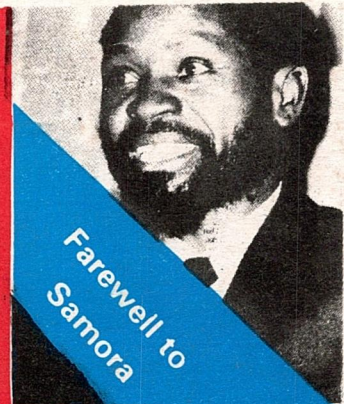


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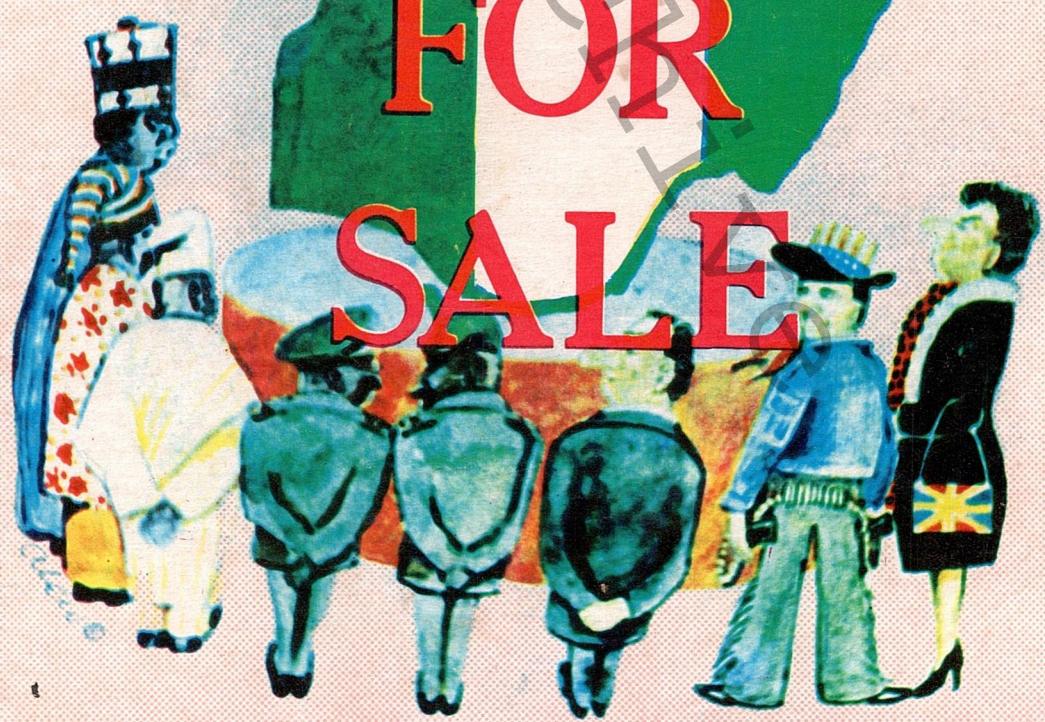
Vol. 1, No. 4

November 1986



The Wrecking of Gusau Oil Mill

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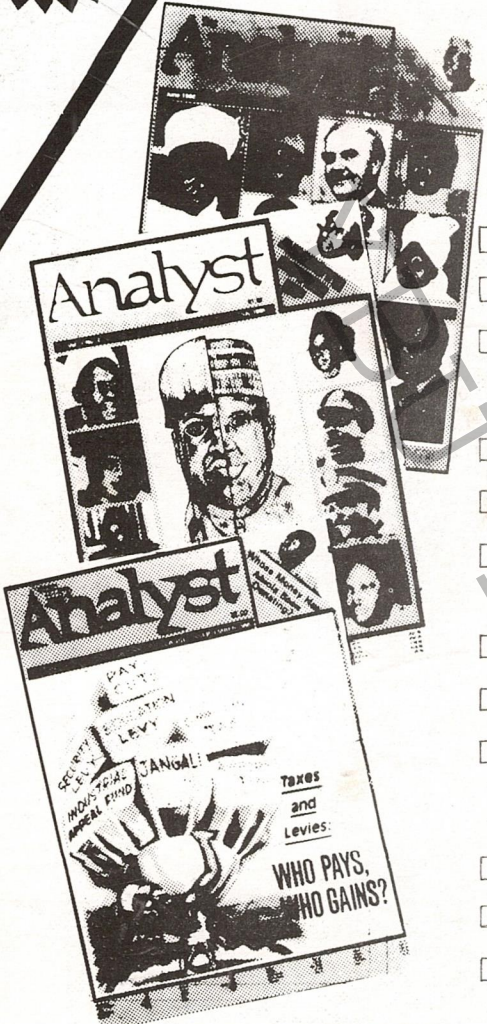
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Contents

1. Message from the Publisher..... 2
2. Comment.....3
3. Letters..... 4
4. MURI: Will Deposed Emir Return? 5
5. MADAKI – On the Side of History.....6



6. Nigeria for Sale7
7. Who Decides Economic Policy in Nigeria?10
8. The Privatisation of the Agricultural Sector12
9. Murtala and the IMF14
10. Privatisation: U.S. Style.....15
11. Privatisation and the Space Shuttle16
12. Public Sector Inefficiency?17
13. The Bogey of Private Sector Efficiency18
14. Private Sector: An Illegitimate Child20
15. Rufa'i Ibrahim: Why I was Removed22
16. Songs of Revolt in Tivland.....24
17. Railway Rot25
18. A Sign of Rough Times Ahead?27
19. UPDATE
 - The Wrecking of the Gusau Oil Mill29
 - Road to Privatisation: Asiodu's Example32



20. OBITUARY: Farewell to Samora.....36



DELE GIWA:

The Significance of his Death

SUNDAY, October 18 will go down in history as a tragic day for Africa. In Southern Africa, Comrade Samora Machel of Mozambique and many of his colleagues lost their lives in a plane crash. Here in Nigeria, we witnessed an unprecedented crime, the murder through a parcel bomb of a foremost journalist, Mr. Dele Giwa of the weekly magazine *News-watch*.

In a country like ours where criminal acts spread like wildfire, Nigerians are now, for good reasons, scared of all parcels. This sophisticated and dangerous form of killing must not be allowed to spread.

In spite of the insinuations surrounding the events before his death, (i.e., his interrogation for importing arms, collaborating with ASUU, NLC and students to carry out a socialist revolution), Dele Giwa, we are convinced, was not killed because of any clear political ideology. However, the painstaking exposures of the bourgeois class which the magazine has carried out from time to time is enough politics. The exposures seriously undermined and threatened the credibility, interests and power of members of this class. Hence the decision to eliminate a key member of the magazine.



Dele Giwa.....Victim of Ruling Class Tyranny?

This has important significance for politically committed activists, who are working hard to terminate the dominance of this class. Clearly, if it is a trend, it is ominous for such patriotic Nigerians.

Since circumstantial evidence points accusing fingers to the state itself, the only credible way the state can absolve itself is to establish, expose and punish the culprits. Only this will reassure Nigerians.

Finally, progressive forces must consider the possibility of such reprisals from the enemy. Yet, they must remain resolute, be on the alert, and be prepared to rise and defend their individual and collective rights against the creeping, hydra-headed tyranny of the ruling class.

Rufai Now to Edit *The Analyst*

The Board of Directors of *The Analyst* is pleased to announce the appointment of Mallam Rufa'i Ibrahim as Editor.

Rufa'i is familiar to readers of *The Analyst* as a principled and courageous journalist, who has never been afraid to speak the truth. He was recently dismissed from his job as the General Manager of the *Plateau Publishing Company (PPC)* for refusing to bow to the whims of the State Government. (Read his statement on his dismissal in this issue). He spent nine months in Kirikiri Maximum Security Prison, where he was detained by the Buhari regime because of an article he wrote in *The Guardian* titled "Letter to Balarabe Musa".

Rufa'i is an experienced journalist, having worked in *The New Nigerian*, *Daily Times*, as the first editor of the *Sunday Triumph*, and also as editor of the *Sunday Guardian*.

With Rufa'i in the Editor's seat, readers of *The Analyst* can be assured of continuing top-quality, hard hitting and truthful reports and analyses of Nigeria and the world scene.



The Analyst

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Message From the Publisher

The ANALYST is being born at a critical stage in the development of this country. After 26 years of independence during which the country recorded little progress economically and still less socially and politically, Nigeria is searching for a new social, economic and political order which will move us forward and stand the test of time.

It is not by accident that *The ANALYST* is being born at such a time. We, its publishers, do not intend to stand by the sidelines and watch the same old, reactionary forces that misshaped our past to monopolise the debate and the search, and thereby jeopardise our future. On the contrary we intend to be in the thick of the debate and the search. We intend to expose the real class origins and interest of all activities in Nigeria. We intend to help sift progressive ideas from reactionary ones. We intend to help remove all the fancy attire in which the old bankrupt ideas will be clothed, and show them up in all their naked ugliness. Likewise, we shall endeavour to give those who have anything truly new, fresh and progressive, the opportunity to air their views, within the limit imposed by space.

Our horizon will by no means be limited to the Nigerian scene. It will extend to all nooks and corners of Africa and the rest of the world, but especially where the struggle between imperialism and the people is sharpest. This means that much of our coverage of Africa will be taken up by the struggles in Southern Africa, specifically in South Africa, Namibia, Angola and Mozambique. However, this concern with Southern African will not be at the expense of other people of our continent whom imperialism is so desperately trying to suppress; ready examples being Chad, just next door to us, and Sudan, Libya and Uganda, not all that far away from our borders too.

As in the case of Nigeria, so also in other parts of the world: we are partisan on the side of the forces fighting for independence, freedom and social progress, whose cause we shall promote and whose struggle and daily sacrifice we shall publicise. On the other hand, we are partisan against apartheid, zionism and all forms of oppression and exploitation of man by man. These we shall expose and condemn.

We shall, outside Africa, take special interest in the struggles of the peoples of the Carribean, Central and South America against centuries of repression and exploitation. We shall not ignore the struggles of the black people and the other oppressed people of North America and Western Europe. We shall highlight the struggles of the Palestinians, and other Middle Eastern peoples against imperialism, zionism and local reactionaries. We shall cover the conditions and aspirations of all the oppressed and exploited of the world.

There are many journals and magazines which represent the interest of the reactionary ruling class in Nigeria. They do so under various guises. New ones are coming into the market every day. But there are very few journals which defend and promote the interests of the workers, peasants, artisans, petty producers and traders, and the revolutionary and progressive intellectuals and professionals. *The ANALYST* will complement and further develop the roles of this proletarian media by being more analytical, more democratic, more internationalist, and simple in style and use of language. It will particularly investigate and report on events, realities, and particularly conditions of life of the oppressed classes and the class struggle for a new social order. It will start publication in English but will eventually be joined by others to be published in Igbo, Hausa, Yoruba and other Nigerian languages as well.

The working masses will speak for themselves in their own language through *The Analyst*.

Nigeria is Not for Sale

The ninety million people of Nigeria are fortunate to have a country with such vast land, mineral and other natural resources. They have a country most of whose 923,768 square kilometres is good for farming and pasture, in spite of the growing threats of desertification and erosion. They have a country which, while many parts of Africa are suffering from drought, is recording a series of bumper harvests. They have a country which during the four and a half years of its economic austerity (since April 1982) exported and was paid for, in hard currency, crude oil worth N36.00 billion.

But in spite of these very favourable endowments, the Nigerian economy is getting worse and worse every day. The overwhelming majority of the people of Nigeria are increasingly malnourished, diseased, illiterate, landless, unemployed, indebted, and economically very insecure. Their present lives are grim. Their future, and that of their children, looks very bleak.

At the centre of this painful paradox of a rich Nigeria and wretched Nigerians is the reality of a handful of multi-national companies and banks making millions, and millions more of profit every year, as the economy sinks and the people become more and more wretched. The more they sack Nigerian workers, the more they reduce their turnover and siphon capital away from Nigeria, the more their profits rise.

As we explain in this issue, this process of the enrichment of a few in the middle of the impoverishment of many is becoming more intense and rapid because our country is being sold into debt-slavery, even though we are not indebted to anybody. The *structural adjustment programme* prescribed by the I.M.F. and the World Bank means nothing but the sale of Nigeria through *privatisation, devaluation, inflation, and retrenchment* in order to service fictitious debts. Its purpose is the reduction of the people of Nigeria to the lowest level of wretchedness so that they

can provide the cheapest form of labour possible for foreign companies and their subsidiaries operating in this country.

The sale of Nigeria into debt-slavery under the cover of structural adjustment started since 1982 when the Shagari regime introduced its austerity measures. The Buhari regime merely followed suit. And now, in spite of the strong, popular opposition to the programme, and the fascistic way the Buhari regime implemented it - which led to the ouster of the latter - and in spite of the clear and loud opposition to the IMF loan and all it means by Nigerians during the IMF debate, the Babangida administration is continuing along the same road.

"This process of the enrichment of a few in the middle of the impoverishment of many is becoming more intense and rapid because our country is being sold into debt-slavery."

Yet, these external debts we are supposed to adjust our economy to pay back are largely fictitious and fraudulent; the internal debts even more so. As we show in this issue, this is the one fact that shouts loudest from the findings of official enquiries into the matter, as well as even from I.M.F. official statistics, and the reports of the Societe Generale de Surveillance on Nigerian imports since 1979. The Solano Committee that investigated internal debts in Nigeria, for instance, established that 96% of these debts are false and fraudulent.

Some countries, to wit, Peru and Brazil - which are by no means socialist or communist - have been quick to see the trap and have refused to be slaves to baseless debt claims. The APRISTA government of President Alan Garcia in Peru is refusing to pay more than 10% of its revenue as debt repayment; is

forcing foreign companies to re-invest their profits in Peru; and instead of retrenchment and pay cuts it is raising wages and salaries, controlling inflation, and creating more jobs. The result: higher consumer spending, 14% rise in industrial production in the first six months of 1986, and a projected 6% growth in the economy this year. The credit for this goes largely to the far-sightedness and patriotism of the Peruvian bourgeoisie - qualities scandalously lacking in the Nigerian ruling class.

Still, there is hope. As they did during the IMF debate, the Nigerian workers, peasants, small contractors and artisans, progressive intellectuals, professionals, youths and all democratic and patriotic forces must take a firm stand and say *NO* to the sale of Nigeria into debt-slavery. They should demand that the AFRC (Armed Forces Ruling Council) set up a debt commission to establish the genuineness or otherwise of our external and internal debts, and propose how best to settle them consistent with our sovereignty and the survival, welfare and progress of our people. The commission should have representatives from the armed forces, organizations of workers, students, farmers, professionals and manufacturers. Its report should form the basis of a national recovery programme that will steer us away from the path of debt slavery towards that of economic recovery, national independence and self-reliant development.

But need the Nigerian leaders and government be told, or reminded, that Nigeria's ninety million people will never accept that their country is for sale? As the great, late Murtala Muhammed said: *The time has come when we should make it clear that we can decide for ourselves; that we know our own interests and how to protect these interests.* Murtala and all those who died fighting for our independence, unity, integrity and sovereignty did not shed their blood in vain. And Nigeria is not, and can never be, for sale.



LETTERS

Your Second Issue Was Disappointing

I congratulate you, the pioneers of Nigeria's number one Magazine, *The Analyst*, for your progressiveness and keen observation of our societal decadence at a critical period when the masses now living a hand-to-mouth existence clamour for total overthrow of the system that has been in operation throughout our history as a country.

We the people of Nigeria never asked or begged the multinationals and their agents to eat our cake for us. We have different stomachs so it is hard to think that they can swallow our cake into our stomachs.

One observation I would like to make here is that the well-researched and deeply analysed first issue of the magazine presents a contrast with the second one.

I found, to my amazing disappointment, that the vigour of the first issue was badly absent in the second issue.

•Comrade Musa Wen,
Sheniam, Plateau State.

YOU ARE MOST WELCOME

THE happiness that greeted your emergence could only be compared with the happiness that follows the first rainfall after seven years of drought. May you live longer.

For a clean record for posterity, could you please honestly and kindly educate me on why *The Analyst* harshly singled out Professor Ango Abdullahi as its whipping boy under the following captions in your last edition: ABISOYE REPORT: White Paper, White Wash; Who is Fooling Who? Lessons of May 23, According to Mahdi; and Violence Against Women.

I have high regards for your magazine and the set of people manning it. However, I desperately need clarification on the following:

—The A.B.U. Senate which comprises all A.B.U.'s Heads of Departments and all A.B.U.'s Professors came out and categorically exonerated Ango Abdullahi from all the action he had taken as Vice-Chancellor of the A.B.U.

—Abisoye's reputation is stainless, Segun Okeowo is a former students leader, yet we were not

told of any minority report. Such a minority report would have cast doubt on the Abisoye Report.

—The whole world saw and heard Dr. Abdullahi Mahdi (ASUU Chairman) fuelling the crisis by telling blatant lies. Why are you silent on this very important event?

— How can I reconcile the rape story you gave us and your admission in the story that "...none of the students could bring themselves to admit it publicly..." (that they were raped)?

May Almighty Allah protect you from any destructive element and I hope you will never allow personal vendetta to becloud your aim. It doesn't pay.

*Maigoro Abdullahi Sambo
 Kaduna*

A Classic Magazine

The Analyst magazine is a classic contribution to our news sources. It is exactly the type that fits the Nigerian populace.

As expected, your June issue has provoked the multinationals. The UAC has reacted. But all that the multinationals (UAC in particular) need to do is to prove the falsehood of that article (BIG FISH SWALLOW SMALL FISH IN UAC) with facts and figures. We expect a fictitious cover up for their clients of course.

Your short comments for both the UAC and the *Sunday Triumph* (July issue) are very appropriate and put the two in their true position— serving the interests of a few in our society. Maintain your position and we shall always be with you.

•Lawal Abdullahi Inde
Mahumfashi.

Let Me Speak

I MUST congratulate Mallam M. Rabi'u for conducting that piece of interview in the 'Let me speak' column in your issue of July, 1986. It was a job well done.

If not for a magazine like *The Analyst*, small men and ordinary citizens like Alhaji Sa'id Magaji, the farmer from Rido Village, whose farm land had been taken by the NNPC in collaboration with the village head of Rido since 1979 will never be heard again. Ordinary citizens in Nigeria are made to learn to live under such conditions with the hope that justice will be done one day.

I hope Mallam Rabi'u can still help Alhaji Sa'id and others who have the same plight by pressing further on the matter. He can do this by interviewing the other parties involved like the village head of Rido and the Management of NNPC, Kaduna.

The Kaduna State Government on their own part can set up a committee or a panel to investigate the allegation. This type of treatment is against the policy of human rights commitment of this administration.

*Musa Alhaji Ali
 Abuja*

MURI: Will Deposed Emir Return?

ALHAJI Umaru Abba Tukur, the deposed Emir of Muri, Gongola State, who is now in exile in Mubi, must be chuckling over Madaki's removal as governor and subsequent dismissal from the army. Madaki it was who, as the then Governor of Gongola State, removed Alhaji Abba from the Emirship of Muri, ending the latter's twenty one year reign which few would say was popular and which was marked by many scandals and brushes with the State Government. Now, however, there are forces — powerful and just as determined as Madaki was to punish the ex-Emir's transgressions and wrong-doings — working overtly and covertly to ensure that Alhaji Abba has much more than the last laugh. They want him back on the Muri throne.

If these forces succeed in organising a come back for Alhaji Abba, it will be quite a feat. The modern history of Northern Nigeria is yet to record any case of a throne lost and regained. In fact, the deposition of Alhaji Abba was itself only the second of such in Northern Nigeria — the first being the deposition of the powerful Emir Sanusi of Kano by the then Premier of Northern Nigeria, late Sir Ahmadu Bello, in 1963. But these forces do not appear deterred or discouraged by either this lack of precedent or the bad record of Alhaji Abba's long tenure; which is certain to make his come back a highly unpopular move with the Muri people.

The Analyst has learned from very reliable sources that the pressure for Alhaji Abba's re-instatement comes not only from the man's influential supporters in Gongola, or even from traditional institutions in the Northern States and other parts of the country, but also — perhaps even mostly — from Lagos. Which must be why Gongola State's new Governor, Group Captain Jonah Jang, is now no more in a hurry about solving the problem of succession to the Muri throne. The new Governor's hands seem tied as far as the Muri issue is concerned.

Governor Jang, it will be recalled, came to Gongola with a pledge: to continue with the work and programme pursued by Madaki, with whom he (Jang) swapped places during the August 27 reshuffle of Governors. In fact, in one of his first public statements on coming to Gongola, Governor Jang told the Lamido of Adamawa in his palace that he (Jang) considered the Muri issue closed. The deposition stood, he said. And he promised that a new emir would be installed without much delay.



*Alhaji Umaru Abba Tukur
..... Deposed Emir of Muri*

Soon afterwards, the Jos-based newspaper *The Standard* (September 24, 1986) carried a report titled "New Emir of Muri Picked", which said that the Muri kingmakers had met, deliberated, and agreed on a successor to the Muri throne. The paper gave the name of the Emir-elect as Alhaji Abbas Tafida, the present Managing Director of the Nigeria Hotels, Ltd. in Lagos, and a nephew of the deposed emir. That *Standard* report was to trigger reaction from powerful quarters, and to bring Governor Jang face to face with the realities and complexities of his new state.

As early as 8:00 A.M. on the very next day after the publication of that report, Governor Jang was, according to a reliable source, summoned to Lagos. The exact details of his discussion with his summoners in Lagos are not clear,

but Governor Jang was believed to have left Lagos with a clear brief: STAY ACTION on the Muri succession issue. In any case, it was a different Jang that came back to Yola — at least as far as the Muri issue was concerned. It was, for him, no longer a priority. It was not even something to be discussed.

