools Attended: Holy Family College, Abak, Akwa Ibom State, 1947-51 University of New Hampshire, U.S.A. 1955 - 59. Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A., 1959 - 61; 1963 - 64.

Qualifications: Cambridge School Certificate, 1951
 B.A. (Econs), 1959
 M.A. (Econs), 1961
 Ph.D (Econs), 1964.

Work Experience: 1993 National Delegate to the NRC National Convention representing Ahiazu Mbaize L.G.A.

1984-date: Executive Director, Skoup & Co. Ltd. This is one of the oldest and most renowned Management Consulting Firms in Nigeria. Its activities include economic and market surveys, feasibility studies, economic and financial advisory services, management information services, project management and monitoring services. It works for government ministries, parastatals, such international organisations as the World Bank, the Food and Agricultural Organisation, the African Development Bank and private enterprises. In recent years, I have directed among others, a Review of the Nigerian Customs Tariff in association with some World Bank Consultants (1987); a Survey of the Nigerian Steel Sub-Sector in association with Hatch Associates of Canada (1988 - 89), the Monitoring of the implementation of export stimulation loan made to Nigeria by the African Development Bank (1989 - 92), a Feasibility

1991:

study of some petroleum projects (1992).

Chairman, Advisory Committee on Indirect Taxes. This committee was set up by the Ministry of Budget and Planning to review all indirect taxes and advise Government on how the disincentive effects of indirect taxes on investment could be reduced and assess the feasibility of introducing a Modified Value Added Tax (MVAT). The committee not only recommended the introduction of MVAT, it also recommended the plan for its implementation.

1982-83:

Federal Minister of Education. It was under my tenure that the new education policy was commenced. This is the policy that introduced vocational subjects into the secondary school curriculum as well as continuous assessment of students instead of determining students' performance on the basis of one examination. Federal Minister of Science and Technology. I set up the Ministry as it did not exist before my appointment. Under my leadership, science and technology policy for the country was defined. It was on the basis of this that the research programmes of the various Research Institutes were worked out.

1979-82:

Member of the Transition Committee. This was a committee set up by the President-elect to work with some top civil servants on the modalities for the transfer of the federal administration from the military Head of State to the elected civilian President. This committee advised on the number of the Federal ministries to be set up

1979:

is required. Again, also I get on very well with people. I don't have an abrasive personality. I am sure all these much have been considered in my choice and that is why even though, I didn't campaign. I didn't lobby, but somehow, my name surfaced at the top.

Your age is something that people may raise in the campaigns. The fact that you are 62 year old, how do you intend to carry on with the rigorous campaign ahead and again you will have to function in an administration that will have unprecedented challenge ahead given your age? This is a matter of time management. I am 62 but I am in good health and I

know that once I can manage my time I will be able to carry on. I have looked at the campaign programme, it is not as hectic as what we went through in 1978 and 1979, you may say I am older



"Power should be resided in one person."

now but the main thing is that it is lighter than what we are used to. So, I don't anticipate any problem in that direction.

And what are the chances of your party in your catchment area. Igbo land in par-

ticular and the East in general? Can you deliver the East?

There is no doubt about that. What we are concerned about is whether we deliver the East in such a way that the other party does not get up to the one-third of the vote cast, is the only thing important to us. Whether we will win or not, that we have taken for granted, we know we will do it.

Given your calm disposition, how are you going to cope with the abrasiveness that goes with politics?

Well, don't forget that in 1979, I ran for deputy governorship of Imo State. I campaigned throughout Imo State, at that time there were people who thought I couldn't speak Igbo, they were surprised to hear me speak Igbo. This is a game I have played before, I am not new in it, so I am not worried about it?

- 1979: and, the responsibilities of each ministry. It was this committee, for instance, that recommended the creation of the ministry of Science and Technology, the removal of the budget department from the ministry of Finance to the office of the President, and the creation of a National Planning Commission. In other words, the Committee advised on the structure of the new civilian government. NPN Deputy Governor candidate in Imo State. Contested the election but lost it.
- 1978 - 79: Member, Federal "Think Tank". This was a committee set up in the Cabinet office of the Federal Government to study, formulate and advise the Federal Government on various policy options. The "Think Tank" was the fore-runner of the Institute for policy and strategic studies, Kuru.
- 1977 - 79: Member, Board of Golden Guinea Breweries Ltd. It was during the period that I was on the Board that the company was privatised, its shares quoted on the stock market and its production capacity doubled.
- 1975 - 79: Member, Board of the Central Bank of Nigeria. It was during my tenure on the Board that the CBN was re-structured, three positions of Executive Directors created in addition to the positions of the Governor and Deputy Governor. Also, it was during that period that the computerisation of the Bank commenced. I resigned my membership on my appointment as a Minister.
- 1977 - 78: Member, Constituent Assembly for the 1979 Constitution. At the Constituent Assembly, I was selected by the Imo State members as their contact man with the delegations from other States.
- Chairman, Planning Committee for the Polytechnic, Nekede, Owerri. Under my leadership, the Committee worked out a blueprint for the development of the State's Polytechnic.
- Executive Director, Skoup & Co. Ltd.
- Acting Director, Economic Development Institute of the University of Nigeria. This was a Research Institute established by the University to engage in investigations into socio-economic problems.
- 1970 - 72: Member, Governing Council of the Nigerian Institute for Social and Economic Research (NISER).
- 1967 - 70: Governor, Bank of Biafra. During the Nigerian Civil War, I had the responsibility to establish and lead the team that managed the Bank of Biafra under very difficult conditions.
- 1966 - 67: Member, Board of African Continental Bank, Ltd.
- 1965 - 67: Deputy Director, Economic Development Institute of the University of Nigeria.
- 1963 - 65: Lecturer in Economics, University of Nigeria. I lectured on several undergraduate courses including economic theory, international trade, national accounts, applied economics.
- 1961 - 63: Assistant Lecturer in Economics, University of Nigeria.
- Membership of Professional Organisations: Member, Nigerian Economic Society. Past President, 1966 - 71. Member, Nigerian Institute of Management.
- Hobbies: Reading, Listening to music.

Awo Foundation set to build

By Yusuph Olaniyonu



HAT late

Obafemi Awolowo the leader of the defunct Unity Party of Nigeria was in love with educational development in Nigeria is not in doubt. But the one year-old foundation established "to continue the work of building a united Nigeria through the ideals that inspired the public and patriotic activities of the man," is now set to underscore Awo's achievement in that direction.

So come May 11, two days after the fifth memorial anniversary of the man, four first generation Nigeria universities — the Obafemi Awolowo University, Ife; University of Nigeria, Nsukka; Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and the University of Ibadan will benefit from a four million naira endowments by the Awolowo Foundation.

The endowments, all of which are directed towards creating privileged professional chairs in the universities are expected to augment research efforts in the university systems in Nigeria currently suffering from the asphyxiating economic situation in the country. The endowed professorial chairs will be in the fields of Jurisprudence for OAU, Economics for Ibadan, Social Science — ABU, and Applied Science at Nsukka.

The choice of the universities and areas of study were based on recommendation by a studying committee set up by the Governing Council of the Foundation to advise it on issues concerning grants, and endowments.

A statement emanating from the office of the executive secretary of the Foundation who is also a daughter of the late politician, Tokunbo Awolowo-Dosumu, said that the efforts are in fulfilment of the objectives of the Foundation to pursue Scholarly activities unencumbered by dogma, ideology or any limitation."

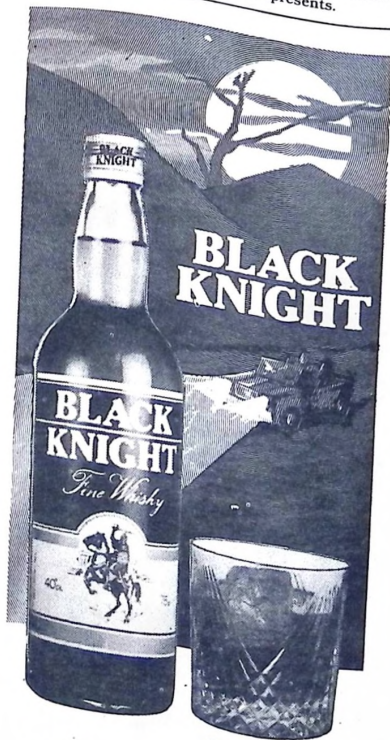
The May 11 programme also includes the launching of a book titled *Nigeria: The Way Forward*. The book is a compilation of the submissions made by participants at the first

Awolowo Foundation dialogue which held on December 16 1992, at the Nigeria Institute of International Affairs (NIIA). The book is expected "to provide an intellectual framework to guide policy makers in their duty of evolving public policies."

The memorial anniversary programme will be concluded by a public lecture on the "Attitude of African States towards International Law in

the post cold war era. The lecture will be delivered by Fulbright scholar, Max Hilaire, an associate professor at Colgate University, Hamilton — New York who is now a visiting professor at the OAU.

The late Awolowo died on May 9, 1987, the exact date which now fell on a Sunday and therefore made the Foundation to shift the memorial activities by two days. The endowments and public lecture are aimed at institutionalising the scholarly and education related aspects of the Awo legacy which the Foundation through its work represents.



...sets you in the right mood!

Bruce Lee's son feared curse that killed him

—Family Reveals

and unhappiness."

The young actor's uncle, Robert Lee, told a reporter after Brandon's death that the young man's grandfather had added to the death jinx by being buried next to a boy who had died at the age of 12.

The uncle said that according to Chinese belief, bad luck would follow the family until the patriarch's body was moved or a wall was built between him and the young boy.

Brandon was so obsessed with dying young he drove around in his own hearse, went to France to visit the grave of rock singer Jim Morrison who died at the age of 28, and was haunted by recurring dreams that he would be shot.

"Brandon said he would never live to see 30," his fiancée Eliza told her friend.

"I thought he was crazy. He said, 'Let's get married and start a family soon. There's a curse on this family and I'm going to be the next one to go.' Brandon would wake up sweating at night. He says: 'Time's running out, I'm going to die young just like Dad. I see this gun in my dream. Then I feel a bullet ripping through my guts... and I'm gone.'"

The lovers set their wedding for April 17, as soon as "The Crow" finished filming.

But Brandon never finished "The Crow". It was plagued with bad luck from day one.

The first day of shooting a worker was severely burned by an electric wire. Later, an angry sculptor went berserk and drove his car through the studio's workshop. On top of that, a carpenter slipped and fell, accidentally driving a screwdriver through his hand.

