NIGERIA - GENERAL

1975 — 1980

Drop in Nigerian oil output

STAR 9/6/75

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LAGOS — Nigerian oil production has dropped back sharply in the first half of this year and is currently running at about 1,56m barrels a day compared with an average daily output for last year of 2,25m barrels.

The fall-off reflects the economic recession in the United States and Europe, the high levels of stocks in consuming countries and the mild European winter.

Another factor is the difficulty Nigeria has experienced in selling its participation crude earlier this year as a result of over-pricing in relation to other crude oil supplies, and government conservation measures.

Exports of Nigerian low sulphur crude generate around 83 percent of the country's national revenue, and the maintenance of current price levels — at considerably higher production rates than at present — are closely related to the country's R32 000m third national development plan launched earlier this year.

Like other members of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), Nigeria, the world's seventh largest oil producer, is becoming increasingly concerned at the pace of inflation in consuming countries and the impact on the price of manufactured goods it is importing.

Recently Nigeria concluded new pricing agreements with companies operating in the country for the second quarter of this year which included big increases in taxation and royalty rates. — Times News Service.

Prosperous Nigeria is 'low-key' on S Africa

STAR 9/6/75

(226)

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Nigeria is today a boom country, a focus of international business interest and a major force among the states of Black Africa, says a Financial Times survey on the country published today.

And the survey describes Nigeria's policy on Southern Africa as "low-key."

In a lengthy article on the country's foreign relations, the Financial Times says: "Nigeria, despite its shared colonial experience, is a long way, not only physically but psychologically, from southern and central Africa and many Nigerians seem not to understand why Africans in Rhodesia are unable to shake off White rule as easily as Nigerians themselves got rid of the British."

PRAGMATISM

Referring to the implementation of sanctions, the article points out that Nigeria has never had much trade with Rhodesia or South Africa and has been firm in not allowing Portuguese or South African aircraft to use its facilities.

"There is, however, a degree of pragatism here," the Financial Times says "At the Commonwealth summit a proposal was made that African states should forbid landing rights to any airline which flew to South Africa.

"General Gowon's reply was to suggest that if that happened, he might have difficulties getting home from Kingston, for Pan American, which flew to Johannesburg, had a maintenance and training contract with Nigeria airways."

The article speculates on whether Nigeria — which has the largest armed forces in Africa with the exception of Egypt and South Africa — would provide military aid, and mentions specifically Rhodesia

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Gowon is promised safety

(226)

Cape Times
31/7/75

From Sapa-Reuter

LAGOS. — Nigeria's new leader, Brigadier Murtala Mohammed, last night pledged safety for ousted General Yakubu Gowon and said in a national radio and television speech the coup had prevented the country's drift towards bloodshed.

Brigadier Mohammed accused the ousted regime of lack of consultation, indiscipline and neglect of the people

Brigadier Mohammed, addressing the people for the first time since the coup, said "Nigeria has been left to drift"

He said that if the situation had been allowed to drift on it could have led to bloodshed

In Kampala, General Gowon, who had been attending the summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), accepted the change in government in Lagos and pledged his support for the new leaders

The Brigadier said the nation was being plunged into chaos and in order to give the country a sense of direction, General Gowon had to go

The new head of state said General Gowon was now retired at his present rank and was free to return to Nigeria The safety of his family was guaranteed

Brigadier Mohammed said that with immediate effect all former members of the government, all state governors and the civilian administrator of East Central State were all put on retirement

Reports from state capitals yesterday indicated Brigadier Mohammed had consolidated his position with all military units apparently accepting the takeover

In Kampala, General Gowon bowed out with calm dignity yesterday, pledging his full support for the new Nigerian Government

"I wish to state that I on my part have accepted the change and pledge my full loyalty to my nation, my country and the new government," he told a news conference at which he appeared in traditional flowing Nigerian robes, calm and smiling

DAILY DISPATCH

Nigeria cuts oil price

22/8/75

NEW YORK — The new Nigerian Government, faced with heavily shrinking foreign trade, is making further reductions in its oil price, while some fellow-members of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) seek another 35 per cent increase.

Discussing the recent oil producers' meeting in Geneva, Barron's, the financiay weekly has accused Saudi Oil Minister Ahmed Zaki Yamani of "his familiar sham moderation," while claiming that he was under pressure from his peers to agree to the 35 per cent price increase." — SAPA-AP

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226 16/2/76.

Nigeria's shy new head

LAGOS — Nigeria's new head of state, Lt-Gen Olusegun Obasanjo, is a publicity-shy officer who last attracted world attention when he accepted the surrender of the Biafran secessionists in 1970 at the end of a 30-month civil war.

The army's Chief Engineer, Lt-Gen Obasanjo has had a distinguished military career which has included several courses in Britain and India.

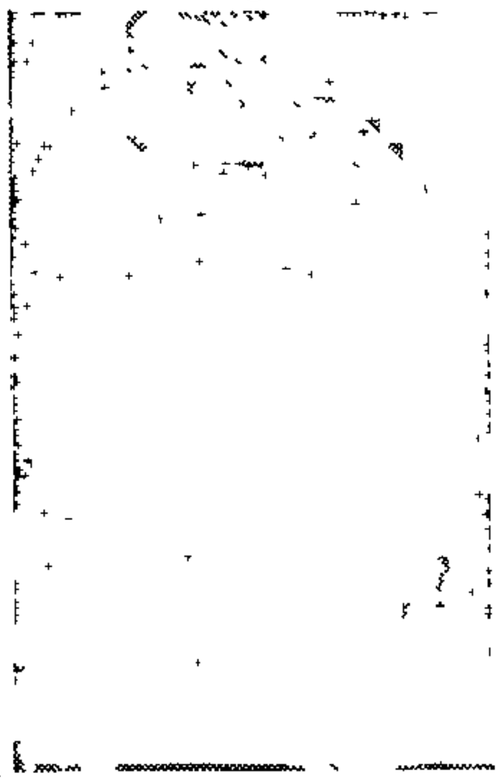
He won a citation from the British Royal Engineers' Young Officers' School as the best commonwealth student ever.

A teetotaler and non-smoker, he was born into the Egba tribe of Yorubaland in Western Nigeria on May 5, 1937, at Abeokuta, which two weeks ago became capital of the new Ogun State.

After attending the Abeokuta Baptist High School, he spent a year in the armed forces ranks before going for officer training at the Mons School in Britain.

This led to a short-service commission in the Nigerian infantry from May, 1959, and a regular commission just over two years later.

He went to the Royal Engineers Young Officers, course at Shrivenham, England, after a spell as platoon commander.



LT-GEN OBASANJO

Obasanjo returned from Britain to take command of the Nigerian Army field engineering squad.

In 1965, the successful young officer graduated at the Indian Staff College, going on to a short attachment to the Indian Army Engineering School at Kirkee.

He went through a series of commands from July 1967, soon after the Biafran War began — commander of the second area, commander of the second division (rear) two months later, then commander of the garrison at Ibadan till May 1969.

From there he followed "Black Scorpion" Bejamin Adekunle into command of the crack third marine commando division operating on the south-eastern front of diminishing Biafra, playing a major part in the successful conclusion of the civil war.

Promoted to brigadier in October, 1972, he went for further training in the next two years at the Royal College of Defence Studies in London.

In January 1975, he became Commissioner (Minister) for Works and Housing in the government of General Yakubo Gowon, who was to be deposed just six months later.

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Nigeria may move in to aid Swapo attack

PRETORIA — There is a strong possibility large Nigerian forces might be moved to Angola within the next few months

This will be a major step in the Swapo strategy to attack South West Africa on a large scale with the aid of an international military task force by not later than June 30 next year

I understand from African and diplomatic sources the reason for several visits this year by Mr Sam Nujoma, the Swapo president, to Nigeria — the last one only three weeks ago — was to discuss the direct involvement of the Nigerian Army in the "war for the liberation of Namibia"

This move apparently has the direct backing of Russia, which has heavily sponsored the MPLA military take-over in Angola and the present Swapo military action.

Some informed sources claim between 50 000 and 75 000 Nigerian troops might be moved to Angola early next year Ostensibly the Nigerians will be replacing Cuban forces The presence of light skinned Cubans has been politically damaging to the MPLA Government, largely backed by the mulatto population in Angola.

Nigerian forces will be available the moment Swapo decides to internationalise the present military confrontation and to embark on a full scale conventional war

Swapo and its sponsoring African states are concerned about a too direct Cuban-Russian involvement — something which countries such as Zambia, Zaire and Botswana dislike intensely

It is regarded as most important that African forces should form the bulk of any international task force, which will be backed by Russian, Cuban and other technical advisers. This is partly to avoid a new super power confrontation in these countries

African sources listed several reasons why it was likely Nigeria could soon become actively involved in the Namibian conflict

With an army of 250 000 men it is the biggest in black Africa It can sponsor such an involvement partly from its new oil profits. The Russians, already entrenched in Angola, has had close military links with Nigeria since the civil war.

It is also significant that President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania has gone on a state visit to Nigeria, his first visit in more than ten years

I was told in April by key Zambians in Lusaka that the front line countries were determined that if the war in Rhodesia was to escalate, Russia and Cuba would only be asked for assistance if South Africa got directly involved in the war.

It is thus possible that if the war in Rhodesia continues and escalates that the Nigerian Army might also be asked to assist there. At present it is believed there are some Nigerian Army advisers in Mozambique.

A new development in the Swapo military involvement is that it has recently given assurance by the Mexican Government that full military assistance will be given in case of a conventional war — DDC

Africa

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FM 29/12/76

Nigeria is the key to Africa — Young

By GUY BERNARD

WASHINGTON — Congressman Andrew Young of Georgia sees his selection as United Nations Ambassador as evidence that President-elect Mr Jimmy Carter will heed his advice on Third World matters.

To Mr Young, Nigeria is the most important of the recently-formed African nations

"Nigeria is the key to solving the African problem," Mr Young said yesterday

The Black legislator, whom Mr Carter describes as "one of my closest friends" has kept in constant touch with Nigerian leaders through their embassy in Washington and during his recent trip to Africa

"My decision to take the UN job was influenced by Nigeria's leaders," he explained. "They know and I know that we can work together to bring about a dialogue with other developing African nations"

This would mean a new and different approach to solving the problems of Southern Africa, with America dealing with a strong Black country rather than White-ruled South Africa and Rhodesia

Mr Young has often stressed the strong economic ties between the United States and Nigeria.

He has not been alone in pointing out that American business would be the loser if more deference was shown to the minority Whites than to the majority Blacks in Nigeria.

Questioned on other matters of international policy, Mr Young said he placed great importance on getting communist nations to relate to the United States instead of each other.

He suggested that with American help, Vietnam could develop into an independent communist nation like Yugoslavia and be a buffer against China.

MISSING

This is in line with Carter statements that, if the Vietnamese would account for American servicemen missing in action, his administration would seek normalisation of relations between the two countries.

Mr Young, a pragmatist, has Vietnam's untapped oil in the Gulf of Tonkin in mind. And when he speaks of the possible lifting of embargoes against Cuba, he is thinking of the profitable trade for American business that normalisation of relations with the Castro regime would bring.

REGRET

He gave Dr Henry Kissinger good marks for his Middle East diplomacy, though he regretted the enormous volume of arms sales to Arab nations. "Many of the arms shipments have gone to countries which may one day be at war with Israel," Mr Young warned.

He considered that radical political movements remained the greatest obstacle to a peaceful settlement of the Arab world's disputes with Israel.

Nigeria to take students

The Star's Africa News Service

GABORONE — More than 200 Soweto students who fled to Botswana are likely to be admitted to schools and universities in Nigeria.

The students have already undergone aptitude tests at the University of Botswana here, according to sources among the students here.

The Nigerian government is reported to have offered to place them in its schools in response to a plea by Botswana for international assistance in disposing of the hundreds of refugees who have crossed its borders in recent months.

About 700 South Africans, mostly students from Soweto, are reported to be among about 2 000 refugees now in Botswana.

They reportedly also include about 800 Rhodesians, 300 Basotho, 100 Angolans and 100 from South West Africa.

Nigeria may take over from Cubans

The Star's Africa News Service

NAIROBI — Plans are advanced for Nigerian troops to take over from Cuban troops in Angola, it is reported today.

The report comes from Mr Jonas Savimbi, the Unita leader with Angolan guerillas.

The Nigerians, he says, will be backed by token forces from Guinea and the Congo.

REVEALED

In a message received in Nairobi, Mr Savimbi says Cuban officers taken prisoner by Unita in Southern Angola have revealed details of the proposed takeover.

It has been under discussion for several months, he adds.

Advance units from the three African states are said to be already in Angola.

And Russia is reported to be pressing hard for an early Cuban withdrawal

A Unita spokesman in Nairobi said it was thought Russia was being embarrassed in international policies by the presence of an estimated 20 000 Cubans in Angola.

CALLED

The Unita spokesman added: "This will be the first time forces of other African countries have been called in to keep an African leader in power.

"We do not mind the change.

"We believe that after the Cubans the Nigerians will be easy prey for our guerillas.

"Let them come."

Details of the plan are said to have been revealed by a Cuban major who helped to hijack an aircraft in Luanda earlier this year.

He flew to Lisbon, where he sought political asylum at the American Embassy

The major is now believed to be in America

Nigeria UK export leader

By NEIL BEHRMANN

NIGERIA has superseded South Africa as Britain's main export market in Africa

Trade figures recently tabled in Parliament show that British exports to South Africa were 669-million sterling during the 12 months ended October, 1976

Exports to Nigeria in the same period amounted to 713-million sterling. (In terms of the current sterling rand rate exports to South Africa were R981-million and to Nigeria R1 045-million, but these figures are not strictly accurate because exchange rates are fluctuating on the foreign exchange markets).

Nigeria has been developing as a strong market since the oil price quadruppled at the beginning of 1974. The country is the fourth most important member of Opec and while oil exports were around 50 per cent of the country's total exports in 1971, it now accounts for about 90 per cent

Other main Nigerian exports are agricultural products — especially cocoa, which also had a drastic price rise. With greater revenue from oil, Nigeria's economy is expanding rapidly up The Government is on a massive development programme This is why Britain rapidly increased her exports to the region

Inflation down from 40 per cent last year is officially estimated at 20 per cent this year and there are bottlenecks

Foreign trade sources here say that South Africa was Britain's fourth biggest export market during the years 1965 to 1970, but by 1975 had slipped to ninth place

African actors head for Nigeria

LONDON — Inspired by a plea from Black political activist Miriam Makeba, breakaway members of the London casts of the two highly successful South African plays Ipi Tombi and KwaZulu have formed their own group.

They will represent non-White South Africa at the second World Black Arts and Culture Festival which begins in Lagos, Nigeria, today.

Miss Makeba, who is a South African by birth and is married to the Trinidadian Black Power leader Stokely Carmichael, appealed to them to go to the festival in a strong contingent.

It is hoped that when they perform in Lagos Miss Makeba will be a guest with them.

The cast, which is 20-strong, consists entirely of South Africans.

Of the cast 19 are former members of Ipi Tombi and one is from KwaZulu.

They will be joined by two other South Africans who have made it big in the United States, Letta Mbuli and her husband Kephas Semenya.

The play will be traditional songs and dances which will depict the history of South Africa's non-Whites over the centuries. The music will be scored by Semenya.

In spite of its historical context, it will be dedicated to the people of Soweto who have lost their lives."

The play is being financed by the members themselves and they have been rehearsing for a month.

It will be arranged and produced by them, and they hope to continue in a similar manner when they return from Nigeria.

21/11/78 Star p26

Where black slavery still thrives

In Africa today there are still black slaves.

But they are enslaved not by whites but by their fellow blacks.

So says Nigerian writer Dillibe Onyeama, Eton-educated son of the first African judge at the International Court.

And he tells me that even lowly Lagos factory-hands and clerks living in three-room shanties can afford their own "slaves" and his own grandmother pays hers just R1,65 a month.

In an astonishing attack on the brutality, corruption, greed, filth, and chaos of oil-rich modern Nigeria, his own homeland — "The Return" (Satellite, £3,50 in UK) — Mr Onyeama writes of the "house-boy" servants he met on a recent trip back to Nigeria:

"To be conscious of these wretched, deprived people ... was to be reminded with abhorrence of the plight of the black slaves who were dehumanised for 400 years on the plantations of America ...

"The (Nigerian) house-boy's blunders were liable to punishment with slaps and brutal caning by his master or the madam. He could have scalding, badly cooked soup thrown into his face with a stream of incensed oaths. He could be abused in a manner not fitting to even animals.

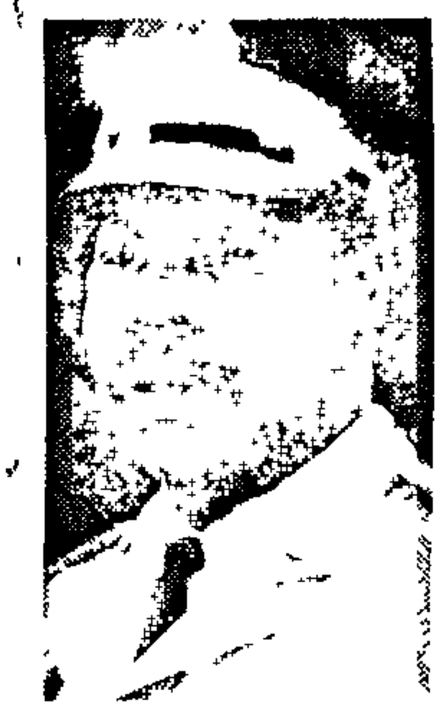
"The house-boy could be between the ages of 10 and 30, perhaps older.

"His only belongings in life are confined to a few tatty clothes, a comb, and maybe a few other irrelevant items. . . .

Floor his bed

"If his master is hungry, he must start cooking immediately, be it four in the morning. He must not eat until after his master has eaten, and his diet consists largely of his master's left-overs. . . . He is allowed a day off once in a blue moon ... He sleeps on the kitchen floor, separated from con-

"Our society has no moral right to heap condemnations on the West for the past slavery of Africans."
GRAHAM LORD quotes from a new book in which a Nigerian author describes brutality, bribery and corruption in his own country.



Lieutenant-General Olesegun Osabanjo — Nigerian Head of State.

ness is apparently widespread:

"There are many citizens who will pretend not to see a corpse, lest they be somehow implicated in the . . . death. Consequently, dead bodies can occasionally be seen rotting in cars or on the wayside or in marketplaces.

"There are the many policemen who will irritably wave away a complainant with reasons ranging from, 'Look, man, I have a headache,' to 'I have to go to the bank, find another policeman.' . . .

"The crimes reported could be of any degree of seriousness."

Mr Onyeama claims that when his brother was tending a car-accident victim and called for help from a nearby traffic cop, the policeman held up the traffic, commandeered a taxi, and drove off. "No wish to be involved"

Corruption in Nigeria is so widespread, says Mr Onyeama, that traffic police are regularly bribed and even bank-clerks expect a bribe for cashing a cheque which can otherwise involve an average wait for two hours.

And when he and his white English wife went to the airport to catch an internal flight they found

of black Africa and "incompetence and callousness on an unbelievable scale," and says: "I have always been puzzled over the years by Western Press reports praising Nigeria . . . Africa's 'most progressive country' . . . Not one Nigerian did I come across who had a word of praise for the country . . . *nothing* works in that country

He writes of power failures two or three times a day; only one set of working traffic-lights in all Lagos; water shortages; few working telephones; a complete disregard of firm appointments; shocking hospital conditions, and callous treatment of patients "frequently resulting in deaths that could so easily have been prevented"

Money-grubbing

"Most Nigerian doctors," he says, "are so obsessed with the money-grubbing game, and consequently neglectful of their duties, that few members of the elite will be treated by them, preferring to fork out a fortune to travel to Europe for treatment. Many Nigerian doctors are, quite validly, considered dangerous."

in a blue moon ... He sleeps on the kitchen floor, separated from concrete by a thin mat, and hopefully protected from the mosquitoes by his wrap-around."

He adds: "Our society has no moral right to heap condemnations on the West for the past slavery of Africans."

Brutality in modern Nigeria is not confined to the "slaves," says Mr Onyeama: soldiers of the dictatorial military regime have stopped traffic near their barracks, "destroying cars and maiming the drivers."

Even taxi-drivers in Lagos "will unmercifully run down pedestrians who should step out without warning from the wayside — even if there is ample time to pull up."

Such Nigerian callousness ... white English wife went to the airport to catch an internal flight they found themselves in a raucous punch-up, because even passengers with firm reservations were expected to bribe airport officials as much as R160 to obtain a boarding pass.

The Onyeamas — and 70 other passengers with reservations — lost their seats to unreserved bribers and caught a later flight only by paying R120 "which the profiteers would then double on the black market."

He writes of "a flagrancy of bribery and corruption unequalled anywhere else in the world," and says: "Nigeria's wealth is fast diminishing, and consequently there is a nationwide scramble to grab what is left."

He refers to the "chaos" ment. Many Nigerian doctors are, quite validly, considered dangerous."

Of Lagos itself — despite Nigeria's wealth — he describes "pitted roads ... the putrefying stench of the open gutters ... stagnant water .. a dead dog rotting by the wayside, its stomach contents spilled out .. an immaculately dressed well-to-do man who could not drive his Mercedes through his front gate because of the rubbish piled on the wayside."

Of Lagos's congestion: "The Government had tackled the traffic problem by making it the law that cars beginning with odd and even numbers be used respectively on alternate days. The wealthy Nigerian citizens, however, tackled that problem by purchasing two cars, beginning with odd and even numbers."

As for racial prejudice, "many people" in Nigeria blame the filth and stench on "a particular tribe of Nigerians" who are "inherently unclean."

Onyeama quotes "four ... prominent" Nigerians as telling him: "We just have to face the hard fact that we are basically inferior to the white man. We are simply backward."

Blackmail

As for the future, he foresees the advent of an "Iron Man" leader and "one fears the lurking fangs of communism."

Could Mr Onyeama's startling indictment of Nigeria be accurate? Surely not.

After all, most Tory MPs have again condoned the Government's sanctions vendetta against Ian Smith — even though he is now supported by Rhodesia's black moderates — mainly because all our political leaders are terrified that oil-rich Nigeria might withdraw its massive funds in London and retaliate against British interests in Nigeria if we do anything to further commonsense in Rhodesia.

But surely our political leaders could not be so hypocritical or have descended so low as to be blackmailed in Africa by an military dictatorship of a country as shambolic as that Mr Onyeama describes, where there are still slaves?

Could they? — Sunday Express, London News Service.

Nigerians may lead Black army against Smith

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30/11/72 SC

By DEREK TAYLOR

THE five Black frontline presidents are planning to increase armed intervention in Rhodesia to the level of a Pan African liberation army.

The proposed force, with Nigeria supplying the main contingent, could convert the guerrilla conflict into a fullscale conventional war for all Southern Africa

New details of the plan were disclosed to the Sunday Express by Western diplomatic and intelligence sources this week·

• President Kaunda of Zambia visited Nigeria and other West African states last week for talks on military aid which would rely mainly on Nigeria's massive permanent army of 250 000 men.

● Although many countries would make nominal contributions, the new plan for a Pan African army depends upon the ex-British colonies and their common military systems and lingua franca.

● First objective of the plan is to supply the Mozambique - based Patriotic Front with logistic and rear-echelon support units — transport, vehicle maintenance, signals and anti-aircraft.

● Second and main objective is to strengthen the Mozambique front to a level where an invasion of north-west Rhodesia could take and hold a significant area in which a Zimbabwe coalition government could be declared.

The Organisation of African Unity Liberation Committee, meeting in Lusaka this weekend "to consider means of reinforcing the Patriotic Front", is expected to study the new army plan in secret session.

