

YUSUFU BALA USMAN  
ARTIST

# The Analyst

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*says it, as it is*

March — May, 1989

Budhoo & I.M.F. Update

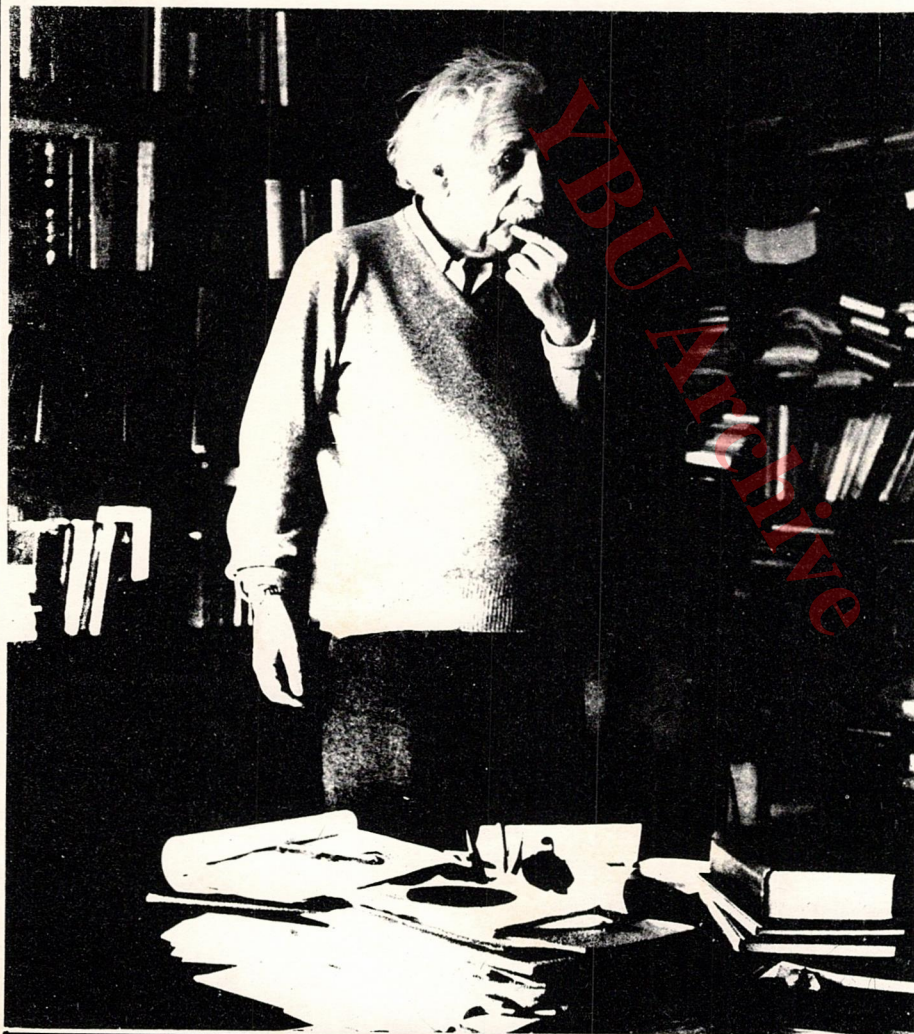


## RIDING THE TIGER ?



***“The economic anarchy of capitalist society as it exists today is, in my opinion, the real source of evil.”***

— Albert Einstein



**NOTE:**

Albert Einstein, one of the greatest scientists in the history of mankind, was born on 14th March, 1879 and died in 1955. His Theory of Relativity revolutionised the foundation of science and technology by discovering new knowledge about the nature of matter, motion, space, time, light and gravity. The depth of Einstein's scientific inquiry led him to see clearly the evil nature of capitalism, and the superiority and inevitability of socialism.

# The Analyst

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## In this issue

### AND NOW, THE TIGER'S TURN

Since modern elections were introduced in Nigeria in 1920, they have successively been manipulated and rigged by the rich and the powerful to instal favoured candidates. But today Nigerians are saying 'enough is enough.' Turn to page 6.



### WHO'S AFRAID OF BABALAKIN?

Mr Justice Babalakin , appointed in 1984 to head a commission that would conduct a post-mortem on the affairs of the Federal Electorate Commission, took his job seriously. He toured the entire country and examined hundreds of memoranda from the public. That job duly completed, the Babalakin Commission turned in its report. Since then it has been loud silence on the part of the government. Who is afraid of the findings of the commission? See page 16.



### CONTENTS

Letters .....	3
Comment .....	5
The Tiger's Turn .....	6
Electoral Corruption: The British Heritage .....	11
Rigging in Nigeria .....	14
The Revolution Will Come .....	15
Who's Afraid Of Babalakin?.....	16
Budhoo And The IMF Revisited .....	21
M.A.N. Vs S.A.P. ....	23
Einstein: "Why I am for Socialism" .....	27
Botha's Secret Card .....	29
OBITUARY: Johny Is Dead .....	32
POET'S VIEWLINE .....	34

# LETTERS

## DAVISON BUDHOO

Your edition on "You and Your Future" (THE ANALYST, Vol. 3, No. 6, 1988) was a masterpiece. It not only exposed the atrocities committed by the IMF but also made us aware of courageous and brilliant men like Davison Budhoo.

*Tunde Ojediji,  
Nguru, BORNO STATE.*

Every doubting Thomas must now be convinced that the salvation of Nigeria does not lie in the externally-imposed economic policies of the IMF – thanks to Davison Budhoo's letter of resignation.

*Isiaka Ayodele Lawal,  
BAUCHI.*

Budhoo's letter, which exposes the treachery of the IMF and the World Bank, only goes to prove one thing: the evil plan by the IMF's Nigerian agents in government to enslave the rest of us to perpetual poverty.

*Joseph Musa,  
KADUNA.*

So commendable, the confession and resignation of Mr. Davison Budhoo (THE ANALYST, Vol. 3, No. 6, 1988). Nigerians should not allow their future to be mortgaged to foreigners and their indigenous agents.

*Buba Dan Zaria Layubhuk,  
KALTUNGO.*

On the 'Revolutionary Heritage' page of your November – December, 1988 issue you featured one Frantz Fanon and described him as one of the outstanding revolutionary intellectuals of Africa. Please can anyone give us the historical background of this great man?

*E. Y. Oyin,  
Jebba, KWARA STATE.*

—For an introduction to the historical background of Fanon, see Frantz Fanon, Panaf Books Ltd., London, 1975. It is available in bookshops and libraries in this country.

*Editor*

## ALTERNATIVE TO SAP

Your January–February, 1989 edition contained a thorough analysis of the nation's economy. It marks the re-birth of factual and investigative journalism. Our leaders should listen to the wailings all over the place and retrace their steps from the SAP road. Other magazines and newspapers should take a cue

from THE ANALYST. I salute courage. I salute THE ANALYST'

*E. S. Ochigbo Abba,  
Gwarzo, KANO STATE.*

Your alternative to SAP, i.e. The Nigerian Economic Reconstruction Programme (NERP) is quite a beautiful package. Your suggestions, may again, fall on deaf ears, but time is coming when the protest of the millions of Nigerians now tied to the SAP stake will gather momentum. Mine is not an empty hope – it is just a matter of time!

*Mase I. A. Abata,  
Lessel, GBOKO.*

After going through THE ANALYST, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1989, I wept over what has been happening to our fatherland, Nigeria, since 1979. How long shall we sit back and watch as our leaders and those in authority borrow huge amounts for their own selfish ends in our names? Enough is enough. Or must there be a Rawlings in Nigeria before our leaders come to their senses?

*Godwin O. N. Adene,  
Chafe, SOKOTO STATE.*

The solutions proffered in your January – February edition of THE ANALYST, which I read more than five times, are the only solutions to our problems, if only those at the top have ears to hear. And if they fail to hear, one day is one day when power will be taken over by the oppressed. Then, the Nigerian Economic Reconstruction Programme (NERP) would be implemented. Please continue your tireless struggle.

*Boyi Jadaman,  
Michika, GONGOLA STATE.*

I read with great zeal and enthusiasm the January – February issue of your publication. Indeed, SAP is a cankerworm that has deeply eaten into the fabric of our national being. My fellow sapped Nigerians should gird their loins and be prepared for the D – day.

*David U. Egahi,  
Garki, ABUJA.*

Your exposition on the roots of our debt crisis (THE ANALYST, Vol. 4, No. 1) reveals that the architects of our debt burden can never be truly committed to resolving Nigeria's crisis. Hence, their unpatriotic, dishonest, dubious and unworkable solution: SAP. The only patriotic means of resolving the issue is the formation of a people's

government and the complete overhaul of the system.

*Saliba James,  
MAIDUGURI.*

Congratulations for the brave and courageous step taken to suggest an alternative to SAP. This edition raises nothing but the voice of millions of the masses of Nigeria who are daily dying in silence. This administration has, through SAP, declared a total war against the poor, the low income earners, the peasant farmers and the petty traders. It is therefore insane for anybody to say that SAP is in the 'best interest of this country'.

*B. N. Nwachukwu,  
A.B.U., ZARIA.*

THE ANALYST, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1989 will serve as a history magazine for our future generations because from it they will know how their forebears suffered and how a magazine came to their side in the battle against their oppressors. THE ANALYST has said enough for us, the masses. It is left to us to know what to do.

*Yakubu Usman Aku,  
KADUNA.*

It is most regrettable that while the peasants and the unprivileged people are daily becoming thinner, the perpetrators of SAP are growing fatter and taking the shape of yam and water-yam tubers.

*Yusuf Abdulrahim Ojapa,  
Okene, KWARA STATE.*

## SAP

Set not to serve  
And also not to save  
But to always suck  
To drain our watery blood  
To shatter our hopes  
To cripple our economy well  
And to make us dependent.  
Set up by so-called 'experts'  
For their's and the West's selfish ends  
To keep us all aloof  
From the real issues of the day  
But time and history  
Will not forgive them.

*Miss Khaleeda Iya HASHIM,  
SOKOTO.*

COMMENT

# HE WHO RIDES THE TIGER

The whistle has finally been blown, and the stage set, for yet another round of party politicking in Nigeria. The political actors have since started roaming the length and breadth of the country. Alliances, accords and pacts are being hatched and, of course, betrayed. Promises, programmes and declarations are being hawked. Huge sums of money are being brought back from secret vaults abroad. The embers of religious bigotry are being fanned with renewed zeal, as millions of dollars and riyals flow into the bottomless pockets of greedy and heartless crooks posing as champions of Christianity or Islam.

**THE GENERALS**

And while all this is happening, generals – retired and serving – are holding numerous meetings with their civilian frontmen and surrogates. The Nigerian ruling class is scared as the democratic and patriotic

strategies: rig the transition; groom and hand over to chosen and safe successors; constitute, de-constitute and re-constitute the umpires, and threaten and intimidate the other players!

Of course, it has happened before. In 1949 – 51 the Nigerian nationalist movement was hijacked and the genuinely patriotic currents of the movement were short-circuited. Elections were programmed, so that safe and servile successors emerged to become the first Nigerian ministers.

The same thing happened in 1966. Having failed to maintain a stable government, a take-over by the Army was arranged. The confused and bloody outcome of this however made the type of stability required impossible. Hence, the abortive attempt to completely wreck Nigeria through secession. But this too failed.

Again, in 1979, they tried another arranged

**“What has to be understood is that arranged and rigged transitions have a very short – and usually disastrous – life-span. This is because they do not reflect the actual balance of power on the ground between social classes, groups, organisations and political forces.”**

forces of the people of Nigeria gather strength throughout the country. The anger of the Nigerian people is mounting. Their determination and political will is sharpening. Hence the cry from the enemy: “emasculate them, emasculate them! Even the two-party system is dangerous.”

But why such hysteria from people who are so rich, and who appear so powerful? The answer is simple. Even though they know very well that the two-party system is itself undemocratic, they are nonetheless afraid that the provision to register more than one party raises popular expectations which may open the flood gates.

**OLD STRATEGY**

And so what do they do? They resort to the old

transition. Shehu Shagari and his retinue were imposed on the nation. We are today still suffering under the effects of the monumental failure of that arrangement.

**BALANCE OF POWER**

What has to be understood is that arranged and rigged transitions have a very short – and usually disastrous – life-span. This is because they do not reflect the actual balance of power between social classes, groups, organisations and political forces on the ground. They only reflect the wishful thinking and narrow self-interest of those temporarily in control.

But, compulsive as the itch to rig transitions may be, those who are tempted to do so should know that it is fraught with dangers. For, he who rides the tiger, shall end up inside it!

# AND NOW, THE TIGER'S TURN

When capitalism comes to an end, as it must inevitably do, it shall leave behind one enduring political heritage — ELECTIONS. Of course, there were elections even before capitalism came into being. The ancient Greeks and Romans practised it. Yet, in spite of these ancient beginnings, elections as a cardinal principle of political organisations only came into being with the emergence of bourgeois democracy in Europe about two hundred years ago.

But the elevation of the electoral principle to the centre-stage of political life in Europe did not happen accidentally. European society in those years was going through a period of revolutionary changes. A new class was emerging from the feudal bowels of medieval society. That emergent class, made up of merchants and industrialists, sought to break loose from the chains restricting the expansion and advancement of the bubbling trading and manufacturing activities of those days.

In order to cast off these chains and to expand their business, this new class of merchants and manufacturers had to seize power from the landlords and the nobility. And herein lay their dilemma. These merchants and manufacturers constituted only a small fraction of the entire society. They therefore direly needed allies to aid them in the war that they were waging against the feudal lords. How else to do this but to mobilize the most oppressed sections of the



*How it was in a Lagos counting centre in December, 1987.*

population around the slogan "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity!" And in practice, this slogan boiled down to the conducting of periodic popular elections.

Thus, elections became very important under bourgeois democracy not because the bourgeoisie believe in the inherent value of popular participation in political life, but rather because at a certain stage in their emergence as the dominant group in society, the bourgeoisie needed the support of the popular masses. However, no sooner had these merchants and industrialists captured political power and consolidated their positions, then they ditched their former 'comrades-in arms'. They emptied elections of their true essence by eliminating all meaningful roles for the popular masses in the political life of the

society, leaving only a feeble ritual, a hollow shell. The history of bourgeois democracy, in its two centuries of existence, is the history of this monumental betrayal, of this grand deception.

Nowhere did this become more evident than in Britain, the birth-place of industrial capitalism and in the 19th century, the "workshop of the world". This is how the London-based workers' newspaper, *The Peoples Paper*, described the General Elections of 1852 in County Clare, Ireland, and in England. In Ireland, for instance:

"We actually hear of soldiers with loaded guns and bayonets fixed, taking Liberal electors by force, dragging them under the landlord's eyes to vote against their own consciences and these soldiers shooting with deliberate aim

the people who dare to sympathise with the captive electors and committing wholesale murder on the unresisting people"

As for the elections in England itself, *The Peoples Paper* reported thus:

"And in England they have employed their police to break the stalls of those opposed to them; they have sent their organized gangs of midnight ruffians prowling through the streets to intercept and intimidate the Liberal electors; they have opened the cesspools of drunkenness; they have showered the gold of corruption as at Derby, and in almost every contested place they have exercised systematic intimidation".

If you think this report is the product of the wild imagination of an uncouth

workers' newspaper, then wait for the verdict of the London *Economist*, acknowledged even in those days as 'the weekly paper of the opposite party, the most sober, the most rational, the most moderate organ of the industrial bourgeoisie'.

"At this general elections, there has been more truckling, more corruption, more intimidation, more fanaticism and debauchery than on any previous occasion. It is reported that bribery has been more extensively resorted to at this election than for many previous years. . . . Of the amount of intimidation and undue influence of every sort which has been practiced at the late election, it is probably impossible to form an exaggerated estimate. . . . And when we sum up all these things — the brutal drunkenness, the low intrigues, the wholesale corruption, the barbarous intimidation, the integrity of candidates warped and stained, the honest electors who are ruined, the feeble ones who are suborned and dishonoured, the lies, the stratagems, the slanders, which stalk abroad in the daylight, naked and not ashamed — the desecration of holy words, the soiling of noble names — we stand aghast at the holocaust of victims, of destroyed bodies and lost souls, on whose funeral pyre a new parliament is reared".

But corruption, intimidation and even cold-blooded murder were not the only features which marked bourgeois democratic electoral rituals in Britain. In addition to all these, religious sentiments were also whipped up and manipulated. In the same 1852 election, for instance, a party of the new ruling

class of industrial and commercial bourgeoisie (the Tory Party) got the government to issue a Royal Proclamation against Roman Catholic processions so as to incite bigotry and religious hatred. A campaign against the Pope was unleashed to divide the masses, and this paid handsome dividends. In the city of Stockport, religious riots ensued on 29th and 30th June, 1852, during which fanatical English Protestants, with the active connivance of the police, ransacked the homes of Catholics, killing many and leaving many more critically injured. But then, these were just a few of the stratagems used to manipulate the electoral process and to undermine meaningful popular participation in the political life of the nation.

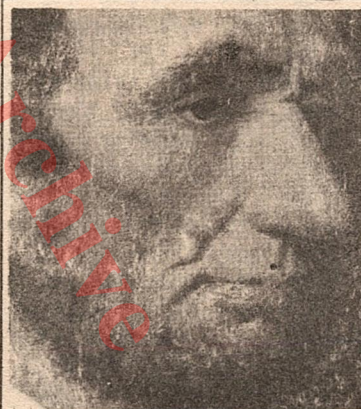


Lugard, Abraham Lincoln: What a legacy for democracy!

In the United States, as in Britain, "electoral democracy" was only for a privileged few. Although the Declaration of Independence of 1776 contained these stirring words: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these rights are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. . . .", it is a

fact that Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration, was a slaveholder, as were virtually all those who signed the document. The U.S. Constitution, ratified in 1787, declared all men to be equal. However, for purposes of determining the population of the states, each slave was counted as 3/5 of a man. Needless to say, slaves could not vote, nor had they any civic rights at all.