Soon after he returned, Governor Jang summoned to the Government House all correspondents of media houses not based in Gongola. After the usual homilies about his accessibility to reporters and his administration's open-door policy, Governor Jang chided the reporters for reporting things on the Muri issue "without first verifying and confirming them from me". But he did not deny the substance of the report, which was that the Muri kingmakers had made a selection and passed it on to him, and that he in turn had passed it on to the Lamido of Adamawa, Emir of Mubi, Chief of Takum, Hamman Bachama and Aku Uka for their blessing.

The Analyst learned that these five Gongola traditional rulers returned the list without a comment, claiming that the correct procedure had been flouted. The correct thing, according to them, would have been for the Kingmaker's choice to be referred to them for their blessing and comment to the Governor, and not the other way round. An informed source said, however, that the traditional rulers' action was only a ploy to buy time, to delay the selection process and thus increase Alhaji Abba's chances of a second coming.

The moves by the powers in Lagos to get Alhaji Abba back on his throne are, according to sources with inside information, a response to two main things. The first, said the source, is the strong pressure brought to bear on especially the President by the traditional rulers who are believed to have indicated that they would withdraw their support from the administration if something was not done about what they see as an

contd on Page 10



Madaki on the Side of History

General Babangida marked his one year in office in a peculiar way: he reviewed the performance of his subordinates, changed everybody except himself, and went back to bed. But as he slept, the economy worsened, the poor suffered and died, IMF marched on turning some Nigerians into slaves, while others looted with smiles.

In spite of the peoples' difficulties, the name Yohanna Madaki, one of those who displeased the administration and the IMF most, was celebrated in every village, every house, every street corner where the horde of the unemployed gathered, in every beer parlour across the country. In Gongola State, where he was Governor for one year, even villagers like the Koma people who had never seen or heard of a Governor all their lives, saw one, danced with satisfaction, and can proudly remember that there is a Governor in Yola called Yohanna Madaki. In fact, the Koma people still believe that Yohanna Madaki is up till now the Governor of Gongola state, despite the series of changes that have since befallen their 'discoverer.'

The point here is that, even if you execute the man today, for whatever framed-up charges, you can not erase the memories of his good deeds among the people. This is why his dismissal has generated more interest from the people than that of any other victim of the administration.

Standing firmly on the side of the poor and of history, Madaki is significant for several reasons. A peasant's son with peasant youth, a minority from the seriously oppressed Kaje nationality in Kaduna state; a man who joined the army as a private, rose through all the other ranks and experienced all the tyrannies and oppressions meted out to this group, before becoming a member of the army's privileged club — the officer class. He returned to his class origins with a fierce defence of the poor. The officer class were chilled, and saw this as a betrayal. Along the line, he had picked up a law degree, and

in spite of the conservative nature of our legal profession, he tutored himself in the correct philosophy of law that is, in order to practice law justly, you must first of all destroy its unjust bases by fighting for social justice.

In trying to do this, he built up an enviable report card of fighting for the poor; questioned the ill-treatment of prisoners of war during the Nigerian civil war; criticised Buhari's draconian decrees at an army seminar in Ibadan; tackled development at the grassroots in Gongola; moved towards restoring the dignity of the Koma people, before he finally descended upon and tamed the wild Emir of Muri, the pope of sinners.

With this last act, Yohanna Madaki was becoming too dangerous for the continued existence of the ruling class — bourgeois and feudal, especially its powerful Northern expression. Not surprisingly, these cast-offs of feudal oppression, together with their representatives in the bureaucracy, the army and the commercial world, closed ranks, forgot their internal quarrels, rediscovered their common interests organised around the Sardauna and their NPC hegemony. They demanded for Madaki's head, and of course they got it.

Irony

At this critical time in our country's history, the dismissal of Yohanna Madaki is, ironically, the only real achievement of the Babangida administration. It is the best independence gift to the Nigerian people in search of a direction.

Yohanna Madaki, as indicated earlier, is significant for several reasons. For the ordinary soldier in uniform, Yohanna Madaki meant that any ordinary soldier can work hard and play an important role in history, including leadership and defence of their class. Unlike our bourgeois generals whose preoccupation is the forced take over of

peasant lands, Yohanna Madaki was truly a peoples' soldier.

Coming from one of the minority nationalities in the Middle Belt, many of whom form the bulk of the army, have fought and died for this country, done the most menial jobs in industry and bureaucracy, and yet have remained the most oppressed of the Nigerian nationalities, the dismissal ordered by feudal lords of Hausa/Fulani extraction confirms the powerlessness of the minorities. It should serve as an eye opener to those who had silly illusions that the Babangida administration is a minority outfit. Only a few sharp moves, and the minorities have lost out. It should put paid to the false solution of injecting elites from minority nationalities into key positions. Only a true working peoples' democracy can resolve the class and nationality problem.

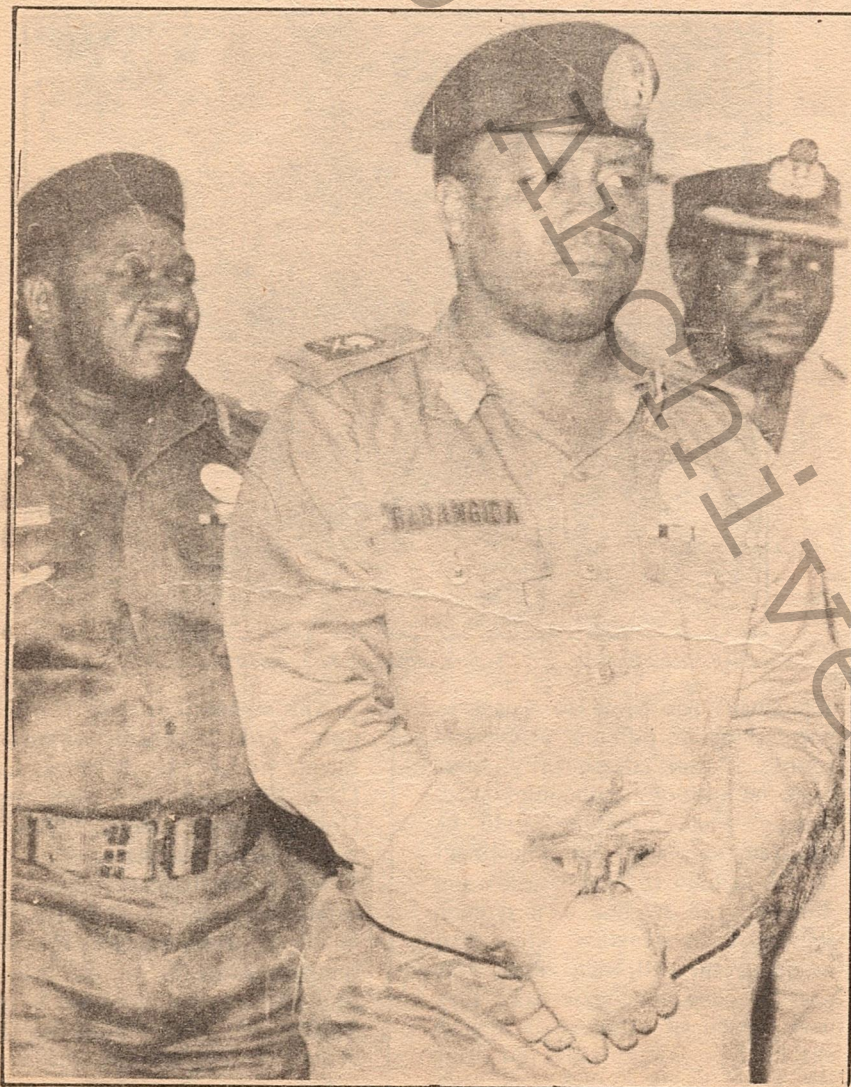
Today, Yohanna Madaki has raised and clarified to many people a whole range of issues. For the lawyer, who should he defend? For the intellectual, who are you thinking and writing for? For the working class, who is consuming what you produce? And, finally, for the soldier, whose side are you on? Are you in uniform to defend corrupt emirs, chiefs, bureaucrats, generals and businessmen, and multinational corporations and their life of luxury? Or are you there to defend the rights of poor ordinary Nigerians who number more than 90 million? When you talk of defending the nation, is it that part inhabited by one hundred millionaires, or the part of one hundred million peasants, workers, and the unemployed?

By the time these serious questions are answered practically by the Nigerian people, whether Madaki is still around or not, he will be fondly remembered by the people for standing by them at their most crucial hour; an hour when bourgeois generals were busy selling Nigeria to the IMF and imperialism. Then, he will be decorated as a true general of the people.

Nigeria

COVER

NIGERIA: Sold into Debt-Slavery Without Debt



Babangida.....Rejects IMF, Accepts IMF.

'Water, water everywhere, but not a drop to drink'.

This about sums up the situation in Nigeria today for the vast majority of the country's ninety million people. Mass poverty in a country of vast riches; hunger and misery in the midst of plenty; rich Nigeria and wretched Nigerians. This is the Nigeria of today.

Within the last five years especially, the reality of this paradox has been exerting its pressure through the increased suffering and misery that have become the lot of the overwhelming majority of Nigerians. For most people, within these years, the pockets have become as empty as the pots and the stomachs; the fears and insecurities over one's health, the education of one's children, and unemployment, have become unbearable.

Added to all this is the crushing burden of taxes, levies and fees — which has made life even grimmer for most Nigerians.

But the background against which such a dismal picture is set is something quite different. For two good years now (1984 and 1985), the harvests were very good all over the country. And all indications are that this year's harvest will be just as good if not better.

Within the period, the oil sector, in spite of all the talk about oil glut, has not done badly either. In fact, in the last 4½ years (Between Monday, October 19, 1982 when President Shagari imposed his economic austerity measures and this month, October 1986), the country earned well over N36.00 billion from crude oil exports alone — all paid in U.S. dollars and other hard currencies. This means that during these 4½ years since April 1982, a total sum of N400 (four hundred Naira) has been earned from crude oil exports for each and every one of the ninety million men, women, and children of Nigeria.

With all these billions from oil sales, vast land, water, mineral and human resources, however, Nigeria's economy is now in very bad shape.

But this situation of poverty amidst riches, of want in plenty, of an economy that is continuously worsening and looking down — in a country endowed with vast land, water, mineral and human

Nigeria

resources — is only one of Nigeria's many paradoxes. And certainly not the worst of them. The worst may well be another development that has taken place within the last five years: Nigeria has become a debtor, or even a debt-slave, without debts.

How this has come about, how a richly endowed country has sunk into misery, unemployment and chronic poverty, and become debt-ridden is, of course, a subject of many explanations. Some of these explanations are official versions, often put out to explain away and cover up, bad management, corruption and the leaders' inability or unwillingness to exert decisive control over Nigeria's economic policy and direction. But some are much more sophisticated, grounded in some high-sounding, though inadequate, economic theories, and often couched in vapid phrases that say little and disguise a failure to grasp the basic, fundamental causes of the problem.

Under Shagari, the official explanation for the economic crisis was that it was caused by the fall in the price and quantity of crude oil exported. This is the "Oil Glut" explanation. This was supported and propped up by another explanation, namely that our taste and love for foreign goods, and high propensity to import, have worsened our position.

Paradox

Under the two successive military regimes since December 31, 1983, the explanation given for this terrible paradox of a rich country and a collapsing economy are that, besides the oil glut, the economy has been grossly mismanaged by the politicians. But besides this, the military have yet another explanation. For them and their spokespersons, the more basic cause of the sharp decline of the economy is that, in general, the country has not only been importing too much, but has been living above her earnings.

This, goes the argument, is why Nigeria has landed herself in the terrible situation of huge internal and external debts — which she simply

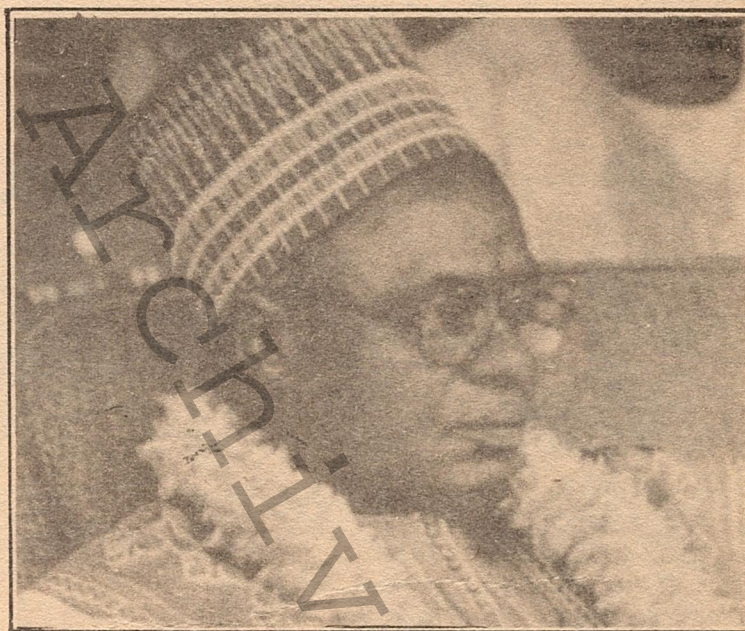
has to pay back and then begin to learn to live within her means. Under the military, the debt issue — played down during the period of the Shagari regime — bounced back to the front burner.

But in spite of these differences in emphasis as to the causes of the economic crisis, the three regimes of Shagari, Buhari, and now President Babangida, prescribe a common solution to the problem: structural adjustment of the Nigerian economy. This happens to be the solution also prescribed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank for all Third World countries facing economic difficulties.

Since it has been sold to the Third World countries as the cure for their economic maladies, structural

back the heavy debts they owe.

Structural adjustment, in other words, requires the government of Nigeria to satisfy the country's creditors that the country has learnt its lessons, and that the people are being made to consume less, and produce and export more to pay back the debts. Once this is done, Nigeria's creditors will then be ready to allow Nigeria credit lines to import more and more of goods and services from which they (the creditors) can make the maximum profit, in the shortest time. Effect: Nigeria's debt will mount and the interest on it will swell, giving her creditors all the leverage to completely control the economy and dictate terms on both domestic and foreign policy for decades to come.



Alhaji Shehu Shagari,.... "economic crisis caused by fall in crude oil"

adjustment has come to means so many things to different people and countries. And consequently, there has been a lot of mumbo-jumbo over exactly what structure is to be adjusted, and what the adjustment should amount to. But basically and directly, and in our own circumstances, what structural adjustment means is that Nigerians must now pay for consuming more than they have produced, through a drastic cut in their consumption and living standards, so that they can save, invest and produce in order to pay

This scenario, or state of subjugation — which actually obtained in Egypt under the Khedive Ismail (1863-79) and in Zaire under Mobutu since the early 1970's — is what is called debt slavery.

Many Nigerian economists and social scientists that *The Analyst* has talked to, were emphatic that structural adjustment of the Nigerian economy was not intended to make Nigeria pay back all its supposed debts. Nor was it intended to make Nigeria live within her means by building a self-reliant economy based

on human and natural resources. The real purpose behind structural adjustment, as one of them argued, is to ensure that Nigerian governments are forced to extract the maximum amounts from the people of Nigeria, through taxes, levies, fees, retrenchment, devaluation, inflation, and cuts in public services, etc. in order to service debts claimed against the country by both domestic and foreign creditors.

Those who hold this view thus see structural adjustment as simply a ploy to get Nigeria into a situation of incurable reliance on imports — which will always mean good business for the West. Such chronic reliance on imports, according to this view, could come about as Nigeria gets hooked on repaying her debts with earnings from export of raw materials which are not used for manufacturing anything in the

only confirm the prescription's sinister purpose of entrenching national enslavement. The first of these two grounds, which one social scientist dismissed as an obvious lie, is that since the beginning of the oil boom in the 1970's Nigerians have been consuming more than they produce. The second justification — again seen by many as a deliberate lie — is that this excess of consumption over production has led to the accumulation of huge internal and external debts.

The claim that Nigerians have been consuming imported goods at a very high level has been given the lie by no less than the I.M.F. itself, through one of its most authoritative publications, which compiles data from the Central Banks of all the member countries. This publication, *I.M.F.: International Financial Statistics Year Books, 1984 and*

Nigerians consumed so much imported goods that the country became indebted.

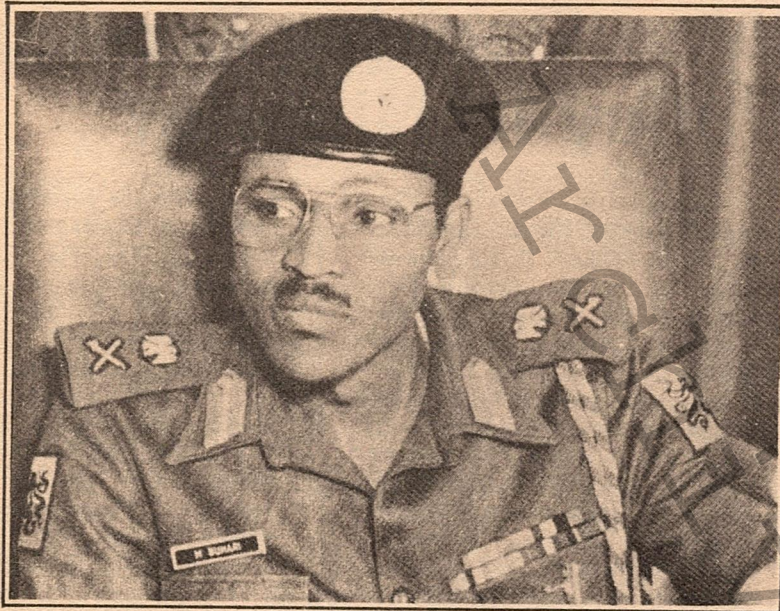
But the I.M.F. apart, there are other credible sources of information on the crucial question of what Nigeria actually imported and how much was actually paid for it. *Societe Generale de Surveillance (SGS)*, the company appointed to inspect all goods imported into Nigeria, reported that out of the 1.2 million Form M issued for the importation of goods into Nigeria, in the years 1979-84, only 0.43 million was actually inspected by it. Thus only 34% of these forms were inspected by S.G.S. The value of those not inspected came to N15.2 billion.

Worse, even those actually inspected were found to have serious discrepancies. This is very revealing, especially given how dubious SGS itself is, as shown by the \$120,000 bribe it paid to some members of the defunct National Assembly (House of Representatives) through the then Nigerian Ambassador to Switzerland, Alhaji Yahaya Kwande, on August 17, 1981, at Geneva.

Commented an economist: "If even a company as dubious as the SGS can admit these gaping holes in Nigeria's imports, the holes must be very wide indeed."

Mr. O. Olashore, former Deputy Director of Research at the Central Bank of Nigeria, and now Managing Director and Chief Executive of the First Bank of Nigeria, also made startling revelations about Nigeria's dubious imports. In the *International Bank for West Africa (IBWA)* monthly publication, Mr. Olashore stated that in 1981 Nigeria only imported goods worth N2.97 billion but was fraudulently made to pay N11.9 billion for them! Mr. Olashore's revelation, published in the Nigerian press on October 21, 1983, is yet to be either denied by him or contradicted by anyone from the Central, Merchant, or the Commerical Banks.

On his own, it would appear that his rising career in the system has forced Mr. Olashore to keep his mouth shut over this life-and-death matter for Nigeria. But even more significantly, Mr. Olashore has, since his promotion to the First Bank, become one of the most articulate



Major-General Buhari ...announced 40% of budget for debt repayment.

country — a situation that will cut down investment within the country, drastically lower peoples' living standards, and entrench the cycle of import-export.

The import-export cycle, many agree, will strengthen the chains of debt-slavery and help to make debt a perpetual problem for future generations.

Proponents of the structural adjustment of the Nigerian economy justify it on two grounds, which some of *The Analyst* respondents say are plain lies and which, to many,

1985, reported a marked discrepancy between the claims of Nigeria and those of all the countries that exported goods and services to Nigeria in the three years between 1981-83. Nigeria, according to the publication, reported that it had paid a total of N32.1 billion for all its imports within this period. But all the exporting countries reported that they were paid a much lower figure of N24.00 billion. A difference of N7.2 billion, even going by I.M.F. figures! This seriously calls into question the whole position that

advocates of structural adjustment, though he is yet to tell the nation how his advocacy fits in with the facts he revealed in October, 1983 — which he has never denied — which clearly call into question the whole justification for structural adjustment.

It is just as easy to knock the bottom out of the claim that importation of goods into Nigeria was what landed the country in the debt trap. The last (August/September) issue of *The Analyst* reported on the report of the Solano Committee that investigated internal debts, which established that out of a total of N7.186 billion which the Federal Government is supposed to owe contractors, only N300 million are genuine; the rest, amounting to 96% of these debt claims, being false and fraudulent.

Nothing like the Solano Committee has yet been established for external debts.

The Awoniyi Judicial Commission of Inquiry into contract awards in Niger State also made startling revelations. The Commission established that of the N100 million external loan for the Biwater contract, less than 25% has been used in Nigeria. The rest was siphoned into various bank accounts of the contractors, creditors, and the Nigerian front men involved. This, in the case of the Biwater scandal, was done with the active connivance of the Export Credit Guarantee Agency of the British Government.

Even in Plateau State, the preponderance of opinion in informed circles is that there is very little or no evidence that even 25% of the Midland Bank loan obtained by the State Government during the Second Republic has come into the state for any purpose whatsoever. Yet, only last month, the state's former Finance Commissioner, Mr. Thomas Kanganian, was stating that the state government has already paid N43.8 million out of the N263.4 million it owes foreign banks and contractors.

And only last year, Nigerians were shocked by the revelation that came in the wake of the collapse of a bank in Britain — the Johnson Matthey Bank in the City of London. Nigerians learned from the revelations, made by a British Member of Parliament, Mr. Brian Sedgmore,

that the bank (Johnson Matthey) and a few others like Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) and Standard and Chartered (the foreign owners of the First Bank of Nigeria) have siphoned over N6.0 billion from Nigeria through fictitious imports.