But the most shocking accident involved a close call with a gun, disclosed an insider.

"About three weeks before Brandon died, one actor, just before the cameras were set to roll checked his gun and found a live bullet. The guy was badly shaken."

The accidents unnerved everyone,

including Brandon.

"He told one of the grips that he had premonitions he would be injured or die on this set", confided, a buddy.

Incredibly, Bruce Lee's last film, "Game of Death", seems to have predicted how Brandon would die. In it, Bruce portrays an actor who is hunted by the mob. The gang switches live bullets for blanks in a prop gun. And Bruce Lee's character ends up being shot.

Brandon Lee was buried next to his father in a Seattle cemetery on April 3.

"Brandon told me he always felt he would die an early death," the actor's devastated mom told a source.

"Bruce was always on Brandon's mind and he often wondered if all the talk about a curse was really true. After this I can't say there isn't something to it."

Culled from foreign media



“WANG! Bang!

Don't forget to send flowers!”

That chilling request from action star Brandon Lee was the actor's prophetic last words — just before he was shot to death March 31 on the set of the film "The Crow".

Brandon, the son of martial arts legend Bruce Lee, was asking another actor to remember to bring the flowers for his character's upcoming funeral scene.

But those ironic words reflect the obsession with death that plagued the actor since his father died from a mysterious brain swelling while filming a movie 20 years ago.

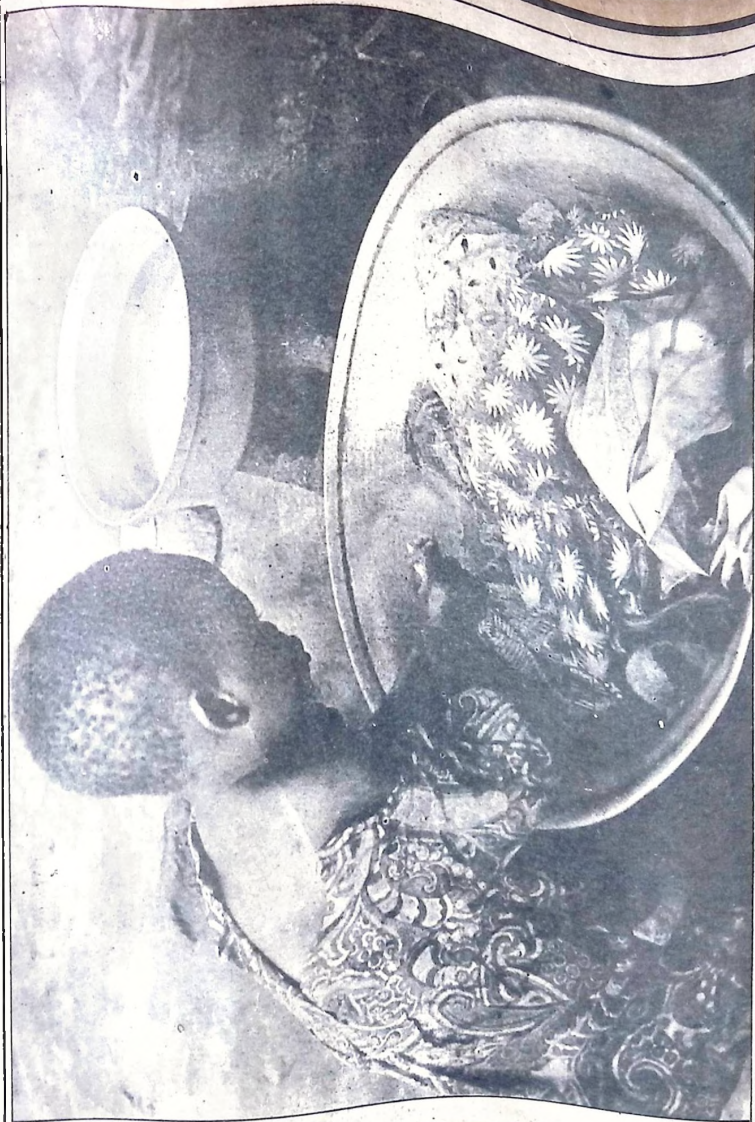
Brandon, 28, and members of his family were convinced that a deadly curse hung over his family and he was doomed to die young — like his father!

An ENQUIRER investigation into the shooting of Brandon Lee has uncovered bizarre circumstances surrounding Brandon's death — and mysterious similarities between his untimely end and his father's death at the age of 32.

Brandon's last film was beset with freak accidents. Just weeks before Brandon was killed by a prop gun, another actor on "The Crow" discovered a prop gun loaded with a live bullet.

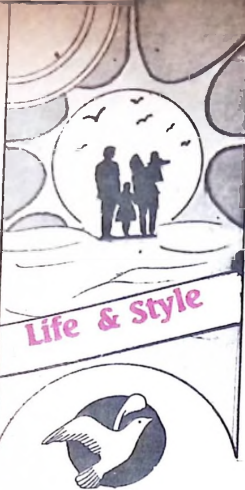
"Brandon believed that the males in his family had been cursed because his grandfather angered some Chinese merchants," his fiancée Eliza Hutton, 28, told a friend.

"They had their revenge by hiring a mystic. He placed an ancient curse that would bring death, destruction



PKC Tatuao Oladipo

Initiation



Here come the beasts of burden

The hard times has not only found more women in the labour sector, it has also forced a good number of them to plunge into difficult - and hazardous jobs to keep body and soul together.

number of those *TSM* spoke with said they were indigenes of Oyo and Osun, nearby neighbouring states of Lagos. One of them had this to say: I am from Ibadan and my children and husband are there. These little one here (indicating a baby strapped to her back) is the only one with me here. I work early in the morning and when the sun is up I have to find a shelter because of my child. I had to pick up this job because there is no money to feed my children". This statement was echoed by another load carrier who had difficulty walking fast because of an advanced pregnancy. "I know it is dangerous for me to be involved in this kind



Load-carrying: It's no way to treat a woman



By Felicia Oamen/Grace Onyebula

Mile 12 market, a place in Lagos known for the sale of foodstuff these women are mostly found. Their occupation is load carrying and they constitute a larger number of these people commonly known as 'Kayas' or 'Alabaru'. The women who are mostly of middle age and child bearing age work from the

early hours of the morning till late at night. They are seen walking briskly in an ant-like fashion up and down the market. There is an all work and little play life. Probably due to the need to make a reasonable amount of money within the business hours, hardly would any of these women stop to chat with anybody except of course for business transaction. Some of them have babies strapped to their backs as they tortuously drag their heavy loads along. Some others are seen with protruding bellies signifying various stages of pregnancy. A good

of job but I have no choice. The only thing I do is that I don't carry very heavy things."

The effect of this strenuous job could be easily seen on the women. None of them looked quite healthy. They all appeared haggard, languid and skinny. All of them complained of various ailments which ranged from headache, tiredness to joint pains, chest pains and all. For all these sicknesses they resort to self medication as an easy and cheap way of obtaining relief. Most of these women live in the market place in hut-like houses built with iron

sheets. Nothing could be found these houses that spoke of comfort except for a few belongings littered here and there. One of the women informed **TSM** that they pay N10 per month as rent. Considering all the pains and strains involved the job of carrying loads does not appear quite lucrative. To carry a load from the market to Mile 12 bus stop, these women charge N5. In a day it is possible to realise N100 or more. But then part of it is used for feeding and purchasing of drugs.

Apart from these easily detected problems, other dangers lurk unseen for the load carriers. Their job does not offer much security for them as women. They are harassed by traders and buyers on a daily basis. One of these women disclosed to **TSM** that on many occasions they have been beaten and rendered naked in the market place and at the least provocation. This is true, as attested to by the number of deaths of these women in recent times.

Alase, president of the traditional medicine dealers at Mile 12 market, told **TSM** a woman called Omotayo or Iya Seri recently lost her life. She had been beaten to death by an Hausa pepper seller during a fight which initially involved the deceased and another load carrier. The effect of this happening is still being felt till now. As at the time **TSM** visited Mile 12 market, most of these women have been banned from going about their business activity. During the Idel Kabir festival last year, a pregnant woman who was also a load carrier was beaten to death by an Hausa trader. And for about 3 days, no business activity took place in the market. In all, about 5 load carriers were reported to have lost their lives in this fashion. The death of Omotayo was confirmed by Allen Akinde, the Divisional Police Officer at Ketu Police Station in Lagos. According to him, the woman had died and her murderer is in police custody at Panty Police Station.

Beating ups and killings are not the only hazards these women are facing. There is also the danger of kidnapping. A rather young girl disclosed to **TSM** that the reason why most of these women don't talk to people is for fear of being kidnapped. "Some days ago, two big women [rich women] came to this market and took one of the load carriers away. Till today, we've not seen her."

The question is should these women be allowed to continue to do this kind of job, considering their frail nature and peculiarities, as the female sex? In spite of the hard times, could not organisation like the Better Life



Alase...President of traditional medicine dealers, Mile 12

for Rural Women look into the issue? As it concerns Labour Laws, some sections of the International Labour Laws do not allow women to do certain kinds of jobs. **TSM** talked to a doctor and a labour official, Peter, a medical practitioner at TOPAZ hospital says "every profession has its own hazards. But the ones most likely to be common to load carrying is Hernia, sprains and spontaneous abortion or premature birth in pregnant women. The Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC) issue was represented by Chris Uyot, the assistant secretary, Information and Public Relations Office. He told **TSM** NLC does not subscribe to women doing odd jobs

like carrying loads. He says "Apart from the harassment they go through, women generally are not supposed to do that kind of job. But, the cause for this is not far-fetched. We are facing a crucial period, things are so difficult hence people resort to any type of business to make ends meet. Part of this is the devaluation of naira and removal of oil subsidy. This type of practice by women due to lack of job, money and so on must be discouraged.

However, Ufot, like most could do nothing to ameliorate the situation, only to hope, as he says, for government to rise up and do something about it.

LIFE LINES

"It has been my experience that folks who have no vices have very few virtues."

— Abraham Lincoln

"It was like one big burden taken off my head. This is not the end of the world."

— Abiola Ogunduyile on the yanking off of her column in 'The Punch' newspaper.

"WHEN they travel abroad, which they do at every opportunity, they go on first class air tickets and lodge in 'five star' hotels. The estacodes which they collect are changed here and before you know it, they become Naira millionaires."

— Columnist Mary Kanu on government agents who glorify the removal of petroleum subsidy.

IF you are willing to admit you are all wrong when you are all wrong, you are all right."