In the U.S., as in Britain, there were many restrictions on voting — literacy and property holding were the most prominent of these — which persisted in some places until well into the 20th century. In both countries, as in the other bourgeois democracies, over 50% of the voting-age population were debarred



enshrining and defending of rights in private property over and above human rights. The framers of that constitution were wealthy individuals whose interest the document was meant to protect. And up till today, although "democratic rights" have been somewhat broadened, the Constitution and the electoral system remain the bastions of the property rights of the propertied classes.

With such antecedents, it is perfectly understandable why today, in spite of all the noise on the Voice of America and the B.B.C., elections in Western Europe and North America are mere rituals — television shows — put on once every four or five years for the financial benefits of the media moguls, and for the purposes of hypnotising the popular masses. In the most recent General Election in Britain and in the U.S. Presidential election, less than half of the electorate went out to vote. Worse still, none of the successful candidates in either case received up to 40% of the total votes cast. Yet, we are told that the successful candidates in these elections won landslide victories. What democracy!

The hand-in-glove relationship between money and elections was emphasized recently by an American business tycoon, Mr. Justin Dart, Chairman of Dart Industries, when he remarked 'talking with politicians is a fine thing, but with a little money they hear you better'.

Here in our own country this fraudulent electoral process was implanted by the British colonial masters. The first elections in the country took place in 1920 for the Lagos Town Council. They were subsequently followed

up in 1923 by the elections in Lagos and Calabar to the Legislative Council of the Colony of Lagos and the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria. All in all, four seats were reserved for Africans in the Council: three for Lagos and one for Calabar. But even then the franchise was highly limited. To qualify to vote, one had to have an annual income of £100.00. You can imagine how many people in those days could meet such a stringent requirement! That is how bourgeois electoral democracy was born in Nigeria.

By the time the Richards Constitution was introduced in 1945, not only was the £100.00 annual income qualification retained, but a new undemocratic element was introduced. This was

more, throughout the country, the elections were far from being secret, free or fair.

Between 1951 and 1957, there were all together seven elections to the three Regional Houses of Assembly and two elections to the Central House of Representatives. But such was the nature of the entire electoral process that those elected were only the propertied, the powerful, and the moneybags. Little wonder, for instance, that in 1952, 66% of the members of the Northern Regional House of Assembly were Native Authority officials, 15% were District Heads, and only 1% were so-called farmers. By 1956 the situation had not changed: 43% of the members of the Assembly were Native Authority officials, 20% were District Heads, and only 2% were so-called farmers.

But can such a composition be surprising? Right from the beginning, the electoral process was never meant to involve the popular masses beyond the mere episodic casting of votes. Or how else can one explain the systematic hiking, over the years, of the deposits demanded for eligibility to contest elections? At a time when the per capita income for Nigeria stood at £27.00 a year, these deposits were raised in the Northern Region, for instance, from £25 in 1954, to £75 in 1961, and to £100 by 1963.

But the denial of any meaningful role for the people of Nigeria in the electoral process did not stop at that. These elections were marred by several other malpractices. The element of secret ballot, which is a *sine qua non* for any fair election,

was systematically debased. In several places, villages and district heads' compounds were used as polling stations. Members of the opposing party and their candidates were intimidated in several ways: they were physically beaten, imprisoned, detained, and in some cases even murdered. In the Northern parts of the country, the obnoxious Native Authority Law of 1954, which gave unlimited legislative, executive and police powers to emirs and chiefs, was used to deny the opposition candidates permits to hold rallies and campaigns. The nomination papers of these candidates were rejected. Native Authority vehicles and other facilities were used to promote the campaigns of the establishment candidates. Jerrymandering of the most obscene kind was perpetrated: with reckless abandon, safe constituencies were converted overnight to unsafe ones for the opposition. For example, the Kano East constituency, which in the 1959 Federal Elections was won by Mallam Aminu Kano, the NEPU candidate, was split into two during the subsequent Regional elections. This way, NEPU's support base was undermined, and it 'lost' that constituency. By the same token, the Hadejia South constituency, which had been a safe NPC seat, was split into two to create an additional seat for the ruling party.

It was as a result of such sordid manipulation that Nigeria's rulers captured and retained political power. Having thus acquired political power without popular support, and in fact in spite of popular will, it is little wonder that these 'leaders' had nothing but contempt for the mass of the people.

That is why, for instance, Chief Fani-Kayode, one-time Deputy Premier of the Western Region, could arrogantly declare to the electorate that "whether you vote for us or not we will remain in power".

This is also why, across the Niger in the Eastern Region of Nigeria, Dr. Michael Okpara could see nothing wrong in threatening hostile voters thus: "if you want light and water, you will first have to vote for me".

This rotten legacy of electoral fraud was to continue during the Second Republic. In fact, in a sense it can be said that there was even a retrogression. The mere fact that the number of political parties recognised by law was pegged at five was itself patently undemocratic. Such restriction did



Bush: 'Landslide' victory with votes of less than 50% of the electorate.

indirect elections through the Native Authorities, practised during council elections in the rest of the country. Indeed, it was not until 1954 that direct elections were allowed in the Eastern and the Western Regions. The Northern Region had to wait until 1959 for its first direct elections. But even then, suffrage was not universal. Women were not deemed fit and rational enough to be allowed the vote! Further-



Okpara: 'Vote for me or have no light, water'.

not legally exist in the First Republic. Then, the fact that the stringent requirement that all associations wishing to be registered as political parties had to have fully-staffed offices in literally all states and local government headquarters, simply meant that only the moneybags could effectively participate in the exercise. Furthermore, workers and public servants were effectively excluded from taking part in elections by





*Lugard Hall, Kaduna: No room for workers' and peasants representatives.*

the requirement that they must resign their jobs at least three months before the date of the elections they sought to contest. Coupled with all these were the relatively heavy deposits demanded from all candidates, and the high legal costs and the cumbersome legal procedures for seeking redress.

Apart from these, the elections themselves were marred by all sorts of malpractices. In the first place, a sizeable proportion of the electoral officers were partisan supporters and, in certain cases, even card-carrying members of the establishment parties. And many of even those of them who were not crudely partisan were simply bought. The police and the intelligence agencies, in broad daylight, gave their support to the monied candidates by beating up and even detaining other candidates and their polling agents; by harassing the voters of popular candidates, and arbitrarily

nullifying their votes; and by swapping ballot boxes, to mention just a few.

By the 1983 elections, the technique of rigging had been perfected and raised to the status of an art. Ingenious new methods of manipulating the electorate and the electoral process were devised. Several versions of the official electoral law, duly signed by the President, were released by government. The number of registered voters jumped — in just four years — by 16.7 million, from 48.6 million in 1979 to 65.3 million in 1983. In Kaduna State the number of registered voters doubled in four years, from 3.4 million in 1979 to 6.7 million in 1983! In Sokoto State, the home of the incumbent President, Shehu Shagari, the ruling National Party of Nigeria (NPN) received 2.8 million votes during the Presidential election, only to have this feat miraculously eclipsed during the gubernatorial election when

it received 3.4 million! Indeed, many NPN candidates actually printed their own ballot papers, and in some cases these were transported to different polling stations in coffins!

But if you thought that only elections to federal and state offices were the ones marred by electoral malpractices, then you have more thinking to do. Take, for instance, the local government elections of 1976 and 1987. In many parts of the Federation, the 1976 elections were indirect. In other words, the local government chairmen and councillors were not elected directly by the people. Instead they were elected by electoral colleges, which themselves were composed of so-called ward representatives. Even more repugnant was the fact that the chairman and other key councillors were directly appointed by the Military Governors. What is more, a sizeable number of the so-called representatives were

'returned unopposed'.

It was the same tango in 1987. Although this time around the Local Government Councils were elected directly, at the end of the day the result was the same. In the first place, the qualifications for contesting the election were such that only the rich and the self-employed could do so. Furthermore, there was hardly any credible voters' list. Voting materials were in short supply all over the country. Besides, many of the polling stations existed only on paper. Indeed, in many polling stations elections could not take place until about an hour to the official close of polls, or afterwards. As if all these were not enough, the National Electoral Commission (NEC) indiscriminately and arbitrarily disqualified several candidates, obviously encouraged by the full knowledge that the legal procedure of seeking redress was cumbersome and beyond the means of many candidates. In any case, the electoral laws were known only a few days before voting started, and were applied arbitrarily.

It is evident from all these that far from being a means of popular participation and representation in the political process, elections in this country so far have been monumental deceptions. And if we are to go by the experiences of the on-going transition programme, and specifically the performance of NEC so far, then there is very little cause to cheer. To put it bluntly, unless the government and the people of this country take drastic measures to reverse the trend, then only the most naive, the most blind, and the most unduly optimistic can expect the next elections to be any



*Babalakin: What's happening to his report?*

different.

But under any system, under all circumstances, the election by the people of those who will occupy positions of authority in the society is a factor which no modern and civilised society can dispense with. This is particularly so if the people themselves are going to determine their own destiny, and the conditions under which they wish to live. This is why, in spite of all the bastardization and the cynical manipulation which the bourgeoisie has brought into the electoral process, the fight to bring back meaning, content, and genuine representation into elections must uncompromisingly continue. For, without it, the field will be open to all kinds of demagogues and dictators.

In the particular case of Nigeria, Government has a responsibility to assure us in words and deeds, but particularly in deeds, that it is committed to free and fair elections, and to a genuine and democratic handover, and not the type of arrangements that Nigerians have witnessed

in the past. In this respect, the first thing the government should do to show its sincerity is to immediately release the full report of the Babalakin Commission of Inquiry into the 1983 General Elections, with all the memoranda submitted to that Commission, as well as the other addenda. All officials within and outside FEDECO, all candidates and all party functionaries found to have perpetrated, or abetted, electoral malpractices should be severely and summarily punished.

Secondly, Government should, as a matter of urgency, embark on a fresh and comprehensive registration of voters. The self-deception that there is a voters register which needs only a revision should be dispelled, and the reality faced squarely. To conduct this exercise successfully, all unemployed youth and all students should be mobilised for a period of two months.

Thirdly, Government must, right now, start the construction of permanent polling booths all over the country. This is far more



*Awa: Bungled the last L.G. elections.*

important than the millions being sunk into the construction of party offices. Indeed, the same unemployed youth used for the registration exercise should be mobilised for the construction of the polling booths. And once constructed, each of these polling centres should cater for not more than 200 voters. This is the easiest way to fish out ghost voters.

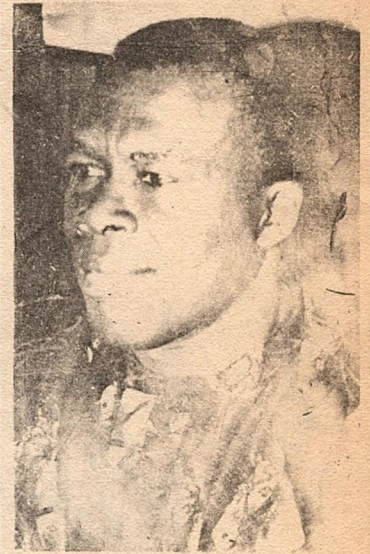
Fourthly, henceforth the appointment and removal of all electoral officers, from the constituency level right up to the Chairman of the National Electoral Commission, should be with the consent of the political parties involved in the elections. This is essential for the credibility of the Commission and the fairness of the elections.

Fifthly, electoral laws must be clear and precise and known six months before the first election.

Sixthly, the cost of contesting elections and of pursuing election disputes before election tribunals should be drastically brought down so that the majority of the electorate can afford to exercise these crucial democratic rights now denied to them by the exorbitant fees and charges currently imposed.

Finally, special election tribunals must be constituted. These should be composed of representatives of the political parties contesting the elections; the Bar Association; workers, peasant, youth, and women's organisations; the National Electoral Commission; the Armed Forces, and the Police. The members of these tribunals shall elect their chairpersons.

But even with all these measures, elections can still continue to be manipulated so long as the people do not



*Nwosu: Shall history repeat itself?*

organise themselves to prevent this from happening. The voters themselves must, therefore, set up Committees Against the Rigging of Elections (CARE) wherever they live or work. CARE's major responsibility should be to monitor all elections, establish the precise number and exact location of all polling stations in their localities, and authenticate the two hundred names on the voters' register for each polling centre.

For too long, we Nigerians have stood by and watched, almost helplessly, as one impostor after another rides rough-shod over us, and in our names, to power and wealth. For too long, fake apostles, chanting worn-out catchphrases, have taken us for a ride. For too long have self-acclaimed redeemers, bedecked with brass and red ribbons, led us by the nose. It is now the turn of the tiger. It is now the time of the people.

*By Alkasum ABBA  
and Richard UMARU.*

# ELECTORAL CORRUPTION: THE BRITISH HERITAGE

The electoral system was introduced into Nigeria by the British colonial administration in 1920. Before introducing it to Nigeria, however, the British had themselves been conducting elections for over a century. What had been the nature of these British elections? How free and fair had they been? And are there any redeeming attributes that Nigerians can learn from the British experience?

Karl Marx was living in Britain when the 1852 General Election was conducted. In that election, two major groups contested for parliamentary seats: the workers and the poor, organised around the Chartists, and the landlords and the bourgeoisie organised behind the Tory and Whig parties. Marx covered these elections as a freelance journalist, for the *New York Daily Tribune*. Below is an abridged form of Marx's report published by that paper in its August 25th, 1852 edition:

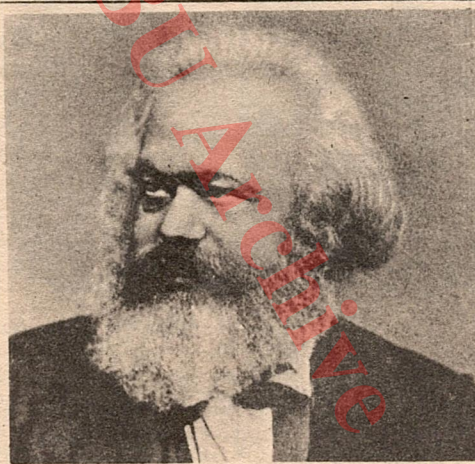
To be a voter for the British Parliament, a man must occupy in the Boroughs, a house rated at £10 to the poor's rate, and, in the counties, he must be a freeholder to the annual amount of 40 shillings, or a leaseholder to the amount of £50. From this statement alone it follows that the Chartists could take, officially, but little part in the electoral battle just concluded. In order to explain the actual part they took in it, I must recall to mind a peculiarity of the British electoral system:

Nomination day and declaration day! Show of hands and poll!!

When the candidates have made their appearance on the day of election, and have publicly harangued the people, they are elected, in the first instance, by the show of hands, and every hand has the right to be raised. For whomsoever the majority of hands are raised, that person is declared, by the returning officer, to be (provisionally) elected by show of hands. But now the medal shows its reverse. The election by show of hands was a mere ceremony, an act of formal politeness towards the "sovereign people", and

the politeness ceases as soon as privilege is menaced. For if the show of hands does not return the candidates of the privileged electors, these candidates demand a poll; only the privileged electors can take part in the poll, and whosoever has there the majority of votes is declared duly elected. The first election, by show of hands, is a show satisfaction allowed, for a moment, to public opinion, in order to convince it, the next moment, the more strikingly of its impotency.

It might appear that this election by show of hands, this dangerous formality, had been invented in order to ridicule universal suffrage, and to enjoy some little aristocratic fun at the expense of the "rabble" (expression of



*Karl Marx: Saw through it all.*

Major Beresford, Secretary of War). But this would be a delusion, and the old usage, common originally to all Teutonic nations, could drag itself traditionally down to the nineteenth century, because it gave to the British class-Parliament, cheaply and without danger, an appearance of popularity. The ruling class drew from this usage the satisfaction that the mass of the people took part, with more or less passion, in their sectional interests as its national interests. And it was only since the Bourgeoisie took an independent station at the side of the two official parties, the Whigs and Tories, that the working masses stood up, on the nomination days in their own name.

But in no former year the contrast of show of hands and poll, of Nomination Day and Declaration Day, has been so serious, so well defined by opposed principles, so threatening, so general, upon the whole surface of the country, as in this last election of 1852.

And what a contrast! It was sufficient to be named by show of hands in order to be beaten at the poll. It was sufficient to have had the majority at a poll, in order to be saluted, by the people, with rotten apples and brickbats. The duly elected members of Parliament, before all, had a great deal to do, in order to keep their own parliamentary bodily selves in safety. On one side the majority of the people, on the other the twelfth part of the whole population, and the fifth part of the sum-total of the male adult inhabitants of the country. On one side enthusiasm, on the other bribery. On one side parties disowning their own distinctive signs, liberals pleading the conservatism, conservatives proclaiming the liberalism of the views; on the other, the people, proclaiming their presence and pleading their own cause. On one side a worn-out engine which, turning incessantly in its vicious circle, is never able to move a single step forward, and the impotent process of friction by which all the official parties gradually grind each other into dust; on the other, the advancing mass of the nation, threatening to blow up the vicious circle and to destroy the official engine.

I shall not follow up, over all the surface of the country, this contrast between nomination and poll, of the threatening electoral demonstration of the working class, and the timid electioneering manoeuvres of the ruling classes. I take one borough from the mass, where the contrast is concentrated in a focus: the Halifax election. Here the opposing candidates were: Edwards (Tory); Sir Charles Wood (late Whig Chancellor of the Exchequer, brother-in-law to Earl Grey); Frank Crossley (Manchester man); and finally Ernest Jones, the most talented, consistent and energetic representative of Chartism. Halifax being a manufacturing town, the Tory had little chance.

The Manchester man Crossley was leagued with the Whigs. The serious struggle, then lay only between Wood and Jones, between the Whig and the Chartist. [ Reports the *People's Paper* ]:

"Sir Charles Wood made a speech of about half an hour, perfectly inaudible at the commencement, and during its latter half, for the disapprobation of the immense multitude. His speech, as reported by the reporter, who sat close to him, was merely a recapitulation of the Free Trade measures passed, and an attack on Lord Derby's Government, and a laudation of the unexampled prosperity of the country and the people! (Hear, hear.) He did not propound one single new measure of reform; and but faintly, in very few words, hinted at Lord John Russell's bill for the franchise."