In spite of the interest and debate that this revelation fired in Nigeria and Europe, the Federal Government has, up to now, refused to take any decisive action on the matter. Even the Solano Report has now been put in the cooler, obviously because of its explosive implications for both domestic and foreign debts.

Equally disturbing is the fact that the efforts to establish the genuineness of Nigeria's external debts through the Chase Manhattan Bank are now being stalled, although

'repayments' on many of the debt, continue under one guise or another.

The fraud and dishonesty involved in the debt claims against Nigeria are such that even the international banking conglomerate of the Rockefellers (Chase Manhattan) which wants to buy over the Johnson Matthey Bank, is treading slowly unwilling to risk its reputation.

Equally revealing of the dubious nature of Nigeria's debts is the fact that right now the Federal Government, the IMF and the World Bank are not agreed on the actual amount of Nigeria's external debts. The Federal Government is reported to stand by a figure of \$18.00 billion as of June 1986. The IMF claims a much higher figure: \$22.9 billion; while the World Bank insists on \$17.3 billion.

Who Decides Economic Policy in Nigeria?

Alhaji Aliyu Yelwa of the Central Bank of Nigeria, Chairman of the Public Enlightenment Committee on the Second Tier Foreign Exchange Market (SFEM), has been quoted as saying that "SFEM is a Nigerian solution to a Nigerian problem". The popular magazines and newspapers, in assessing Babangida's one year in office have tended to paint the picture of a government which is consciously enacting economic policies like SFEM, to bring Nigeria out of its economic predicament. The newsmedia likewise saw Buhari, Shagari, Obasanjo, Gowon, and Tafawa Balewa as leaders who operated independently of any external influence. No one, it seems, wants to ask the questions: What really is wrong with the economic policies these governments pursue? Who actually determines economic policy in Nigeria, and what purposes do these policies serve?

There is no disputing the fact that the British determined and shaped economic policy and direction in Nigeria before 1960. In 1952, the British started sharing

power with the Nigerian elite, preparatory to handing over power to them. In 1954, the World Bank published its report *Economic Development of Nigeria*, which prescribed the path of development for the Nigerian economy for the next two decades. The World Bank decided on import substitution industrialization for Nigeria, to be financed by export earnings, foreign capital and private savings. By 1955, the governments of the regions, were busy implementing the World Bank Plan, which they tagged "The Economic Programme". And by 1957, the leaders of these regional governments were so convinced of the value of capitalism, of the benefits to themselves of foreign economic dominance, and of the sanctity of private property accumulation, that they collectively signed a document, and caused the same to be published in the National Economic Council's *Economic Survey of Nigeria 1959* where they pledged, among other things, to safeguard foreign capital in Nigeria, to create conditions necessary for foreign investment,

The monthly London magazine, *African Business*, which reported this in its August 1986 survey of the Nigerian economy, points out that other sources give different figures. The *Financial Times* of London reported a total debt of \$19.00 billion. But the *Economist Intelligence Unit* publication gives \$20.1 billion, contradicting its mother magazine, *The Economist*, which quoted only \$15.00 billion as Nigeria's total external debt.

All these contradictions arise because as the Awoniyi and Solano reports have shown, the internal and external debts claimed against Nigeria are highly inflated and largely false.

It is most likely that even for the external debts, the proportion of genuine debts is not up to 5%. But

the only problem is whether the Federal or State Governments in Nigeria are ready to carry out a thorough investigation and tackle the issue squarely. But, for now, in spite of the Accountant-General's claim, made on August 14, 1986 when the Solano report was submitted to the Federal Government, that the Government would do everything to establish the genuineness of Nigeria's debts, the matter seems to be too hot for the leaders to handle.

Meanwhile, however, the debt 'repayment' continues unabated. The Federal Government, since its last budget, has been spending up to 30% of its earnings on debt servicing. Under Buhari, it was as much as 40%. But in the states — some of which were, by the end of 1983 said to be

'indebted' to the tune of over N1.00 billion — it is even worse, as a number of them devote up to 50% of their allocations to debt 'repayments' and servicing.

And with their apparent unwillingness to establish the genuineness of the debts, and the seeming zeal and eagerness with which they devote such huge proportions of their budgets to the servicing of dubious debts, both the Federal and State Governments continue not only to submit the country to the bitter suffering of structural adjustment, but to turn Nigeria into a debt-slave which never took any debts.

By Yusufu Bala Usman and
Rufa'i Ibrahim

and to facilitate the repatriation of profits from Nigeria. In other words, when our nationalist leaders came to power in 1960, they had no ideas of their own on how to manage the Nigerian economy. The ideas were supplied by the British and the United States governments directly and through the World Bank.

In 1962, Nigeria launched its First National Development Plan. Before this date, one Sir S.E. Oliver, the British Trade Commissioner in Nigeria, had studied the development of the Nigerian economy since 1946, and made recommendations which informed the drafting of the First Plan. The United States Government sent a Special Economic Mission to Nigeria in 1961. The mission collated the views of the IMF, World Bank, British, U.S. and West German governments on the Nigerian economy, and drew up guidelines for the First Plan. The Ford Foundation and experts from the World Bank helped draw up the Plan. The Ashby Commission on Higher Education drew up the policy on educational development. The Stanford Research Institute fashioned the policy on transport development. The Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) based in Rome,

and the U.S. International Cooperation Administration drew up the policy on agriculture. To cap it all, one Dr. Prasad was sent from the World Bank to be the Economic Adviser to the Prime Minister.

The agricultural policy was based on a 1965 report by the World Bank titled *Agricultural Development in Nigeria, 1964-1980*. The U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) sent a consortium for the study of Nigerian Rural

foothold in the economy. The multinational corporations had long since realised, from their experience in Latin America and Asia, and from African countries like Kenya, that the best way to safeguard their investments in Third World countries was to allow the local ruling classes to increase their share. The surest way to achieve this was through joint-ventures, where the foreign bourgeoisie remained controllers of technology and finance, while

"The Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) based in Rome, and the U.S. International Cooperation Administration drew up the policy on agriculture. To cap it all, one Dr. Prasad was sent from the World Bank to be the Economic Adviser to the Prime Minister."

Development (CSNRD) to formulate rural development policy. The inflow of petroleum money saw a vigorous growth of import-substitution industrialisation. In 1973, the CSNRD recommended the establishment of the Nigerian Agricultural and Cooperative Bank to help finance 'progressive farmers'. In the same year, the Indigenization Decree was enacted to give Nigerian businessmen a

the local agents supplied cheap labour, operating capital, infrastructures, political stability, and guaranteed the repatriation of profits.

From 1975 to 1980, during the Third National Development Plan, the World Bank's *Nigeria: Options for Long-term Development* became the bible of Nigerian development strategists. The River Basin Development Authorities

(RBDAs) were based on an FAO *Water Resources Survey* which enabled Fiat of Italy to move into agribusiness in Nigeria through Impresit Bakalori. The Agricultural Development Projects (ADPs) were based on the World Bank's *Accelerated Development in Rural Tropical Africa*.

Shagari's era saw the intensification of these developments. The Green Revolution was based on the World Bank's views that peasants were not viable farmers and should, therefore, be replaced by 'progressive farmers'.

Now the World Bank, the IMF, the London and Paris Bankers clubs, have come up with SFEM. *African Business*, in its August 1986 issue, published extracts from a World Bank document on SFEM, including comments by the IMF, the London and Paris clubs, for restructuring Nigeria's economy. The Government has accepted to go ahead with retrenchment, to cut public spending more drastically,

to privatise public companies, as demanded by the IMF. The Government claims that this was to enable Nigeria to secure lines of credit and a moratorium on debt repayment. The SFEM is meant to devalue the naira 'unofficially' by 500% in the first three months of its operation, and by a further 1000% after six months, and at the same time solve the foreign exchange problems of the country. The so-called structural adjustment programme which will breed more inflation and more suffering than Nigerians have ever experienced, will last for an initial period of three years.

The Nigerian budgets and any key economic policies now have to be approved by the World Bank and the IMF. To ensure this, these policemen of the Western capitalist establishment have already posted their officials to the Central Bank, the Federal Ministry of Finance, the Cabinet Office, and the Ministry of National Planning. After these officials have initiated and

approved the policies in Nigeria, Dr. Chu Okongwu has to take them to New York, London and Paris for 'consultation' before they can be implemented.

When, therefore, Alhaji Yelwa beat his chest and said that our leaders have no apology to offer for 'consulting' their creditors over SFEM, he was only out to create the (wrong) impression that SFEM is a Nigerian creation. It is not. Quite apart from the fact that the IMF has already imposed SFEM on Brazil, Uganda, Zambia, Ghana, etc, which means that SFEM is not Nigeria's baby, the facts outlined above show incontrovertibly that SFEM was conceived and fashioned for imposition on the Nigerian people by the IMF, using the Nigerian government as its willing ally.

By Zuwaqhu Bonat

The Privatisation of Agricultural Sector

WHEN British colonialists conquered this country in 1903, one of their first preoccupations was to decide the way in which the agricultural economy of the country should be transformed to serve their own interests. A very lively debate ensued between the conservative Lord Lugard and the 'liberal' Sir Percy Girourd. Lord Lugard favoured agricultural production on the basis of large plantations owned by previous fief holders, slave owners, chiefs and the rich elements of the society of that era. Sir Girourd, on the other hand, favoured exploitation of the agricultural sector on the basis of small scale peasant production. Sir Percy won the argument after Lugard was transferred to East Africa. When he came back in 1914, the issue was already settled.

Small scale peasant production as we know it today is thus a legacy of

Girourdan insistence that Nigerian peasant producers should reproduce their own existence by producing agricultural raw materials for European merchant firms and manufacturers. It was on this basis that Nigerian agriculture developed up to the end of the 1960's.

But it developed in ways determined by the levels of industrial activity in Europe. Thus even though agricultural production was in the hands of millions of private peasant producers, the surplus was extracted by European companies who control it at the marketing level. A peasant produces a ton of groundnut or cocoa or palm oil. He takes it to the buying station and sells it to the agents of companies, e.g. U.A.C., SCOA, CFAO, Patterson-Zochonis (PZ), John Hoit, etc. and he is given a price determined by these firms. The firms in turn ship the products to Europe and make huge

profits.

Up to 1945, agriculture was indeed in private hands. The profits from the toil of the Nigerian peasantry was largely accruing to foreign merchant firms. The small amounts the peasants make, they spend on the payment of taxes and the purchase of increasingly expensive foreign goods and other basic necessities.

The entry of the government into this lucrative but exploitative relationship came in 1945 when Marketing Boards were first created. This was a decision of the government which was made for the purpose of taxing agriculture through produce tax and other levies. The companies and later private Nigerians were converted into Licensed Buying Agents, who in addition to the profits they made also got allowances from the government. In addition, they

also made a lot of money by cheating the poor farmers through various means, including tampering with scales so that lower weights of produce are recorded.

The peasants end up getting less and less for the products of their sweat. For example, between 1947 and 1970, the Government removed as tax 47% of the total value of cocoa, 30.6% of palm oil, 47% of palm kernels, 27.6% of groundnuts, and 30.6% of cotton. This shows the extent of underpayment. Meanwhile the peoples' living conditions were deteriorating day by day. The money made from their toil was being carted off abroad into the coffers of foreign companies and into the private pockets of government officials, Licenced Buying Agents and local business agents of foreign firms. It was in this way that wealth that was supposed to belong to the people was privatized by the Nigerian and foreign bourgeoisie.

Peasant based agriculture collapsed in the early 1970's when the peasants abandoned the production of export crops. The country entered an era of protracted agricultural crisis which is still biting harder and harder. We not only lost the capacity to produce for export, but also our own food self sufficiency. The country was saved largely by food importation from abroad, made possible by revenue from the oil sector. Food imports reached nearly N2 billion by 1982.

The response of the government to the agricultural crises since 1975 was by way of making huge investments in the agricultural sector. Investments were made in Agricultural Development Projects, River Basin and Rural Development Authorities. Several companies involved in production and processing were established by the government. Banks were directed to make loans to individuals for agricultural purposes. The Nigerian Agricultural and Cooperative Bank alone lent out N400 million to powerful private individuals who are serving or retired civil servants, businessmen, senior military and police officers, etc.

These rich and powerful individuals have already succeeded in cornering vast estates of land as private property for agricultural

purposes. This is a process of large scale consolidation of land reminiscent of Lugardian dreams. It is a turn around in history that Lugard's position is now gaining practical relevance.

The strategies of agricultural development adopted by the government are very costly and involve huge expenditures of foreign exchange. A lot of losses were made by not only the companies established by the government with petronaira, but also by the Marketing Boards, which, according to the former Minister of Agriculture,

its investments without first conducting enquiries to establish the reasons for the failure of these companies and boards;

The Federal Government is currently floating a company in which it is to retain 1% equity, which will be charged with the responsibility of procuring and distributing agricultural inputs and machinery. Marketing of agricultural produce is also to be privatized. Most of the companies and individuals likely to acquire shares in the companies are those firms and indeed individuals who participated in the plunder of



Gado Nasko.....General goes, General comes in Agriculture Ministry.

Alhaji Bukar Shuaib, came to about N400 million between 1980 and 1985. Livestock Production Company made a loss of N27 billion.

Many other companies made similar or more losses. To prevent these losses, the government decided to liquidate some of these companies e.g., the Livestock Production Co. and the Marketing Boards, and privatize their operations. Receivers have since been appointed.

But what is interesting about this process of privatizing the agricultural sector is that government is divesting

the Nigerian peasantry in the colonial era, such as the U.A.C., P.Z., etc. and their subsidiaries. They may also be agribusiness firms and individuals who were responsible for highjacking public investments made in the agricultural sector in the seventies and the eighties.

For most Nigerians, the privatization fever currently gripping the nation is an ominous indication of their subjugation and powerlessness in the face of concerted capitalist penetration and accumulation at their expense.

By Yahaya Abchillahi

Murtala And the IMF

There is one aspect of the late General Murtala Muhammed's vision of Nigeria and Africa which has not received much attention, but which was very crucial to the decision by Britain and the United States, early in 1976, that he should be eliminated by whatever means. This aspect of Murtala's vision which alarmed imperialism was his clear conception of the position of Nigeria and Africa in the world economy; his insight into the nature of our underdevelopment and dependence, and the relationship of this to our national and continental unity; and his views about the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

When, on 28th July, 1975, Brigadier Murtala Muhammed, as he then was, flew back from London to become the third Sandhurst-trained officer to head Nigeria, the British thought that they had got another stooge, whom they could manipulate and direct. His history and political science teacher at Sandhurst, Professor William Gutteridge, told *Newsweek* of 18th August, 1975, that "Unlike Gowon who thought of himself as a Nigerian, Muhammed proclaimed his northernness and even then one got the feeling that his region came first before Nigeria."

The British stretched their legs and looked forward to tribalistic infighting within Murtala's government and the armed forces, which they are very good at using to control and exploit their ex-colonies. Instead they woke up to find the Nigerian people in every part of the country, aroused to a new level of patriotic fervour and commitment under the leadership of Murtala Muhammed, for whom it was not only Nigeria first, but the whole of Africa above everything else. Never in the history of Nigeria were its people more united and committed to social justice, public accountability, and national independence.

This leadership which Murtala provided was informed by a view of the world which completely integrated politics and economics. In his historic speech at the O.A.U. Summit at Addis Ababa, on Sunday 11th January, 1976, Murtala placed the struggle for the liberation of Angola firmly within the context of current developments in the global economy, and, in particular, the changing ways imperialism was seeking to continue with its plunder of our resources. Murtala refused to accept the view which reduced the struggle over Angola to merely an issue of diplomacy, constitution, or politics, or some abstract concern over 'black pride', or 'African personality'. He placed the human and natural



Late General Murtala Muhammed

resources of Africa and their exploitation at the centre of the Angolan question. He said:

"Another recent development has further heightened the danger of conscious sabotage of our independence by foreign powers. The energy crisis has highlighted the vulnerability of the economies

of the developed countries and the extent to which their prosperity had been built on our poverty. The lower prices we were paid for our natural resources the higher the prices we had to pay for the manufactures made out of the same natural resources purchased from us. The energy crisis and the militant action by the OPEC countries in demanding economic price for a product deliberately underpriced by multinational companies of the developed countries has been an eye opener....Africa, Mr. Chairman, should show its awareness of this new danger and see the Angolan situation not as an isolated affair, but as part of a greater danger which is designed to create instability in the continent and divert our attention from constructive pursuits."

In Murtala's vision, Nigeria's commitment to the M.P.L.A. government of Angola and the diplomatic and material aid she gave were not for some future mercenary purpose like getting markets in Angola, or buying Angolan raw materials cheap, as people like Bolaji Akinyemi, breast-fed by imperialism, were insisting at that time, and even up till now. In Murtala's vision, Nigeria was not making any sacrifice, but joining in battle to defend its people, its resources, and its sovereignty, with other Africans. Murtala saw the political economy behind the imperialist strategy of divide-and-rule, very clearly. Hear him:

"As long as the neo-colonialists who pretend to be friends succeed to set one section of our people against one another, they ensure thereby our continued dependence on them. We spend our meagre resources in maintaining law and order, often to the advantage of the military industrial complex in the so-called developed world."

All these things were said at Addis Ababa, and they fired the hopes and commitment of Africans from the Atlas Mountains to the Cape. Julius Nyerere told Nigerian journalists, almost ten years after that speech, how he was moved by Murtala almost to tears of happiness at that summit. This is what many people know about Murtala's vision for Nigeria and Africa. But what is not well known is that when he returned from the summit, a crucial meeting of the Federal Executive Council was held, at which Nigeria's bilateral and multilateral economic and financial relations were reviewed, based on a report from the Federal Ministry of Finance.

At that meeting, Murtala called into question the benefits Nigeria was gaining from its membership of the I.M.F. and World Bank, to which at that time it was a leading contributor both to the main accounts and to a special oil facility. Murtala saw

the role of the World Bank in Nigerian agriculture as a means of regulating our agricultural development and subordinating it to the interests of America. He also expressed the view that this was what the I.M.F. was doing, regu-

"As long as the neo-colonialists who pretend to be friends succeed to set one section of our people against one another, they ensure thereby our continued dependence on them. We spend our meagre resources in maintaining law and order, often to the advantage of the military industrial complex in the so-called developed world."

lating and subordinating our economies. He suggested that Nigeria should consider withdrawing its membership from both, and build up international financial institutions whose economic and political objectives are consistent with

Nigeria's self-reliant economic development, and which could also promote the unity of Africa.

Within a few weeks of that meeting of the Federal Executive Council at which Murtala's vision of a totally independent Nigeria in a united Africa was forcefully expressed, he was waylaid on his way to the office, and gunned down. The fingers that pulled the trigger which pumped machine gun bullets into Murtala's body may have been those of Bukar Dimka and Clement Yildar, but the interest behind them were in the City of London and Wall Street. Now that we can see what the World Bank agricultural schemes have done to our rural population, and what the IMF structural adjustment is doing to our economy, we should be able to understand more clearly and learn from the vision of that great martyr and patriot, General Murtala Muhammed. May his soul rest in perfect peace.

PRIVATISATION: Lessons From U.S.

IF YOU really want to see the results of privatisation on the lives of people, take a close look at the United States of America under Ronald Reagan. This right-wing Republican President has pursued the policies of cutting down social services, retrenchment, and selling public enterprises into private hands, policies which the I.M.F. and the World Bank have now successfully imposed on Nigeria. In fact, the new president of the World Bank, Mr. Conable, is Reagan's personal appointee. If Mr. Pierre de Larosier leaves the Managing Directorship of the I.M.F. next year, as is being mooted, the new chief executive will be largely determined by Reagan.

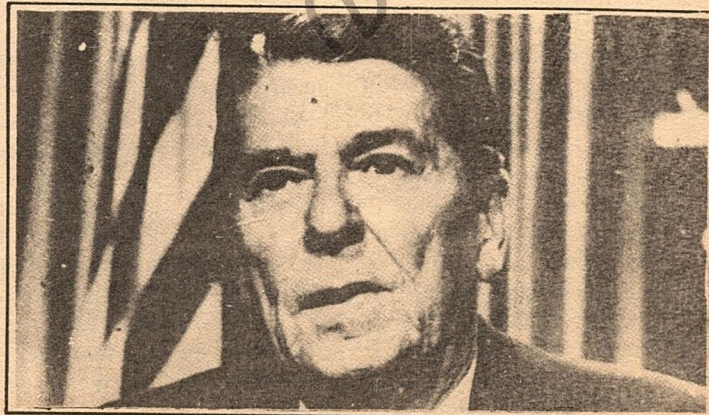
Therefore, if anyone wants to see the results of privatisation, he should take a look at where the policy has been pursued by the master of the high-priests of privatisation, Ronald Reagan himself. These results are very stark, and include:

—Unemployment at 8.1% of the labour force, compared with the rate

of 6.2% before Reagan. (The unofficial unemployment rate is at least double this.)

—The gap between the richest 40% of Americans and the poorest 40% is the widest in 40 years; that is since 1947 when the first census data on income distribution was collected.

—The richest 20% of American households received 43.5% of the total national income, while the bottom 20% received only 4.6% of the total national income.



Reagan.....High Priest of Privatisation.

—Gross weekly earnings in private industry have declined under Reagan to an average of \$171 per week, compared to an average of \$184 dollars per week during the Presidency of Jimmy Carter.

—There are 3.8 million more Americans living below the poverty line in 1986 than there were in 1980.

From these five sets of facts and figures alone, Nigerians should learn from America and oppose privatisation, as it only means making the rich richer and the poor poorer; and for Nigeria this also means the sale of the country to the subsidiaries and agents of foreign multinationals. Reagan's America has many lessons for us.