— Southeastern Oil Review

"I CAN'T afford to go around saying it's hard for me because I'm a woman."

— Brig. Gen. Marceliter J. Harris America's first black female Airforce General

"MOTIVATION is what gets you started. Habit is what keeps you going."

— Jim Ryan.

"WE learn from experience that men never learn anything from experience."

— Bernard Shaw

"FINANCE is the act of passing currency from hand to hand until it finally disappears."

— Robert Sarnoll

FASHION:

By Felicia Oamen

F

ASHION has since left the realm of unbending rules. Just like the jet age of the nineties, it comes more liberal, dynamic and with little restrictions nowadays. Thanks to SAP, fashion designers and their customers have become more adventurous, imaginative and creative with colours and cuts. The results have not been disappointing. They have turned out exquisite designs that could make their foreign counterparts green with envy. Nevertheless, colour-choice is still determined by a lot of factors. TSM visited Nike Okeowo, Chairman Nikky Africana Institute of Fashion Design findings useful.

RED: This is a vibrant, bold and flamboyant colour. It's a ceremonial outfit for some tribes in Nigeria like the Ibos. Red is not very advisable for those who are overweight because it boosts your figure and makes you look fatter. It is better on slim people. Neither is it a colour recommended for fair-complexioned people. If you have to use red, you would tone it down with a touch of green, navy blue and so on. Red on black is not advisable because of its sharp contrast. Red could go on white, but it not really advisable.

WHITE: It is a soft and immaculate colour. It stands out as a symbol of affluence and authority. It shows how comfortable its wearer is, since you need a lot of care and money to keep the colour. Most men and women opt for white. And no matter what figure you possess, white will suit you. In terms of combining white with other colours, you will find it a flexible colour indeed. It goes with any other colour. White could be combined with a shade of grey to give it a silver lining. This is a very soft combination.

BLACK: It is a powerful colour. Often worn at night for dinner, cocktail and so on. Some people wear it during the day too. It

How colour



is a corporate colour for lawyers. It is also a man's colour.

It is not advisable for dark complexioned people to wear black at night. It can also be rather uncomfortable during the day because it absorbs heat. Black is not advisable for slim figures either, because it tones down your figure and makes you in-

visible. Black goes well on gold or royal blue.

PINK: This is basically a woman's colour. It is not advisable for men except those in show business. Pink is a sweet colour that suits both slim people and overweight.

Visible are you?

man and woman's colour too. It's suitable for use at night or during the day.

GOLD: A colour strictly restricted to the evenings, precisely after 6 p.m. parties. It is a female colour which can also be worn by men in show business. Gold goes on any other colour.

BROWN: There are different shades of brown like beige, chocolate, light brown and so on. In whatever shade it comes, brown is a man's colour. It is a serious colour that doesn't get dirty easily. How ever women in corporate jobs also wear brown.

ORANGE: Is a bright and bold colour. It is a woman's colour and is good for the tropics. It could be worn at night or during the day.

GREY: It's a colour worn for mourning. It is also a man's colour. Grey is one colour that is not readily picked. It could be worn by men or women in the judiciary. For suits, grey goes well on blue shirts.

CHILDREN: Bright colours like orange, green, yellow are recommended for children especially those on the dark side. White is out of the question because it can't be maintained.



YELLOW: A very bright colour. It is good at night. It is a colour recommended during the day for people in the tropics like Nigeria. It is a woman's colour. It's also a colour that boosts the figure of its wearer. So it is recommended for slim and light weights.

There are different shades of purple. The soft one could be worn by men. While the brilliant one is restricted to women. It is a versatile colour that can be worn during the day or at night.

GREEN: A rather selective colour that can be worn by both the slim and over-weight. It is a

PURPLE:

WATCH OUT

From our next edition, we will be featuring on our **LIFE & STYLE** pages once every month profile of **YOUTH LEADERS** — Successful young people who have made a mark in society.

The purpose is to spur in young people to dream and reach for their dreams; in spite of the pervasive bleakness.

If our **YOUTH LEADERS** could make it why not you!



The Making of A Rare Breed

THE book launching of Ogbonnaya Onu, the making of a rare breed book place recently at Nigerian Institute of International Affairs. The occasion, was graced by eminent personalities among whom were MKO Abiola, SDP presidential aspirant, Odumegwu Ojukwu, Maitama Sule, Ogbonnaya Onu and Chris Anyanwu, publisher of TSM.

The International Prize

INMARSAT and the International Institute of Communications (IIC) are co-sponsoring an essay contest for visionaries. The essays are expected to describe how mobile satellite services will serve mankind in the 21 century, especially in the developing countries.

The Essay must be between 4,000 and 8,000 words in length. They must be received by July 15, 1993. The winning prize is £1,000 plus a one-week expenses paid trip to Mexico City for the IIC Annual Conference in September. The runner-up prize is £500. Address to be used: Carol Jay, Executive Director, International Institute of Communications, Tavistock House South, Tavistock Square, London WC1H 9LF FaxL -4471 880 0623.

Please mark all envelopes. "Intermedia Plus" Good luck!



DR (MRS) PAT. T. EMENYONU IS



PAT. Wife of Professor Ernest Emenyonu, Provost, Alvan Ikoku College of Education, Owerri, was 50 years old a couple of weeks ago. And to celebrate the event, Emenyonu and their four lovely kids rolled out the red carpet for a most deserving wife and mother. They invited friends, relations and colleagues to come celebrate with them at the New Provost's lodge, Amakohia, Owerri on Saturday April 10, 1993.

From us at *NSA*, it is warm congratulations to Pat on her 50th Birthday.

LBN And Kebbi State Government Launch Joint Nutrition Campaign

BASED on the successful launches of the Joint Nutrition Campaign in Lagos and Ondo States, the government of Kebbi State in collaboration with Lever Brothers Nigeria PLC, will on Thursday May 13, 1993, launch a Joint Nutrition Campaign in Birni-Kebbi, Kebbi State. It is aimed at arresting the present poor nutritional status of the people through basic nutritional information to achieve a self-reliant and productive nation.

Sportstar Comes Out Alive

SPORTSTAR, a weekly newspaper billed to hit the newsstand this week, the ever widening scope of the paper, those ingredients that will inject spice into practitioners of the sport alike but will also strive to shape the future of the industry. Sportstar is published by M&T Communications Limited and it is managed by Emeka Obasi (Executive Editor) and Mgbolu (Assistant Editor) and others. Zest family says — welcome to the scene.

Mayen Adetiba Goes Higher

EBULLIENT Mayen Adetiba (Mrs.) of De-Iken Associates was recently made a fellow member of the Nigerian Society of Engineers. This great honour was given to her at their last Conference/AGM held at the Nike Lake Hotel in Enugu.

Born on April 17, 1951 in Ilorin, Kwara State, Mayen is married with three children. She is presently the Principal Partner at De-Iken Associates.

The Zesty family says, keep riding high!

Godfrey Bids Goodbye To Bachelorhood

JOY Ofulue press Relations Officer of Universal Trust Bank UTB recently bade goodbye to spinsterhood when she wedded Godfrey Chinwoikiu of Gofack Consortium. Photo shows the couple with Anene, wife of the chairman of the occasion.



Compiled by Grace Onye

"Savimbi stands for death!"

— Brito Sozinho

The Angolan Ambassador to Nigeria

achieved. But the grey bearded Angolan ambassador to Nigeria, Brito Sozinho, held a different view: "There will be no brokered power. Never...there must be a ceasefire without conditions," he told TSM.

No doubt, Sozinho is a veteran. Right from his youth, he appreciated the necessity of liberating his people from the clutches of Portuguese colonialism. With Eduardo Dos Santos, the current president of Angola, and other young bloods, Sozinho set off for Zaire and Congo Brazaville to join the guerilla struggle of the MPLA. Here, he performed various functions, such as representing the MPLA in Guinea (Conakry). After Angola's independence, Sozinho became Director of Protocol and then Director for Africa and the Middle East, in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for 12 years of which he was subsequently appointed ambassador for Benin, Togo, Niger, Burkina Faso, Ghana and presently Nigeria.

In the interview with TSM Sozinho casts a picture on why Savimbi deserves no gains from his spoils and

back for democratic aspirations in Angola.

It certainly laid to waste the technical and logistic skills imported by the UN, not to mention the financial resources, which a UN source placed at \$80 million (N2 billion).

After UNITA successfully captured Huambo, Angola's second city, the rebel force gleefully returned to the negotiating table in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, hoping to wield a stronger bargaining stick than at the last peace talks held in Addis Ababa the Ethiopian capital. Last weekend, the rival factions agreed to share power once the war is over, if a ceasefire is

Dos Santos...Wants a UNITA ceasefire



Angolan envoy to Nigeria, Brito Sozinho, chats with TSM on why Savimbi deserves no power share — among other issues — as another round of Angolan peace talks kicked off last week.

By Joseph Umunegbu

In recent years, a number of countries took a shot at ending bloodshed and civil strife by pinning their hopes on democracy. But at best it became an uneasy experiment. A successful transition requires an ongoing commitment from all sides concerned, to lay down their arms and embrace reconciliation and political pluralism.

Though holding a national election is a vital first step forward, its outcome may still flounder. Anyone who has watched the unfolding drama in Angola knows that the path to peace can steer a country through uncharted waters and volatile terrains.

Following Angola's United Nations (UN) supervised elections, last September, renewed fighting exploded. This kicked off a catalogue of incidences which threw the embattled country back into the abyss of civil war. The rebel UNITA's unchallenged return to turmoil was a serious set

highlights the courageous struggles of the pre and post-independence resistance of the Western backed UNITA assaults. Excerpts:

Why has the war persisted since the country's independence in 1975?

This is because it was an imposed war. After the Portuguese coup d'état in 1974 (which brought the fascist government of General Antonio Spínola to power), UNITA emerged as one of the three principle political parties in Angola. They were recognised by the Portuguese colonial masters and had recourse to mercenaries. When MPLA was proclaiming independence in 1975, as the strongest political party with the widest support in Angola, we were invaded from the North by Zairean armed forces and mercenaries, and from the South, by the regular South African army.

How much support has South Africa given UNITA?

UNITA persists thanks to South Africa and the United States. UNITA grew because they were given armaments, drugs, money, diplomatic and logistic support. South Africa and the US felt they had to contain a supposed communism in the region. They refused to accept Angola as being anything but a capitalist State. Since South Africa and US has no common border with Angolas, they needed a stooge and this instrument became UNITA. South Africa and the US argued that Savimbi was the man who wanted democracy for Angola and he is anti-communist. He needs every support to fight the communists, they said. And they are still supporting Savimbi till today. He is being assisted by certain South African conservatives and fascists and the semi conservatives in the US.