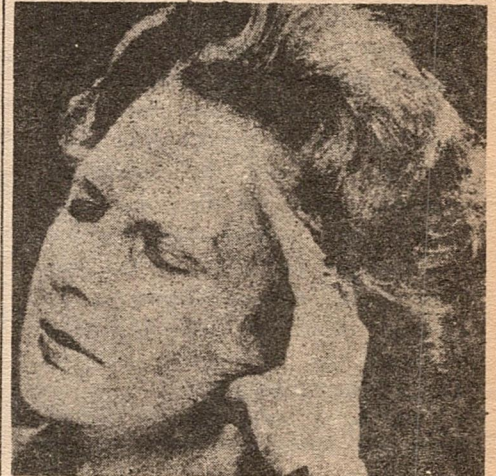
I give a more extensive abstract of E. Jones's speech, as you will not find it in any of the great London ruling-class papers.

"Ernest Jones, who was received with immense enthusiasm, then spoke as follows:

'Electors and Non-electors, you met upon a great and solemn festival. Today, the Constitution recognises Universal Suffrage in theory that it may, perhaps, deny it in practice on the morrow. Today the representatives of two systems stand before you, and you have to decide beneath which you shall be ruled for seven years. Seven years — a little life! I summon you to pause upon the threshold of those seven years: today they shall pass slowly and calmly in review before you: today decide, you 20,000 men, that perhaps five hundred may undo your will tomorrow. (Hear, hear.) I say the representatives of two systems stand before you. Whig, Tory, and money-mongers are on my left, it is true, but they are all as one. The money-monger says, buy cheap and sell dear. The Tory says, buy dear, sell dearer. Both are the same for labour. But the former system is in the ascendant, and pauperism rankles at its root. That system is based on foreign competition. Now, I assert, that under the buy cheap and sell dear principle, brought to bear on foreign competition, the ruin of the working and small trading classes must go on. Why? Labour is the creator of all wealth. A man must work before a grain is grown, or a yard is woven. But there is no self-employment for the working-man in this country. Labour is

a hired commodity — labour is a thing in the market that is bought and sold; consequently, as labour creates all wealth, labour is the first thing bought — "Buy cheap! buy cheap!" labour is bought in the cheapest market. But now comes the next: "sell dear! sell dear!" Sell what? Labour's produce. To whom? To the foreigner — aye! and to the labourer himself — for labour, not being self-employed, the labourer is not the partaker of the first fruits of his toil. "Buy cheap, sell dear" .How do you like it? "Buy cheap, sell dear." Buy the working-man's labour cheaply, and sell back to that very working-man the produce of his own labour dear! The principle of inherent loss is in the

machinery, which drives those hands into the street — by woman labour which drives the man from the shuttle — by child labour which drives the woman from the loom. Then planting their foot upon that living base of surplus, they press its aching heart beneath their heel, and cry "Starvation! Who'll work? A half loaf is better than no bread at all" — and the writhing mass grasps greedily at their terms. (Loud cries of 'hear, hear'.) Such is the system for the working-man. But Electors! How does it operate on you? How does it affect home trade, the shopkeeper, poor's-rate and taxation? For every increase of competition abroad, there must be an increase of cheapness at



Queen Elizabeth, Margaret Thatcher: A rotten heritage.

bargain. The employer buys the labour cheap — he sells, and on the sale he must make a profit: he sells to the working-man himself — and thus every bargain between employer and employed is a deliberate cheat on the part of the employer. Thus labour has to sink through eternal loss, that capital may rise through lasting fraud. But the system stops not here. *This is brought to bear on foreign competition which means, we must ruin the trade of other countries, as we have ruined the labour of our own.* How does it work? The high-taxes country has to undersell the low-taxed. Competition abroad is constantly increasing — consequently cheapness must increase constantly also. Therefore, wages in England must keep constantly falling. And how do they effect the fall? By surplus labour. How do they obtain the surplus labour? By monopoly of the land, which drives more hands than are wanted into the factory. By monopoly of

home. Every increase of cheapness in labour is based on increase of labour surplus, and this surplus is obtained by an increase of machinery. I repeat, how does this operate on you! The Manchester Liberal on my left establishes a new patent, and throws three hundred men as a surplus in the streets. Shopkeepers! Three hundred customers less. Rate payers! Three hundred paupers more. (Loud cheers.) But, mark me! The evil stops not there. These three hundred men operate first to bring down the wages of those who remain at work in their own trade. The employer says, "Now I reduce your wages." The men demur. Then he adds: "Do you see those three hundred men who have just walked out - *you may change place if you like*, they're sighing to come in on any terms, for they're starving." The men feel it, and are crushed. Ah! you Manchester Liberal! Pharisee of politics! those men are



Jeffrey Howe: Carrying on with the rotten legacy.

listening — have I got you now? But the evil stops not yet. Those men, driven from their own trade, seek employment in others, when they swell the surplus, and bring wages down. The low paid trades of today were the high paid once — the high paid of today will be the low paid soon. Thus the purchasing power of the working classes is diminished every day, and with it dies home trade. Mark it, shopkeepers! your customers grow poorer, and your profits less, while your paupers grow more numerous and your poor's rate and your taxes rise. Your receipts are smaller, your expenditure is more large. You get less and pay more. How do you like the system? Or you the rich manufacturer and landlord throw the weight of poor's-rate and taxation. Men of the middle class! You are the tax-paying machine of the rich. They create the poverty that creates their riches, and they make you pay for the poverty they have created. The landlord escapes it by privilege, the manufacturer by repaying himself out of the wages of his men, and that reacts on you. How do you like the system? Well, that is the system upheld by the gentlemen on my left. What then do I propose? I have shown the wrong. That is something. But I do more; I stand here to show the right, and prove it so. (Loud cheers.)"

Ernest Jones then went on to expose his own views on political and economical reform, and continued as follows:

"Electors and Non-electors, I have now brought before you some of the social and political measures, the

immediate adoption of which I advocate now, as I did in 1847. But, because I tried to extend *your* liberties, *mine* were curtailed. (Hear, hear.) Because I tried to rear the temple of freedom for you all, I was thrown into the cell of a felon's jail; and there, on my left sits one of my chief jailers. (Loud and continued groans, directed towards the left.) Because I tried to give voice to truth, I was condemned to silence. For two years and one week he cast me into a prison in solitary confinement on the silent system, without pen, ink, or paper, but oakum picking as substitute — Ah! (turning to Sir Charles Wood) it was your turn for two years and one week; it is mine this day. I summon the angel of retribution from the heart of every Englishman here present. (An immense burst of applause). Hark! you feel the fanning of his wings in the breath of this vast multitude! (Renewed cheering, long continued.) You may say this is not a public question. But it is! (hear, hear.)

included? The Whig — there he sits; turn him out! Who voted against a repeal of the paper duty, the advertisement duty, and the taxes on knowledge? The Whig — there he sits; turn him out! Who voted for the batches of new bishops, vicarages, the Maynooth grant, against its reduction, and against absolving dissenters from paying Church rates? The Whig — there he sits; turn him out! Who voted against all inquiry into the adulteration of food? The Whig — there he sits; turn him out! Who voted against lowering the duty on sugar, and repealing the tax on salt? The Whig — there he sits; turn him out! Who voted against shortening the nightwork of bakers, against inquiry into the condition of frame-work knitters, against medical inspectors of workhouses, against preventing little children from working before six in the morning, against parish relief for pregnant women of the poor, and against the Ten House Bill? The Whig — there he sits; turn him out!

**"The duly elected members of Parliament, before all, had a great deal to do, in order to keep their own Parliamentary bodily selves in safety."**

It is a public question, for the man who cannot feel for the wife of the prisoner, will not feel for the wife of the working-man. He who will not feel for the children of the captive will not feel for the children of the labour-slave. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) His past life proves it, his promise of today does not contradict it. Who voted for Irish coercion, the gagging bill, and tampering with the Irish press? The Whig! There he sits! Turn him out! Who voted fifteen times against Hume's motion for the franchise: Locke King's on the counties; Ewart's for short parliaments; and Berkeley's for the ballot? The Whig — there he sits; turn him out! Who voted against the release of Frost, Williams, and Jones? The Whig — there he sits; turn him out! Who voted against reducing the Duke of Cambridge's salary of £12,000, against all reductions in the army and navy; against the repeal of the window-tax, and 48 times against every other reduction of taxation, his own salary

Turn him out, in the name of humanity and of God! Men of Halifax! Men of England! the two systems are before you. Now judge and choose! (It is impossible to describe the enthusiasm kindled by this, and especially at the close; the voice of the vast multitude, held in breathless suspense during each paragraph, came at each pause like the thunder of a returning wave in execration of the representative of Whiggery and class rule. Altogether it was a scene that will long be unforgotten. On the show of hands being taken, very few, and those chiefly of the hired or intimidated, were held up for Sir C. Wood; but almost everyone present raised both hands for Ernest Jones, amidst cheering and enthusiasm it would be impossible to describe.)

The Mayor declared Mr. Ernest Jones and Mr. Henry Edwards to be elected by show of hands. Sir C. Wood and Mr. Crossley then demanded a poll!

What Jones had predicted took place: he was nominated by 20,000 votes, but the Whig Sir Charles Wood and the Manchester man Crossley were elected by 500 votes."

# RIGGING IN NIGERIA:

## J.S. Olawoyin's Experiences

Everyone, at least almost everyone, with an elementary knowledge of Nigerian politics knows Chief J. S. Olawoyin. A former member of the Zikist Movement, a former war horse of the Action Group, and a former leading member of the defunct UPN, J.S. has contested scores of elections in the past four decades, 'losing' many and winning quite a few. If anyone can therefore speak authoritatively on electoral fraud in Nigeria, that person is J.S. This veteran recently spoke to **THE ANALYST** on his experiences:

"Since 1959, elections in Nigeria have been bungled. From Mr. E. E. Esua, to chief M. O. Ani, to Mr. Justice Ovie-Whisky, the story has been the same. The recent decisions of the Supreme Court in the case of Gani Fawehinmi and Togun and Akilu has implications for the conduct of free and fair elections. It means that if an election is rigged, nobody can protest.

"In 1965, during the Western Regional election, myself and late Chief J. S. Tarka were in charge of UPGA in Oshogbo. Electoral officers were given instructions not to accept UPGA candidates. It was only after Tarka and myself went to the electoral officer at 6.30 a.m. and met him in the bathroom that he issued all necessary papers to Chief Kola Balogun. When election results were out they said UPGA candidates won, but three days later, these same UPGA candidates were said to have lost to the Nigerian National Alliance (NNA) candidates. Counting agents were arrested by the police before elections started.

"In 1979, when I contested as the gubernatorial candidate of the UPN in Kwara State, the GNPP candidate withdrew his candidature for me. I appointed my counting agents from the GNPP in Borgu Local Government Area. All my polling agents were not allowed to function on the day of the election. They were all driven away. I got over 24,000 votes in Borgu Local Government Area despite the fact that my polling agents were driven away. The



*J.S. Olawoyin.*

electoral officer in the area was surprised that I could win so much, even when my agents were not allowed to function. What did they do? They declared that the 24,000 votes were not properly thumb-printed, and were therefore cancelled. When the results were announced, they said I got 48% of the votes, while the NPN candidate, Alhaji Adamu Attah, got 53%. I went to court and filed an election petition. Mr. Justice Ovie-Whisky from Bendel State presided over the election tribunal. I brought witnesses who testified to the effect that my polling agents were not allowed to operate. However, the case was decided in a curious manner. And the NPN candidate was declared the winner. Surprisingly, Mr. Justice Ovie-Whisky was later appointed as the Chairman of FEDECO.

"And if we look at current events taking place in our country's political scene, we will see that, directly or indirectly, they aid rigging. The first thing that surprises me is that a lot of noise is being made by the present administration over the formation of parties by the second quarter of 1989.

"But, up to now, there are no

guidelines about it. Without the guidelines, political activists will not know what conditions to satisfy, and will be groping in the dark. This is the first step towards rigging. Secondly, MAMSER's loud noise about political awareness is a misnomer, because the real issue is political freedom. If people who want to contest elections cannot do so unless they are persuaded, the way to election rigging is wide open. Thirdly, the talk about social justice being bandied around by MAMSER is not impressive because this same MAMSER has not protested against the stand of NEC, that if somebody is disqualified he cannot seek redress in a court of law. If MAMSER believes in social justice, it should protest against this. You see, in Nigeria, powerful people who have connections use police to rig. They delay the distribution of ballot papers. The polling agents of political opponents are prevented from operating. In 1983, anti-riot policemen were used to drive away the opponents of NPN in Ogun, Oyo, Lagos, Kaduna and Kano States. The police has never hidden its support for the NPN, and even for its predecessor, NPC and its allies. Complainants are beaten up by the police. The introduction of 12 2/3 of 19 states by the Obasanjo regime, which was accepted by the judiciary, also lent support to blatant rigging of elections by powerful elements who misuse office and power. The decision of the present administration to build secretariats for political parties will wreak havoc on Nigeria later. For example, party secretariats in the state headquarters will gulp N84 million. This is besides the cost of party secretariats in the local government headquarters, furniture, staff, equipments, etc., which will run to several hundreds of millions. It means people will be in politics to earn a living. It will kill nationalism, patriotism and ideological commitment. Party staff will now be public servants and government officials. Party discipline will be impossible to impose."

*Reported by Olu YUSUF.*

# 'The Revolution Will Come'

## — Air Iyare

He has been in and out of detention several times in the past two decades. He has seen the inside and outside of prisons and other jail houses across the length and breadth of the country.

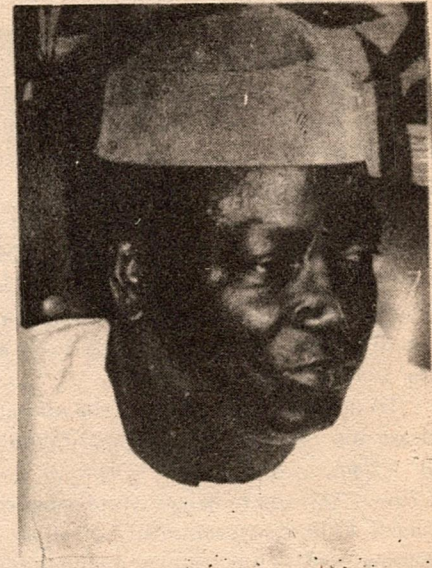
Yet, he has remained undaunted and uncowed. He is no other than Air Iyare — the man from Benin City, the man that they love to hate.

Yes, persecuted he has certainly been. By Ogbemudia, by Gowon, by the Obas of Benin. And of course by all those who live on the sweat of others; by those who live by sucking the blood of others.

With a new round of elections on the Nigerian political horizon, THE ANALYST recently sought the views of Air Iyare on the chances of the democratic and revolutionary forces. His assessment:

"The masses should realise that a class society has developed in Nigeria. It is now the rich versus the poor. Most Nigerians now, either in the public or the private sector of the economy, belong to the class of the poor. Whether as director-general or whatever, their salaries can only take care of their feeding. Nothing to spend on health,

education, housing, etc. The class of the super rich millionaires and billionaires has developed. The rest of us are hardly better than animals. The future of this country is in the hands of the masses who form at least 98% of the population of Nigeria. Now that the society has been divided into the rich versus the poor, Nigeria's politics and political parties should be capitalists and their parties versus the socialists and their parties. The masses should know that religion has nothing to do with a hungry man of the present day Nigeria. People should not think along religious lines. Even though the capitalists and feudal lords are manipulating religion to cover our face. Similarly, ethnicity has nothing to do with the coming politics because there are only two tribes in Nigeria: the tribe of the rich and that of the poor. There are two languages in Nigeria: the language of sorrow and tears versus the language of joy and affluence. There are only two regions: that of the haves and the



*Ogbemudia: As governor, he had Iyare detained.*

Any nation that depends on feudal lords has always had its progress retarded.

**"The masses have been taken for a ride for too long. They must rise up and fight their oppressors."**



*Air Iyare.*

region of the have-nots. The struggle is now between the haves and the have-nots. The masses have been taken for a ride for too long. They must rise up and fight their oppressors.

"The struggle against corruption must continue. Of course, whereas in those days, corruption was unarmed, today corruption has got a gun to fight back against those who fight it. Instead of decreasing, it is increasing. As for feudalism, there is nothing to write home about. When the Ooni of Ife visited Trinidad and Tobago recently, a lot of the papers protested his visit. They said they did not want him because the traditional rulers sold them into slavery. It was this same feudal lords (Obas and Emirs) who sold the sons and daughters of African peasants into slavery. Today it is an irony that we are having monarchies in a republic.

"In my home state, the Bendel State, for instance, these so-called traditional rulers use secret cults to terrorise the people and to hold power in the land. It is a known fact that 90% of the chiefs in the Benin Palace belong to one secret society or the other. The Ogboni cult is responsible for most of the crimes in Bendel State. The government knows this, but is apparently impotent. These Obas and Chiefs manipulate ethnicity for their own selfish ends.

"The time has come in this country when the masses have to decide what is really royal in the royal blood that is not royal in the blood of the masses. A revolution is a must in Nigeria."

*Reported by Olu YUSUF*

# WHO'S AFRAID OF BABALAKIN?

## (1) The Borno Example

When the Chief of General Staff, Vice-Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, swore in the newly constituted National Electoral Commission (NEC) on Tuesday, 7th March, 1989, he is reported to have told the members that they should be aware of the "expectations of the Federal Military Government and millions of our countrymen for us to conduct free and fair elections throughout 1989 - 92".

Since one of the two major reasons that the military gave for seizing power on 31st December, 1983, was that the 1983 General Elections were neither free nor fair, it is not surprising that the CGS will say this to the hastily-reconstituted National Electoral Commission, or "FEDECO", as most Nigerians still refer to it.

To many people, however, the refusal of the government to release the *Report of the Judicial Commission of Inquiry Into the Affairs of the Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) 1979 - 1983*, and to issue a white paper on it, indicates that the Federal Military Government, whatever the President or the CGS may say, is not really committed to ensuring free and fair elections in 1989 - 92. For unless that report is released and those who criminally violated our electoral laws brought to trial and punished, it is not possible to prevent massive election rigging. For it is from the report that the Nigerian electorate, the government, and the new "FEDECO" may learn what exactly went wrong nationwide in 1983, and how to prevent it. It is also from that report that the criminals who wrecked our last democratic experiment may be exposed and all anti-democratic forces isolated and defeated.

