



**COVER:** Gabriel Igbinedion, the Esama of Benin has left his indelible mark in the sand of time. He has made history in revolutionizing health care system. He has done what even the government has failed to do. Esama has built ultra-modern hospital in his wonderland. The hospital has no equal, it has no pair. It is one and only one in African continent. The hospital is unique in many ways. It is equipped with hi-tech health care equipments. It is full of sophisticated physical and equipment facilities.

For this singular feat he has assured Nigerians that health for all does not only terminate in the year 2000 but till eternity even without propaganda and empty-mouthed rhetorics.

Gabriel Igbinedion who has insatiable appetite and thirst for philanthropy has saved Nigerians the problems of going abroad to seek medical remedies when afflicted with deadly diseases. It is for both the rich and the poor at affordable charges. By this Igbinedion has demonstrated without praise-singing that he is a humanist. He cares for the people irrespective of their social status. Africans can now be cured of all their malignity and morbidity. Your medical remedy is guaranteed in Okada Wonderland.

Obi Wali second republic senator of high repute and man of substance was treacherously murdered by "unknown" assassins who kept waiting for him right in his bedroom. Obi Wali's gruesome murder is a great loss to Nigeria.

The way and manners the gruesome murder was carried out give room for suspicion of in-house conspiracy. It is however sad to note that Obi Wali's second wife and her relations were not unconnected with the cold-blood murder of the Second Republic Senator. Wali died a death engineered from within. Adieu great senator. Your 'Delillah' has conspired to snuff life out of you in a dastardly manner.

# CONTENTS

Human trafficking called slavery and Africans as articles of trade were subjected to all forms of exploitations and in-human treatments. Historically Africa has a case for reparation. .... **23**



Okeje

Nigerian music scene is suffering reverses. The music talents are steadily leading for the limbo. What hope is there for yet unborn music stars? .... **36**



Isaac Black: Born to survive

Deregulation of economy by Babangida administration has brought more problems than solution to the nation's ailing economy. .... **40**

Enlightenment campaign embarked upon by NNPC for correct pricing of petroleum products gets a rebuff from legislators and state governors. .... **47**



Oiasore: which way to economic recovery?



Asiodu: No to subsidy removal

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## Good News:

**G**OOD news does not sell in Nigeria. Vendors insist that Nigerian readers have a voracious appetite for bad news. It has to be hot and bad for them to buy. On the other hand some argue that it is a matter of conditioning. Nigerian Journalists, they say, are negatively inclined and thus have over the years weaned the readers on negative news. Whichever brought about the other, the chicken or the egg, the fact remains that it puts its own pressure on journalism practice. Often, inspiring stories cannot receive the play they deserve because the readers do not care for good news. The result is an over-saturation of bad news, one that hangs over the nation's psyche like a bell jar.

**It was the most  
 bestial murder  
 Nigeria has recorded  
 in decades. Even  
 New York's  
 celebrated multiple  
 murderer, son of  
 Sam, could not have  
 done better.**

This week, **TSM** intends to give those readers that may have a need for a breath of fresh air, a dose of inspiring news. It comes from Gabriel Igbinedion's Okada Wonderland, Deputy Editor. **Ninanna Ocherome** reports on Igbinedion's latest marvel: a Specialist Hospital fit for kings. It is for those who wish to draw from the central character's story of defiance of life's limitations, of struggle and of relentless pursuit of success.

## Bad News:

The other cover story is bad, bad news. A grisly murder of Second Republic's outstanding Senator, **Obi Wali**. It was the most bestial murder Nigeria has recorded in decades. Even New York's celebrated multiple murderer, son of Sam, could not have done better. **Wali**, was butchered in his bedroom last Monday afternoon, leaving **Port Harcourt** in shock. As soon as the news broke, **TSM** Acting Editor, **Comfort Obi** rushed to Port Harcourt. Read her story if you have the stomach for bad news.

*Chris*

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# Nzeribe replies Chuba Okadigbo

**I** HAVE read the *TSM* Volume 7 of Number 2 of April 25 1993. I note what Chuba Okadigbo has said and what a member of the Igbo leaders Consultative forum has said. I am consoled and I am happy that we are all saying the same thing, we are all fighting the same battle, the Igbo cause.

The only difference in my mind is the approach and the methodology. But it is to be expected, it is inevitable because we are all different personalities and have different approaches to different issues.

But one thing that baffles me is that my fellow Igbo people, any time they open their mouth to talk to the public, they are attacking me. Despite all my access to the mass media, I have never attacked anybody and will never do so, let alone attacking my own brother, my fellow Igbo man. If I felt anyone of them is doing anything wrong, I will reach out to him privately and talk and try to solve it.

But here I am, nobody can deny my nationalism for the Igbo nation. You can call me anything you like, but you must recognise me as an Igbo nationalist. If you feel that my approach in fighting the Igbo cause is wrong, can't I be invited by my colleagues, by my brothers and say look Arthur, you're doing the same thing that we are doing but the way you are doing it is wrong see, let's do it this way. I will listen if I agree with them.

I keep on doing my thing the way my mind tells me is right. But as soon as I do that, next thing I see, most of them, particularly Chief Sam Mbakwe and Chuba Okadigbo, as soon as they open their mouth to the press, the next thing you hear is Arthur, why? Their only interest is to attack me. I want to seize this opportunity of reacting to what Chuba Okadigbo and the member of Igbo elders consultative Committee said in the edition of *TSM* to appeal to them to please stop attacking Arthur.

We have an enemy to fight outside. We are now an endangered specie. The Igbo race is about to be annihilated. We don't want to lose time making squabbles at home, fighting ourselves. We should team up and fight what is outside. Don't make Arthur the target. There is enough to do outside.

There is also this fundamental difference in my way and their way. Im-



mediately I say I back an issue I go out and finance it with my own resources. I find it annoying that when they want to fight an issue at home, they go out and seek resources. If we are fighting a battle in the region, brother versus brother, we should fund ourselves from home-made resource, not one man going to Ondo or Abeokuta or Katsina to go and bring money and fight at home. There is no shortage of fund in Igboland. They could go and raise the money from Ekene Dili Chukwu, they could go and raise it from Emma Iwuanyanwu, Sab Ejimofor. There are people with money in Igboland. I can count hundreds of them. They should raise money inside to fight a home battle. Why raise money from outside to come and fight your brother? Is that the way they make their living?

The man who spoke to you and said I was alone, I find funny. The facts do not bear this. They should approach public affairs without being personal. He says I have a nuisance value, now I wonder what value he has. He called me a loner.

But let me recount these for the interest of the numerous *TSM* readers. A man who is alone cannot do what I have done.

In 1989 Dr. Chuba Okadigbo who is always attacking me, had a very brilliant idea, an organisation he called Axis. He was hawking this idea around and did not find anybody to fund it.

When he came to me, I funded Axis. I paid every kobo, about N700,000. I have the record. It was launched in Asaba at Dennis Osadebey's house. I know all the Easterners who attended. I give Chuba credit for that. It was his brain-child. But it was my money. When the money I put up ran out, Axis collapsed. And now Chuba is attacking me every day for use of money, but when he needed money for his Axis, Arthur funded it. How can you fight this battle without money.

The idea of my CARIA movement came like this. I am honest and modest enough to admit that the CARIA thing was nothing new, it was no original idea at all. The same CARIA idea originated from them but it was on the drawing board. They were running round the circle calling themselves Eastern Forum, Axis, Oriental Club. I saw what they were doing and I felt it was good for our people but I didn't like the idea that nobody wanted to take it to the implementing side. So, I took the idea, gave money and floated CARIA.

But this anonymous member of Igbo consultative forum who wrote for you says I am alone. A man who is alone does not float CARIA and nobody would deny that CARIA movement was the best thing that happened to that region. I took CARIA to Abuja in 1990 and we made the difference that installed Baba Gaba Kingibe. The man who is alone could not have exercised the influence that controlled the whole of that region. Between 1990 and 1992 I was controlling virtually all the state party apparatus in the East, and the man says I am alone. I was able to fund the party's local government election in 1990. I funded all the 1,400 councillors, all the 1,001 council chairmen. This man who says I'm alone must be ignorant. He does not know what is on the ground. I am alone and yet in 1991, I produced nine gubernatorial aspirants in the party. All the aspirants were split between me, Baba and Yaru'Adua groups and I produced nine. I have three governors I installed in SDP today. Even in Jos, I produced six Presidential aspirants who all won. I came third in the cancelled presidential primaries in 1992; yet I'm alone. I wonder when they'll start giving me credit. I funded all the National Assembly members of the party, and spent over N25 million helping the party. And yet I'm alone.

RE-IGBOS. WHAT DO THEY WANT?

# Power and the Igbo man

By Cyprian Ekwensi

**T**HERE have been Igbos who understood the nature of the game, the intrigues, the constant shifting of interests (and of position). One such man was the late K.O. Mbadiwe. He was a master chess player, admired by friends and foes alike.

At this particular moment, the Igbo people still allow themselves to suffer from the psychological hangover of 'defeat' in a civil war fought over twenty five years ago, on which they really won the propaganda war.

Was Germany not defeated (and partitioned). Was Japan not obliterated by atomic bombs dropped in Nagasaki and Hiroshima? Is every leading power today not terrified by the economic and technological power of the two nations?

When will Igbo man really believe that the civil war is over, that there were no victors and no vanquished and join his fellow Nigerian brothers and sisters in applying the lessons learnt there: the lessons of survival, of spartan living, of de-emphasising the material side of life, of strategy to surmount disadvantaged position...

The Igbo man (and woman) are not lacking in the qualities of leadership. What is lacking is *stares*: in the game which has no normal rules, no permanent positions, no distinction between falsehood and treachery as long as power is the stake.

That attitude of capitulation and resignation will seldom produce the best results, only second rate concessions. One is apt to forget that a contest: can only be won by one who contests.

The use of boycott, is a 'no show' strategy and the award goes to the party that 'shows face'.

Yet there is something about the Igbo man that always marks him out. When he is friendly, and that is often, he is friendly to a fault, absolutely loyal. At work he is a donkey, tireless and persevering. It seldom matters to him that the work he is doing is 'public'. He flings in all he's got to the conster-



nation of those around him who ask: Is this your father's job?

The Igbo man will take risks and travel long distances in quest of an ideal or of fortune. He is a catalyst for change, sometimes even a reactor. He burns with restlessness, scouring the world for that elusive excellence.

He detests injustice and cannot bear to witness it idly without rallying round the victim. He will gladly carry the burdens of the world on his shoulders sometimes to the negligence of his own, but often his planning ability is hampered by his wanting to know too much before action, his tendency to engage in more analysis than action.

While other major ethnic groups were preaching 'unity' and fragmenting the country into states, he was shouting 'unity' and opposing the creation of states, which he regarded as fragmentation, until someone invented the argument about Federal Share.

The more states you have, the more Federal Share comes your way says the argument. While Awo saw Federalism as the key to development in the Regions, Igbo man's concept of unity was a unitary government, much the same as the British left with us.

He has been so conservative that by the time he came round to the modern thinking, other regions had been carved out three or four times. The 'marginalisation' had begun with the question 'how many states can you deliver', and of course the number of deliverable states in Igbo Land could be counted on the fingers of an amputated hand.

It has been said that politics is a

game of numbers. The land-locked Igbos lack those numbers, and the economic situation of the country and the religious indoctrination have both led to the limitation of families, which means the prospects of large numbers tend to diminish.

When Senator Chuba Okadigbo says that in politics we are not talking about romance, he is not referring to the beautiful bride (which may be part of the 'horse trading'). He is talking about power, the power to rule over people's very lives, whether they live or die, eat or starve. Power is very seldom conceded. Those who understand it know what it takes to capture power, the military more than anyone else.

The Igbos are not famous for their militaristic approach to life, and have to learn rather late in life to stop expecting concessions and accommodations.

They must not leave the struggle to others. We are all after all said and done, striving in our way to build one nation.

After the struggle comes the horse trading and the 'sharing'. The greater your position of strength, the greater your share. If you are in a weak position, all you get is chaff. In the colonial era, those Igbos who joined the armed forces were regarded with some scorn.

On the other hand Northern Nigerians have always been militaristic, as witnessed by the opposition they gave to the colonising British forces, matching horse for horse and musket for musket. In addition there was the religious conquest of Nigeria beginning from the desert and aiming for the Atlantic.

All these characteristics lurk there in the background. When I hear of 'rotational presidency', I wonder what anyone means — that you surrender power turn by turn.

What I am advocating is less lamentation over the civil war, acceptance that Igbos are an integral part of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, with genuine rights and privileges, that we must not surrender before the 'fight' begins unless that surrender is also part of the strategy of the complex game they call politics.

In short, Igbos must decide for themselves whether they will go on lamenting the civil war of twenty-five years ago, or gather their abundant strength and resources (recognised by other major groups in the country) and make a bid for their fair share of power.

For my part I can never understand the complex game of politics but take great delight in playing witness.

# What do they want?

By Dayo Abatan

**E**VERY person has a right to demand what he considers his political due either as an individual citizen or as a representative of a recognised ethnic, social, cultural or zonal group within the context of a nation-state such as Nigeria. And to such a person must also be conceded the inalienable right to seek to be heard in his advocacy for being given what should belong to him, vis-a-vis other component and contending units.

It is the interplay of such demands and counter demands among the various rival units that provides the instrumentality for the allocation of what goes to which group, just as the relationship between supply and demand in a free-market economy determines the price level of the various commodities.

It is in this context that one should assess the views expressed by Chief Arthur Nzeribe in the April 25th edition of *TSM*, on the above subject in which he opined that the Yorubas are a part of the problems of the Igbos in the Nigerian polity.

But while expressing his views and advocating what he believes should go to the Igbos within the SDP chapter of the Nigerian polity, Chief Arthur Nzeribe committed a number of serious historical, political and factual errors.

The Oguta Chief built his case around three accusatory pivots:

- (a) "The zoning of the SDP national chairmanship out of the reach of the Igbos."
- (b) "The anti-Igbos-traders activities of the Lagos area boys."
- (c) "The refusal of the Yoruba SDP members to vote for him during the ill-fated 1992 Presidential Party Primaries."

Our duty to posterity demands that we put the records straight on all the points raised by Chief Arthur Nzeribe in that no-holds-barred piece. The "Igbo marginalisation" within the SDP as evidenced by the refusal of the Party to zone the national



Chairmanship of the party to East.

Said Chief Nzeribe inter-alia Yorubas don't support the Igbo chairmanship, they can kiss it goodbye. It is impossible for Igbos to ignore that "waverer" as the names of the SDP national chairmanship candidates for the 1992 election are drawn. "as I saw the SDP national chairmanship out of the reach of the Igbos."

Chief Arthur Nzeribe's accusations are unfounded. The SDP national chairmanship was zoned to the Yoruba area because of the overwhelming support of the Yorubas in the party's primaries. The Igbos were not consulted in the zoning process. Chief Nzeribe's claim that the Yorubas refused to vote for him during the 1992 Presidential Party Primaries is also incorrect. He was not a candidate in those primaries. The SDP national chairmanship was zoned to the Yoruba area because of the overwhelming support of the Yorubas in the party's primaries. The Igbos were not consulted in the zoning process. Chief Nzeribe's claim that the Yorubas refused to vote for him during the 1992 Presidential Party Primaries is also incorrect. He was not a candidate in those primaries.

# Igbinedion's billi



Igbinedion...a dream come true

Here is good news for a change: you don't have to travel abroad to get specialized treatment. This is the Bini chief's latest obsession, one that will revolutionize medical practice in Africa!

By Ochereome Nnanna

N Sunday

April 25, Gabriel Osawaru Igbinedion sat anxiously on a low chair, watching the men at work on the Presidential pavilion. The fading daylight and the frowning skies over Okada town enhanced the blinding showers of sparks from welders' equipment. The men up there on the iron skeleton of the pavilion worked at a steady, frenzied pace to ensure that, come May 4, the president, Ibrahim Babangida, would, under the shade of the great structure, commission the Igbinedion Hospital and Medical Research Centre.

These past few weeks, Igbinedion and sons and his Jamaican-born spouse, Cherry, have rarely left the confines of Okada Wonderland. Anytime any of them took leave of the work site, it was only for a brief recreation. While Lady Cherry supervised the artistic finish of the most expensive pri-

vate project in Nigeria, the Esomo of Esom organized, and agonized over the facilities that would play host to his august visitors from all over the world. The hospital itself is world-class. The occasion to formally declare it open has to be flawless and first-class.

To make that happen, no cost has been spared. No effort, either. Everyone has had to bend down and work, sweat and get dusty. Cherry, who walks with the grace of an Indian princess, firmly turned down *TSM's* offer to take photographs of her at work. So also did the Esomo himself, who could not imagine himself on the cover of a major news magazine, looking like a casual labourer.

Gabriel Igbinedion may not be the traditional ruler of Okada Island, but he is the king of Okada Wonderland,

which happens to be over 80 per cent of Okada Island inhabited by human beings. Throughout our three-day stay, he was either laughing soundlessly round the estate in his immaculate white Mercedes 500 SEL car, or shambling around in slippered feet giving orders, throwing dry jokes, cajoling or spitting fire, as the occasion demanded. It was easy to see right away, Igbinedion, the super-rich lover of flashy cars and fine houses; Igbinedion, whom they write all those nice and nasty things about; and Igbinedion whose shrewdness, internal order and rhythm, and whose fanaticism for the very, very best that money can buy, sharply contrast with Igbinedion, the swift and brash one who is ready to tell you to "go park it" when it comes to that.



distant time.

Another very special feature of this hospital is the area reserved for wealthy individuals who don't have to be medically sick to be guests here. Top corporate executives who want a brief restful spell from their stressful work, and who just want to pamper themselves can join their sick counterparts in a block of 80 VIP and four presidential suites. Now the presidential suites are something else.

As soon as you walk through the doors, the mechanical eyes of security close-circuit television cameras pick you up and show-case your activities on monitors in the presidential suites. The doors and windows are bullet-proof, and the furnishing very presidential, even though one does not have to be a president to earn the privilege of quartering in them. For a fee of 5,000 naira daily, disclosed a doctor who took us round, anybody is entitled to live there like a president.

Talking about physical infrastructure, the therapeutic block is equipped with a special physiotherapy unit which will provide diathermic and ultrasonic services, for the benefit of those recovering from orthopaedic or paralytic damage. In due course, the

Okada Health Farm will further provide luxury guests with body building, sauna and gymnasium facilities. Feeding is strictly a five-star affair and all parts of the hospital are equipped with modern business and communication facilities to keep in touch with the

office and carry on with the business of making money while receiving medical care. Anywhere they are, doctors, nurses and emergency staff on duty are equipped with what is described as "an intelligent, paging system." This is an instrument that enables them to receive complex messages within an eight-kilometres radius of the hospital so that they can respond promptly to the needs of guests and patients. According to records, this is the only system of its kind in the world today, and sets this hospital apart from the rest within the continent.