Now that the cold war is over there is no need for the Angolan conflict since elections took place in the country, which was considered free and fair by the international community. Just because UNITA lost the elections, the carnage resumed. This makes no sense. If Savimbi says he fought for democracy, he should learn to behave democratically. Democracy does not involve arms to fight others — it is a political game and UNITA should play this political game. Savimbi is not democratic, but a fascist, because democrats do not burn human beings. The same people being killed by UNITA because Savimbi wants to rule by force. If he kills everyone who will he rule eventually? Will he govern walls?

So the international community has not taken a stand *per se* because certain people still support the militarist ap-



Savimbi...Hungry for power

proach of Savimbi. This does not have logic at all.

Has South African soldiers been fighting alongside UNITA in the current war?

Those fighting on the side of UNITA are mercenaries. They are South African soldiers recruited as mercenaries by UNITA.

There were also reports that South African mercenaries were also set to fight for the government?

This is not true, but just Western propaganda. The government has no intention of recruiting mercenaries from South Africa and has never done so.

Clinton was expected to break past US policy by recognising the democratically elected Angolan government. Why this delay? Do you think he can make this radical change?

The present administration took office in January. And shortly after, a new state department came into being. Previously, Herman Cohen and Jeff Davidoff were in charge of African affairs. They had a speciality. The Angolan file. And we knew that these same men were under George Bush — a conservative. And it is these same people who used to support UNITA. Therefore, any information they gave on the Angolan situation would not have been favourable, because they continue with the idea that Savimbi is a democrat. But since there is a new state secretary who is looking at the Angolan file and President Clinton gave ten days for the state department to give concrete reasons why recognition had

not been given. Though these 10 days have passed, recognition will come sooner or later because Clinton is a democratic president. On the other hand, recognition is a unilateral act which a government will or will not give. But it is contradictory that the previous administrations before Clinton refused to give this recognition since the US happen to be the largest economic partner of Angola, and the highest investor in petroleum.

Why is UN blaming both sides for restarting the war when it is clear that UNITA is at fault?

It is a contradiction. This shows the ambiguity of the UN. Its Resolution 811 points out the violator as being UNITA and then says MPLA is to share in the blame. This does not hold and it shows lack of coherence. Are you defending the blame-worthy person or the other party? Because the government is protecting the populace so one must condemn those killing the people — which is UNITA.

Why did President Eduardo Dos Santos barter Namibia's independence with the removal of Cuban troops from Angola in 1988 at a time UNITA's fate could have been sealed? Surely the continuation of the war up to this point would have been unlikely?

When South Africa invaded, Cuban assistance was requested by the MPLA government. This right is given by the UN charter which allows a nation to seek for external aid if it is invaded by another country.

The Cubans had to leave Angola because of the New York Accord which the Angolan government signed. The motives no longer existed. Namibia gained independence and South Africa left the Southern part of Angola. Then the US promised they would no longer assist UNITA.

How do you think peace can be resolved when the government insists that UNITA should accept election results and Savimbi wants powershare?

There will be no brokered power. Never! This will be contrary to the election results, and we should respect the electoral institutions and the wishes of the people. As a matter of fact, UNITA has 10 of its members in parliament — people who are against the war and the militarist approach. UNITA should go to them. Those who voted for UNITA are against them now, because the Angolan people are suffering. Why should there be a war? Savimbi is not a democrat, he is an over-ambitious dictator.

UNITA wants suspension of hostilities and this cannot hold. Suspending hostilities means UNITA can recommence at any time. Also, suspension rather than ceasefire gives UN. A

the possibility to get aid from occupied zones and enable it to receive succour. So one should be cautious. There must be a ceasefire without conditions. After that, we can then discuss other problems. We must ensure people are safe and their lives and properties are secured, first.

The government of Angola which is delegating in Abidjan was given the mandate to sign a ceasefire, and UNITA does not want to sign it. And this is in bad faith since people are dying everyday, because of UNITA. In Angola it is repugnant to pronounce the name of Jonas Savimbi. Savimbi stands for death suffering and sorrow to the Angolan people — He plants death.

Savimbi's tribe, the Ovimbundus are 60 percent of Angola's 10.5 million people.

Probably that was why he agreed on elections since he thought he would win. Why did UNITA still lose the elections? And is the war a tribal conflict?

Savimbi thought all Ovimbundu Southerners supported him, but the election results prove this wrong. Every Angolan should feel he is one without looking at tribes. We do not like talking about tribes — the country should be seen as a whole. Though we are Africans, this should be a point.

Why is the government unable to retake Huambo?

UNITA used mercenaries and outnumbered government soldiers. So government troops left Huambo for strategic reasons. But government positions are more advantageous than UNITA's. Huambo is a matter of days

so UNITA should not think it will remain there — government will take back. But the government is making other considerations. The most important thing is not to take Huambo, but to have peace, because the people need it.

What difference do you perceive in Angola — Nigeria relations between the present Babangida administration and the Mohamud — Obasanjo era?

Both governments have been excellent in relations with Angola, and there have never been problems. The present Nigerian government has demonstrated solidarity with Angola throughout the crisis, and we are most grateful for this because Nigeria is a very important country in our continent.

UNITED STATES:

End of the world for religious fanatics

While a religious cult prepared for the Last Days, security agents storm their territory, resulting in about 90 deaths.

By Joseph Umunegbu



Koresh...The "warrior angel"

tics chose to kill themselves.

Since February 28, David Koresh refused to surrender despite assurances from FBI officials, of a fair deal. This was when a bungled offensive by members of the Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, resulted in the death of four of their men at the hands of the fanatics. Though the cult leader promised to give in once he finished writing a tract on the end of the world based on the seven seals of the new testament's book of revelations.

Koresh, who claimed to be a prophet king, and a warrior angel with the keys to heaven, had a mystical grip on his followers, who were galvanised by his preaching. Since 1990, Koresh frequently spoke on the end of the world, warning his flock to prepare for the aggressors, who would come from without the walls to destroy them. In a way, his prophesy was fulfilled!

QUOTELINES

"SAVIMBI plants death."

— Brito Sozinho, Angolan Ambassador to Nigeria

"WE demand that it be recognised by all that reparations represent the missing link in our difficult quest for international justice, peace and progress."

— President Ibrahim Babangida

"THE Attorney General should not resign because some religious fanatics kill themselves."

— Bill Clinton, answering media reports that he bungled on the Branch Davidian incident.

THE US is a violent society in which too many people have too many guns. But few would have believed a religious group, preaching the 'end of the world' would amass enough weapons to hold off the Federal Bureau of Intelligence, FBI, for 51 days.

The battle between the bizarre religious cult, Branch Davidians, an offshoot of the Seventh Day Adventist, and the FBI came to a bloody conclusion, last Monday, when the cult's camp, near Waco in Texas, mysteriously went up in flames, burning most of its occupants.

Security agents deployed an M-60 combat tank to devastate the cult's 77 acre compound and fire into its premises, tear gas canisters. The FBI claimed that the tear gas was designed to force the occupants out of the building and surrender. But some hours

later the complex exploded in a snowball of fire.

The cult leader, a self styled prophet of doom, David Koresh, and all members of his immediate family might have died in the turmoil. About 95 people were said to be inside the building and the occupants included children under 18.

It was suspected that the fire began from inside the complex when FBI sources said two of the cult members set the building alight, causing mass suicide. Sections of the US media criticised Bill Clinton's approval to allow FBI agents storm the Branch Davidian's complex, since many people died in the carnage while negotiation to get women and children out of the building was still going ahead. Clinton responded by claiming that the fan-

Blood for sale!

Sporting



..In a rare sporting fun, world-class wrestlers stormed Nigeria to trade violence.

By Isodi Dike

NYONE who

wanted to sell human blood that day, would have chucked up a nice little profit.

All he needed to do was to get a container and get a cupful of Power Uti of Nigeria's blood or a tinful of Gentleman Chris Adam's English blood. The occasion was the 7UP Wrestling Powerjam held recently at the mainbowl of the National Stadium, Lagos.

The organisers had promised fun, glamour and the super stars of world wrestling. All these the fans got. And more. There was Kevin Von Erich, from the famous German-American wrestling family, the Russian strongman, Nikolai Volkov, Special Delivery Jones, Iceman King Parsons, Iron Mike Sharp, Demolition Axe, Gorgeous Jimmy Garvin, the Iron Sheik, Power Uti, Killer Tim Brooks, Cousin Luke, Sunny Wonder, Super Billy Akashili, Iron Saigun and Superfly Jimmy Snuka from Fiji Island.

Nikolai Volkov, the one wrestling fans love to antagonise, did not want to wait for his championship fight with Power Uti before he takes the Continental Wrestling Alliance, heavyweight belt at stake. In the ring before the fight, he was restless. Several times he attempted to snatch the belt from Uti as the referee was busy

with the pre-night formalities. However when the fight started, he could not withstand Power Uti's head butts. The pionship belt ended well before time when Uti secured a cheeky pinfall over the Russian.

It was all Nikolai could take. He quickly brought out his traditional stick and attacked Uti. This was after a terrible bite he applied on the Nigerian's forehead. Uti's head was battered. What followed next was a princely flow of blood from the through yet. But Nikolai was not nouncer, shattering his desk and chasing him away.

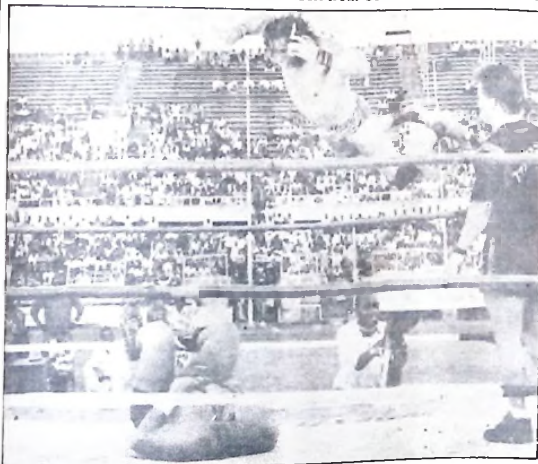
"Nikolai Volkov, wherever he is from same to disgrace me in my country but thank God he could not." Uti told TSM Sporting. "See what he has done to me. I could not retaliate because I lost a lot of blood but let him not forget. Power Jam can never be over between us. I'm going to look for him in all the arenas."