The question of why the government is suppressing the Report of the Babalakin Judicial Commission on FEDECO, a report submitted to government since 1987, is therefore of crucial political importance to the transition programme. Who is being protected by this suppression? How can the new "FEDECO" avoid the crimes of the old FEDECO without itself and the electorate knowing the facts of what took place in 1979 - 83?

Below, we bring to you excerpts from the memorandum submitted to the Babalakin Commission by Dr. Kyari Tijjani at its sitting in Maiduguri in 1987. The memo focuses on Borno State, but what it brings out, with facts and figures, as to how the 1983 elections were rigged in that state, provides crucial lessons for all those committed to free and fair elections in this country today.

Dr. Kyari Tijjani, who is presently Head of the Department of Political Science and Administration, University of Maiduguri, was at the time of the 1983 elections the Permanent Secretary (Political) in the Governor's Office in Borno. Dr. Tijjani did not present this memo as a detached observer sitting on top of some ivory tower, but rather as an active participant:

"The Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) and especially their Branch Offices in each State, were vested by

Law with the authority and responsibility for the preparation of the register of voters and the conduct of all the elections in the Federation. The relevant part of the enabling law states:

'The registration of voters and the conduct of elections shall be subject to the direction and supervision of the Commission'.

It was further stated that subject to the general direction of the Commission, and thereto, of the Chairman of the Commission, an Executive Secretary at the national level, and Administrative Secretaries at the state branch offices level, should be responsible for the maintenance of proper records as well as for general administration, at their respective levels. It is therefore the view of this Memo that there is no lapse; no infraction; no act of omission or commission which had occurred in the course of the 1983 General Elections, for which these functionaries should not be held responsible at their appropriate levels of authority. . . .

"It cannot be doubted that the key to the successful administration of the entire electoral process was the selection and recruitment of politically neutral electoral staff. According to tradition and practise, it had always been the case that such staff were recruited from the body of workers already serving in the State and Local Government Services within the State. Indeed, the practice was that these were applied for, and Heads of Departments in the State and Local Government Services were directed by Government to select, screen and forward any such number of officers as were requested by FEDECO. In the particular instance of the 1983 Elections, these procedures were ignored by the State Branch Office. They had resorted to



Mr. Justice Babalakin: "Report still in the government's cooler."

recruitment directly on person-to-person basis, with no recourse or reference to employers. It was then suspected that the intention was to recruit persons with partisan bias. The list that they had compiled ultimately substantiated this suspicion. Many were known to be key activists of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN). Some had contested and lost during the then on-going NPN primaries; and in at least one case, which was later rectified through protest (Babayo Chana, Fika N/West State



Constituency), a person who was himself a candidate for the very 1983 elections was appointed Assistant Electoral Officer. The widespread thoroughness and comprehensiveness with which election results had allegedly been manipulated to favour the NPN throughout the State, spoke convincingly of the in-depth penetration of its partisans in the workings of the State Branch Office, and ultimately of the entire electoral process. . . .

"The suspicion and deep distrust with which some participants in the 1983 General Election had seen the conduct of that election, is clearly revealed in a joint letter of protest addressed to the Borno State Resident Commissioner on 7th August, 1983. We quote the letter in full, if only because it reveals in detail the considerable amount of weave and wove that had gone into the conduct of the elections between the factors of political partisanship, kinship loyalty and the biased attitude of FEDECO to bring about a pre-determined electoral result:

"We, the candidates from the [Askira/Uba North] constituency wish to bring to the knowledge of the FEDECO our disgust over the mode of appointment of the Commission's staff deployed to our constituency for the purposes of conducting the 1983 General Elections.

"Our first point of dis-satisfaction is that all the officers appointed ranging from the Federal Electoral Officer (Alhaji Umaru Askira); the Electoral Officer (Paul Buba); the Supervisors (Mr. Ijai W. Mamza, Alhaji Kyari Manga, Mr. Anthony Margimari and Mr. Bernard Agwai) are all staunch supporters and members of the National Party of Nigeria.

"Furthermore, the returning Officer in charge of the constituency, Mr. Ibrahim U. Ngulde, judging from his conduct at the counting centre, clearly indicated his partisanship with the N.P.N.

"In the case of Alhaji Umaru Askira, i.e. the Federal Electoral Officer, he has proved to be a strong supporter of the NPN because of his association with candidates of the NPN, especially at the Lassa counting centre when burning problems requiring solutions are raised by candidates from the Unity Party of Nigeria and the Great Nigeria Peoples Party. For instance, votes cast at Ngurthlavu East Primary School with Registration Unit 30/1/4/A contained code numbers different from those meant for this unit. He deliberately refused to accede to our resolution and allowed the votes cast to be counted.

"Still at this same centre under reference, Mr. James N. Mamza, a candidate for the U.P.N., cautioned Alhaji Kyari Manga, the supervisor, for approving the candidature of infants (sic) to cast their votes contrary to the provisions of the Electoral Act 1982. When this was referred to the Federal Electoral Officer and the Electoral Officer respectively, they refused to listen to our complaint.

"The appointment of Alhaji Kyari Manga as a supervisor and his subsequent posting to Ngurthlavu, his home town, came to us as a surprise. He is a brother to Sentaor Ja'afaru Manga who is also a candidate for the 1983 elections under the platform of the National Party of Nigeria.

"Furthermore, Rev. Ijai E. Mamza, who was appointed a supervisor and posted to Dille, his home town, recently declared for the N.P.N. and he had been on the N.P.N gubernatorial campaign team. During the Presidential elections, just concluded, he misdirected several polling boxes from one polling station to the other, through their self-appointed Presiding Officers, thereby causing the commencement of voting in the polling stations very late. Moreover, he appointed



*Ballot Boxes: Which destination-polling centre or private home?*

one Istifanus Ijai Mamza, his son, and Dabara Nidija, his nephew, as Presiding Officers, for Shishshuwa Primary School Polling Station and Challa, respectively.

"Mr. Anthony Margimari, on the other hand, is noted for long to be a member of the NPN in Kopa, his home town. He is a well known friend of Mr. Andrew Dalisa, the Local Government Chairman of the NPN in Uba. During the Presidential elections he snatched the five polling boxes used in Kopa town from the presiding officers/polling agents meant to be taken to Lassa counting centre and handed them over to Mr. Andrew Dalisa, his friend, leaving the UPN and GNPP agents behind with the pretense that the agents lacked vehicles to convey the boxes.

"On these five boxes we protested to the police and the Electoral Officer, Paul Buba, and they detained the boxes for a while, but later released the boxes to be counted after we had left the counting centre late at night.

Mr. Bernard Agwai, a supervisor in charge of Chul Area, is a cousin of Mr. Andrew Dalisa, the Local Government Chairman of the NPN. He played a very dubious role with two ballot boxes meant for Kidlindila registration unit. On the date of the election in question, he kept the two ballot boxes in his car up till 4.00 p.m., until supporters of GNPP and UPN in the area complained to the police and the Electoral Officer, before it was discovered. This sad event led to the inability of voters in the area to cast their votes.

"We strongly oppose the retention of the above mentioned officers appointed by your Commission for the numerous reasons already mentioned against them. Their conduct at the last Presidential Election clearly revealed that they are partisan and planted here to protect the interest of the NPN.

"We need to add that all the presiding officers/polling clerks appointed by your Commission are those submitted to your Commission by candidates for the Federal House of Representatives and the State House of Assembly respectively. We therefore reject the continued retention of the aforementioned officers to continue with the forthcoming election exercises.

"We are further emphasising that Mr. Ibrahim U. Ngulde should not be retained as the Returning Officer of this Constituency; this is because he failed to present himself as an umpire, but a complete representative of the NPN at the Lassa counting centre. On 5/8/83 he instructed all political parties to submit the name of one counting agent of their choice. But

to our dismay, he allowed the NPN to appoint four counting agents while GNPP and the UPN are represented by an agent each. Now, where is the justice here?

'In view of the above mentioned cases of malpractices by FEDECO officers, we have resolved as follows:

1. To reject in totality the continued retention of these officers to serve in the Askira/Uba North Constituency.
2. That the FEDECO appoint new officers who are neutral before gubernatorial elections.
3. That only civil servants from Uba Local Government Area should be appointed; to include staff of the Local Government.
4. That unless these officers are replaced, the Gubernatorial, Senatorial, House of Representatives and State Assembly elections respectively, are not going to be conducted peacefully in the Askira/Uba North Constituency.
5. That the Police deployed to the Polling Stations must discharge their duties impartially without interference by any political party as is the case with the NPN.'

This letter was signed by: Mr. James N. Mamza (UPN Candidate, State House of Assembly); Mr. Madu D. Bukar (GNPP Candidate, State House of Assembly); and Mr. Solomon M. Nyamdu (GNPP Candidate, Federal House of Representatives).

"It was a well-known fact that the entire election was conducted in most parts of Borno State without such important legally prescribed facilities as the list of voters and Form EC8A, which together form the basis of all the anti-rigging devices built into the electoral process by the Electoral Act. Consequently, in the conduct of the elections, what seemed to have transpired was that while in the absence of the Registered Voters' List, every description of the unqualified had been allowed to vote illegally, the absence of Form EC8A, on which results were cast and sealed, allowed unscrupulous Electoral Officials to inflate figures of votes cast fraudulently. This, in fact, was made infinitely easier in areas where polling agents representing non-NPN parties were brazenly threatened, with lethal weapons, to stay away from polling booths assigned to them — or face death! . . .

"There are, of course, the incidences of mass disenchantment which the FEDECO has meted out to the electorate through deliberate acts of omission and commission, the net result of which was that, for no fault of their own, numerous registered voters were denied the right of voting, simply because either FEDECO had refused to supply enough voting materials to certain areas so that the people could not vote, or that FEDECO officials arrived so late that voters had less than half the length of voting period allowed by the Electoral Act. Invariably, areas which are thus affected are areas which non-NPN parties claim to be areas where they had their strongest support. . . .

"The processes of rigging that were utilized could be categorised into two broad types: rigging 'through the ballot box' and 'rigging with biro'. To the first category would belong such crude ways as stuffing illegal ballot papers into pre-arranged ballot boxes; introducing into collation stations such 'unknown' boxes from 'unscheduled' polling stations; and engaging in multiple voting either by individual partisan voters, or by the Police and FEDECO officials who were instructed or induced to do so. The second category of rigging, i.e., 'rigging with biro', was the more serious because it could be done most clandestinely and its effects could be most

devastatingly. From the details that we had, it simply worked arithmetically by adding digits where convenient to inflate figures of votes counted. Thus, a vote-score of only 46 would become 446 by merely adding the figure 4 before the original score of 46; a score of 51 would become 151 by adding the digit 1 before it. Figures were also physically altered to effect inflation. eg., the first digit of the figure 11 was made into 7 to change the vote-score to 71.

"In Borno State, such malpractices were so rampant as to permit the suspicion that almost at every polling station, one or a combination of all forms of these had been used, forcing devastating distortion to the real will of the people. That the degree of distortion was truly horrendous could be substantiated by giving examples from only three constituencies randomly chosen in Borno, in which figures attested to against the NPN by polling agents of opposing parties were compared with figures that were later accepted and announced by electoral officials. The constituencies were Nganzai and Sawa (in the Gwoza Local Government Area), and Gaidam Central. . . .

[At Nganzai, the actual total number of votes cast for the NPN was 174 but the figure declared by FEDECO was 1020. At Sawa, the actual votes cast for the NPN were 724, but the votes declared by FEDECO were inflated to 2,155. In the case of Gaidam Central, the actual votes cast for the NPN were 182. However, FEDECO declared 1,022 for the party. This outrageous fraud was committed by simply adding a figure or two to the actual score. Thus, at the Kimiya Polling Station with ballot box No. 000958 in the Nganzai constituency the 5 votes scored by the NPN was changed to read 105. Similarly, at the B. Urta polling station with ballot box No. 2160 in the Sawa constituency, the NPN score of 85 was changed to read 285. In the same way, at the Gaidam Central constituency, the 11 votes scored by the NPN at the Ali Fandi polling station with ballot box No. 004884 was transformed to 111!]

"Last, but certainly not least, is the hostile attitude of the Police which in fact had turned itself into the private army of the NPN, from all the accounts that are at hand. This alone explains the situation, as it did actually happen in Bama and in numerous other places where the leaders and supporters of the UPN, for instance, were openly hunted down and thrown into jail for just daring to present themselves as polling agents, or for drawing attention to electoral malpractices going on, on the flimsy excuse that such patriotic acts constituted acts likely to cause breach of the public peace. The depth of frustration and bewilderment such acts of the Police had caused citizens could only be imagined when one read the likes of the complaint of one Ngozi Enemoh which is quoted here in full:

'Dear Sir, -

I am hereby laying a complaint about what happened at the polling station when we went to cast our votes at Umar Lawan near Lamisla Police Station.

At about 9.20 a.m. the whole of our family went there to cast our votes, but they didn't allow us to vote. They said that the voters' card we are having is a fake one. So my dad sent my brother to go and inform the police, on his getting there he was detained and was asked to make a statement and when I got there to ask of my brother at the police station they gave me a policeman to go and get my father and we went and got them and they were detained in the police station, telling them that the voters' card they have with them were all fake ones. But this very card were the cards they gave us the very day we registered and we used

these cards last Saturday for the Presidential election, and the cards number and our names are in the register.

Thanks,  
Yours faithfully,  
(Signed)  
Ngozi Enemoh

"Examples like this could be recounted ad-infinitum. Examples given above, either by themselves or in their concrete

details, could only give a glimpse of the totality of the horrendous act of disenfranchisement that had come to be known as 'the landslide victory' in the 1983 General Elections. To undo the damage done to our collective, democratic psyche by this act, the Judicial Commission of Inquiry has to beg for time and continue to undertake a painstaking investigation of all infractions and bring to book all the culprits. Nothing less than this would lay the foundation of a more democratic ethos for Nigerians."

# WHO'S AFRAID OF BABALAKIN?

## (2) The Kaduna Example

Nigerians, typical political animals that they are, were outraged by the daylight electoral robbery perpetrated in 1983. Indeed, so outraged were they that when in 1984 the new military administration decided to set up the Babalakin Commission of Inquiry into the massive rigging of the 1983 elections, many Nigerians enthusiastically responded to the Commission's call for memoranda. Even those who could not write felt the urge and the obligation to speak out about their experiences. THE ANALYST has since been collating some of such views. In this edition, we dig up from our archives six living individual testimonies from Kaduna State, each told without any inhibition. Read on:

### 1. The Testimony of Alhaji Danjuma Baranchi, Kubau West Constituency:

'On Election Day, polling agents came congratulating me for having won the ballot at all centres except four. However, at the Constituency counting centre in Pambeguwa, the FEDECO boss, one Hamisu Aminu Zuntu, refused to announce the results and authenticate them. People who had gathered there then threatened to demand their rights by force. I, however, tried very hard to stop them. The Police Inspector in charge of the Pambeguwa Police Station, Inspector Marwa, who was obviously an N.P.N. man, started to harrass the people. Indeed, the behaviour of Inspector Marwa so angered his assistant, one Sergeant Simon, that he shouted out loudly, saying: "Hamisu Aminu tun a duniya Allah zai kona shi, tun da ya ki gaskiya" (Hamisu Aminu will experience Allah's Hell right here on Earth since he shuns the truth).

'Anyway, we stayed at the counting centre until morning. Yet, Hamisu refused to come out to announce the results. Then Inspector Marwa came, and hell was let loose on all of us. The Inspector shouted at the Police men, "To mai kuke jira da su?" (What are you waiting for? Deal with them!) The Police then started beating all of us up. I was myself praying when a Police constable came and kicked me very violently, so violently I asked him whether he had wanted to kill me. Later, we complained to the Assistant Commissioner of Police in Zaria, who directed us to the D.P.O. at Ikara, who refused to do anything about it. Later still, we contacted a lawyer and the matter was taken to court. In court, I was able to state my facts very well, while it was obvious that the FEDECO had failed to convince the judge. The judge said he was satisfied with my

submission, and fixed Friday for the judgement.

'To my shock and disbelief, when we got back to court, the Judge told me that I had lost the case! This was how I was made to lose my seat to the N.P.N. I found myself surrounded by armed Police men and I was forced to pay N1,500 immediately. The N.P.N. man they gave my seat to thereafter instigated my wife to leave me and further humiliated me by marrying her! She is still in his house.

'I wish to observe that what happened to me in court was just the final act in a carefully conceived plan. Because I know that the N.P.N. local financiers such as Balarabe Dambo and Alhaji Ahmadu Kubau in collusion with traditional rulers, local government staff and FEDECO officials, organised the hijacking of ballot boxes on their way to counting centres and placed ballot papers before the beginning of polling; I can bring hundreds of witnesses to testify to the fact that Bashiru, the son of Sarkin Kubau, took part in the fraudulent hijacking of ballot papers as well as the stuffing of ballot papers into boxes before the beginning of polling. I can also remember that on a certain date after the elections, the FEDECO official in charge of Unguwar Zango Polling Station at Dan Malili, told me that during the elections which I contested, the P.R.P. had 35



Ovie-Whiskey: Bungled the 1983 elections.

votes, U.P.N. 5, N.P.P.4 and N.P.N.3. However the officer admitted writing not '3', but '111' (one hundred and eleven) for the N.P.N., adding: "That is how we defeat you" ("Ta haka mika ka da ku!")

2. *The Testimony of Danladi Bisalla Kubau, Kubau West Constituency:*

I was the agent of Alhaji Danjuma Baranchi, the PRP contestant in the election at the Kubau West Constituency. I and others from our village were witnesses to the collusion between elements in the Nigeria Police, FEDECO officials, local dignitaries, High Court Judges and NPN officials, to rob millions of the Nigerian people of their democratic rights to choose who to represent and govern them.

I have evidence that will convincingly demonstrate how the following individuals, representing the various agencies and groups I have mentioned, colluded to abuse and subvert the electoral process in the Second Republic:

(i) *Mallam Hamisu Aminu Zuntu:*

He was the presiding officer in the constituency, and he willfully and forcibly inflated and changed the figures of votes cast in the constituency, in order to criminally award victory to the N.P.N. He was, and still is, an Education Officer at Makarfi in Ikara Local Government area of Kaduna State.