Stepping through the revolving doors of the main reception buildings, one gets this impression that this is more of a five-star hotel than a hospital. Flowers, both those that thrive indoors and outdoors adorn all parts of the project, lending it this gentle perfume that overwhelms the stink of

drugs and chemicals. Sculptures confront you at every turn, especially around the ground floor of the main building, some making medical statements, others cultural. The furnishings is more reflective of the private homes of the wealthy, or the most reserved suites of great hotels. Apart from the natural colours of green and yellow from leaves and flowers, the dominant external colour of the Igbinedion Hospital and Medical Research Centre, is white and sky blue—the unmistakable colour of the Igbinedion Empire. Lady Cherry told TSM that these colours are a tribute to nature and living (see interview). Cherry, a member of the hospital's board of trustees was given the mandate to handle the furnishing and decor.

The area our reporter found most fascinating contained the endoscopic machines. These computer-based hardware investigate the internal organs of the body and quickly identify diseased areas. The radiological department is rather intimidating, with its stacks of expensive machines.

At the Computer Tomography scanner (CT), Oleg Nestaiiko, a Russian professor of radiology was very enthusiastic in demonstrating it for us while he

## LADY CHERRY

...The softer side of Igbinedion



EVERYTHING

rich and beautiful in the Igbinedion Hospital and Medical Research Centre can be rightly credited to this West Indian-born lady. She works with the workers, putting everything right and sweating it out like everyone else. Cherry, who speaks with a measured but clear diction, was not keen on granting an interview because, like her husband, she wanted the hospital commissioned first before time could be made for comprehensive discussions.

Even though she later relented and spoke on the philosophy behind the project, she staunchly declined a picture of hers being taken while at work.

The atmosphere around the hospital seems to make a statement. What is it?

Nature in particular has played a beautiful role in this hospital because I think when God created His earth, it was for a very important reason that



Cherry...a keen sense of aesthetics



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## Clinical and diagnostic facilities

**T**HE quality of personal care at the Igbiniedon Hospital is matched only by the quality of the technology at the medical staff's disposal. The hospital's outpatient and diagnostic block is equipped for use both within conventional clinics and specialist clinics for cases referred by institutions and General Practitioners elsewhere in the world. Facilities include:

\*A top of the range Siemens Computed Tomography Scanner, for skeletal and tissue analysis of every area of the patient's body.

\*A Mamunography Scanner for breast cancer screening;

\*Multiple-patient scanning systems for Electro-Cardiography (heart), Electro-Encephalography (brain) and Electro-Myography (neurology).

\*An ultrasonic Lithotripter for the non-invasive treatment of kidney stones, and similar complaints.

Conventional out-patient facilities include:

\*Six clinics for medical, surgical, gynaecological, maxillo-fa-

cial and plastic surgery consultations.

An Ear, Nose and Throat clinic equipped for Otorhinolaryngology, Audiology and Speech Therapy;

\*Pathology lab with auto-analysis in Haematology and Medical Biochemistry;

\*X-ray department for general duty and barium meal screening;

\*Dental unit equipped for Maxillo-facial surgery in conjunction with beauty clinic and plastic surgery.

The out-patients block also contains a six bed short stay ward and a small operating theatre to complement the four theatres in the main Operating Department. Each of these is equipped

with hands-free communication equipment enabling surgeons to instruct or advise anaesthetists and nursing staff without leaving the operating table.

Intensive care and accident and emergency facilities are housed within the in-patients department.

The brain on a computer monitor



An instant comprehensive diagnosis





IBB...a special mansion for him

able to persuade the authorities to disclose what it is like. But Obiaya said it is, at least three times as good as what obtains in the industry. However, one of Igbinedion's aides, a professor, told TSM that some of the doctors receive about 10,000 naira per month as salary, and 2,000 US dollars per month as allowances. Accommodation and transport which are free, are provided for staff. The fourth phase of the housing estates for staff is almost ready.

Given this highly upbeat working condition the hospital management demands of their staff certain attitudes to work that fit. Staff are not allowed to loiter lazily while on duty. Movement must be sharp and brisk, and relations polite. Absenteeism from work without permission, (a normal practice in the larger Nigerian working environment), which began to rear its head in the hospital has been dealt with administratively, and Obiaya says this will continue until all staff imbibe the basic standards of work at the hospital.

Many people wonder why Igbinedion went into this revolutionary venture. They ask if it is possible for a hard-nosed Nigerian businessman to throw billions of naira into a hospital project. What is the motive? Profit? Philanthropy? Igbinedion officially explains it this way: "Nigeria is at present the most populous nation in Af-

rica and has long been one of the most prominent in terms of culture and civilization...we must develop our social infrastructure that offers our citizens the best possible facilities in housing, transport, education and, of course, health to complement the aspirations of President Ibrahim Babangida's administration. That is why I have sponsored the foundation of the Igbinedion Hospital and Medical Research Centre, a purpose-built ultra modern medical centre that sets the very highest standards for private health care services not only in Nigeria, but also the whole of West Africa."

The answer he has not yet provided however is, whether he single-handedly funded it, though nothing so far suggests that there might have been external partners, except the composition of the Trusteeship Board which has Setchell and N. Lange from the United Kingdom and professors T.A. Lambo and A.O. Lucas from the World Health Organization.

Meanwhile the greatest advantage offered by this hospital is that tertiary health complications which, before now required a trip abroad, can now be done in Nigeria. The air tickets alone cannot be a source of worry, no matter how the naira performs in the current market. Secondly the computer is at work here. It implies speed and precision. Results are out in minutes and treatment quickly administered. Recently, governor Abubakar Musa of Kebbi State who had a complicated health problem he sustained in a road accident, was treated here and certified fit to continue his work. While there, he had facilities at his disposal to govern right from his sick bed.

But, like every well-intentioned programme, this hospital, which brings

the world to Okadaland, is also putting the world to the rural populace of the area. Population explosion has pounced on Okada. Igbinedion builds houses for his workers and guests. But, what of those who have come to settle there and provide support services for the growing needs of the town? TSM found out that house rent has gone up. From a mere nothing in 1991 when the project was started, a room now costs between 80 - 100 naira in Okada—as high as some areas in Lagos. Transport, beyond those provided by Igbinedion for his establishment, is scarce and cost is rising steadily everyday. A trip from the town to the expressway is between three to five naira by bus; to Benin, 65 kilometres

away, is between 15 and 25 naira. For the daily odd-job seekers, that is a lot. Food is also scarce and costly, as the people working for Igbinedion have dwarfed the local populace. Higher staff of the establishment go to Benin to do their shopping. That, however, is part of the strains that development brings.

Come May 4. Okada Wonderland is going to witness history. The President and all the who-is-who in Nigeria will storm the town in a rousing manner. Security is already being mapped out. By this weekend the IBB presence will be felt in a way that will leave no one in doubt that he would be there, perhaps to pass the night in the mansion specifically put up for him.

Already dozens of well-selected young ladies, some of the most beautiful girls in Benin, are being groomed to act as ushers for the VIP's and other guests. This is just another indicator that a super-fantastic hospital, to be commissioned by the President is to be hosted in a no-holds barred fashion by the king of Okada Wonderland, Gabriel Osawaru Igbinedion, the Esama of Benin.

Oba of Benin, Erediaawa....something big happening in his domain



# Why we are the best

— **Mathias Obiaya, Igbinedion Hospital Medical Director**



**B**IAYA is a consultant anaesthesiologist who trained in Canada. A retired associate professor of Medicine in the University of Benin Teaching Hospital (UBTH). Obiaya was a Commissioner for Agriculture, and later, Works and Housing in old Bendel State where he rose to the post of Deputy Chairman of the State Executive Council under Abubakar Waziri, the Military Administrator of the state before the Obasanjo regime handed over to the Shagari administration in 1979.

The professor later took up a job in Saudi Arabia where he worked for five years, a product of the infamous brain drain. It took the status of the Igbinedion Hospital for the medical expert to return home to offer his services to his fatherland. In this interview, he explains some of the enigmatic issues surrounding the ambitious medical facility.

**Q** We understand that this hospital is the best in Africa. Does this description fit with what is on the ground?

**A** It is the best as far as we know. The kind of equipment, the number we have is not available anywhere else in West Africa as far as I know. Other hospitals may have one, two or three other but there is hardly another one that has all of them put together as this.

**Q** Could you explain the basic concept of the hospital?

**A** The idea of a hospital is not new but what was observed by the founder of this place is that most of our hospitals lack highly sophisticated equipment as a result of which people go out of the country to seek highly specialised care. And the idea then is to provide here in Nigeria those things which make our people go out. Not only that our people go out in pursuit of advanced health care. But our doctors also go out because they want those facilities to work with, they want better job satisfaction. Simply because here in Nigeria we don't have what is necessary to give them job satisfaction. This hospital therefore was built to serve those two ends. One, to provide highly specialised equipment to provide more than routine investiga-



Obiaya...back to land

tion and also to serve as a place where our own doctors can get the kind of experience they would not have got otherwise.

**Q** Can we have a proper idea of how well equipped the hospital is to meet these needs?

**A** We have equipment that are highly specialised. But while that one is attracting attention merely because that kind of equipment is not available elsewhere, what is not too well understood is that even in the area of routine equipment we have the best. So even if you talk about hospital bed, even if you talk about the usual hospital equipment we have the best. So our set up as a hospital contains very current equipment in the routine area of practice. And also we have the highly specialised drugs which do not exist elsewhere in the hospitals around. I will just mention the more sophisticated ones so you'll understand what I mean. We have for example, machine we call CT SCAN. This is a special X-Ray equipment and what it does is that it takes pictures of let us say the head...it can give you slices...it can give you very thin slices. So by looking

at it, you will know what normal looks like and be able to say where there is an abnormality. If there is some tumor, a mass which is developing which should not be there, it will fish it out immediately, and because it is giving you this thing in slices, you'll be able to see where it started and where it ended and you'll be able to see how big it is. So that just by looking at those slices you already formed an idea that there is a lump in this man's brain and it is in this position. And what they have in one or two places can do just what I have said now and that's that. But in our own case it can do this and it can do the whole body as well. So you can do it for the abdomen, you want to look at the liver, the kidney, the spleen, all the contents of the abdomen.

**Q** Could you briefly explain your background and training?

**A** I am a consultant anaesthesiologist. I trained outside the country like most of my colleagues. I trained in Canada and Britain. And I worked as a consultant for government and then I worked in UBTH. And then I worked for 5 years in Saudi Arabia.

**Q** You were one of those claimed by the brain drain?

**A** That's right. And then I have come back. Outside medicine, I was also a state commissioner in Bendel. I was a commissioner for agriculture first, then commissioner for works and transport then deputy chairman of the state executive council. I was the deputy in the year when we handed over in 1979 to the civilian regime.

**Q** Who was the governor at that time?

**A** There were so many governors in my time. It began with governor George Innih. The last person was Abubakar Waziri who was the administrator.

**Q** Could you remember his rank...?

**A** He's a general now but by that time I think he was a Brigadier.

**Q** Could you compare the situation here in Nigeria and what you saw in Saudi Arabia?

**A** Generally, Saudi Arabia because they are not suffering from the economic depression that we have, hasn't got the restriction of foreign items. Like us they don't make these tools but they have the money to buy them from anybody who makes them

d from any part of the world. So when you go to their hospitals, they have all the things you require for health care and most of our people who have been here have found it a delight to work in those places. Besides, of course their pay is much higher than the pay here.

Could you say the ratio? It is so big especially with the falling naira. But to give you an idea. By the time we were there, one month salary there was for more than one year salary here.

People fear that in Saudi Arabia, people who don't belong to that cultural background will have a culture shock? It's true. We all had it. Especially those of us who are christians found it difficult to stay in a place where we are not allowed to practise our own religion. But you should know what you've come for, you just settled down to your practice of medicine and try as much as possible to forget the other things. Still though for those who do not belong it is not very comfortable out-

side your working area. So really what we enjoyed is that you go to work, you stay there full time. When you come home it is just to sleep and read a few books and amuse yourself. That's all. The social life is not the best.

So you can say you are happy to be back home?

From that point, yes. A number of us had to leave our families behind because children go to school and all that, so we were kind of having double homes. You lived there and your mind was at home. Only during the holiday periods our wives and children came to us. When we got our vacation once or twice a year we came home to see them. So we feel very welcome to come home because now you stay with your family. You don't keep on worrying about what is happening to them.

Could you compare the pay in Igbinedion Hospital with that in Saudi Arabia?

The pay here is certainly better than the pay in the rest of the country. But it may not be the same as the pay in

Saudi Arabia. But a good reason why people will want to come home in spite of the difference that may be there is because of these other advantages I have talked about. If people will get half the salary they are getting in Saudi, they will rather stay at home. So here they try to solve the two problems. One, to give doctors pay which is really more commensurate with the kind of work they are doing. And this is better than either in the universities or government. As a matter of fact, the difference was so significant. What we are paid here was about 2 or 3 times more than what they were getting in the rest of the country. But this salary review has brought up the government position better than it was before. But even in spite of that we are still paying more.

The issue of the Kebbi governor who has been reportedly taken abroad again... People are wondering if this hospital could not settle his problem.

Are you sure about that? I am just hearing it for the first time.

It was in the press. Except may the press men did not know that he was brought here?

I don't think I should discuss it. It is not right for me to discuss it.

Here, you tend to feel you are in a high flying hotel. Is the plan deliberate?

The idea is that people should be treated in an atmosphere... in a pleasant atmosphere so that one will imagine that... sometimes people are suffering not from illness but just because they are stressed. Probably because they are working too much or in one problem at home or the other. And in that kind of case what they need more than anything else is rest. Particularly these high executive people who, from morning until night, are working. They are thinking about work every minute of the day. They will be under stress. And the kind of illnesses they suffer will be related to stress. We think such people, when they come, we give them a pleasant surrounding, treat them if they have organic ailment. If nothing organic, give them rest which they need more than anything else.

Is there consideration for people who may have very serious ailment and need a lot of money for cure but cannot afford it?

If you say that this place is expensive, it gives the wrong impression. Somebody would conclude without even thinking about it that this place is high up. That's not right. What we say is that people who come, who require to go overseas for treatment... people don't do that just



A post-operative physiotherapy



The famous CT scanner (illustrated)

spend money or just to enjoy themselves. It's because they have need. What we have done is to try and provide that need here. So instead of spending, even just to go and come, N50,000 or N30,000 for the fare alone before they begin to spend the money for the treatment when they get there - and this is usually spent in foreign exchange. It's quite a lot of money. But if they can come here and spend N30,000 as it's already reduced. Secondly we do not even charge half as much as they would pay in foreign exchange.

I am talking about the man on the street who probably has acid burns...?

The man on the street would find that most of his common ailment may be treated by other hospitals.

I am talking about acid burns...? Acid burns...it depends on where the burns is. If it is like a skin burn... you can treat that anywhere. But if it is like the face, or the throat or something like that, then those are highly specialised. Even before this hospital was built, such people either they have the money and they go overseas and are treated or they stay without the treatment. There's no way you can avoid the fact that modern medicine is expensive. They don't do it just for the fun of it. The fine style hotel part is to please those who have the money to suspend. Because even if you come here, there are gradations. Those who have

lots of money to spend will stay in big more expensive places. The common people will stay in the more common places. What I am saying is modern medicine is expensive. It's like any-thing that is expensive. Those who have money can afford it. Those who haven't got money can not afford it. They will have to make do with what they can get in the routine hospitals.

Perhaps you could be more graphic if you could mention the names of famous doctors you like here?

I will not like to mention people by name but I want to make one statement before I continue to answer it. There is no fault in our Nigerian doctors. The quality and the standard of training is high. And we are proud of them wherever they go to. And even in Saudi Arabia where a good number of them are working now, they have made names for themselves that in some places they are just looking for Nigerian doctors. Our problem was not finding good doctors but in finding the equipment so that, having got the equipment here using our Nigerian doctors, we will get very good results. But over and above that, our idea is that whenever it is necessary we want to establish good relationship with the major, main clinics outside here in well established places. And we intend to bring them out here to work with us just as we can send some of our own staff to work with them from time to time. We have programmes....Even as

we are talking now arrangements are going on to send 4 - 5 of our doctors to go to learn to use the sophisticated machine we have here. In addition we also intend and already have some with us to employ experts from outside who are very familiar with this thing and who will handle this equipment.

Could you explain briefly on the research aspect of the hospital?

The research aspect is not fully developed. As I said we are beginning but the plan is that we are going to undertake it primarily in the area of tropical medicine and diseases that have lots of relevance to us because they occur here. Even malaria now is posing a problem all over the world because of the development of resistance. And in related areas, problems that exist special illnesses that are more common here and they don't exist elsewhere.

How do you intend to do that now. Is it to be funded by the hospital.?

The hospital will do its best. If we go by the experience of other hospitals like this all over the world, what happens is that the people try to some extent but they hope that philanthropic bodies, those associations within the country...all of them would like to fund research at one time or the other. This is how it happens all over the world.

When you say this hospital is the best in Africa, can we compare it with hospitals in London or United States for instance?

We must be careful what we say. We don't want confusion to be drawn from the statements we are making. Up till now we have not started functioning fully. Although we are doing some clinical work but it is by no means a wide experience. So that in terms of functioning it will be presumptuous for us to be comparing ourselves with other places that have been existing for a long time because of our not having started. But what we can compare simply because they are physical entities is like the equipment we have. If we go by the kind of equipment that we have enough to compare us with any part of the world. But how we will practise, how we will function we hope that we will also match those people. But this is something to come. I will tell you that this is our objective and we hope to achieve it.

What is the total cost of this project? Only the founder is in a better position to say. But all I can tell you is that it is in billions rather than millions. Because I know one or two of the equipment cost over 20 million.



corrected." The health aspect was however, refuted by Abisogun Noah, a doctor and Lagos State health Commissioner. He has alerted people on the danger inherent in the consumption of salty water. "I wouldn't expect people to drink salty water. It is dangerous to drink it and it even poses health risk."