"The concept of a practical Pan African army — despite its great difficulties of cohesion and compatible systems — is seen as the only alternative to growing reliance on Soviet military aid by the five presidents," a senior Western diplomat commented to the Express yesterday

"The frontline heads of state and others have long been reluctant to give Nigeria its head in terms of its advertised ambitions to lead Africa and dominate its military muscles," he said.

"But the Presidents are now even more convinced that successful negotiations with Smith depend upon overwhelming military pressure"

The most disturbing implication of the plan was that, while such a force was difficult to establish, once organised and deployed it would be just as difficult to dismantle.

"Thus the guerrilla war for Rhodesia could escalate into a conventional warfare threat for all Southern Africa," said the diplomat.

Meanwhile, Rhodesian and other intelligence sources expect an imminent intensified guerrilla offensive from Mozambique and Botswana.

The Patriotic Front is believed to be mounting a maximum effort with their casualty-diminished trained units

"If this effort bashes Smith into a new receptivity, the Pan African army plan would be short-circuited", commented the diplomat.

"If it fails, the plan will become that more urgent. Either position will help the frontline Presidents' planning," he said.

A diplomatic military attache with experience in West Africa believes a significant Nigerian force could not be assembled and be operational in Mozambique — and possibly staged in bases in Zambia and Tanzania — in less than six months.

"Logistics and field intelligence units could, of course, be on the ground within a few weeks of orders," he said.

It is generally believed, in diplomatic circles, that Rhodesian premier Ian Smith has no hope in his announced intention to negotiate separately with African groups inside Rhodesia.

Nigerië laat die banke wonder

Sake-Rapport 20/11/77

DIE lening van 1 miljard dollar aan Nigerië teen 'n koers van 1 persent bo die Londense interbankkoers is blykbaar besig om die wind van voor te kry Volgens die jongste Euromoney is die onderskrywing van die lening nog nie afgehandel nie en begin verskeie van die betrokke banke te wonder of hulle nie te haastig was nie

Die probleem is dat Nigerie nog geen vorige ondervinding het van lenings op die Euro-kapitaalmark nie en dat die administrasie van sy ekonomiese sake nie baie ordelik is nie.

Deutsche Bank, een van die leiers van die konsortium wat die lening hanteer werk al vir die laaste paar maande aan 'n ekonomiese oorsig van die land en dit gaan nie so maklik nie. Volgens die bank is daar in Nigerie duidelik 'n gebrek aan inligting, al is die plaaslike owerhede bereid om dit te verskaf

'n Verdere probleem is die marge van slegs 1 persent Bankiers voel nou dat so 'n koers net van toepassing kan wees op 'n werklike topland en dat Nigerie se olie-inkomste nie alleen voldoende is om hom hierdie status te gee nie. Daar word nou gevoel dat 'n koers van 1,125 tot 1,25 persent bo die Londense koers nader aan die kol is.

Nigerie het in 1975 ook 'n baie ongewilde naam gekry toe hy geweier het om verder te betaal vir sementinvoer nadat 'n volle vyf jaar se behoeftes in een jaar bestel was. Baie internasionale bankiers onthou nog hoe meer as 400 skepe met sement by Lagos gewag het

Uiteindelik het die Nigeriese regering toe besluit om nie sy verpligtinge onder die kredietbriewe vir die sement na te kom nie

Bankiers voel ook nie te gelukkig oor die politieke stabiliteit in die land nie en wys verder daarop dat dié land se buitelandse reserwe sedert Junie 1975 gedaal het van 6,2 miljard dollar tot 4,5 miljard

Die banke wat reeds toegestem het tot ondersteuning van die lening sit verder met die probleem dat hulle die geld beskikbaar moet hou en dit nou teen relatief lae korttermynkoerse moet belê. Dit verlaag hul inkomste op hierdie lening verder

Nigeria's anti-SA step may hit UK trade

25/1/78 Star 226

The Star Bureau

LONDON — British businessmen operating in West Africa are becoming increasingly disturbed by reports of a tightening up by Nigeria of its anti-South Africa policy

During a speech at the UN anti-apartheid conference in Lagos last August Lieutenant-General Abasanjo, the Nigerian head of state, said foreign companies with interests in South Africa would not be permitted to operate in Nigeria in the future.

Earlier this month the Geneva-based publication Business Europe published a report suggesting that companies wishing to operate in Nigeria were being made to sign contracts containing a clause that the company had not had, and did not now have, any dealings with South Africa

This report was denied by Nigerian officials in London last week, but information is now emerging which suggests that it is indeed correct Nigeria appears to be operating on a selective basis what amounts to a secondary boycott, similar to that used by Middle East countries over Israel

CONFUSED

Nigeria seems to be threatening to close its markets to some companies with South African connections.

An official of the Confederation of British Industry who is keeping a watching brief on the Nigerian situation, said yesterday the situation was confused. Reports suggested that a Nigerian committee — possibly at government level — was now attempting to thrash out a policy.

Information reaching London suggests that a number of British companies and several European ventures have already been faced with contracts bearing the crucial "South Africa" clause

Businessmen dealing with Nigeria also complain that people carrying passports which bear a South African stamp are more often being turned away

The giant stirs

(226) FM 10/2/78

Nigeria, Africa's new giant, has joined the battle against apartheid.

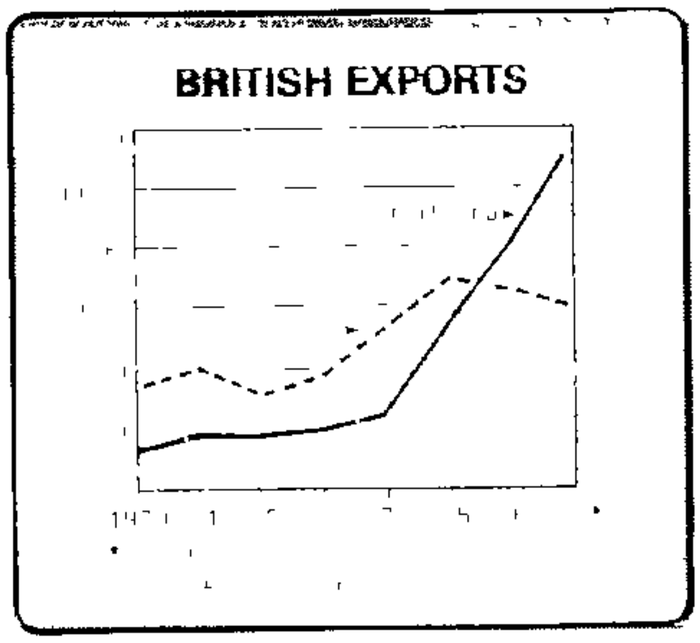
That could spell trouble for SA's trade and investment links with the West

Nigeria, undoubtedly emerging as the economic giant of Africa, has begun flexing its muscles — with a baleful eye on white-ruled SA

In the words of a Nigerian diplomat, the issue of SA "occupies a central and unique position" in Nigeria's foreign policy This is not surprising SA, SWA and Rhodesia preoccupy most African countries, who naturally identify with the blacks of southern Africa But Nigeria, with a 1976 gross domestic product of R32bn (SA. R29bn), is one of the few African countries with enough clout to influence international attitudes on this score.

For a start, with an estimated 60m to 85m people, Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa and ranks sixth among the world's oil exporters. Its oil revenues have risen from R877m in 1971 to R5 250m in 1977.

With an annual economic growth rate of about 20%, Nigeria is one of the fastest growing economies in the world. Certainly it is the most attractive export market in Africa. Britain's Under-Secretary of State for Trade, Michael Meacher, recently told Parliament that Britain's exports to Nigeria in 1977 would be nearly double those to SA He added· "I am sure most companies will draw their own conclusions from recent events, SA is likely to be an increasingly risky proposition."



Department of Trade statistics show that British exports to Nigeria in October 1977 were worth £101,6m — an increase of 50,7% over October 1976, while British exports to SA in October 1977 amounted to £38,6m — a decrease of 28,1% over the previous year (see graph). Total British exports to Nigeria in 1977 are estimated to have passed the £1 000m mark

Last year the American ambassador to the UN, Andrew Young, pointed out that Nigeria outstripped SA by two to one in trade with the US, and that Nigeria was also ahead of SA in its trade with France, West Germany and Canada

Indeed, when Nigeria was elected to the Security Council recently, a factor which will make for increased Nigerian influence, Young campaigned actively on

P. T. O.

Nigeria's behalf against Niger, the former French colony, which had actually been sponsored by the Organization of African Unity to represent African interests in the council. Informed sources in Lagos say that only four African delegations at the UN voted in favour of Nigeria, and that Nigeria only won because of support from the US and Russia.

Nigeria is anxious to appear non-aligned, and Lagos certainly shows no ideological preference in the purchase of military equipment It still imports Soviet arms supplies, which started to arrive on a large scale during the 1967-1970 civil war. Last November, the Soviet Deputy Defence Minister, General Ivan Pavlovsky, paid an official visit to Lagos and pledged continued military assistance The same month Nigeria placed a R94m order for six high-speed patrol boats equipped with missiles from France and Germany. A few weeks earlier the US Defence Department had announced plans to sell Nigeria seven Boeing CH-47C military transport helicopters

The US offer was a sign of improved relations between Washington and Lagos under the Carter administration. During the Kissinger era relations had reached an all-time low, largely because of Kissinger's uncritical attitude towards SA and the pressure he attempted to exert on black Africa to support the western position in Angola.

Attitudes towards the US

The change in Nigerian attitudes towards the US since the arrival on the diplomatic scene of Andy Young has been truly dramatic, culminating in an official visit to Washington last October by Nigeria's head of state, General Obasanjo. In fact, Nigeria's new faith in American goodwill owes much to the belief that Carter won the presidential election by virtue of the black vote, and that this is why he has promised to promote southern African majority rule

To ensure this promise is kept, Nigeria is trying to forge strong links with America's black community, and Nigeria's government-controlled press has been talking about "the usefulness of the Jewish model." This allows American Jews to exert power and influence in Washington in favour of Israel.

"If it is indeed true that Afro-Americans are as yet not influential enough to aid Africa, we in Nigeria must help them to become influential by offering Afro-American companies some of the contracts now going almost exclusively to West European institutions," said one report.

One correspondent even suggested that if the Carter administration proved to be well-disposed towards African aspirations, "we should help it to achieve a second term."

This argument was used a great deal to

General Olusegun Obasanjo . . . pointless to choose between capitalism or socialism

silence domestic opposition in Nigeria, which had built up against the state visit and the fact that Nigeria was suddenly on such good terms with the American "imperialists" Pressure groups were even formed to urge General Obasanjo to speak up for "liberation and revolution in SA", for it was feared that over-concern with economic needs was making Nigeria "an errand boy to the causes of imperialism and neo-colonialism"

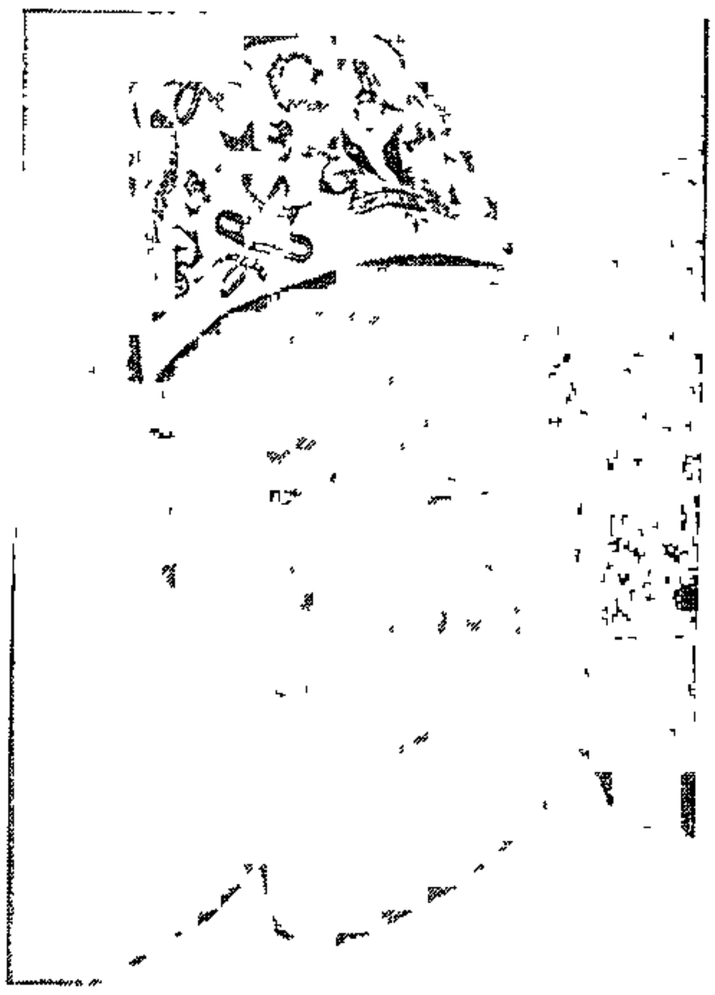
The radicals' suspicions seemed confirmed when Obasanjo told businessmen in New York that Nigeria "can hardly be bettered as a proposition" for genuine business, and that "in Nigeria profit margins are still comfortable, incentives abound and competition is not yet stiff for old hands in the business."

On domestic questions, Nigeria's military leadership is far from radical In an address to his senior officers last year, Obasanjo said he was convinced it was a waste of effort to have to "choose between capitalism or socialism"

The military are committed to handing over power to the civilians by October next year, and the time-table for the constitutional transfer is being strictly observed However, it is still doubtful whether a sufficiently cohesive group will emerge to take over, for in the refusal to make any ideological commitment, the military rulers have allowed Nigeria's many interest groups to remain as divisive as they were when the civil war broke out

The only unifying policy of Nigeria's present administration has been its stance on southern Africa and particularly its defiance of Washington in the Kissinger era. This created an image with which the younger generation was anxious to identify This is an additional reason why the Nigerians in the Security Council cannot show themselves to be weakening in their basic demands

These were identified by Nigeria's External Affairs Commissioner, Brigadier Joseph Garba, in November, after the western powers vetoed a call for economic sanctions against SA. He angrily demanded an embargo on oil shipments to SA and said that "an all-embracing package of economic sanctions against SA is essential any positive action in the right direction must



Brigadier Joseph Garba . . . in favour of sanctions against SA

include the cessation of new loans and investments and the progressive dismantling of existing ones"

Brigadier Garba is expected to preside in person over some of the forthcoming debates on SA, and the western powers — with an eye on Nigeria's trade statistics — will undoubtedly consider the line he takes as an important political factor

Recent reports suggest Nigeria is stepping up its anti-apartheid campaign on a practical level, enforcing what is in effect a "secondary boycott against SA".

The periodical *Business Europe* claims in its January 6 issue that companies entering into deals with Nigeria are required to sign a clause certifying that they have no dealings with SA This is frequently followed by another clause, stating that if the declaration in the first clause is found to be false, the firm can be fined up to five times the value of the contract The article also claims that the usual annual renewal of the contracts of some SA-linked companies have simply not materialized

NIGERIANS HEI

help MACHEL

2 000 fly in to train Frelimo as Cubans quit

NIGERIAN troops and instructors have been sent to Mozambique to bolster President Samora Machel's position in the face of powerful opposition to his Marxist policies.

His position is so serious, it was learned from a highly placed Defence Force source yesterday that his troops now control only the areas around Maputo and Beira

The Nigerians, the source said, were being used to train Frelimo troops and Dr Robert Mugabe's terrorist army in the use of new sophisticated weapons supplied by the Soviet bloc.

And Western intelligence sources have reported the presence of about 2 000 Nigerians in Angola — sent there to replace more than 5 000 Cubans who have been airlifted to the Somalia/Ethiopia war.

Western diplomats in Bonn confirmed the presence of Nigerian soldiers in Angola but pointed out that supposedly they were there for bridge building works

The diplomats also quote reports that the Soviets were now administering two Angolan ports which Unita claims is to facilitate the landing of

By PAT TAYLOR, Military Correspondent, DIET SIMON in Bonn and RORY LYNSKY in London

new war materials for the Marxist MPLA government in Luanda.

Nigeria's growing interest in South Africa was demonstrated this week when Mr Leslie Harriman, the country's permanent representative at the United Nations, held talks at the British Foreign Office on Southern African developments.

He had a 40-minute meeting with Mr Ted Rowlands, a Minister of State on the Rhodesian and SWA/Namibia independence disputes and other questions concerning Southern Africa

Mr Harriman is chairman of a United Nations special committee on apartheid and was in London to attend a conference organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement

Mr Harriman's country has also been involved in the airlifting of scores of anti-Rhodesia guerillas from training camps in Tanzania to Mozambique

A fortnight ago, Chapman Pincher said in an exclusive interview in the London Daily Express that British defence chiefs suspected Foreign Secretary David Owen and Field Marshal Lord Carver were behind a move to station a powerful force of troops in Mozambique.

The troops, mainly Nigerians and Indians, with units from the front-line states would ostensibly be a UN force poised to superintend a settlement.

But once in position it could be used to give Mr Ian Smith an ultimatum unless he agreed to the Anglo-American settlement terms.

The South African Defence source said, however, that it was unlikely that the Nigerians would become directly involved in the affairs of South Africa or Rhodesia

Meanwhile it has been reported that the Soviets have taken over the administration of two Angolan ports. Unita claims this is to help the landing of new war materials for the MPLA Government in Luanda

The Tribune Africa News Service reports that a Lockheed Hercules transport aircraft of the Nigerian Air Force airlifted scores of anti-Rhodesian guerillas from training camps in Tanzania to Mozambique late last year according to informed sources

Star 6/11/78

—Nigeria pushes for UN recognition of th

Allen Pizzey of The Star's Africa News Service reports from Lagos.

The Patriotic Front alliance should be forced to choose one leader, be recognised as a government - in - exile and given seats at the UN and OAU as a way to take settlement moves out of the hands of the West, it has been suggested here.

A three-day series of editorials in the 60 percent Government-owned Daily Times of Nigeria decried what it saw as betrayal of Nigerian trust in the West and set out plans for African action to solve the Rhodesian and SWA/Namibia issues.

The editorials, entitled "In search of new options", were drawn up by the policy-advising Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, members of the Foreign Ministry and heads of the Daily Times staff.

Nigerian Head of State Lieutenant-General Olusegun Obasanjo saw the editorials before publication, informed sources said.

Dr Stanley Macebuh, editorial adviser of the Daily Times, said the editorials "accurately reflect the thinkng of some members of the Supreme Military Council" (Nigeria's ruling elite).

The Times suggested Nigeria use its considerable power and influence to "ensure that the self-defeating squabbles within the Patriotic Front" are ended.

"The leaders of the Front should be told quite bluntly that Africa is not amused by their narrow personal ambitions."

There was no reason to assume such moves by Nigeria would be unwelcomed by the five Frontline States. (Both Britain and the US treat Nigeria as an unofficial sixth Frontline State).

The Times wanted the PF to choose one leader and unify so the OAU could recognise it as a Government-in-exile of Zimbabwe. The Africans, Arabs and Asians could then unite (probably with Eastern Bloc support) to gain a seat for the PF "government" in the UN General Assembly.

The West has no veto in the General Assembly.

Nigeria and other OAU states should urgently increase their military aid to the Patriotic Front and send troops to Zambia and Mozambique to help defend against Rhodesian attacks, the edi-

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The Star
Thursday November 16 1978
CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS INSIDE

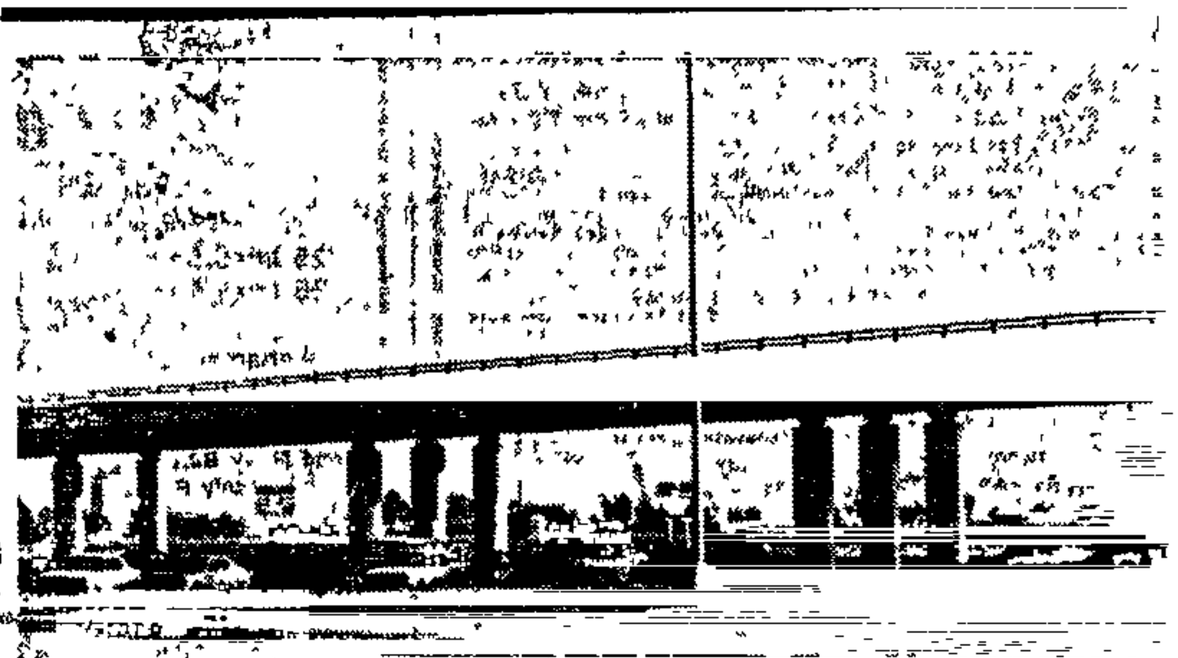
Back to the barracks

ALLEN PIZZEY of The Star's Africa News Service, was probably the first South African-employed journalist to get into Nigeria in the past five years.

In this the second of two articles he examines two major developments in this giant of the north:

● Nigeria's military rulers are getting out of the business of running a country and are giving it back to the politicians after 12 years. It is unlikely to bring about major changes in foreign policy.

● The enormous economic potential of Nigeria is beginning to be realised. Oil and other minerals have given the country considerable clout in political affairs.



Elevated highways along the crowded waterfront that chronic congestion

LAGOS — The military, which has ruled Nigeria since a coup in 1966, is about to take what is probably an unprecedented step in Africa and return power to the hands of a civilian administration next year.

No one here seems quite sure why the men who rule from Dodan Barracks have decided to step down One theory is that they are fed up with trying to make some political and economic sense out of this land of more than 80-million people

Another puts it that the men at the top have made their money from Nigeria's endemic and all-pervading corruption and now want to enjoy it.

Sincere

More sympathetic observers claim it is the Sandhurst tradition which dictates that the military is supposed to guard, not run the country, and the officers led by Lieutenant - General Oluesgun Obasanjo are doing what they see as their duty.

Whatever the reason, the Government is moving determinedly forward to the handover date of October 1 1979, and no one seems to doubt its sincerity.

Nigeria's 47-million registered voters reacted with alacrity to the announcement. Since the lifting of the 12-year ban on political activity in September, 33 parties have announced their existence.

They range from serious new groups, through revived post-independence power alliances to the Movement of the People, a concept of Afro-rock star Fela Anikulapo Kuti.

Something of a folk hero in Nigeria, Fela declared his house the independent Republic of Kalakuta and said his party would prove blacks could do anything anyone else could.

The Government bulldozed the house a few weeks ago, and few take anything but Fela's driving music seriously

A senior Nigerian political commentator said by the time elections began about April next year the political field would probably have been narrowed down to six parties.

"The smaller ones are really just power-broking and will attach themselves to the bigger parties later on," he said.