Privatisation and the US Space Shuttle Disaster

When the U.S. space shuttle *Challenger* exploded on 28th January, 1986, only 73 seconds after it was launched from Cape Canaveral, Florida, it cost the lives of all 7 astronauts (5 men and 2 women) on board, including a primary school teacher, Mrs Christa McAuliffe, who had been chosen to be the first civilian in space. Evidence revealed since the disaster indicates that blame for the incident can be laid squarely on the Reagan administration's privatisation of the \$18 billion U.S. space shuttle programme.

In the early years of space exploration by the U.S., the government-run NASA (National Aeronautics and Space Administrations), was noted for its caution, and for its generally good safety record. However, with the election of Ronald Reagan as president in 1980, the space programme along with many public services, was turned over to private industry to run. This was the beginning of falling safety standards in the space program, as profit came to take first place before the safety of the astronauts.

In 1983, NASA contracted out the space shuttle program to private industry. Lockheed, the huge military contractor, was awarded a \$1.2 billion, 3 year 'shuttle processing' contract. This gave Lockheed Space Operations Company the role of prime contractor in readying the shuttle for each launch. Of the money NASA pays to Lockheed, much is reimbursement for expenses; but 8.5 percent of the contract's value is based on an 'incentive' fee, which is calculated to be worth up to \$2.8 million for each launch.

This meant that by cutting costs, Lockheed and its sub-contractors could earn larger incentive payments. Many of the costs cut in this way were crucial to the safety of the shuttle operations. In 1984, after a year of experience of 5 shuttle launches, Lockheed management announced its strategy of controlling costs and earning more profits. "In 1985 we expect to double

our 1984 launch rate", said M.J. Owens, Lockheed's launch control centre operations director.

In 1985, Lockheed launched nine shuttles, and kept costs down. This means that no new staff were employed, despite an increased work load, and corners were cut in other ways too. All of this Lockheed regarded as increasing 'productivity'.

The same strategy was employed by the Morton Thiokol Company, a major Lockheed subcontractor, which built the rocket booster that was responsible for the *Challenger* disaster. They too sacrificed safety to increase profits. The results were a series of accidents which were a prelude to the major shuttle explosion. For instance, in November, 1985, an accident occurred when workers who were 'inadequately trained' violated operating procedures and damaged one of the *Challenger*'s left booster rocket sections, which had to be replaced. Other accidents were also on record. These seem to have been the beginning of the *Challenger*'s subsequent troubles.

Pressure

But despite the obvious problems, there was increasing pressure to launch. Retired Col. Robert Bowman, who directed the U.S. Air Force's Advanced Space Programmes Division until 1978, said that he blamed the accident on the accelerated launch schedule. "They (NASA) promised 116 shuttle flights by the end of 1985 to make it cost effective. Everyone knew that 116 couldn't be done..."

NASA's chief astronaut, John Young (commander of the first space shuttle flight) also indicated in a memorandum that safety standards had been compromised due to 'launch schedule pressure'. NASA "gambled with crew's lives," he said. And nearly all the astronauts said after the *Challenger* disaster that they would refuse to fly until safety measures were reinstated.

In fact, the testimony of engineers at Morton Thiokol Co. shows that they advised against launching the *Challenger* on 28 January, because they knew that the cold weather of the night before would have weakened the rubber rings that held the sections of the rocket booster together. They also knew that there was no back up system if the rings failed (contrary to established procedures in space technology).

However, it seems that pressure from above, including President Reagan, who was due to deliver his important "State of the Union" address that day (and wanted to brag about the success



of the shuttle launch), overrode objections from the engineers. So the shuttle was launched, with the predicted disastrous results.

The *Challenger* tragedy was not really an 'accident'. It was a predictable (and predicted) event, given the fact that aerospace contractors in the U.S. were out to maximize their gains, which is of course what Reagan's privatization program is all about. The safety of the astronauts and other personnel had to take a back seat to the lure of quick money. The *Challenger* explosion is a classic example of what happens in a system that puts profits before people.

By N. D. Bariki

Nigeria

Public Sector Inefficiency Or Private Sector Gluttony?

TODAY, the favorite word on the lips of the country's bourgeoisie and other apologists of the ruling class is 'privatisation'. Privatisation is seen and advocated as the magical wand that would solve all the nation's economic and social problems. It is, so to speak, the god-sent panacea for the ills bedeviling the country's wobbly public service.

Of course, very few people will doubt, least of all contest, the fact that the nation's public service is ailing, or that it is performing below expectations. Evidence of this abounds everywhere. It is seen in the decades it takes for official letters to reach their destinations; in the huge losses incurred by these organisations, and in the massive corruption which abounds therein.

Yet, this in itself cannot be taken either as evidence that the private sector is therefore automatically better and more efficient or that public organisations are inevitably destined to be inefficient. After all, massive fraud, non-chalant attitudes to work, and winding red tapes also abound in the bureaucracies of private enterprises.

Perhaps a much more useful way of diagnosing the true ills of the public sector (and therefore laying bare the hollowness of the 'privatisation' argument) is to examine the factor of human motivation and incentives.

Motivation and incentives for hard work and efficiency in the nation's public sector, as presently constituted, are virtually non-existent. This is true both in spiritual and material terms. Spiritually, these incentives and motivation are lacking because of the way these public organisations are structured and run. The broad mass of the working force have no say in

decision-making, even over those very things that directly affect their lives. Virtually every public servant, from the permanent secretary down to the messenger, is always 'directed' by some mystical or ethereal authority. Furthermore, although they are called 'public' organisations, in reality they are run for the private profit and private accumulation of either top members of the organisation itself or of private sector enterprises. Obviously, under such circumstances, it is only to be expected that non-chalant and disillusionment would reign supreme amongst the workforce.

Materially, the situation is, obviously, even worse. Perhaps the best way of illustrating the disparities in the material incentives available to the workers in the public as against the private sector is to compare the salary and emoluments



Olu Falae.....Strong Advocate of Structural Adjustment.

of moderately senior staffers in the two sectors.

A graduate with fourteen years post-graduation experience in a typical public sector post would today be placed on government salary grade level 15. On this grade such an officer would be earning a gross pay per annum of barely N10,296.00. If such an officer is

accommodated in government quarters he would be paying about N600 per annum for that. When tax, loans and other levies and rates are deducted from this gross, the officer's net pay would hardly be up to N9,000. per annum.

Compare these remunerations with the actual salary and emoluments of another 1972 University graduate now an assistant manager in a medium-sized private enterprise in Kaduna which employs 800 workers and which is an industry that is suffering from the so-called raw-materials squeeze.

This officer enjoys a basic salary of N25,400 per annum. He has an annual bonus of N2,120. He is given an entertainment allowance of N8,056 per annum. He is accommodated free or entitled to a N12,000 housing allowance per annum in lieu of a free house. He is entitled to free electricity, water, cooking gas and telephone which costs his organisation at least N4,800 in a year. He enjoys the services of four personal staff (a gardener, steward and two security men) whose salaries and emoluments cost the organisation no less than N11,100 per annum. He enjoys the service of a free personal car whose basic cost and maintenance amounts to about N10,700. Thus, on the whole, the salary and allowances of this private sector officer comes to N74,176 per annum while the amount spent on his public service counterpart hardly exceeds N11,000 per annum!

And this is in a medium-sized enterprise. The salaries and emoluments in a large private enterprise and the Nigerian subsidiaries of multinational companies can only be imagined. Yet, both officers — the public sector employee and the private sector worker — have to buy from the same market, have to operate and live in the same economy.

Can it, therefore, be really that surprising that there is a lack of inspiration, inefficiency, non-chalant or even corruption within the public service?

The Bogey of Private Sector Efficiency

The massive retrenchment in the parastatals is preparatory to their being privatized. One of the reasons given for privatization is that private enterprises are more efficient. They are said to be more efficient because of the massive profits they make. What actually is the basis of the massive profits the companies make? Several factors account for this but the most vital is the fact that Nigerian workers happen to be some of the most exploited workers in the world.

In 1982 A.C. Christlieb had 1,200 employees, who accounted for N32.3 million turnover. A.J. Seward had 1,100 workers, and its turnover was 50 million. Nigerian Breweries employed 4000, and had a turnover of N241 million; Cadbury had 2,150 workers and had a turnover of N112.7million; NTC had a total of 2,326 workers and its turnover was N60million.

The others are Food Specialities which had 1,454 workers with a turnover of N243.184 million;

Tate & Lyle had 666 workers, with a turnover of N76.885 million; Lever Brothers' N189.188 turn-over was the handiwork of 3949 workers; while 4,000 workers accounted for Guinness' N180 million turnover.

By 1984, the turnover of these companies had more than doubled that of 1982. The profits had more than doubled. Very rarely do you find this level of productivity anywhere in the world.

According to those who have studied productivity of workers in Nigeria and other countries, Nigerian workers are some of the most productive in the world. Moreso, after more than half the labour force had been decimated. The profits of these companies are partly explained by the massive exploitation of the workers. The more are retrenched, the more will those who remain be exploited. Yet these same workers are being labelled "unproductive" in order to justify their being retrenched.

Another factor for the massive profits is the business methods of these companies. The Manufacturers Association of Nigeria (MAN) has stated that factories operate at only 25-30 per

cent of installed capacity; which means that these factories are operated at a great level of wastage and inefficiency. But they still make profits. For some of the Companies, their turnover has actually fallen between 1983 and 1985, but their profits have increased. The increased profits are accounted for by two factors.

- **Retrenchment.** For instance, U.A.C. reduced its wage bill from N108.7 million in 1982 to N101.5m in 1983, then to N81.1 million in 1984 and then to N74.5 million in 1985. As the wage bill went down, the profits went from N26.559 million in 1982, to N30.959 million in 1984 and then to N38.610 million in 1985.

- **Inflationary** prices are deliberately maintained by these companies. For instance, the cost of household goods increased by 72.79 per cent between 1983 and 1984; food prices rose by 55.75 per cent, Clothing by 44.79 per cent, Tobacco and kola by 42.16 per cent Drinks by 18.59 per cent etc.

The profits of the companies making these items have kept on rising due to increased prices. The price of the small packet of "Omo" detergent shot up from 55k in July 1985 to N4.00 in July 1986. Of course, Government has stated that it has no intention of controlling prices. This is expected, as the IMF package entails removing all price restrictions. This means that the rate of inflation will continue to rise, and the companies will continue to make more profits. They reinforce this by hoarding, claiming there is no import licence for machinery and raw materials. The next time the items appear in the market the prices are more than double, and the next time profits are declared, they are higher.

For instance, inspite of their incessant complaints about lack of raw materials and service parts (due to alleged lack of import licence) the U.A.C. has already reported after tax profit of N20,800,000 in the six months ended 31st March. 1986. John Holt recorded N8,882,000 in the same period, the CFAO group N5,310,000, Wiggins Teape (the paper merchants) made N2,099,000 million in the same period.

The third factor is what political

economists refer to as "unequal exchange". In 1980, we needed one barrel of crude oil to be able to import a pair of Brazilian shoes. In 1986, we now need five barrels of oil. Hence the price of Brazilian shoes has gone from N20.00 to N120.00 a pair. This is due partly to the fall in oil prices. But even in 1980, the barrel of oil was actually worth 15 pairs of Brazilian shoes, but we only got one. Now, when the Naira is devalued by 500 per cent according to SFEM, we will need 25 barrels of oil to be able to pay for one pair of Brazilian shoes. This unequal exchange will continue.

Profit

But in terms of profits, what it means is that the multinational corporations and their Nigerian agents who own the foreign exchange, will make greater profit. In Europe, these companies are faced with stiff competition, and they must continually lower their prices and improve production to make profit. In Nigeria, they monopolize every aspect of the economy and they dictate the exchange rate of the naira, the World market value of our goods, the prices of imported and manufactured goods in Nigeria. Private sector profits are therefore not due to efficient business management. How can it be that the same public officers who mismanage NEPA, NPA, Nigeria Airways, N.A.A. etc, retire to the board rooms of multinational corporations, become suddenly efficient overnight and earn so much profit for these companies? How much business management do they know to enable the UAC make so much profit?

What this means is that, infact, members of multinationals and other company boards are chosen less for their expertise and efficiency than for the connections they have, which enable companies to get government contracts and influence government policies on economics and politics.

It also means that the "inefficiency" of the government parastatals is accounted or by the role they actually play: siphoning public funds

through contract, theft, bribe and other dubious means, into private pockets and private bank accounts.

Those who destroy these companies

retire to the board rooms of the multinational corporations. Inefficiency is therefore deliberate and calculated. After these people have stolen from these companies and called their credibility to

doubt, they now want to take them over, in order to continue where they stopped, lining their pockets while holding Public Office.

By Zuwaqhu Bonat

Deposed Emir of Muri to Return?

contd from Page 5

assault on their dignity. The second, pointed out the source, is the Federal authorities' own fear of what might follow if Madaki's action went "unpunished and uncorrected". Hence, Madaki's removal as governor and his subsequent dismissal (to serve as an example to other governors who might be tempted to do what Madaki did), and the current moves to bring back Alhaji Abba to the Muri throne (to reassure and appease the traditional rulers and keep their support)

In their common aim to get Alhaji Abba back in Muri, both the authorities and the traditional rulers base their hopes on one thing: the court case filed at a Kano High Court by Alhaji Abba against the State Government, before his deposition. So far, the court case, still pending, has been the excuse needed by the authorities to stay action on the Muri succession issue.

Already, of course, Alhaji Abba has won round one of his legal tussle with the Gongola State Government. On Friday, October 24th, 1986, a Kano Federal High Court granted an injunction, as sought by Alhaji Abba, restraining the Gongola State Government from appointing a new Emir until the final determination of his substantive suit pending in the same court. Given his present status as a deposed and exiled emir, Alhaji Abba's court victory may be said to have come a little too late to be of much help to him. But his powerful and influential backers may yet turn it to advantage. It remains to be seen, however, in exactly what way(s) this victory will help their longer-term goal of getting Alhaji Abba reinstated.

It would seem, though, that a court case — even if in the end the substantive suit is decided in Alhaji Abba's favour — is too slender a reed on which to pin the hope of a venture such as trying to regain a lost

throne. For, when all is said and done, the issue whether or not Alhaji Abba can regain his throne is more of a political than a legal one. It is an issue to be decided not so much within the four walls of a court room as outside it — in Muri town (whose people are said to have a long memory) and before the bar of Nigerian public opinion. And outside the

couraged by his past, they should at least be concerned about how Muri town will take Alhaji Abba's re-instatement. Alhaji Abba was far from being a popular Emir. He couldn't be, with his kind of record and performance. Which was why his deposition by Madaki was received in Muri town with the kind of loud applause that punctuates an audience's long silence. It is unthinkable that his reinstatement will be a popular move with Muri people. Said a Muri citizen based in Jos: "Muri people will not



Governor Jang.....His Hands are Tied.



Madaki.....tamed the Emir.

court room, what will matter most will be Alhaji Abba's past (his record in office), his popularity rating in Muri, and the opinion of the general public on the issue.

Alhaji Abba's record in office is clearly not an asset but a liability to him, and a ball and chain on the ankle of those trying to help him. His twenty-one year tenure is, from all available records, a catalogue of proven cases of tax evasion, financial profligacy, imposition of forced labour in his domain, insubordination to the State Government, and much worse. From records, it is now known that while he was Emir, Alhaji Abba received a last warning from about every Governor that ruled Gongola State. Alhaji Abba's was a record no one, not even his most ardent supporters, will be prepared to defend in public.

But if his backers are not dis-

take kindly to the return of Alhaji Abba. It can't happen."

But there is also the equally important matter of public opinion in Nigeria on the issue. Certainly, Madaki's action has drawn the ire of the powerful and the rich in Nigeria. But with the vast majority of Nigerians, the preponderance of opinion seems to be one of approval — approval as much because of the daring of his action as because of the point made by it that no one in this country is indispensable.

It remains to be seen, however, whether the authorities, and especially Governor Jang, will be ready to take the risks that bringing back Alhaji Abba would obviously entail.

*By Rufa'i Ibrahim with
Danjuma Adamu*

PRIVATE SECTOR: An Illegitimate Child of the Public

In light of the fact that Government has already started 'privatising' its properties, it may seem useless and a waste of time and effort to continue debating the issue: the situation seems to have gone beyond that.

Yet, one must take into account that 'privatisation' is not a policy that can be adopted today and implemented tomorrow. Even when capable buyers are available, which is hardly the case in Nigeria, the process of 'privatising' is ponderous and complex, involving a lot of legal and fiscal technicalities that take time to resolve, and political considerations that it would normally be foolhardy to brush aside. Hence the opponents of 'privatisation' need not feel defeated by government decision to 'privatise'. The 'victory' so far achieved by the proponents of 'privatisation' is only psychological and can be reversed if only opponents of the exercise both keep their heads and refuse to acknowledge their opponents' pyrrhic victory.

It is for this reason — the fact that the worthwhile battle against 'privatisation' is far from lost — that I feel it is very important and necessary to bring out the basic issues involved in the debate. Such an exercise is, I believe, much more than a post mortem on a 'dead' issue.

I participated in the Government Study Group that examined the issue in October/November 1984 and submitted to Government a minority report in which I strongly opposed "privatisation". I "published" the report by distributing about 200 copies of it to those who attended ASUU's second biennial delegates conference in Ife in May this year. What is offered here is a summary of the grounds on which I opposed the policy of "privatisation". These are briefly, as follows:

- Privatisation, in fact means handing over to a small number of people assets that have been built up with enormous public funds and which up to now have been jointly owned by all Nigerians.

- Naturally, the bourgeoisie will buy only profitable enterprises and nobody will buy the unprofitable ones except at give-away prices that would make the sale indistinguishable from outright gift. Hence "privatisation" would at best merely deprive Government of its profitable ventures while leaving it with the unprofitable ones.

- Various studies on Government enterprises have shown that these enterprises can be made profitable and that this can be done by structural adjustments that do not have to include sale to private owners.

- The sale of these enterprises even at honest market prices would not to any degree whatsoever ameliorate Government's present financial problems. On the contrary the sale of these assets would compound Government's bankruptcy — no money, no assets, no capacity to borrow.

- The assets to be privatised were in the first place built up largely with foreign exchange and not with the naira. Yet the chances are 99 per cent that they would be sold in naira, a non-convertible currency and hence a currency of little value when it comes to helping keep Nigeria as a buyer in the world market from which she is now being pushed out by the IMF and Nigeria's shylock creditors.

On this score one is aware that when the Nigerian Airways was disposing of its F27 and F28 planes early in 1985, Government did insist that the planes would be sold off only to those able and willing to pay in foreign currency and the planes were in the end sold to a French Company that paid in francs, but I am proceeding here on the assumption that this kind of insistence which is politically very costly is very unlikely to be repeated in the near future.

Besides, whereas in the case of the old aeroplanes about whose safety our engineers and pilots were no longer sure, it did not matter if we sold to a foreign company, when it comes to other assets, say the Airways as a whole, or the Railway or NEPA or even Hotels it does matter a lot to whom they are handed over. In short Nigeria would ill-afford to

By Mahmud Modibbo Tukur

sell them to foreigners. This important political consideration would thus put government, as a seller, at the complete mercy of Nigerian businessmen who in the absence of competition would both dictate the prices and the currency in which they were going to pay — the Naira, no doubt.

- Where Nigerians agreed to buy these enterprises, however low the prices were brought down, they would do so only with loans from Nigeria's banks which are themselves largely owned by Government whose share in the banks ranges from 60 per cent in the case of the "commercial" banks to 100 per cent in the case of the "Government owned" banks. Thus, those who might buy would pay for these Government enterprises with money borrowed from the Government. If this is not robbery I wish to be told what is robbery.

- It is argued by the supporters of "privatisation" that the exercise would make Nigerians bring their monies from abroad so as to use them to buy these assets. This line of reasoning is nothing but wishful thinking. If any proof is needed that nothing will induce the Nigerian bourgeoisie to bring back its money from abroad one should point to the failure of the domiciliary foreign currency account scheme to take off. The bourgeoisie are not willing to deposit their foreign exchange in Nigerian banks although they are now allowed to take it out again whenever they wish. The reasons for this refusal should not be far to seek. For one thing, the bourgeoisie do not want Nigerians to know for certain that they have so much money, the bourgeoisie knowing that they can't defend the manner in which they made so much money. For another, the bourgeoisie has correctly sensed that Nigeria's bourgeois system of government will not last for ever. Thus it fears a sudden reversal of fortunes and positions between itself on the one hand and the people on the other, and the confiscation of its assets that might follow that reversal. Hence,

the more of their assets they keep abroad the better — for the bourgeoisie.

- The alternative to selling to Nigerians who would borrow Naira from the Government in order to “pay” for these enterprises, is to sell the enterprises to foreigners either outrightly or through local fronts. And that would be a most perfect example of selling Nigeria - acre by acre, one vital asset after another vital asset; the Hotels, the Railways, the Airports, the Airways, NEPA, NET, Ports Authority, the Shipping Line etc.
- The assumption underlying the policy of “privatisation” is that the enterprises to be sold are “purely commercial” ventures which can be allowed to survive or collapse, depending on the interplay of “purely market” forces. Yet nothing can be more patently false than to regard the enterprises listed above as purely commercial ventures. They simply are not: among other things they are also strategic assets. The shipping line for example is an extension of the Navy. So is the Airways an extension of the Air Force - when it comes to the crunch. One would also love to hear the tall and dangerous tale that NEPA once “privatised” can fold up and stop generating electricity, if it likes or feels compelled to do so by “market forces”!!
- As for the philosophy underlying the policy of “privatisation”, it is mid-18th century liberalism which held that the sole duty of government is to guard the borders and maintain internal law and order while leaving the fate of the economy in the hands of private entrepreneurs who in the course of selfishly pursuing profit will end up developing the economy and benefitting society, even without the least intention of doing so.

Let Nigeria insist on adhering to this thoroughly outdated philosophy, let the Nigerian Government divest herself of the enterprises that she currently owns and hand them over to some *nonexistent* “captains of industry” and Nigeria will be a perfect anachronism. For, lip-service to liberalism apart, no country in the world today is organised on the basis of that philosophy. The fact is that today, Governments are the leading owners of economic ventures. State capitalism i.e. that capitalism in which the state itself is the major capitalist is already the order of the day

in much of the capitalist world.