TSM also took the matter to senior Medical Laboratory at Ilupeju where Gbadebo Adeleke, a microbiologist spoke with us. Hear him "if Lagos State Water Corporation says the problem is as a result of the Lagoon intrusion on the Ogun River and still feels it is safe to consume such water. I wouldn't agree with them. They should be able to declare at what stage the lagoon intruded into Ogun River. Is it before the water has been treated or after and the salt content of what they consider safe for consumption", he enthused. As far as Adeleke is concerned the water has taste and that is a clear indication of a problem. Pure water is supposed to be tasteless. Another cause of worry is that since the water is from the lagoon it might contain organisms which can live in the intestine. Such organisms include E-Coli which has a detrimental effect on children. Or salmonella which is responsible for Thyphoid fever. It could also contain chigella and vibrio cholera which is responsible for dysentery and cholera respectively. These organisms can begin to react in an infected person within 6 - 72 hours after water in-take. Except for Salmonella which takes between 1 - 2 weeks before the person becomes really sick. "However, these organisms can be killed through boiling. But vibrio *paranaemolyticus*, an organism which thrives in salt water can not be killed through boiling."

Adeleke also raised another alarm over this situation, the Lagoon water contains such contents as Iron, Hydrogen, Chlorine, Sodium, Magnesium etc. And its in-take is likely to increase the trace of these chemical elements in people. "Unfortunately these chemicals can not be removed by boiling or filtering. In fact the more you boil your water, the more it increases."

The problem of intrusion of the lagoon into Ogun River has happened before. TSM was reliably informed by SA. Ishatayo (Mrs.) that it first occurred in 1978 and then again in 1985 and 1986. Already the situation has a number of unpleasant fall outs. According to Remi Kayode of Osolake Street in Ebute Metta Lagos his family members have been stalling ever since they



*Danger...Salty water runs here*

drink this water. And he has had to spend a lot for medical treatment.

Sherif Ishatayo, a mechanical engineering student at Yaba college of Technology now depends on bore hole water taken to her from home by her mother. She had to resort to this means of playing safe after having a serious gastric intestinal problem for drinking the salty water on the campus. A trader revealed to TSM that her mother a hypertensive patient died as a result of taking salty water in 1978. According to her, it was discovered that it increased her blood pressure and subsequently led to her death.

A nurse at the General Hospital, Ikeja who pleaded anonymity intimated TSM that the hospital has witnessed an increase in the number of diarrhoea patients in the last five days.

"The worst victims of this contaminated water are children. Sincerely a lot have died recently as a result of dehydration."

On what could be done at home to purify the saline water, Emma George Ekeh Managing Director of Emma St. George Limited has the answer.

According to him "this salty water can be purified at home using filtrine

equipment." He explained that filtrine which comes in various sizes and models is capable of removing sediments, tastes, bacteria and even regulating the mineral salts in the water "because the equipment works by ionization process."

Ekeh hinted that since the water we drink constitutes about 50 per cent of the body fluid its purity is very important. The only solution to this he says, is to get filtrine fixed to your tap. In the wake of another lagoon incursion into the river - he advises that governments and individual organisations should install appropriate filtrine models to their water taps instead of wasting money on treating the water with chemicals which in itself poses danger to people's health.

What is to be done to forestall a recurrence of this problem is now the question. A senior official at the Lagos State Water Corporation at Agege, says the problem is surmountable. However he was quick to add that although it is a natural phenomenon, lack of adequate resources has been a major factor responsible for their inability to effectively control the Lagoon encroachment on the Ogun River.

## Tony Momoh's Book Launched

It was a grand occasion recently at the National Theatre, Iganmu, Lagos when Prince Tony Momoh's book was launched. With the presence of important personalities such as Chris Anyanwu (Mrs), publisher of The Sunday Magazine (TSM), Aret Adams, former NNPP chairman, Kunle Joseph (Dr.), National Chairman of Association of Malta Guineans; it was indeed splendid. Here's agile Chris Anyanwu in a tete-a-tete with Aret Adams.



## On Kayode's Day

TSM's former senior assistant, Kayode Samuel, then regarded as the "rates of the house" has always known would be a day he would do nothing of good prose, working on seminar or cracking jokes as he is used to. Recently at the Hexagonals of Chapel Healing Cross, Idi-Araba, Lagos, he took his "jewel of inestimable value," to the altar, all the writing he needed was to append his signature to the r of married men that "I DO."

We of the Zest News family wish he who is now a consultant, a happy life.

## The 1993 Obafemi Awolowo Memorial — A triple Event

In continuation of late Papa Awo's total and unwavering commitment to the promotion of educational and intellectual excellence as well as to further underscore the need for individuals and organisations to assist in helping our Universities regain their lost glory, the Obafemi Awolowo Foundation shall on Tuesday May 11, host a unique three-in-one event at the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, Victoria Island, Lagos.

Billed to commence at 2 p.m., the event is being organised under the auspices of the 1993 Obafemi Awolowo Memorial to mark the sixth anniversary of the transition of the renowned elder statesman. The three activities that would make up this event are: Official announcement of the endowment of four Professorial Chairs in four Nigerian universities; Public lecture titled, "Attitudes of African States towards International Law in the Post-Cold War Era; and Public presentation of the book, "Nigeria: The Way Forward." It promises to be a wonderful one!





## A Show Of Exquisite Arts And Crafts

**QUINTESSENCE** has promised to provide a new angle of looking at a modern artist's works along with the very best of traditional crafts from all over Nigeria. Unusual and exquisite pieces of sculpture drawn from her hidden

stores would also be shown, when they open their exhibition gallery this year with an Open House. It would be held at their premises at Falomo Shopping Centre, Ikoyi, on May 6, 1993 from 6 p.m. to 8 p.m.

It is to demonstrate the beauty of modern ceramic pieces alongside pottery from Yoruba, Igboland and the artistic traditional Gongola Pots with their application of colours.

## Pfizer Launches Back To Basics Healthcare Programme

**THE** newly created Pfizer's Consumer Healthcare Team has introduced a special programme titled Back to Basics Healthcare Programme targeting all professionals of the Healthcare Delivery System nationwide. This represents laudable attempt to share recent advances on two common diseases viz: worm infestation and malaria and their challenges of control, which are basic health problems in the community.

Emma Ekinno, Marketing Manager Pfizer's Consumer Healthcare Products (CHP), says it is another Pfizer's several attempt to remain highly relevant in the country's pursuit of Health for all.



## Kid Wonder At It

**KID Wonder!**...Boy Lyke Junior doing what he knows how best to do, entertaining boxing fans at the "BIG SHOW DOWN" a Nigeria Boxing Board of Controls, authorised pro-boxing spectacular.

The fight which saw the national welterweight belt change hands from Ganiyu Giwa to Mukaila Bakare, took place recently at the indoor sports hall of the National Stadium, Surulere, Lagos.



## Exhibition Of Indian Books

**AN** exhibition of about 4,000 Indian books took place recently at the Indian High Commission in Lagos. The exhibition was backed by the visit of a four member delegation from the Chemical and Allied Products Export Promotion Council (from India).

The books will provide an opportunity for publishers, book sellers and the academic community to acquaint themselves with Indian books, which are comparable with the best in the world, and are affordable. The books will be donated to universities and other institutions in Nigeria after the exhibition.

Compiled by Grace Onyegbula



By Joseph Umunegbu

**O**f all races in modern history, Africans, South of the Sahara have been the most humiliated and exploited. The sad history of slavery in which black Africans were sold like chattels still concocts horrifying memories of our inglorious and dehumanising past.

The slave trade was designed to export the most able bodied young black Africans to Europe and America as a source of cheap labour force to generate wealth which formed the backbone of Western capitalism. But the loss of Africa's most able bodied workforce, ruined the continent. The Portuguese invaders who arrived in the ancient Kongo Kingdom, around present day Angola at the end of the 15th century, met a political system, far superior to the one they left at home. But they had an overriding advantage — firepower. Other European countries equally used big guns to smash their way through African kingdoms.

If slavery was not enough, colonialism placed the seal on Europe's domination. And no doubt the exploitation continues today, in some other form. These factors led to the call for reparations. It's proponents believe that if the human and material resources of Africans were appropriated by Europeans to develop her economies, then it is only rational to demand compensation.

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Abiola...chairman of OAU's GEP on Reparations to Africa

are not legally obliged to pay reparations.

Then, the argument of Williams is that we should put our own house in order first. "We can never persuade the international community about the seriousness of our claims to get compensation for a historic injustice when before our own eyes, the same atrocities are being committed by our own leaders", he said.

It should be logical that any demand for reparations to Africa should include the repatriation of capital flight. Many businesses in the West are thriving on public funds sent there by unpatriotic African leaders. When these leaders die the money remains overseas. It is said that if a tenth of Africa's public funds in Europe is repatriated, it will redress the economic imbalance between African nations and the developed world.

Another opponent of reparations, Tai Solarin, says the demand for it is illegitimate because it was our traditional chiefs and Emirs who sold Africans as slaves in the first place. The social critic believes slavery and colonialism are blessings in disguise otherwise we would have remained at a primitive level. And in any case, Africans have corrupted their newly won independence — there exists internal enslavement by our dictators.

The critics of reparation, generally

point out that African leaders in some cases are just as blameworthy as the colonisers. Though it is a point that the leadership should put its house in order and while recognising this — why disregard entitlements on a larger scale, by outsiders?

The legal justification for reparation has also been put to task. But if a moral obligation exists, then a legal question should be established. The Europeans showed commitment to the cause of Jews both financially and militarily on the basis of 6 million Jewish lives lost during the holocaust inflicted on them by Hitler's Germany. If reparation can be exacted from Germany in punishment for her atrocities against the world at large, after world war II, then nothing prevents Africans from demanding reparation for an estimated 200 million lives lost during the Middle Passage trip, alone, and the properties damaged and looted, for four centuries. According to Chinweizu: "Germany paid reparation for 12 years of holocaust. Europeans should pay the black world for 350 years of slave holocaust."

The call for reparations can be intertwined with the New International Economic Order (NIEO), where North — South negotiations take place. Though the struggle for NIEO is reduced to a talk shop since the Third World do not possess the requisite muscle to induce the West to make

concessions. This is equally the general problem, the reparations issue will face.

Payment of reparations and establishing a special fund where disbursement can be made to various African countries, and blacks in the diaspora. In any case, Africa's peonage is a development from the historical process of crude exploitation and domination by the Europeans.

Dudley Thompson, Jamaica's High Commissioner to Nigeria, and the most visible Caribbean Pan Africanist of this generation — in 1990 — called for a powerful black think tank for reparations. The inauguration of a Group of Eminent Persons (GEP) by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to take up the case of reparations payment gave it the arsenal to apply diplomatic pressures on the United Nations (UN) and other international bodies committed to the principles of morality and equity, so as to arouse world consciousness to Africa's cause.

At the second meeting of the OAU's GEP on Reparations held in Abuja in 1991, there was a call for a conference of all Africans at home and in the diaspora to articulate ways of achieving the goals of reparations. The call was unanimously endorsed and a machinery for organising the first Pan African conference on Reparations was designed.

# A tribute to Oliver Tambo

Tambo dies, ending a long life of struggle for a free South Africa.

By Joseph Umunegbu

**W**HILE events in South Africa continue to accelerate at a volatile pace, the African National Congress (ANC) were thrown into further mourning last weekend. Oliver Tambo, 75, finally succumbed to stroke in a Johannesburg hospital after a long and protracted illness. He died early Saturday morning, 3.10 am, with his wife Adelaide and youngest daughter Tselane, by his side.

The death of Tambo came exactly two weeks after the assassination of Chris Hani by a white extremist, which threw the country into a further upsurge of violence. The dust had not quite settled when the news came through, that Tambo, who had earlier been admitted to Milpark Hospital for a chest infection, suddenly suffered a massive stroke.

In a statement, said the death of Tambo, son Mandela, said the death of Tambo, and Hani's assassination were a "very serious blow to the movement." He warned that Tambo's death could worsen the growing frustration and bitterness of South Africa's angry young blacks. "The community and in particular, the youths are very angry. It is a volatile situation", he asserted. Mandela noted that the ANC had lost great minds and great advisors. But felt the transition process in any case is irreversible.

The South African government and ANC had agreed to speed up the process of constitutional talks for multiparty democracy so that general elections could be held soon before the country slips into anarchy. It was expected that the deaths would simmer the parties at the talks, but early signs last Monday indicated that problems were still entrenched. The mainly Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) used spoiling tactics to avoid an early call for elections by accusing the government and ANC of collusion. It is difficult for talks to continue without

IFP's cooperation.

The late Oliver Tambo was instrumental in igniting the constitutional talks. He masterminded the 1989 Harare Declaration of 1989, which was the ANC's blueprint for negotiations with the South African government. But in August 1989, he entered a London hospital, suffering from exhaustion though it was later revealed that he had a brain spasm. By 1990 Tambo was unable to resume the bulk of his duties as ANC president, and Nelson Mandela after his release in February 1990, effectively took over the role of president.

The struggle in South Africa was Oliver Tambo's life. The greatest test was during the turbulent sixties. This began in 1960 when the police had virtually beheaded the ANC after arresting, convicting, and incarcerating the South African key executives like Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki.

With Albert Luthuli still under a banning order, the only top ANC chieftain,

free to work for the party's survival, to serve the movement as a foreign spokesman. When the proposed banning of the ANC was made public, in March 1960, Tambo left Cape Town and went into exile. He appeared before the United Nations (UN) and regularly attended the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) meetings. Tambo became the effective head of the ANC and soon set up its first command-in-exile.

What he inherited was a demoralised domestic network, shorn by arrests and tattered by police infiltrators. His strategy discredited, its leadership captured, its goals unfulfilled, by 1963, the ANC appeared to be heading for collapse. But Tambo was able to remarkably turn it around and reorganise its armed wing Umkhonto we sizwe (MK) from exile.

He listed four strategic necessities to enable a semblance of command of operations inside South Africa. He devised maximum security from cross border attacks to protect exiled troops and bureaucrats. In 1965 he was instrumental in establishing a guerrilla training camp at Morogoro, Tanzania, and this became the ANC's military headquarters. Tambo ensured that the ANC had maximum freedom to move diplomatically and militarily. The ANC tried to avoid being dictated to, by negotiations under pressure from South Africa. This included frontline states such as Zambia, Zimbabwe and



Tambo... nurtured ANC during its most turbulent years.

Mozambique. The ANC made attempts to constitute as less a burden to its host countries as it could, developing its own infrastructure—from administrative buildings to schools and military camps. Routes were designed to send guerrilla soldiers and ammunition

inside South Africa from frontline states such as Angola, Zimbabwe and Zambia. When Albert Luthuli died in 1967, Tambo became acting president of the ANC. And in 1977, the Robben Island leadership suggested he assume the full title of President General.

Tambo was also a founder member of the ANC Youth League, which pressed for a more militant approach within the ANC. He became increasingly involved in the league's activities, holding the position of national secretary, Transvaal president and National Vice President in 1948 and 1949. In 1949 he became a member of the ANC National Executive. In 1948 Tambo went into legal practice and actually opened the first legal partnership in South Africa, with Nelson Mandela, in 1952. Oliver Tambo was born on 27 October 1917 at Eastern Pondoland, Cape. He is survived by a wife and three children.

## QUOTELINES

"COMRADE Tambo has been with me since the 1930s, we were students. He was my brother, my friend and my colleague...his death closes a chapter in the history of (the ANC)"

—Nelson Mandela's tribute to Tambo.

"SOUTH Africa's final act is being played more publicly than any other drama in its history."

—The European Newspaper

# How Senator Obi

- Wife stripped naked, arrested
- Maternal sister, brother too
- Thousands of youths go on rampage
- Property worth millions of Naira destroyed
- Hundreds of policemen keep watch over suspect's village.



Port Harcourt stands still over the grisly murder of a distinguished senator.

By Comfort Obi.

**T**HE scene is blood-cuddling. It diminishes one as a human being. Splashes of blood and brain strewed the four walls of the bedroom. The carpet was a grisly sight to behold. Caked blood and brain spotted like stones on it. And just by the foot of the bed, a pool of blood which was gradually sipping into the otherwise beautiful carpet welcomes one.

The big bed which he shared with his wife looked like where two elephants fought. The mattress was torn. One of the railings of the bed was broken.

Otherwise, everything in the bedroom was intact. A gold wristwatch, Citizen, which was worn just a few minutes before the grisly scene took place was still by the bedside. Three magazines, *Newswatch*, *TSM* and *The News* were equally by the bedside. At the left hand corner of the room stood eight beautiful walking sticks. The two tables in the room, one playing host to a 12-inch colour television and the other to tens of letters and invitation cards were untouched.

Before you enter the room a strong

stench of death and stale blood assault your nose. Welcome to the bedroom and murder scene of Obi Wali, a distinguished Senator of the 2nd Republic and an honourable son of Rivers State.

Until Monday evening April 26 when Wali met his death in a most violent and nauseating manner, he was one of the best brains Nigeria had. A reputable publisher, on hearing about Wali's murder exclaimed, "why do Nigerians kill their best?" A River statesman, from Wali's Ikwerre tribe told *TSM*, "Wali's death is the death of a tribe." Both were referring to Wali's brilliance, intelligence and patriotism.

Ever since that Monday evening, nothing has remained the same in Port Harcourt, Rivers State capital. For days, the Garden City was at a stand still; some roads completely blocked by protesting youths; properties, including cars, worth millions of naira destroyed. Shops and markets shut and deserted. A few schools closed. Only the stronghearted moved around in Wali's Rumuigbo Village and even the neighbouring villages could have no peace.

Rumuigbo, Rumokuta, Rumeme and Apará, even parts of Rumola, all villages in Port Harcourt and Obio-Akpor Local Government Areas were brim-

ming with well armed policemen. Things were no longer the same.

Why Obi Wali was murdered in such a grisly manner is still a mystery to many. But such traumatic, highly charged situations theories are being peddled. *TSM* was given this version



Obi Wali...butchered in his bedroom

by family members:

Wali came back from Abuja on Sunday, April 25, where he had gone to make a case for the creation of Port Harcourt State, Kinikawa Ohwondah, Acting Deputy General Manager of *Risonpalm Limited* and family spokesman chose to call this trip "a National assignment."

In the afternoon of Monday, April 26 Wali went to Port Harcourt town where he held a meeting with Sunday

# Wali was butchered



Woluchem, the traditional ruler of Port Harcourt. In fact, we gathered that he was in Abuja together with Woluchem.

His meeting with Woluchem was over just before 6.00 p.m. and he drove back to his house. The gateman, Monday Amadin at Wali's two storey building, situated at Kilometre 8, Port Harcourt—Owerri Road confirmed that Wali drove his Mercedes Benz car through his gates at exactly 6.30 p.m.

But that was the last time anybody would see Wali in one piece.

Just after parking his car in front of the house, Wali passed through his living room downstairs, and climbed to his bedroom upstairs. He went in, not knowing that death was lurking in his bedroom, his sanctuary.