Contenders

Three main contenders are the Unity Party of Nigeria, led by an old-time political baron, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, the Nigeria Peoples' Party of Waziri Ibrahim, a millionaire businessman (the NPN is widely regarded at this stage as being the party embracing the broadcast spectrum of the Nigerian electorate) and the National Party of Nigeria led by Mr T Balewa

Candidates and parties have to be screened and approved by the Federal Election Commission (Fedeco), which eliminates those not crossing tribal lines and candidates convicted of political corruption before the military coup in 1966.

There will be five separate elections during the run-up to transition day. Voters will choose assemblies and governors for each of Nigeria's 19 states, the 450 members of the House of Representatives, five Senators from each state and finally the executive president.

US system

Candidates for the presidency must receive the support of two thirds of the states and 25 per cent of the overall vote.

The system is modelled closely on the American one, and civil servants who have worked closely with the military rulers are worried about what it might mean to them.

Most observers agree the civilian side of the present administration will stay on, however, which will mean little change in such things as foreign policy

"Any civilian government will also have to make use of the assistance the army can give them to maintain the implementation of the law," said one foreigner who has been in the country since before independence

Some middle level officers in the army are said to be unhappy about the change-over, and could constitute a threat, but it is felt the senior officers will keep them in line

"It is really quite remarkable how easily the soldiers accepted being sent back to the barracks," a UN observer said.

The other major obstacle is a revival of the political thuggery of the early 1960s based on rivalry among the country's 250 identifiable tribal groups.

To avoid this, parties must campaign in a number of areas to qualify for campaign funds allotted by the government

Chief Awolowo, who during the Biafran civil war advocated starvation of the rebels as a valid military tactic, was stoned when he tried to speak at Enugu, the old Biafran capital recently

A Nigerian commentator said the incident would likely be an isolated one, however

"I think it is a measure of the courage of the politician and the state of Nigerian politics that he went — and even tried to campaign — there," the commentator said

Most observers are hailing the Nigerian plans as "courageous" and "remarkable."

How long it will last is something else, but there is unlikely to be much change in the country's West-looking policies and capitalist structure.

"They can't change much if they want to keep the place going," an international aid official said

The biggest problem facing aspirants for control of this hugely rich nation will be setting up and running a viable economy which will reinforce the confidence of investors, who are hanging back at the moment waiting to see if Nigeria can make it

"If they can't make it, here," one Western diplomatic source said, "they can't make it anywhere in Africa.

"And at least the Nigerians are trying."

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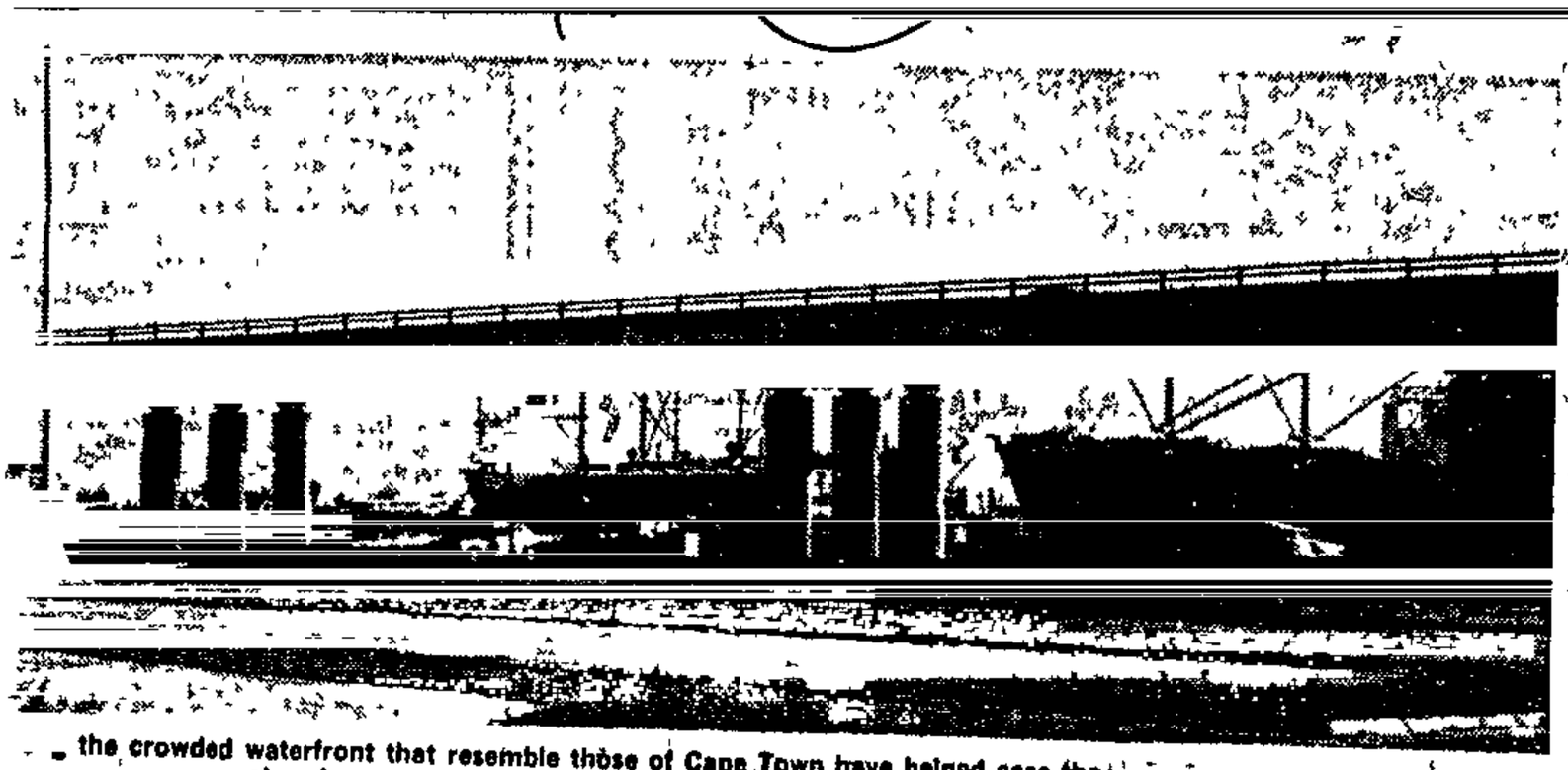
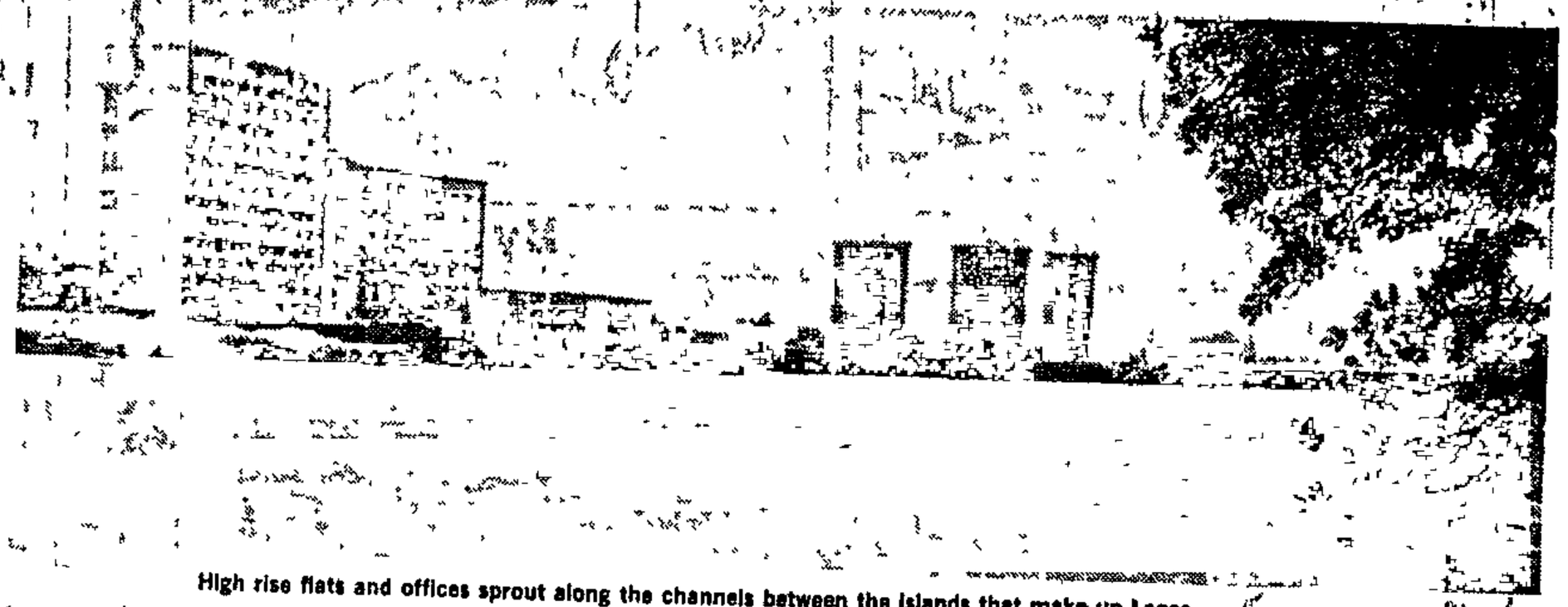
"Any entrepreneur who can't get rich in Nigeria in two years, the Swedish businessman said, "doesn't deserve to be in business."

Scattered at tables and on couches around the lobby of the luxury hotel,



the crowded waterfront that resemble those of Cape Town have helped ease the chronic congestion of Lagos.

PRESIDENT OBASANJO



High rise flats and offices sprout along the channels between the islands that make up Lagos.

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Scattered at tables and on couches around the lobby of the luxury hotel, their tropical-weight suits wilting in the dripping humidity, silk handkerchiefs mopping sweat-soaked brows, dozens of other Westerners sat in earnest conversation with attache case-carrying Nigerians

Giant

Money and energy pulsate through the torpid air here, for Nigeria is black Africa's sleeping giant waking Vast reserves of oil under the land and the coastal waters, and an aggressive and dynamic population of more than 80-million, all of whom seem to be businessmen, have combined to give it enormous growth potential

Oil, first pumped here in the late 1950s, has been both the saving and near fatal element in Nigeria's economy.

The Third Five Year Development Plan was based on a projected outpouring of three-million barrels of low sulphur crude (best for petrol) a day But bad pricing policy and the coming on stream of North Slope and North Sea wells caused the nine oil companies operating in Nigeria to cut back, and production fell to less than 1,5-million barrels a day.

"The development plan was based on a 'money-is-no-object' philosophy," a banker said.

Squandered

Various administrations squandered millions on non-revenue producing buildings, monuments and events like the black cultural festival Festac

The fall in the dollar value of oil and the drop in production "taught them a lesson," one economic observer said

Now money is being poured into infrastructure such as roads, and production of oil is back to about 2,1-million barrels a day

The known reserves of oil are projected to run out in the mid-1980's, but more exploration could mean production well into the 21st century

"There's still a hell of a lot of oil to be found out there," one American oil man said with a gesture to the sea

Nigeria supplies 60 percent of American oil imports, making it the second most important supplier after Saudi Arabia — one good reason for its influence on Washington's Africa policy — and has untapped reserves of natural gas

"If they can manage to capture the United States market for natural gas the figures I have seen make the oil revenues look like petty cash," the manager of a leading bank said

There is also coal, iron and uranium in quantity in Nigeria, and plans are on the table for steel mills

But the cornucopia of oil and industry caused almost uncontrollable urban drift, and agriculture suffered to the point where Nigeria fell from being a food exporter to being deficient in food.

Priority

Rural development is being re-emphasised by the military government, and will be a priority of the civilian rule due for late next year

Investors are regaining confidence in Nigeria, although all business is still done on confirmed letters of credit. A new "indigenisation" policy compelled all companies to be at least 60 percent Nigerian-owned

The World Bank recently granted the country a R25-million loan, and a R615-million Eurodollar loan is about to be floated.

The third largest UN Development Programme effort in the world after Indian and Bangladesh is in Nigeria There are 150 UN experts working on a budget of more than R70-million for five years, 35 percent of it agriculture-orientated.

Shortage

Nigeria suffers a shortage of skilled personnel at middle levels, but there are now more than 24 000 university graduates. Some 20 000 students, about 25 percent of the post-secondary school students, are training in the United States

This influence, plus the capitalist nature of the people, will probably ensure the Government stays West-leaning, if non-aligned

"The Nigerians might talk socialism, but they like good Scotch, Lux soap and the biggest cars they can find," one Western observer said. "This city is a vast market place"

A Western diplomat quipped: "What they have here is social Darwinism. Everyone is out to prove the strongest can make good."

Improved

Efficiency has definitely improved in the past few years, residents said. The packs of hundreds of ships waiting months to be offloaded are down to about 90, and most wait no more than a few days to a few weeks.

Ports are being expanded, and Indian technicians have been brought in to improve the railway efficiency from its dismal 10 percent level.

Corruption remains at a scale a Westerner with long and extensive experience in South America and Africa called "the worst I have ever seen"

But things get done, and the vibrancy and energy of Lagos is like no where else in black Africa The people may not know exactly where they are going, but they are on their way, and there is money to be made.

The giant is afoot.

© Argus Co, 1978.

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Allen Pizzey of The Star's Africa News Service reports from Lagos.

"government" in the UN General Assembly. The West has no veto in the General Assembly.

Nigeria and other OAU states should urgently increase their military aid to the Patriotic Front and send troops to Zambia and Mozambique to help defend against Rhodesian attacks, the editorials said.

Observers here noted that Nigeria knew enough about logistics and troop problems from its own civil war not to get caught up in trying to do a major airlift or commit many troops to battle. But the 210 000-strong Nigerian Army has already offered up to 4 000 "advisers" and trainers to Zambia.

Informed Nigerian sources said it was generally felt the population would not object to troops being committed to southern Africa.

"Many would like to see the army doing something to earn its keep," one said.

The plan for SWA-Namibia was about the same with the additional proviso that "the OAU should unilaterally send troops to Namibia and invite the aid and military support of any non-African country that shares Africa's aspiration."

Western diplomats here saw the Times series as a "warning flag" to the West that Nigeria, Africa's richest, most populous and influential black nation, was unhappy with the apparent failure of Western efforts to settle Rhodesia and SWA/Namibia by December 31 this year.

Pres Obasanjo

(226) FM 11/8/78

~~That and~~ SA stance notwithstanding, Nigeria has placed an order for 4 000 tons of salt in SA'

STAR 18/7/78

(226)

Nigeria shows its muscle

When Lagos speaks everybody listens, MICHAEL KAUFMAN reports from the Nigerian capital.

For very good reasons, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of West Germany began his first trip to black Africa in Nigeria. For the same reasons, President Carter last April began his trip to black Africa here.

Western officials believe that whatever the uncertainties of African development, Nigeria, the most populous and one of the richest nations on the continent, will eventually spread its influence if not its hegemony throughout Africa

Put simply, Nigeria's mission is to unify black Africa and encourge the struggle against white minority domination in southern Africa "The key to Nigeria's foreign policy," said a Lagos-based Western diplomat, "can be summed up in two words: South Africa."

"The contempt for South Africa and the pain and humiliation of apartheid are felt deeply and sincerely by all Nigerians," said a Western diplomat in Lagos. He added that the commitment by the Government to challenge Pretoria was equally sincere but that Lagos officials were well aware that anti-apartheid sentiment also provides a much-needed unifying issue in a country where potentially explosive and divisive sectional politics boil furiously just below the surface

While some university students and young intellectuals sometimes talk of a Nigerian role in leading an all-African army against the South Africans, the emphasis is usually on economic rather than military confrontation Nigeria has an army of 250 000, the largest in black Africa. But according to some military attachés, the force is badly equipped and trained One observer called it "the largest outdoor welfare organisation in the world" Many units have not been on training manoeuvres for more than five years and the few crack units are said to be required at home to protect against coups or civil unrest

It is in the economic arena that, despite a fall in oil sales and revenues, Nigeria is showing its muscle Earlier this year, the Government declared that multinational companies would have to make a choice — either to do business in Nigeria or South Africa but not both

While this pronouncement was seen as a bit of grandstand hyperbole by many businessmen, they nonetheless saw in it a message not to be too blatant about activities in South Africa So it was not surprising that in March, after the chairman of Barclays Bank in Britain announced the purchase by the bank of South African Defence Bonds, Nigeria acted against the bank

Despite the fact that the Nigerian Government is the majority partner in Barclays (Nigeria) it ordered that two-thirds of the bank's expatriate staff be sent home Furthermore, it ordered the withdrawal from Barclays of all Nigerian Government deposits.

The view shared by Nigerian leaders and Andrew Young, the United States Ambassador to the United Nations and a contributor to Africa policy, is that Nigeria has already replaced South Africa as a world market and as an investment opportunity for foreign capital For example, Nigeria has become the second largest supplier of oil to United States.

The Nigerians and Mr Young believe that as South Africa finds itself competing with Nigeria and other black African countries for foreign business, it will be forced to loosen its strict system of racial segregation to ensure a better investment climate

Though some diplomats and businessmen in Africa are sceptical of this premise, saying that there is no intrinsic inverse relationship between investment in both countries, it is clear that Nigeria sees itself as an economic force destined to deflate Pretoria's economic prospects. The talks between Chancellor Schmidt and Lieut-Gen Olusegun Obasanjo, the Nigerian Head of State, were devoted in large part to increasing trade between the two nations

Aside from its opposition to apartheid, Nigeria has sought to maintain good relations with other African states and has tried to mediate inter-African disputes. It was Nigeria, for example, which chaired a "good offices" committee of the Organisation of African Unity seeking to mediate the dispute between Ethiopia and Somalia.

President Olusegun Obasanjo . . . economic rivalry with Pretoria.

In April, Lagos officials were able to obtain the release of French nationals held by an insurgent group in Chad. During the Zairean crisis the following month, however, Nigeria was notably silent.

Last year, when Shaba province was first invaded by rebels based in Angola, Nigeria tried to mediate between Angola and Zaire. This year, however, Nigeria refused to become involved, perhaps because of increasing distaste for the regime of President Mobutu Sese Seko

All these efforts have not yet fully borne fruit for Nigerians who often find themselves ridiculed by other Africans as aggressive, pushy and arrogant "The ugly Nigerian," has become a cliche in parts of Africa in much the same way that "the ugly American" was used some years ago. As in the case of the stereotyped American, the newer epithet is the product as much of admiration and envy as of contempt. — New York Times News Service

RDM 10/7/78

Harriman lashes out at West over Africa

(22c)

NAIROBI. — Mr Leslie Harriman, the Nigerian chairman of the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid, strongly supported the Cuban role in Africa in an interview published in Nairobi yesterday

Interviewed by the Nairobi Times, he also attacked the West for hindering efforts by African countries to achieve genuine independence

Mr Harriman is quoted as saying "On an almost daily basis, the United States, President, Mr Jimmy Carter,has been expressing concern over Cuba's role in Africa Were it not for the Cubans, Mozambique and Angola would still be under the firm yokes of the Colonialists

"Cubans have never attacked any sovereign state or crossed an internationally recognised sovereign boundary. What they have done is to assist oppressed people to gain their self determination from colonial masters"

In spite of President Carter's talk about human rights he had failed to influence US multinational companies "which continue to sustain South African and Rhodesian economies by exploiting cheap black labour," he said.

He attacked Western efforts to solve the problems of Rhodesia and South West Africa

"Western powers continue to look for moderates" But Mr Harriman said, moderates could not serve Africans — Sapa-Reuter

Drop in oil sales hits Nigeria's 'clout'

SUN TIMES 9/4/78 (226)

Sunday Times Reporter
LONDON

NIGERIA'S attempt to use its economic power to influence events in Southern Africa is being undermined by a rapid slide in its oil revenues which is also expected to harm British exports

Last year Nigerian oil production averaged 2,1-million barrels a day This has now dropped to 1,7-million barrels a day, and the belief is that it will fall even further

Doubts

In company with Algeria and Libya, the Nigerians have agreed to cut prices to boost sales, but there are doubts whether the reductions are large enough to have any effect

In Nigeria's case the cut is between 17 and 20 cents from prices of R12 and R12,50 a barrel. The Nigerians blame growing competition from oil in the North Sea, Alaska and Mexico

The impact on their revenues is considerable and Nigerian officials expect them to fall by 20 to 40 per cent in the short term

Since the Government's development plan envisaged oil production rising to 3-million barrels daily this year, Nigeria is being forced to borrow heavily and cut back on imports

In January it raised nearly R750-million It is expected to seek R1 350-million more before long, in addition to R1 000-million in supplier credits

In the annual budget speech on Friday, Nigeria's head of state, General Obasanjo, appealed for a "return to sanity" in the economy.

Last year, Nigeria had a balance-of-payments deficit of more than R600-million Imports of a number of consumer goods, including clothes and furniture, have been banned and other imports have been restricted

As Nigeria's main suppliers, Britain's exporters will probably be the principal victims of cuts Last year Britain sold goods worth R1 500-million to Nigeria, which is by far and away its best customer in Africa.

Influence

This fact of economic life has influenced Britain's political approach over Rhodesia and South Africa Nigerian views have been courted

Last month Gen Obasanjo used his economic muscle against Barclays Bank after its chairman, Mr Anthony Tuke, announced that he did not intend to withdraw from South Africa.

The Nigerian response was to order all Government bodies to withdraw their deposits from Barclays At the same time the bank was ordered to reduce its expatriate staff by one-third

However, with falling revenues and a need for loans from Western banks, sledgehammer tactics of this sort may soon prove counter-productive

Nigeria could shortly find itself in the same sort of situation as Zambia, where falling copper sales have produced economic chaos and a consequent loss of political weight

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THE NIGERIAN FACTOR

FM 15/6/79

Nigeria has become more important than ever as far as Zimbabwe-Rhodesia is concerned Not only does it influence both British and American attitudes, it also helps formulate Patriotic Front strategy

Thus the recent PF unity moves (*FM* June 1) were made in full consultation with Nigeria, whose foreign minister was present during the front-line states' recent summit in Dar es Salaam Moreover, Nigeria is thought to be connected with plans for the PF to establish a provisional government in a "liberated" area in Rhodesia Strong rumours about such plans are circulating in informed circles in London

Lagos has for some time been urging the PF to establish an administration, which would be assured of recognition by many African and other third world countries The idea was rejected by Zapu leader Joshua Nkomo when Nigeria first suggested it last year, but it is now felt that the establishment of a black government in Salisbury has made it urgent to present the world with an alternative that would make recognition of the Muzorewa government more difficult for Britain and the US

Setting up a PF government in Rhodesia would require strengthening of the guerrillas' military capability, including anti-aircraft weapons to prevent the Rhodesian forces from destroying any administrative structures by intensive bombing. The supply of such weapons by the Soviet Union is a possibility that would tie in with Zanu-Zapu unity· while Zanu is strong on the ground, Zapu has access to more sophisticated Soviet military supplies

It has taken many months of intensive diplomacy by the frontline states to bring the two sides together Whether a PF provisional government is established or not, the unity agreement has been essential to ensure full backing for the PF at the OAU's summit meeting in Liberia next month and strengthen the resolve of member states to have no truck with Muzorewa

The Zanu-Zapu accord seems already to have had some effect on "moderate" states like Kenya Kenya's foreign minister recently told the British high commissioner in Nairobi that his government would continue to recognise the PF as the sole legitimate representative of the Rhodesian people He added that it would be fairer if Britain were to make up its mind concerning "the Muzorewa-Smith regime" before, rather than after, the Commonwealth prime ministers' conference in Lusaka in August

Nigeria, of course, has already barred UK companies from bidding for major government tenders because of its fears that the new Tory government might recognise Muzorewa and lift sanctions In Washington, the State Department has confirmed that Nigeria has threatened both the US and the UK with reprisals should either recognise Muzorewa, and it is widely believed that President Carter's decision last week that lifting sanctions would not be in the interests of Rhodesia or of the US was connected with the fact that Nigeria is the US's second largest supplier of imported oil

In London, many Tory supporters are conscious of the fact that Nigeria is Britain's largest export market except for the EEC and the US, and that competition for Nigerian business has been palpably stepped up in recent months, particularly by France Lagos will be an important stop for Margaret Thatcher's emissary to Africa, Lord Harlech, who arrived in Southern Africa this week to get some sort of Rhodesian diplomacy going before the start of the OAU and Commonwealth summits

A factor not to be overlooked is that Nigeria is about to hold elections for the first civilian government since the 1966 military coup, and party competition is intense Whoever wins will be faced with the normal domestic difficulties The only issue where the government which takes over in October can be assured of support is a tougher policy on Southern Africa

Nigeria objects to hints of oil threat

226

15/6/79 RDM

WASHINGTON — Nigerian ambasador Mr Olujimi Jolaoso reaffirmed ties with the United States if the US lifted sanctions against Zimbabwe-Rhodesia

Mr Jolaoso, whose country exports a million barrels of oil a day to the US, spoke at a news conference after a US Senate vote on Tuesday night in support of lifting the sanctions

But he objected to Press accounts suggesting Nigeria would suspend or reduce oil shipments in retaliation for any US move towards normalising trade and diplomatic relations with the new government in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia He said

"I can affirm that we have not, as of now, linked the question of oil with whether or not the US decided to lift the sanctions and recognise Rhodesia"

Under questioning, he refused to rule out the possibility that Nigeria would use the oil weapon if Congress forced an end to the sanctions. "I cannot, sitting here, say we will or will not cut off oil," he said.