The tag match between the pair of Demolition Axe (301 lbs), Iron Mike (285 lbs) and S.D. Jones (281 lbs), Iceman King Parsons (245 lbs) was the ultimate thriller spiced with raw violence.

Whilst Iron Mike Sharp was forcefully seizing the announcers' microphone, angrily ranting that they were not properly introduced, S.D. Jones and Iceman King Parsons, came in to a loud ovation. They were dancing to Vanilla Ice's hit record, Icebaby, sexually twisting their waists and upper torso.

And the fans enjoyed it. The wrestlers were encouraged but Iron Mike Sharp would not hear of it. He was blistering with rage. "Look all you fucking fans, this is not a dance party. It's a wrestling match. If they don't come in here, we're going to go and get them" he yelled into the microphone.

To get them, Iron Mike Sharp and co. actually did but with the inadvertent support of the referee who did not witness a little foul-play that went on behind him when he was restraining S.D. Jones. So they won and was chased outside by the pair of Jones and Parsons and given a terrible beating with chairs, hands and terrible kicks. All these to the admiration of the fans who were cheering them with glee.



SUPERFLY!... Jimmy Snuka shows the stuff he is made of, flying.

As for Jimmy Garvin of U.S. his only concern was with Gentleman Chris Adams's beautiful and petit wife. He told the fans before the fight that he would beat Adams and carry his wife home. And yes he won, but that too was because of the referee who was knocked silly by a blow meant for one of the wrestlers. So when Adams secured a pinfall he was not there to count but was handy just by chance to count Jimmy Garvin's own.

Even that did not satisfy Garvin. He brought out his weapon and used it repeatedly on Adams. The result was ample flow of blood which left Adams dazed. Before he could recover briefly for a fight, Garvin had carried his wife away. Adams later rescued her, and promised to get Garvin at all cost in the next bout.

The man, wrestling fans love all over the world Superfly Jimmy Snuka easily ran over Iron Sheik whilst Kevin Von Erich defeated Killer Tim Brooks. The pair of Cousin Luke, Iron Saigun almost crushed out life from Sunny Wonder and Super Billy Akashili of Nigeria.

Some of the wrestlers spoke to TSM Sporting. According to S.D. Jones, the referee cheated them but he promised they will be back in Lagos. "That fight will be a fight to finish with them and we will not need any referee."

For Iceman King Parsons his joy is in coming to his fatherland to fight. "As a blackman, my only joy is coming to Nigeria to fight and in seeing how



BRUTAL...Nikolai takes a chunk at Power Uti's forehead.

well my people have received us. It's a great experience."

One thing must be said however. Wrestling fans saw more of brute force and bare-faced violence than the artistry and technicality of a good wrestling match. And some pressmen did not

have a pleasant experience. Some fought to get into the venue, whilst a few were harassed by some illiterate guards at one of the gates, who claimed they were acting on instructions from above.

3RD REPUBLIC SPORTS:

What can the President do?

...As a new body declares sports solidarity support, for a presidential aspirant, the question is asked.

By Isodi Dike

THE effect of sports in our everyday life cannot be over emphasized here. The only problem is that, Nigerian leaders have often taken it for granted.

Those who had managed to consider its importance have since concluded

that it is nothing to be serious about. Afterall it is just public entertainment. And who needs fun these days anyway.

This attitude has made it possible for successive governments to overlook the immense health, economic, social, political and international benefits that sports alone can generate

for the country.

Members of the National Assembly recently demonstrated their naivety and unsportsmanly conduct when they failed to assign a committee or sub-committee to sports, when they created the same for other matters.

From facts on the ground all these may change with the next calibre of occupants to the Aso Rock Villa in Abuja. Penultimate Wednesday, at the Press Centre, National Stadium, Lagos a body that calls itself the *Sports Solidarity Campaign for MKO Abiola*, the SDP presidential flagbearer was launched.

Brown Ebewele, an athletics coach, who is the national coordinator, explained the reasons for the body's existence. According to him, sports, sportsmen and women in Nigeria have been largely tolerated and treated like the dregs of the society by past administrations.

Abiola, he continued, has done so much for sports both within and outside the country and Africa. "With his

past achievements for sports, we feel he is the better candidate and we want to identify with him," he said. "Abiola understands what it takes to be a sports person, the poverty, the wretchedness often associated with it. That man will take sporting to a new height, that is why, we want to mobilise all sports loving Nigerians to vote massively for him."

Kola Ajegbe, the Director of Programmes for the body, and a member Lucky Aikoriegbe, chairman of Julius Berger F.C. supporters club, Surulere agreed with Brown, stating that a number of programmes have been lined up for the purposes of mobilisation.

True, MKO Abiola could be named as one single individual that has contributed most to sporting activities in the country, but as one observer puts it, would he have enough time for sports when he gets in the saddle? That query can rightly be answered by

Abiola and Othman Tofa, the NRC presidential candidate.

Abiola on his own has garnered quite an impressive record in this area. He is the First Pillar of Sports in Africa, an award conferred on him by the African Sports Journalists Union (ASJU) in recognition of his immense support to sports. He owned and later disbanded the Abiola Babes Football Club; sponsored the U'20 Athletic



Abiola....

Chairmanship in 1992; awarded the highest award by Confederation of African Football (CAF) during Senegal '92. During that occasion he doled out three million dollars to the body.

Amongst others, he donated a trophy to be awarded to the African Best footballer of the year and another, CAF cup, to be competed for by football clubs in the continent.

His credentials are tall, but TSM Sporting gathered that Tofa had not been equally idle. He is said to have made worthy contributions to some sporting courses in the north especially to individual sportsmen and women.

Whatever, in this particular area, Abiola seems to hold the upper hand. It remains to be seen whether they can give credence to what the American literacy guru, James Michener said: "I look at the front pages of newspapers to see the defeats of men and sports pages for their victories."

That sentence underlines the importance of sports to any group of people. As the country gears up for the Third Republic sports-loving Nigerians wish that they can have a president who will put their welfare first for a change.

A leader who will know that sports is fun; sports is for public health; sports stands for public entertainment and therefore public revenue if properly organised. That is not all.

Will the next president understand that in this period of our national life he will need sports to help mobilise Nigerians through the hard times and to aid him in a new diplomatic offensive? Only time will tell.



Tofa

HULK HOGAN CONFESSES:

"I was a suicide maniac"

Hogan saved my life," says — Hulk Hogan!

The wrestling star reveals he changed from a wild party animal into a clean-living, religious family man after he took on the "role" of good-guy superhero Hogan.

At first the Hulk Hogan role was just a gimmick for the wrestler, a character to play in the ring. But playing that role opened his eyes to the kind of man he should be — and made him leave behind the hell-raiser he had been.

"I was a suicide maniac!" the 6-foot-6, 265-pound champion confessed in an amazingly candid exclusive ENQUIRER interview.

"I thought I could drink this, drink that, drive all night long, and it didn't matter. And I took steroids.

"I was a lost man totally lost, until God and Hulk Hogan took a hand and saved my life. When Hulk told people to live right, it made me examine how I was living — and change for the better."

After a 10-month absence and rumors of retirement, Hulk decided to return to wrestling at the April 4 Wrestlemania — the Super Bowl of wrestling. As he prepared for the match, the 39-year-old superstar offered ENQUIRER readers a tour of his lavish home near Tampa, Fla. — and told how becoming Hulk Hogan turned his life around.

The grappling great — whose real name is Terry Bollea — had competed under various names before he became Hulk Hogan in 1978. But the good-guy role was just an act at first, he confessed.

"In the ring I was the all-American hero — but in private I was killing myself with a wild life-style.

"When my brother Alan died of a drug overdose, I got even crazier. He was only 38, and there he was in the casket, with big arms like mine, but he was dead. A terrible negative attitude began growing inside me.

"That's when Hulk Hogan stepped in. At first he was just a gimmick. I was still partying and drinking and raising hell.

"But gradually, I came to realize that being a role model for kids came along with the Hulk Hogan character.

"I couldn't drink three or four beers, then tell kids to live straight. Hulk was

created as a positive character, but I never expected dying kids to want to meet Hulk Hogan instead of going to Disney World!

"Hulk became a mirror for me, to see myself, and I didn't like what I was seeing. I found out that Hulk Hogan was a better man than Terry Bollea ever was. But I also found out that deep inside Terry, Hulk was itching to get out and make me live a better life.

"Hulk told kids to train hard, say your prayers, take your vitamins and believe in yourself. It made me realize that I was not training hard and taking the right things into my body.

"It was like wearing a mask and then discovering that the mask won't come off. I could feel Hulk taking over — and it felt really good!

"The strongest effect Hulk had on me was from his advice about prayers. Over the years I'd turned away from God. But when Hulk told kids to pray, God was telling Terry Bollea to turn back to God and find Him once more. That's what I did. My act is together now — and it will stay that way!"

Most of Hulk's time these days is devoted to charity work, particularly for the March of Dimes and the Make-A-Wish Foundation. "These kids are major priorities in my life," Hulk said.

The wrestler and his wife of 10 years, Linda — who has a daughter Brooke, 4, and son Nick, 2 — are looking forward to the release of his summer movie "Mr. Nanny", costarring Sherman Hemsley. Hulk plays a retired athlete working as a bodyguard for a scientist — who has the two meanest kids in the world.

He's also shooting a two-hour pilot for a CBS action series called "Thunder in Paradise," playing a former Navy SEAL — a special warfare expert — who goes on secret missions in a high-tech armored boat.

But wrestling is still in his blood, he admits — despite the hardships.

"I've gone through watching Andre the Giant drink four bottles of vodka and tell me, 'I'm going to kill you in the ring tonight.' It would make me so nervous I'd throw up before going into the ring because I knew he could do it!

"People say wrestling is fake, but you get hurt all the time. You don't know how many nights I've spent in emergency rooms.

"I have teeth marks around the bases of my fingers from wrestlers trying to

bite them off!

"But I still love wrestling. Being in front of a giant crowd, all clapping and shouting your name — it's my world. But now that I've made it financially, I can wrestle only when it's fun and spend the rest of my time at home with my family."

That home is Hulk and Linda's pride and joy.

The 8,000-square-foot house in Bellear, Fla., is decorated in a delicate style that seems out of character with a pro wrestler. But it's not at all out of character with the real Hulk Hogan. His wife Linda told The ENQUIRER.

"He's not the grisly, brawler type of guy — he's very sensitive and gentle. If people think he's some dumb, loud brute, they've got the wrong guy. He's a real sweetheart."