And so, Wali proceeded to remove, first, his *Citizen* wristwatch which he kept by the side of his bed. Second, he removed his shoes then his Rivers State traditional white dress. But just as he tugged on the belt which held his trousers, violent hands pounced on him. Before he knew what happened, cutlasses and sharp knives were flying from left, right and centre, slashing him — to pieces.

While he dripped helplessly in his own blood, Wali seemed to have given his assailants a fight. For example, one of the railings of Wali's bed was broken. The bedsheet on his bed was crumpled and soaked in blood, an indication that he must have given them a fight on the bed where he probably fell. Sources at the Military Hospital, Port Harcourt and some family members told *TSM* that his palms, fingers and hands were cut out, an indication that as he was fighting them, he was trying also to protect his head with his hands.

The protection clearly was ineffectual considering the state in which the assailants left him. Wali's head was cut to pieces. His brain spread all over the bed and splashed on the walls of the bedroom. His mouth was cut wide open. In one sentence, Wali was butchered as butchers would a cow. After the murder, the murderers left a parting gift. They used Wali's shirt to wipe clean their knives and matchets.

The surprising thing was that as the blood cuddling murder was taking place, nobody allegedly heard Wali screams of pains, of agony. And nobody saw anything. Not even his second wife, Nnenna, who allegedly was in the house 20 minutes before the murder and who was incidentally the first to discover the husband's butchered body, 20 minutes later.

On discovering her husband's body, Nnenna allegedly didn't scream in horror. Family sources alleged that she made three telephone calls from her husband's bedroom while the body stared at her. While nobody could re-

veal to us the identity of those she phoned, Owmondah told *TSM* that Nnenna was the person who told her about Wali's death. His words: "I saw Nnenna driving her car at about 6.30 p.m. I told her that I had gone to the house to look for my brother but was told by the gateman that he was sleeping. I didn't want to disturb his sleep so I asked Nnenna to tell him I called. Thirty minutes later, I was surprised to see Nnenna in my house. She drove her car down and told me. "Your brother has been shot dead." I raced to the place and was surprised that there was no gun shot. He was cut into pieces with matchets and cutlasses. We picked bits and pieces when the police came, tied them in his bedsheet, put inside the booth of his Mercedes Benz and took to Military Hospital Port Harcourt." Owmondah's suspicion, "The murderers must have been hiding inside his wardrobe waiting for him."

Andrew Uchendu, Managing Director of *Risonpalm* and Glory Eme, Chief Executive of *Pride and Hilton*, a Port Harcourt based company, confirmed to *TSM* that they helped to pick the bits and pieces into the bedsheet. At the military hospital, a source confirmed Wali's state and told *TSM*, "It was a terrible job. We had to sew him together. Nobody could wish his bitterest enemy that sort of death."

Wali's murder immediately sparked off protests in the village. Thousands of youths took to the streets destroying everything in sight and asking the police to find Wali's murderers quick or...Taxi drivers who didn't give way quick had their cars smashed and completely grounded.

Already, accusing fingers are being pointed and speculations are rife. The most horrifying of the accusations and speculations is one which linked Wali's wife, Nnenna, and a businessman who is also a politician and owns a road construction company, to the murder.

While nobody could tell *TSM* the whereabouts of the man, the facts on the ground were that the man is in trouble. Rampaging youths had burnt his road construction equipment worth millions of Naira. When *TSM* visited one of his sites at Rumokuta, road construction equipment like rollers,



Obi Wali, Ada-George....A loss to Rivers State

graders and pay loaders had been completely destroyed and set on fire. His company site along Port Harcourt Airport was, on Wednesday when we visited, being guarded by about 20 policemen. His country home, less than two kilometers away from Obi Wali's house was being guarded by two lorry loads of armed policemen. The house looked deserted. And so were the roads.

Taxi drivers, even Airport cars refused to pass through the roads, charging as much as N300 from the airport to Wali's house, a far cry from the N100 being charged before now. The village of the alleged suspect is completely sealed off.

Nnenna suffered a worse fate. Nobody was able to tell us who fingered Nnenna out to the elders of the community but, the story making rounds in Port Harcourt alleges Nnenna complicity. On Monday, Nnenna was summoned to the elder's meeting at the town hall. Before she could stand up to go and answer, she had been stripped naked and dragged from house to the hall. As she was being questioned by the elders, and being mobbed at, and booed by the hungry crowd, policemen wielding guns and tear-gas came to her rescue. She was subsequently arrested. Her Restaurant situated along the Port Harcourt — Qwerri road has been destroyed. Family sources allege that she confessed to "knowing a lot about the crime."

They also allege that Nnenna's maternal cousin, Beatrice Okere, who has also been arrested by the police has confessed involvement. Beatrice according to our sources was said to have confessed: "When confronted, that Nnenna gave her some money in a big bag to give to one woman to keep." (The woman has since been declared wanted by the police). Also declared wanted is one Emeka, a student of University of Science and Technology, Port Harcourt. Nnenna's relation, allegedly seen around the house that evening with Nnenna. Both Wali's driver and security guard have also been arrested.

TSM was unable to reach Wali's wife for comment as she was said to be under arrest. Rivers State Police PRO, Agberebi Akpoebi however confirmed the story of the arrests but said inves-

tigations were still going on. Already, a high powered investigating panel headed by an Assistant Commissioner of Police had been let loose to unravel the gruesome murder.

Nobody was able to tell TSM if Wali had any quarrels with anybody except that the man who they are allegedly suspecting has a court case with Wali and five others. We gathered that the man had sued Wali and five others to court alleging libel because according to our sources, during a recent chieftaincy installation ceremony for Wali, Wali had allegedly said that the man's village Rumenc was part of Aparu. Wali's own immediate village. The implication: The man is a stranger not entitled to a traditional title he is holding. Allegedly feeling humiliated, the man sued for N50 million.

Reactions to Wali's murder have been those of shock and disbelief. A visibly shocked Rufus Ada-George, Governor of Rivers State, who led members of his executive to pay a condolence visit to Wali's family on Wednesday, April 28 wrote in the condolence registered, "We have come to mourn our murdered brother."

Iyke Orji, Deputy Speaker of the Rivers State House of Assembly called for a high level investigation, describing the murder as "most brutal and bestial."

Wali was born on February 27, 1932, at Rumuigbo, Obio-Akpor LGA, Rivers

Ada-George....Our brother is dead



# Obi Wali

By Chris Anyanwu

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Senator Obi Wali: (NPP) was a referendum point for any serious observer of that Senate. But for men like him, men

**SENATOR OBI WALI:** Mr. President, Sir, may I join my other colleagues in stating the fact that we now have a budget proposal by a civilian administration after nearly a decade and half of military rule and Section 1 (2) of our Constitution remains as the only means of succeeding to power in the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Perhaps, one of the greatest weaknesses of the President's Budget is the absence of firm and exact statistics. We are dealing with figures which are sometimes not real, sometimes completely non-existent. This weakness in statistical data has become a central disease of our country and no scientifically planned economy can be based on false premises and unreliable data. During the last Federal Elections, for instance, the country that is supposed to have a population of 80,000,000 in 1973 has a voting population of less than 50,000,000 registered voters, the highest number of voters which was recorded during the election for the Presidency, when a total of 16,000,000 voted, was described as 32 per cent of the registered voters, and the general conclusion was voter apathy.

I am satisfied that we are involved in a tragic game with numbers in this country. The actual voting figure of 15,000,000, the registered 50,000,000 voters and the purported population of 80,000,000 have no real or credible relationship and, therefore, of no real value for the central issue of a planned economy. This statistical deficiency arises in the Budget itself. In both the Revenue and Expenditure Heads, there are no actuals for the 1978-79 Financial Year which is a thorough standard and so one is completely at a loss in making any real meaning of all sorts of fundamental question in the budget proposals. This is my first experience in seeing an establishment, called a government, ask for the disbursement of nearly N12 billion without comparative figures of what has been spent on

the various items in a financial year within a second re-move of the proposal before a legislature. I would humbly suggest, Mr. President, Sir, that these figures be submitted to the National Assembly at the Committee Stage if we are to make any meaning of the Budget.

In a recent Central Bank Memorandum on Monetary and Fiscal Policy for 1980, this absence of reliable statistic was decried and I quote:

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like David Dafinone, men like Girigiri Lawan and a few others, one had to look deep, one had to rid the ears of the confusing din of mediocrity to find the gem in the house.

Unlike some of his colleagues who heckled to be heard aloud, Wali preferred measured and well calculated exposure. He spoke sparingly and when he did, his ideas shone through and his words left impactful and lasting impressions. Comparatively, he was of a quiet and serious disposition, not the back-slapping

may be possible to upgrade it to the status of a Ministry because planning without reliable and firm same figures is worse than no planning at all.

Revenue Allocation. — I can hardly add to the criticisms of several Senators on the faulty Revenue Allocation Formula. A system which the Federal Government — to retain about 76 per cent of the total revenue of the country while the 19 states of the Federation share only 22 per cent and over 300 Local Government Councils share just about 2 per cent cannot be sufficiently deplored. What we are practising is, in fact, a unitary form of government in the guise of federalism. Any system which allows the Federal Government more than 40 per cent of the total revenue of the Federation must necessarily be unjust and inequitable and can only lead to the squandermania and bureaucratic irresponsibility which are so glaring in the present Budget.

It is sad that the Presidency in its official memorandum to the Okigbo Commission on Revenue Allocation fought shy of the fundamental principle of derivation in Revenue Allocation. The derivative principle is much more than a mere concession to communities or States from where revenue sources such as minerals and agricultural products derive. The whole theory of federalism is built around this concept itself. There can be no political autonomy for my unit in a Federal system when its control of the revenue sources within its territory is made impossible by obnoxious and discriminatory laws such as the Minerals Ordinance which found itself in our Statute Books when Nigeria was a colonial unitary State, and has persisted to the present day. The country must face up to the challenge by having a hard look at the various laws of our Federation which tamper with the rights of units of the Federation to their mineral resources by purporting to vest such rights on the Federal Gov-

d-pumping, loud-cracking legislator who insisted on dominating his environment through noise and flamboyance.

Obi Wali was more of a behind the scene operator — and although he was the NPP, a minority party, his colleagues of the NPN and UPN respected his views and often saw him as a reliable reference point in his party caucus.

But like the few other outstanding

men in Senate who found themselves

outside the inner power circle, his views no matter how sound, his arguments no matter how unassailable did not always carry the day. Legislative decisions were not always based on unassailable truths or sound reasoning but the wishes of the dominant party. Along the line, many among them even the most determined of them did frustrate at their helplessness, their inability to swing things in the path of superior logic. Some quit

Others simply gave up and bother to contribute. But Wali did there and as in the beginning he continue to make his occasional visits to the podium. And when he did, his ideas shone through. His words stuck and left indelible marks.

Wali was slaughtered in his room last week and his brain sputtered on the floor of his carpet. But his continue to have a ring of reality words as they did in 1980. Below is an excerpt of his contribution on the budget of

government. Allocation of revenue by derivation does not mean greed, or selfishness, or chauvinism. It is a political right and an endowment of freedom. It will enable the component units of the Federation to be autonomous in the management of their wealth or their economic insufficiencies and without the opportunity to develop this management ability, no community can attain political maturity or any appreciable level of higher civilization.

Urban Problems—Mr President, I suspect we have misled ourselves and misdirected our planning into believing that there are rural problems in Nigeria. I am sorry, because I represent an urban area. The real dilemma facing us is what to do with our ugly and overcrowded cities which are merely a collection of slum areas. While we are familiar with the organisation of rural areas, the whole question of urbanisation of our rural areas, the whole question of urbanisation is a new conception in the structure of traditional African communities. Some of these communities have been mobile communities. When we talk of the Ministry of Housing and Environment, we are really concerned with urban housing and urban environment. What do we do with Lagos, Port Harcourt, Ibadan, Aba, Onitsha, Kaduna, Makurdi, Kano, Ife-Ife, Abeokuta, Calabar, Jos, etc.? If these places have become inevitable realities, how do we cope with their essential but inadequate infrastructure and facilities, utilities which are insufficient or non-existent? What of the sewage system, the floods and non-drainage of Lagos city? These are the problems facing Nigeria.

I live in a small village at the outskirts of the city of Port Harcourt. A couple of years ago, light and pipe-borne water were extended to this small village. The people put aside their lanterns and closed up their water wells. Their simple, straightforward life has ever since been disor-



ganised by the frequent failures of the utility bosses who live right in the hearts of Port Harcourt and are not accessible to these villagers. I am not advocating, Mr. President, that rural communities should be pushed aside and forgotten, but what I am saying is that apart from roads and other forms of accessibility, the rural communities are well organised and contended with their chiefs and village heads and all sorts of persons styled traditional rulers. The Budget spends so much energy on rural problems and integration and does not grapple sufficiently with the real challenges posed by Nigeria's growing urban communities.

Oil Energy and Industrialisation.— This whole problem of the urban areas brings me to the question of energy and industrialisation compared with the basic question of agriculture. We are almost driven into a state of panic by the cliché that we must invest the oil money in Agriculture. I have nothing against Agriculture or making the nation self-sufficient in feeding itself. But certainly the priority being given to agriculture over industrialisation of Nigeria seems misplaced. Compare, for instance, the detailed attention given to agriculture by the President in the Budget Speech. And if you go on, at page 14 of that Speech, I beg to quote:

"I approved soon after my assumption of office the purchase and distribution to farmers of certain essential inputs and equipment including tractors, fishing trawlers, livestock feeders and improved seeds. This Administration has also completed a review of the Agricultural Credit Guarantee Scheme. In the coming fiscal year, we will pursue a number of agricultural programmes in order to achieve the aims and objectives of the Green Revolution. To this end, a massive campaign will be launched throughout the country to boost the production of seeds and grains, to be supported by the provision of large quantities of essential inputs, and organised marketing. It is the intention of the Government also to attend to other complementary projects, such as land clearing, control of soil erosion, rural integrated projects, the modernisation of traditional fishing methods, the development of grazing reserves, the settlement of nomadic herdsmen, large scale poultry production in commercial quantities, arresting desert encroachment, etc."

If you compare that with the slow and haphazard description of the countries on page 17 of the President's handbook on the Budget, you will find where he merely says — As part of exercise, a national industrial policy and implementation strategy are being articulated. Already, it has been decided, that emphasis should hereafter shift to the establishment of small-scale and medium-size industries for which substantial financial support will be given by the Nigerian Industrial Development Bank (NIDB) and the Nigeria Bank for Commerce and Industry (NBCI) which together will benefit from the proposed Capital Estimates. This shift in emphasis is without prejudice to the execution of iron and steel and petrochemical projects which form the commanding height of our industrial

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men in Senate who found themselves outside the inner power circle, his views no matter how sound, his arguments not always carry the day. Legislative unassailable truths or sound reasoning but the wishes of the dominant them even the most determined of them did frustrate at their helplessness, their inability to swing things in the path of superior logic. Some quit.



ganised by the frequent failures of the utility bosses who live right in the hearts of Port Harcourt and are not advocating, Mr President, that rural communities should be pushed aside and apart from roads and other forms of accessibility, the rural communities are well organised and contended with their chiefs and village heads and all sorts of persons styled traditional rulers. The Budget spends so much energy on rural problems and integration and does not grapple sufficiently with the real challenges posed by Nigeria's growing urban communities.

Oil Energy and Industrialisation.—This whole problem of the urban areas and industrialisation of energy the basic question of agriculture, we are almost driven into a state of panic by the cliché that we must invest the oil money in Agriculture. I have no the nation self-sufficient in feeding itself. But certainly the priority being given to agriculture over industrialisation of Nigeria seems misplaced. Comment given to agriculture by the President in the Budget Speech, and if you go on, at page 14 of that Speech, I beg to quote:

Others simply gave up and did not bother to contribute. But Wali hung in there and as in the beginning he would continue to make his occasional visits to the podium. And when he did, his ideas shone through. His words stung and left indelible marks.

Wali was slaughtered in his bedroom last week and his brain splattered on the floor of his carpet. But his words continue to have a ring of reality today as they did in 1980. Below is an excerpt of his contribution on the budget debate of May 8, 1980.

"I approved soon after my assumption of office the purchase and distribution to farmers of certain essential inputs and equipment including tractors, fishing trawlers, livestock feeds and improved seeds. This Administration has also completed a review of the Agricultural Credit Guarantee Scheme. In the coming fiscal year, we will pursue a number of agricultural programmes in order to achieve the aims and objectives of the Green Revolution. To this end, a massive campaign will be launched throughout the country to boost the production of seeds and grains, to be supported by the provision of large quantities of essential inputs, and organised marketing. It is the intention of the Federal Government also to attend to other complementary projects, such as land clearing, control of soil erosion, rural integrated projects, the modernisation of traditional fishing methods, the development of grazing reserves, the settlement of nomadic herdsmen, large scale poultry production in commercial quantities, arresting desert encroachment, etc."

If you compare that with the sloven and haphazard description of Industries on page 17 of the President's handbook on the Budget, you will see where he merely says — As part of the exercise, a national industrial policy and implementation strategy are being articulated. Already, it has been decided, that emphasis should henceforth shift to the establishment of small-scale and medium-size industries for which substantial financial support will be given by the Nigerian Industrial Development Bank (NIDB) and the Nigeria Bank for Commerce and Industry (NBCI) which, together will benefit from the proposed 1980 Capital Estimates. This shift in emphasis is without prejudice to the prosecution of iron and steel and petrochemical projects which form the commanding height of our industrial policy.

# I am dissatisfied With Human Rights group

— Ex Presidential Aspirant

By Adagbo Onoja

**S**OMEbody once remarked that the name sounds Chinese but the truth is that Yima Sen is a Nigerian. He is of the Tiv speaking stock in Benue State.

But the controversy about Yima does not start and end with his name and the place of origin suggested by that name. The controversy about him also extends to his politics.

He has a commitment to revolutionary transformation of the Nigerian society both in theory and practice. He subscribes to marx's analyses of society and pursues the realisation of a socialist order or at least popular and representative democracy. Hence he is a member of the Campaign for Democracy (CD).

But at the same time he is also a professional politician. Actually, he was an option A4 presidential aspirant up to the Local Government level. Yima is thus referred in left circles as some political hermaphrodite suggesting possession of leftist and rightist ideologies.

In defence of himself, Yima has churned out a thesis. The thesis is the subject of this interview held in his Jos house where TSM also met his highly educated wife, Lorna Sen.

Now, why did you go into the race. (CD) of which you are a prime mover has rejected this transition programme.

I believe that this country must develop political leadership whether in peace or whether we are going to civil war. There are people who have a correct analysis of the problem and have devised appropriate programmes. Such people need to speak out. Nobody says the transition programme provides a solution to the crisis in Nigeria now. I personally do not believe it can help but it does not help either to be withdrawn.