(ii) *Police Inspector Marwa:*

He was the Police Officer in charge of Pambeguwa Police Station. He willfully colluded and aided Hamisu Zuntu in his criminal act, apart from ordering his men to physically beat up and batter the head of several of us, including myself, from our village, who will come and testify if called upon to do so.

3. *The Testimony of Mallam Bala Turunku from Anchau, Ikara Local Government:*

The Police, FEDECO officials and the N.P.N. were one and the same. The Police at Anchau connived with the N.P.N. and FEDECO officials by frightening agents of the other political parties away from counting centres while boxes were being brought from fictitious polling stations. Jaji is a good example: I saw four ballot boxes being brought from imaginary polling stations. I also noticed the active connivance of traditional



Awa: Fell by the wayside.

rulers in that sordid affair. The *Hakimi* of Rigachukun, Danmasanin Zazzau, went about polling stations and counting centres, manipulating FEDECO officials, giving them money on behalf of the N.P.N. He also gathered his village heads, warning them to stop the P.R.P. from winning at all costs.'

4. *The Testimony of Sambo Makama, Kawo Constituency:*

I can testify, with witnesses, to the fact that FEDECO officials in charge of Kawo Constituency, connived with the Police and N.P.N. officials to rig the 1983 elections. In Kawo, FEDECO officials did the rigging at night, filling up ballot boxes in the houses of certain N.P.N. men, with Police protection. The Police later drove away in their landrover with the filled boxes only to reappear with them at the counting centres. Again at Hayin Banki, Kawo, the Police used tear gas to disperse voters in non-N.P.N. zones, stopping them, or frightening them, from casting their votes.'

5. *The Testimony of Bikai Gozah, Fadan Atakar, Kaduna State:*

On the eve of the gubernatorial elections, one Hauwa Moses, from Kwoi, who was the State Secretary of the Christian Women Choir Association (*Zumuntan Mata*) was found with a coffin inside a bus at a road block in Kachia town manned by soldiers. The women inside the bus were singing dirges and the vehicle was covered with the traditional green leaves. The soldiers at the road block, acting on a tip-off from an aggrieved N.P.N. co-conspirator who was refused a share of an alleged N15,000 pay off, broke open the coffin and discovered thousands of ballot papers, envelopes and N15,000 in cash. The soldiers thereafter handed over the confiscated items and the women to the police at Kachia. Nothing was heard about the matter again. It was believed that the police were aware of the deal and were part of it.

Again, in Jaba District of Jama'a Local Government, where Dan-Garba Jatau, former NPN Chairman of the Public Complaints Committee of the defunct Kaduna State House of Assembly came from, a false *Rawan Dodo* (initiation) ceremony was organised in Dan-Garba's house as a cover-up for rigging. In the real *Rawan Dodo* ceremony, nobody besides the participants is allowed into the place of performance, hence Dan-Garba Jatau and his co-conspirators used the event as an effective cover to fill up ballot boxes inside his house on all five voting Saturdays! During the gubernatorial election in Jaba District, the NPN polled 45,000 votes; however, in the elections into the State House of Assembly, the figure dramatically rose to 64,000 a difference of 19,000 votes in just two weeks!

Also, during the State House of Assembly elections at Kafanchan, the declared results from the polling stations clearly showed that the NPP candidate had won. However, at the counting centre, the returning officer, on instructions from the NPN, insisted that the votes be recounted. Before the recount took place however, the NPN and FEDECO, with the obvious support and protection of the D.P.O. in Kafanchan, changed the equation: the NPN candidate was declared winner by FEDECO, by a wide margin!

I also remember that in Jema'a Local Government Area during all the elections, especially since the gubernatorial, the NPN openly shared out bribe money to the boys and girls who manned the polling booths in order that they may fill them in for NPN candidates. I know many young men and women who remember the persons who attempted to give them money and who are willing to come and testify.'

6. *The Testimony of Aliyu Mohammed of No. 35 Jemu Road,*

*Tudun Wada, Zaria:*

... I would like to say that the election was not conducted in a free and fair atmosphere especially from about two o'clock on Saturday, 27th August, 1983. All manner of rigging and influencing FEDECO officials at polling booths were employed to alter the correct voting figures of the election. To be specific, I would cite some few incidences I saw with my own eyes.

'In Tudun-Wada Zaria at about 2.30 - 3.00 p.m. somebody, a party supporter of NPN, was going about with some FEDECO boxes in his car in an attempt to rig the election. He even boasted, to quote his own words in Hausa, "Ni ba zan ki taimaka na NPN ba domin ta vi meni komai. Yanizu ma na raba kusan akwata saba'in (70) sauran ke nan kuke gam a bayan mota na" ("I cannot refuse to help the NPN because it has done everything for me. I have just finished distributing 70

boxes and it is the remainder that you now see in the boot of my car'.)

'I almost dismissed his arrogance with the wave of a hand, but when the returns from my agents came in, I realised this man was dead serious because there are about 80 boxes for which I have not received report. For that 80 boxes in Zaria Kewaye, NPN had excess of 15, 779 votes for which I have no record from where they came.

'Furthermore, the records show that NPN had 16, 291 votes, PRP 16,630 votes, and NPP 2,928 votes, for the 168 boxes so far returned. While Zaria Kewaye has about 248 polling booths according to FEDECO. Therefore I have not received reports of the remaining 80 polling booths so far. This to me gives the feeling of doubt in all the figures so far released by FEDECO in respect of Zaria Kewaye....'

ISSUE

# BUDHOO AND THE IMF REVISITED

Our readers can, no doubt, recall Mr. Davison Budhoo's letter of resignation from the IMF which we published in THE ANALYST, Vol. 3, No. 6, 1988. In that letter Mr. Budhoo, amongst other things, levelled very serious allegations of statistical fraud perpetrated by the IMF against Trinidad and Tobago, all designed to make it difficult for that country to have access to external credits.

As a result of the publication of Mr. Budhoo's allegations, the government of Trinidad and Tobago was last year forced to set up an independent committee under the chairmanship of Professor Compton Bourne, of the Economics Department of the University of the West Indies,

and also a member of the Board of Governors of the Central Bank of Trinidad and Tobago, to investigate Budhoo's allegations.

After exhaustive investigations and analysis, this independent committee of experts pronounced a verdict of 'guilty' on the IMF. This verdict has since raised an uproar in Trinidad and Tobago, with workers and other popular organisations in the country demanding tough action against the IMF. Mr. Budhoo himself has joined this uproar, arguing that the IMF owes Trinidad and Tobago about 600 million U.S. dollars in compensation for its statistical falsifications which damaged that country's credit rating and enabled the IMF to force the Trinidad and Tobago government to impose inhuman working conditions and severe hardship on the people of that country.

But while in some underdeveloped countries like Trinidad and Tobago the IMF is under fire, here in Nigeria its apostles and agents are singing its praises and rabidly defending its foster-child, SAP.

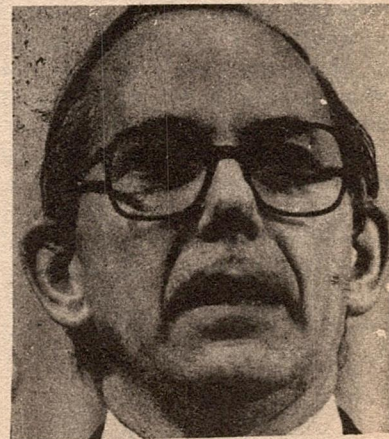
But Nigerians have a right to know the hideous beast dressed up as the IMF. THE ANALYST is happy to bring to its readers in this edition excerpts from the Compton Bourne Committee Report. Please read on:

letter which concern this committee are:

- His allegations of an 'array of statistical irregularities' perpetrated by the IMF in Trinidad and Tobago with a view to presenting an unusable case for adoption of the Fund's policy recommendations on labour costs, the foreign exchange rate, and the fiscal budget.
- His claim that the false economic pronouncements by the IMF in its reports created a situation whereby the country was repeatedly denied access to international commercial and official sources of financing that otherwise would have been readily available.
- His claim that the IMF was instrumental in having the World Bank adopt a more negative stance towards Trinidad and Tobago's



Davison Budhoo.



Mr. Camdesus: IMF Managing Director.

THE COMPTON BOURNE REPORT  
The main aspects of Mr. Budhoo's

foreign exchange rate policy and international cost competitiveness.

Mr. Budhoo bases his claim of statistical irregularities on three data series, namely, the Relative Unit Labour Costs ((RULC), the Real Effective Exchange Rate (REER), and the public sector deficit, as a percentage of gross domestic product. . . .

In the next section of our Report, we restate Mr. Budhoo's arguments and provide our assessment of their validity and implications.

The committee considers it important to distinguish between three components of Mr. Budhoo's statements:

- (i) the inaccuracy of the statistical series presented in IMF reports and memoranda.
- (ii) the allegations of deliberate statistical and economic mis-representation.
- (iii) the significance of the statistical errors and conclusions based on erroneous series for Trinidad and Tobago.

Mr. Budhoo claims that the IMF's reported RULC, REER, and public sector deficit ratio were substantially incorrect. Specifically, the reported RULC overstated the true RULC; the REER based in 1980 incorrectly shows a 'precipitous' appreciation of the exchange rate between 1981 and 1985; and the public sector deficit as a proportion of GDP was exaggerated. . . .

The Committee has concluded that the IMF statistical series on the RULC is not only seriously inaccurate on the methodological bases employed by the IMF, but is also methodologically flawed. The Committee's judgement will now be explained.

The IMF computed the unit labour costs in Trinidad and Tobago as the index of average weekly earnings (for all sectors) divided by the index of productivity (also for all sectors). This measure of unit labour costs in Trinidad and Tobago (TT) dollars is then converted into US dollars and divided by an index of unit costs in Trinidad and Tobago's major trading partners to yield the Relative Unit Labour Costs. The base year for this index of Relative Unit Labour Costs in 1980.

The IMF's *Recent Economic Development Report* for 1986 (Table 68, page 114) shows the RULC rising from 100.0 in 1980 to 149.8 in 1982,

193.4 in 1983 and 264.7 in 1985. The geometric mean annual growth rate for this series is 21.5% approximately.

The revised series submitted by the IMF to the Central Bank of Trinidad and Tobago in July 1988 shows the RULC increasing from 100.0 in 1980 to 146.2 in 1982, 151.2 in 1983 and 177.1 in 1985. The geometric mean annual growth rate is 11.8% approximately. It is to be noted that this revised series was not published by the IMF.

The 1986 series for RULC shows much larger percentage changes in relative unit labour costs in 1983, 1984 and 1985 than do the revised series submitted in 1988. Moreover, whereas the revised series clearly shows declining relative unit labour costs in 1985 and thereafter to 1987, the 1986 series shows a 9% increase in 1985. It is therefore evident that a serious error was made in 1986.

The IMF's computations are methodologically flawed in three respects. First, since the RULC purports to reveal cost competitiveness in traded goods other than oil, it should not include the energy sector. The IMF itself admits the desirability of this exclusion, arguing that 'The basic justification. . . is the desire to focus on the international competitiveness of domestic factors of production (excluding rent), and it is on the non-oil traded goods sector, rather than the energy sector, that changes in factor rewards are likely to impinge over the medium term on trade performance'. However, the IMF does not put this precept into practice, retaining the energy sector in both the index of average weekly earnings and the index of productivity. *The consequence is that the IMF's RULC index constructed in this methodologically deficient manner shows a greater loss of cost competitiveness than is the case when the energy sector is correctly excluded from the index.*

The second methodological weakness of the IMF's RULC series is that what the IMF employs as index of Trinidad and Tobago's unit labour costs is not in fact a conceptually correct measure. A correct index is derived by dividing the unit labour costs in one period by the unit labour costs in the base period. . . .

Third, the IMF did not always adhere to its own methodological precepts in weighting the unit labour



Mr. A. N. Robinson: Trinidad and Tobago's Prime Minister.

costs of Trinidad and Tobago's main trading partners. The minimum total contributions to non-oil trade flows of the selected trading partners should be 80%. In practice, the IMF operated with total percentage contributions varying between 69.7% and 79.8%. Inaccurate weights are a source of statistical error.

The committee is of the view that the IMF's series on real effective exchange rates, expressed in TT dollars per unit of trading partners' currencies, under-estimates the real effective exchange rate as a consequence of having 1980 instead of 1982 as its base year.

On behalf of the Committee, the Central Statistical Office (CSO) recomputed two series for the REER utilising the IMF's *exchange rate methodology*, but based in 1980 and 1982 respectively. The exchange rate methodology derives the REER as the nominal exchange rate (expressed in TT dollars per trading partner dollar), deflated by Trinidad and Tobago trade-weighted relative price index (i.e., TT's price index to the price index of its trading partners). The nominal effective exchange rate is defined as weighted sum of Trinidad and Tobago's bilateral exchange rates, with the weights being the shares of each partner in Trinidad and Tobago's total trade. The CSO's REER calculated with this methodology and based in 1980 calibrated well with the IMF's series, producing almost identical values for 1978 to 1983, and diverging only slightly thereafter. The CSO's REER series based in 1982 produces REER estimates that exceed those from the series based in 1980 by 7.5% to 8.2% in each year in the 1978 - 1986 period.

In other words, the REER is underestimated when 1980 instead of 1982 is the base year. However, the trends (or the percentage changes) in real effective exchange rates are not materially affected by the choice between the two base years.

The phrase 'exchange rate methodology' was emphasized in the preceding paragraph because of some inconsistency in the IMF's reporting of the real effective exchange rate. The 1987 *Recent Economic Development Report* presents a series for the REER which is not in fact derived by the exchange rate methodology (although no disclaimer is entered), but it instead derived by dividing the Trinidad and Tobago Retail Price Index by the trade-weighted price index of the other country's trading partners. This latter method is conceptually unacceptable for well-known reasons, notably the inclusion of non-traded goods in the retail price index.

The Committee does not consider it necessary to re-establish the validity of Mr. Budhoo's claim that the IMF in 1986 and 1987 erred greatly in its reporting of the magnitude of the public sector fiscal deficit and the magnitude of fiscal transfers and subsidies to State enterprises as proportions of gross domestic product. His quotations from the IMF's Mission Debriefing Paper are sufficiently to the point. . . .

In sum, the erroneous economic reporting of the IMF creates the impression of national economic mismanagement — mismanagement by the past administration and continued mismanagement by the new administration. . . .

The Committee has seen the evidence that the IMF became aware in 1987 of the substantial errors in the RULC series they reported in 1985 and 1986, notwithstanding the defects in their methodology. It is difficult to imagine that the IMF staff did not then realise that their analyses and policy conclusions would be seriously vitiated. It is also difficult to accept that they were unaware that, given the wide international circulation and status of Fund reports, Trinidad and Tobago's image would have been tarnished in the international economic community. It is therefore an instance of gross negligence that the IMF refrained from publishing its revised RULC series and from commenting on

the strong improvements in cost competitiveness after 1985, largely influenced by the devaluation in December 1985.

*[The Oilfield Workers Trade Union of Trinidad and Tobago, which plays a leading role in the campaign to support Budhoo, and expose the IMF's malicious statistical fraud against Trinidad and Tobago, requests that all those concerned about effective counter-action against the IMF's economic sabotage of Third World countries like Trinidad and Tobago, should write to the Prime Minister and Minister of Finance of Trinidad*

*and Tobago. They should write to him and demand that in the interest of his country and the rest of the Third World, he should, at least, demand reparations from the IMF and take the matter up with the General Assembly of the United Nations and other international organs, including the International Court of Justice at the Hague. The address to write to is:*

*Mr. A. N. Robinson,  
Prime Minister and Minister of  
Finance of the Republic of  
Trinidad and Tobago,  
Prime Minister's Office,  
Port of Spain, Trinidad.]*

## THE ECONOMY

# M.A.N. Versus S.A.P.?

As the failure of the government's Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) becomes more and more obvious, to more and more Nigerians, and as it further saps the living conditions of almost everybody, outside the highest echelons of power and wealth, the official campaign in its support is becoming more and more hysterical. From what the President, the Chief of General Staff, some members of the AFRC, Ministers, some governors and top government officials have recently been saying, or sometimes shouting, a new decree, or an addition to an existing decree, making it a punishable crime to criticise SAP, may be on the way. This may be the new political dimension of SAP, to take care of all those "extremists" who do not agree with its free enterprise, free-for-all, future for Nigeria.

Unfortunately for the apostles of SAP and the crusaders against "extremists", this decree will come too late. For even the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria has now turned against SAP, even though it is afraid to say so openly.

The Manufacturers' Association of Nigeria, or M.A.N., as it is better known, was established in May 1971, with the following main objectives, namely, "to provide for manufacturers all over Nigeria the means of formulating, making known and influencing general policy in regard to industrial labour, social, legal, training and technical matters"; and to "develop

and promote the contribution of manufacturers to the national economy through representation on all reputable bodies, government and otherwise, whose work may affect directly or indirectly the interest of manufacturers".

As of 1984, M.A.N. had 538 members. The membership is now smaller, as many of the small and medium manufacturing companies have been battered out of existence in the last four years. But even now, it stands alongside the Nigerian Association of Chambers of Commerce (NACCIMA) and the Nigerian Employers' Consultative Association (NECA) as one of the three major organs of organised private business in this country. In fact, because it brings



*Babangida: The captains of industry about to jump ship?*

together those who say they are manufacturers, even though they largely do only assembling and packaging, it is much more important than the other two in the economy, both now and in the future.

In fact, as far back as 1982, some of its leading gurus like Mr. Gamaliel Onosode, chairman and director of many of its member companies, were advocating the structural adjustment of the Nigerian economy along the lines already worked out by the IMF and the World Bank for countries like ours.