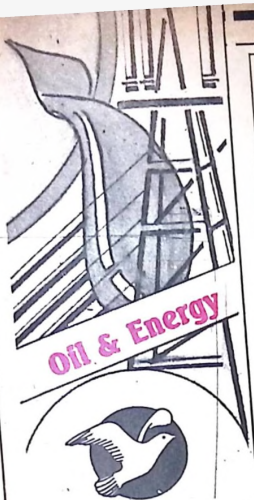
Said Hulk: "People see this big bald-headed maniac in tights in the ring, shouting and throwing people around, and they still don't know the real me.

"When I was in that deodorant commercial on TV, talking about 'odiferous emanations' — that role is much more like me!

"But my favorite role in life now is the one I get to play as a husband and father. I'm the happiest, luckiest guy in the world, and I owe it all to Hulk Hogan. Sure, I've made mistakes. But now, my little Hulk-amaniacs, you can believe in Hulk Hogan, because he is the true American superhero — and he'll never, ever let you down!"

Culled from foreign media





The more than one month industrial action of the Department of Petroleum Resources has left a myriad of problems in its wake and the nation may have lost millions of dollars as a result.

By Ademola Adedoyin

NORMALCY eventually returned to the Department of Petroleum Resources Monday April 5 after about six weeks of industrial crisis which saw the staffers of this vital department embarking on a work-to-rule action and later, total strike. For these six weeks, the nation's oil sector was turned into a sheep without a shepherd and things went haywire.

What did this action cost the nation? What problems has the action brought onto the nation's oil sector and to what extent has the action derailed the programmes of this all important sector of the economy? These were the posers **ISM** tried to find answers to in these past two weeks.

When the staffers of DPR threatened an industrial action early March, the nation's oil watchers expressed a lot of fears should the action be carried out. It was feared that crude oil produc-

Oyekan...back to the beat

Problems unlimited

tion might be stalled. Experts had also feared that such action could cost the nation its daily OPEC quota as it might be impossible to load crude oil; it was also feared that millions of dollars would be paid in demurrage to cargoes who would not be able to lift oil as scheduled.

Furtherstill, a total paralysis was envisaged in the downstream sector as domestic supply of petroleum products was expected to be affected. In fact, another fuel scarcity was feared.

All of these fears were entertained because the department plays a leading role in each of these activities. It gives the approvals and monitors the activities in both the upstream and downstream sectors.

The authorities were quite aware of the enormous powers wielded by the department and really got prepared for an industrial action by the department. When therefore the action commenced and things appeared normal in the oil sector, a casual observer would have



concluded that it was one crisis well managed by the authorities.

Really the authorities did its home work and ensured that activities were not grounded to a halt in the oil sector. At least, production of crude continued throughout the duration of the action. Nigeria pumped its quota to the international market, and the action did not result in scarcity of petroleum products locally. All appeared well.

TSM can however reveal that despite the government's action, the industrial crisis may have cost the nation millions of dollars. It was found in the course of investigation that all oil producing companies over-produced their quota while the action lasted. This is the way it worked out. The department often approves what is called production allowable i.e. what each oil producing company is supposed to produce in line with OPEC allowable quota. And the department is to monitor production to ensure that each company complies with its own quota.

Throughout the period of the action however, no production allowable was issued by those who should have issued it and production was not monitored. Said our source: "In such a situation only an angel would not do as he likes. All of them (oil producing companies) generally had a rolicking time producing as they liked as there was nobody to monitor them. They must have made millions at the expense of the nation."

And those who should know swore that the oil companies overlifted their quotas while the action lasted. Our source again: "when you guys reported that management staffers were sent to the fields and terminals and therefore things were normal we just laughed because we knew that is far from the truth."

So what is the truth? The truth is that while the action lasted, a management staff was sent to each of the terminals to generally supervise oil lifting. Some of them could not even get there, courtesy, striking workers. But all the management staff did was to sign approvals as proposed by the oil lifters. Monitoring of actual lifting was impossible because of what it entails. To properly monitor crude oil lifting at least six staffers of the department are always on hand. These are their roles: while the crude is pumped in from the field to the tank, one staffer physicalises, i.e. gauges the tanks to ensure the quantity pumped in, one monitors the meter while the third, analyses the crude been pumped in the laboratory. The same number do the

same duties for the pumping out, i.e. pumping to the cargo.

Now, while this action lasted, no one carried out all these duties, all the management staffer could do was to sign the approval for oil lifting and the companies lifted to their hearts' content.

Our source again: "I felt sorry for this country when the Petroleum Secretary said the nation lost no kobo as a result of the action. I am very sure that the Secretary, who is very knowledgeable in oil matters, would not even believe his own voice. The thing is these oil companies wait for such opportunity to exploit the nation. Even at the normal times we have complained that the metres need regular services to record properly. When they are not serviced, the nation is cheated by the oil lifters. So you can imagine the situation during a strike action by DPR. It is a common knowledge to anyone conversant with the terminals that they would have made a kill, it's unfortunate, but it cannot be disputed that the nation would have lost millions of dollars to overlifting of crude oil while the action

lasted. Oil companies loaded indiscriminately while the action lasted because they got direct approval from the management and nobody actually did close supervision."

Aside from these losses occasioned by the strike action, the nation's oil industry may be in for a lot of problems as a result of the action. One of these problem areas is the work programme of each company. Annually, the department assesses the work programme of each company for approval. The exercise is normally concluded by the end of the first quarter of the year. A work programme is a company's report of the things it did the previous year and what it intends to do in the new year. It's like a policy paper which sets goals and objectives in such areas as drilling of wells, production etc. TSM can however reveal that before the action commenced early March, only two companies — Agip and Dubri oil were treated. As at now, the department has about 20 companies work programme to work on. Work programme meetings started again fortnight ago. And TSM was reliably informed that the work may likely prolong till May ending.

Asidu...How much did the nation lose?



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Implication? The oil producing companies are now working according to their own set programmes and not as approved by the government through the department of petroleum resources.

Furthermore, the strike action has derailed whatever programme the oil companies may have for the years. And this is because a lot of proposals to drill out geophysical operations, to carry wells, to repair or workover wells have been unattended to for about six weeks. Examples of workover permit that are just being attended to, according to TSM finding, include, Ubit 12E and Asabo 11-B of Mobil and Ogarefe 6 and Asaboro South 1 of Pan Ocean. What this means is that the have cost the nation some huge

And those who should know swore that the oil companies overlifted their quotas while the action lasted. Our source again: "when you guys reported that management staffers were sent to the fields and terminals and therefore things were normal we just laughed because we knew that is far from the truth."

An apt example here is the seismic data issue. A company who applies to embark on seismic operation may be informed by the department that all it needs to do is to update the available data on the block. This is cheaper. But when it goes ahead to do fresh seismic work because the department was not there to advise, the amount incurred would be added to production cost, which, up till now, is shared 60 to 40 between the government and the joint venture partner. And in cases like this, according to our source, such bills are inflated by the joint venture partner to reduce or, if possible, eliminate its own share of the total cost.

The strike action has also left its wake a backlog of applications from applicants for oil Exploration Li-

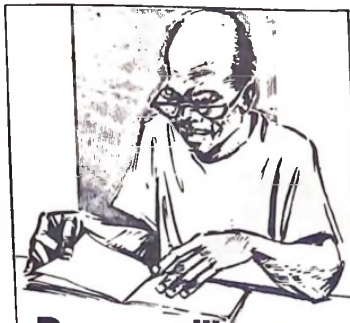
ences. (OEL), Oil Production Licences (OPL), and Oil Mining Licences (OML). Infallible source informed TSM that about 300 applicants which ought to have been attended to are yet to have their applications processed.

This delay would make it impossible for those companies who want to start exploration work to commence on schedule. And the implication of this is that increasing the nation's oil reserves would have been delayed a little longer.

The strike action also made it possible for some cheats in the downstream sector to cash in and exploit the citizens. A few filling stations, assured

that nobody would pay a sudden visit to inspect them tampered with their meters and sold less petroleum products for the right amount demanded by unsuspecting motorists. Many also engaged in hoarding which made life more difficult for Nigerians, and further frustrated the nation's economic activities.

As at now, the Department of Petroleum Resources is battling seriously to resolve some knotty problems which the six weeks industrial action has caused, but informed view is that certain vital issues may have damaged beyond repairs. And the nation is the worst for it.



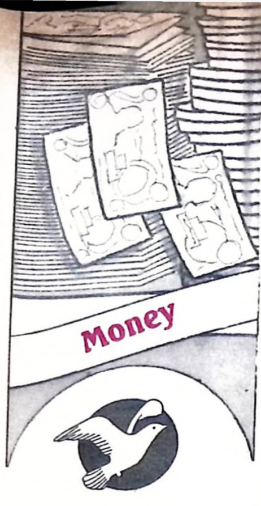
Do you still believe worms are kids' problem?

Worms don't affect only children! Research shows that over 12 million Nigerians, both children and adults, suffer from worm infestation. Just like every normal human being, you eat, you drink. And you unknowingly take in impurities that could harbour bread worms in your stomach. And thereby make you weak, tired and unhealthy. So, take precautions today. Take worm expeller yourself as well as the kids. It's worth the price of your good health!

See your doctor for more details.

PHOTO

Supn UGAT



World economy in doldrums

Nine key policy categories were chosen as reform indicators: trade liberalization, foreign exchange management, financial market, liberalization, wages and prices, fiscal and monetary policy, privatization, foreign investment, free flow of information and the existence of an enabling environment. These nine categories which were further broken down into 23 policy options; nevertheless indicated that the most urgent priority for many of the reforming nations was to stabilize their economies, which typically suffered from severe distortions that created problems such as high inflation (some-

times, hyperinflation), unsustainable deficits in the balance of payments and the government budgets, low foreign exchange reserves and a large foreign debt burden.

Of the 32 countries studied, 25 according to CIPE began their reform programmes with stabilization policies, primarily adjustments in fiscal and monetary policy, to restore fiscal and external balance and control inflation. In many of these countries, the study explained, the situation became crises, which usually resulted from a combination of poor policies and external shocks, such as the oil price increases of the 1970s, while most stabilization efforts were undertaken with IMF and World Bank financial and technical support. This emphasis on stabilization reflects what may be de-

Survey data by an International Institute provides an interesting indicator of general trends in commitment to the liberalization ideal, in terms of deregulation, trade and other policy areas which nevertheless paints a gloomy picture of the global economy.