Without saying so directly, he suggested Nigeria might take the same type of action against the US as against Britain after the new Conservative Government announced it would move towards recognition of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia

He noted that Nigeria excluded British companies from bidding on a multimillion port construction project

Two weeks after the Parliamentary elections in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, the Nigerian embassy denounced the "outcast puppet regime of Bishop Abel Muzorewa"

The statement said any breach of UN sanctions against Zimbabwe-Rhodesia would be regarded as a "deliberate challenge to the black race" and would "be met with an appropriate response"

He described as "very insulting" suggestions in the US Press that this amounted to a Nigerian threat to cut off oil shipments to the US

"I would be very depressed and disappointed if all that the US thinks of Nigeria is as a source of petroleum," he said

Meanwhile former Rhodesian Prime Minister Mr Ian Smith yesterday attacked the US for maintaining sanctions against Zimbabwe-Rhodesia

Its case, he said, was based on "lies and deceit" and he went on to accuse both President Carter and his Secretary of State, Mr Cyrus Vance, of propagating "blatant lies"

"I am completely taken aback at the blatant lies propagated by both President Carter and Vance in the case which they have made against Zimbabwe-Rhodesia," he said

"To claim that lifting sanctions would not be in the interests of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia is sheer deceit — nobody in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia would agree with that The US Administration is presenting a distorted case not only to their public but also to their Senators and Congressmen," he said

Mr Smith dismissed the US Administration's claim that 96% of Rhodesians had been denied a say in the constitution

International observers had accepted that the internal parties who formed the March 3 agreement represented more than three quarters of the population And the 64% voter turnout in the April elections was a "clear indication" people went along with decisions of their party leaders — Sapa and Sapa-AP

The Star

The Star Wednesday July 4 1979

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS INSIDE

(226)

Nigeria's moment of truth

Nigeria is about to launch a civilian-type government which could have beneficial effects throughout Africa... if it works. The elections will be held on October 1, and polling for the federal Senate and the House of Representatives begins on Saturday. MARTIN DICKSON of the London Financial Times gives a special report from Lagos.

On an open, sandy space in the heart of Lagos, surrounded by high-rise office blocks and low-life shacks, a troupe of dancers, acrobats and drummers are hard at work.

They weave their way through the 2 000 spectators who have turned out for a rally of the Nigerian People's Party — most to cheer, a few to jeer, and many simply to stare in wonder at the unfamiliar sight of the political process in action

After 13 years of military rule, black Africa's most populous and most powerful nation is returning to civilian government, under a four-year programme adopted in 1975 by the officers that in that year overthrew General Gowon, the then Head of State

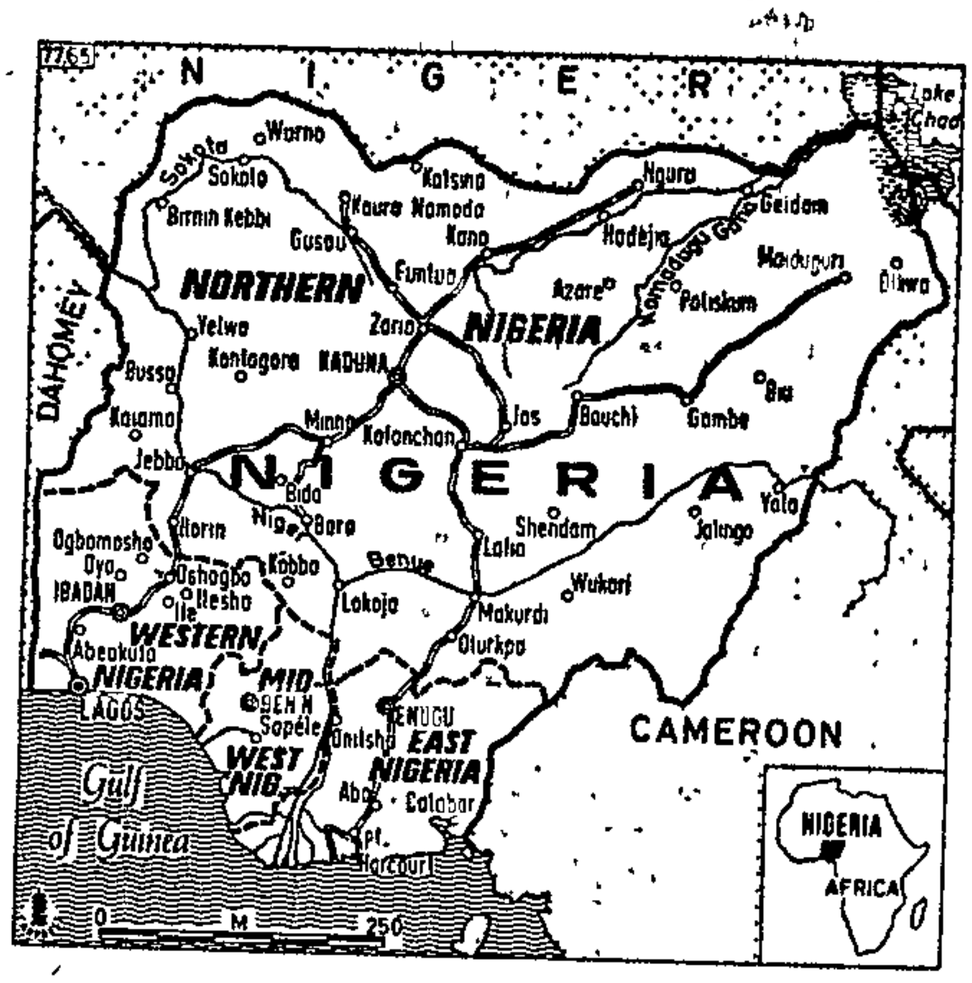
The programme is nearing a climax the country has a new, United States-style presidential constitution following a year of deliberations by a Constituent Assembly

A ban on party politics in force since 1966 was lifted last September The country will hold a series of elections leading to the installation of a new government, headed by an executive president, on October 1

It is a moment of truth for Nigerians Have these diverse people, numbering 80-million to 100-million found a constitutional frame—work able to contain their extremely complicated mix of political rivalries, based on ethnic, religious, cultural, economic, regional and social factors?

Is there a sufficient political consensus to avoid acrimonious divisions which might encourage another generation of soldiers to seize power?

The answers will have repercussions far beyond Nigeria's borders. Nigeria is black Africa's most influential state and a change of government in Lagos, entailing a fresh look at established policies, could mean a tilt in the continent's stance towards international issues, including Zimbabwe Rhodesia



Ambitious

A succesful transition to civilian rule could hold constitutional lessons for other African countries where single-party systems, military regimes or one-man dictatorship hold sway, each acting, whether by accident or design, as a centralising force in the artificial states carved out by the colonial powers of the past

For Nigeria is attempting an individual and ambitious solution to one of the gravest political problems plaguing Africa — how to transform political loyalties from those based on the clan, tribe or region into those based on the nation state

The attempt has a particular poignancy for Nigeria which, between 1967 and 1970, fought a bitter civil war against the Ibo secessionists of Biafra to preserve the principle of one Nigeria

For the West, the transition to civilian rule has economic importance Nigeria is Britain's most important export market outside Europe and the U.S. and it is also America's second largest foreign supplier of oil A stable Nigeria, neutral if not actively pro-Western is therefore of considerable importance for the West

It was political instability which led to the downfall of Nigeria's first civilian administration, in January 1966, when the military intervened following widespread corruption and violence in both the 1964 federal elections in the former Western Region Many lessons have been learned from the past and the political framework has been radically altered in an attempt to find stability The subdivision of Nigeria's former three regions North, West and East into 19 states is an essential element of this framework

Concern for security may partially explain the Government's refusal for many months to announce a date — or an order — for the five elections It finally decided that they would be staggered from July 7 to August 11, starting with the polling for the federal Senate and House of Representatives, going on to contests for state legislatures, and ending with the presidential election

Shadow

But no sooner was that issue settled than a major dispute arose which is currently casting a long shadow over the election campaign

In a complicated argument about candidates compliance with tax laws, the Federal Electoral Commission — which is responsible for running the poll — has left open the possibility that it might disqualify two of the five runners for the presidency

They are Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe the leader of the NPP, a veteran Ibo politician, and Alhaji Aminu Kano, leader of the People's Redemption Party

Dr Azikiwe has gained High Court backing for his claim to have paid tax in accordance with the laws of his home state, but it is still far from clear that he will be able to stand

The disqualification of either politician would undoubtedly sour the atmosphere, and could lead to the very political tension which the Government is so keen to avoid

Dr Azikiwe's decision to stand for the Presidency in the first place was something of a surprise Aged 75 one of the founders of Nigerian n... and the ... President, he expected to sidelines as statesman

Chief C... owo, the veter... politician who years ... back and now Unity Party (UPN), is years younger Asikiwe ...

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Nigerian nationalism and the country's first President, he had been expected to sit on the sidelines as an elder statesman

Chief Obafemi Awolowo, the veteran Yoruba politician who has spent years planning a comeback and now leads the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), is only five years younger than Dr Asikiwe

There are three presidential candidates from the North Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim, a self-made millionaire and former federal Minister of Economic Development who leads the Great Nigeria People's Party (GNPP), Alhaji Aminu Kano, who speaks a populist left-wing rhetoric although the stated goals of his People's Redemption Party differ little from those of its rivals, and Alhaji Shehu Shagari, a former federal Minister of Finance who leads the National Party of Nigeria (NPN)

Similarity

At 54, Mr Shagari is the youngest presidential candidate He lacks some of the charisma of the other leaders and seems to have been thrust reluctantly into the race as a compromise between the heavyweights in his party But he comes across as a clever, thoughtful pragmatist

There is a striking similarity between the manifestos of the parties, none of which plans any radical break from the traditional economy goals pursued by the military government

Rather, their emphasis is on achieving those goals more quickly or on improving the efficiency of what exists, such as the much pilloried Electric Power Authority and Nigerian Airways

Personality factors rather than policies have dominated the campaign, particularly in the case of Azikiwe and Chief Awolowo who have dragged several political skeletons from each other's cupboards

On polling day, the personalties of the candidates will count for much, but it will be only one of many issues determining voting patterns, including rivalies between and within ethnic groups, competition between economic and social interest groups or the plain opportunism ofjumping on to the bandwagon of any party deemed likely to emerge on top

On the face of it, Shehu Shagari's NPN appears to have the edge over its rivals It seems to have the strongest base in the populous North, where it has inherited something of the mantle of the most powerful party of the 1960s, the Northern People's Congress

But it is also well established in parts of the East and West Its executive is packed with well-known political names from the 1960s (not a few of them tarnished) and it is seen to some extent as the establishment party

Chief Awolowo has strong support in parts of the West, but may find it hard picking up a large following elsewhere, while Dr Azikiwe's strongest following appears to lie in the East and parts of the northern Middle Belt

The other two parties, the GNPP and the PRP, could win several contests at state level but do not, by themselves seem to present much of a challenge for control of the federal Government

Revival

But while the NPN may at this stage have an edge, no party can be confident of winning the presidency on the first ballot If there has to be a run-off, the legislature will act as an electoral college

The existing uncertainties suggest that the reforms designed to make politics more national in character are paying dividends, in virtually every state tough battles are being fought out for the governorship between two or three parties, with the electorate apparently divided in its loyalties

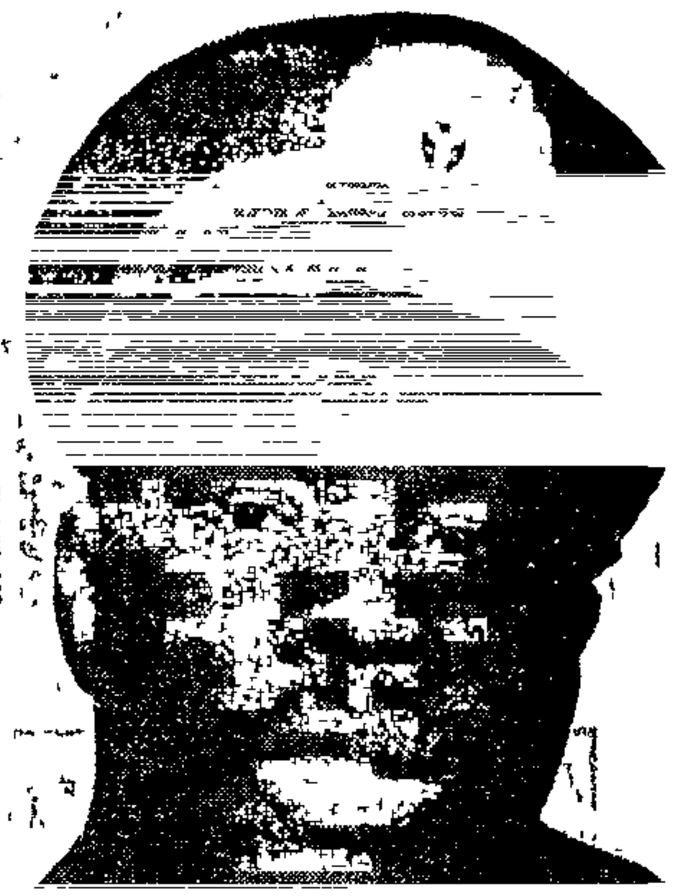
It is, however, possible that this degree of competition for elections to state offices will not be repeated at the federal level where there could be revival of the 1960-style block regional voting, with people transferring their allegiances from the party they support at state level to the one fielding a local presidential candidate

While the current political fluidity seems more healthy than the politics of the 1960s, it does contain dangers It is, for example, far from certain that the party that wins the presidency will also gain a working majority in the legislature

If different parties (or alliances) hold sway in these two different branches of government, it will require great self-restraint from the politicians to make their new and highly sophisticated constitution work — and they are largely the same politicians who saw the first republic collapse in 1966

Politically, too, restraint will be imperative Nigeria is relatively quiet now, but tempers might fray nearer polling day or afterwards from poor losers

At the NPP rally the speaker is finishing when from the rear of the crowd comes a cry of "UPN" from an Awolowo follower A party of policemen set off down a side street in pursuit of the provocative heckler — Financial Times News Service.



Lieutenant-General Olusegun Obasanjo ... ing his country to civilian rule.

African states train economic gun on UK

Sun. Exp. 22/7/79

By J H P SERFONTEIN

THE five Frontline States and Nigeria have drafted a secret three-point plan for total economic and diplomatic war against Britain on the Rhodesian issue. If implemented, it would have dramatic consequences — but it may not be capable of implementation.

The Frontline strategy is to confront British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher with an ultimatum at the Commonwealth Conference at the beginning of August in Lusaka. These African Commonwealth countries will demand that Britain give an absolute and unequivocal assurance that she will not lift sanctions or recognise the new Zimbabwe-Rhodesia Government at any time after the Lusaka conference.

However, they are not opposed in principle to some further conference or round table discussions between the main parties in the Rhodesian dispute.

Failure by Mrs Thatcher to comply with this demand will lead to the immediate implementation of a three-pronged strategy. Informed Frontline State and other African sources in Europe revealed the essential points of this strategy to the Sunday Express 10 days ago.

● The five Frontline States and Nigeria hope that all black Commonwealth countries will severe diplomatic relations with Britain. At the OAU conference in Monrovia last week, efforts were made to persuade the other 25 African countries who are not members of the Commonwealth to follow their colleagues in taking these drastic steps.

● The Black Commonwealth countries would launch an economic boycott of Britain, or limit trade as much as possible.

It was pointed out that British trade with Afriea was £2000 million (about R3 860 million) a year, of which a half is with Nigeria alone. Nigeria is expected to play a major role in this confrontation.

● All future British diplomatic initiatives on Rhodesia after the Commonwealth conference would be boycotted and unequivocally rejected. The African view is that such subsequent initiatives would be totally suspect without a clear British assurance on their demands.

There is also a strong possibility that the Frontline States might, for the same reason, reject future Western diplomatic moves on Namibia if they were the result of British intiatives.

African sources conceded that there may be practical problems for some of the African countries to implement fully the economic aspects of this strategy.

However, by committing themselves to a total confrontation on all fronts, they want to convince Britain and the West that they are not prepared under any circumstances to compromise on their stand against the internal settlement and the Muzorewa Government.

The African States are determined not to be outmanoeuvred by Britain at Lusaka or to allow the British to get away with vague decisions which would leave her free to lift sanctions at a later stage.

It is still not clear how much progress the Frontline States and Nigeria have made in obtaining support from other OAU countries for this confrontation with Britain.

Nigeria to nationalise BP?

1/8/79 Post 226

LAGOS — The Nigerian Government intends to nationalise British Petroleum (BP) interests in the Shell-BP Nigeria oil company, according to persistent reports in Lagos this week.

The reports said that BP officials would be informed of the move soon

Shell-BP is the largest oil company operating in Nigeria, currently producing about half of Nigeria's daily average of 2,4-million barrels per day

Earlier this month the federal government upped the Nigerian national oil companies participation in oil company's operating here from 55 percent to 60 percent

Oil company sources said that they were unaware of the reported move, although there have been rumours during the past week that the government was considering some kind of action against British interests prior to this week's Commonwealth conference in Lusaka, where the Zimbabwe Rhodesia issue will be high on the agenda.

Observers also noted that BP has entered a controversial "swap" deal with its South African affiliate

Nigeria has consistently and strongly condemned the so-called internal settlement in Salisbury and has publicly warned Britain against recognition or lifting of sanctions against Bishop Abel Muzorewa's government

At a state banquet for visiting Australian Prime Minister Malcolmn Fraser, head of state General Olusegun Obasanjo said that if the British Government was convinced that the internal settlement constitution was unjust and inadequate "then Lusaka is the place to bring about adequate and acceptable new constitution proposals." — AFP.

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Nigerian boomerang aids SA

By Michael Chester, Financial Editor

Nigeria tried to inflict a second caning on Britain yesterday as a punishment for supplying oil to South Africa — but missed and badly bruised itself

Right after the nationalisation of British Petroleum's assets inside its borders, the Nigerian Government took a second swipe at Britain in the sophisticated corridors of the world currency markets.

The Nigerian strategy was to dump £500-million in sterling — drawn from its cash stockpile from oil profits — on to the New York foreign exchange and switch to dollars, thereby knocking the value of the British pound by causing an unexpected over-supply of the currency.

But the aim was wrong. Sterling side-stepped the blow and actually went on to increase in value in dollar terms.

Nigeria actually lost because it missed out on increasing the value of its sterling assets.

As the US dollar slipped lower, so it helped to push up the price of gold on the bullion markets — most of it South African gold

● Nigeria's grab — Page 27.

'We gave Nigeria reports on BP'

LONDON — The British Anti-Apartheid Movement yesterday disclosed that it had been supplying the Nigerian government with detailed information on the operations of British Petroleum (BP) in South Africa.

Following the announcement of Nigeria's nationalisation of BP interests in Shell-BP Nigeria the British Anti-Apartheid Movement said it had been supplying, at Nigeria's request, information since 1977 on the activities of British Petroleum and other British firms in Africa

The movement's spokesman Mr Mike Terry, said it was difficult to determine the contribution of the information supplied in the Nigerian government's decision to nationalise

He added that the movement would continue to provide intelligence and hoped that Britain would be warned by the 'Nigerian example and make an outspoken break with apartheid

Mr Terry said "We shall continue to supply reports We hope the government will heed Nigeria's warning and that it will act decisively to terminate all links with apartheid"

Why BP got the chop in Nigeria

Star 8/8/79 (226)

By Mark Webster

LAGOS — Nigeria's decision to nationalise BP's interests is bound to have widespread economic and political consequences

But although the British Government has already complained that the move was unjustified and the timing hopelessly inept, it was by no means unexpected.

Most observers reject as at best a half-truth the Nigerian explanation for the takeover of BP's 20 percent stake in the Shell-BP operating company and the 40 percent equity in BP's marketing company within the country

A statement from the federal military government said BP was being bought out because the company wanted to sell "North Sea and non-embargoed oil" to South Africa. The statement went on that this was just a "clever ruse" to sell Nigerian crude to the "racialist regime" in Pretoria.

General Obasanjo of Nigeria — condemned "clever ruse."

WARNING

BP has told the Nigerians there is no chance of South Africa obtaining Nigerian crude through the company However, given the timing of the Nigerian move on the eve of the Commonwealth Conference, it is apparent Lagos has other motives for its action

The main one, certainly, is to warn Britain over its policy towards Zimbabwe Rhodesia

Given that this is the main reason, there are others explaining why BP has been picked

Nigeria's involvement in Southern African affairs goes back a number of years As the most populous country on the continent and the possessor of considerable oil wealth, Nigeria has long considered itself the unofficial leader of Black Africa

EMOTIVE

Apartheid is such an emotive issue with the Lagos Government that it has shown itself prepared, at least to some extent, to sacrifice even its own immediate interests in order to pursue its hard line over southern Africa

It enacted a law banning any companies from doing business in Nigeria if they had connections with South Africa and withdrew all Government funds from Barclays Bank because of its southern Africa interests.

At the same time the government has displayed some pragmatism in its approach to enforcing that law because of the great number of companies vital to Nigeria's own economic interests which do have links with South Africa

No other country in Black Africa can hurt British interests as much as Nigeria UK companies have more than £2 000m (R2 300m) invested in Nigeria. Trade worth more than £1 000m (R1 900m) to British exporters in 1977 and 1978, may drop to only £600m (R1 100m) this year because of Nigeria's tight economic situation, but is expected to pick up again in the coming year.

REASSURE

In an attempt to reassure other foreign companies operating in Nigeria, the government said in its statement that they would be safe as long as they respected Nigeria's sensitivity on the question of apartheid

There are two other important reasons why Nigeria has taken its action against BP now

The first is the imminent departure of the present military government from power A civilian government is now being elected which should take over from the military on October 1

Despite a desire to punish BP for what is seen as past misdeeds, the new administration's undoubted preoccupation with domestic issues initially would have made it unlikely BP would ever have been taken over.

VALUABLE

Secondly, circumstances have made it possible to take into public ownership an extremely valuable national asset That BP was not nationalised earlier, most observers believe, was a reflection of the poor state of the market for Nigeria's oil.

This time last year Nigeria was finding it very difficult to place its light crude on the market because of its insensitive pricing policies Now, with the oil market buoyant, it is having no trouble at all

Everything points to Nigeria's stopping its punitive actions with BP Even so, the takeover has undoubtedly heightened fears in the business community that it is only the thin end of the wedge which marks the end of substantial British investment in Nigeria.