- The argument of the proponents of “privatisation” that the private sector is more efficient than the public sector is simply false. If the private sector were half as efficient as its spokesmen claim, then our transport system would not be as terrible as it is, our agriculture would not be performing as poorly as it does, our markets would be flooded with goods instead of these goods rotting in private warehouses waiting for prices to go up, and Nigeria would by now be fully industrialised. All these, namely transport, distribution, agriculture and industry are virtual monopolies in the rapacious hands of the private sector, using Government money. Where government and the private sector operate in the same area of economic activity, such as the hotel business, it is lunacy to claim that the private sector is more efficient. Indeed I say show me a private hotel of whatever vaunted standard and I will show you a brothel, or a criminal den or the hide-out for traffickers in foreign currency.

Foundation

- Indeed, it is *unrealistic* and fraudulent to talk of a “private sector” in Nigeria. It hardly exists except at the psychological level. Wherever you see it you will find that it is the illegitimate child of the public sector, and a sickly one at that, constantly needing heavy transfusions of blood. It is the public sector that “created” it and it is the public sector that permanently spoon-feeds it — by collecting oil money and transferring it to this private sector, and by super-taxing the peasants and transferring the proceeds to this pampered and useless imbecile, the private sector, through means that are “legal”, semi-“legal” and downright illegal. A child so weak and so needful of support cannot afford to have its father killed on its behalf. That it is advocating the murder of its father—the public sector—proves nothing but that this child, the private sector, is stupid and vicious. It deserves neither our trust nor our sympathy. In all seriousness, if one of the two sectors of our economy has to be abolished, it is the one that has no foundation, nor independent strength and hence no right to survive, namely the private sector, that should be abolished. At any rate, in the long run, this is the verdict that will be

pronounced by events and by history.

On the whole, socialists have tended to keep aloof from the debate over privatisation, the ostensible reason being that it is the bourgeoisie’s own intra-class affair, since, the state being bourgeois both the public and the private sectors are bourgeois property i.e. property that has been alienated from the workers. True enough on the surface.

Yet it was Lenin himself who defined state capitalism as “that stage of capitalism between which and socialism there is no intermediate state”, and it was he that at one point defined socialism as “state capitalism plus proletarian democracy”. And this definition should not be difficult to understand. Thus in a capitalist situation where the bourgeois state is itself the major, direct, legal, owner of the economy the task of socialists on coming to power is made at least half as easy as it would otherwise have been. There will be little to nationalise and only a few, isolated, relatively super-rich, but highly indebted private capitalists to contend with. Hence the socialists can concentrate 90 percent of their energies on replacing the pre-existing bourgeois state with a new proletarian state, an aspect of which will have to be workers’ control in the factories and other pre-existing public enterprises.

That is to say, in the Nigerian context where the bourgeois state itself already owns so much the struggle for socialism has two fronts to it — one defensive and hence super-critically conservative and the other offensive, and revolutionary from whatever angle seen. Thus, while fighting to conquer state power — the offensive battle — socialists must also fight to keep under state ownership what properties the state — the current bourgeois state — already owns. Hence, to speak in the manner of the Blind Poet, they too are fighting for socialism that invest much of their time and energy fighting to prevent that daylight robbery known by the high — sounding and very deceptive name “privatisation”.

Let all well-meaning Nigerians get up and resist “this privatisation thing”. It is not too late, and it is a battle worth fighting.

• **Mahmud Modibbo Tukur**,
Former National President of
ASUU, currently Head of
History, A.B.U., Zaria, is a
member of *The Analyst*
Collective.

"I saw, and still see, the PPC as belonging not to any particular Plateau State official, or the Governor, or even the Government, but to the entire people of Plateau State, whose taxes and sweat go to maintain it". That is Rufai Ibrahim on his dismissal as General Manager of Plateau Publishing Company, publishers of *The Standard* and *Sunday Standard*.

This defiant and important statement from one of Nigeria's most respected, patriotic, and principled journalists raises many crucial issues.

First, the question of ownership and control of the press and other apparatuses of state. Is a government owned press an instrument for powerful officials to monopolize and use it in telling lies and fanning embers of tribalism, religion, etc. while privately accumulating wealth for themselves? Or, should such a press be used for mobilising the people by creating critical awareness among the people?

Secondly, who really is 'the government'? Is government the property of Governors, Secretaries to Government, Commissioners, Permanent Secretaries, contractors, lobbyists and sycophants? Or should government involve all members of the community, those who really produce the wealth of the country?

Finally, why do powerful people, like the wielders of power in Plateau State, become so intolerant of those who seek to advance the interests of the people? Of course, for their own selfish ends.

In the light of these important questions raised by Mallam Rufai's statement, *The Analyst* magazine has decided to present it to the readers so they can read, reflect over it, and act decisively to stop selfish power barons from monopolising state power and using the state machinery (like the press and the army) funded by all the people, for their own private and selfish ends. Read on:



Why I was Removed

On Friday, September 12, while I was in Lagos, I heard from *The Standard* Bureau Chief in Lagos that myself and the Editor of *The Standard*, Jonathan Ishaku, had been dismissed. He (Lagos Bureau Chief) had been in touch with the newsroom in Jos that afternoon and had been told the news.

The next day, while still in Lagos, I read from *The Standard* that the action was taken because of what the Secretary to the Government, speaking for government, termed "unbearably persistent poor image and management of the PPC".

I am still unclear what this sentence means. But since this is what has been dished out to the world by the Plateau State Government, I feel it is very necessary that I acquaint the public with the full facts of the case in order to expose the real motive behind my removal, disabuse the minds of the more credulous amongst us of any false impression that the statement by government might have created, and put records straight.

But, first, the background. And let me start by saying that my

acceptance of the offer to come and head the PPC was a tremendous act of sacrifice on my part. The salary and conditions attached to the job are far from being attractive and are certainly worse than what I myself enjoyed when I was holding much lower positions in other newspapers many years ago. But the considerations were that Plateau is my state, which means that I have a stake in the PPC, and my belief that I have the necessary professional training and skills to help make the PPC a better place. Hence, the decision to accept the job. It is a decision I do not regret inspite of what had happened.

There was nothing surprising or shocking in what has happened. My removal was infact a culmination of a protracted disagreement between some of us in the PPC, on the one hand, and the Plateau State Government, on the other.

Once the disagreement started, I had the option whether to quit or stay on. I chose the latter option, and this because I saw, and still see, the PPC as belonging not to any particular Plateau State Official, or the

Governor, or even the government, but to the entire people of Plateau State whose taxes and sweat go to maintain the place.

This means that any indigene of the state, and indeed any citizen of Nigeria, no matter his or her beliefs (Religious, Ideological or political), has a right to be in the PPC and even to express such ideas in the PPC publications.

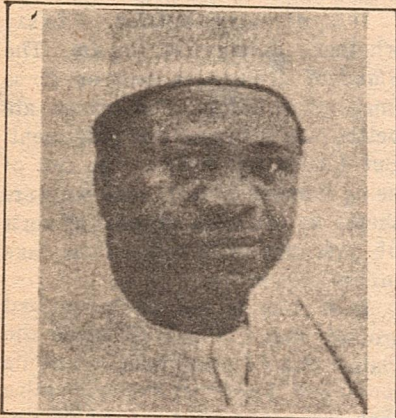
Let me now go into the details of the disagreement with the government. I will not bother with the petty quarrels, of which there was quite a lot. In fact, even in a state like Plateau, which is so poor, diverse, and where politics is so under-developed, the level of pettiness and small-mindedness that one finds even in government circles is simply surprising. Everything is looked at through the prism of pettiness and base sentiments. The State Commissioners get annoyed because they are not put on the front or back page of *The Standard* even when they are not saying or doing anything to justify it; the governor (former Governor Ali) was all the time angry that he was not

getting as much coverage in *The Standard* "as Governor Umar of Kaduna".

But let me now concentrate on the disagreement over the substantive issues of policy and principles. I will take them one by one, as follows:

Editorial Policy and Direction

The sharpest disagreement between us and the government concerns what should be the editorial policy and direction of the PPC publications. This disagreement raged throughout my tenure in the Company. I came to the PPC believing, as I still do, that the company is not the property of government but of the entire people of Plateau State who fund it and whose interests, though diverse, supercede that of any government. This, to me, means that the primary responsibility of the



Dr. Araf.....master-minded the dismissal

PPC newspapers must be to reflect and promote the interests of the Plateau people rather than that of governments, which come and go. I have never believed that government has a monopoly of wisdom, or that government alone knows what constitutes public interest.

This is why, on coming to PPC, we set about to fashion an editorial policy that is people-oriented, aimed at educating, informing and mobilizing the people to know and fight for their rights and to improve their conditions.

The government wanted a different policy, one which would make the PPC newspapers 'his majesty's voice' or the photo-album of the state governor and his commissioners, and peddler of pettiness

and base sentiments. Let me be more specific here, and give concrete examples:

1. There were persistent pressures coming from very high quarters to get us to wade into the OIC controversy and to champion the anti-OIC cause.

But we on our part refused to be drawn into the OIC controversy, believing, as we wrote in our editorial of January 29th, 1986, that the whole controversy was only a ploy by the ruling class to divert peoples' attention from the more fundamental problems facing the country, and to discourage popular inquiry into the real causes of these problems.

2. There were relentless pressures, especially from the various interest groups in the Plateau establishment, to get us in the PPC to view everything in the State in terms of Upper and Lower Plateau, and the Moslem/Christian divide. From the office of the Secretary to the Government, Dr. Dalhatu Araf, for instance, we were always under pressure to fight the war of the lower Plateau elite on the pages of the newspapers. And from the office of the Information Commissioner, Dachollom Jambol, the insistence was to get us to use the newspapers to help influence public opinion in favour of the Upper Plateau elite.



Jambol.....craved for personal publicity

3. On several occasions, attempts were made to stop us from commenting, or even reporting, important national issues. The aim obviously was to stop us from helping to sharpen public opinion on issues affecting the welfare, and even sur-

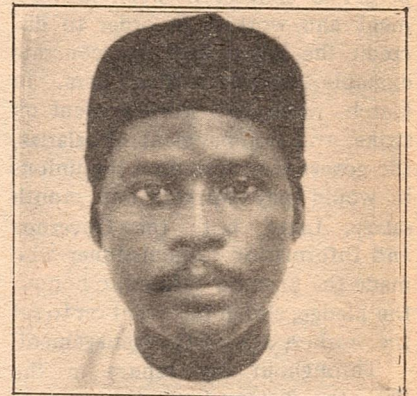
vival, of the people.

Of course, we refused to close our eyes to important issues affecting our country. For us, the role of the PPC publications, and indeed any other newspapers, is to help in the struggle and search for solutions to our numerous problems. We didn't see Plateau State as existing in isolation from other parts of the country.

And on the whole, we resisted these persistent pressures from the government, and powerful forces in the state, and took principled, patriotic and progressive stands on national issues — based on the belief that the interests of the people stand above that of self-seeking groups and individuals, whether in or out of government.

Privatization

In Plateau, just as in the other parts of the country, there is a strong



Ruja'i... refused to be His Majesty's voice.

lobby for the privatization of public-owned enterprises. There is in fact, a strong lobby that has been working behind the scenes to get the PPC sold out to private individuals. The pressure was particularly high at the beginning of the year, such that by March the Plateau State Government was beginning to give in. The government in fact would have sold out the PPC but for the strong opposition to this from both the management and the staff — through their Unions — of the company, and the fact that the plans were exposed by the unions in *The Standard*. The government believed that the exposure by the unions was at my own instigation.

But we were opposed to the sell-off of the PPC on principles. We did not believe that privatizing the PPC

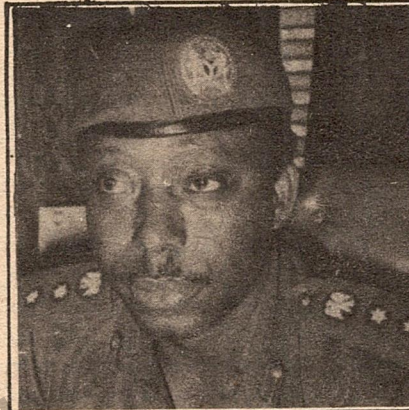
would provide a solution to its problems, or that it would be in the best interest of the Plateau people. This is the more so, as the proposed sale would have given the PPC over to a religious group that would most certainly have used the newspapers to promote religious discord in Nigeria.

Abdicating of Responsibility

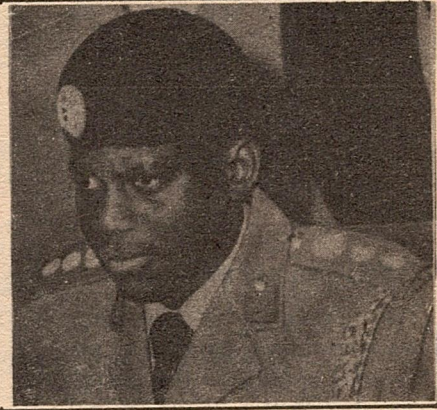
Because of the principled and progressive stand we were taking on issues, and our refusal to make the PPC a government public relations outfit, the government decided to adopt and pursue a divide and rule tactic. The government not only abdicated its responsibility to the PPC, and to the Plateau people, by refusing to provide funds, but it also deliberately went out of its way to create tension and an atmosphere of perpetual conflict between management and workers in order to discredit the latter. Just one concrete example would suffice here. In March, when PPC workers went on strike over non-payment of salaries, the government promised the unions it would pay workers one month salary. Later, both the Governor and Information Commissioner who made the promise, refused to honour the pledge, and in fact went on to set the workers against the management.

Throughout my tenure in the PPC, the Plateau State Government gave the company a grant of only N261,000.00 which was paid into our general account with the Bank of the North and quickly swallowed by the huge overdraft the company had with that bank.

When I assumed duty in the PPC on October 22, 1985 the company had only N22,000.00 to its credit in the bank, which was committed. At the time also, salaries had not been paid, and repayment of the loan for the nine storey building was yet to be completed. There was also the N570,000.00 loan the company took from the Bank of the North. But even worse, at the time I took over, the company had completely run out of woodfree paper, the raw material used for the production of exercise books — the company's mainstay. The PPC did not get a licence to import the raw material in 1985.



Ex-Governor Ali..... envious of Governor Umar



Governor Onoja.....effected the dismissal.

I thus met a company that was already at the brink of collapse. And the situation was worsened by the continued refusal of the government to help the company.

My Association with *The Analyst*

Another major source of disagreement between myself and the government was my association with a new magazine, *The Analyst* to which I am a regular contributor. Either out of the usual pettiness in the Plateau government circles or out of a genuine misunderstanding of issues, the debut of this magazine in June this year caused quite a stir or furore in government circles. The Plateau State Government has been vehemently opposed to my writing for the magazine. And I have always wondered why. Certainly, the government knows that the PPC does not produce a magazine of its own, and that there is, therefore, nothing wrong or unethical in my contributing articles to any magazine. Why, then, was the government particularly disturbed about my writing for *The Analyst*? Would the government have been equally disturbed if I was instead contributing articles to other magazines like *Newswatch* or *ThisWeek*?

Whatever the answer to these questions, my position was that as a free citizen of Nigeria and as a working journalist, I was free to write for any medium which could not be said to be in competition with PPC publications. And certainly *The Analyst* was not.

Given all the above, there is but one conclusion that one can reach: my removal was a political move, aimed at reversing the new trend of

professionalism in the PPC and substituting psychophancy and public relations for journalism. The logic behind the action was simple: these people would not dance to our tune or surrender to our whims and caprices, so remove them and bring in those who would be only too willing to do our bidding.

It is, of course, not for me to say whether, during my tenure, *The Standard* acquired a bad or worse image than before. The readers are better placed to pass that judgement. But I must say, even at the risk of being immodest, that while we were there, we managed to resist all sorts of pressures and refused to take orders from anyone.

It is this refusal to be pushed around which, I believe, made the Plateau State Government to lose its sense and head completely. Notice that the government settled on dismissal, which presupposes a gross misconduct and which usually is the ultimate punishment after a series of minor disciplinary actions, like queries, advice, warning or suspension from work. I was never queried, I was never advised, I was never warned, verbally or in writing. And as far as I know, there was no commission of enquiry set up that found me guilty of anything or even wanting in the discharge of my duties as Chief Executive of the PPC. Why dismissal then? Is there anything that exposes the political motive behind my removal better than this? I leave you to answer this question yourselves.

Thank you very much.

RUFAT IBRAHIM

Jos, September 16, 1986.

Labour

Railways Rot: Issues Behind the Strike

'RAILWAY is the best way', says a Nigerian Railways Corporation advertisement. But for Garba Kwangila, the Railways is not good enough for his children to work for. Garba, who gives his age as 45, is himself a long-time employee of the Railways. He says the organisation has so degenerated that "were it not because of the number of years I have put in the Corporation and the pension and gratuity which I would want to enjoy, I would have long since resigned."

Garba is certainly not the only disillusioned staffer of the Nigerian Railways Corporation. In fact, disillusionment has almost become the other name for the Nigerian Railways — the product of long years of official neglect, endemic corruption, excessive bureaucratisation, and criminal sabotage.

These and many more are the problems that led to last month's sit down strike by Railway men. The staffers in particular were aggrieved by:

- non payment of salaries and allowances when due;
- non procurement of spare parts;
- non payment of arrears of pension and gratuities to railway pensioners;
- non procurement of locomotive engines, coaches and wagons and other rolling stock.

Although the crisis has now been temporarily resolved as a result of the Federal Government loan, the fundamental issues remain. These have to do with the negative attitude to the Corporation, the fraudulent manner in which the Corporation is run, and the total alienation of workers in the running of the organisation.

Take the case of negative attitude of successive governments to the Railways, for instance. Over the years, governments have continued to pump, in relative terms, much more funds into road, sea and airport development than into the modern-

isation of the railway system. For example, capital expenditure allocated for the transport sector for the period 1975-80 was N9.3 billion. Of this amount, about N6.95 billion went into road construction, improvement and modernisation.

The result of this relative neglect of the railways has been that its wagons and trucks are dilapidated and unserviceable. Many of them in fact are modifications of the early 20th century designs. Tracks are still laid out according to the narrow gauge first laid down in Nigeria in 1911. The significance of this is that our trains are generally very slow, the capacity of the wagons much smaller, and the safety of the traffic less assured. Besides there is virtually no patronage from official quarters.

Railways, by their very nature, provide essential social services, which cost money — most of which, in a Third World setting in particular, has to be provided by government. One way of financially supporting this organisation is high government patronage. This is not the case in Nigeria.

Godfrey M. Garba, the Zaria District Chairman, Nigerian Union of Railwaymen, told *The Analyst*, "contrary to the practice elsewhere, in Nigeria the government does not insist that certain goods must be conveyed only by the railways. This failure on the part of government to patronise the Corporation is having

very negative effects on its revenue." The situation is in fact so bad and fraudulent that government agencies usually contract out the transportation of their goods to private individuals, only for such individuals to turn around and employ the services of the Railways at much lower rates than they were offered by government. The authors of the book, *The Nigerian Economic Crisis: Causes and Solutions* have documented how fertilizer meant for the Green Revolution Programme of the Shagari regime was transported by road from Apapa to Kaduna at the cost of N64.00 per metric tonne, while by railway it would have cost N16.000 per tonne.

Corruption.

But perhaps even more debilitating to the railways is the endemic state of official and petty corruption within the organisation. For several years now, the Nigerian Railways Corporation has become a goldmine for varieties of fortune seekers. The top management of the Corporation have converted the Railways into fiefs which are milked dry at will, and with brazen contempt and impunity.

Union officials spoken to by *The Analyst* revealed, for instance, that "regional directors are allowed expenditure of up to two hundred thousand naira (N200,000) which theoretically and even practically could be incurred almost every month. Nobody bothers to monitor their activities." In the stores department of most of the districts, N50,000.00 is spent every month for 'useless' purchases.

An example of the extent to which fraudulent practices have grounded the management and finances of the Nigeria Railways Corporation may be further gleaned from the manner in which tankers for the conveyance of crude petroleum from the coast to the Kaduna refinery was handled. When the new



Godfrey Garba

refinery was being planned, the corporation was made to purchase on loan, hundreds of tankers for the lifting of crude oil, following an understanding that the transport would be reserved for the corporation. As it turned out, other considerations, most of which were unwholesome, were later to prevail on senior government officials. Government decided instead to construct pipe-lines to Kaduna. Result: the tankers purchased by the Railways now lie idle, growing cobwebs and dust.

There is little doubt that had the workers been actively involved in the management and decision making process at the Corporation, a lot of this type of waste, and most certainly the under-utilised capacity of the Corporation, will long since have been plugged or sorted out. Inside sources told *The Analyst*, for example, that most of the unnecessary purchases on which the Corporation incurs thousands of naira every month could either be manufactured by the Corporation itself, or be

improvised in their workshops. Lamenting over the matter, Mr. Godfrey M. Garba, Zaria District Chairman of the NUR said, "We can make or modify parts for our locomotives. We have seasoned workmen. The Railways can be self-reliant. What is wrong is that pursuit of contract is undermining all this potential."

A visit to the Zaria workshop of the Corporation by *The Analyst* confirmed Mr. Garba's claims. Although the Zaria workshop is not even as equipped as the Kafanchan and Lagos workshops, lying there idle were several machine-tool-making equipment which are capable of fabricating and moulding most, if not all, of the parts used by the Corporation's engines. There are grinding machines, boring machines, drilling machines, milling machines, and even shaping machines. In fact, some of the workers spoken to there said that apart from making or fabricating their own spare parts, they have the capacity of making component parts for motor vehicles and other types of machinery. Mr. Simon

Moriya, Assistant Technical Officer at the Diesel Workshop explained that "What is required is for the Corporation to float a subsidiary company which specialises in the fabricating of spare parts for the public, and a good deal of the Railways financial problems will, to some extent, be solved."