When I was approached initially, I said I had no confidence. Then those who came here said I had been saying that but it did not prevent people being

ected into the LGs. State governorship and assemblies and the National Assembly. So they wanted to know if I meant that I was wiser than the voters and if by saying off, I was going to make the transition programme less defective.

Secondly and very importantly, I have watched with certain dissatisfaction the *modus operandi* of the left and Human Rights groups in the country. I feel that progressive organisations and individuals who have genuine programmes must minimally intervene and participate. That's why in my programme, I am talking of a National conference and multi-party democracy. You need to mobilise people for popular democracy.

This doctrine of minimal intervention participation seems to suggest that the left has not got its approaches to mobilisation.

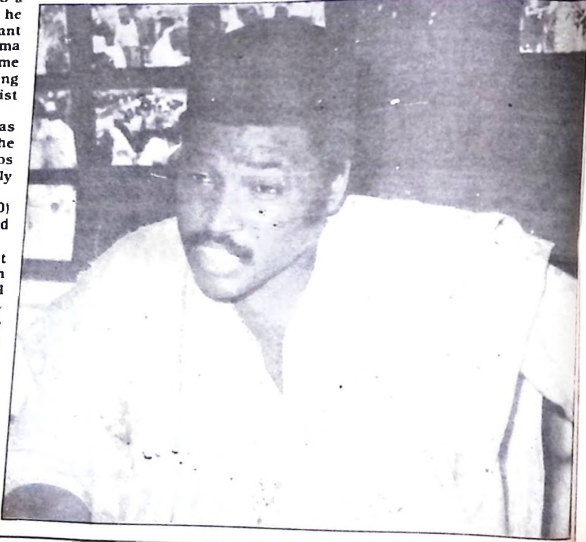
I have thought about that for a long time and one of the problems of the left progressive group is finding correct options at any one time. Subjectivity has to merge at a minimum programme. It is not a matter of empirical correctness but political correctness as to the best form of conducting struggle. I am not afraid of contradiction be-

cause it's not all contradictions are negative. Like Chairman I while the contradiction between us and the bourgeoisie is negative between workers and peasant positive one.

So in Nigeria, we need people who have the theoretical equipment kind of politics which will liberate Nigeria from under-development. Nigeria will require a combination of the theoretical and the practical have theoretically sound people who have remained aloof from the situation where Wole Soyinka is meddling. This has led to a situation where Wole Soyinka, this generation, has wasted generations of hope in those under 10 years of age if they are able or prepared to combine their theoretical equipment with minimal participation in politics and I can mention names.

Go ahead.

Claude Ake at the level of understanding and analysis of political economy of Africa, the theoretical equipment and activism of Attahiru Jega, the courage and ideological clarity of Festus Iyayi. I can go on but these are some of the people who stand out. They are clear, principled, committed and real.



able.

So, not being able to intervene is their problem, from your analysis.

Fine. That's why I talk of combination. When the intellectual develops political skills of mobilising, then we see a brighter political future. The reason for this bleak future is that these people have not been involved. I have attempted to equip myself theoretically while also being in practice with lots of defects and problems by way of self criticism.

For example.

I had to take positions sometimes not understood. And these were decisions that had consequences. The consequence, for me, is that I have been learning alot, a little bit more than other people in the left who have not been involved. My experience in the Middle Belt Forum brought me face to face with the national question in a way no other left may have been. Left interpretation of the national question is that it is sectional or regionalistic but my experience shows that the left should analyse it more critically. It does exist. My little reading of marxism shows the national question is an integral part of the struggle and in fact of all the revolutions we had in history none has been purely based on class / ideological configuration of society. What happened is, we have had class but acting together with other micro ideologies like nationalism, religion and sometimes gender.

In December 1983 at a conference in Zaria, the late Aperc Aku declared that ethnic consciousness was more likely to be stumbled upon before ideological consciousness if you scratched the skin of even Marxist gurus. You were his special Adviser on Information. Did you write that speech?

No, I did not. That was a statement made to defend ethnic nationalism. I am only saying that nationalism, ethnicity, religion and gender need to be addressed by the left. People in the left need to expose these elements within the context of political struggle. They need to apply their theoretical equipment to peculiar problems of this country. For example, a concept like Pan-Africanism. To the European left this is a useless concept but it should be crucial to the African left.

There is this fear that the system can and does consume leftists who get into it and is best to stay off it.

That's a negation of marxist theory. If you are afraid that extrapolation or elaboration of marxist theory for the purpose of change, and its tactical implications for struggle, will compromise a comrade, that's not fine. Fidel Castro and Che Guevara extrapo-



lated: the dependency scholars also applied marxism to the crisis of imperialism in Latin America.

Eastern Europeans have done alot of damage to marxism through stalinism because a system which preached democracy was being used to install system that were being oppressive. If we are to benefit from marxism, we must apply it as African people of the Southern hemisphere. Nkrumah did something of that kind.

Socialism in Eastern Europe was supposed to be a transition period. And the imperfections you are talking about were supposed to be the contradictions of capitalism which socialism in the transition phase was supposed to be resolving. The phase, that transition phase was too long alot of abuses were being covered up. Why is it that we don't have such abuses in Cuba? The Cuban experience from the perspective of third world has worked. Whatever defects built into the system have been corrected internally, from within. Contrary to the Cuban experience, we have seen in the former Soviet Union too, defective situation i.e. within marxism - Leninism which led to crippling of the economy. And when a reformists started to introduce changes as exhi-

bited by Gorbachev, they took the wrong measures - trying to apply capitalist principles to socialism. So we conclude that Eastern European socialism has done great damage.

Could this have to do with the stage of development at which the revolutions took place

If you go to marxist orthodoxy, the first revolution should have taken place in the West. The 1917 revolution in the Soviet Union was anomalous. Nevertheless, it became an important event in world history, a source of inspiration to other people trying to build a society in which harmony between the inhabitants is systematically guaranteed. But perhaps, we have failed to learn hard lessons from the even and its aftermath.

What has been the response of the left to this perspective of yours? I mean the idea of minimal intervention.

It's an unfolding debate, practice will decide a winner, winner in the political sense of that word and context, not the grammatical sense.

Your doctoral thesis had something to do with demonstrating the efficacy of Nkrumahism as a sort of continental ideology for Africa. Did you work something out?

I am more convinced about Pan-Africanism than before, given especially the performance of European lefts on the issue.

Where does the problem lie.

If you attend an African Development Bank conference today, their economists will be arguing that the fate of the continent would have been averted if there had been some form of African alliance. That would have enabled Africa to resist the pressures from imperialism. I was in Abuja where the ECA had its conference and I have monitored developments thereafter. I was a worker in the United Nations System and I had access to the debates between ECA, ADB and so on. It has become clearer to me how Pan-Africanism could be effective at the level of socio-cultural, economic and political framework for development and relationship with the West. The spirit of Pan-Africanism must be pursued, it's sheer intellectual laziness when people say it is not possible.

Why was the Middle Belt Forum banned? you were its Secretary.

It was openly accused of inciting other sub nationalities. It was seen as magnifying the national question. Who was seeking it that way?

The Nigerian State and the ruling class that is the caliphate faction, the semi-feudal bourgeois faction of the ruling class which resides mainly in the north.

## COUNT-DOWN TO SHOW-DOWN:

# The ivory towers stand on edge

*The war of pay parity inches our universities to yet another closure.*

Akaninyene Estere

**T**HE university system is once again at a cross-roads. The thick cloud of uncertainty that has been hovering over the nation's ivory towers for the past twelve months is far from clearing up. Instead, the situation may be compounded next month if threats by the proscribed Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) to call its members nation-wide to resume the suspended industrial action come May 3 is not nipped in the bud.

At the meeting held in Calabar, the Cross River State capital, on Saturday, April 3 and attended by representatives of academic staff from all the thirty-two universities to thrash out the nifty issues with the Federal Government over the implementation of the September 1992 agreement between the two parties, it was unanimously resolved that lecturers should down tools if by May 3 government refused to honour all aspects of the agreement entered into with the university teachers.

Kayode Familoni, a doctor and outspoken head of department of Economics, University of Lagos, told TSM that the meeting agreed on a boycott of lectures by that date unless government honoured the agreement in its entirety. He however hinted that the lecturers were least interested in embarking on the proposed strike, but saw it as last weapon to make government see reason in honouring all the terms of the agreement.

The Calabar meeting which followed on the heel of the expiry of a one month ultimatum handed down to government by the lecturers was convened after each university had conducted a referendum on April 1 to determine whether the lecturers should embark on strike if government continued to

renege on the agreement. Sources hinted that the result of the plebiscite was overwhelmingly in favour of industrial action. Lecturers of the University of Jos, for instance voted 98 per cent to go on strike. At the University of Ilorin, the referendum provided a germane opportunity for the lecturers to press home their demands. Some voted with their feet and distributed leaflets containing their grumble and readiness to go on strike. "The ball is not in government's court. Government's intransigence on the issue will lead to a grave danger to the university system and to the nation," the leaflet read in part.

It was to avert this danger that the lecturers decided to give government a long rope. A source informed our reporter that the May 3 deadline was agreed upon to give government enough air to implement the terms of the agreement to the letter adding, "after the

expiration of the ultimatum, on May 31 we would have asked our members to down tools." At the April 3 party in Calabar it was agreed that government had not honoured the agreement in the areas of autonomy, appropriate and enhanced condition of service and adequate funding of universities. On autonomy, government was accused of its incessant directives to individual councils on various areas of university administration thus eroding the autonomy granted them as entrenched in the agreement, while capital allocation was said to be inadequate. The alleged that rather than the N6.8 billion expected for this year's allocation, government only provided N4 billion leaving a shortfall of N2.8 billion. The most touchy issue which ever prompted the call for strike was government's adamant to maintain the parity disparity between the academic staff and their non-academic counterparts.

The seed of the current stand-off between members of the academic community and the government was sown on September 3 last year. A protracted industrial action embarked upon by the banned ASUU which paralysed academic activities in all the nation's university campuses last year forced government to enter into negotiations with the embittered teachers. The

Attahiru Jega...leading his team for war



negotiation culminated into the September 3 agreement which, achieved, *inter alia*, improved condition of service. Increased funding of the university system, and academic freedom and autonomy. The aspect on improved condition of service was resolved with the creation of a separate salary structure called University Academic Salary Scale (UASS), for members of the academia while their non-teaching colleagues. Non-Academic Staff Union (NASU) were to continued with the Elongated University salary Scale (EUSS).

Apart from this pay disparity, ASUU members were to enjoy more generous non-salaried allowance that were not approved for NASU members.

The implementation of the disparity in salary system received cold welcome from NASU which told government that such act amounted to official creation of a caste system within the university environment. NASU moved a step further by calling a trade dispute with government until a parity salary was restored. The imbroglio snow-balled into a nation-wide industrial action which again set the universities on edge. It was not until March 15 that the government acceded to the NASU demands by restoring the parity salary scale. However, their academic counterparts were still better off in the area of allowances.

By conceding to NASU's demand, government temporarily restored calm into the restive campuses. It (government) on the other hand unilaterally broke the agreement it entered into with the academic staff. It is the disregard for this agreement that is the crux of the current impasse. For two days, February 16 and 24, representatives of the academic staff met with Ben Nwabueze, a Professor and Secretary for Education and Youth Development, to resolve the logjam. The meeting however ended in a stalemate as the Secretary declared government intention to jettison the UASS and revert academic staff back to the New EUSS to meet the demand of NASU and Senior Staff Association of Universities, Teaching Hospital, Research Institutes and Allied Institutions (SSAUTHRIAI) for parity.

Nwabueze went further by saying that government was not obliged to honour the agreement. The Secretary said that government's commitment to honour the September agreement depended on whether overriding public interest or other compelling circumstances did not make it impracticable or inexpedient to do so. "Not all obligations, whether created by agree-



Ben Nwabueze...a new challenge

ment or other engagement or arising from other transactions or relationships are of a binding nature," the Secretary maintained, adding "it is only so long as the observance of the stipulation of the agreement does not conflict with or imperil government's responsibility to govern." The professor of constitutional law added that the agreement was an "imperfect obligation" which can not be enforced by an act of law. The lecturers were irked by the government posturing and vowed to make sure the terms of the agreement were honoured in toto. Familoni told TSM that since the agreement was not sign in a court of law and by a judge, the question of imperfect obligation does not arise.

In a paid advert signed by their former president, Attahiru Jega, a doctor, the lecturers premised the need for pay disparity on four grounds viz: the need to check brain drain; as being in conformity with government's policy of a de-regulated collective bargaining process; as being the practice worldwide; and in line with separate salary scales already operating in Nigeria such as in hospitals and airways. The last point germane. In government hospitals, medical doctors, staff nurses and medical technologists are paid separate salary scales; so also in airways where pilots, engineers, technicians and hostesses are paid discriminatory salary scale.

The statement further said that the lecturers were obliged to defend the agreements, adding "the existence of separate salary scales in the universities will not create a caste system. It

has not led to a caste system in our hospitals or in the other countries where it is practised. Parity is only sensible, reasonable and justifiable if it is not based on a comparison of apples and oranges (nature of job done by the teaching and non-teaching staff)."

Everyone is in a fix. If government decides to honour ASUU agreement, NASU has vowed to down tools and already the holiday weary students have had their academic programme completely disrupted. Nwabueze has also maintained that if the lecturers go on strike, the relevant provisions of the Trade Dispute Act of 1977 which emphasise stoppage of salary during strike would be enforced. Again, all universities would be closed down.

A source hinted our reporter that if government carries out its threat to stop payment of staff salaries and close down the campuses, many lecturers would resign. In a veil statement to confirm this, Jega reminded government of the Ghana experience. "When Rawlings closed down universities to satisfy the bidding of IMF and World Bank, about 90 percent of Ghanaian academic left the country. Years later Rawlings' government had to offer special salary package far more than initially requested. The tragedy is that the negative consequences of that rushed closure will last for generations. Is that the credential this government wants," Jega wondered.

How Nwabueze meanders through the labyrinth of problems and restore the elusive sanity into the ivory towers remains to be seen.



# No Nigeria Music Award before June?

As PMAN's case with Ideas Communications dawdles with a centipede speed, the fate of NMA '93 becomes a big question.

By Zik Okafor



(NMA) see the light of 1993? Will it hold? This rhetorical question undoubtedly reflects the ordeal of Performers Association of Nigeria, PMAN. The musical enactment had become a yearly ritual that paid the month of March with psychedelically show biz pageantry. Nigerian business magnates, political pace setters and show-biz impresarios were consequently getting hooked to March's anticipated bliss.

But 1993 is playing a changing tune. The jaunt to the National Theatre Iganmu, Lagos, being expected was short when PMAN president, Tor Okoroji, announced the postponement of the award. The shock had hardly digested when a second deferment of the award echoed. This time indefinitely. While reasons for the first postponement is a little hazy, the second is said to be due to the date fixed coincided with the National Conventions of the two political parties (March 28 - 30) and World Theatre Day being marked by their colleagues in the arts. National Association of Nigeria Theatre Arts Practitioners.

Beyond PMAN's explicit reasons, the musicians' body seems to have a few more rivers to cross. But the most dreaded is perhaps the case with Ideas Communications. For as soon as Ideas caught inklings of PMAN's preparations for the NMA '93, it re-awoke their slumbering case at the Ikeja High Court. Ideas had gone to court early last year to obtain an interlocutory injunction to restrain PMAN from repeating their smash-hit that was NMA '92 at Abuja. The High Court Judge S.O. Adagun had granted the injunction but owing to the heavy investment PMAN had already made, the organisation was asked to deposit a whopping N2 million and to continue with the award. Now Ideas boss Yemi Akeju, seems unbending in his resolute poise to sour PMAN's soup. On February 15, he issued a press release through his General Manager, Ehi Braimah tagging PMAN's plan for NMA '93 a breach of agreement and a violation of the pending injunction. Vibrant as the preparation plan had been, PMAN seems to have been jolted, at least a little, when on April 1, the very day of April Fool, Judge Adagun adjourned their case till June '29.

According to Braimah, Ideas GM, the judge specifically asked the stand-in attorney for Caleb Atolagbe, PMAN's



Majek - Talent in bondage

MARCH 1991



Okoroji (left) and Akeju - Sweet old days.

attorney, to convey the message that PMAN should rescind any preparation for the award till the case was over. The judge too promised to accelerate proceedings on the case. If PMAN must wait till June before NMA could take place, it's another way of saying that NMA is finished for this year, lamented a PMAN enthusiast.

PMAN's attorney however sees *Ideas* as purveyors of blatant lies. As he put it, the judge only promised to pace up proceedings.

Whatever be the judge's statement, the fact manifest presently is that NMA '93 has been chackmated even if momentarily. And this raises questions about the many patrons PMAN enjoys. Are there no men diplomatic enough among these patrons to seek concessions that could be made to ensure an amiable resolution of this tango? If the NMA is such a music sanctuary that dignitaries across the country scramble for tickets to its dais, how is it that resolution has defied all logic and diplomacy?

This was a case that came to public knowledge way back in March 19, 1991 when Tony Okoroji addressed men of the press at *Lords Nightclub* in a post awards lunch. The corporate conflict is based on Akeju's insistence that the awards account had not been published because PMAN had not made room for auditors to go through the account. Okoroji as president of PMAN had told *TSM* before then that the account had been reconciled and produced a letter dated July 17, 1990 which *Ideas* Managing Director, Akeju sent him acknowledging receipt of his own share of the profit of the 1990

As time runs out on NMA, *TSM* asked the gentle speaking *Ideas* MD if he enjoyed the fate of an award he had helped to nurture. His words: "All I am asking is that justice be done. I have invested a lot on NMA. It will be wrong to fold my arms and watch other people enjoy the fruit of my labour."

recently he did and even more. But Okoroji sounding as usual, like an attorney affirmed strongly that there was no compulsion attached explicitly or implicitly on the right to market the awards as agreed with *Ideas Communications*.

As time runs out on NMA, *TSM* asked the gentle speaking *Ideas* MD if he enjoyed the fate of an award he had helped to nurture. His words: "All I am asking is that justice be done. I have invested a lot on NMA. It will be wrong to fold my arms and watch other people enjoy the fruit of my labour. It's not right." But PMAN is not moved by the court's procrastination tendencies. Okoroji reiterated the notion that NMA is on and grand preparation for the musical burst is on. Another PMAN's voice, a lady stated strongly, "Listen, let me tell you, nobody can stop the awards. Nobody can because we have no case with anyone. We shall emerge victorious from the courtroom. Take it from me."

And so the question remains, will NMA '93 still hold? Can anyone stop it? And if that happens, what will be the consequence? Let's watch events unfold.