The address of Chief Jerome Udoji, President of M.A.N. (and a Vice-Chairman of the ruling National Party of Nigeria) at its 12th Annual General Meeting, in March 1983, advocated many of the policies that the troika of Onosode, Asiodu and Adamu Ciroma, who headed the Shagari regime's second term economic team, came to set out. Even "the pain of structural adjustment", which we hear about so much these days was part of their package. Onosode, Presidential Adviser on Budget Affairs, said in an interview in *Business Concord* of Friday, 16th December, 1983:

"I think it was somewhere in *Concord* where they mentioned Ciroma's name, Asiodu and myself as being forthright in stating that certain painful measures have to be taken. It stated that we must tell the people who is going to bear the pain and whether that pain will in fact produce an acceptable solution. I think these are legitimate questions and concerns. . . . We want to do things that will provide medium and long-term solutions while at the same time bringing a measure of relief to some of the immediate problems of price level."

The appointment of this troika to structurally adjust the economy in Shagari's second term was of course warmly welcomed in M.A.N. circles. But even after the overthrow of Shagari, Onosode was appointed in 1984 to head the Projects Review Committee. The various phases of the imposition of SAP, up to its full scale implementation and articulation in 1986 were supported by M.A.N. expressing only minor concern over details.

From 1987, M.A.N. started its *Half-Yearly Economic Review*. In the first one, covering January - June 1987, they only expressed concern over the decline in the demand for their goods

and the scale of youth unemployment, as was pointed out in *THE ANALYST*, Vol. 2, No. 4, 1987.

The fourth and latest review, covering the period July - December 1988 was released on Monday, 27th February 1989, and leaves one in no doubt that M.A.N. has now turned against SAP, even though it avoided saying so explicitly. At the meeting of the National Council of the association which approved this review, some of the members are reported to have been very bitter against SAP and the government. The consensus reached however seems to be that they should not make a single favourable mention of SAP in the twelve-page, printed, review *R No.4: M.A.N. Half Yearly Economic Review (July - December, 1988)*. The only mention of SAP is on page 3, and it was to "SAP-induced operational problems".



Adamu Ciroma, Gamaliel Onosode: Early architects of SAP.

Let us take each of the rest one by one:

*"Capacity Utilisation:*

The survey returns showed that in the period under review, industries recorded an increase in capacity utilisation. At 40% average capacity utilisation in July - December 1988, increased by a 3% point over its level of 37% in the corresponding period the previous year. In relation to the 35% increase recorded in the first half of 1988 the improvement was of the order of 5%."

Now, the joker in the pack here is that how was this capacity utilisation computed? In fact, when we come to what M.A.N. reports about the level of production below, we shall see that actually the 5% increase in capacity utilisation is just a statistical gimmick to please the government.



**INDUSTRIAL PERFORMANCE**

In the review of industrial performance based on a questionnaire survey of its members it assessed six distinct aspects, namely:

- Capacity Utilisation
- Level of Production
- Sales Turn Over
- Employment
- Local Sourcing of Raw Materials
- Cost Trend.

On only one of these six aspects of industrial performance did they actually report any improvement, and this is in the controversial area of capacity utilisation, where it seems the government had intimidated them to change the statistical basis of the computation. On the other five, they reported that there was actually no improvement in industrial performance whatsoever.

*"Level of Production:*

Corresponding to increased capacity utilisation was a rise in the level of manufacturing production during the review period. This was reflected in an average increase of 44% (in value terms) on the level achieved in the second half of 1987. *It should be noted however that this improvement based on 1988 current prices, cannot be regarded as very significant considering the massive increase in the general price level between 1987 and 1988.*" (Our emphasis).

When we come to the other five aspects of industrial performance, we find M.A.N. adopting the same style of giving with one hand and taking away with the other, as follows:

*"Sales Turn-Over*

Compared with the corresponding



period of 1987 there was a remarkable increase in sales turn-over in July — December 1988. . . . On the average sales rose by 45% on the level for the corresponding period for the previous year. Here again caution must be applied in drawing any conclusions from these figures as the sales magnitude reflects this underlying inflation in the economy.

*Employment*

As in the review for the first half of 1988, it is not possible to derive a reasonable picture of the employment trend in the manufacturing sector in the period under review. But the survey return showed that there was a marginal increase of 5% in employment on the level for the corresponding period of 1987. Much significance should not be attached to this figure since there were no responses to the survey questionnaire by companies that are completely closed down or are under receivership.

*Local Sourcing of Raw Materials:*

The survey showed that companies continued to intensify their effort at sourcing their raw materials locally. All the sectors that filed returns recorded increase in the quantum of raw materials derived from local sources. . . . A noticeable feature of the drive to local raw materials sourcing is the less-than-expected achievement in sectors that ought to be more domestically-oriented in terms of their raw materials supplies. Among them are Food, Beverages and Tobacco, Textiles, Rubber and Plastics industries. In the review for the first half of 1988, attention was drawn to the negative impact of supply



*Sonekan: His UAC perhaps the only beneficiary of SAP.*

shortages arising from low domestic production of agro-based raw materials which had been accentuated by the increasing tempo of non-oil export”.

Here M.A.N. came out and directly attacked one of the main pillars of SAP, namely non-oil exports of anything that can be exported.

“ . . . government is anxious that farmers get good prices for their products and has therefore shown some reluctance in taking measures that could effect the export of these items. Much as this seems reasonable, it is not certain that when all trade-offs are considered the nation’s overall income is being maximised. Indeed, as long as the primary export stampede by Third World countries persists (as it is likely to in the foreseeable future) the export of primary products cannot be the lever to the bandwagon of economic advancement for Nigeria or any Third World country for that matter.”

And finally, on the impact of SAP-induced inflation:

*“Cost Trend:*

The indication from the analysis of the survey is that the cost of production across all industries consistently maintained the upward trend that was . . . The rise in the cost was the product of a combination of factors, namely:

- (a) The high cost of both imported and local raw materials arising from the continued deterioration of the naira and its transmission effect on inflation;
- (b) High cost of finance and some utility service.”

This very unfavourable review of Nigerian industrial performance in July — December 1988, is the more devastating because M.A.N. tried hard to avoid saying these unpalatable truths, and so uses very diplomatic language. Furthermore, the data forming the base of the review is derived from a questionnaire survey — which means that the data comes from only member companies still operating and capable of replying. The many companies who have become bankrupt are not covered at all. What M.A.N. is therefore reporting is only the tip of the iceberg.

**SURVIVAL**

The seriousness of this disaster is brought out in the part of the report

where M.A.N. clearly states that even those of its members still operating were doing so merely in order to survive:

“Among industrialists, there was also prevailing uncertainties about the direction and prospects of industrial business in the country. Consequently, in the face of SAP-induced operational problems, their main pre-occupation was survival. Inevitably therefore they tended to shorten their planning horizons with the result that any real investments that were undertaken were geared only to adaptation and modification for survival”.

With many of its members becoming bankrupt and facing the question of survival, M.A.N. is now more categorical about the way SAP is battering the working people of the country, and about the government’s responsibility for this. It notes:

“ . . . a level of inflation which the country had not experienced in the recent past. The result of excessive public sector borrowing and the precipitous decline of the naira, it has worsened the plight of the people, leaving in its trail woes of pain and hardship, as the cost of living goes sky-high living standards have consequently fallen to an abjectly low level. And as 1988 went by, a glimpse into the 1989 horizon did not carry promises of early respite.” This clear vote of no confidence in the 1989 budget was approved by M.A.N.’s National Council in February 1989, over five weeks after the 1989 budget was announced and about two weeks after the much-touted Industrial Policy was launched at the second “Annual General Meeting” which the private sector had with the President and the top brass at the Nicon-Noga Hilton Hotel, Abuja.

In the conclusion of this review, M.A.N. listed six developments which it says marked the period. These by themselves demonstrate that SAP, after two full years of operation is only wrecking the economy. These six developments are, in its own words:

“Increased difficulties in procuring raw materials, machinery and spare parts as the precipitous decline in the value of the naira further increased the cost of foreign exchange. The inflationary effect also affected the cost of local raw materials, access to which became increasingly more

difficult.

- More industrial closure as a result of (a) above.
- Deterioration of the transportation system and sluggish postal services.
- Rapid deterioration in the welfare of the people as a result of rampant inflation that increased the cost of living sharply.
- Low level of investment.
- High interest rates which raised the cost of finance to industry.
- Continued financial distress for small scale industries.

SALVATION

It is very clear from this review of Nigerian industries in July - December 1988, that as far as M.A.N. is concerned SAP means disaster, bankruptcy, and ruin for its members - now, and in the

near future.

But why does M.A.N. not come out and say so clearly and loudly and in the interest of our country? Why all this evasiveness and double-talk?

The answer to this question has to be sought at all levels. The search for it is very important, if we are to grasp the dynamics of the economic, social and political forces struggling to control and decide the future of this country.

But at the most elementary level, the answer has to do with the absence of democracy in Nigeria. The leaders of M.A.N. have to wake up to the fact that, in spite of their wealth, their domestic and foreign connections, this absence of democracy in Nigeria means that even now when they see themselves sinking into the abyss of closure, bankruptcy and ruin, and know who is pushing them into this abyss, they are

afraid to come out and openly say so.

Those who are serious and patriotic in M.A.N. should realise that a way out of the disastrous position they are finding themselves in, requires their entering into a principled alliance with the organised political forces of the working people of Nigeria and all other patriotic and democratic forces. It is these political forces alone that have the capacity to ensure that a genuinely democratic system of government is established, and is consolidated, in this country. Under this system, anybody who is being pushed into bankruptcy and ruin, and knows who is doing it, can stand up and say so and seek salvation and support from other Nigerians.

By Bala USMAN.

LABOUR

# DEMOCRATISATION: The Challenge Before The NLC

If there are tasks and priorities which the leadership of the reconstituted Nigeria Labour Congress must confront, one of the most urgent is the question of the democratisation of the NLC itself. The experiences of the past have been that the organisation is firmly in the hands of an oligarchy of labour technocrats, whose only link with the workers is the monthly check-off. In the course of building labour unity, several democratic principles were flagrantly violated. These principles included the democratic wish of trade union members to willingly and voluntarily elect their leaders, and to control and direct the unions in the interest of the greater majority of the members. The inaugural conferences of the unions in 1977, for example, were characterised by serious undemocratic procedures. Most conference participants were unable to determine whether or not those who claimed to have come from the states were *bona fide* union members. The Nigerian Union of Journalists is a case in point. At its inaugural conference in 1977 in Benin, only four states participated to take decisions on behalf of the

remaining fifteen state branches. And by the time the inaugural conference of the NLC took place, neither the NLC nor any of its 42 affiliates had had any of its organs democratically constituted. And even after the conference, all that happened was for a select few to be hand-picked by the leaders and their secretaries to constitute these organs. Surely, this is a flagrant abuse of democratic



Bafyau: N.L.C. leader.

procedure.

The position of the secretaries of the various industrial unions is another pointer to the lack of democracy in the Nigerian labour movement. In most cases, the secretaries are virtually in effective control of the unions. They exercise dictatorial powers over everything, including the presidents of the unions. Being appointees, the secretaries do not face elections, but control unlimited powers as the chief executives of the unions.

So powerful are the secretaries, and so undemocratic is their control over these unions, that whichever side the secretary is on in a factional dispute in these unions, that side eventually triumphs. Examples: the dispute in the National Union of Food, Beverages and Tobacco Employees; the dispute in the Metallic and Non-Metallic Mines Workers; the dispute in the Agricultural and Allied Workers Union of Nigeria; and the dispute in the Non-Academic Staff Union.

So powerful are these secretaries that they are the ones who single-handedly appoint the union secretaries in the states, who in turn determine the leadership at the state level. But it does

not stop there. These secretaries are the same people who determine those who emerge as delegates to the unions' national conferences, which have the final authority over union matters. What is more, the annual average basic salary of these secretaries is around N30,000. But what they cart home in the name of benefits every month is sometimes even more than this.

But then, all this may not be surprising. After all, the NLC, along with its 42 affiliates, was created by a decree which had no provision for

democratic principles. This is why the first task before the new NLC is the democratisation of the NLC and all its affiliated unions. This is necessary now more than ever before. Conferences must not only be regular but delegates to these conferences must be democratically elected by the workers themselves from lower organs. This must start from the smallest unit within unions. And equally important is the crying need to subject the occupants of the office of the secretary to periodic elections.

In the difficult and bumpy way lying ahead of the labour movement in this country, in the execution of the daunting tasks that lie ahead for Nigerian workers, the only guarantee for success is unity in struggle. And this unity can only be attained when one and all, the leaders and the led, see the movement as belonging to all. Herein lies the urgent need for democratisation.

By Muhammad KHALID.

FROM THE PRESS

# ‘Why I am For Socialism’ — Albert Einstein

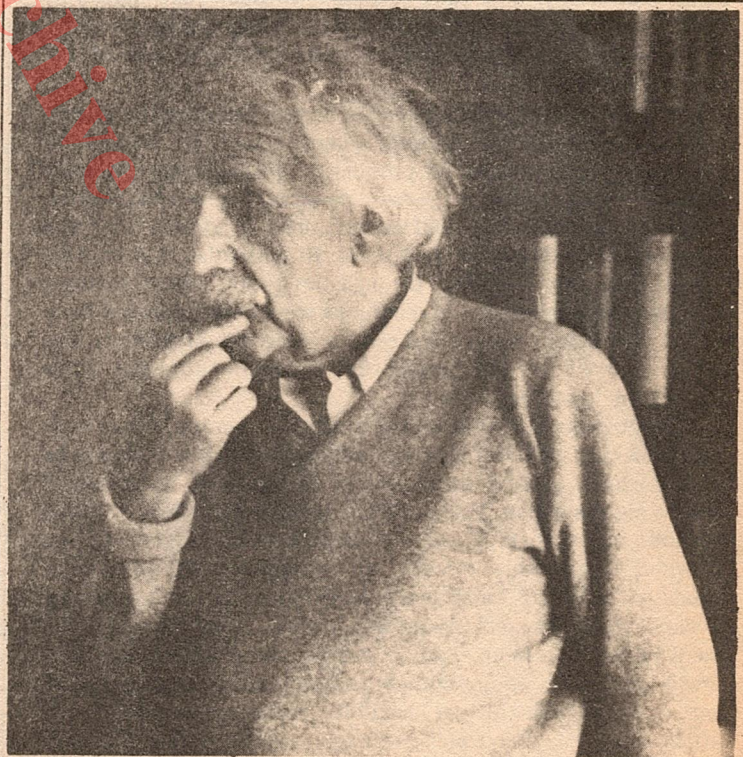
In Nigeria today, it is widely assumed that the mark of an expert, professional or scientist is that he has no political commitments whatsoever. The real expert, scientist and professional, it is argued, should have no position or role on the fundamental question of how the society should be organised. In fact, some of the local gurus of economic science in this country are even insisting that their advocacy of a package like the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) is based on their ‘scientific neutrality’. Many others hide behind this so-called ‘scientific neutrality’ to hide their cynical pursuit of their selfish interests while the country crumbles all around them. This posture is not only unscientific but is morally irresponsible and grossly hypocritical.

But the world’s greatest scientists throughout the ages have never pretended that science is neutral, or independent of social, economic, and political forces. One of these is Albert Einstein, that genius whose Theory of Relativity has transformed science. This is how Einstein argued his case for socialism and against the evils of capitalism in an article published in the maiden issue of *Monthly Review*, in May, 1949:

I have now reached the point where I may indicate briefly what to me constitutes the essence of the crisis of our time. It concerns the relationship of the individual to society. The individual has become more conscious than ever of his dependence upon society. But he does not experience this dependence as a positive asset, as an organic tie, as a protective force, but rather as a threat to his natural rights, or even to his economic existence. Moreover, his position in society is such that the egotistical drives of his make-up are constantly being accentuated, while his social drives, which are by nature weaker, progressively deteriorate. All human beings, whatever their position in society, are suffering from this process of deterioration. Unknowingly prisoners of their own egotism, they feel insecure, lonely, and deprived of the naive, simple, and unsophisticated enjoyment of life. Man can find meaning in life, short and perilous as it is, only through devoting himself

to society.

The economic anarchy of capitalist society as it exists today is, in my opinion, the real source of the evil. We see before us a huge community of producers the members of which are unceasingly striving to deprive each other of the fruits of their collective labour — not by force, but on the whole in faithful compliance with legally established rules. In this respect it is important to realize that the means of production — that is to say, the entire productive capacity that is needed for producing consumer goods as well as additional capital goods —



Albert Einstein.

may legally be, and for the most part are, the private property of individuals.

For the sake of simplicity, in the discussion that follows I shall call "workers" all those who do not share in the ownership of the means of production — although this does not quite correspond to the customary use of the term. The owner of the means of production is in a position to purchase the labor power of the worker. By using the means of production, the worker produces new goods which become the property of the capitalist. The essential point about this process is the relation between what the worker produces and what he is paid, both measured in terms of real value. Insofar as the labor contract is 'free', what the worker receives is determined not by the real value of the goods he produces, but by his minimum needs and by the capitalists' requirements for labor power in relation to the number of workers competing for jobs. It is important to understand that even in theory the payment of the worker is not determined by the value of his product.

Private capital tends to become concentrated in few hands, partly because of competition among the capitalists, and partly because technological development and the increasing division of labor encourage the formation of the larger units of production at the expense of the smaller ones. The result of these developments is an oligarchy of private capital the enormous power of which cannot be effectively checked even by a democratically organized political society. This is true since the members of legislative bodies are selected by political parties, largely financed or otherwise influenced by private capitalists who, for all practical purposes, separate the electorate from the legislature. The consequence is that the representatives of the people do not in fact sufficiently protect the interests of the underprivileged sections of the population. Moreover, under existing conditions, private capitalists inevitably control, directly or indirectly, the main sources of information (press, radio, education). It is thus extremely difficult, and indeed in most cases quite impossible, for the individual citizen to come to objective conclusions and to make intelligent use of his political rights.

The situation prevailing in an economy based on the private ownership of capital is thus characterized by two main principles: first, means of production (capital) are privately owned and the owners dispose of them as they see fit; second, the labor contract is free. Of course, there is no such thing as a pure capitalist society in this sense. In particular, it should be noted that the workers, through long and bitter political struggles, have succeeded in securing a somewhat improved form of the 'free labor contract' for certain categories of workers. But taken as a whole, the present day economy does not differ much from 'pure' capitalism.