Suggestion

This is not the only positive contribution that the Railway workers have made towards the improvement of the finances of the Corporation. Union officials spoken to in Zaria said they had earlier made several other suggestions to the management of the Corporation, such as the development of landed property on the vast, underutilised Railway lands, for eventual renting out to the public at commercial rates. For example, the land on which the Nigerian Tobacco Company factory in Zaria is sited belongs to the Nigerian Railways, and is leased to NTC. Presently, most of the Corporation land is being encroached upon with impunity by the rich and the powerful in the society. The Union has, in particular, made several suggestions that the Baro Railway Camp, which houses the oldest locomotives and rolling stock, now lying idle and disused, should be developed into a tourist haven for the purpose of raising revenue, but all these suggestions have fallen on deaf ears.

For as long as the bulk of the labouring workers of the Corporation continue to be marginalised and alienated, neglected and suppressed, bossed and denied their legitimate entitlements, for so long shall the Nigeria Railways Corporation continue to be the nation's sick baby. Yet it is not as if the decay and the rot that has set in is without solution. That solution lies squarely in the mobilisation, organisation, and agitation of railwaymen, not only for economic rights, but also for the right to politically determine the policies and management structure of the Corporation. If anything else, the recent strike by the railwaymen is reassuring, in that the leading role that has historically been played by the Nigerian Railway workers in the struggle for a decent society is not about to be abandoned.

By Saïdu Adamu and Abubakar Siddique

'My child shall not work with the Railways'

HE SAYS he is forty-five, but it is obvious from his carriage, the wrinkles on his face, and the mass of grey hair on his head, that 62 is a modest estimation. He is Garba Kwangila, father of eight and husband of three.

For upwards of sixteen years now, Garba has been working for the Nigerian Railway Corporation, first as a labourer in the welding department, and now as a security man. "You see that truck there", he said, waving his tired hands, "we laid it out when I was working with the welding section. But now, it is no longer in use. The way time changes...."

Changes and changes. Garba has seen a lot of these. The Railways, he says, is no longer what it used to be. "They used to pay us our wages unfailingly on the 24th of the month. Sometime even on the 21st. Bicycle loans used to be granted to those deserving them. But now, see what is happening. Three months without pay! Ou

August pay came only yesterday. Now you can't even talk of allowances or loans."

Garba is lucky in some ways, though. He lives in their family home. He has therefore no need to pay rent. But even that is little solace. He has to pay school fees for his children, pay the electricity and water bills, feed and clothe the family, and take care of his bereaved elder sister, who stays with him. With the monthly pay coming two, three months in arrears, and with inflation spiralling ever higher, it is quite a daunting task keeping afloat.

"See, my son, how difficult it is these days. I cannot afford 'Omo' (detergent) anymore. We have gone back to 'soda' (locally produced soap). Even this now costs fifty to sixty kobo. When in the past it was just ten kobo. There is no money - plenty inflation", he laments.

What has been his pay-off for all these years of labour for the Railways? How many times has he been promoted all these years? "I have never been promoted", he says sadly. Will he like his son to work with the Railways? "Never".

A Sign of Rough Times Ahead

AT THE beginning, our difficulty was understanding the man — how his mind works, what he will do next, etc.etc. Which must be why the Nigerian media built around him the reputation of being unpredictable. Now, however, from his actions as President of our country since August 27, 1985, a definite trend and pattern have emerged from which some sense can be made of at least some events in the country. And, now, the more difficult thing is to keep pace with President Babangida's speed — especially the rapidity with which he hires and fires.

Even to a public innured to frequent changes at the top, President Babangida's record must look and sound unbeatable. Within a period of just a little over one year, every organ of the executive, and even legislative, arm of government has had a shake-up. The Cabinet has been reshuffled twice, with some new faces brought in to replace booted ones. The Council of State has changed so much, it is almost impossible to know who the nineteen state governors are. Even the Armed Forces Ruling Council, AFRC, has not escaped the President's axe: some are out, some are in, with the council itself enlarged by two. Not even Divisional Commanders are left untouched; so far Brigadier Kure has been replaced. And in an unprecedented move, even the country's second highest office has just got a new occupant: Rear Admiral Aikhomú — Commodore Ukiwe having been brushed aside. In fact, swearing-in ceremonies have now become the most regular feature of Dodan Barracks.

Doubtless, there is a sense in which these frequent changes are not altogether an unwelcome development. They serve to make a point: no one is indispensable. In a country like ours which, for the better part of its history, had had to put up with officials who used to think and behave as if without them we are all doomed, this is an important point —

at both the psychological and political levels. Besides, up to a point at least, the fear of getting the sack can help to keep public functionaries on their toes. This was something former leader Gowon, in his nine years at the top, failed to see. And the consequences of that failure are now all too familiar: his governors grew wings and became untouchables; his administration became alienated from the Nigerian people; and he got swept aside. President

spite of the popular demand for it, might well be because, having assessed the situation in the light of his own ability to control events in the country at the time, he considered the risks too high.

In any case, these shufflings and sackings put in the hand of President Babangida a weapon, an array of stings and scorpions which he can use (has been using, rather) to keep his men in line and to enhance his own power vis-a-vis that of his

'Certainly, one gets the impression that the President and his men may be spending more of their time sorting out quarrels and

deciding who is to replace who, where, than on matters of policy and direction. And of course, it is the nation that suffers for it'

Babangida, with history on his shoulders, seems all set to avoid a repetition of this.

In a way too, these frequent changes may well suggest that President Babangida is in full control. Hiring and firing, especially in a military setting and at Babangida's speed, can be a risky business; and it would be a foolish leader who would embark on it without the assurance of a firm grip on power. Gowon's failure to change his governors, in

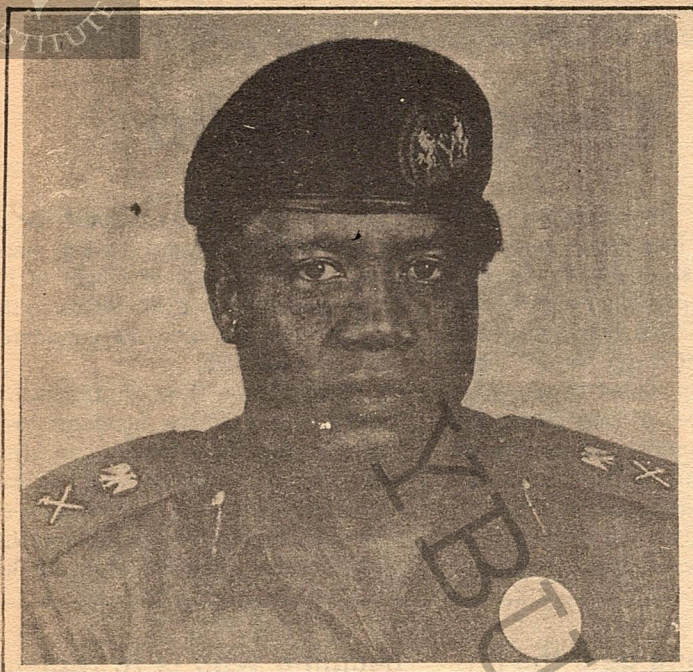
colleagues and even the AFRC.

On the other hand, however, these changes could point to something more disturbing: that IBB is not fully in charge, that there are powerful forces and interests who have been having their say and way in happenings in the country. To be sure, President Babangida is really a powerful man, more powerful than any leader in our history. His second in command is a Naval man (with a small constituency); he can appoint service chiefs and more; and the AFRC over which he presides is a 30-man body which may be too unweildy to effectively check him. But recent events and everything considered make it impossible for us not to reach the conclusion that IBB surrenders too quickly to expedience, and even quicker to pressures from certain quarters.

Whatever reasons may be advanced for the removals of Ukiwe and Madaki, one thing was obvious: it was the wish (and command?) of some identifiable forces. Commodore Ukiwe, in his parting shot during the AFRC meeting at which he was sacked, was reliably known to have told his listeners that he knew the



Commodore Ukiwesacked by AFRC



President Babangida (left) ...Hires and FiresAugustus Aikhomu now Number 2 man.

pressures brought to bear on the President, where they were coming from, and to have warned IBB to beware of them.

In Madaki's case, it is in fact easy to see in his travail the long hand of the Northern establishment (comprising both the feudal and the more modern fractions of the Northern wing of the Nigerian bourgeoisie) stretching from Kaduna to Lagos. It is as if, when the feudal lords met and coughed in Kaduna, everyone in Lagos caught fever. Madaki, you will recall, got the boot only a day after the emirs and chiefs in the Northern States met in Kaduna and called for his head.

But a much more significant aspect of these frequent changes is the signal they flash across the country: all is not well at the top. This should worry us. For, whether the changes show in IBB a leader in control or a leader being controlled, an unmistakable impression is created of a leadership that has not quite yet decided what it wants, and an administration that has yet to define its direction and fashion a definite programme.

We are of course not in a position to know the full facts about these changes, some of which might have been necessary and unavoidable. But the frequency of the changes is in

itself very instructive, and points to either an initial rush and lack of proper screening in the choice of aides or, worse, a lack of a definite programme which would have guided the President's selection of his men — or both. Whatever the case, the changes mean confusion writ large in Dodan Barracks.

The changes also suggest something more alarming and disturbing: disquiet, or squabbles, within the military hierarchy. They create the impression of an administration in which groups are still jostling and hustling for dominance in a dangerous power game. Every change necessarily involves lobbying, horse-trading, intrigues, scheming, and plenty of goings and comings in Dodan Barracks. The frequency, and ease, with which the changes are made suggest that President Babangida is not averse to such power-play, perhaps that he even enjoys it. There are many, in fact, who see in the President's smile as he announces every change, the satisfied look of a craftsman as the pieces slot into the holes he has carved for them. Certainly, one gets the impression that the President and his men may be spending more of their time sorting out quarrels and deciding who is to replace who, where, than on matters of policy and

direction. And of course, it is the nation that suffers for it.

But the nature and orientation of some of the victims of these changes say quite a lot about the Babangida administration, and the contradictions that beset it. Consider, for example, Ukiwe and Madaki. Ukiwe, we now know, used to be called 'Gaddafi' beyond our ear shot in Navy circles, which, among other things, can only mean he has his own mind. Madaki not only has his own mind, but stands for something definite: the fight for social justice. He was certainly one governor whose thoughts and actions helped to lend the Babangida administration the more credible image of an accommodating regime. By removing such men, and in the manner it was done, the Babangida administration has clearly shot far off the mark of a commitment to human rights and social justice, which IBB so desperately wants to be the hallmark of his tenure.

Perhaps, though, the removals are a signal from Dodan Barracks that we should get prepared for some really rough times in the coming years.

By Rufa'i Ibrahim

The Wrecking of the Gusau Oil Mill

The Role of Dasuki, Malami and Others

The economy of this country is getting worse and worse every day. Inflation, unemployment, levies, and taxes are biting harder and harder, making our lives more miserable and insecure daily. Present conditions are very harsh, and the future looks bleak for the overwhelming majority of the ninety million people of this country.

But, for a handful of rich and powerful Nigerians in control of the economy and the government, life is getting rosier and rosier. Their earnings from commissions, profits, rents, fees, interests, kickbacks and kickforwards, are rising daily, as the economy shrinks, inflation becomes more rampant, and unemployment worsens. We can see them building and expanding their palatial mansions on Victoria Island, at Ikeja and Ikoyi in Lagos; in the Sultan and Jabbi Roads area of Kaduna; on the Liberty Dam Boulevard in Jos, and other such exclusive and plush residential areas. We see them and their families always trooping for shopping and holidays in London, Geneva, Jeddah, Miami, Hong Kong and Tokyo. When we cannot afford to buy new shoes to walk in, or buy second-hand tyres for our bicycles, motorcycles and cars, we see them riding in brand new 505 saloons; the short and fat Mercedes-Benz coupe known as "cocaine"; and various types of Japanese, Italian, and German sports cars and limousines costing well over N100,000 apiece.

Who are these people whose lives are getting rosier and rosier, as our own get harsher and harsher? Are they not part of this economy in crisis? Is this our fate? Is this something ordained by the Almighty God?

This month's Update brings you some facts to give you an insight into how the economic crisis we are

now suffering from was caused in one area of agro-allied industrial production — groundnut oil mills. The facts we bring to you expose the truths about the role of some very rich and powerful Nigerians in wrecking the Gusau Oil Mills, a N3.9 million agro-industrial project of the North-Western State Government, which if it had been allowed to take off, about fifteen years ago, the story of the economy of Gusau, of Sokoto State, and the rest of Nigeria — at least in the area of vegetable oil production — would have been a rosy one for all of us.

The facts we bring to you this month give you some insight into how our economy was wrecked, and who are responsible for this and who are now enjoying the fruits of this economic sabotage. The extract comes from pages 47-50 of the *White Paper of the North-Western State Government on the Report of the Judicial Commission of Inquiry into the Activities of Some Institutions and the Divisional Tenders Boards*. The Chairman of that Judicial Commission of Inquiry, of 1975-76, was Justice Uthman Muhammed, now a Justice of the Federal Court of Appeal.

So, read on:
Gusau Oil Mills Ltd., Gusau:

a. *The Commission investigated the formation and operation of Gusau Oil Mills to date, and observed that the Government's original intention of having groundnut crushing factory established in the North-Western State where large quantities of groundnuts are produced are good.*

b. *The Commission established that there were two proposals submitted by two different companies, one from John Holt and the other from*

Raccah Brothers. The officials of the Ministry of Industry had earlier on spotlighted the deficiency of Raccah's proposals but the then Executive Council having no knowledge of these warnings decided in favour of Raccah's proposals.

c. *The Commission established that Alex Raccah single-handedly negotiated the turn-key contract for the supply of machinery and buildings and bank borrowings.*

d. *It has further been established that the machinery has not been functioning satisfactorily and that Mr. Alex Raccah had been influenced by the suppliers in the course of the negotiation..*

e. *The Commission established that according to information available to it, Raccah Brothers paid for shares of the following persons, at the rate of N2.00 per share:*

i. Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki = N25,000.00

ii. Alhaji Shehu Malami = N15,000.00

iii. Tijani Mohammed = N5,000.00

iv. Alhaji Ahmadu Danbaba = N3,000.00

v. Alh. Muhammadu Maccido = N5,000.00

vi. Abubakar Sadiq/Alhaji Tunau = N15,000.00.

viii. Alhaji Ibrahim Magajin Garin Argungu = N3,000.00

ix. Bello Ibrahim (Ibrahim Gusau) Sarkin Malamai = N3,000.00

x. Alhaji Musa Kallamu Gusau/Alhaji Abdu Gusau = N2,000.00

f. *Mr. Rex Raccah paid for houses constructed in Kano in 1973 by Arewa Construction Com-*

pany for Alhaji Usman Faruk from the Company's funds (Gusau Oil Mills).

- g. As a result of the Company's poor accounting system and the fire disaster of 1974 which destroyed the Company's records, the Commission found it impossible to check properly the activities of the Company vis-a-vis Raccah Brothers. The cause of the fire disaster and poor accounting system were deliberate.
- h. The Commission established that the Bank loan of N3.9 million covered by Government Guarantee was used mainly to finance the Company's losses and it appeared that Raccah family were trying to avoid further financial commitment in respect of Gusau Oil Mills.
- i. The Commission established that petty cash payments to the tune of N16,999.00 were not supported by any external vouchers and finally the commission concluded that the company failed to hold any statutory annual General Meeting since its formation in 1971.

GOVERNMENT DECISION:

- a. The Commission recommends that those shareholders having their shares paid for by Raccah Brothers with intention of influencing their decisions should forfeit such shares to the Government. Government accepts this recommendation.
- b. The Commission recommends that in view of the confused financial situation of the Company the following actions should be taken:—
 - i. Financial and Management re-organisation of the Company.
 - ii. No further Government guarantee for Bank loans until such financial and management re-organisations have been completed. Government accepts these recommendations.
- c. The Commission is satisfied that the houses built by Rex

Raccah in Kano for Alhaji Faruk were a bribe to the Ex-Governor. The Commission supports the action taken by the Assets Investigation Tribunal in confiscating and transferring the houses to the State Government."

nut, palm, and beniseed oil. When we were under colonial domination we were not allowed to process these here. We were made to export them raw, and crush only a small amount for some local consumption. This is because building large numbers of oil mills here would have given our



Alhaji Shehu Melami....shares paid for by Raccah.

Involved in this wrecking of the Gusau Oil Mill were four princes of Sokoto, namely Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki, Baraden Sokoto; Alhaji Shehu Malami, Sarkin Sudan of Wurno; Alhaji Muhammadu Maccido, Sarkin Kudun Gusau; and Alhaji Ibrahim Gusau, Sarkin Malaman Sokoto. Three of them are very active contestants trying to succeed to the Sokoto throne. Two of them are very vocal spokesmen of feudal and foreign business interests. One of them, Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki, plays this role using his position as Secretary-General of the Jama'atul Nasirul Islam!

We are not, at present, going into all these. The facts speak for themselves, including the fact that the Raccah Brothers are British Zionists actively funding and supporting the aggression of Israel against the Palestinian and other Middle-Eastern and African peoples. Here we wish to focus on the political economy of this scandalous episode, particularly on what it teaches us about the role of rich and powerful figures like Dasuki and Shehu Malami in contemporary Nigeria.

POLITICAL ECONOMY:

As you know, groundnut oil, like all vegetable oils, is a basic foodstuff. Every housewife knows that without vegetable oil there can be no cooking! Nigeria was one of the leading producers of vegetable oil in the whole world in the form of ground-

people modern industrial employment, and skills. In addition, the product of the oil mills would have been used here for modern livestock feeding to build our cattle and other livestock industries. Groundnut cake is one of the richest food for animals in the world. With groundnut and other vegetable oil mills well established here, and integrated with other areas of agriculture, livestock production and industry, our farmers would have a stable home market for their oil seed crops; our pastoralists would have a regular source of very nutritious food for their cattle, goats, sheep and pigs; and the country would become an exporter of vegetable oil after satisfying the domestic demand.

To fully understand the political economy of Nigerian vegetable oil production and imports, you have to realise the powerful positions that some of the key actors in this scandal — particularly Ibrahim Dasuki, Shehu Malami and Ibrahim Gusau — have held. The lists below, of some of the powerful public offices they have held, provide some insights into the network of connections and influence which are at the root of the economic crisis we are sinking into:

Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki:

- i. Permanent Secretary, Northern Nigerian Ministry of Trade and Industry, 1965-68.
- ii. Chairman, Northern Nigerian Marketing Board, 1966-69.

- iii. Chairman, African Groundnut Council, 1967-68.
- iv. Director, Nigerian Produce Marketing Company, 1966-69.
- v. Chairman, Nigerian Railway Corporation, 1967-77.
- vi. Chairman, North West Trade Development Company (Tradev), 1970-75.
- vii. Chairman, Nigerian Grains Board, 1981-83.

Alhaji Shehu Malami:

- i. Director, Nigerian Industrial Development Bank, 1968-75.
- ii. Director, Nigerian Produce Marketing Company
- iii. Director, New Nigerian Development Company, 1979-82.
- iv. Chairman, Union Bank
- v. Chairman, Assessment Committee of the Nigerian National Merit Award, 1981-84.

Alhaji Ibrahim Gusau:

- i. Commissioner in various Ministries of North-West State Government.
- ii. Minister of Agriculture, 1979-81.
- iii. Minister of Industries, 1981-82

In their private capacities, Ibrahim Dasuki and Shehu Malami are multi-millionaires. What is more, they have made a lot of money from companies and banks involved in importing groundnut oil. Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki is the founding and current chairman of the Nigerian subsidiary of a multinational banking conglomerate, the Bank of Credit and Commerce International — the sensational rise of whose declared net profits from N1.72 million in its first year of operation (1979) to N21.75 million in 1984 has been largely due to its privileged involvement in imports, particularly food imports. When Dasuki was Chairman of the Nigerian Grains Board, a federal government parastatal set up to promote domestic grain production and distribution, the BCCI was also the major banker of various federal organs importing large quantities of foodstuff which did so much to subvert Nigerian food production.

As for Shehu Malami, the way he has benefitted from food imports, including the importation of groundnut oil is before you every day on



Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki.....the fire was deliberate.

television and radio commercials. He is, besides his other numerous shareholding and directorships, the Chairman of the Nigerian subsidiary of Patterson Zochonis, a company

profiteering from the import and packaging of 'essential commodities' including vegetable oil. From this and other commodities, which you cannot do without, PZ raised its net profits from N8.7 million in 1983 to N13.4 million in 1984; although its turnover had declined from N346.9 million in 1983 to N314.6 million in 1984.

Now you can see how and why the questions of who is responsible for the Nigerian economic crisis, and who benefits from it, are very crucial ones. They cannot be answered with cliches about the supposed psychology of the Nigerian consumer and farmer. They can only be answered on the basis of a clear understanding of the political economy of the exploitation of our country by multinational banks and companies and their agents, based on the concrete facts of their sabotage and exploitation of our national interests, even on matters like groundnut oil!

"What is interesting about the advocacy of privatisation in Nigeria is that many of the advocates were the architects of the policy of the expansion of the public sector immediately after the civil war."

One of the major pillars of the economic recovery programme pursued by the Shagari, Buhari and Babangida regimes is the policy of selling publicly-owned enterprises to business tycoons, retired generals and civil servants and their foreign business partners and masters. This policy, known as privatisation, also involves the charging of commercial rates for essential public services like health, education, electricity, water, and postal services, by allowing private companies to get involved in supplying them, or even to contract them out completely. The argument is that only when there is commercial competition, and the private profit motive, can any service be effectively provided. Those who argue in this way forget to look at the gross inefficiency of the areas of the Nigerian economy which are almost entirely in private hands, like road transport, retail and wholesale commerce, and agriculture. It also

ignores the fact that in many areas there can be no competition due to the nature of the services provided, like water and electricity; and also that the provision of some services like health and education is an essential requirement for the survival of the society, and for its progress.