Added to that is the uncertainty which the business community feels over the forthcoming transition to civilian rule

Overall, the investment climate is looking rather sour for the time being — Financial Times News Service

Voting marathon

Star 9/8/79 (526)

After the first general election in Nigeria for 15 years, it is clear that no one party will have anything like a majority. From The Star's correspondent in Lagos.

Nigeria's first general election for 15 years is all but complete All that remains is for the country to choose its president — as successor to General Oluségun Obasanjo as the head of state.

But with Nigeria's history of dirty politics and vote-buying before the military took over in 1966, pessimists say there is bound to be corruption on a grand scale as parties vie with each other in the presidential elections starting this Saturday.

After a four-week marathon, the country's 48,5-million registered voters have chosen an American-style government with 95 senators, 449 members of the House of Representatives, 1 347 members of the state Houses of Assembly and a governor for each of the 19 states

The voting patterns were largely consistent in that there was a low poll — never exceeding 35 percent — and there was a predominance of block voting along ethnic lines with personalities and parties overshadowing ideologies

Each of the five parties secured its own ethnic base without any serious opposition from any of the others, and it is already clear that no one party will have anything like a majority in either of the federal assemblies

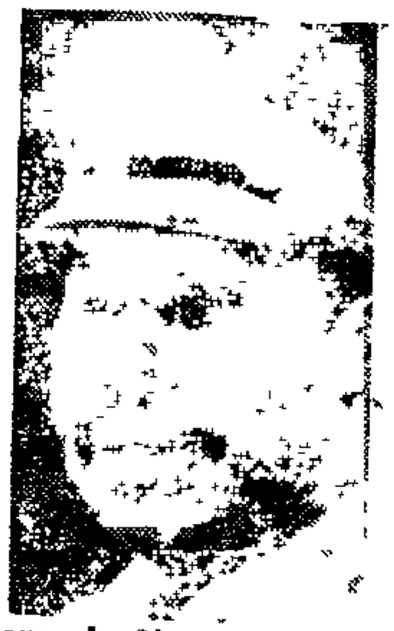
Commentators here are divided over whether that will prove a benefit or disadvantage Some contend that while no single party has a majority, no single geographical area can dominate the others Others contend that the way will be wide open for coercion of any kind to secure a majority vote on anything

Much as in pre-1966, the biggest single party is the northern-based national party of Nigeria (NPN), led by its presidential candidate, Mr Alhaji Shehu Shagari.

Next comes the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) in the west, which is led by veteran politician Chief Obafemi Awolowo The Nigerian People's Party (NPP), led by the country's first civilian president, Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, is next, while the two smaller parties are the Great Nigeria People's Party (GNPP) which has Mr Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim as its candidate, and Mr Alhaji Aminhu Kano's People's Redemption Party.

The presidential elections will require a successful candidate to achieve more than 25 percent of the votes cast in at least 13 states.

This tends to point towards the NPN, which achieved the widest support outside of its own ethnic area.



General Obasanjo . . . about to retire as head of State.

SA v NIGERIA

A British dilemma

Despite the improved chances of a settlement in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, UK firms with important Nigerian interests are very nervous about the effects on their business of Mrs Thatcher's southern African policies Those with investments in SA as well, are even more edgy.

Financial Mail August 10 1979

The takeover of BP's assets on the eve of the Commonwealth conference has had a sensational, if brief, impact. The move was not directly connected with Rhodesia It was directed against BP's practice of supplying SA with North Sea oil and making up the shortfall in European markets with Nigerian crude

The authorities in Lagos recently told a number of major British construction companies not to compete for the time being for government tenders The reason given was Britain's attitude to southern Africa

The first loss of a contract — a port project worth £130m which was to have gone to a consortium led by Costain, but which is said to have gone to Japanese competition — was explained as a warning to Mrs Thatcher not to lift sanctions against ZR Other companies, including the Wimpey construction group, stand to be excluded as a result of the Nigerian policy, first announced in August 1977, that multinationals must choose between Nigeria and their SA interests.

It is not clear whether the Wimpey setback includes a recent £36m contract for the construction of a reservoir This particular award went to Wimpey's local subsidiary which, as it is already 60% Nigerian-owned, may therefore not be subject to the ban on UK firms

There are no precise figures for UK investment in Nigeria Recent estimates vary between £1 billion and £3 billion, and the total is therefore certainly much smaller than Britain's stake in SA, usually estimated at £5-6 billion But the value of UK exports is considerably larger, or was until recently

Nigeria is Britain's third largest export market, surpassed only by the EEC and the US Last year it took UK exports worth £1 133m (compared to SA's £667m) But in the first six months of this year Nigerian imports from the UK dropped by about 60% because of budgetary restraints and a preshipment inspection scheme of all major foreign cargo to curb over-invoicing

British traders say that shipments are now getting through at a faster rate The flow of goods has improved from a low of £26m in April to £33m in May and $53m in June, and while total exports for 1979 are not expected to reach last year's levels, there is some hope that this shortfall will be made up next year

The importance of Nigeria for the UK is not only the size of its market, but the extent of the trade surplus in favour of Britain UK imports from Nigeria amounted to only £286m in 1978, less than half British purchases from SA

British firms are reluctant to comment on the comparative advantages of their Nigerian and SA operations A Unilever spokesman in London told the *FM* his company is adopting a wait and see attitude as far as the political situation is concerned Meanwhile, it regards its Nigerian and SA interests as separate operations. (Although Unilever in Nigeria is now 60% locally owned, its profits from that country last year amounted to £44m.)

Companies stress Nigeria's enormous potential According to an analysis by the Chase Manhattan Bank, Nigeria stands to earn up to 77% more in oil export receipts this year as a result of June's price hikes, and it could run a trade surplus of between $7 billion and $7,5 billion

"Competition for the Nigerian market is too keen to allow me to comment either on my Nigerian or my SA connections," one British businessman told the *FM*

More drama hits delegates

SOUTH AFRICA's delegation to the International Council of Women's conference in Nairobi were in the centre of another controversy when a Nigerian delegation walked out in protest at their presence.

In what was apparently a prearranged gesture they went to their hotels, packed their bags and caught a convenient flight out of Kenya for Lagos this week.

The Nigerians staged their protest at a lunch party given at Kenya's parliament buildings by Mrs Eddah Gachukia, MP.

Three South African women attending the conference — the president of the South African Council of Women, Mrs Sheila MacKenzie, Mrs Elsie Monroe and Mrs Albertina Mnguni.

A party of 10 delegates flew to Nairobi before the conference opening last Wednesday, but were [illegible] around at the airport and ordered at gunpoint on to a Johannesburg-bound KLM aircraft.

Kenya President, Daniel Arap Moi and Attorney General Charles Njonjo were at the Commonwealth conference in Lusaka. On hearing of it, President Moi made a public apology and invited the delegation to return

"We have no quarrel with the South African people. Our quarrel is only with South Africa's policy of apartheid", President Moi declared at the opening session of the conference.

Only Mrs Monroe, Miss Mackenzie and Mrs Mnguni returned to Kenya and conference officials said they believed the other seven had been too upset by their airport experience to want to come back.

The South Africans have been taking an active part in the conference debates and Mrs Monroe has been appointed chairman of the conference resolutions committee.

Conference officials are understood to have rejected earlier representations by the Nigerians that the South Africans be expelled from the meeting.

The walk-out this week did not disturb the luncheon which continued for 90 minutes longer than scheduled — POST Africa News Service.

Kenya's President Moi

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New president of Nigeria is poet, farmer, financier

(226) Star 21/8/79

Own Correspondent

LAGOS — Nigeria's new leader, Mr Shehu Shagari, elected last week, is one of the country's gentlest and most respected politicians

He will take office on October 1 when 13 years of military rule ends and one of Africa's richest and most populous countries again becomes a parliamentary democracy.

President Shagari's National Party of Nigeria achieved the remarkable result of winning more than 25 percent of the votes in 12 of Nigeria's 19 states

TRADITIONALIST

Only 54 years old, President Shagari has held senior government appointments for 20 years, including almost every important ministerial portfolio.

As Finance Minister from 1971 to 1975 he played a big role in building up Nigeria's oil-based economy Essentially conservative in his politics and financial policies, he comes from a deeply traditionalist background

Nevertheless, he is regarded as a modernist. He spent 14 years as a science teacher before entering national politics as a protege of Nigeria's last civilian Prime Minister, the late Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa

He strongly resembles the highly respected Sir Abubakar. Under his rule, Nigerian civilian politics are likely to continue along the same lines set by the last civilian regime.

IMF CHIEF

He is a strong Commonwealth man and has much business experience, having served for a time as chairman of the Peugeot automobile company of Nigeria

President Shagari is a past Governor of the World Bank and of the International Monetary Fund

President Shagari's running mate in the elections, who will become the new Deputy President, is an Ibo, Dr Alex Ekwueme

Nigeria warns of rise in oil price

STAR 17/9/79

226

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Nigeria has told its oil customers they may have to pay more than current Opec prices from next month, according to an authoritative economic journal.

The Middle East Economic Survey, which specialises in oil news, said it understood the increase, described as a special market premium, would be at least three dollars a barrel

The journal described the rise as the first major break in the Opec price ceiling of 23,50 dollars set at the June conference in Geneva

The increase would not affect "equity crude," which is oil sold to companies which have a stake in the operation from which it comes, the survey said.

"It is inevitable that the other African producers will follow suit, and this is bound to have repercussions in the Gulf as well," it added.

Nigeria's new President:

NM 24/9/79 (226)

Augustine Oyowe

HUMBLE BUT FIRM

A humble man, 54-year-old Alhaji Shehu Shagari, takes over as President of Africa's most populous and powerful State on October 1.

Keen observers of the Nigerian political scene would have had little difficulty, soon after the names of all five Presidential candidates for election on August 11 were known, pinpointing Shagari as the winner

His special attributes were one factor but more important was the fact that his most formidable opponents had much about them that was disquieting. It could be said Shagari won his battle long before it was joined

Born at Yabo in Sokoto State, he was clearly not cut out for the teaching profession he had tried to pursue as a youth He obtained a Higher Elementary Certificate in 1945, then worked successively as science teacher at a Sokoto Middle School, headmaster of a senior primary school and a senior visiting teacher for Sokoto province

Sokoto

Shehu went into part-time politics by accepting the job of secretary of the Northern People's congress (NPC) for Sokoto province He turned full-time politician on his return to Nigeria in 1953 from a British Council-sponsored tour of Britain and the following year was elected member of the House of Representatives

Shagari s talent was immediately spotted by the then Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa He made him his parliamentary secretary For the rest of the first Republic he held various federal Cabinet posts, including Minister of Pensions and Establishments, Minister of Internal Affairs and Communications and Minister of Works

His services were again sought by the Gowon military regime in October 1971 He succeeded chief Obafemi Awolowo, one of his opponents in the Presidential election, as commissioner for Finance Awolowo had resigned because, according to him he could no longer serve an undemocratically elected government

Shagari has been profoundly shaped by his background Like his political mentor, Sir Abubakar, who was assassinated in 1966, he was a teacher with no particular academic qualification. He has no pretensions He is a humble man like Tafawa Balewa, but well initiated into the arena of federal government

He is reported to have been reluctant to accept his party s nomination for the Presidential election, but this became inevitable when party in-fighting among ambitious men flared up He became what many saw as a compromise candidate, for he is known to be conciliatory, democratic, always prepared for dialogue with opponents, but also firm

Shagari was not as well known in the federation as, for example, Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe and Awolowo, whose names are not so much household words as myths Their past political records and symbolisms, however, were not, and

Alhaji Shehu Shagari

still are not, recommendations

Most Nigerians remember Awolowo's treason trial, the bitterness aroused by his opposition to the creation of Bendel State (formerly Midwest) and his unmistakable propensity to run things his own way — in short, his dictatorial tendencies

Nor have most people forgotten 74-year-old Azikiwe's not too convincing role during the Nigerian civil war Azikiwe was Nigeria's first President in 1960 and announced soon after the military Government's lifting of the ban on politics his intention to be known in history as "Father of the Nation"

His dramatic decision to join the Presidential race was considered by many deceptive and opportunist For Azikiwe loss of the election is a most ignominious defeat

Unlike Azikiwe and Awolowo, Shagari is not considered power thirsty and enlightened voters clearly chose him to keep the other two from power

The people of Cross River and Rivers States which used to be part of the old Eastern Region, voted solidly for his National Party of Nigeria (NPN)

But Shagari's qualities and the disadvantages of his most formidable opponents alone do not explain his success The most significant factor is the countrywide presence in his party of wealthy and influential men This explains the NPN's national character in the voting patterns

By choosing the less educated and relatively less famous Shagari as their first executive President, Nigerians have shown that, as in the U S where peanut farmer Jimmy Carter made history three years ago, anyone can aspire to the supreme office of State

Passage

Shagari, like Carter, will find there are "debts" to pay to those who helped him to power and promised goods to be delivered — in the case of Nigeria, he has to ensure national unity and the passage of legislation in the Senate and House of Representatives where the NPN has no absolute majorities

The President, with Cabinet, diplomatic, civil service, public companies executive posts and heads of the armed forces to be filled at his discretion, has much to give away to win friends and make enemies His ingenuity will intiatally be put to the test

The Constitution stipulates that the Cabinet must contain at least one member from each of the 19 States Although NPN members are expected to dominate in all categories of appointments, the general view is that the President will recruit personnel from other parties as a gesture of his intention to work earnestly towards national unity and be the President of all Nigerians

Nigeria returns to civilian rule with U S as model

226
10/79
L. Times

From ANTHONY DELIUS

LONDON — This week Africans, at least, will turn their attention away from the Zimbabwe Rhodesia manoeuvres in London and elsewhere for a while to contemplate an event of much greater importance In Nigeria the army marches back to barracks and the new civilian government under President Shehu Shagari (pronounced Shagaree) takes over Whether or not civilian government, after 13 years in the wilderness, manages to establish itself durably in the 19-state federation over the next months and years is of major concern to all Africa

There is the obvious reason for this, of course, that Nigeria's estimated 90 million citizens constitute the biggest nation on this continent, and a stable representative government on their territory will contribute to the stability of Africa as a whole Add to this the fact the Nigerians are pretty equally divided between Moslem and non-Moslem (a considerable number of the latter being Christians of various denominations), thus making it necessary for good government there to divide its attention fairly equally behween Islamic and other concerns and you have another situation of intense interest to a vast part of the continent Finally, Nigeria's oil makes it wealthy enough to pursue development without relying too heavily on the rest of the world to help it

What gives Nigeria additional interest for the rest of the world, particularly for that troubled leader of the Western world, the USA, is the type of constitution which was chosen for renewed civilian government after two or three years of debate This constitution is almost an exact replica of the American constitution with checks and balances to meet jealousies of an ethnic variety rather than those of rival states However the major tribal divisions are to some extent represented by the different Nigerian states The chance that America has come to rely heavily on imports of oil from Nigeria gives Washington added reason to wish the new form of government every success

The people of Nigeria live in various different environments, from savannah country in the north, through the middle belt of vast forests, to the humid and lagoon-fringed coastal region along the Atlantic They have ancient trading and cultural connections with the Mediterranean and Middle Eastern countries via the desert and with Western Europe via the sea They have produced remarkable sculpture and carving and a high degree of urban living Christianity and even Islam are comparatively late arrivals on the religious scene there, which has from ancient times been watched over by a pantheon of gods rivalling that of the Greeks

So that it is possible that they have the political imagination to adapt the new constitution eventually to a form more suitable to themselves, or develop democratic ideas which the Americans have not yet thought of Black Americans whose ancestors came mostly from West Africa, have still to be satisfied with what the present US constitution affords them, and may in the future find practices evolving in Nigeria that Washington could adopt

But even if the interest in American institutions developed as curiously in Nigeria as it once did in Liberia, relations between the two biggest states on either side of the Atlantic look set to be fairly intense for many years ahead

What heightens interest in the event is that a week ago the Nigerians' Commonwealth neighbours on the west coast, the Ghanaians, also returned to civilian rule The fact that they were doing so for the third time as against the second time for the Nigerians might have its sobering side

Both the initial civilian regimes which brought the two states to independence were toppled by the military in 1966 The Ghanaians' powers of democratic recovery appeared so much greater than those of the Nigerians when in 1969 elected government returned to Accra, while Nigeria was still torn by civil war But Ghana has had two more military coups since then and the second of these was the bloodiest of all

Although Nigeria's new essay in democracy is under the command of a man who is unashamedly a capitalist, Ghana's return to democratic rule is being guided by President Hilla Limann, a socialist As a career diplomat he learnt that pragmatism, adopting whatever seems to work without being ideologically doctrinaire, is one way of getting results, but he remains a devoted admirer of Dr Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first and most famous president When the soldiers toppled him, Nkrumah was advancing deeper into dictatorship and marxist policies President Limann might also meet increasing problems by moving steadily leftward, even if he manages to avoid dictatorship which Ghanaians have learnt to hate

There are some who see the present period in Africa as an era of renewed search for forms of constitutional government. The fact that Ghana and Nigeria have returned to forms of parliamentary democracy more or less at the same time is regarded as one of the major signs of this search, though not necessarily of a growing (Africa-wide) popularity of Western institutions The major need could be seen as one for government which works, whatever its constitution

This year has so far turned out to be the one in which three of the worst examples of African misrule have been ended Idi Amin of Uganda, Macias Nguema of Equatorial Guinea and Jean Bokassa of the Central African Empire (now once again a republic) have been turned out of office Other African states connived with their people to get rid of these gross and crackpot tyrants The Tanzanians actually invaded Uganda in co-operation with Ugandan rebels Strong criticism from other francophone African states finally induced the French to turn from their cynical support of Bokassa and to co-operate with the local Africans in getting rid of him

The year has also seen an increasing tendency to evolve new constitutions, though not only to put democratic ones into practice The Ethiopians have gone over from a fairly brutal state of military imposition to a marxist constitution with a single workers' party to represent the will of the "people" The Somalis have also adopted a one-party constitution, which seems simply to fossilize the old military dictatorship On the other hand Kenya has been moving out of the dominating shadow of the late Jomo Kenyatta and towards a growing prospect of democratic constitutionalism

The soldiers hand over

After 13 years of military rule and some horrific crises, Nigeria is almost strangely calm as the new civilian government prepares to take over the reins of power on October 1. By MARK WEBSTER, of the Financial Times, from Lagos.

Choking on dust and petrol fumes, it is impossible to detect any trace of excitement in the people of Lagos despite the momentous event which is about to transform Nigeria into Africa's most populous democracy

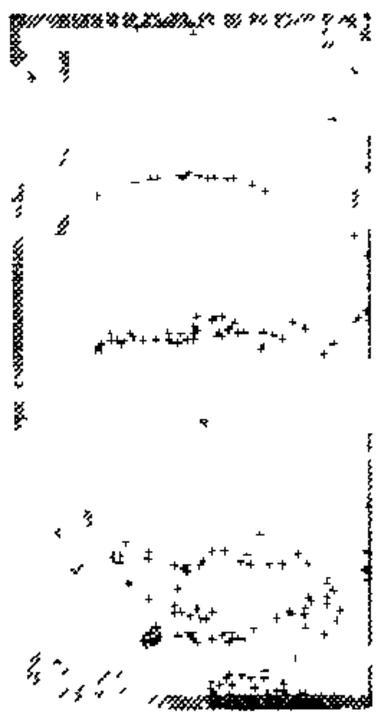
After 13 years of military rule, the country has elected a civilian Government which takes over the reins of power today

Yet the people of Nigeria have taken the long electoral process in a mood of calm somewhat out of character with the normally excitable nature of the country

The Government which will take over is based on the United States model with its complicated series of checks and balances There will be two federal houses — the Senate and the House of Assembly — and a House of Representatives in each of the 19 states

The peaceful assumption of power by the new civilian Government will be an extraordinary achievement for the outgoing military regime led by Gen Olusegun Obasanjo

In a continent where the tendency has been for governments to become increasingly authoritarian, the Nigerian military administration has nursed the country back from the traumas of the civil war and kept rigidly to plans announced by the then



Alhaji Shehu Shagari first executive President of Nigeria.

Head of State, Gen Murtala Muhammed before his death, to return the country to a civilian government on October 1, 1979

Not that the transition has been without problems Despite the careful drafting of the new constitution by the lawmakers so that Nigeria's federal character would be respected without splitting the country apart, the election of the new President threw up new problems.

The constitution did not make clear how many states a candidate for the presidency had to win before he could be declared the victor on the first round When a winner was named, the runner-up contested his victory

The bitterness of that legal wrangle is an unfortunate inheritance for the new President But commentators feel that faced with the enormous problems of Nigeria, it will not be one of his most significant troubles

Nigeria has still not quite recovered from the great rush for development which followed the rapid rise in oil prices in 1973-74 As a major oil producer, Nigeria was temporarily rich but its push for development on all fronts at the same time hopelessly underestimated the constraints which it would face.

The hard lessons learned during the last few years are reflected in the more sober view which the planners take of the next few years As long as the incoming Government accepts their cautious attitude, Nigeria's future development will be at a much slower pace

The man who will superintend that development for the next four years of his office is the first executive President of Nigeria — Alhaji Shehu Shagari, a politician during the First Republic and a Finance Minister in a previous military Cabinet

The quietly-spoken former teacher has not spelled out the details of his policies but has made it clear that he favours the restrained line which the military have taken towards Government spending

His party, the National Party of Nigeria, have said they believe firmly in the merits of the open market economy and will be doing their best to improve the climate of investment and attract more foreign investment

But at the same time they have said they will make a big drive to increase the country's agricultural output which has suffered badly from the growing importance of oil as the mainstay of the economy.

Agricultural production was once the number one foreign exchange earner in Nigeria. Although the reasons for its decline are many and complex, the visible results of the rundown are evident

Nigeria, once the world's biggest exporter of groundnuts, is now a net importer. The same is true of palm oil, cotton and, to some extent, cocoa — Financial Times News-Features

Nigeria to probe SA links—total sanctions urged

226 Star 12/10/79

Own Correspondent

NEW YORK — Nigeria plans to subject its relationships with other governments to the "acid test" of their policies on southern Africa.

The Nigerian Government says it will initiate a United Nations study of the extent to which Western Governments' policies in the region are determined by their dependence on southern Africa's wealth of strategic minerals.

The continent's most populous and powerful black state says it is committed to push for total sanctions against South Africa to force withdrawal from SWA/Namibia.

Underlining his country's uncompromising opposition to the governments of South Africa and Zimbabwe Rhodesia, Nigerian Ambassador to the United Nations Mr Akporode Clark told the General Assembly yesterday that Nigeria planned to sponsor an African proposal for an international convention banning mercenary recruitment and activity anywhere.

"South Africa continues to be emboldened in its intransigence by its supporters and friends, particularly in the Western bloc, who make a ritual of condemning apartheid while increasing trade, investments, arms and technological transfers, was well as assistance in the development of nuclear capability," said Mr Clark, the chairman of the UN special committee against apartheid

Claiming that the UN had been lulled into inaction on Namibia, he said there had been too much bending over backwards to accommodate South Africa in negotiations Not enough was being done to "assist Swapo and the people of Namibia to regain their independence."

Mr Clark also warned that South Africa's "continued defiance of the United Nations" had ominous implications for the survival of the organisation, reports Sapa-AP.

He said there was no other way of judging the efficiency of the UN if the organisation could not implement its decisions on South Africa.

He asked: "What recourse is there for peaceful solution of the problems of southern Africa, when South Africa, in violation of international law, bombs refugee camps and invades territories of neighbouring countries in naked pursuit of a policy of aggression, intimidation and terrorism?"

Mr Clark pressed for the implementation of the provisions of chapter 7 of the UN Charter, dealing with threats to peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression.