Production is carried on for profit, not for use. There is no provision that all those able and willing to work will always be in a position to find employment; an 'army of unemployed' almost always exists. The worker is constantly in fear of losing his job. Since unemployed and poorly paid workers do not provide a profitable market, the production of consumers' goods is restricted, and great hardship is the consequence. Technological progress frequently results in more unemployment rather than in an easing of the burden of work for all. The profit motive, in conjunction with competition among capitalists, is responsible for an instability in the accumulation and utilization of capital which leads to increasingly severe depressions. Unlimited competition leads to a huge waste of labor, and to that crippling of the social consciousness of individuals



Einsten being interviewed in 1960 by the NBC.

which I mentioned before.

This crippling of individuals I consider the worst evil of capitalism. Our whole educational system suffers from this evil. An exaggerated competitive attitude is inculcated into the student, who is trained to worship acquisitive success as a preparation for his future career.

I am convinced that there is only *one* way to eliminate these grave evils, namely through the establishment of a socialist economy, accompanied by an educational system which would be oriented toward social goals. In such an economy, the means of production are owned by society itself and are utilized in a planned fashion. A planned economy, which adjusts production to the needs of the community, would distribute the work to be done among all those able to work and would guarantee a livelihood to every man, woman and child. The education of the individual, in addition to promoting his own innate abilities, would attempt to develop in him a sense of responsibility for his fellow men in place of the glorification of power and success in our present society.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to remember that a planned economy is not yet socialism. A planned economy as such may be accompanied by the complete enslavement of the individual. The achievement of socialism requires the solution of some extremely difficult socio-political problems: how is it possible, in view of the far-reaching centralization of political and economic power, to prevent bureaucracy from becoming all-powerful and overweening? How can the rights of the individual be protected and therewith a democratic counterweight to the power of bureaucracy be assured?

Clarity about the aims and problems of socialism is of greatest significance in our age of transition. Since, under present circumstances, free and unhindered discussion of these problems has come under a powerful taboo, I consider the foundation of this magazine to be an important public service.

# NAMIBIA'S PROPOSED ELECTIONS: BOTHAS'S SECRET CARD

The racist South African regime has finally agreed to a U.N.-supervised election in Namibia later this year. This about-turn is the result of the decisive change in the military and political balance of forces on the Angola-Namibia battlefield, particularly the outcome of the Battle of Cuito Cuanavale early in 1988.

Of course, free and fair elections in Namibia will certainly lead to a victory for SWAPO, whose tenacious armed struggle for over twenty years, alongside the MPLA of Angola and its government, is a major factor in making the continued illegal occupation of Namibia too costly for South Africa. But is the South African regime, led by P.W. Botha, F.W. de Klerk, or whichever racist, genuinely prepared to see an independent Namibia, with a government democratically elected by the people?

Can these vicious men, who so much hate and fear African freedom, accept a SWAPO government in Namibia? Can their racist white-settler constituency in the Afrikaner secret society, i.e., the sinister *Broderbond*, or the South African armed forces and intelligence services,

or the National Party, accept this extension to independent Africa so close to their *laager*?

The answers to these questions are very important to Africa and the rest of the world. These answers, however, cannot be correctly obtained from sentimental and wishy-washy readings of diplomatic and legal agreements, no matter how pompously written or daily touted they are by Western propaganda organs like the BBC, VOA, Radio France International, Reuters, and their African megaphones.

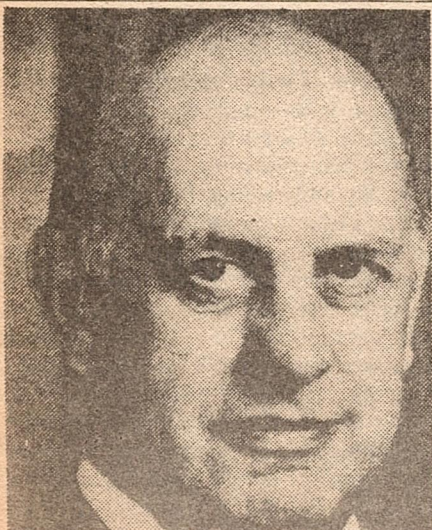
The correct answers to these questions can only be obtained by comprehensive and in-depth analyses of the overall situation — geographical, economic, military, political, psychological — in Namibia, Southern Africa, Africa and the rest of the world. This requires a correct understanding of the preoccupation of the leaders of racist South Africa, whose notorious record of violating the most solemn of agreements, stretches from the second half of the seventeenth century, when the first Dutch settlers at the Cape embarked on a career of stealing African land, plundering African cattle, and exploiting labour, to the Nkomati

Accord with Mozambique in 1984.

In this issue, we bring you an official summary of secret talks on the future of Namibia held on 15th and 16th April, 1981 between the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr. Chester Crocker, the South African Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, and the South African Foreign Minister, Mr. Pik Botha, in Pretoria. The confidential documents containing the summary of these talks were leaked in May 1981 and their authenticity was acknowledged by the U.S. State Department, which was furious over this leakage. Like all such official, inside documents, they contain awkward abbreviations like SAG (South African Government); USG (United States Government); SCR 435 (Security Council Resolution 435). But these should not be allowed to prevent a careful reading of the documents. These talks took place eight years ago, but they contain crucial and unique revelations about the perspective from which Namibia and SWAPO are viewed by Pretoria. They also give glimpses into what the racist regime is likely to do when SWAPO wins the forthcoming Namibian elections. So read on:

“Discussion touched briefly on the nature of SWAPO. Botha alluded to the view that Nujoma is a ‘Bloody Thug’. Malan flatly declared that the SAG can't accept prospects of a SWAPO victory which brings Soviet/Cuban forces to Walvis Bay. This would result from any election which left SWAPO in a dominant position. Therefore a SWAPO victory would be unacceptable in the context of a Westminster-type political system. Namibia needs a federal system. SAG does not rule out an internationally acceptable settlement, but could not live with a SWAPO victory that left SWAPO unchecked power. Botha asserted that Ovambo dominance after the election would lead to civil war.

Crocker addressed these concerns



P.W. Botha, F.W. de Klerk: Brothers in crime, the discordant noises notwithstanding.

saying USG recognized need to build South African confidence and security. Malan interposed with the view that it is the local people in Namibia who need security, and SAG could accept SWAPO victory only if their security is provided for. SAG can't dictate to local parties. Crocker remarked upon need to negotiate with governments, which ultimately means that parties can't have veto power. In response Botha gave eloquent rendition of SAG's problem in dealing with the internal parties. These parties fear secret plot to instal SWAPO government. SAG doesn't wish to entrench white privileges but some confidence-building measures needed. Discussion briefly explored constitutional issues. South Africans asked who would write a constitution. Crocker alluded to idea of expert panel.

SAG sees Savimbi in Angola as buffer for Namibia. SAG believes Savimbi wants Southern Angola. Having supported him this far, it would damage SAG honour if Savimbi is harmed.

Second round of discussions went into greater detail on Namibia/Angola questions. Malan declared SAG view that Angola/Namibia situation is number one problem in Southern Africa. Angola is one place where US can roll back Soviet/Cuban presence in Africa. Need to get rid of Cubans, and support UNITA. UNITA is going from strength to strength, while SWAPO grows militarily weaker.

In his response Crocker agreed on relation of Angola to Namibia. USG believes it would be possible to improve US/South African relations if Namibia were no longer an issue. We seek a settlement, but one in our interest, based on democratic principles. Our view is that South Africa is under no early military pressure to leave Namibia. The decision belongs to SAG, and ways must be found to address its concerns. USG assumes Soviet/Cuban presence is one of those concerns, and we are exploring ways to remove it in context of Namibia settlement. We agree that UNITA is an important factor in the Angola situation. We believe there can be no peace in Angola without reconciliation between UNITA and MPLA. We see no prospect of military victory for UNITA. Must achieve movement towards reconciliation by playing on divisions in MPLA. With regard to Namibia, USG assumes that constitution is an important issue which



*Victims of South African atrocities.*

must be resolved before elections. The constitution would include guarantees for minority rights and democratic processes. We have said we believe SCR 435 is a basis for transition to independence for Namibia, but not for a full settlement. We wish to meet SAG concerns, while taking account of views on the other side. We cannot scrap 435 without great difficulty. We wish to supplement rather than discard it.

Malan took up Namibian question, observing that internationalization of the issue posed greatest difficulty. He alluded to tremendous distrust of UN in South Africa. He questioned inclusion of South Africa and Front Line States in the quest for a settlement, asserting that SWAPO and the internal parties should conclude it. He agreed on the need for a constitution. But 435 can't work. The longer it takes to solve the Namibian question, the less South Africa presence will be required there. We will reach a stage where internal forces in Namibia can militarily defeat SWAPO.

Malan's remarks set stage for Botha to discuss SAG view of SWAPO. Botha noted that SAG thought it was important to US to stop Soviet gains. But if you say SWAPO not Marxist, you move in same direction as previous administration. SWAPO's people are indoctrinated in Marxism every day. Savimbi considers SWAPO universally Marxist. SAG's bottom line is no Moscow flag in Windhoek. If US disagrees, let sanctions go on, and get out of the situations. South Africa can survive sanctions. Eventually South

Africa can get support of moderate black African States. Better to start US/SAG relations with lower expectations than to disagree angrily later. At moment, US doesn't believe SAG view of SWAPO; you're soft on SWAPO. SAG appreciates US firmness against Soviets, Botha continued. Even Africans now see you assuming leadership. But SAG worried that USG is moving toward Namibian plan. SAG cannot understand. As with Kissinger attempt on Rhodesia, it will be difficult to get consensus, especially with so many parties involved. SAG tried one-on-one approach with Angola, but Geneva meetings sidetracked effort. SAG has tried Angolans several times. Each time there is progress. But then, something intervenes. We're convinced Moscow controls present government in Angola. We're convinced SWAPO is Marxist.

Nujoma will nationalize the whole place, and cause upheaval and civil war, involving South Africa. We will hate to invade Namibia and other countries as well. We are pleading for you to see the dangers of a wrong solution in Namibia. It would be better to have a low-level conflict there indefinitely, than to have a civil war escalating to a general conflagration. If Nujoma governs as an Ovambo, the Hereros will fight. Also, Nujoma made promise to the Soviets. Defectors from SWAPO have revealed their plan to SAG -- first Namibia, then Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, followed by the final attack on South Africa. SAG can't ignore this reality. We wouldn't justify that to our people.

South Africa is a democracy as far as white votes are concerned. Even black leaders can criticize the government. South Africa has freedom, and can have more but survival is the prerequisite. The BLS leaders agree with us. Even some Front Line leaders see the danger. We have twice saved Kaunda's life.

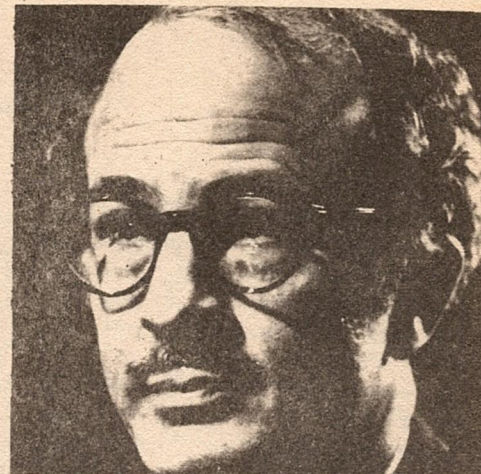
The situation is not what you think. You think in global terms; you're a global power. We must safe-guard our interests here. Not just white interests. We see the necessity of avoiding black-white polarization. But we see it as an ideological struggle. Developed moderate blacks are not communists. They will engage with us in common effort against communism. When whites see blacks as allies, whites will move away from discrimination. With more distribution of economic goods, more blacks will join us. But if we all come under Moscow's domination, that's the end.

Crocker addressed Botha's expressed fears and concerns by first accepting the premise that Soviet domination is the danger. But US believes best way to avoid that danger is to get Namibia issue behind us. As long as issue subsists, we cannot reach a situation where US can engage with South Africa in security and include South Africa in our general security framework. If Namibia continues, it will open South/Central Africa to the Soviets. Simmering conflict in Namibia is not acceptable. The ideas US has in mind don't include Soviets in Windhoek. We believe we can get the Soviets out of Angola, and provide a guarantee of security whether Nuioma wins or not.

Botha said this is the nitty-gritty. Without Soviet support others won't accept Nujoma's rule. To satisfy others we need a political solution.

Crocker agreed that a political solution is needed. Botha stressed the need to consult with leaders in Namibia. If US can gain their confidence, and SWAPO's, and talk about minority rights, progress is possible. People in Namibia are concerned about property, an independent judiciary, freedom of religion, the preservation of their language and the quality of education. Under the present system, discrimination has been abolished by law, though it continues in practice. There is also the problem of the white ethnic legislature vs the black majority Council of Ministers.

Crocker said that US understand concern with constitutional rights. US has inherited a situation with many parties but we must build a consensus in Africa that we are serious and not just delaying. We believe a Lancaster type conference won't work. We see a panel of experts, consulting all parties, writing a constitution, and then selling it through the Contact Group. With SAG's help, we could sell it to the internal parties. Botha referred to reports of a French constitutional plan. He said that he's against multiple plans. Botha stressed need for US leadership, and emphasized need for US to consult with internal parties in Namibia. He discussed SAG relations with internal parties, and need to avoid leaving them in lurch in order not to be discredited with other moderate leaders.



Chester Crocker: devilish plans for Namibia

in Africa. He tied this to possibility of SAG cooperating with moderate African states to deal with economic development problems. Botha concluded by saying that SAG doesn't want to let Namibia go the wrong way; that's why South Africa is willing to pay the price of the war. We pray and hope for a government favourably disposed to us. The internal parties don't want us to let go until they have anti-Soviet black government."

It is now April 1989. That is almost exactly eight years since these secret talks took place. As they say, a lot of water has passed under the bridge. The U.N. is now preparing for elections in Namibia. If they are free and fair, SWAPO will almost certainly form the first government of independent Namibia. What will the South African racists do? The extracts reproduced above contain many indications as to what they may do to deal with a SWAPO government in Windhoek. We must, therefore, not allow ourselves to be fooled by the BBC and other Western media organs that peace is around the corner in Namibia and the rest of Southern Africa. Unfortunately, it is not. The struggle has advanced and has entered a new stage. There will only be peace in Southern Africa when Apartheid is destroyed and an independent democratic and socialist Republic of South Africa is established.



Sam Nujoma, Toivo ja Taivo: Victory is certain.



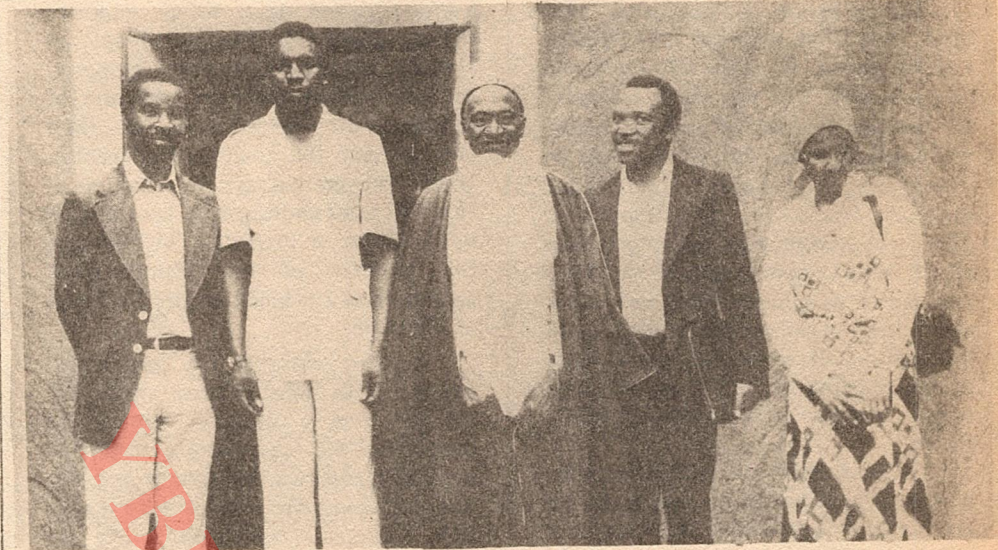
# Johnny Is Dead, Long Live Johnny

The death of Johnny Mfanafuthi Makatini on Saturday, 3rd December, 1988, from diabetic complications, in Lusaka, Zambia, is a most painful loss to the struggle for African liberation. "Johnny", as he was well known, was loved and respected all over the progressive world. He died holding the position of the Head of the Department of International Affairs of the African National Congress (ANC). But he was much more than that.

Born in Durban, on 8th February, 1932, Johnny belonged to that outstanding set of African revolutionaries who diligently constructed the basic political and military infrastructure for the armed national liberation struggle in Africa in the 1950s and the 1960s, and who did this with a powerful pan-African vision and commitment. To this set belongs Antonio Agostinho Neto, Amilcar Cabral, Frantz Fanon, and Marcelinos Dos Santos. They were generally younger than that outstanding generation which produced the Nelson Mandelas and Kwame Nkrumahs, yet they are older in experience, if not in age, to the Samora Machel and Robert Mugabes.

Johnny often recounted how he and Samora Machel used to joke about Samora's arrival at the training camps in Algeria, where from 1963 Johnny was a leading cadre. Samora, a young nurse, had just escaped, through the ANC's "safe passage", from colonial Mozambique, through South Africa. Up to his assassination in a plane crash in 1986, Samora fondly recounted how Johnny received them, and got them off to begin their military and political training for the armed struggle. It was such aspects of the relationship between the ANC and FRELIMO which made the signing of the Nkomati Accord, in March 1984, so sensitive on both sides. And it is one of the unforgettable qualities of Johnny that he made all this come alive and fresh, even in the heat of their hard and bitter struggle.

Johnny started his adult life as a teacher. He later became a part-time law student at Natal University. But by



Late Emir Usman Nagogo with Johnny (on the Emir's right) at Katsina in 1977.

1961 he had become a leading anti-Apartheid activist, being one of the principal organisers of the historic Pietermaritzburg Conference of March 1961. When Nelson Mandela established the *Umkhonto We Sizwe*, the armed wing of the ANC, on 16th December 1961, Johnny was one of the first from Natal to join. He received military training in Morocco in 1962, and in 1963 was posted to Algeria to join Robert Resha who had set up the first ANC mission there.