By Obinna Nwachukwu

ASSESSING and comparing the relative progress of economic reform measures across countries is, by its very nature, a judgemental endeavour. As a way of minimizing the possibility for inconsistency and arbitrariness, a simple model that blends quantitative and qualitative measures of a performance on key structural reform policy categories by nations of the world was developed. This study which was conducted by the Centre for International Private Enterprise (CIPE) based in the United States of America lasted between 1990 - 1992 and showed a comparative survey of the reform process in 28 developing and 4 former socialist countries including Nigeria.



World Bank boss - at the heat of the storm

scribed as a consensus among the International donor community as to the process of economic reform. This consensus, as described by Marcelo Selowsky, chief Economist of the Latin American and Caribbean Region for the World Bank, views reform in terms of three stages: macroeconomic stability; liberalizing the incentive system, or structural adjustment measures that enhance efficiency and productivity; restoring investment, or creating a climate for sustained economic growth through private (domestic and foreign) as well as public investment.

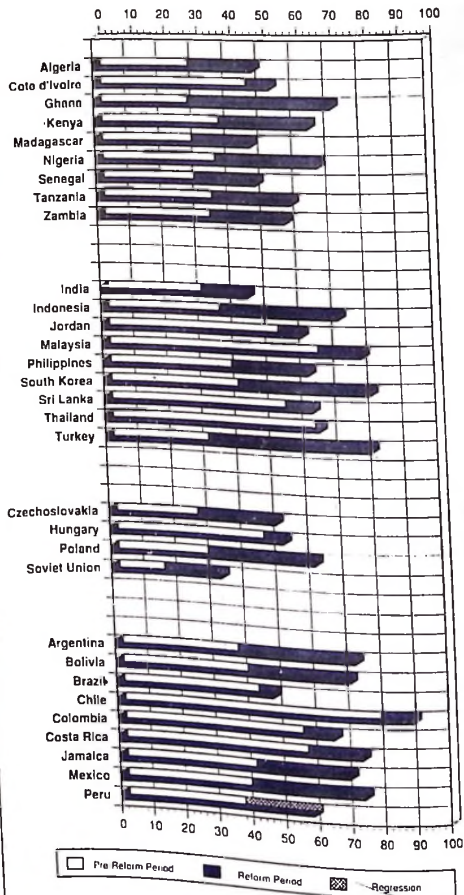
It is therefore not surprising that the CIPE study shows that 25 out of the 32 countries covered in the survey began reform programmes with attempts to stabilize their economies, which had become chaotic as a result of poor policies combined with external shocks. In Africa and Latin America, most countries were found out to have followed the policy consensus on economic reform, implementing stabilization policies in conjunction with external financial and technical support which yielded mixed results.

At the same time, countries that failed to implement the necessary structural adjustments to make stabilization effective experienced further destabilization after reform policies generated initial success. The repeated attempts to control inflation by wages and price freezes (without the underlying structural adjustments, such as cuts in public spending) in Brazil, Argentina, Mexico and Bolivia are typical of this. When Argentina, Mexico and Bolivia implemented structural reforms, including trade and investment liberalization, privatization, and cuts in public spending, stabilization was achieved, and conditions for further structural adjustments and subsequent growth were in place, the CIPE noted.

The African countries yielded a similar experience. Most of the countries in this region according to CIPE made numerous attempts to stabilize with little lasting success because of the failure to buttress stabilization with structural adjustment. All nine countries in the survey moved toward a market economy. Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya and Tanzania registered the most important improvements, with Ghana, Nigeria and Kenya realizing a high degree of commitment to liberalization.

Most African countries moved from ratings representing low commitments to a market system, to rating representing a moderate degree of commitment. Cote d'Ivoire was however, the only nation whose improve-

Economic Reform Survey Country Ratings



ECONOMIC REFORM TODAY

ment was marginal based on regression in the areas of wage and price controls and budget balance.

However although most countries in this continent did initially engage in stabilization efforts, such efforts were not successful. Stabilization was not achieved before the beginning of the subsequent stages of structural adjustment and restoring investment. Because of their inability to achieve stabilization, most countries had to continue attempting to stabilize while implementing structural adjustment at the same time. Thus, after the reforms periods covered in the survey, many African countries were still focussing on gaining control over the basic external and domestic imbalances that as of yet has not been addressed successfully.

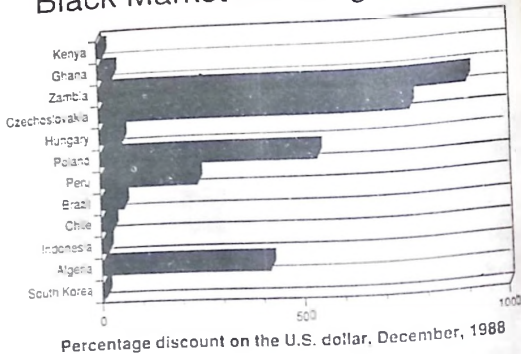
Nonetheless, the extent of reform in the African countries compared favourably with that in Latin America and Asia. However, economic growth and investment had not taken hold, because of the difficulty in achieving stabilization. The survey also confirmed the importance of strengthening the private sector. Emphasis was put on shying away from reliance on the government and International organisations, while increasing active participation of the private sector in the implementation of economic policy.

And in Asia, reform was approached from different perspective, in that stabilization was not necessarily an immediate or necessary goal. Structural adjustments were geared toward strengthening the private sector, developing non-traditional exports, and stimulating private investment to enhance economic growth. Countries that have implemented these adjustments successfully CIPE stated, have experienced greater growth and investment than countries that have lagged behind.

Appropriate reform strategies

Reform in the 32 countries covered by the survey features relatively few common threads: but one lesson is readily apparent: reform entails large-scale adjustments that carry with them significant costs, for the population at large and for the politicians and technocrats, that design and implement the reforms. For the reform to yield expected benefits, everyone must be aware that the reform process is fraught with difficulty both because

Black Market Exchange Rates



Percentage discount on the U.S. dollar, December, 1988

Source: World Survey Yearbook



The Naira: affected by global down-turn in the economy

these changes are so extensive and long periods are necessary for the reforms to achieve their intended results.

In some countries, however, circumstances may dictate drastic change because present policies have generated disastrous results in the form of uncontrollable inflation, large deficits in the balance of payments or the public sector budget, lack of investment (domestic and foreign) and reduced growth. Such an economic crisis CIPE said, creates hardships for the population and pressures for the

All nine countries in the survey moved toward a market economy. Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya and Tanzania registered the most important improvements, with Ghana, Nigeria and Kenya realizing a high degree of commitment to liberalization.

government to develop an effective response (usually consisting of efforts to stabilize economic conditions and lay the groundwork for future sustained growth). Often, previous attempts to combat crises have been ineffective, eventually resulting in another crisis. Under these conditions, the report advised that both the general public and government officials responsible for economic policy must first realize that the need for substantive reform is the only viable means for attaining economic growth and prosperity. Then they must acquire an understanding of the economic framework that needs to be put in place to achieve these goals.

CIPE also said that reform may become necessary in developing countries where economic conditions seem fairly stable and no crisis demands immediate attention. For example, conditions may not be suitable for sustained

Keys to Reform

- ✓ **Assess the initial political and economic conditions at the time reform is launched.** Officials must decide if stabilization is necessary and the appropriate measures for achieving it, including structural adjustments, if necessary. If stabilization is not necessary, the goals of structural adjustment should be clearly delineated. The potential destabilizing effects of structural adjustment should be kept in mind as these adjustments are designed and implemented.
- ✓ **Establish domestic political support and a consensus on the need for reform.** Potential opponents of reform (e.g., labor, protected business sectors) should be identified and agreements with them reached where possible. Major reform initiatives should be enacted via the legislative process, rather than executive decrees.
- ✓ **Communicate reform objectives and their expected results to the general public.** The economic benefits of serious reform efforts are elusive in the first few years while structural deficiencies are corrected. Without public support for economic reform, a government cannot sustain a program over the long term.
- ✓ **Demonstrate the government's commitment to reform to establish the credibility of the program.** During an economic crisis or in countries where previous attempts at reform have failed, radical, broad-based programs implemented quickly are effective indicators of the government's commitment and therefore are likely to enhance credibility.
- ✓ **Strong executive leadership is vital.** In many of the survey countries national leaders enjoyed a greater degree of power than normal at the outset of the reform process. It is critical to take advantage of this "honeymoon" period to establish a credible and well-crafted reform program.
- ✓ **Effective government institutions are also critical.** Countries can achieve short-term macroeconomic improvement under a wide range of institutional arrangements. But effective institutions with technically proficient bureaucrats are required for deep-seated transformations of economic systems.
- ✓ **Control fiscal spending.** The survey countries that have proceeded the farthest along the reform path tend to have the most successful management. Controlling the fiscal deficit is critical to maintaining stable prices, interest rates and exchange rates.
- ✓ **Establish real positive interest rates early.** These are an important defense against balance of payments instability. When markets calm down they should be stubbornly defended to boost savings and investment and to win back light capital.
- ✓ **Create an enabling environment in which the private sector can flourish.** Policies in three basic areas—private property rights, the legal system, and infrastructure—can enhance investment and growth significantly.
- ✓ **Deregulation and privatization will encourage entrepreneurialism, competition and the growth of the private sector.** This process will reduce the role of the state in economic management, lower public expenditures and help restore fiscal balance, stability and economic growth.
- ✓ **Attention should be paid to effective "social safety nets."** Economic adjustments can be harsh for the general population, especially in the poorest of developing countries. In order to avoid popular resistance to austerity measures, subsidies that directly impact consumers need to be reduced gradually.

future growth, and reforms may be important to avert a crisis further down the road. These reforms are typically more subtle than the measures used to address an economic crisis, and their benefits unfold over a longer time frame than, say, bringing hyperinflation down to manageable levels. Consequently, there may be less awareness among government policy makers and bureaucrats, as well as the general public, as to the need for reform and less consensus on the measures necessary to achieve it.