Hands off Africa, Europeans warned

NEW YORK—Nigeria condemned "interference" by European countries, especially France, in the internal affairs of some African states, the Nigerian Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Akporode Clarke, told the General Assembly yesterday.

Without citing specific examples, he said the era of self-appointed king-makers for Africa had ended.

"Africa will no longer tolerate interventions and destabilisation exercises in the continent. Dependence of political institutions on foreigners from whatever continent is anathema and a betrayal of Africa's freedom and liberty," he said.

African leaders who parodied foreign models or exploited their people would be "swept away by their own people into the dustbin of history, just as their colonial masters were driven out in ignoming and revulsion."—Sapa-Reuter.

226 4/10/79 Post

Disunity reigns in Nigeria

LAGOS — Flags were raised over Tafawa Balewa Square, in Lagos, where ceremonies were held to mark the voluntary withdrawal of power from black Africa's wealthiest nation of the military men who have ruled for 13 years. The flags were flapping limply against the posts.

It was not only the flags that are damp. Lagos state is ruled by a party other than the one replacing the military at the helm of affairs at the Federal level. Here it is Chief Obafemi Awolowo's Unity Party of Nigeria that rules, in the Federation it is the National Party of Nigeria.

And many Lagosians feel that they could well have made it a double except that some sleights of hand were carried out by the Federal Electoral Commission, which have resulted in Alhaji Shehu Shagari becoming the country's first executive President.

Mention the fact that the Supreme Court has upheld the decision of the Electoral Commission, and the Lagosians will tell you: "But the decision was split 5-2, and any way the court was presided over by a newly-appointed Chief Justice."

Remind the Lagosians that Alhaji Shehu Shagari did indeed come very close to winning, even by the complicated arithmetic of the electoral law, and he will reply: "But, in that case, why has the military Government now amended the law?"

The reference to an amendment is with regard to a decree which rules out a presidential electoral college in case there is no clear winner at a presidential election.

From now on, there will be a popular vote throughout the contest. It was the belief of Chief Awolowo and his party, that he could have won at the electoral college in last month's election but was prevented from doing so by the manipulated arithmetic of the Federal Electoral Commission, that led to the court action which he has now lost.

But as Alhaji Shagari surveyed the wet weather and the damp spirits of the people here on the eve of his inauguration he can smile at one thing — one of his opponents in the presidential election and his predecessor as Nigeria's President, Dr Namdi Azikiwe, sent him a belated note of congratulations. Dr Azikiwe in his note urged all Nigerians "to accept the verdict of the highest judicial tribunal, now that the Supreme Court has adjudicated in favour of Alhaji Shehu Shagaro as the President-Elect."

NIGERIA

The road to democracy

When Nigeria returned to civilian rule on October 1, it did so after a complex series of elections and under a constitution which was carefully designed to prevent the domination of the nation as a whole by any one regional or ethnic bloc

While providing for a strong central government the country's 19 states were given substantial autonomous rights and minorities and other interest groups were guaranteed legal protection This intricate system of checks and balances was widely hailed as an answer to Africa's political needs — a blueprint which might be adopted by other countries with similar structural problems

But after barely three months, this democratic edifice is already showing cracks which point to serious weaknesses in its design The most obvious is in the relationship between the various political parties President Shagari's National Party of Nigeria (NPN), which derived most of its support from the north, was returned as the largest party in the national assembly -- but with only a third of the seats

Therefore, it entered into a working agreement with the Nigerian People's Party (NPP) led by ex-president Azikiwe (which has much of its following in what used to be Eastern Nigeria — the Biafra of the civil war) The United Party of Nigeria (UPN), led by former opposition leader Chief Awolowo, which derives most of its support from the west, is the main opposition in the national assembly

The old political establishments are therefore back in business under new names, and their relationships with each other are also much as they used to be before the 1966 military take-over

On the other hand, things have changed on the local level, and this is what has given rise to the first serious struggle Significantly, it appeared in Kaduna state, an important area Kaduna used to be the capital of the old powerful north

While the NPN won the majority of seats in the local state assembly, the governor of Kaduna, Balarabe Musa, who was elected separately, belongs to the Peoples' Redemption Party (PRP) This difference has led to a political deadlock, with the local NPN majority refusing to endorse the governor's appointees to his state administration

This lack of co-operation by the conservative NPN is a reaction against Musa's policies His first act as governor was to abolish the Emirate councils, bastions of traditionalism in Kaduna state The assembly managed to extend the life of the councils by one year through hasty legislation but it could not reverse another of Musa's early measures The abolition of the age-old Muslim community taxes including the "jangali" levied on cattle

Musa had stolen a march on the assembly by putting up posters throughout the state, proclaiming that the taxes had been revoked because they were oppressive and against the common peoples' interests As the traditional taxes had long been unpopular Musa's actions won him wide acclaim and the likelihood of an NPN defeat in the next state elections But the deadlock between governor and assembly remains

In nearby Kano — by far the most populous state in the north — both the governor and the majority in the assembly are PRP Here the emirate councils have been abolished, with the traditional Muslim taxes

A similar problem looms over the five southern states including Lagos, which are controlled by the UPN The UPN state government has already started to implement its election promises of free education and free medical services How will the national government and the authorities in other states justify their refusal to do the same?

The constitution gives Shagari the right to control local educational standards, and he could block the UPN programme by insisting on conditions which the states would be unable to finance But to do so might prove suicidal for any politician in Nigeria, where academic qualifications are popularly equated with prosperity and social status That this open sesame has remained out of most people's reach, despite the country's oil wealth, has long been an explosive political issue

The civilian government has at least inherited a booming economy After the 1978 fall in world demand for oil, which drastically reduced the country's trade surplus and necessitated the introduction of austerity measures the outgoing military government estimated a few months ago that this year's oil revenues would be $11 15 billion

But more recently, the Oil Ministry in Lagos has confirmed independent assessments that this estimate was deliberately on the low side Despite a recent cutback in oil production — in line with the rest of Opec output last year averaged 2 3m barrels a day Given the successive price increases of recent months, revenues are more likely to top the $15 billion mark For the first time in several years food production has also increased

The oil wealth and the ability to pay for the capital goods which have to be imported for Nigeria's massive development schemes, have kept the country high up in the league of lucrative markets for Western industrialists, particularly for Britain This has, of course, been a major factor in determining the African policies of Western governments

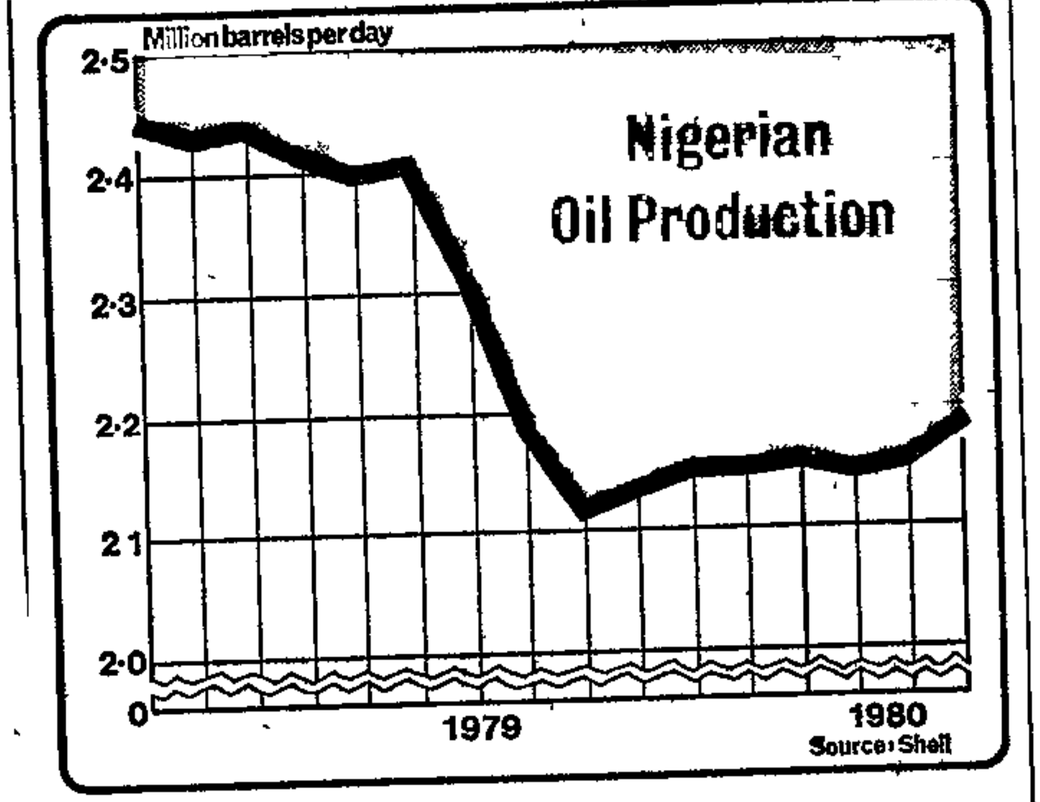
It became evident at the very inception of Shagari's term of office that he would not relax Nigeria's tough stance on Southern African questions The relaxation of the ban on British tenders for major government contracts is conditional on a satisfactory outcome in Rhodesia

It was a Nigerian resolution at the recent Delhi conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency which called for the barring of the South African delegation And there are signs that Lagos is preparing to be tough on Namibia

The PRP affair in Kaduna could even harden Nigerian policy Speaking in Lagos in December, Shagari hinted at an understanding with the PRP which would give the radical party a stronger voice in the national assembly The leader of the PRP Aminu Kano, is well known as a hawk even in African terms on South African issues

But Nigeria's international stance is likely to be tempered with pragmatism for a long time to come It cannot afford the radicalism of an oil-producing country like sparsely populated Libya With a population of about 80m, Nigeria's revenues large though they are have to be thinly spread if their benefit is to be widely felt Oil has given Nigeria a powerful political weapon but to make the most of its wealth it needs the modern technology and co-operation of the West

SUZANNE CRONJE worked in West Africa for several years in the Sixties Her books include two on Nigerian politics and the diplomatic history of the Biafran war.



Scandal pinpoints Nigeria's oil problems

(226)

RDM 27/6/80.

LAGOS. — The Nigerian Government is under increasing pressure to speed up reforms of the giant State oil company, the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation, because of allegations that large sums of money cannot be accounted for.

The corporation has been hammered by Press and public since reports that lax accounting had resulted in the disappearance of £2 250-million in oil revenues — a charge which most oil experts treat with a great deal of scepticism

However, the public outcry is likely to force the Government to hasten the passage of a Bill before Parliament which proposes the creation of five subsidiaries within the corporation and the tightening up of financial controls.

Approval of the legislation would be the first real indication of what the new civilian regime of President Shehu Shagari intends to do in the long term with an industry which provides more than 90% of export earnings, 70% of Federal Government receipts and accounts for 30% of GDP.

Until now, his eight-month-old administration has not said what its medium-term and long-term plans are for oil. Instead, it has pursued many of the policies taken in the ad hoc manner of the former military regime and has tried to get the greatest possible revenue from oil without straining production capacity or upsetting its markets

The increase in the Government's equity stake means that the NNPC now controls around 1 500 000 barrels a day out of a total current production of 2 100 000 b/d But as the corporation's influence has increased, so have accusations of inefficiency and corruption.

The oil scandal has brought [illegible] ahead. However much or little truth there is in the allegations, the President has appointed a judicial inquiry into the affair.

On pricing, Nigeria has said it will follow world market trends, waiting for others to make the running It has also made clear that its level of production will remain about 2 100 000 b/d unless there is a dramatic change in the oil market

But the Administration does not have much leeway on the production front. Its first Budget includes a substantial £934-million deficit which the Government has said it will only finance through increased oil revenues It is apparently hoping that if world production has to be cut, other producers will do so first — Financial Times.

interests and to secure a better distribution of the national income, his country will be the first in black Africa to experience a genuine economic take-off Britain wants to make sure of playing a profitable part in this process, against strong competition from other major industrialised countries

Britain's Nott . courting Nigeria's prosperity

states The Nigerian defence academy in Kaduna has been upgraded to the status of a university and President Shagari has announced that recruitment was to be stepped up (Many people consider that the 200 000-strong army, a left-over from the civil war, is too large as it is)

Plans were in existence, the President said, for the defence corporation to produce most of the country's strategic weapons locally But for sophisticated equipment Nigeria continues to rely on imports One of two modern warships, built in the UK, was commissioned last month It is equipped with anti-submarine rockets and missile launchers

Foreign investors have been encouraged by the peaceful transition to civilian rule The Shagari government is basically conservative and free-enterprise orientated However, major changes in the investment rules, which require majority participation by Nigerian nationals, except in certain highly technical fields, are not expected to be changed

Political tensions continue and leading figures are rumoured to be implicated in a scandal involving the disappearance of billions of dollars in oil money This is now being investigated, but the funds involved were handled under the authority of the previous military government, and the new administration is not expected to be affected by this particular evidence of corruption

If Shagari manages to balance regional

NIGERIA

Business booms

UK Trade Minister John Nott left this week for an important promotional trip to Nigeria His visit follows Cecil Parkinson a minister in Nott's department telling a British-Nigerian conference last month that the Nigerian market merited the attention of senior management, not just routine calls by junior staff

British exporters have reason to be on their toes UK exports to Nigeria were £117 5m in the first five months of this year and show every sign of exceeding the £1 billion mark in 1980 as they did in 1977 and 1978 though not last year when there was a drop in Nigeria's oil income

At the time, UK companies suffered more than others because of tensions in Lagos over the new Tory government's southern African policy

Nigeria's oil income this year is expected to be at least $2 billion despite Lagos's determination to keep output down to 2 15m barrels day – well below maximum capacity

Moreover, petrochemical exports should be sustained well into the 1990s An agreement for $1 billion gas project was signed in March with eight West European companies and long term supply contracts with US buyers are now under discussion

British businessmen have been advised that Nigerian importers will in future seek machine tools rather than consumer goods and that the fourth development plan will put less emphasis on infrastructure than on medium sized schemes However, major projects in such fields as telecommunications power and transport will continue to provide scope

Nigeria's search for self reliance means that it is ready to pay for the transfer of technology The recent budget emphasises education and training facilities with the construction of new universities in many

DISCRIMINATION (22b)

Racist framework

FM 29/8/80

"My government does not condone discrimination purely on the grounds of race or colour." So said Pik Botha SA's then representative at the UN, in 1974 But six years on, how do matters really stand?

The UN-sponsored International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination defines the practice as "any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent, national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life"

Small wonder therefore that SA has become the epitome of this practice and earned the international community's opprobrium Yet a commitment to the removal of discrimination has been lately voiced in the top ranks of the Nationalist government Last year, for example PM P W Botha 'fired the country — and the world — with the promise of initiating moves to scrap laws such as the Immorality Act and Mixed Marriages Act, undoubtedly the most unsavoury of discriminatory measures

They are, however, the *least* restrictive and would probably affect only a tiny minority of the population SA's legislative framework is steeped with discrimination As Mr Justice Oliver Schreiner remarked "The whole system of apartheid assumes that widespread inequality, almost invariably unfavourable to the non-whites, exist and is enforced or countenanced by the law"

Of course, many of these laws and practices antedate the present government However, since 1948 the drift of legislation has been towards an ever more rigid and intense enforcement of racial discrimination

The major pillars of the system are

□ **Territorial separation:**

The Black Land Act of 1913 and the Black Trust and Land Act of 1936 together allocated about 13% of the total area of SA for the exclusive occupation of Africans, who presently constitute over 60% of the total population

The Group Areas Act makes provision for separate residential and business areas on the basis of colour and ethnic origin The Act has had the effect of removing blacks, mainly Indians and coloureds, from the metropolitan or town centres It controls inter-racial property transactions and restricts black businessmen from trading in the CBDs

□ **Political separation:**

Apartheid sign . . . little evident change

The struggle to scrap black electors from the common roll, which began in the Thirties, culminated in the creation of separate political institutions for the various population groups Through the Promotion of Black Self Government Act of 1959, Africans were to be completely removed from SA's political process, which determines their lives in the most extensive and intimate manner in the non-communist world The "homelands" policy was given effect by this law

□ **Mobility:**

Freedom to choose residence even within areas prescribed for Africans, the so-called townships, is governed by the Urban Areas Consolidation Act of 1945 This Act contains the well-known but controversial Section 10 rights It stipules, *inter alia,* the length of time a person may be in an area or work for an employer to qualify for rights of residence The intention of the Act is to control the influx of blacks into the metropolitan areas, and its main effect has been to intensify the migratory system

□ **Amenities:**

In terms of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953, public amenities such as buses, trains, halls, post offices, libraries, etc, were to be provided according to race The signs of apartheid scrawled on public facilities are underwritten by this Act Recently, a number of these signs have been removed and desegregation achieved However, the overwhelming majority of amenities is still subject to the Act

□ **Education:**

Once the National Party had committed itself to complete separation of the races, it felt obliged to gain control of the education of blacks, which had hitherto fallen under a complex system of local authorities, missionaries, private bodies and the State. The primary aim was to establish a distinct kind of education for blacks which cut them off from advanced (white) economic opportunities and cultural practices

Much opposition has been levelled at the system of "Bantu Education," which has been perceived as providing a separate and unequal education for blacks There is the low per capita expenditure — about R60 for a black child compared to about R600 for whites, and the establishment of universities far removed from the industrial, commercial and metropolitan areas.

The Star

Monday February 25 1980

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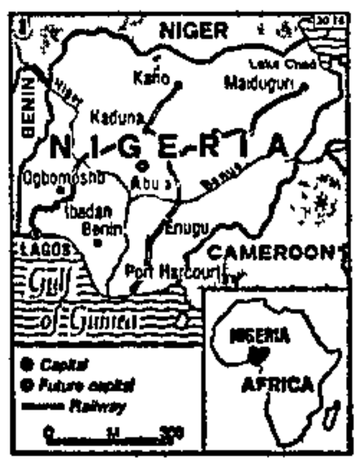
CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS INSIDE

Africa in turmoil

General Obasanjo



President Shagari

In his second article in this series, HENRY REUTER, of The Star's Africa News Service, reports from Lagos that the return to civilian rule has not brought quick solutions to Nigeria's problems and this does not augur well for the South African Government.

Giant is decidedly shaky

After four months of running Nigeria's first civilian government in nearly 14 years, President Sheshu Shagari is showing symptoms of having succumbed to the OAU syndrome.

This is symptomised by a continuous hammering at Africa's Government and its policies in a bid to distract attention from troubles nearer home.

As the troubles mount, the hammerings become more vigorous, with the result that South Africa becomes a unifying factor between African governments and between rival factions within governments.

Because of the syndrome it has become obvious that Pretoria's hopes of creating a Southern Africa sphere of economic influence will prove futile, so far as Nigeria, "the giant of Africa," is concerned.

For Shagari has troubles aplenty. He is a quiet, thoughtful, scholarly man whose election last October came as a big surprise to Western Diplomats here. In fact, his 8,3 percent of the potential presidential vote was more than enough to beat his charismatic rival, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Nigeria's "Moses," into a poor second place.

Shagari's National Party of Nigeria took 30 percent of the parliamentary seats and it is generally accepted that his superior and tribally broader-based organisation was the reason that the UPN and the other three contesting parties trailed badly.

As President and Head of State Shagari took over a fairly uncomfortable seat. The last civilian leader, Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa, was killed in a coup in 1966 So was Balewa's successor, General Aguiy Ironsi.

General Yakubu Gowon led the field for eight years before being ousted in turn by the military coup of General Murtala Mohammed.

Six months later Mohammed was killed in General Olusegun Obasanjo's coup. It took Obasanjo over three years to acquire all the cash, land and property he needed to retire gracefully last September when he handed over to Shagari's civilian Government.

And even his strong supporters now admit that Shagari's Government has got off to a very shaky start with the new, American-style constitution.

Apart from combating massive corruption at all levels, he faces opposition from those of the 19 state governments which are controlled by rival parties, he has Awolowo pronouncing critical judgment on everything he does, the nation is verging on bankruptcy, despite its oil revenues, and the opposition is attempting to secure his impeachment over what is known as "the Shugaba affair."

Shugaba Abdurrahman of the Greater Nigeria People's Party, leader of the Borno State Government, was hauled out of his bath at home by immigration officials on the night of January 24, driven to Lake Chad where it borders Chad and Nigeria, dumped into a small boat and pushed across into Chad. Nothing has been heard from him since.

Precarious

Federal Internal Affairs Minister, Maitama Yusuf, announced that Shugaba had been deported because he was an "alien" and a security risk It turned out that Shugaba was born in Nigeria of a Nigerian mother and a Chadian father.

Since then, prominent leaders in all parties have raised such a ruckus on the issue that Shagari has ordered a judicial inquiry into the incident.

At the root of the uproar lies the fear of the Federal Government assuming sweeping powers to control affairs of the states. These fears were exacerbated by another recent presidential announcement — of his intention to appoint liaison officers to link federal and state agencies The move has been denounced as a trick to instal spies who will "finger" to federal authorities more deportation candidates.

As his perch on top of the heap becomes even more precarious Shagari is getting tougher with the Press Nigeria has 15 daily newspapers, only one of which is 100 percent Government-owned, most of the others being state organs which fill their columns with anti-Shagari news and views.

Nauseating

Reporters attempting to cover a recent ruling NPN executive meeting were seized by police and flogged with horsewhips. This was interpreted widely as evidence of the insecurity of the NPN Federal Government, which enjoys a majority in the Senate and the National Assembly only by virtue of an alliance with the Nigerian People's Party — a majority which falls short of the two-third needed to pass major bills.

Shagari's one great political asset is that after years of seeing the country raped by the army the great mass of the 90-million Nigerians want to see civil government work and see him as an honest man who might be able to stop it sinking deeper, financially, commercially and phsyically, into the mire.

Lagos, the most nauseating capital in Africa, now gives the visitor the impression that it is about to sink in its own excreta and that the Government, finalising its plans for a new R10 000-million capital at Abuja, 800 km away is losing a race against time

Meanwhile, if another general doesn't stage another coup, the country is due for new general elections in four years' time Already there are strong doubts whether the Shagari government will last that long.

Nigerians have become ultra-cynical about all their leaders.

The only issues on which Shagari can be sure of receiving wholehearted national support are the current external ones — calls for sanctions against South Africa, for Swapo rule in Namibia, and for action against Britain if there is no satisfactory outcome in the Rhodesia elections.

He cannot afford to neglect these rallying points any more than can his successors. For in Nigeria, as in several other OAU countries, black racism is becoming the opium of the masses.

©Argus Co, 1980.

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after discussion with staff and 24% as a result of discussions with senior students and with other new students.

2.4 The Course Information Lectures

The majority of the sample (73%) felt that they had obtained some information about the subjects from t. Course information lectures, though only 31% were completely or almost completely satisfied with the information obtained. The majority specified in th. comments that they would have liked course content (lines and booklists on each specific subject to be handed out before lectures. They would also have l information in the lectures about tutorial organisa work loads, department requirements and research me

The majority of the sample (52%) felt that there ha. enough opportunity to ask questions at the Course information lectures though 30% felt they would have liked more; only 6.5% would have preferred to see s. in their offices instead of the lectures. 89% wishe see staff as well as the lectures, and were satisfi. with the arrangements.

2.5 The Student Workshops

Approximately one-third of the sample did not answe. questions in this section of the questionnaire. Th. be because they did not attend the Sunday workshops a great number of the sample indicated in their comm that they would have preferred these not to have bee on a Sunday. Of those that did answer questions in section 83% felt the Workshop had been long enough . helped them to some extent to integrate into the Un. as well as in choosing their degree courses.