What is interesting about the advocacy of privatisation in Nigeria is that many of the advocates were the architects of the policy of the expansion of the public sector immediately after the civil war, in the Second Plan Period, 1970-74. What is also interesting is that the change in their position on privatisation is closely related to the changes in the growth of their private wealth.

Chief Phillip Asiodu, a retired Federal Super-Permanent Secretary, one of the economic advisors to Alhaji Shehu Shagari in his second term, was once an advocate of the expansion of the public sector into many areas of the Nigerian economy.

He was one of the architects of the *Second National Development Plan, 1970-74*, which saw the Federal and State governments expanding their activities through new parastatals into petroleum, banking, transport, agriculture, hotels and many other areas. In the ministries where he served, he was both permanent secretary, as well as the creator and boss of the ministry's parastatals.

In those days, Asiodu promoted and defended parastatals. Now he strongly advocates their privatisation. Why?

In this *Update* we bring to you:

i. Asiodu questioning the contribution of foreign capital to the Nigerian economy, at the Ibadan Conference on Reconstruction and Development, in March 1969;

ii. Asiodu's articulate defence of the public sector and its capacity to perform as well as the private sector given certain things, in a paper he wrote as Permanent Secretary, Federal Ministry of Mines and Power, in March 1971;

iii. Asiodu's turncoat justification for privatisation when he was Special Adviser on Economic Affairs to Shagari, in November, 1983;

iv. Asiodu's complete turn-around to defend foreign capital in Nigeria and advocate privatisation; in a speech in Kaduna in April, 1986;

v. The Federal Government's *White Paper on the Second Report of the Federal Assets Investigation Panel* dealing with how Asiodu, while in office as a super-permanent secretary, creating and running parastatals, accumulated a large private fortune.

As we pointed out in past editions of *The Analyst*, we have to go beyond policy pronouncements to understand the basis and content of policies. The road to privatisation for almost all the retired civil servants, generals and academics, in Nigeria, passes through their bank accounts, shareholding, and landholding. Their advocacy of privatisation has nothing to do with the national interest of Nigeria or the welfare of its people. They want privatisation in order to consolidate, expand, and entrench the private wealth they have legally, semi-legally, and illegally accumulated while they were creating and running public enterprises, which they no longer need for

further accumulation. The example of Phillip Asiodu's conversion from parastatalisation to privatisation has many lessons to teach us regarding the linkages between public policy and private vested interests, in the current struggle over the future of Nigeria. So read on:

i. 1969: QUESTIONS FOREIGN INVESTMENT:

"The experience of the past few years shows that external financing has played a relatively minor role in Nigeria's development, much less than the 50 per cent assumed in the 1962-68 plan. Table 4 shows that external financing accounted for just about 15 per cent of the fixed capital formation for 1963....It is true that in the industrial sector foreign private investment has been dominant. But this is not for want of local resources if the Govern-

ment, the personell, policies on recruitment, remuneration and development, and the degree of autonomy allowed to a management to use its initiative and imagination to the fullest."

[Phillip C. Asiodu, Permanent Secretary, Federal Ministry of Mines and Power, 12th March 1971, in a paper titled "The Future of the Petroleum Industry in Nigeria".]

iii. 1983: FOR PRIVATISATION:

"Again when we come to talk of privatisation, government has spent so much on these abandoned projects. It may well be that even where the private-sector led, people don't have money because if you quantify, 20,000 hectares and say they should pay for past development, nobody can find that capital, it may well be that by renting it out, on pepper corn terms,

Asiodu's Route to Privatisation



Chief P. Asiodu

ment pursued a different policy. The present situation if continued will lead to serious economic and political consequences. In the first place, Professor Arthur Lewis has estimated that less than 10 per cent of value added by large-scale manufacturing is retained in the country when deductions are made for all imported inputs, including repayment of capital and dividends."

[Phillip C. Asiodu, Permanent Secretary, Federal Ministry of Industries, at the National Conference on Reconstruction and Development in Nigeria, Ibadan, March 24-29th, 1969]

ii. 1971: FOR PUBLIC SECTOR:

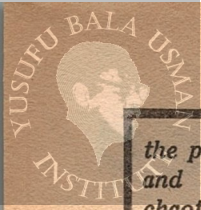
"In Nigeria we are rightly worried about the performance of our public sector activities so far. There is no intrinsic reason in their character why a public sector enterprise should be less efficient than an equally large enterprise owned by thousands of "sleeping" shareholders. The important thing is the quality of manage-

you are not worse off because you can't sell it. So you are not losing any money. Or, by renting out the factory, I mean selling the factory on hire purchase terms, you can mobilise whatever capital there is to give you working capital and the marginal additional investment to call the assets into productive use. There are routes which will give us much quicker impact on what you are talking about in employment, and much greater impact in the volume of goods and services we are producing locally. This is what we should be aiming for. There will be a lot of ideological occlusion and opposition to what they call privatisation. But it is merely how to use the little money there is now to put those assets into productive use."

[Chief Phillip Asiodu, Special Adviser to the President on Economic Affairs, interviewed on 25th November 1983, published in *SPECTRUM*, January/February, 1984, p.16.]

iv. 1986: FOR FOREIGN CAPITAL:

"Government must implement its oft-repeated desire to privatise a lot of



the projects which it owns at present and manages with such poor and chaotic results...[for]... a more positive attitude on the part of the Government towards private sector led economic endeavours will release dynamic countervailing forces, halt capital flight and may even lead before long to significant inflow of foreign investment."

[Chief Phillip C. Asiodu, Izoma-Onya of Asaba, Speech to the Nigerian Economic Society, Kaduna/Abuja Chapter, April 1986.]

v. 1967-75: ACCUMULATES PRIVATE WEALTH:

"Mr. P. C. Asiodu

10. The Panel found that apart from investment in landed properties and shares, Mr. Asiodu also had interest in two Limited Liability Companies which he owns jointly with wife and children. His income for the period May 1967 to July 1975, amounted to N552,302 while his expenditure was N447,744. In addition, he had a total credit balance of N15,107 with various bank accounts. From their findings, the Panel established that Mr. Asiodu's surplus over the period covered amounts to N73,491 of which N58,384 was unexplained. The Panel is of the view that whether Mr. Asiodu under-declared his expenditure or over-stated the amount of loans he received, his motive was to conceal inexplicable deficiency.

Comment-

Government notes the above findings.

Loans:

11. Regarding the loans, the Panel noted that between 1974 and 1975, Mr. Asiodu was able to raise loans amounting to N345,000 in his personal capacity. In addition, he was connected with loans amounting to N1,105,000 raised by companies of which members of his immediate family alone or with himself as partner were the sole owners. The ease with which Mr. Asiodu was able to raise these loans led two members of the Panel to conclude that he had taken advantage of his position in Government. The third member, however, disagreed with this view, particularly as there was no evidence that Mr. Asiodu bestowed any special favours in his official capacity to his creditors. The panel was therefore

unable to make any specific recommendations on Mr. Asiodu regarding his loans transactions.

Comment-

Government notes the Panel's findings above. The lack of unanimity among members of the Panel concerned principally the U.B.A. loan of N850,000. Government is of the view that clearly, "abuse of office" on the part of Mr. Asiodu is inferred. On the other hand, Government is satisfied that the document relating to the loan transactions were genuine. In view of this, and in view of the need, in instances where no conclusive case has been made against one individual involved to give that individual the benefit of the doubt, Government considers the loans transactions except the one from Syndicated Investment Holdings discussed below as legally acceptable.

N26,258 between 1969 and 1975, of which N22,328 worth he bought in 1974. The panel, however, recommends no specific action against Mr. Asiodu.

Comment:

Government notes that the panel were satisfied with the manner in which Mr. Asiodu acquired his shares and that they were unable to recommend any action against Mr. Asiodu in this respect.

Properties:

The panel established that Mr. Asiodu acquired the following properties lawfully and recommends that he retains them:—

- i. 2 Kesiha Fastina Street, S/W Ikoyi.
- ii. Plot 11, G.R.A. Warri
- iii. 11 acres of land in Umojige Quarters, Asaba
- iv. Farmland in Ekae Village

"The Panel found that apart from investment in landed properties and shares, Mr. Asiodu also had interest in two Limited Liability companies which he owns jointly with wife and children."

Business Interests:

12. The Panel found that Mr Asiodu had two companies, MEDIFE LTD., (Formerly Summit Ltd.) through which Mr. Asiodu raised the loan of N850,000 and HILLSIDE Ltd., a farmland he jointly owned with one Mr. Adimkpayah. The Panel were skeptical of the claim that while Mr. Asiodu, a 50% shareholder spent less than N5,000 in the development of Hillside, Mr. Adimkpayah, the other 50% shareholder spent almost N.25m. The Panel thought this might be the explanation of the surplus declared by Mr. Asiodu.

Comment:

Government notes the panel's observations above but in view of the fact that most of the investment in Hillside Limited was made by Mr. Akimkpayah, a private citizen, it was not considered necessary to take any further action.

Shares:

13. The panel found that Mr. Asiodu bought total shares worth

In addition, the panel recommends that Mr. Asiodu retains his interests in the following properties which he, together with other members of his family inherited from his late father:

- i. 191 Herbert Macaulay St. Yaba
- ii. 2 Adam Street, Yaba
- iii. 35 Olie Market Road, Asaba
- iv. Plot 616 Independence Enugu
- v. Plot 40x, G.R.A. Benin.

Comment:

Government accepts the above recommendation.

Property at Umude, Asaba:-

15. The panel found that this property consists of a pair of un-completed semi-detached houses being built by LAMCO Ltd. The contract sum of N78,000 was said to be borrowed from Syndicated Investment Holdings Ltd. Two members of the panel were agreed in their view that the loan agreement between Mr. Asiodu and Syndicated Investment Holding Ltd. was irregular and false because of the following alterations

and inaccuracies:—

- i. The date of registration was shown as 7-5-75 but a closer look shows that it was 1976 altered to 1975.
- ii. An address on the agreement which reads '12-14 Broad Street, Lagos' would have read '12-14 Yakubu Gowon Street, Lagos' if the agreement was prepared in May 1975.
- iii. Clause 3 of the Agreement reads "The borrower shall pay to the lender the sum of N1,462.50 on 1st day of April, 1975.

They were therefore, inclined to recommend the forfeiture of this property, the third member however did not agree because the irregularities involved were technical and normal occurrences in Agreements of this nature in the property market in Nigeria.

Comment:

Government is of the view that technical slip-ups of the kind involved in this loan Agreement is inconsistent with the meticulous care Mr. Asiodu had shown in his other financial and business dealings. Consequently, Government agrees with the majority view of the panel that the loan agreement between him and Syndicated Investment Holdings Ltd. was irregular and false. Mr. Asiodu should therefore forfeit the property to the Federal Military Government.

Plot 1123, Victoria Island:

16. The Panel found that this plot was allocated to Mrs. Asiodu by the Lagos State Government and is now being developed at a cost of N234,781 borrowed from the International Bank for West Africa. The panel, however recommended no specific action against Mr. Asiodu in this regard.

Comment:

Government notes the above findings and proposes no action against Mr. Asiodu.

[Federal Republic of Nigeria, Government Views on Second Report of the Federal Assets Investigation Panel, Lagos, 1978, pp.5-7.]

Art & Culture



Songs of Tiv Revolt

Political oppression is abhorrent to all human societies and this is particularly so with the Tiv of Benue State of Nigeria who see oppression as an evil that must be removed so that society can move forward with dignity. Incidences abound in Tiv history when political oppressions met with very serious organised resistance, especially from the youths who saw such oppression as constituting a wedge on their path to a happy future. In the first two decades of the nineteenth century, the Tiv youth organised, the *Hoyo* revolt against the perpetrators of Tsav (witchcraft). They organized themselves into a police force to bring the *Mbatsav* offenders to book by forcing the elders who had proved incapable of controlling the excesses of the *Mbatsav*, to adjudicate cases of known witches so as to rid the society of sicknesses and deaths occasioned by the reckless use of witchcraft and the apathy of the elders. About a century later, in 1939, another revolt of a similar nature took place. This time it was the *Nyambuan* revolt which was again organized to remove the oppressive influence of the *Mbatsav*, both indigeneous and foreign.

In 1960, the Tiv once more were entertained to another unpalatable dish of political repression by the then Northern Peoples Congress (NPC) of the Sardauna of Sokoto. This time various approaches were adopted to combat it. In the process, many people lost their jobs for refusing to join the NPC. Others were imprisoned. Social gatherings were banned as well as the playing of music and the drinking of *burukutu*. Later a slogan was added: "No Hausa, No Job". All these negated the Tiv man's sense of justice and good government and since he is not known for apathy in the face of injustice, he took to arms to drive out the enemy.

Song was, and still is, the Tiv man's great weapon for resisting oppression. Among the Tiv, song works a lot to the advantage of the weaker party in a dispute. It can be used to lower or raise the status of the personalities in a dispute. It can also be used to detract an enemy as

well as cry against oppression. It is, therefore, not a surprise that during the first republic when oppression went wild so many songs were composed to contain the situation.

PRAISE

J. S. Tarka was the hero of the Tiv revolt and many songs were sung to praise him and denigrate the Sardauna, his oppressor. Some of these include the following:

Sarwuan Tarka Naci, is from Mbakor clan Chief Naci, you are the winner you lead and Awolowo follows after you Baja (NPC) has been disgraced And is now very angry Recklessly dishing out laws: If you play the drum, five pounds fine He is intolerant of alcohol! I ask, is it because of alcohol Which people drink that Baja (NPC) is so disgraced.

Here the aim is to turn around and interpret it positively so as to give the Tiv people confidence to continue fighting against oppression. Thus Tarka (UMBC) is held out as the winner of the elections, followed by the position in the reverse order.

DEFIANCE

Some of the songs were aimed at showing defiance against the reckless laws made specifically against the interests of the Tiv. For example it is a known fact that a Tiv man cannot do without music and dance. The ruling party, in order to force the Tiv to comply enacted laws making it a punishable offence to play traditional music since this invariably tended to make the Tiv people congregate. One of the songs to defy this law went as follows:

Drum beating has gone upside down There is no more desire Tor Tiv Gondo, Gondo it is now you will know what the Tiv people are My parents are from mbayaga Mbayaga Tor, when you have a friend And he has no influential backers; Because of mere drumming They have imprisoned me If it were just for money mbayaga

Art & Culture

would I have sung?

But my people have taken offence

Against Nyiakura

Ormbaiyongo oo! When you have a friend!

Your mouth loves pleas

As flies the open sore

Mbayaga, my trouble is beyond

The powers of the young people.

Here the Tor Tiv who had declared for the NPC and had become a punitive instrument of the Sardauna against his people is being promised hard time. It is actually a song from the prison and even though the man is in prison, he still relies on his power and that of his people to deal with the oppressor. He is even angry that his relation is going begging young NPC loyalist, the instruments of his oppression, on his behalf and defiantly declares that his problems are beyond such ignorant youths. The import of this song was to encourage his fellow Tiv political prisoners to adopt defiant attitudes towards the oppressor so that he would come to see that his oppression had not after all defeated them but had rather filled them with determination.

Another such song was composed after the numerous imprisonments of J.S. Tarka by the ruling NPC. The Tiv people were determined that no such imprisonment should cause any disillusionment to them and their political hero. Songs were thus composed to elevate J.S. Tarka to the status of Jesus Christ. Here Tarka is Christ, crucified for struggling for his people. He may be killed but he will resurrect to save his people.

When Jesus rose from the dead

On that third day

People rejoiced, people rejoiced

That Jesus had risen.

Sarwaun, son of Tarka Naci

Has died for the Tiv

But he will rise from the dead

How is 'Koko da gudaji' better than beer

That I should follow the Hausas' and forfeit beer.

Songs like this gave J.S. Tarka and the Tiv political leadership the energy that fired them to fight more against the oppressor until victory would be achieved. The song even sought to appropriate religious sentiments to mobilize the Tiv people against the NPC. The mention of 'Koko da gudaji' makes a religious point that the NPC was a muslim party and joining it

meant abandoning the cherished Tiv beer (tashi) for an inferior pap-like drink since muslims are naturally forbidden to drink it.

As more songs of revolt were released and as the Tiv people became more enlightened and mobilized for the struggle against oppression, the ruling party became extremely more desperate and even inhuman. It was then the turn of the Tiv people to humanize them through creative violence. The *atem-ityo* riots of 1964 then became a necessary evil. Songs of resolution to die fighting against oppression were composed.

If in these days we are provoked

We must die, yes we must die

If in these days we are abused

We must die, yes we must die

Sardauna of Sokoto has decreed death for us all

What will I be alive for; what for?

We must die, yes we must die.

My agnates, our leader has called us

We must die, yes we must die

Sardauna of Sokoto has decreed death for us all

What will we be alive for; what for?

We must die, yes we must die.



*Above, late Tarka.....praised,
below Aku.....castigated.*

Here the song implies that it is more glorious to die fighting for a just cause than to succumb to oppression. Succumbing to the Sardauna, the symbol of oppression, means a psychological death since one cannot really be alive without his honour so the Tive people should happily die fighting to protect their honour. Up till today this song has remained a powerful war song among the Tiv

The Tiv revolt against oppression and corruption is sometimes expressed beyond a level that is decent. But this is because the Tiv man believes that the oppressor or a corrupt person is not a decent man and cannot be allowed to reap the fruits of decency. Thus during the 1983 campaigns in the State when the NPN followers composed a song titled *Disco '83* in which the corrupt and oppressive governor, Mr Aper Aku was praised beyond a reasonably decent point, the NPP supporters corrupted the very song to stage a revolt against Aku's despicable leadership. In this version, the NPP Tiv supporters went beyond Aku's corruption to also attack him on his ailments. The song goes like this:

Aku my father

Keep on stealing the thousands (of naira)

The NPN has no governor

Before the NPN gets the governorship

Gbangban will get a new nose

Chorus

Tiv, my people are against theft

Aku Kyuso is diabetic

Aku Kyuso is a squatter

The song stresses the impossibility of the corrupt NPN ruling over them after Aku's first term. This impossibility is implied in the metaphor of *Gbangban* growing a better nose. *Gbangban* was a prominent NPN leader who had a plastic surgery on his nose which looks seriously ugly.

In the Tiv thinking, the nose grows only once on each person's face and it can never be replaced by another one. So *Gbangban* has no hope of replacing his now ugly nose hence the NPN has no hope of getting the governorship again.

What lesson can the suffering Nigerian workers and peasants learn from the songs of revolt among the Tiv? The answer lies in resistance to oppression rather than resignation.

By Tar Ahura

Farewell to Samora

"Should the seed perish, all is not lost, so long as the seed becomes a tree and bears fruit in the end. The tree too will die, but there will be another tree later...."
(The Seed of the Mango)

For the second time in its short history, FRELIMO (Frente de Libertaco de Mozambique) has lost an inspiring and charismatic leader. The first was Eduardo Mondlane, founder and leader of FRELIMO, who was killed by a parcel bomb on February 3rd, 1969, in Dar-es-Salaam — a victim of the PIDE (Portuguese Secret Police). Now it is Samora Moises Machel, the man who picked up the mantle of leadership of FRELIMO after the death of Mondlane.

Machel died, along with 33 of his aides and advisers, when the plane he was travelling in crashed over South African territory as it was making an approach to land at Maputo, on the 19th of October, 1986. Although the full facts about the crash have not yet emerged (at the time of this writing), all signs point to sabotage by South Africa. This should not surprise us, because, despite South African protestations to the contrary — the unity and solidarity of the Mozambican people behind the leadership of Samora Machel has constituted a thorn in the flesh of South Africa in its attempt to destabilise and recolonise Mozambique and other neighboring states. Through its support of Renamo (MNR, or Mozambican National Resistance) — a puppet movement, armed and funded by South Africa — the racist regime has been doing all in its power to subvert the consolidation of the liberation struggles. And despite the Nkomati agreements, by which South Africa promised to withdraw its support for MNR, South Africa has actually been at war with Mozambique and with its revolution.

Only recently, at the summit of

the Non-aligned Movement, meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe, in September, Samora Machel detailed the destruction caused to Mozambique as a result of the activities of the MNR. He told delegates that Mozambique had suffered \$4 billion in economic damage from this undeclared war. He went on to say that the MNR's strategy is to instill fear into the population:

"Mutilation and random slaughter of defenseless civilians is combined with the targetted slaughter of doctors, engineers, journalists, nurses, agricultural technicians and local leaders of democratic organisations. Foreign technicians, priests and nuns are kidnapped and sometimes murdered.

Villages, shops, schools, churches, and mosques are pillaged and destroyed. Plantations, production centres, bridges, power lines, means of transport are sabotaged, burned and demolished."

(As reported in *The Guardian*)

In fact, only a few days before Machel's death, the people of Mozambique were put on alert, and told to expect an invasion by South African forces at any time. Meanwhile, South African radio stations were predicting that Samora Machel would be overthrown very soon. But when South Africa struck, they did not invade, but instead aimed at the figure who has come to personify the struggle of the Mozambican people to create a new society.

But who is this man Samora Machel? He is a man whose whole life has been bound up with the struggle for the liberation of Mozambique. He was born into a poor peasant family in Gaza Province of southern Mozambique, on September 29th, 1933. Gaza Province was an area which suffered the full brunt of Portuguese colonialism — it was here that the Portuguese administration compelled each family to plant cotton, so that the crop could then be bought at very low prices by the Portuguese. It was from Gaza Pro-



Late Samora Machel

vince that men were forced to migrate to work in the South African gold mines. Many came back sick, blind, and deformed. Some, like Samora's eldest brother, never came back at all.