Black - Born to survive



awards. But Akeju insisted that the initial reconciliation was only a prerequisite to the final which will be authenticated by auditors.

The 'settle me' and 'I have settled you' imbroglio took a new pace last year when PMAN signed on *MCGA*, another events marketing and advertising company to market the awards. This, screamed *Ideas*, was a breach of contract. Akeju held that his agreement with PMAN was that the right to market the awards is renewable on condition that *Ideas* raises one million naira (1,000,000.00). This he told *TSM*

# Musicians on the way to hell

These talents are steadily heading for the limbo. The question now is what hope is there for tomorrow stars.

By Zik Okafor

**I** SAAC Black is one musician to remember. In the Second Nigerian Music Award (NMA) he carted home the Best New Artiste Award. His voice range is unarguably one of the highest in the music circuit. Only few weeks ago, we caught Black in Festac Town (Lagos). It was in the heart of the night, around 10.20 p.m. Black, sat inside the third floor of the three story building groaning and wailing. He was singing, acappella, to his forth coming elpee. The whole kids at the close essentially converged at the window to regale their ears with his sonorous voice.

But where really is the talent going remains the question perching on the lips of everyone that beholds this talent. Since his chequered contract with Christon Records, Black has remained a roving clover with weird trousers, un-earthly jackets and a Mercedes Benz. Three years after his first effort on vinyl, Black now seems to be strutting toward musical limbo. Yet he will not admit this. He told TSM, "I will be out soon. The world will tremble when I'm out. I will not fail because I was born to survive."

If Black is heading for the abyss, it may be stone tough to ask where Cecily Omohinni is going? Cecily did not glimmer as a talent. From her days as Onyeka Onwenu's back-up to the time she dared a solo effort with her debut elpee, *Land of Treasure*, she was a blaze of a talent. But three years after her first LP, Cecily seems to have dwindled into a wilderness of silence. When she spoke with us after a meeting in Niteshift Nightclub, her tone was that of a dame that life has not given a fair



Okojie - Hope for new talents.

shine. "I will go back to the drawing board to do some home work," she said coldly. She has dreams of a corporate sponsor and promotions for her second coming. "Then these senseless with record companies will stop," she intoned. But as the days dawdle past, Cicely's hope seems to trickle away. Now she seems to be in the abyss of music darkness, not out of her born-again posture but a lost poise in a career she is well equipped to be a shine.

Like Cicely, Sunny Neji spoke to TSM in front of *Kink Studios* in Surulere part of Lagos. Sunny's debut elpee, *The Captain*, may not be known to more than a 100 people outside the music industry. His name is unlikely to trigger off curiosity among men on music's sidewalk. But Sunny surely is a quantum talent. To many in the melodious profession, he is one of the best singers among his contemporaries. Time was when producers and singers disputed over who had a better voice between Mike Okri and Sunny. But all that seem history now. Sunny's debut was a departure from his funk bent. He strove to Africanise his orchestration and rendition. The result was a disaster. And so Sunny took a plunge into music's dreaded abyss. To TSM, he said that he had seen the dark side of his nascent career. "I have thought over it for a while and have decided to take things as they come. But hope is not

lost."

Stella Monye offers another tale of a journey to the unknown. Stella's voice and enactments on stage have sold her to many a Nigerian fan. Such tracks as *Oko miye and Ie* manifested the genius of her person. But *Tabansi Records* seems to have turned to a music inferno into which she has unwittingly plunged. Brilliant as she is, her drums seem to carry a wilderness silence.

Even the multi-awards winner Majek Fashek now appears to have silhouettes of doubt hovering over his bursting talent. The chubby and vivacious singer has suddenly become an emancipated prissy and priggish artiste. Telling rumours of drugs, AIDS and so on now threaten to overshadow his once sizzling career. In a *Morning Red* appearance recently, he looked tamed and tired, not the boisterous *Nyanga* messiah he used to be. It's now over two years since his last elpee. No one seems to know where he is going now.

The question now is, as the youngest talents seem to be disappearing unceremoniously, how can new ones be sought. The sound of music in today's Nigeria some say wears echoes of monotony. This is perhaps what Pedro Okojie, the boss of *Don Pedro Promotions* comes in. His *Tomorrow Stars* project which he briefed a few journalists about last week may play the timely messiah. According to Okojie, the programme will feature a musical competition of non-recording artistes in about twenty states of the federation, he revealed to TSM that arrangements with recording companies and sponsors, are being worked out with the speed of sound, knowing the enormity of the task ahead. When we finish with this project, then the Nigerian music will experience a baptism of fire," Okojie asserted. The hunk, a winner of many awards, (PMAN), FAME and John Chukwu awards) is not on this hunt alone. Music giants from PMAN, Radio and Print journalism will be part of the drive to rescue our ragging music culture.

No matter what *Tomorrow Stars* may offer, the fact remains that the recording industry need to be more dashier and liberal; in the investments on their artists. Promotion is begging for rejuvenation and packaging of artistes is still a slumbering case. Perhaps *Premier Music* deserves a resounding applause for the magic they are bringing to bear on promotion. If nothing else, the OGBC prime-tune show is a leap towards *uhuru*.

Pix by Taniwo Olatipo



*Rhythm*

# A Story of failure

*Many years after the plans to deregulate Nigerian economy started, and four months to the end of the present administration, there are still doubts on whether the programme has been a success or failure.*

Apart from functioning as the head of Economics department at the University of Lagos, Familoni has for quite sometime now been closely monitoring developments in the macro economic sector of the Nigerian economy. When, therefore, TSM approached him for comments on the term *deregulation* as it applies to monetary economies, he had this to say: "deregulation implies that government should allow the development of private initiative which means that gov-

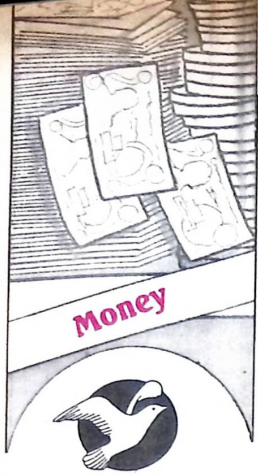
ernment should encourage private entrepreneurs. That government should not over indulge in economic activities. Government should rationalize the development of the economy. However, deregulation is not a complete abdication of its economic responsibilities by government in the economy."

In the thinking of Familoni, for a viable economic development, there is dual responsibility between the public sector (government) and the private sector in fashioning out and harmonizing ideals for the mutual benefit of the public.

Familoni received a ready support in Ekinh Daisey (Mrs.), Assistant Director of Research at the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC). For her, deregulation means relaxing of controls for a more efficient and improved performance. She notes that the world over, the main objective of financial deregulation is to enhance mutual mobilization and efficient allocation of resources. "Deregulation is not only related to developing economies as major industrialized economies have at one time or the other deregulated their market."

Inference to be drawn from these two submissions is that deregulation as an economic jargon is not alien in the world market. This perhaps explains why most advanced economies of the world often attribute their level of economic development to the level at which their economy has been deregulated.

However, watching closely the transformation of Nigerian economy right from the time when deregulation was strictly applied as an economic tool in Nigeria, little seems to have been achieved in concrete terms. Olukunle Iyanda, a professor and president of the Nigerian Institute of Management (NIM) underscored this point when he said that deregulation is only producing negative consequences, because the Nigerian economy is largely oligopolitic — supply is not infinitely elastic. Higher prices he said, may produce a lower supply and yet higher profit. For instance, Iyanda fails to understand why a Nigerian worker who used to drink beer at N1.50 still insists on taking as much number of bottles as he did, now that a bottle costs over N10. The growth in his income on the



By Obinna Nwachukwu

**K**AYODE  
Familoni, is a renowned economist.



Ahmed: apostle of free-flow of the naira

...deregulate with the... that hit the roof... the increasing costs... operate small scale pro... within this... therefore decried... an at... supply... prices, con... where both... to expand... one of the... desire for... produce more... less. There... do not function... occurs in... perhaps illus... interest... from about... of 55... many big... find this

development crippling, not to mention the small scale businessmen who find it increasingly impossible to borrow funds at such cut-throat interest rates, while the dream of those not yet in business has been shattered as they can scarcely fathom the direction of Nigeria's business wave.

Another sour aspect of deregulation according to economic watchers is the rate of exchange. Prior to deregulation, a naira exchanged for about 81.2. Current rates of exchange however, are about N25 - 81 at official market and about N58 - 81 at the parallel market. Said Iyanda: "For an economy which is largely open and import-dependent, the impact has been an exorbitant inflation, a decline in real income, lower demand, low industrial capacity utilization and a downward trend in the general level of economic activities.

The foregoing, therefore, ties Nigeria's economic definitions to the global definitions. For instance, small businesses are classified for base of 8500,000 excluding land. This translates into a staggering sum of 12 million naira, using the rather conservative official market rate. And 12 million naira in Nigeria using the local purchasing power which is higher than the

international purchasing power of the naira is indeed a huge sum.

"There is no gainsaying that a deregulated economy as exists in Nigeria differs in very many characteristics from a perfectly competitive one", was the opinion of Ebere Nwaka, a chartered accountant with Lion Bank Lagos. According to him, Nigeria's deregulated economy constitutes more of a threat to the survival of the nation than a blessing. Apparently not at home with the present high rate of interest, Nwaka said "the consequences is that resources are being allocated to less productive sectors of Trading and Commerce which do not suffer from the long gestation period characteristic of manufacturing establishments."

He maintained that "It is doubtful if projects with long gestation period can be funded by borrowing from financial institutions. The interest rate burden may impair the success of such operations." A lower interest rate however, he said may be feasible through government subsidizing the cost of such loans.

The present economic predicament of the country has always been attributed to the mistakes of our past plan-

# MARKET SURVEY

## FOODSTUFF

Rice (Tomato Annoni) 50kg		Crayfish (Med Oloko)	
Rice (Apple Annoni) 50kg		Crayfish (Gbigi)	
Rice (APN) 50kg	N1,200	Okra (50kg)	N120
Rice (Tomato Annoni) Tin	N1,000	Okra (med Oloko)	N120
Rice (Apple Annoni) Tin	N1,300	Dried pepper (cup)	N180
Rice (APN) Tin	N1,300	Dried pepper (100kg)	N130
Rice (Tomato Annoni) 1/4 Bag	N1,300	Dried pepper (med Oloko)	N130
Rice (Annoni) 1/4 Bag	N1,300	Palm Oil (18 lit)	N120
Rice (Tomato Annoni) De Rica	N1,500	Palm Oil (yellow bag) full	N300
Rice (Apple Annoni) De Rica	N1,800	Palm Oil (18 lit) white cover	N300
Rice (Apple) De Rica	N1,800	Fein Oil (18 lit)	N95
Beans (Olo 1) 100kg	N1,450		
Beans (Olo 1) 100kg	N1,600		
Beans (Olo 1) 110	N200		
Beans (Olo 1) 110	N210		
Beans (Olo 1) De Rica	N120		
Beans (Olo 1) De Rica	N140		
Beans (Olo 1) 1/4 bag	N190		
Corn (White) 100kg Bendl	N1,600		
Corn (White) 50kg Ondo	N700		
Corn (Red) 50kg Ondo	N500		
Corn (Red) 100 kg	N150		
Corn (White) tin Bendl	N150		
Corn (White) tin Ondo	N120		
Onomoto (Pack)	N60		
Soya (Pack)	N40		
Maggi (Pack)	N40		
Maggi Chicken (pack)	N38		
Royce (Pack)	N38		
Super Powerline salt (20kg)	N105		
Dison salt (25kg)	N105		
Melton (50kg)	N145		
Melton (medium Oloko)	N65		
Melton cup	N50		
Crayfish (5kg)	N350		

## DE RICA (C10g)

Baby Food	N100
Biomed (35kg)	N80
Behar (40kg)	N80
SMA (14kg)	N95
My Soy (40kg)	N75
Cow & Gate (35kg)	N75
Smiley (40kg)	N38
Farley's Outer Milk Two (40kg)	N85
Nutred (40kg)	N65
Nutred (1kg)	N24
Cereals (40kg)	N78
Belstar (1kg)	N35
Lactogen (45kg)	N80
Inf Formula	N80
BEVERAGES	
Isurwald (22kg)	N720
Bournville (Refiller 47kg)	N300
Milo (90kg)	N120
Milo (50kg)	N55
Bavico (50kg)	N25
Nesca	N18
Polvita (45kg)	N28
Vialto (50kg)	N14
Protio (22kg)	N28
Lipson tea (pack)	N40
St Louis Sugar (pack)	N50
Caration powdered milk (40kg)	N75
Roberts medicated soap (100kg)	N70
Caro powdered milk (40kg)	N80

## DE RICA (C10g)

Kim powdered milk (40kg)	N700
Nido powdered milk (40kg)	N800
Lalita Powdered Milk	N72
Nesale (1kg)	N32
Nido powdered milk (25kg)	N370
Pink powdered milk (40kg)	N400
Pink powdered milk (90kg)	N460
Miles powdered milk	N70
Dawn powdered milk (40kg)	N700
Acen powdered milk (40kg)	N700
Tempo powdered milk (40kg)	N500
Lux Low Powdered milk (40kg)	N54
Pink powdered milk (40kg)	N54
Carne powdered milk (40kg)	N18
Three Crown evaporated milk (tin)	N950
Three Crown evaporated milk (dca)	N100
Pink evaporated milk (tin)	N100
Pink evaporated milk (dca)	N100
Carne evaporated milk (tin)	N100
Carne evaporated milk (dca)	N100
B&B evaporated milk (tin)	N100
B&B evaporated milk (dca)	N100

Canoe Soap (Large)	N70
Canoe Soap (Large) doz	N185
Canoe Soap (Small)	N150
Canoe Soap (Small) doz	N138
Rin bar soap	N12
Breeze toilet soap (tin)	N100
Joy toilet soap (tin)	N60
Joy toilet soap (roll)	N58
Lux toilet soap (tin)	N60
Lux toilet soap (roll)	N58
Imperial leather (tin)	N60
Imperial leather (roll)	N58
Duck Bar Soap	N180
Close up (family)	N120
Close up (medium)	N100
Close up (small)	N100
Maccions (family)	N100
Maccions (small)	N100
Supersant (Family)	N130
Daily Need (family)	N120
Daily Need (small)	N100
Ritadent (family)	N100
Minta (family)	N100
Minta (medium)	N100
Snow White (family)	N200
Snow White (small)	N100
Softly white (medium)	N150
Flash (family)	N100
Fairly Used Vehicles	
Sunline, Lagos	
Blue Bird Wagon 1.8 Datsun	N80,500
Honda Accord EX Daabon	N195,000
Mazda 627 5 Speed 5 door car	
BMW 250 4 Cylinder 4 door N78,000	
Mitsubishi Galant Saisun Car C.L.R	N90,000
Mitsubishi L300 Bus Quality	N135,000
Toyota Corina 83-84 Model	N135,000
Toyota Corina 93-84 Model	N120,000
Toyota Corina 83-84 Model	N128,000

# BUREAUX DE CHANGE

## The dollar (\$)

	We buy	We sell
Pilot	N36.90	N41.00
Lama	N38.41	N41.45
Fozel	N36.90	N41.70
Hensmor	N41.01	N41.80
Isoken	N30.00	N41.70
IBW	N40.93	N41.35
Forward	N38.10	N41.65
Lanzgold	N39.30	N40.90
Public Finance	N38.00	N41.30
McRoyal	N38.21	N41.70
Chuk	N37.99	N41.65
Landgold	N39.30	N40.90

## Pound Sterling (£)

	We buy	We sell
Isoken	N51.00	N50.00
IBW	N51.00	N50.00
Chuk	N51.00	N50.00
Lama	N51.24	N50.00
Pilot	N52.00	N50.50
Hensmor	N51.50	N50.00
Forward	N52.40	N50.00
Landgold	N52.41	N50.00
IBW	N51.00	N50.00
Chuk	N51.00	N50.00
McRoyal	N52.36	N50.00
Public Finance	N52.47	N50.00
Mabata	N57.50	N58.00

## Deutsch Mark (DM)

	We buy	We sell
Lama	N22.20	N26.30
Forward	N20.00	N23.50
IBW	N23.03	N23.33
Public Finance	N23.30	N26.00
Isoken	N24.00	N26.00
Gaadi	N24.12	N25.28
Pilot	N24.00	N26.10
Jomaz	N22.50	N26.40
Hensmor	N22.00	N25.60
Fozel	N24.10	N26.10
McRoyal	N20.00	N26.00
Chuk	N22.00	N26.00
Landgold	N22.00	N23.50

## Swiss Franc (SWF)

	We buy	We sell
Landgold	N24.00	N25.00
IBW	N25.50	N26.05
Lama	N19.05	N20.00
Public Finance	N19.50	N19.95
Chuk	N16.05	N18.00
Gaadi	N15.00	N21.60
Hensmor	N19.08	N21.60
Jomaz	N21.50	N24.00
Fozel	N16.00	N21.60
Pilot	N16.00	N20.90

## Swiss Franc (SWF)

	We buy	We sell
Mabata	N22.70	N23.50
Isoken	N20.00	N20.90
Forward	N14.20	N23.40
McRoyal	N19.67	N21.90

## Dutch Guilder (DG)

	We buy	We sell
Landgold	N16.50	N18.00
IBW	N23.05	N23.45
Jomaz	21.80	N23.50
Isoken	N19.10	N21.60
Pilot	N16.50	N20.60
Fozel	N16.50	N23.40
Gaadi	N16.12	N20.30
Isoken	N19.10	N20.30
Public Finance	N19.70	N20.50
Forward	N15.00	N23.50
Chuk	N19.00	N20.20
Lama	N19.70	N23.60
McRoyal	N19.17	N19.95

## French Franc (FF)

	We buy	We sell
Jomaz	N6.00	N7.00
Gaadi	N4.00	N6.00
Isoken	5.20	6.40
Pilot	N5.10	N6.00
Public Finance	N5.00	N6.00
Chuk	N5.10	N6.70
Hensmor	N5.00	N6.00
IBW	N5.05	5.45
Mabata	N5.50	N6.00



Olashore: back paddling

content that the result has been mixed. Some sectors of the economy especially the service-oriented ones have recorded massive improvement at the detriment of the real sector of the economy — agricultural and manufacturing. Said Rufai Mohammed, president of Nigerian Association of Chambers of Commerce, Industries and Agriculture (NACCIMA), "recent performances of the economy as indicated by key macro-economic variables show that the economy is still in the doldrum. Our industries are still contending with problems of high interest rates, low capacity utilization and continued depreciation of the naira. This has diverted funds from the productive sector to speculative business. The result is that Nigeria has now become merely a trading nation because the prevailing economic situation does not encourage long term investment in the productive sector. The implication of this phenomenon is that lofty ideals of the Structural Adjustment Programme may take a long time to achieve."