2.6 The Course on Study Methods

A majority of the sample (69%) felt that their scho. methods of study were adequate at University, thoug. than 1% felt they were completely adequate and 18% . so. Yet the majority (51%) would have liked an addi. lecture on "Lectures, Revisio[illegible]

BRIEFING

Graft costs millions

Nigerians ll gover- ee him as vho might it sinking ly, con- ysically,

e most ipital in gives the mpression to sink in and that t, finalis- or a new capital at away is against

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issues on d can be eceiving national

agari

By Henry Reuter

Enormous losses of public moneys through graft and corruption under the military Government of General Olusegun Obasanjo are being probed by Nigeria's four-month-old civilian government of President Shehu Shagari.

Investigations since Obasanjo handed over power have shown the losses to have been so great that they have plunged the country — potentially one of Africa's richest states — into a crisis

The recently elected House of Representatives is launching an inquiry into the alleged disappearance of funds of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation totalling more than R3 600-million. Much of this is alleged to have disappeared since the disclosure of the British Petroleum Company's alleged oil supplies to South Africa

The probe comes at a time when Nigeria's foreign reserves are down to R2 600-million — enough for three months' imports. Recent estimates put the country's total oil income for 1979 at just over R8 900-million.

Untrue

While the forthcoming inquiry is the major conversation topic in Lagos, the British High Commissioner in Nigeria, Mr Mervyn Brown, has said that the nationalisation of BP assets, which was announced at the start of the Commonwealth Rhodesia conference in Lusaka, had no influence whatever on Britain's southern Africa policies.

In a news magazine interview published here he said BP had been treated harshly because the reasons given for the nationalisation were untrue.

"It is not true," he said, "that the British Government gave BP permission to export North Sea oil to South Africa. Still less is it true that the British Government is launching an inquiry into the alleged disappearance of funds of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation totalling more than R3 600-million. Much of this is alleged to have disappeared since the disclosure of the British Petroleum Company's alleged oil supplies to South Africa

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Houses

Yet another probe demanded in the Nigerian House of Representatives is currently debating a motion calling on it to investigate the circumstances in which a team of American businessmen led by former US ambassador to the UN, Andrew Young was awarded a contract to sell R416-million worth of fertiliser to Obasanjo's Government.

Another intriguing demand is for an accounting of how nine tons of Nigerian currency happened to be found on an aircraft which landed at Entebbe Airport, Uganda, and was allegedly seized by Idi Amin's men.

Some politicians have recently demanded that Obasanjo be called on to give an account of his three years and eight months' national stewardship. But Obasanjo, known as "the big O," is lying low on his vast holdings and saying nothing. *Argus Co, 1980.*

Members also want to know why new roads built by the Obasanjo regime cost R1,950-million per kilometre and are breaking up after an average of three years' usage, and why workers' "low-cost" houses built by the Obasanjo regime cost R52 000 each instead of an estimated fair cost of R10 400 each

superior international airport built by the Kenya Government in Nairobi cost only R27,3-million

Nigeria shows Africa the way on traditional medicine laws

NIGERIA will give what is described as "a lead to Africa" if a bill now before the Lagos State Assembly becomes law.

The bill calls for the integration of witchdoctors and other traditional healers into the public health service

It provides for the setting up of a traditional medicine board which will be charged with maintaining a register of traditional healers and establishing traditional hospitals, centres and clinics in which they will work

Medicine men who actually succeed in curing patients will be asked to lay bare their secrets

Such cures will then become standard practice in the health service and all registered tradtional healers will be instructed to follow the same procedures

"The situation as we see it is that traditional medicine will begin where modern medicine has failed," the chairman of the House of Assembly's education and social services committee, Mr Oluwole Owolowo, said.

He added that Nigerians felt there was a need to put an end to the colonial mentality which condemned traditional medicines on the grounds of hygiene and the fact that medicines which could be effective were often administered in the wrong dosage. — SUNDAY POST Correspondent

Nigeria will aid armed (226) RDM 8/10/80 struggle in SA, UN told

By RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK — President Shehu Shagari of Nigeria has told the United Nations General Assembly that his country will "assist, encourage and support" armed insurrection in South Africa

He called for a mandatory oil embargo against South Africa, and told the West that Nigeria will no longer "tolerate" further delays in UN-supervised elections in South West Africa.

But he made no mention of recent threats to use the oil weapon to pressure the United States into getting tough on South Africa — and he appeared to set back the timing of a fullscale sanctions assault in the Security Council.

With the US oil debt to Nigeria topping R20 000-million, President Shagari's visit is receiving major attention.

The South Africa issue — a "holy war", he calls it — is the hot topic in all the interviews he is appearing in

"Nigeria will no longer tolerate the provocations by South Africa or the dilatory tactics of her allies in the Western bloc with regard to self-determination and majority rule for Namibia," he told the Assembly

The "collusion" between Pretoria and the West had to end, and a UN group deployed "without undue delay to carry out its mandate to supervise a free and fair election".

Turning to South Africa itself, he called for sanctions — "particularly an oil embargo to complement the existing arms embargo"

"But sanctions alone will not destroy apartheid and racism in South Africa," he said "They can, however, be used to support the armed struggle That struggle is now gathering momentum"

The African National Congress issued a statement welcoming President Shagari's stand.

JOHN MATISON reports from Washington that, yesterday, before making a State visit to the White House, President Shagari said it would be a disaster for the US to veto a sanctions resolution against South Africa at the UN.

His remarks on television were interpreted as a mild threat to Nigeria's "friends" — the US — that South Africa would be a stumbling block in negotiations between the two countries.

His words will be analysed carefully in Washington, because Nigeria is now the US's second biggest supplier of oil. Saudi Arabia is the biggest, but with the Iran-Iraq war still raging, Americans are wary of antagonising another oil-rich country

"The struggle in South Africa is regarded as a battle for freedom we think we will be able to persuade our friends to help us," President Shagari said

Asked what Nigeria would do if the US vetoed sanctions against South Africa, the President said. "I can't say what we would would do It would be a disaster. You know the feelings of Africans — it's not something you don't know."

Asked about the increasing Russian influence in Southern Africa, President Shagari said "I don't think that should worry anybody Southern African countries will find a way to real Africanism They will not be Marxists, and they will not be capitalists"

US policy-makers will press the Nigerian leader to buy American grain and other agricultural goods to partially compensate for the massive amounts of oil the US buys from the food-short African country

One of President Shagari's senior aides, Mr Chuba Okadigbo, said in an interview published in New York that Nigeria could and would build a nuclear bomb "if that is what it takes to bring South Africa to the negotiating table"

He said Nigeria expected South Africa to give up SWA within a year

Nigeria would then set what it considered a reasonable time for majority rule in South Africa itself

NIGERIA-SA (226)

Tom and Jerry FM 16/10/80

In a gambit as predictable as *Kodak* and as time-honoured as the Roman Centurions, Nigeria's President Shehu Shagari attempted a manoeuvre that American police call a "Tom and Jerry"

This hoary psychological attack seeks to break down the defences of a suspect by alternating threats and blandishments from two inquisitors Tom is usually the tough, frightening cop who wants nothing more than to blackjack the suspect into submission Jerry on the other hand, is sympathetic to the poor wretch's plight

Tom, in the case of the Nigerian delegation that arrived in New York this week was played by Chuba Okadigbo, a senior adviser to Shagari Okadigbo not only renewed threats to cut the United States off from its supplies of Nigerian oil, but he also said Nigeria would be forced to develop nuclear weapons in order to force the SA government into majority rule

Shagari took the role of Jerry In speeches to the United Nations and to a foreign policy study group in New York, and later this week in talks with President Carter, the Nigerian head of state remained soft-spoken and re-emphasised his friendly ties with the US

But while his words were peaceful, Shagari — as the Wall Street Journal described his remarks — left no doubt that one key purpose of his trip besides convincing the world that Nigeria's new democratically elected government is stable, is to convince the west that Nigeria is deadly serious about its part in the movement for majority rule and racial equality in SA

Okadigbo was more blunt The US receives roughly 18% of its imported oil from Nigeria Indeed the percentage may be more than that, since the US has reduced its intake from other suppliers but still takes roughly 2,1m barrels a day from Nigeria

Okadigbo said SA is still receiving oil from US concerns and that the Lagos government holds Washington accountable

But what caught American listeners by surprise, as it was intended to, was the atomic bomb threat

'We don t want to do it (develop a nuclear bomb),' Okadigbo said "It would mean a tremendous expenditure of money that we need for our own development But we have our fingers on the material Any time the president would give the order I would know where to get it processed

Although American nuclear officials doubt that Nigeria could build a bomb on its own it considers that Nigeria has a large stake in the uranium output of neighbouring Niger and that it could buy a bomb from any number of Third World sources from the Indians to the Libyans

When questioned about his colleague s threats President Shagari would calm his audiences by saying the remarks were aimed at dissuading the Pretoria government from exploding another of what many international observers believe was a series of nuclear warhead tests last year In his UN speech Shagari called for Africa to remain 'a nuclear-free zone'

Yet outside in the UN corridors Okadigbo was at it again 'We won t allow Africa to be subjected to nuclear blackmail (by SA) That would be another kind of colonialism If that (building a Nigerian bomb) is what it takes to bring them to the bargaining table then Nigeria as the leader of Africa will do it

In his talks with US officials Shagari pledged to keep oil flowing to the US, 'barring a split on SA" He stressed his preference for 'words of persuasion," but said later that the battle against SA's apartheid system was a 'holy war" and that 'when you are in the search for liberty, you can sacrifice anything

In the final analysis the Nigerian Tom and Jerry act at least won Shagari attention that he would not otherwise have received from the American news media and from sceptical government officials

UK, Nigeria to co-operate

From The Guardian

LONDON — Britain plans new co-operation projects with Nigeria to restore good relations after the row about BP oil interests in South Africa.

The projects, involving industry and agriculture, will follow a visit to Nigeria this week by Lord Carrington's deputy at the Foreign Office, Sir Ian Gilmour.

For the British this will help to restore good relations after the traumatic events of August 1979 when the then military government of Nigeria announced the nationalisation of all BP assets in the oil industry.

NIGERIA - GENERAL

1981 - 1987

(226) 3/2/81

Turbulent giant of Africa

President Shehu Shagari ... won first round by bluff

Political manoeuvring, labour discontent, the rice scandal, rising crime — these are four facets of life in turbulent Nigeria today

covered by LEON DASH of The Washington Post, writing from the capital, Lagos.

STAR 3/2/81 (226)

LAGOS, Nigeria — Through a sometimes stormy year, Nigeria's President Shehu Shagari and the National Assembly — the country s first civilian government in 13 years — have been warily circling each other like evenly matched but inexperienced boxers

Each has been testing the other's skill and knowledge of the limits of power under their new, United States-style constitution

Shagari has won the first round by bluff, made some tactical retreats and forced two stalemates But the legislators have learned along the way and Shagari faces toe-to-toe slugging in 1981

Americans would find the relationship between Shagari and the Assembly, the federal courts and state governors similar to governmental tugs of war in the United States

There is a difference, however, in that Nigeria is still breaking in civilian government A dispute run wild could disrupt the democratic system in West Africa s most populous and powerful country, which is closely watched by its less developed neighbours.

Sharing

At Independence 20 years ago, Nigeria inherited a British colonial administrative legacy — a three-way, ethnically based regional political grouping imposed on a weak parliamentary government that collapsed into a series of bloody coups and a harsh civil war only six years into independence

To avoid a recurrence, the now-retired military rulers, with the help of an elected civilian Assembly, put together a federal structure two years ago by borrowing extensively from the US constitution The three old contentious regional blocs have been splintered into 19 states, and federal power is shared among President, National Assembly and federal courts

The courts have already indicated their independence by imposing a R495 000 fine on the Executive Branch for violating the constitution Neither the act nor the sum, quite large here, would have been conceivable under the allegedly corrupt first civilian government, and it is unlikely that any court in most of Nigeria's neighbouring countries could act that independently

The court's ruling, under appeal by the Administration, grew out of a suit against the Federal Government by a Borno State legislator, Shugaba Abdulrahman, after he was forced out of bed one night and expelled to Chad Interior Ministry agents expelled him on the grounds that he was not a Nigerian, but the court ruled he was and that he had been denied a due-process hearing guaranteed by the constitution

Exercise

"The past year has been an exercise of each branch of government trying to establish its constitutional rights over the other," said Idris Ibrahim, Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives and a member of Shagari s National Party of Nigeria "Everyone now knows where he stands"

The National Party's Senate leader, Olusola Saraki, said in a recent interview that the Assemblymen were not just interested in confronting Shagari but were asserting their rights

"We shall never be a rubber stamp, and I think our stand is being clearly understood by the President," Saraki said

Shagari, who talks publicly about "team" efforts among the three Government branches, showed tenacity in the first confrontation with the Senate a year ago about Cabinet appointments So far, his style has dominated that struggle

The Senate threw down the gauntlet by rejecting half of Shagari's list of 24 Cabinet appointments in the first month of civilian government in 1979 They specified that two of the rebuffed 12 were too controversial and would not be reconsidered

In December, Shagari resubmitted all 12 names with the unspoken assurance that the Government would not begin to function until he had the Cabinet of his choosing The Senate approved the entire list

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Abdul Karimu Akamo is indignant Each day, he handles the symbols of affluence provided by Nigeria's oil wealth

Yet none of the new wealth or the social habits it brought to other sectors of the country's population — such as daily champagne drinking — has trickled down to him and his fellow dockworkers

After 21 years of unloading the dank holds of freighters, 39-year-old Akamo said he thought he knew the value of an average shipload and the R7,50 a day — R5,11 a day before April — that he was paid for an eight-hour shift "without lunch or rest break" was not enough to feed him and his family adequately

Akamo and 26 000 other dockworkers went on strike twice recently and closed all seven of Nigeria's ports because private contractors had not paid them a government ordered 56 percent wage increase six months after it was due.

After being kept on a short leash for 13 years of military government, Akamo and the more than 3 million workers in Nigeria who belong to unions have grown increasingly militant with the year-old civilian government in demanding a larger share of its oil wealth

Buffeted by oil fuelled inflation since the mid-1970s, cramped into inadequate, sub-standard housing and incensed by the doubling of food and public transportation prices since last summer, angry urban workers and a budget-conscious Nigerian Government are on a collision course that could have disturbing ramifications for the country and its financially weaker neighbours

Nigerian labour has formed the largest national trade union movement on the African continent. As a result, its restiveness could spill over in adjacent countries among equally unhappy, poorly paid industrial and civil service employees

Minimum

With rising energy bills leaving many African national budgets in deficit and a world recession slowing down already slow industrial growth, it is doubtful if more than a few African countries could absorb the shock of long strikes and high wage demands from the type of angry union member that Akamo represents

Led by the socialist-leaning Nigerian Labour Congress president, Hassan Sunmonu, Nigerian unions are demanding that a worker s monthly minimum salary be increased to R424, three times the minimum of R135 set by President Shagari last April

Shagari and his advisers argue that the country's growing wealth, 90 percent of which comes from oil, is already too thinly spread among ambitious agricultural and industrial development projects, education and health programmes for Nigeria's estimated 100 million residents — the largest population in Africa, of whom 25 percent are city workers

Revenues

Meeting union leaders' demands, several of Shagari's advisers said, would push inflation back up to its one-time annual high of 30 percent and bring major, but capital-short government projects crashing down like houses of cards if money allocated for them had to be shifted to salaries

Government officials claim that overall inflation is running at nine percent, but some experts said it is closer to 20 percent

Even so, union leaders said, Nigeria's oil revenues had more than doubled in the past two years — to R18 800-million for 1980 — and more of that should be finding its way into workers' pockets

Beginning last spring, wildcat strikes hit private industry, public transportation and federal and state civil service agencies over pay grievances Federal officials accused union leaders of trying to undermine the Government

The union leadership itself, although united on pay and working conditions, is split into pro-Soviet and pro-Western blocs, according to well-informed Nigerian trade union sources The elections this month for offices in the national body, the Labour Congress, will be hotly contested between the two groups The outcome of the election, several sources said, might well help determine the level of militancy in the Nigerian trade union movement and in a large part of neighbouring Africa.

The latest scandal in this West African capital, whose combative traders thrive on freewheeling capitalism, is an astronomical leap in the price of rice

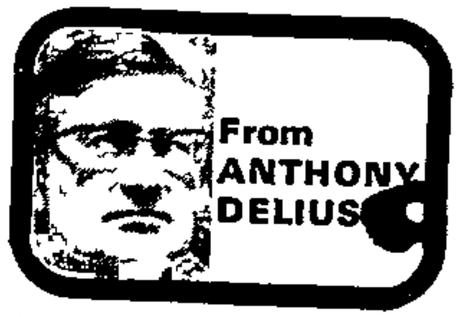
Any West African government is playing with fire if it fails to ensure that rice, a major staple of urban populations, is available at reasonable prices. Skyrocketing rice prices have sparked some bitter urban riots in the region and indirectly set into motion events that brought down the govern-

● To inside back.

FACULTY OF ENGINEERING
Convocation Medals

UK to gain from big Nigerian expansion

T 16/2/81 226



From ANTHONY DELIUS

LONDON — The new honeymoon in Nigerian-British relations made even more joyous by the prospect of Britain's selling the big African federation nearly R3 billion worth of exports in 1981, is being celebrated by an exchange of official visits over the next month

First Lord Carrington, Britain's Foreign Secretary, is going to Lagos, and then the Nigerian President, Shehu Shagari, will don the most splendid of his flowing robes and come to London Whatever the future risks may be, Britain's special relationship and growing economic intimacy with Nigeria is presently the envy of most of the nations trading with Africa

Enraged

Forgiven and apparently forgotten are the days when the Nigerian government was enraged by alleged British involvement in sneaking out a tanker of Nigerian oil for South Africa, and when Lagos threatened the British with trade sanctions if there was any sharp practice over the Zimbabwe elections Indeed the impeccable British record in those elections helped to restore relations to levels of friendship not known for five years between Britain and what used to be her most populous colonial possession after India But no doubt both sides hold some caution in reserve

The pleasantly poker-faced Lord Carrington will be given a preview of what snags may arise simply by looking out over Lagos from some upper window in the embassy All four million of the city's inhabitants will seem to be out on the streets struggling through the turgid traffic in the typical heavy heat of lagoon country Everywhere the eye will catch sight of fly-overs with which the city authorities desperately try to solve innumerable traffic snarl-ups But Lagos continues to be a city of bottle-necks — as the country is a land of economic ones

Divided in three

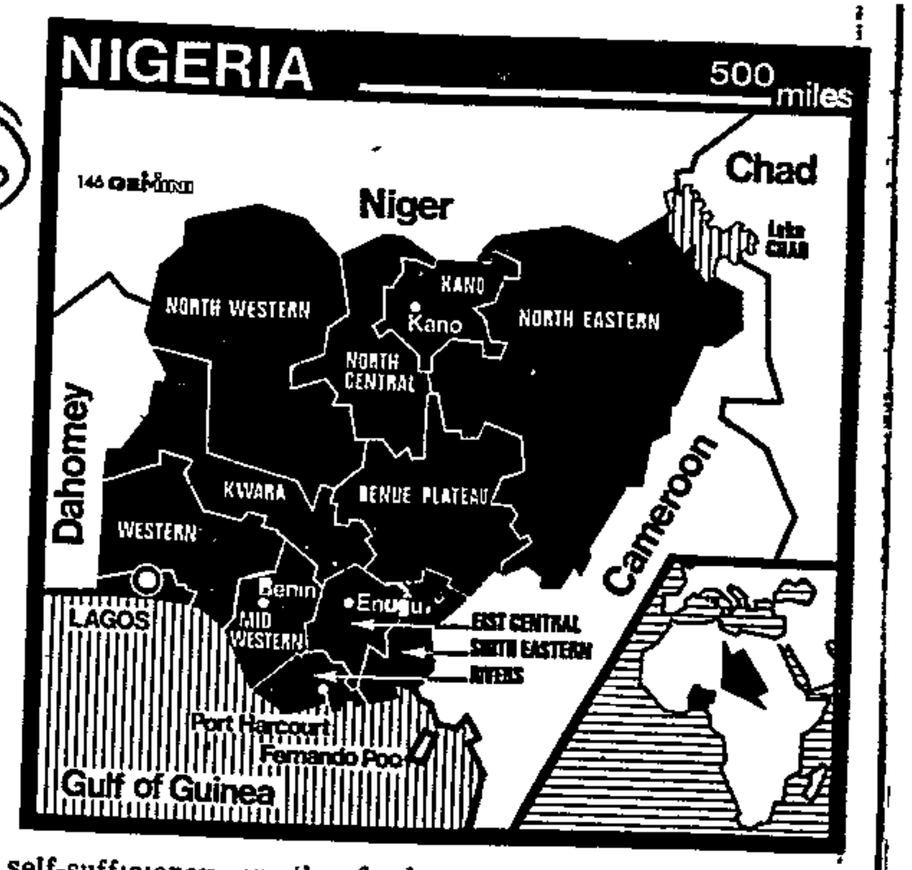
It is said that the day of the average Lagos commuter is divided into three eight hours at work, eight in traffic, and eight at home — if you go home Many of the higher bureaucrats live at government expense in the smarter hotels waiting for the homes they have been promised Even those prospective homes were deferred due to the supplies tangle which developed because of the over-ordering of cement At one time about half of the world's available cement resources seemed to be lying in a huge log-jam of ships out in Lagos harbour

Nigeria and Ghana are thought to have bodies of the best trained civil servants in black Africa It also seemed that the military governments that took over in both countries were finally succeeding in decreasing corruption noticeably In fact in Nigeria it was the bureaucrats who kept the country running fairly smoothly while the competing groups of soldiers were struggling for power, and then trained the winners to be reasonably efficient administrators Now the new American-style civil regime is in power the demand for civil servants from three tiers of government, federal, state and local, has simply exhausted resources everywhere

The economic development of the country has gone ahead too fast and on too big a scale for government and its administrators to catch up, or to service properly This goes for business, too, which has to take on often hastily recruited Nigerian staff All Nigeria seems to be learning on the job, with great wealth to pay for mistakes but not necessarily able to improve training

With the further increased price of oil new wealth is flowing into the country and its treasury in billions — the country is producing two million barrels a day and its foreign reserves stand at about R10 billion What drives Nigeria's trading partners (especially the economically tormented British) into ecstasies of anticipation is the commencement of a nearly R130 billion development plan This will mean that there will soon be orders to be fulfilled for vast amounts of machinery and other goods to create everything from a green revolution to a new capital city

The greatest amount is ticketed to go into agriculture, a green revolution intended to enable Nigeria to feed itself As well as being a considerable businessman, President Shehu Shagari is a farmer deeply interested in scientific agriculture and modernizing food production generally The laying out of vast sums for agriculture is also seen as a way of spreading the country's good fortune to those who see least, if any at all, of it — the four-fifths of the population that works on the land



Even so progress towards self-sufficiency on the food front will require a special effort in bureaucratic administration, drawing heavily on the country's resources in agricultural civil servants Since the announcement of the campaign to make Nigeria able to feed itself — and it certainly has the basic resources to feed its 90m people — 400 000 tons of rice has had to be imported to keep food prices down The growing numbers of wealthier citizens are also increasing the pressure for importing exotic food and drink

One thing that Nigerians would not like to do would be to become exporters of vegetables and salads to Europe — as are such countries as Senegal and Ivory Coast While Africa is notoriously hunger-ridden and millions were starving in the Sahel and East African regions, vegetable exports from Africa to Europe produced a glut and Europe, to protect its farmers, had to destroy about R50m worth of produce So that the hope is that Nigerian farmers will concentrate on the foods that will feed their own cities and villages without trying to make a fortune flying lettuces and purple cabbages to London, Paris and Berlin

There is also considerable political competition for the official revenue resources not only in the federal senate and assembly, but also in the score of state senates and assemblies, and innumerable local governments One of the major problems in Nigeria over the past year has been how to divide up the revenues — at present it has been decided to split the money 55 percent for the federal government 35 percent for the states and eight percent for local administration. But dangerous quarrels could arise among the five political parties over the share-out with each struggling for greater amounts to demonstrate their policies in the areas where they are politically dominant

While President Shehu Shagari tries with some success to keep a fair amount of order in the struggling heap of administrations, legislatures and ethnic groups he also has to keep an eye on the rest of [illegible] his country claims to lead There's President Gaddafi of Libya, now an influence in neighbouring [illegible] possibly responsible for the Moslem uprising in one of Nigeria's own states There are the former French territories which resent Nigeria's over-shadowing dominance in West Africa And there are Nigeria's dogged friends the Russians waiting for something to go wrong again

CT 16/3/8(226)

Nigerian demand on SA expected

Own Correspondent

LONDON — Nigeria's President Alhaji Shagari, who starts a State visit to Britain tomorrow, is expected to exert considerable pressure on Mrs Thatcher's government over Britain's links with South Africa

Britain hopes the visit will further sweeten relations between the two countries, which at times in the past have been soured by what Nigeria sees as Britain's support for "apartheid" South Africa

Because of its trading importance, Nigeria's voice is one that Britain cannot easily dismiss

Nigeria has now assumed the role of Britain's biggest market in Africa and one of its most important trading partners in the world

It is believed that President Shagari will use this power in his talks with Mrs Thatcher's government this week His attitude is likely to be that trade between the two countries could suffer unless Britain takes a more determined stand on South Africa

Nigeria could very well use the trading partnership as it used its oil in 1979, when it nationalized BP's interests to force Britain's hand on Zimbabwe

The Sunday Telegraph yesterday reported that Britain had high hopes of selling two squadrons of Jaguar strike aircraft, BAC Rapier missiles, patrol boats and other arms worth about R1 080-million to Nigeria

But this is not all that Britain hopes to tie up with Nigeria Following the official visit, President Shagari will stay on for five days to meet British businessmen

So it is believed that it will not only be pressure from Nigeria's President that will be exerted on the government, but from UK industrialists as well

They will point out that in the present crisis situation of recession-hit British industry, Nigeria is far too attractive a trading partner to antagonize

So South Africa's importance, compared with that of Nigeria, will be carefully weighed in the next few days

Nigeria to put the pressure on UK over SA

RDM 16/3/81

226

By MARGARET SMITH
London Bureau

LONDON — Nigeria's President Alhaji Shagari, who starts a state visit to Britain on Tuesday, is expected to exert considerable pressure on Mrs Margaret Thatcher's government over links with South Africa

Britain hopes this visit will further sweeten relations between the two countries, which at times in the past have been soured by what Nigeria sees as Britain's support for "apartheid" South Africa

Because of its trading importance to the United Kingdom, Nigeria's voice is one that this country cannot easily dismiss.