In 1974 his outstanding work as an organizer and diplomat earned him a seat on the National Executive Committee of the ANC. In 1977, he became the ANC's Chief Representative at the U.N., and its leading cadre on the international front.

In that year, he and Thabo Mbeki, now the Head of the Information Department of the ANC, and Thabo's wife, also an ANC cadre, toured Nigeria. Together with the SWAPO representative in Nigeria, Comrade Kampala, they met with labour leaders, student activists, academics, journalists, businessmen, military officers, civil servants and even emirs and chiefs. One has to see Johnny talking about diamonds with merchants in Kano, at a meeting arranged by the late Alhaji

Sabo Bakin Zuwo, or talking about polo with the late Emir of Katsina, Alhaji Usman Nagogo, at his palace, to appreciate his immense skills as a highly trained cadre of a seasoned revolutionary movement. He was always able to arouse and hold the interest of those around, and to warmly explain to them that the struggle in Southern Africa is also their own. It was not easy, but Johnny always left an impact wherever he went.

His energy was breathtaking. After travelling and talking for days all over Nigeria in 1977, Johnny could still go through an all night session of discussions on Southern Africa in Zaria. The session, which started about ten o'clock at night, was so exciting and educative that those taking part were surprised to realise that it was already seven o'clock in the morning. And Johnny and the others had a plane to catch that morning at Kaduna.

In his life time, Johnny visited Nigeria many more times and earned the grudging respect of even those in the Nigerian establishment who fear and hate the "communistic" ANC. He saw their anxieties and fears and humourously tried to put them at ease. He once recounted, with humour, the futile attempt by one



Nigerian general to convince William Casey, Reagan's C.I.A. Director, that America should back the ANC.

But Johnny was not just a diplomat — he was one of those leading cadres of the ANC who tenaciously adhered to the Freedom Charter, and built up the ANC inside and outside South Africa to become what it is today: the leading revolutionary

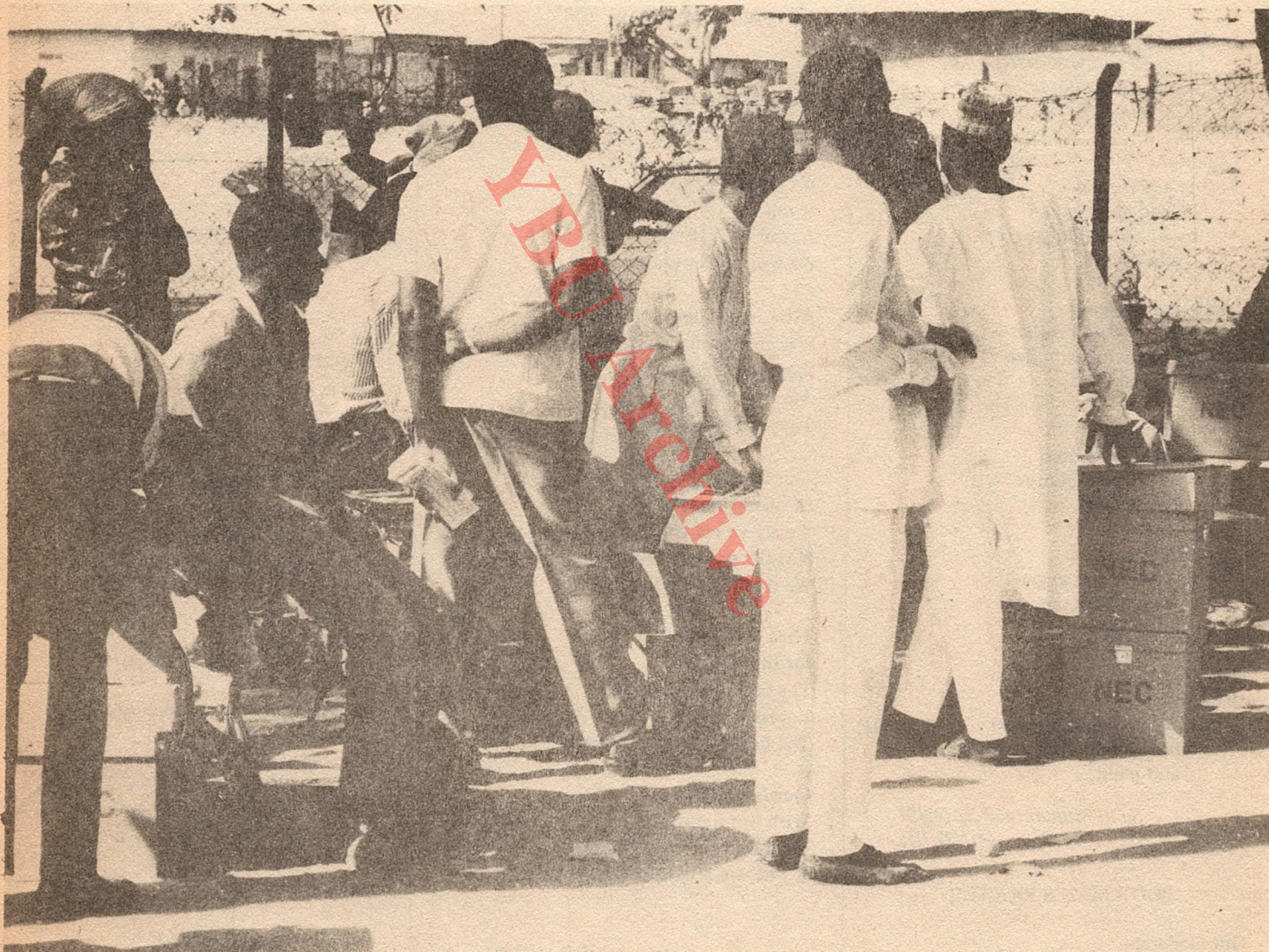
movement of our continent and one of the most powerful in the world. Not for him the empty militancy and cheap rhetorics of 'revolutionary' bench warmers.

Johnny lived for only fifty-six years. Fifty-six years of impeccable and selfless service for the emancipation of Africa and the total liberation of the continent. Africa has lost one of its

most illustrious sons. His wife Valerie, has lost a most loving husband and a dauntless comrade-in-arms. All of us, his friends, his daughter Nandi, and his other comrades in the ANC have lost an indefatigable fighter for freedom and human dignity.

Johnny is dead — long live Johnny.

## PHOTOSPEAK



**Yes. There were ballot boxes here, there and everywhere. But there were no vehicles to convey them to their respective polling centres. And so, you and me, and many more a Nigerian, were denied our right to choose those who will represent us in government. That was in December, 1987. But will 1989, and thereafter, be any different? That is the million naira question!**

# POET'S VIEWLINE

## POOR MAN

Uncertain,  
Like innocent animal  
Tormented and devoured  
by scourging hunger  
and pain.

An enticed animal  
With butter and bread  
blindfolded by hunger  
and pain.

In the Kingdom of animals  
roamed and wondered  
a struggling wanderer  
in vain.

Uncertain  
Feeble and dismal  
indeed abnormal  
by unquenching anger  
and drain.

Tired and dejected  
tortured and broken  
by recurring thunder  
and rain.

Trapped by tail  
stabbed and fired  
by a trickish hunter  
and villain.

An unnoticed frail  
hungered and angered  
attacked by a conquerer  
in the plain.

Uncertain,  
Undecided,  
subjective and uncared  
tamed by a killer  
and plain.

*Sa'id Muhammed SANUSI,  
MINJIBIR.*

## POOR MAN'S PRAYER

Our Generals  
Who are in Dodan Barracks  
Give us this day  
Food to eat  
And hospitals for our sick children  
Schools and employment for the youth  
To tame their restlessness  
And forgive us radicals  
For making noise

*Sulaiman IBRAHIM,  
LONDON*

## ATHELINGS

They base their hopes on inheritance  
On taxes and exhorated gifts  
They pile up gold upon gold  
And sit in burnished chairs

As we take up fight  
For equality and freedom  
As you misled us into IMF and SAP  
We hope you will deliver us  
From the shackles of slavery  
And untie us the chains of exploitation  
Through the working class  
You now disorganised.

*Doishima Amenger IGBUR,  
MAKURDI.*

## TO US THE SHADOW

Ours is to watch  
While they drink and dance;  
We the downtrodden.

We remain audience  
at our own show;  
At our own party  
We work as servants.

After our fought battle  
It is among themselves  
they shower praises.  
Among them  
They share the booty.

The shadow is to us  
to them the substance,  
We are to eat earth  
Not the growth above it;  
We the downtrodden.

Then stand up  
for the clearing,  
The end of one struggle,  
Foreshadows  
The beginning of another.

Our feet are tied  
With our hands;  
We have to unknot them.  
If not, we are damned.

With whips for sceptres  
And bowls of wine for crowns  
They preach return to land  
And the need for self-sacrifice  
They talk of duty to the fatherland  
And the need for discipline  
While they bathe in gilded pools  
Eating ambrosia.  
O self-satiating deities  
Soak your clothes in our drinking pots  
Ride on your horses of arrogance  
And trample the dogs below.  
Let the red wine that flows in the streets  
Like slime from an overflown gutter.  
Your stars are dazzling near the moon  
Oblivious of the drains and ditches.  
You cannot see the bright light of day  
You cannot hear the songs of dawn  
You cannot feel the warmth of the morning  
But a shaft once shot  
Brings your sceptre and crown  
Plummeting to the depths of the earth.  
*Nereus Y. TADI,*

*AZARE*

## HOUSE OF HUNGER

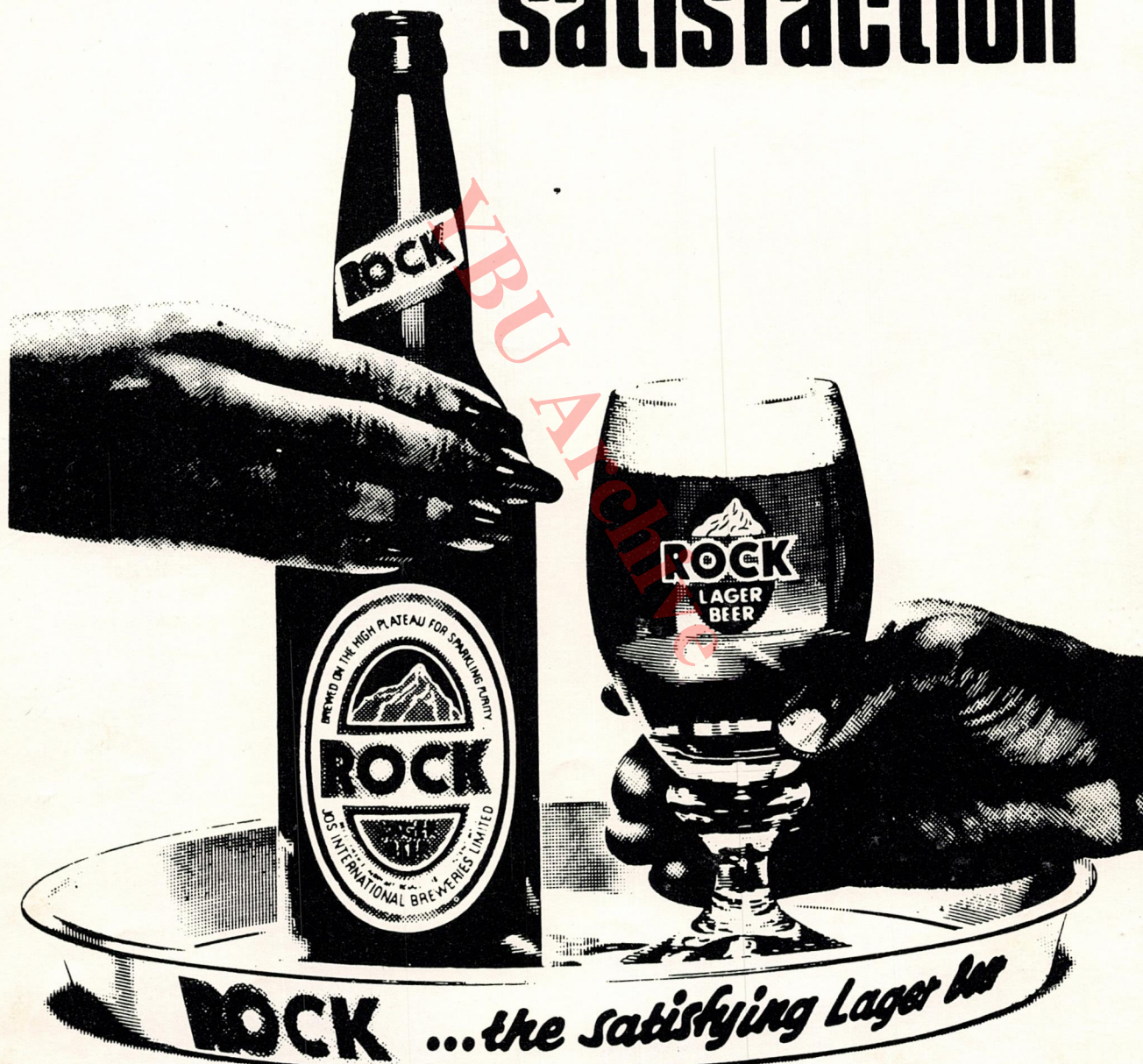
Lost in our father-land  
Captives of our dear brothers  
Refugees in our father's house  
The hitherto house of wealth  
Made house of hunger  
By our selfish brothers  
Who wouldn't our stomachs filled  
Nor our bony bodies re-shaped.

They are repugnant of us  
Hence, sought to keep us poor.  
Our part of our father's wealth

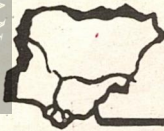
They obnoxiously kept to themselves  
And we must work for them,  
With our empty and lifeless bodies  
To us they gave  
hunger, discomfort and poverty  
As our wages per annum.

Yet they fool themselves  
Not us,  
Saying, they must mobilise us  
But until this hunger house  
Erected for us  
Is dismantled  
We shall always remain immobile  
For our's should not be  
An inheritance of the house of hunger.  
*Richard Deji OLADIPO,*  
*IBADAN*

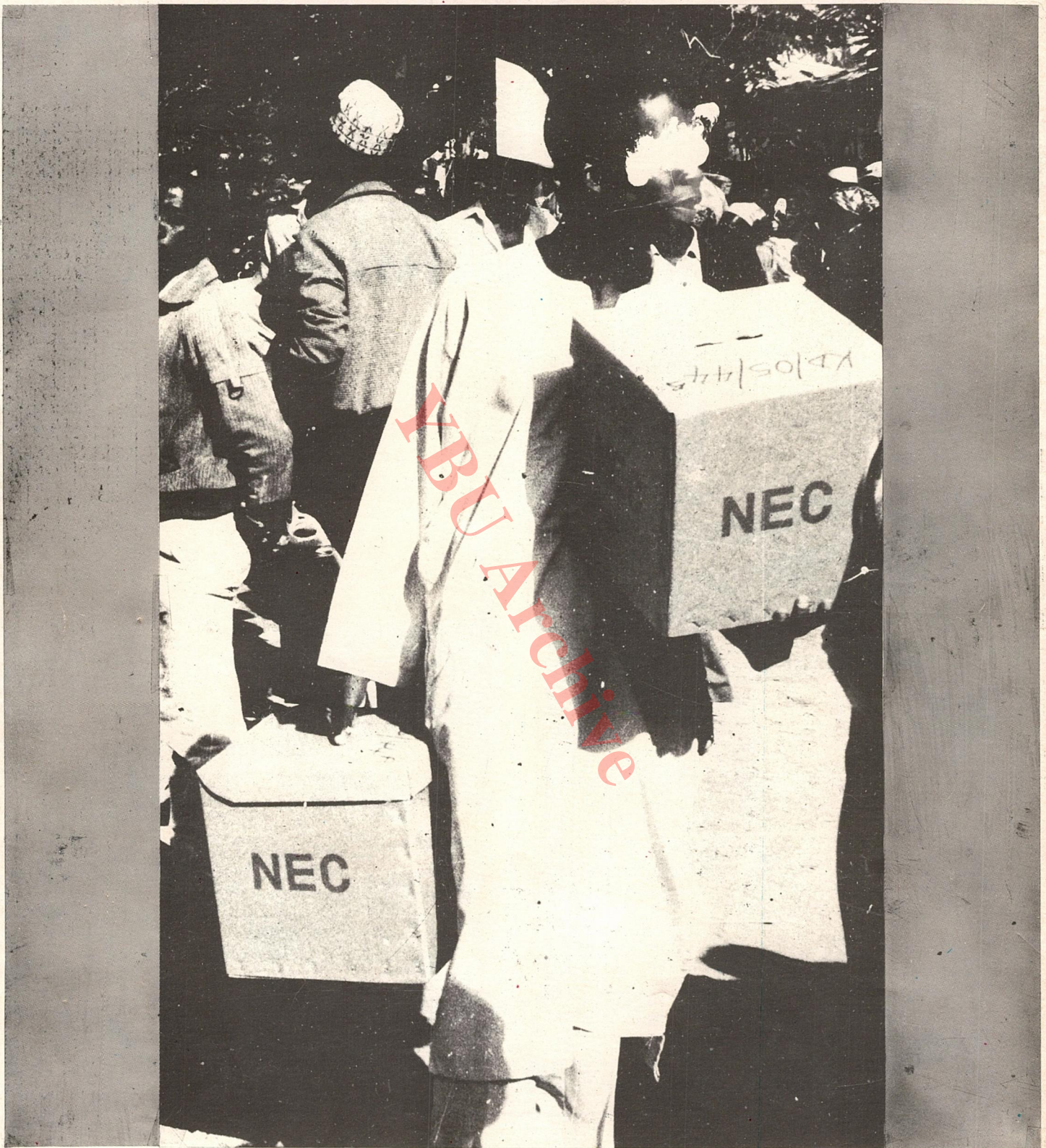
# Reach out... for real satisfaction



RM 1.30 per bottle  
Liquid content only



# ONE COUNTRY, TWO NATIONS



## ONCE UPON AN ELECTION ...

In December 1987, you could, at the right price, have two ballot boxes to yourself. How many can you purchase in 1989?