For example, despite the removal of tariff on cement and wheat, a bag of cement still costs higher than before. A bag now is N200. Bread is also more expensive than ever. Food stuff, transportation and virtually everything money can buy in Nigeria is now only for the very few rich men in our society.

Surprisingly however, the government's persistent inability to admit the

ners to effectively harmonize our oil revenue (during the oil boom) and our imports. As a result of this, when the oil boom disappeared due to the slump in the world oil market, there arose a depletion of external reserves and the eventual emergence of trade arrears. A growing debt burden also surfaced in the early 1980s as a result of jumbo loans contracted in the late 70s from the international capital market at a non-concessional rate. External debt outstanding shot up drastically from US \$593.6 million in 1976 to \$2.2 billion in 1978 and to \$18.6 billion in 1986. By 1988, it had climbed to \$27.3 billion reaching \$33.3 billion at the end of 1991. It however declined to \$26.7 billion (N492.8 billion) as at end of June, 1992.

However, when the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) was launched in July, 1986, it was intended to serve as a fiscal and monetary policy tool of government for restoration of internal as well as external macro-economic balance. The major features of SAP include: the realignment of the naira exchange rate to reflect the interplay of market forces, trade liberalization, privatization and commercialization of government owned enterprises, diversification of exports and promotion of non-oil exports, the promotion of locally-sourced raw materials and general deregulation of the economy.

Economists while assessing the performance of these measures so far,

facts on the ground received a jolt recently when no other person than the finance secretary himself, Oladele Olashore said that "industrialists have found it difficult to operate because of the high interest rates and now exchange rates." This statement, is a bold one, reminiscent of a man who was felled from the pinnacle of managing director of First Bank of Nigeria PLC some years ago because of his truthfulness.

Receiving top notchers of the Nigerian Export-Import Bank (NEXIM) in his office, Olashore attributed the rising rate of inflation in the country to distortions in the economy caused by those two economic indicators (high interest rate and meek exchange rate of the naira). And as a way out of this, Olashore said: "We can only rectify this anomaly by bringing down the interest rates and attaining a measure of stability in exchange rate." Olashore was saying the obvious, although he had earlier supported deregulation in 1985.

The finance secretary's statement which synchronizes with the Transitional Council's position on the sensitive economic indicators in the 1993 budget, perhaps is a good reason why some critics ask "is that what he must still be saying when he has only less than four months to go?" But analysts see Olashore exonerating himself from the problems at hand and lashing the Central Bank especially, Odozi, CBN's deputy governor.

It is being said that both the government and the Central Bank are worried about the effect of depreciation of the naira on price levels and economic growth. Even Olashore is reported to have opted out of a free falling naira school of thought which calls for some measure of government intervention. Those with this view argue that is why the naira has appreciated by about N1.00 in the last four weeks while the gap between official supply and demand remained yawning. The Central Bank supplies an average of \$60 million a week, but demands by participating banks at the Inter-bank Foreign Exchange Market (IFEM) has always been more than double the supply.

Said Sonny Allison of Red Star Express Nigeria Limited: "the instability of the naira has reduced economic long-term to a week (from over 10 years); medium-term a day, and short-term, the next minute of hour." Infact the Organized Private Sector (OPS) which comprises the bulk of Nigerian Manufacturers and industrialists last

## Banks Interest Rates

GATEWAY INTERNATIONAL BANK	
Prime Lending	30%
7 days call	22%
30 days call	24%
3 months	25%
6 months	26%
12 months	27%
savings	20.5%

CRYSTAL BANK OF AFRICA	
Prime Lending	N.A
7 days call	26.29%
30 days call	28.32%
3 months	32.26%
6 months	32.28%
12 months	32.28%
Savings	25%

AMICABLE BANK OF NIGERIA	
Prime Lending	37%
7 days call	21%
30 days call	21.5%
3 months	23%
6 months	24%
12 months	25%
Savings	21%

NIGBEL MERCHANT BANK	
Prime Lending	N.A
7 days call	23%
30 days call	24%
3 months call	25%
6 months call	26%
12 months call	30%

GRINDLAYS MERCHANT BANK	
Prime Lending	N.A
7 days call	21%
30 days call	23%
3 months	24%
6 months	24.5%
12 months	25.5%

MERCHANT BANK OF AFRICA	
Prime Lending	20.5%
7 days call	21.75%
30 days call	23%
5 months	25%
6 months	25%
12 months	27.75%

MERIDIEN EQUITY BANK	
Prime Lending	21%
7 days call	14%
30 days call	15%
3 months	16%
6 months	17%
12 months	17%
Savings	23%

SAVANNAH BANK OF NIG. PLC	
Prime Lending	N.A
7 days call	18%
30 days call	22%
3 months	22%
6 months	25%
12 months	23.27%
Savings	17%

two weeks called on the government to take critical measures to save the situation from getting worst. Both NACCIMA and the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (MAN) at their separate meetings in Jos and Abuja within the week, expressed dissatisfaction with the local currency which has become the whipping boy in the global san Adamu, MAN President; "the problems of the Nigerian manufacturing sector in particular and the economy in general are the result of inefficient and ineffective implementation of policy and some cases, improper mix of macro-economic policy."

The Organized Private sector's plea came on the heels of a publication by the *Financial Times* of London which condemned the state of the Nigerian economy which it said has "defied quick-fix solutions." Said the paper "At no time in the past 20 years, and possibly since independence, has Nigeria had an administration so committed to economic reform. But commitment alone will not be enough to translate the Abuja Economic Summit dream into reality." Continuing, the *London Financial Times* stated that "from an economic view point, the optimal outcome would be an extended tenure for Chief Shonekan and his "business man's government." They understand what has to be done, though some members of the administration still hanker after quick-fix solutions that simply are not on offer."

The fear of the Eurocentric newspaper is that Nigerian economy will turn negative this year with OPEC cut in oil production, falling investment as high nominal interest rates and credit restraint start to bite and as import growth is reined in and public spending declines substantially in real terms.

Indeed, no country, developed or developing, leaves her currency entirely to market forces. Not even the United States, world's strongest economy nor Germany, Europe's economic giant. What Olashore and infact the authorities would have to add to the little they have achieved so far in the foreign exchange market is to ensure that the crippled productive sector, rather than the booming but directly unproductive sector gets the bulk of the weekly allocation of foreign exchange. For according to Familoni "If the CBN leaves the allocation open, the foreign exchange may go into the wrong hands or to people who can afford bribe payment to get scarce commodity."

## MONEY BRIEFS

### Apex Food Fair here

By Obinna Nwachukwu

ONE important indicator of the level of development of a nation is the quantity and quality of food available to feed and sustain her population. While many developing economies like Nigeria have abundant agricultural resources for food production, these potentials have not been fully harnessed. In order to meet the country's domestic food requirements, and also produce for export, priority attention is now being given to promoting accelerated development of agriculture and food industry.

This is where the Apex food fair comes in. The staging of the fair, according to the organizers, Apex Promotions and Exhibitions Limited is informed by the need to create a specialized forum for the promotion of Nigerian food as it will enable operators in the food and allied industries to take advantage of the growing opportunities in the domestic and export food market. The fair which kicks off on Tuesday, 18th May - 24th May, at Tafawa Balewa Square Lagos, has among its objectives: the promotion of the development of agriculture, and export of locally produced food.

### U.A.C counts blessings

United African Company (UAC) of Nigeria PLC has recounted with success its performance at the just concluded 4th Enugu International Trade Fair. The UAC Group which comprised: UAC Foods; Kingsway Fast Food (KFF), GBO/MDS, A.G Seward Group Textiles Division and Tractor and Equipment (TBE) occupied a conspicuous space at the fair ground and was the eyes of visitors. Yomi Johnson, UAC's manager, Corporate Affairs explained that this was because most of his Group's products are used in almost every home in Nigeria. For example, A.G. Seward had a saloon where the sample of their products, **Esteem, Pears, Fresh, Ellida, Velim** were displayed for inspection by visitors.



Steven Parks, Vice-President (International Sales) MINUTEMAN, USA

### Minuteman forges ahead

MINUTEMAN USA, one of the leading manufacturers of Uninterruptible Power Supply (UPS) in the world, has assured its sole Distributor and service centre for Nigeria, LEFPAC Nigeria Limited, of her continued technical support and assistance to avail Nigerians of the essential and efficient services of Minuteman UPS, as the nation continues to witness erratic power supply.

The Vice-President, International Sales, of MINUTEMAN, USA, Steven Parks, who gave the assurance in Lagos noted that because of the wonderful work being done by LEFPAC on MINUTEMAN in Nigeria, the company was ready to provide all necessary assistance to enhance its efficiency and ensure that its customers get only the best.

Parks, who is in Nigeria to commiserate with the Management and Staff of LEFPAC on the recent death of their Managing Director,



Rita Chukwuileta, (Mrs), new managing director of LEFPAC

Romanus Chukwuileta, assured the numerous customers of LEFPAC that any purchases from LEFPAC has the guaranteed engineering back-up of MINUTEMAN, USA, at all times.

He said that the misfortune which befell the company as occasioned by the death of its Managing Director, will not stop MINUTEMAN, USA, from supporting LEFPAC because of the impressive performance of the company over the years, which made it to win the MINUTEMAN International Distributor-of-the-Year Award last year.

Parks expressed solidarity with, and confidence in, the new Management team in LEFPAC and charged them to strive and build on the solid foundation and legacy of the late Managing Director.

Responding, the new Chief Executive of LEFPAC, Rita Chukwuileta (Mrs), noted that the death of their former Managing Director will not have any adverse effects on the company as they were all, more than ever before, committed to taking the company to greater heights.



Governor Nwodo of Enugu State inspecting UAC stand at the just concluded 4th Enugu International Trade Fair.



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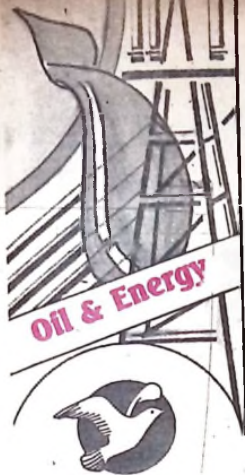
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# No Sir, not now

*Nigerians say please, hold it for now, as NNPC embarks on a national tour to "enlighten" them on the need for "correct pricing of petroleum products."*

bles, graphs, histograms and illustrations; a well-publicised trip and highly knowledgeable teams in oil matters. The teams, called Public Enlightenment Team, are three. And their mission, in the words of Edoreh Agbah, a media officer with NNPC, "is not necessarily to persuade but to give the facts of appropriate pricing of petroleum products with the hope that it would make the people think of the solutions to be offered."

The first point of call for these highly mobile teams were the media houses. Here, editors, columnists and energy correspondents were presented with

"facts" on why it is no longer economically expedient to continue to sell a litre of petrol for 70 kobo.

That done, the next point of call are the states where the executives and the legislatures are being briefed on the wisdom of "appropriate pricing of petroleum products." The idea, according to Agbah, is to pass the message, in each state, to the grassroots for onward transmission to the grassroots by the grassroots.

NNPC left for the states convinced that it has a case, a solid one at that. According to their figures, price of petrol in Nigeria is "generally 4 per cent of the average price in our neighbouring countries, 8 per cent of prices in developing countries) and 3 per cent of countries."

Statistics were also put together to compare per capital gross national product of African countries with prices of petroleum products in these countries. Their verdict is that prices of petroleum products are too low in Nigeria. Citing figures which it claimed were generated by LOTUS computer software programme using statistical technique called regression analysis. NNPC claimed that given Nigeria's low per capital gross national product of US \$280, "petrol should actually sold for US \$0.42 (approximately N10.00 at current exchange rate.)" According to the statistics, the prices of petrol in Ghana, Togo and Benin Republic should be US \$0.55 (N12.00); for Cameroon, US \$0.60 (N13.00); for Egypt, US \$0.58 (12.00); for Zimbabwe, US \$0.60 (N11.00); for Niger US \$0.09 (N15.18); for Cote d'Ivoire, \$0.78 (17.00).

Nigeria's actual petrol price is said to be the only one that bears no relation with per capital gross national product of the country.

But convincing as NNPC's argument may seem, not many Nigerians, at least those that have been visited by the NNPC team, appear carried along with the corporation's line of argument. Many felt that NNPC needs to put its house in order first to guide against waste (not of petroleum products) but of revenue, most of which are added into production cost. Some are eye of the view that whatever figures NNPC parades as its production cost are figures which do not have the attestation of independent sources and therefore questionable. Critics, like

By Ademola Adedoyin

**T**HE homework was near perfect. A heap of charts, ta-



Dankorou - NNPC boss

Olatunji Dare, the talented satirist-columnist of the Guardian believes that, if with its present revenue, NNPC cannot expand and modernize, raising the prices of petroleum product would not help the corporation.

Said Dare: "Why not go to the capital market to raise money for expansion and modernization. In any case, fully five-sixth of your entire output is already sold abroad in hard currency, at the prevailing world price. If the proceeds cannot help you expand and modernize, what are the chances that the proceeds from the one-sixth consumed at home will save you from collapse, even if the price is raised ten-fold."

It is not only columnists who are advising NNPC to exercise caution on this pricing war. In virtually all the states visited, drop-the-idea-for now caution is pervasive. And that is the mild advice, in some states they were clearly told that they do not have their support.

Last Tuesday, the NTA reported that the Kwara State House of Assembly walked out on the NNPC teams as it did not find their message amusing. But Agbah who was also a member of the Kwara team, in an interview with TSM, said nothing could be farther from the truth. Said he: "The NTA report to the effect that the Kwara State House of Assembly walked out on NNPC was a calculated lie to deceive Nigerians. The reporter who reported the story was only present when the governor met with us, he was not present when NNPC presented its case to the House. Infact the House of Assembly arranged lunch for our team and the speaker of the house presented a speech."

But even if the house welcomed the team warmly as Agbah claimed, the same cannot be said of the Governor of Kwara State, Mohammed Shaaba Lafiagi, who, TSM learnt, could not afford to give them much of his time. But the little time he spent with the team, he gave them a piece of his mind. And the NNPC team did not find his view amusing because he told them exactly as he sees it. The governor noted that with about 400 percent increase in rent, 500 percent for food and 200 percent for transportation, the Federal government should not compound the people's misery by removing the subsidy on petroleum products.

Said he: "I don't see any reason whatsoever why the Federal Government cannot give some concessions on petroleum products to Nigerians to let



Lafiagi...a big No to subsidy removal

them and other non-oil producing nations know that they are feeling the impact of a natural endowment in their country."

In any case, the governor told his August visitors further, he was not sure that the money realised would be judiciously spent by the appropriate government agencies to the benefit of the masses.

But Agbah said the governor made his pronouncements without hearing his team out. If he had, according to Agbah he may have had a different view. He said the deputy governor who listened to them even said that may be the governor would not have made the remarks he made if he had listen to their case. May be is the word.

But when the team visited Lagos State earlier on April 14, the state's deputy governor, Sinatu Ojikutu, an Alhaja, listened patiently to the NNPC gospel, but then her view is not remarkably different from that of Lafiagi. The woman deputy governor, who said she was speaking as a housewife and a common person advised the team to handle the appropriate pricing issue



Ojikutu... A housewife's view

with care in order not to trigger off public unrest. Ojikutu told the team that the issues involved in oil subsidy removal were beyond touting financial statistics and operating graphs which the campaign team was doing. She advised that the socio-economic effects on the masses should also be recognised and considered. Her submission was that an upward review of prices of petroleum prices would worsen the standard of living of Nigerians. And this, she feared may set the nation ablaze.

"We don't want another crisis in Lagos again because it is a volatile state and whatever affects it affects the whole nation," the deputy governor concluded.

She however offered a helping hand to the team in the area of its enlightenment campaign. She offered to make her state information machinery available for NNPC to use in propagating its crusade. For a fee, of course.

The team visited the state's House of Assembly where they were told by the honourable members that whatever problem NNPC has, this is not the

time to talk about it. They told the team that the people's suffering is becoming very unbearable and any attempt to add to their burden may provoke a violent reaction and disrupt the transition programme.

"That in a nutshell is the reaction from all the places we have visited," Agbah told TSM last week.

Except, Plateau State, where the Governor, Fidelis Tagun, who has never hidden his support for an upward review of prices of petroleum products, told the team to count on his support. For all he cared, the subsidy can be withdrawn this morning, transition programme or not.

Not so for John Odigie-Oyegun, the Governor of Edo State. Oyegun was said to have listened patiently to the NNPC team and told them that as an economist, he agrees with NNPC line of argument but as a politician, he cannot agree with the corporation because that is not what Nigerians want to hear now. The politician, he was said to have remarked, would always identify with what his people want.

And that exactly is the position of Ogun State House of Assembly. Said Stephen Sokoya, Speaker of the house, in a speech he delivered to the team: "I would not want to pre-empt or de-

tract from what the officials of the NNPC who are with us today will like to talk of us about, but I just want to let them know that we, as a legislature, have received countless petitions from our people requesting us to use our good offices to stop government from removing the subsidy on oil. Indeed, some of them have told us that there is no subsidy on oil as at the moment, and that if Government removes this so-called subsidy on oil, it would only amount to Government imposing a new tax rate on the defenceless and prostrate majority of our people."

In fact some newspapers' reports had it that the members walked out on the NNPC team, but Agbah dismissed the reports as untrue. "If the members walked out on us, how then did the speaker read his speech to us?" he asked the reporter. But another source insisted that after the speaker's address, Funsho Kupo-lukun rose to his feet to present his team's case when the members staged a walk-out.

From all the trips so far, one message has been clearly given to the NNPC: forget this "appropriate pricing of petroleum products" for now, or even, for ever. If the people must have their way, that exactly is what they want.

Oyegun...politically inexpedient



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— the newsmagazine for the 1990s

# How To Tax It

**Title:** PETROLEUM ACCOUNTING AND TAXATION IN NIGERIA  
**Author:** R. U. UCHE  
**Pages:** 511  
**Price:** UNSTATED  
**Publishers:** ALEXANDER BOOKS ASSOCIATES, USA  
**Reviewer:** VIVIAN IKEM

**T**HE strategic position occupied by the oil industry in the overall development of the Nigerian economy is well known. That the petroleum industry is the leading sector of the Nigerian economy is also well known. This fiscal year, for example, the oil sector is expected to generate about N56 billion representing almost 80.6% of the nation's foreign earnings.