A good example of a long-term economic reform goal is for a country to achieve higher growth levels by integrating itself fully into world markets. Since developing countries must compete in the more demanding and tightly linked global economy of today, poor prospects for future growth may result when they cannot compete successfully. A country it explained, makes itself noncompetitive when the local agricultural, industrial or service base cannot produce goods that meet or create international demand. Since non competitiveness may be hard to detect at any given time, the need for reform may not become apparent until the economy has ceased to grow and is not attracting the private investment essential for future growth. To enhance their competitiveness and attractiveness for investment, the report said that many countries are joining regional trade organizations, such as the North American Free Trade Agreement, European Community, or the MERCOSUR group in South America. These blocs are designed to create a free flow of goods and capital among member countries, as well as larger, more attractive markets. However, to join these trade organizations, countries must adopt a set of policy prescriptions that will create more open economies in terms of trade, investment and other policy areas. For example, tariffs for imported goods must be set at certain levels, and the value of the currency must fall within a prescribed range, often by linking it to that of other currencies. Countries must equally reform their economies to enable them to function effectively under the more open group regimes.

Reform strategies

THE survey shows that there was significant variety in reform strategies among the 32 countries, reflecting the need for policy makers to tailor their approaches to reform according to their country's particular cir-

cumstances at the time the reforms were launched. An assessment of these initial conditions is an important first step in determining what reform path a country should follow.

For countries in economic crisis, stabilization becomes the most immediate priority and an essential precursor to the structural and institutional reforms that will serve as the basis for sustained growth. For 25 of the 32 countries surveyed, the reform process unfolded along these lines. In countries where the reform process is oriented more toward long-term adjustment and restructuring, structural and institutional reforms may be initiated without the implementation of stabilization measures.

In addition, policy makers must keep two important factors in mind when designing reform programs - the objectives of the reform program they are constructing and the limits on policies they may use to implement that program. Limitations, CIPE explained, may arise from various elements, such as the structure and past performances of the economy, level of indebtedness (especially to foreign creditors), foreign investment and trade regimes, and similar factors. Constraints may also arise from the opposition of entrenched interests, which typical benefit from status quo and will exert political pressure to preserve it. Labour unions (particularly for public sector employees), business groups from protected economic sec-

Olashore...Nigeria's Finance Secretary



The tactics and objectives CIPE submitted, must be clearly developed to make government officials, economic actors and the general public aware of the steps that are being taken to implement reform and the rationale (i.e. long-term objectives) behind those steps.

tors, and groups opposed to foreign investment often will obstruct reform. Opposing political parties may hamper reform to serve their own interests. Lower-level officials in agencies charged with implementing reforms may obstruct them in response to political pressures or to preserve their own positions.

Therefore, for a deep-seated economic transformation to take place, reform must be sustainable and consistent. Long-term objectives must be developed, with short-term policy measures serving as tactics in support of the long term strategy. For example, it said, many governments have the long-term objective of reducing public sector spending and controlling fiscal deficits. Privatization, through which government seek to eliminate the fiscal burden of covering the losses of state-owned enterprises, is described as an effective tactics in support of this objective.

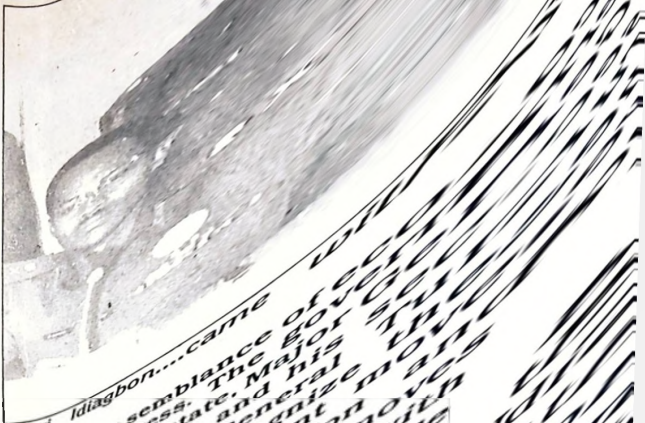
The tactics and objectives CIPE submitted, must be clearly developed to make government officials, economic actors and the general public aware of the steps that are being taken to implement reform and the rationale (i.e. long-term objectives) behind those steps. By clearly articulating the reform agenda and communicating it effectively, governments may develop a consensus in support of reform (or at least dampen political opposition) and thereby improve the reform programme's chances for success.

Nigeria, the mockery of democracy

WHAT are the prospects for the emergence of a democratic regime in Nigeria? This question has intellectual and policy relevance for future Nigeria. Since Nigeria gained her independence, scholars concerned with this issue were generally optimistic that the decolonisation and economic development would lead to a genuine democratic regime in Nigeria. The history of the next decade dealt highly with these expectations, and people became more pessimistically occupied with the reasons for the breakdown of democratic system. By the late 1970s, after 13 years of undemocratic military rule, the prospects for democracy seemed to have brightened once again, and so-called scientists have responded accordingly. The optimists of the 1970s were the rather naively optimistic, those of the 1980s have been more cautiously optimistic, but the optimism and the hope are still there.

Since the coup that toppled the Second Republic on December 31, 1983, Nigeria has been struggling to extricate itself from profound political and economic crises that have dramatically shaken the confidence and threatened the future of this once so promising "Giant of Africa".

The failure of the second attempt at democratic government since independence in 1960 had left the country torn between a deep philosophical commitment to democracy and a tremendous revulsion with the corruption, violence and self-interestedness that have attended party politics in Nigeria. The coup that turned the military to power at the end of 1983 was broadly welcomed and even joyously celebrated around the country. The democratic system had failed even to deliver political democracy, though free and fair elections, much less to



Buhari, Idagbon....came to produce some semblance of order and progress. The new head of state, Major Muhammadu Buhari, and his command, Major General Idagbon, seemed to recognize the problems. Their government quickly to punish corruption and eliminate waste. These initially were highly popular, especially among the interest groups - students, unions, businessmen and professionals - that had been most disgusted with the civilian regime. Newspapers also supported the new military regime to restore accountability to public life. But it soon became apparent that the Buhari regime viewed accountability only in the retrospective and as a process to be managed tightly from above. In fact, with unprecedented harshness, arrogance and impunity, the Buhari regime turned on the constituencies that had cheered its arrival.

Political problems crystallized in March, 1984, with the announcement of several controversial, authoritarian military tribunals to try former public officials suspected of corruption and misconduct in office. While the concept of such trials was popular, protest arose over the uniform severity of the penalties (a minimum of 21 years in the prison) and in particular the militaristic procedures instead of democratic procedure of trial. Decree Number 4 forbade the publication or

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pluralism including, particularly a...
strong and autonomous bourgeoisie; a

more market-oriented economy: Greater influence vis-a-vis the society of existing democratic state; and a culture that is less monistic and more tolerant of diversity and compromise. No one of these factors (preconditions) is sufficient to lead to democratic development.

With respect to the process necessary to bring about democratic development, a central requirement would appear to be that either the established elites within an authoritarian system or the successor elite after an authoritarian system collapses see their interests served by the introduction of democratic institutions. The probability of stable democracy emerging will be enhanced to the extent that the transition can be a gradual one, that the introduction of contestation precedes the expansion of political participation, and that the role of violence in the transition is minimized. The probability of democratization decreases sharply to the extent that political life in a society becomes highly polarized and involves violent conflict between social forces.

It is one thing to have the ideas of democracy and another to develop the context it requires. For a democracy to "work", in the sense that all incumbent leaders or aspirants for power are willing to use its procedures and abide by its results, the people must and with the possibility of bending together to enforce them. The elite and powerholders must also believe in their obligation to uphold such rights.

Therefore, the recent cancellation of the presidential primary elections by Babangida's government should not be surprising to anyone. The two political parties and their manifestoes were established within an authoritarian system. This is the beginning of another mockery of democracy in the Nigerian system of government. No military government can promote democracy because military training lacks the Democratic Creed. Democracy is understood as a system of government in which ultimate political authority is vested in the people.

The involvement of the military in the Nigeria democratic development has set the country ablaze and in confusion. Nigeria has to make the difficult sacrifices that are necessary if Nigeria is to develop a productive, growth generating base of economic activity beyond the isolated stimulus of oil.

Some schools of thought gave at least three reasons why the future democratic prospect depends on the

current economic adjustment in Nigeria. First, the swollen character of the Nigerian State has been a prime cause of each of the two democratic failures. Because both individual and group economic advancement have depended so heavily on the control of state power and resources, the competition for power has become a desperate "Zero-sum" struggle in which the rules of the game have been trampled, and corruption has been pervasive. This must change if democracy is to work, and it will not change unless the balance of opportunities for economic advancement shifts from the public sector to the private economy.

Secondly a new democratic government is going to have a tough time consolidating any basis of legitimacy if it cannot deliver some degree of ordered and reasonably well distributed economic growth. This too will be impossible unless Babangida succeeds in stimulating agricultural production and local manufacturing while breaking the wasteful economic habits and distortions that developed during the oil boom.

Third, there is a very difficult race against time. By all intelligent accounts, the current softness in the world oil market [which has already tightened in the past few months] will

Babangida...August 27 date



be transformed into another global oil-shortage - with the attendant high prices and boom incomes for oil exporters like Nigeria - sometime in the next few years. Whether this happens in as

little as two or three years (as some predict), or as is more likely, in five or ten, it will probably come during or after the transfer of power in Nigeria to civilian rule. If the next boom hits before a solid productive base has been firmly established outside of oil, the old irresponsible and parasitic behavior will reassert itself with a vengeance, and most of the people will be envious, resentful and embittered. This bitterness will be focused on the politicians of the next corrupt republic and will almost certainly bring them down again.

With respect to the reasons given above by the schools of thought, the emergence of democracy in a society is helped by a number of concepts: — individualism, which holds that the primary task of government is to enable each individual to achieve the highest potential of development;

- liberty, which allows each individual the greatest amount of freedom consistent with order;
- equity, which maintains that all persons are created equal and have equal rights and opportunities, and
- fraternity which postulates that individuals will not misuse their freedom but will cooperate in creating a whole some society.

As a political system, democracy starts with the assumption of popular sovereignty, vesting ultimate power in the people. It presupposes that people can control their destiny, that they can make moral judgements and practical decisions in their daily life. It implies a continuing search for truth in the sense of humanity's pursuit of improved ways of building social institutions and ordering human relations. Democracy requires a decision-making system based on majority rule, with minority rights protected. Effective guarantees of freedom of speech, press, religion, assembly and petition, and equality before the law are indispensable to a democratic system of government. Politics, parties and politicians are the catalytic agents that make democracy workable.

Nigerians want Governments chosen by elections but not all are prepared to help to make such elections sufficiently free and fair to bestow unquestioned legitimacy on the Governments elected. Yet so long as the legitimacy of elected Governments can be questioned, democracy in Nigeria will be in danger.

Dr. Osolaka, a Nigerian, based in Germany is the Chief Executive of Zulix Ltd., 34 Lagos.

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