Samora Machel attended the Gaza primary school, run by the Catholic Mission. His teachers wanted him to become a priest. However, he opted for nursing, and struggled to go to secondary school. Despite his relatively privileged status as a nurse in the colonial system, he came face to face with the racial discrimination that was an integral part of colonialism. In every area, despite comparable qualifications, the salaries for whites were several times higher than for blacks. This was the beginning of his consciousness of the nature of the system. As he told journalist Wilfred Burchett:

"Gradually I saw that nothing could help but collective action. A man on his own could achieve nothing. At that stage — it was after 1956 — I began to understand what the key problems were, and just why it was that we Africans were disadvantaged. Then 1960 taught me more — the independence of the Congo and its tumults, I began to think seriously about the possibilities of Mozambique becoming independent....Then it was that the consciousness of being oppressed, deprived, exploited, began to have its effects, as well as these ideas about independence."

FRELIMO had been formed in Dar-es-Salaam on 25th June, 1962, as a merger of several nationalist organisations. Machel left Mozambique in

September, 1964 (the same month in which FRELIMO launched its armed struggle) and went to Algeria for training; on completion of the course he led the first FRELIMO training camp based in Tanzania. The first battles in the armed struggle occurred at Chai and Diaca. Shortly thereafter, Samora Machel entered Mozambique with 250 combatants, and became commander of the first FRELIMO military base inside Mozambique. When Felipe Magaia — the overall military commander — died, Machel became commander of all the FRELIMO military forces — about 8,000 men, fighting a Portuguese army of 65,000.

In 1968, he was elected to FRELIMO's Central Committee. After the assassination of Mondlane in 1969, Machel became the President of FRELIMO. The emergence of Machel to the leadership of FRELIMO was a significant development in the liberation struggle. This is because from about 1967, a split had developed in the movement, due to differences over strategy and tactics, and also over personalities. However, the disunity was primarily caused by some of the educated elite within the movement who were personally ambitious, especially those who were based outside Mozambique itself. Those who were fighting inside the country were firmly behind the leadership of Mondlane. After Mondlane's murder, the divisions became more open. However, a group of cadres closely tied to the actual struggle as it was being waged, managed to assert their position within the movement. This group was led by people like Samora Machel, Marcelino dos Santos, and Joachim Chissano. As Bala Usman points out in his book *For the Liberation of Nigeria* this emergence of Machel and his group into the leadership of FRELIMO enabled the movement to survive the death of Mondlane and emerge from the crisis with renewed unity and commitment.

Machel led the armed struggle until independence was achieved for Mozambique on the 15th of June, 1975. On independence, Machel became the President of the Peoples' Republic of Mozambique, a position he has held until his death.

The independence of Mozambique

was not of significance just to the people of Mozambique, but was a momentous event for the whole of Africa. It was the first of a series of victories which pointed the way to the total liberation of Southern Africa from the clutches of colonialism and imperialism. On November 10, 1975, the independence of the Peoples' Republic of Angola was proclaimed. The independence of Zimbabwe followed a few years later. The independence struggle in Namibia intensified, and South Africa became increasingly isolated in the region; at the same time, the ANC stepped up the tempo of the struggle within South Africa itself. The rolling back of colonial domination in Southern Africa, set in motion by the liberation of Mozambique, is today in its final stages — the revolutionary overthrow of the racist regime in South Africa is now just a matter of time.

Liberation

Not only did the armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism carried out by FRELIMO in Mozambique, MPLA in Angola, and the PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau, lead to the liberation of these territories, it even led to a revolution in the colonial power, Portugal itself. As a result of dissatisfaction with the war against these liberation movements, the severe drain on the already poor Portuguese economy, and demoralisation of the army which resulted because of the failure to quell the liberation struggles, a group of young Portuguese officers overthrew the fascist regime in Portugal, in what is known as the 'Captain's Coup'. It was the new Portuguese Government, under the Armed Forces Movement led by General Antonio de Spínola, which began negotiations which led to the independence of Portugal's colonies. However, the people of Portugal too greatly benefitted from the overthrow of the repressive, fascist regime led by dictator Salazar's successor, Caetano.

But since the day of its independence, Mozambique has never had a single moment of peace. South Africa has thrown in all its resources to try to roll back the gains made by the liberation movement, and to

prevent the construction of a socialist society in Mozambique. It is under this constant shadow that Mozambique has tried to consolidate the gains it had made, and to construct a new society, free from exploitation and oppression. The going has not been easy. Years of severe drought have hindered attempts to develop the agricultural sector and drained much needed resources. South African sabotage has caused extensive damage, as we have already noted. Nevertheless, despite these overwhelming obstacles, Mozambique has been able to make substantial improvements in the living conditions of its people, providing education and health services to communities where these had never been known.

In March 1984, under increasing terrorist attacks from the MNR and South African forces, including raids into the capital, Maputo, itself, and in the hope that a reduction of the pressure would create a breathing space, Mozambique signed the Nkomati accord with the Government of South Africa. Under this pact, South Africa was to withdraw all support for the MNR bandits, while Mozambique was to prohibit the ANC from using its territory as a base. [Although there were ANC offices in Maputo — often attacked by South African forces — as well as refugee camps, the ANC has always denied having any military camps outside of South Africa].

When the Nkomati pact was signed, Machel was widely criticised in Africa and elsewhere for "selling out" the struggle. Not surprisingly, the most vocal criticism came from those furthest from the frontline. The ANC leadership refused to engage publicly in such comment, and other front line states, whatever their thoughts on the matter, adopted a sceptical, wait-and-see attitude.

Predictably, however, the pact died a natural death. After a brief lull, South Africa actually stepped up its support for the MNR, and consistently supported the overthrow of Machel, while overtly pretending to honour the agreement. Ties between Mozambique and the South African liberation movements, never broken, were reaffirmed, as it became even clearer that the only

road to peace and security for the front line states lay in the total overthrow of the racist regime.

But what kind of person was Samora Machel? Wilfred Burchett describes him thus: "A short lively man, with twinkling eyes and a jaunty beard... a man who smiles and laughs so abundantly... a man with a razor-sharp intellect and analytical mind." All who have met him were impressed by his simplicity, his forthrightness, his lack of pomposness. He was a man as beloved of the Mozambican people as he was dedicated to them. A man who had faith in the people's ability to organise and solve their own problems. A practical man, whose theoretical and analytical formulations grew out of a concrete experience of struggle.

He was an electrifying speaker, as those of us who were privileged to see him when he spoke at the Convocation of Ahmadu Bello University in December 1977 can testify. On that occasion, speaking in Portuguese, through an interpreter, he had the whole crowd on its feet shouting together with him "Long live the struggle against neo-colonialism in Nigeria and Mozambique. Viva! Long live the struggle for the emancipation of African women. Viva! Abaixo Imperialismo! (Down with Imperialism!) Abaixo Capitalismo (Down with Capitalism!) A.B.U. has rarely witnessed such a moment.

He was a man who is associated with the slogan "A luta continua" (The struggle continues). And for FRELIMO, as for Samora Machel, this was a profound philosophy that illuminated their struggle. The struggle always continues.....As soon as one problem is solved, as soon as one battle is won, another remains to be faced. Once colonial domination was eliminated, FRELIMO had to face the task of building a new society, of creating new individuals, with new values and new ways of behaving. This is why Machel placed so much stress on education — but education of a particular kind — education which was linked to actual practice, education which prepares people for the struggles ahead. As he said in A.B.U. in 1977, "We want, in our Ahmadu Bello University, that knowledge and science should be



instruments of progress, instruments of liberation.....the Nigerian people, like all African peoples, expect that our universities should be detach-

ments of the great army — that is the people— determined to achieve their complete liberation, the people determined to carry the fight against oppression, humiliation and exploitation, against colonialism and imperialism, to the end, and to build a new society."

Samora Machel is gone, but his comrades — Marcelino dos Santos, Joachim Chissano and all the rest — will carry on the struggle. The murderers of Samora can not kill the Mozambican revolution. For, as Samora has said: "A mango does not become a giant tree in its first day, but like a growing mango tree, we are deeply rooted in the soil that is our people...."

Farewell, Samora.
A Luta Continua!

Memorable Speech

In 1977, The Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, honoured the late Comrade Samora Machel, then President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, who died in a plane crash on Sunday October 18, 1986, with the degree of Doctor of Laws. The degree was formally conferred on the late Mozambican leader on December 10, 1977. It was a memorable occasion, made especially so by the moving and thought-provoking acceptance speech he gave, and the oratory and force with which he delivered it — which kept the audience spell-bound. It is a speech still fondly remembered and widely quoted by students and staff alike, as much for the seriousness of its content as for the relevance of the profound ideas expressed in it to our own situation.

Below, The Analyst reproduces the text of that speech:

Esteemed and respected Lieutenant-General Obasanjo, Head of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Nigeria and Visitor of the University Ahmadu Bello. Distinguished Chancellor of the University. Distinguished Vice-Chancellor of the University Members of the Council and Senate of the University. Friends, Staff and Students. Ladies and Gentlemen. Excellencies.

We have just heard words of deep friendship towards the people of Mozambique. You have just expressed how deeply is the friendship and solidarity the Nigerian people feel toward the people of Mozambique. Since we arrived at this university we have felt solidarity, sympathy and warmth, human warmth. We believe that warmth comes from the heart; comes from feelings which linked us in the past and in the present.

We therefore thank the University for the conferred degree because it is conferred to the Mozambican people who fought and won against colonialism and imperialism. This thanks goes to the University, to the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, Chairman of the Council, to all the Staff; to all the students, to all these present here and to all the people of Nigeria and particularly to their leader, Lieutenant-General Obasanjo. We say Obasanjo, in particular, because he made it possible for this knowledge, this profound knowledge which the Nigerian people now have of Mozambique. We speak of Obasanjo because it was mainly through his efforts that we see a consolidation of relations between the two peoples, between the two countries.

For many years we have been more familiar with the universities of the metropolis than with the univer-

sities of Africa. The great admiration which we had was always for the universities in the metropolis and not for our universities. So the act which we have witnessed here is a source of great encouragement for the Mozambican people, and for the people of Africa. And we shall consolidate this unity of ours because it is a unity which has been washed in blood. We therefore once again say, thank you.

This act is one more bond of fraternity that links two people who share a common history of oppression, a common tradition of resistance, a common cultural affirmation. It is one more moment of unity and solidarity within the unity and solidarity of all the African peoples. It is one more affirmation that regardless of the distances that separate us, we are united in the same determination to fight oppression wherever it exists, and to liquidate the remnants of colonialism in whatever form they manifest themselves.

In conferring this honour on us, in receiving us in your midst, the teaching staff and students of the Ahmadu Bello University are welcoming the fighting people of Mozambique, a people who, led by FRELIMO, defeated Portuguese colonialism. You are recognising and identifying with the determination of peoples who, yesterday oppressed, are now launching an assault on the last bastions of colonial-capitalist and racist oppression on our continent. In the same way the Mozambican people identify with and recognise the efforts and enthusiasm of the great working people of Nigeria, and with their incessant struggle against imperialist designs to divide and weaken them.

Colonialism, a system for the deprivation of an entire people's freedom, is the greatest destroyer of culture that humanity has ever known. African society and its culture were crushed, and when they survived they were co-opted so that they could be more easily emptied of their content. This was done in two distinct ways. One, was the utilisation of institutions in order to support colonial exploitation. Nothing escaped this takeover bid. The other was the 'folklorising' of culture, its reduction to more or less picturesque

habits and customs, to impose in their place the values of colonialism.

An example of the first method, in our country, was the utilisation by colonialism of feudal institutions. Even though the dominant principle was direct administration through Portuguese colonial civil servants, the needs of colonisation sometimes required indirect administration to prevail. In this way some feudal states in Niassa Province were taken over and their chiefs and sheikhs conserved the appearance of power. Sheikh Mataca continued to maintain traditional rights of life and death over his people, but found himself hierarchically subordinated to the lowest Portuguese colonial civil servant. The people might prostrate themselves as he passed, but his only role of note was the collection of taxes to hand over to the local administrator and the sending of men for forced labour.

Conquest

In the second case, within the framework of the depersonalisation process, contempt for our culture led to the most ridiculous extremes imaginable. In our countries, history began with the colonial conquest and was reduced to the exploits of the conqueror. They taught us to admire the deeds of Alfonso do Albuquerque or of Nelson, but were silent about those of Maguigana or Shaka. We knew in detail the winding course of the Tagus or the Thames, but did not know that great rivers such as the Zambesi or the Niger flowed in the vast African savannahs. Excluded from history, forgotten in geography, we only existed in relation to a colonial point of reference. Thus colonialism asserted that "Mozambique is only Mozambique because it is Portugal". It is ridiculous! Colonial education appears in this context as a process of denying the national character, alienating the Mozambican from his country and his origin and, in exacerbating his dependence on abroad, forcing him to be ashamed of his people and his culture. We only have to remember the words of the Cardinal Archbishop of Lourenco Marques, when he said, referring to the role of colonial education: "Schools, yes, schools that teach just enough reading and writing to enable understanding of the greatness of

the nation that protects them."

By erecting "assimilation" as an institutionalised system, or the complete identification of the Mozambican with every aspect of the culture and traditions of the colonising power, Portuguese colonialism reached the culminating point of the process of alienation of the Mozambican. The ultimate objective was to make out of each Mozambican an "assimilado", a little Portuguese with a black skin. Colonisation thus went beyond the limits of external domination, political oppression and exploitation of the labour force and wealth of the country, to penetrate to the heart of the Mozambican personality, in a real act of rape.

In taking up arms on the 25th September 1964 the Mozambican people dealt the blows of revolt against the political system of domination but also directed them against all those forms of social conditioning and mental subjugation. Consciousness of the dimension of the oppression determined the nature of the liberation. It could be thought that the armed struggle is only a method of action, a simple form of physical violence to force the enemy to withdraw from our territory. And there is no doubt that initially for us the armed struggle was essentially of this character. In the first phase our action was in reality essentially destructive. However, with the development of the struggle, the colonial army was forced to beat a retreat from ever-increasing zones, taking in its wake the colonial administrative exploitative machine. It was here that was posed, not as a technical question, but as a demand arising from the development of the struggle itself, the decisive question: what type of reconstruction to have in these regions, and what type of society to build. The answer is there.

New elements appeared within Mozambican society who proposed to substitute themselves for the fleeing exploiters, attempting to re-establish the capitalist exploitation practised by the Portuguese, in new forms. And we asked, was this really the objective of our fight? Was this really the objective of our sacrifice? The reply of the masses, the popular masses, was clear: to reject any restoration of capitalist exploitation; they asserted that they were fighting for total liberation, not to substitute

one exploiter for another, whatever his colour. We have an expression in Mozambique "a parasite is always a parasite, whether he is white, he is a parasite; whether he is black, he is a parasite; whether he is yellow, he is a parasite." The parasite does not live on milk, or live from water, but from blood. So our enemy was anyone who exploited, anyone who wanted to live from the blood of the people. It was thus that the practice of the struggle itself affirmed the true dimension of the fight: not a simple idealist fight to win the outward symbols of independence; but a real struggle against each and every form of the exploitation of man by man; against capitalism and imperialism.

This affirmation of a sovereign people was the greatest conquest of our struggle and marks a great qualitative leap, the transformation of our combat into people's war. The democracy of the people was affirmed, organised, active and conscious. Bursting the chains of passivity they freed themselves, taking up again all their energy and creative initiative. Thus it was already the people, mobilised and organised by FRELIMO, who met and chose their leaders, organised administrative life, and resolved social conflicts created by colonialism. It was the people who supported the schools, supplied the hospitals, and transported the material to enable the struggle to be extended to increasingly large areas. It was the people who defended their gains with the Permanent weapon of People's vigilance.

Cultural rebirth began with the liberation struggle. Long-suppressed manifestations of culture regained their place, and gained a new content in expressing the new life of work and struggle: we sang our fights, we sang our work, we sang our heroes. The fight for literacy and education takes a prominent place. The assimilation of science by the broad masses was the way to guarantee future victories, to combat obscurantism and superstition, to gain a new conception of the world, to define new relations between men and between man and nature. A deep link between theory and practice, and between teaching and production, was established. New relations were established between teachers and pupils, based on the principle

that to teach is to learn, and that one learns in order to produce, in a collective effort. This was the character assumed by the Mozambican people's liberation struggle while in process. Our fight began with the objective of freeing our land from foreign domination, and transformed itself into a fight for the total liberation of man.

It is a fight that requires new values of its own, constituting a new way of thinking, new ways of living in a society. The complex tasks of creating a new society, of making the new and breaking the old, sometimes in violent rupture with the past, the need to guarantee a complete political independence and to move towards effective economic liberation in a constant struggle against imperialism, demands that we increasingly adopt the new values as a way of consolidating independence.

Knowledge

Science is the product of the joint endeavour of men of our time and of the accumulated practice and study of the generations that preceded us. This intimate and essential link between work and wisdom shows that knowledge has a social nature and an objective. It does not exist in itself and for itself. When the bourgeoisie took over the university, however, they transformed it into an instrument for formulating a class ideology, encouraging individualism, the competitive spirit, discrimination, to sum up: every manifestation of the system of exploitation of man by man.

This elitist conception of the university necessarily creates an artificial division between theory and practice. Knowledge ceases to be the fruit of the joint work of men, and science is removed from its eminently collective dimension. As you know in highly industrialised countries today, they turn knowledge and science into an instrument of crime. But we want, in our Ahmadu Bello University, that knowledge and science should be instruments of progress, instruments of liberation. We are certain that this university, its leaders, its teaching staff, its students and all its workers, are conscious that the Nigerian people, like all African peoples, expect that our universities should

be detachments of the great army, that is the people, determined to achieve their complete liberation, the people determined to carry the fight against oppression, humiliation and exploitation, against colonialism and imperialism, to the end, and to build a new society. And this was why the people of Mozambique, FRELIMO, and the Government of the Peoples' Republic of Mozambique have accepted the honour bestowed on us, and our struggle, by the Ahmadu Bello University.

I want to say "Long live the friendship between the people of Nigeria and the people of Mozambique" and I want you to answer, "Viva". Long live the friendship between the people of Nigeria and the people of Mozambique. Viva! (Three times)

I want to say "Long live the friendship between Ahmadu Bello University and Eduardo Mondlane University" and I want you to answer "Viva". Long live the friendship between Ahmadu Bello University and Eduardo Mondlane University. Viva!

I want to say "Long live the friendship between all the students of Nigeria and all the students of Mozambique" and I want you to say "Viva". Long live the friendship between all the students of Nigeria and all the students of Mozambique. Viva!

Now I want to say "Long live the struggle against neo-colonialism in Nigeria and Mozambique" and I want you to answer "Viva". Long live the struggle against neo-colonialism in Nigeria and in Mozambique. Viva!

I want you to say "Long live the struggle for the emancipation of African women" and I want you to say "Viva". Long live the struggle for the emancipation of African Women. Viva! It is not loud enough. Don't you want emancipation? I have not heard beautiful Nigerian women's voices answering "Viva". Long live the struggle for the emancipation of African women. Viva!

Abaixo Imperialismo! (Down with Imperialism!) Abaixo! Abaixo Capitalismo! (Down with Capitalism!) Abaixo!

Now I will say "A Luta Continua" and you answer "Continua". A Luta Continua! Continua!

Thank you.

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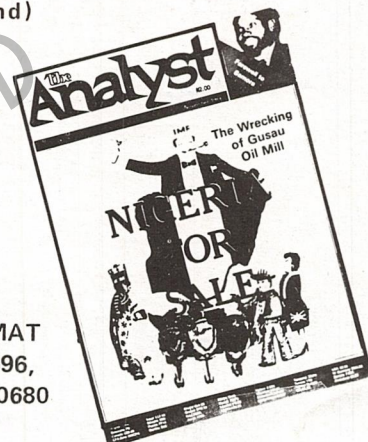
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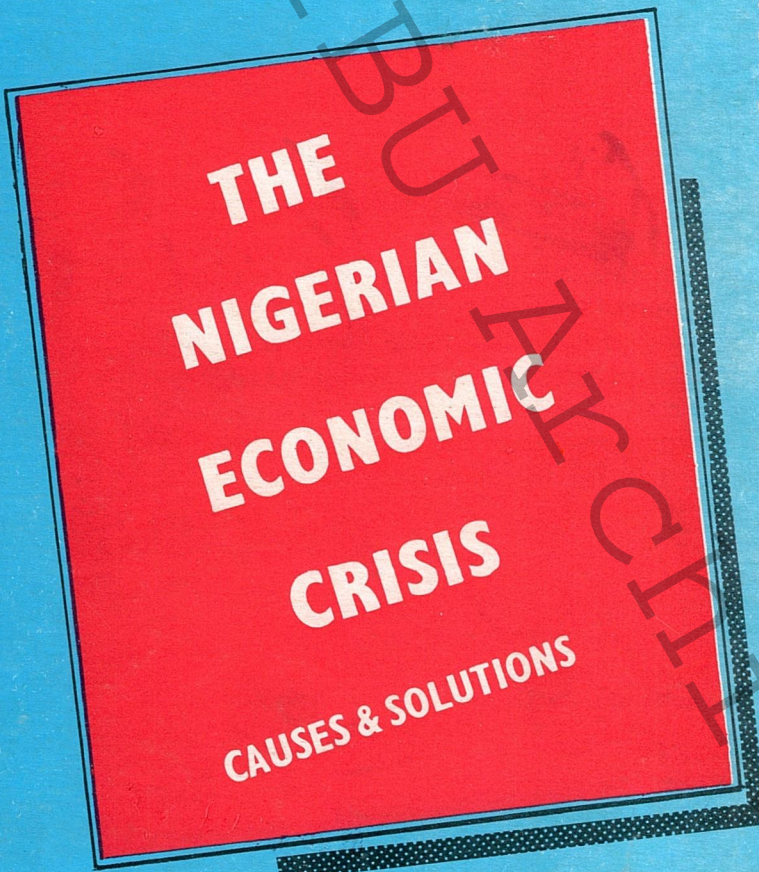
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