It is in recognition of this life-line position of oil that there has been expected concern for a standard accounting system for the industry. Only recently, the Nigerian Accounting Standards Board (NASB) constituted a steering committee on oil and gas accounting to come out with a statement on accounting practices for the petroleum industry. This effort has been complemented and boosted by the publication of a book on Petroleum Accounting and Taxation by R. U. Uche, a renowned Chartered Accountant and a partner in the Accounting firm of KPMG Peat Marwick, Ani, Ogunde & Co. The book, *Petroleum Accounting And Taxation in Nigeria*, is a treatise on developing an acceptable and non-controversial accounting system for the industry. The book seems most timely and relevant, coming at a time the NASB is worried by the "lack of authoritative pronouncement on accounting rules to be followed in the petroleum industry" and is actively engaged in "narrowing down the range of acceptable alternatives in accounting in the industry" by evolving a general acceptable accounting rules in the country.

The Book treats the subject in three major parts sub-divided into twenty-four chapters. The first part, consisting of four chapters, is a historical over-

view of the petroleum industry. It covers such vital aspects of the industry as the politics and economics of oil and gas; organisational structure of oil and gas companies; types of oil companies; etc.

Chapter one examines the various drilling operations with their procedures, systems, preparations and the problems associated with them, as well as the organizational structure of the various types of oil companies. This makes the book a must read for any one interested in setting up an oil company or getting involved with the industry.

In chapter two, where the politics and economics of oil and gas are treated, the involvement of investors and governments in the industry and the influences exerted on the growth and pricing of the commodity are crit-

ically analysed. The historical accidents and political power-play responsible for fluctuations in oil prices are exhaustively examined. The issue made more elaborate with a tabulation of the various prices of oil per barrel from 1974 to 1988. Also presented the annual world production trend of crude oil according to major areas from 1918 to 1989. The pattern shows growth in various areas with an average daily production growing from 1,379,000 bbl day in 1918 to 60,056,000 bbl day in 1989. Individual African Countries' production and that of the Middle East are also tabulated in illustrative tables on pages 23-30.

The Book elaborately treats the history, economic and operational aspects of the petroleum industry both locally and internationally. In chapter three, it traces the historical evolution of the oil and gas industry in Nigeria and discusses each vital component of the industry as its importance to the economy; government participation; oil rights and concessions in Nigeria; oil and gas policy; and NNPC and the

## PETROLEUM ACCOUNTING AND TAXATION IN NIGERIA



R. U. UCHE

country's membership of international organizations and the various cartels that are deeply engaged in what has become known as International Oil Politics.

The second part of the Book zeros on Petroleum Accounting. It is an eleven-chapter excursion into the vital and contentious areas of Petroleum Accounting. Apart from a brief historical survey of the evolution of accounting principles and practices, the book touches elaborately on various controversial areas in accounting standards for the petroleum industry, which have been regions of major concern to the NASB. Such include Conveiances, Joint Interest Accounting and Deferred Taxation, each treated in separate chapters.

Petroleum Accounting being a major focus of the Book, the author handles this with extra care breaking the various topics treated down to the basics with appropriate statistical and graphical illustrations. Here, his years of experience as an accountant shine out clearly giving the Book a professional appeal.

Not losing sight of the fact that the Book is a two-pronged examination of Petroleum Taxation. This aspect is given an exhaustive treatment and critical analysis under nine chapters, focusing variously on such fiscal matters as Royalties, Petroleum Profit Tax; Chargeable Profits, Ascertainment of Assessable Tax and Chargeable Tax; Accounts and Returns, Assessments, Appeals and Collection of Tax etc. Tax planning opportunities are also highlighted as well as a discussion on other controversial issues on Petroleum Taxation.

The author laced his analysis of this subject with several practical examples, lucid illustrations and case studies. The Memorandum of Understanding, (MOU) 1986-1990 signed by the Federal Government with oil companies operating in Nigeria is discussed in this section with a treatment of its various side letters and amendments to the original document. To consolidate the first MOU, a new memorandum was signed and became effective from January 1991. The highlights of this new MOU (1991-1995) are also given, backed with analysis and calculations.

To complete the design of *Petroleum Accounting and Taxation in Nigeria* as a table reference material, the author includes relevant data in ten Appendices. This include the Petroleum profit Tax Act, 1959 (Appendix 6), Custom Duty-offsettable Item (Appendix 7),

and Legislations Affecting Oil and Gas Industry Operations in Nigeria (Appendix 10), among others.

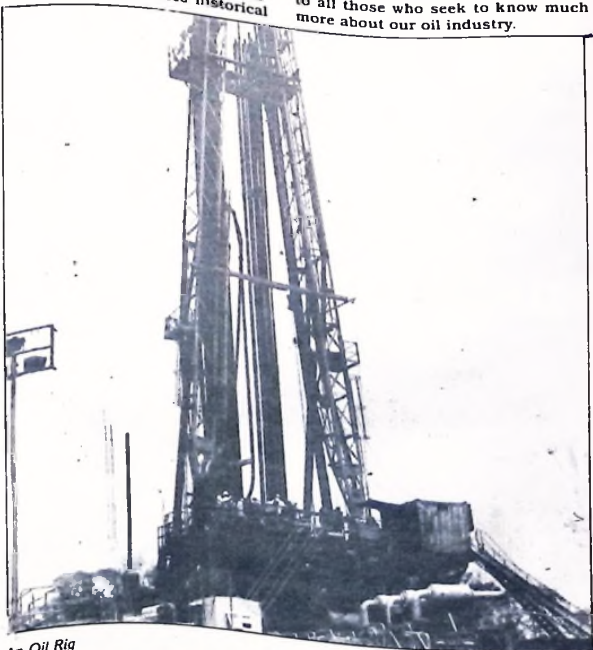
*Petroleum Accounting And Taxation in Nigeria* has a rich glossary that defines and explains all technical terms, jargons and abbreviations used in the text both professionals and tryos.

For its size and technical details, it is a big credit to the author that it has only few pardonable proof-reading and typographic errors. The printer's devil was visibly absent in the book. The luxurious usage of statistical data and tables, although expected in an Accounting book, was taken to a ridicule which saw them grouped together and running into several pages in most cases, makes them easily ignorable. If they were arranged into better analyses, beyond these scars, there is hardly anything to fault in this book that is neatly printed and packaged.

The substantial amounts of information in the petroleum industry operations and the very detailed historical

analyses, accounting procedures and definitive examples with solutions are quite understandable, if not commendable in a Book of this nature. As the first of its kind by a Nigerian, and having so excellently and inextricably weaved petroleum accounting with fiscal aspects of the Nigerian petroleum operations, one has no reservations agreeing with Bashorun J.K. Randle, who wrote the forward, that it is "a necessary reading and reference book for top executives and finance personnel of oil companies, chartered accountants, tax accountants, government administrators, bankers, lawyers and accountancy students." One

can only add that energy and business correspondents and specialist writers with various media houses, as well as Public Affairs commentators must also endeavour to read the book, *Petroleum Accounting And Taxation in Nigeria*. They sure need its sound analyses, facts and rich data to spice their reports, articles and commentaries. In fact, I recommend the book to all those who seek to know much more about our oil industry.



An Oil Rig



# The return of Agbonivbare

...though the Super Eagles  
trounced the Sudanese  
National team 4-0, it al-  
most ended in a fiasco.

By Isodi Dike

**H**E created a mild stir when spectators saw him emerge from the tunnel. That was few minutes before the Super Eagles of Nigeria walloped Sudanese National team 4-0 in the second round of the 1994 African Nations Cup qualifier at the main bowl of the National Stadium, Surulere, Lagos, last Sunday.

Then Clemens Westerhof, the Dutch Technical Adviser had called his wards out for a warm-up exercise before the match proper. Jogging confidently in a white-green top, and dark track down, Wilfred Agbonivbare elicited cheers from the fans who were seeing him for the first time in several years.

The stir he created was therefore that of curiosity. Some fans just wondered whether he will re-enact, the form that saw him become the toast of soccer fans, before the alleged big flop came. Or better still, whether the much-touted current superb form in the Dutch league, where he mans the post for Rayo Vallecano F.C. Holland is a rise after all.

They have a reason for their fears. Goal keeper Wilfred Agbonivbare, was a young lad in Edo State who School, Benin City in Edo State who took, the soccer-crazy nation by storm through his spectacular saves even at that tender age. To show his form he had to be flown in to join the Flying Eagles of Nigeria in Mexico, during the 1983 Under-21, World Cup immediately after his school certificate examinations.

Willy as he is now fondly called by soccer fans in Holland was then a permanent feature in the National camp. And then his popularity rating (which rose like a meteor) crashed suddenly. It started with strings of poor outings at his clubs — New Nigerian Bank F.C. of Benin City and later Abiola Babes of Abeokuta.

The worst nightmare occurred in 1985 in far away Harare. The Super Eagles went to Zimbabwe for a soccer match and against all expectations

came heavily scathed by a 5-0 bashing. Wilfred Agbonivbare was in goal for Nigeria.

It was unbelievable. Gradually he left Willu...Fully back to the beat?

the National limelight, soccer him as being an unreliable goal. Others said, his fame had gotten head.

That was until 1992. News filtering in that one Nigerian doing a fantastic job as a goal in Holland. Before long, those who the opportunity started confirming startling form via satellite. They who deserted Willy when he in them most began a new tune — terhof is biased, why has he returned Wilfred Agbonivbare to camp? What they did not know was Westerhof was yet to see the ball in action. Recently he did, and was vanced that Willy is one of the keepers he needs in his camp for 1994 USA World Cup.

That was how Agbonivbare first emerged from the tunnel that day acknowledge cheers from his long fans. "I am very happy that I am back at last. Nigerians will get more from me," he said "anytime they need me will be there."

Willy did not disappoint his fans. His first contact with the ball, was a dicy, it made the spectators hold their breath. The ball had gone into touch for a throw — in at the far left. Sudanese player executed a long throw that kept sailing nearer the Nigerian



eighteen. Willy in goal, could not wait any longer. He leapt over the heads of all the players clamouring around for action and easily crouded the ball. The fans went wild with clapping.

The second attempt almost spoiled the fun. A cheeky grounder some minutes later almost escaped into the net even after it had been saved. "The jersey was slippery with sweat, and the ball almost slipped away. In fact I saved that one with experience" Willy said to *TSM Sporting*.

But it was the third attempt that did the harm to everyone — the spectators, Willy, Coaches and the press. Willy rushed out to save the ball from an enterprising Sudanese player in Jersey No 14. It turned out to be an encounter with the devil. Even after Willy had safely cuddled the ball, the Sudanese player instead of jumping clear of him, deliberately kicked the left side of his face, just below the eye, with his hard stud boot.

The affected part and eye got swollen. Despite the first aid treatment Willy could not continue the match and had the wisdom to signal the Coaches to substitute him. All these within a few minutes into the Nations' Cup qualifying match.

"It's unfortunate it happened to him. But it is fortunate too that he was the one in goal when it happened. He has a big heart, that's why he stopped that ball and prevented the shock Sudan planned for me" said Westerhof "I tested him fully this morning and he was terrific. He was very good and you saw he was terrific when he saved that ball. He is good."

His chief Coach, Christian Chukwu, also regretted the incident, saying they had hoped to use the match to assess Willy properly before today's World cup match with Cote d'Ivoire in Abidjan.

On what may have happened to his game in the past Willy said there was nothing to it really, just a little misunderstanding. "You know, when a man makes a mistake and he is misunderstood, a lot of negative things happen" he said "Those who should know better thought I was finished, because of a little fault, but as a youngman with determination, I decided to move out and prove my worth. That is what happened."

*TSM Sporting* gathered that Willy was instrumental to his team's promotion to the elite division from division two in the Dutch league with his fantastic saves. Now, they are presently occupying the 14th position out of 20 clubs.

The young lad, is confident, that he will be in the Super Eagles World cup team. "For the moment I am still the

best. I am the most active Nigerian goal keeper now who is into competitive goal keeping" he concluded "And I

want to show the fans, that I am back for business. Thank heavens, the world cup qualifiers are around the corner."

## Showdown!

Some sizzled, yet others just fizzled out at one night of pro-boxing extravaganza

By Isodi Dike



On the night of April 23, 1993 everything was supposed to go wrong at the Indoor Sports Hall of the National Stadium, Surulere. It did not. And no one will know exactly how, the professional boxing stake-out put together by Joy Unlimited productions came to be a big success but before that night, the signs were there, that just anything could derail this one.

First, the fight was to have taken place the Friday before but had to be postponed. Boxing authorities had a reason to. Another promotions outfit, Harridot promotions came out with advertisements of its intentions to promote the fight or the same date with almost the same: boxers on the bill and in the same venue at the same time.

*TSM sporting* investigations discovered that after promising to promote the fight Dotun Aderibigbe, the boss at

Harridot did a quick take and literally vanished. Both the boxers could not locate him. It was an attempt to avoid an embarrassment that Joy Unlimited promotions came into the scene.

Incidentally, Joy Unlimited is owned by one of the boxers, former world cruiser weight champion, Bash Ali, in conjunction with a lady, Joy Asuen. Bash Ali, confirmed the story when he told our reporter that even though the issue has been resolved that it appeared Dotun did not have enough capital to stage the show, but lamented that, he should have at least consulted him, to sort the difficulties out.

After the first postponement, fans were not sure, the organisers and the authorities were still serious. They were proved wrong.

But not before the Amateur Weightlifting Association of Nigeria almost marred the night. They held on to the venue of the fight until about 7. pm that day. The fight was to have started that particular time.

In addition, one contender in the heavy weight bill, Big Sam, who was to have faced Bash Ali, took after the footsteps of Dotun. He too vanished. His, however was not surprising.

Big Sam as *TSM Sporting* gathered was not known in Nigerian boxing circles until the promo for the big showdown began when they screamed that

Punchy!...Perry and Jacobs slug it out



he was a former heavy weight boxing champion of New Jersey, in the United States. Whilst, we are yet to verify that, the other truth is that Big Sam when he was in the country was a big guy, who went into weightlifting. Then like a journeyman, the guy toyed with wrestling a little before surfacing later as a boxer.

Nigeria Boxing Board of Control (NBB of C) was not willing to take that risk. It will raise credibility questions. They stood on their ground, and insisted that the Imo State Anthony Obi,

**WHY BASH ALI KEPT HIS PROMISE:**

This guy has always been in the news. At least in recent times. Right from when he captured the World Cruiserweight title until he lost it on a very controversial fight, regained it in another, and then lost it on a more controversial note, his lot has always been controversy.

So when the news hit town that he was coming in for a fight the impression was that of mild credulity. And then he started singing a new tune: "No Nigerian boxer will survive round three in the ring with me."

TSM *Sporting* in an exclusive chat with Bash moments before the fight, heard more. "It's a tune I want to sing now, because all my career I have been a modest person, but I have always known my prowess. It is something I can do, so why not tell them," he said "My plan is to capture the World heavyweight title. I have been training real hard for this. That step is starting here tonight. You mark my word for it. This guy tonight will fall in round one and Joe Lasisi will follow."

Bash Ali...bashed Obi to submission



who is the number two contender to the National heavy weight title should fight Bash instead. And so it came to pass. That was how they were saved another embarrassment as Big Sam never showed up again, even at the fight.

Olayide Adeboye, a prince and president of the NBB of C was happy that above all the night turned out in success. The man who flew in from the London the previous day, just for the fight, said Nigerians should expect more nights of good entertainment

Bash had told our reporter in secret about his fight plan: "You are not going to see any fancy foot work and all that. No way. It's going to be the Smokey Joe Frazer's style," he revealed "you get in there, and get the job done. That guy will go in one."

That incidentally was what happened. Bash started punishing Tony Obi from the on-set. Some seconds into the fight, it was all over. Sam Chinke, former World Boxing Confederation (WBC) Middleweight champion, carried the same lesson to Olanjani Alade in their elimination contest. The referee had to stop the fight in the second round to save Alade further punishment.

Femi Jacobs decided Perry Adegunboye in the 7th round in a national welterweight challenge contest whilst Sunny Swauba of Abia defeated Abiodun Kassim of Lagos by a 2-1 split decision of the Judges. But Abel Okunubi of Lagos begged the referee to save him further punishment in his super lightweight inter-state fight with Adewale Okinlola.

**MALTA GUINNESS BABY WENT EARLY TO BED:**

Ganiyu Giwa is the national Welterweight champion. He is also known as the Malta Guinness bomber. That night he staked his title with Mukaila Bakare in the fight that turned out to be the real showdown.

The supporters of both camps mostly area boys almost brought the Sports hall down. Most however were not in favour of Ganiyu. The reason was obvious.

Ganiyu, made some enemies that night. He came in with rolls and rolls of callenders of Guinness Nigeria PLC, which he gave out freely to spectators. As is usual in such exercises, they could not go round. Most of the common folks saw it as an oppressive tendency which in actual fact was not.

The atmosphere got charged when their fight was called. The rowdiness was so much, the police had to resort to a little use of tear gas fumes to dissipate the tension. When the fight

like the "showdown." "There will be more fights. As people continue to come, so we will continue to improve on the security arrangement. We want to make sure they get maximum relaxation here."

That was exactly what the children of former African Boxing Confederation and NBB of C's chief, late Ralph Ogunbunmi had. Five of them — Oladunjoye, Olayinde, Adewale, Aina and Adeyemi attended the fight as special guests. They had to. The fight was organised in honour of their father.

It turned out an anti-chance Ganiyu perhaps had so much venom to allow him to settle down to his fight. He was staggered to the canvas by Mukaila in the seventh round. In the eighth round he was panicked again and the referee against all expectations stopped the fight.

It was so painful, because, Ganiyu was still firm on his feet, and with his senses. The fight therefore ended on a sad note as some of the officials of Guinness Nigeria PLC present, were shamed out of the hall immediately their ward lost. Ganiyu claimed the referee may have been afraid of the likely reaction of the "area" boys if he had won. But was it the referee who told Mukaila to deliver the punch that felled him?

**DAY FOLORUNSHO JACOBS WON A FIGHT:**

This man did not take a single punch that day neither did he give. In fact he was not even dressed to fight, but by a stroke of fate, he was declared the winner of the inter-state Welterweight challenge contest against Perry.

The truth is that Folorunsho was one of the referees in the fight but at the end of the bout the man could not believe his luck, when the master of ceremony Walter Oyatogun, announced before the Cameras that Folorunsho Jacobs is the winner of the fight. Immediately someone came out of the crowd to congratulate the lucky referee. In reality the fight was won by FEMI JACOBS not FOLORUNSHO JACOBS.

Lucky guy, Folorunsho



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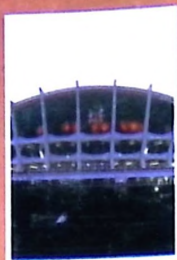


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