Nigeria has now assumed the role of Britain's biggest market in Africa and one of its most important trading partners in the world

And informed observers say, President Shagari is going to use this power in his talks with Mrs Thatcher's government this week

His attitude, they say, will very likely be that trade between the two countries could suffer unless Britain takes a more determined stand on South Africa

Nigeria could well use the trading partnership as it used its oil, in 1979, when it nationalised BP's considerable interests in that country to force Mrs Thatcher's hand on Rhodesia.

The Sunday Telegraph yesterday reported that Britain has high hopes of selling two squadrons of Jaguar strike planes, BAC Rapier missiles, patrol boats and other arms worth about R1 080-million to Nigeria

So South Africa's importance, compared with that of Nigeria, will be carefully weighed in the next few days during negotiations to win over the head of one of Britain's most important trading partners

'Sanctions are only solution to apartheid'

LONDON – Nigeria's President Shehu Shagari yesterday called on Western governments not to block black Africa's attempts to impose United Nations mandatory sanctions against South Africa saying an economic boycott of the country was the only way to peacefully dismantle apartheid

"The system has survived largely through the collusion and encouragement of Western powers who continue to defy world opinion by supplying arms to the racists," he told a Press conference at the end of a four-day visit to Britain

"We hope the Great Powers will allow sanctions — then it will be the duty of all to uphold them"

President Shagari said Nigeria was determined to continue aiding "the freedom fighters in South Africa and South West Africa"

"We shall use every means at our disposal to fight apartheid," he said

The Nigerian leader admitted he had not been able to persuade the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher to support sanctions

"The British authorities believe in persuasion I don't I don't believe it will be successful" he said

"She still nurtures the hope that South Africa can be persuaded through talks I wish her luck"

But he said he believed the British Government realised the importance of co-operating with black Africa and seeing its point of view

"They are prepared to do so," he said "But the British have their own allies, and it is their task to discuss among themselves and see whether sanctions will be effective"

He argued that they would be — if they were implemented "in good faith"

President Shagari also told the conference he did not believe President Ronald Reagan's United States Administration would support Unita in Angola

But he warned that if it did so it would defy Africa and its actions would be "very serious"

He said it was in the interests even of South Africa's friends that apartheid should be "wiped out"

"It can be done by peaceful means If negotiation fails, then South Africa must be pressurised and the peaceful way is through sanctions If this fails you have to resort to armed struggle" — Sapa

Two key states for Republic's relations with Africa

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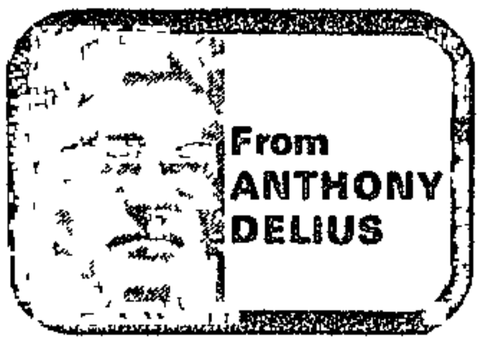

From ANTHONY DELIUS

LONDON — The two black states most likely to be more significant than any others in South Africa's relations with the continent of Africa for a long time to come are Nigeria and Zimbabwe The first is the Republic s biggest economic rival and the other is its closest neighbour in Africa — outside the three former protectorates Both are in the news this week partly because of how they compare with South Africa from a point of view of development and prosperity, and because they strongly oppose apartheid

President Shehu Shagari of Nigeria has just been on an official visit to Britain, where central interest has focused on the opportunities for the host country's battered economy in the West African country's huge, oil-financed development plan The representatives of some 40 countries who have gathered in Salisbury this week will see what they can do to realize Zimbabwe s needs for rapid development Roughly, Zimbabwe needs aid and loans to lay the basis of a development plan – Nigeria's plan is about 30 times greater

Future relations

The amount of trade arranged with Nigeria and the amount of aid forthcoming for Zimbabwe could have a considerable bearing on the future relations between these countries and the Western world The Nigerians are at present among the most nationalistic and unashamedly capitalist peoples in the world, and the Zimbabwean leaders claim to be socialists prepared to run a mixed economy if it can be made to work — so here too is a field for enterprising trade

Both black countries want to achieve stability by developing their agricultures to give their peoples a greater share in present and future wealth They also want to develop communications and industry, to a large extent by bringing in factories to manufacture what they import today Their aim is greater self-sufficiency, but this of course means greater trading opportunities immediately, and also in the future when new demand is created by a more sophisticated economy

For the Western world, like the rest of the world severely afflicted economically, embarking on Nigeria s trade opportunities is far easier than answering Zimbabwe s aid requirements But the subjects discussed with President Shehu in London last week included the dire need for the West, and America and Britain particularly, to come to the financial rescue of Zimbabwe and carry out former half-promises of massive help As far as the Nigerians are concerned it would be a betrayal of all Africa if Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia were to be left to be what they regard as the playthings of South African economic dominance and disruption

The Nigerians have committed themselves very heavily to the ending of apartheid and white dominance in South Africa This is not only because the Nigerians now regard themselves as economically paramount in Africa and seek the leadership of the continent It is also because of a whole series of blunders in South Africa's relations with Nigeria (including Dr Verwoerd's rather haughty refusal to send a representative to Nigeria's independence celebrations) and because the Nigerians feel themselves insulted along with all other blacks by the Republic's race policies

In some ways the Nigerians are apt to be more violently biased against what they call the "settlers" of South Africa simply because they really have no experience of settlers A favourite remark of intellectuals and politicians in Nigeria is to thank God for the mosquito which prevented settler populations building up in their country Against whites as such they have no bias, but will feast with them (mainly technicians or businessmen) or fleece them as happily as they do with or to one another It s the thought of the wicked "white settler" minority oppressing the blacks in the south that enrages them

Yet, ironically, it is at least one part of the southern whites that the Nigerians need as badly as the Zimbabweans do to solve one of their basic problems The best farmers in Africa — if you exclude the now small number of white farmers in Kenya — are the white farmers of the south The greater part of the Nigerians' newest development plan, like that of the Zimbabwean one is concerned with agriculture, and although the country has basically all that is required to feed itself it needs the expertise of developing a modern agriculture in African conditions

The Zimbabweans realize the value of the example as well as the practice of the white farmer, and Mr Mugabe has given proof of this awareness by doing his best to retain as many of these farmers as possible His need is to buy more land and to build up the wide-scale training of black farmers so that they can expand on an agricultural base created by the white farmers with so much pain and struggle over the last century His experts will no doubt also learn from Kenya's experience, where British aid loans were used to buy out many white farmers Although the black Kenyan farmer is better than black farmers elsewhere, it is believed now that Kenya would have been better off today for having many more white farmers to act as competition and stimulus among the Africans

However much Zimbabweans demonstrate the value of having considerable numbers of white farmers brought up to modern agriculture in African conditions, I doubt whether the Nigerians will at any time in the near future turn to white South Africa for the local experience they so badly need on the land Even though President Shehu himself in addition to being well trained in modern economy is a scientifically inclined farmer too, he would fear being tainted with apartheid too much to risk agricultural co-operation with South Africa All of which is a pity because agriculture is only one sphere in which South Africa has been able to acquire 20th century expertise in African conditions which would be of the greatest value to the rest of the continent

But the black Nigerians are united with the black Zimbabweans and all the rest of black Africa in regarding white South Africa as socially backward They see the whites of the south as not having caught up with the 20th century in the one social essential without which one might still be one of the cavemen — the whites still discriminate among men on colour lines

Nigeria comes back as a big borrower

PDM 22/4/81

226

NIGERIA'S oil-fired economic boom has brought the country back into the Euromarkets as one of the biggest Third World borrowers.

The oil-rich West African state had considerably reduced its foreign borrowing after a severe economic recession in 1978-79 and the debacle over its attempts to raise two jumbo Eurocurrency loans, of $1 000-million each, in 1978

Since then, oil production around the high level of 2-million barrels a day and buoyant world prices for Nigeria's light crude have contributed to a rapid recovery in the economy

Foreign exchange earnings for 1981 (the financial year has been changed to coincide with the calendar year) are estimated at $27 000-million — with 90% coming from oil — and the overall balance of payments, which swung into surplus in 1979-80 after three deficit years and should top $2 100-million during 1981

A sure sign of Nigeria's recovery has been the soaring import bill

The Government has tried with two mildly reflationary budgets, in April 1980 and January this year, to prevent a runaway expansion in the economy of the sort which followed the 1973-74 oil price rises

It has had a measure of success in its efforts, keeping inflation down to single figures according to official estimates (12% unofficially) Despite the high import bill, foreign exchange reserves are near a record 6 000-million naira — nearly six months of cover

But although Nigeria's income is great, its needs are even greater

The civilian government of President Shehu Shagari announced an 82 000-million naira ($140 000-million) five-year development plan for 1981/85 which involves borrowing some 16 900-million naira from domestic and foreign sources

Although economists regard the plan as ambitious in its spending targets they also think that the total for borrowing is too small

Exactly how much Nigeria wants to borrow over the coming five years has not been made clear by the Lagos government But Finance Ministry officials believe they could raise $2 000-million a year from the Euromarkets alone without creating future debt servicing problems Total foreign debt was estimated at only $5 100-million at the end of 1980

Bankers still criticise the present administration for poor handling of its foreign borrowing Even though Nigeria's borrowing is all directly project-related now, there was a bunching of loans last year which created problems for the banks, and there is still a lack of planning in deciding terms for the loans, bankers say

Even so, Nigeria's profile as an oil giant has allowed it to raise money over the past two years

In 1979 and 1980, Nigeria borrowed nearly $1 400-million a year through the markets and the total is bound to be much higher this year There have been three syndicated loans totalling $1 300-million for the Ajaokuta steel project alone

But Nigeria is also having to pay dearly for its money Spreads have evened out at 7/8% over the London interbank offered rate (Libor) Nigeria hopes it can reduce the margin to 3/4% for future loans But, in addition, the country is paying high fees for its borrowing, of 2% to 3%

For although Nigeria may have an attractive economic profile, bankers are familiar with its warts

Above all, they say, the Government is paying for the country's poor reputation on repayment of short-term debt — both public and private

"The Nigerian Government tries to isolate itself from the short end of the market," says one London banker "But its poor reputation is costing it millions a year in high fees."

BLACK AFRICA (226) FM 24/4/81

Death and life in Lagos

A Johannesburg freelance journalist has just returned from assignment in Nigeria, where he was working on a story for an American publication Here he gives his impressions of Lagos — a city to which he is not keen to return

Lagos is the worst place on the continent in which to do business Apart from being corrupt, inefficient, unhealthy and expensive, it is also physically dangerous Armed bandits operate so freely visitors are advised not to travel after dark A favourite trick of the robbers is to block off two sections of a motorway and systematically rob all the vehicles caught between the two points

The traveller s problems begin the moment he arrives Although the official taxi fare from the airport to town is about R10, all the drivers charge visitors at least three times that and refuse to give receipts Even travellers with confirmed hotel reservations find their bookings have been mysteriously lost unless a bribe of around R15 is offered Bribes are called "dash" in West Africa and without them nothing gets done

While the traveller's taxi inches along the motorway he is approached by vendors who have set up impromptu stalls between the motorway lanes selling everything from electronic calculators to brightly-coloured cloths

Credit cards are not accepted so all hotel rooms have to be paid cash in advance One result of this policy is that often a businessman returns to his hotel at the end of the day to find his room door double-locked When he enquires why, he is told his account has run out of credit The door can only be unlocked when the account is once again in the black, but frequently the accounts staff have gone off until the following day No prizes for guessing the solution — another bribe

Lagos is the nerve centre of Nigeria and most of the country's business is conducted there Yet telephones don t work, traffic jams are so bad it takes an hour to circle a city block and power failures are so common that many buildings have stand-by generators

Although Nigeria is one of the world's major oil producers, the oil revenue doesn't seem to have improved Lagos's infrastructure Open sewers run alongside many pavements and the stinking water is covered with a film of mosquito larvae

Business appointments are a joke It is a common experience to make the same appointment three times to discover on each occasion that the person is not available

Those lucky few who persevere to the end and get a contract know they will have to bribe the contract signer for up to 25% of the contract figure

The weary businessman intent only on getting out of the city will, as likely as not, discover that his Air Nigeria flight has been cancelled, no reasons given

For companies with Nigerian subsidiaries or with interests in Nigerian firms, staffing their offices is a problem of nightmare proportions Government policy is that expatriate workers should be discouraged but in fact the business world would collapse without them

Expatriates have to be lured to Lagos if the business community is to function at all but companies are finding it increasingly difficult to persuade skilled men to work in Nigeria at any price The minimum that any expatriate expects is free accommodation — a Holiday Inn room costs R100 a day, a modest apartment costs R35 000 a year payable five years in advance — a car, free first-class travel to and from England and a salary up to four times what he could expect at his home base

Very often the salary is paid into an off-shore bank account to escape tax At the end of the usual two-year contract period the expatriate will expect a cash bonus of up to 50% of his two-year salary Even with inducements like that, contracts are more often terminated than renewed

Nigeria's green revolution gets stuck in the glut

RDM 7/9/81

226

By SUSAN LINNEE

ABIDJAN — The world oil glut is casting a pall over Nigeria's plan to foment a "green revolution" in agriculture and lay a solid industrial base for the future

Knowledgeable sources in West Africa say the announcement last month of a $4-a-barrel discount on the price of Nigerian crude oil confirms the extent to which the country is suffering from the combined effects of worldwide recession and Saudi Arabia's policy of forcing down oil prices by stepping up its own output

Nigeria counts on its oil, which produces 90% of foreign currency earnings and 75% of government revenues, to secure self-sufficiency in food production and to develop local industry

The country now spends about R2 250 000 000 a year to import food, while manufacturing accounts for less than 10% of the gross domestic product

Petroleum sources in Lagos, Nigeria's capital, say that output has dropped drastically since January when production was reported at around 2,1-million barrels a day

According to the Middle East Economic Survey, production figures for August were around 600 000 barrels a day

With an estimated population of about 85-million Nigeria consumes about 200 000 barrels a day, leaving 400 000 for export

Earnings lost through oil cutbacks this year are estimated at R3 000 000 000

Agriculture is the weak link in the Nigerian economy In 1962 it contributed 61,2% of Nigeria's gross domestic product and 80% of export earnings

This year food imports consumed more than a quarter of the country's foreign exchange Falling oil revenues also mean there is less money to carry out the R12 700 000 000 "green revolution"

The 1981-85 development plan allocates nearly half its roughly R11 750 000 000 for manufacturing to the iron and steel industry.

A German-built steel plant at Warri, near the Niger River delta is expected to begin production late this year Nigeria has had to borrow to finance the project because the cash originally counted on is no longer available

Because Nigeria has the largest population in Africa, its domestic-market potential attracts foreign salesmen However, like many African countries, Nigeria is looking for investors willing to produce locally rather than spending foreign exchange on more and more imports

The shortage of funds will also probably cause another delay in the realisation of Abuja, the new federal capital in the centre of the country The showcase project, conceived in 1976 during the last military government, was supposed to be partly functional by the end of next year. Serious construction has yet to begin, however

— Sapa-AP

year — Reuter

Nigerian order on SA connection

LAGOS — The Nigerian Government has circulated new policy guidelines to Federal and state government departments advising against deals with foreign companies with South African connections, official sources say

The circular, issued without publicity in February, says any foreign firm wanting to bid for a contract or register in Nigeria should declare it has no business connections with South Africa

Such a clause should be inserted in contracts and discovery of a false declaration will be enough to cancel a contract or registration

Businessmen and diplomats believe there has been no loss of contract or registration to date

Business sources say most foreign companies are concerned about the guidelines, but there is no evidence they have become effective

Several say most foreign firms in Nigeria have some connection with South Africa and severe application of the guidelines could mean fewer foreign companies involved in Nigeria's lucrative market — Reuter

Nigerian oil output could fall

LAGOS — Nigeria's oil output could fall below 1-million barrels per day (bpd) in October if many buyers stick to their present proposals to take the minimum allowed under their contracts, industry sources here said.

They said current forecasts for October output were between 900 000 and 1-million bpd, as third party buyers were nominating their minimums in the hope of a price cut from the present $35,50 a barrel for high quality Nigerian crude.

By contrast, output this month was expected to rise from last month's 1 100 000 bpd to close to Nigeria's Opec quota of 1 300 000 bpd, with buyers making up their contractual obligations in the last month of the quarter, the sources said — Reuter

Window on Africa

Biafran leader poses a problem

LAGOS — Three months after his return from exile following defeat in the 1967-70 Nigerian Civil War, the former Biafran leader, Mr Emeka Ojukwu, has yet to reveal what political role he hopes to play here

Mr Ojukwu, who still commands wide support among the large Ibo tribe he led in the attempted Biafran secession from federal Nigeria, had 12 years of exile ended by a presidential pardon that completed a remarkable reconciliation between former bitter antagonists

Since his return he has made no secret of the fact that he has political ambitions, but he has carefully avoided indicating what they might be and where he will attempt to use his undoubted political muscle.

This has left Nigeria's politicians and pundits playing a guessing game about what the charismatic Mr Ojukwu will do next.

New speculation

Last week he let it be known that his political declaration would be coming soon, leading to a new, intensified round of speculation as to what his decision will be but in spite of insistent questioning Mr Ojukwu refused to give any clue as to how he would move.

Discussion of his ambitions has been made more intense by the approach of presidential, national and state elections next August

'Every option facing him has its significant advantages and its serious drawbacks,' commented one Western diplomat 'The only man who knows what Mr Ojukwu is thinking is the man himself and he obviously isn't telling anyone yet.'

When he first returned, speculation was rife that Mr Ojukwu would move into the camp of the ruling National Party of Nigeria, and for some weeks there was evidence pointing in that direction, so much so that he was touted in some quarters as a potential NPN vice-presidential running mate for President Shehu Shagari

Public reprimand

Some opposition parties were so incensed by what they saw as manoeuvring to portray Mr Ojukwu as an NPN supporter that President Shagari was forced to step in

He publicly reprimanded his own political adviser, Mr Chuba Okadigbo who had been escorting Mr Ojukwu on highly publicised appearances, for attempting to push Mr Ojukwu into partisan politics

The speculation surrounding Mr Ojukwu increased recently as he started a new round of public appearances His first major one was at the renomination congress of Imo state governor, Mr Sam Mbakwe, of the Nigerian People's Party, which is dominated by the Ibos

It gave him the opportunity to greet publicly for the first time since his return the elder statesman of the Ibos, Mr Nnamdi Azikiwe, Nigeria's first post-independence president and current NPP leader

Looking ahead

The meeting between the two, who are reported still to have differences over the civil war during which Mr Azikiwe stayed largely neutral, prompted speculation of a reconciliation preceding Mr Ojukwu's entry into the NPP

The analysts said they thought it improbable that Mr Ojukwu would be seeking high office in the 1983 elections but would more likely be looking to a springboard for 1987, when the next elections are due.

If that is so, then the NPP would provide the most comfortable political home for Mr Ojukwu, they said, with Mr Azikiwe now already 78 years old and unlikely to remain party leader much beyond next August, leaving the field clear for Mr Ojukwu to take over the Ibo leadership again.

By 1987 it is possible that none of the present presidential hopefuls will be around. President Shagari is limited to two attempts by his own party rules and his main opponent, Chief Obafemi Awolowo of the Unity Party of Nigeria, is at 74 reckoned likely to retire from the front line if he loses again

The NPP is strong in the east and already plays a central position in Nigeria's six-party political system between the NPN, which is centred in the north, and the UPN which controls the five western states of Nigeria

The analysts said Mr Ojukwu's still passionate following among the Ibos could therefore leave him in an interesting brokerage position when the political field opens up after 1983 (Sapa-Reuter)

1982 ★

Cape Times 18/10/82 (226) BF

Nigeria condemns Swaziland 'deal'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Nigeria, the most powerful State in black Africa, has come out against the incorporation of Kangwane and Ingwavuma into Swaziland

The move is likely to be a serious blow to Swaziland's international credibilty and could influence other member States of the Organization of African Unity to also condemn the plan

A letter released at the weekend from the Nigerian Foreign Minister, Professor Ishava Audu, assured the Kwazulu Chief Minister, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, of "support and commitment" to measures that would ensure the freedom of black South Africans

Professor Audu said his government viewed the "so-called land deal and boundary adjustment talks" between the Swazi and South African governments as a move to prepetuate apartheid

He said his government stood by the OAU charter which stated that inherited colonial boundaries in Africa should be maintained

The letter, written on the instructions of the Nigerian head of state, President Shehu Shagari, was in response to letters from Chief Buthelezi earlier this year in which he sought Nigeria's understanding of his stand against the land deal

And at the South African Black Alliance (Saba) conference in Johannesburg on Saturday, a resolution on the letter said "This forthright condemnation not only strengthens our resolve to oppose this land deal to the bitter end, but also serves as a warning to Swaziland that any surreptitious attempts to wheel and deal with the oppressors of the millions of black people of South Africa will always be rejected by free Africa with the contempt it deserves"

Star 12/10/82

Capital chance for a fresh start

Nigeria is hoping that the squalor of Lagos will not be repeated in the new federal capital of Abuja, writes Michael Knipe.

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ABUJA — Nigeria's new federal capital, has opened for business It still looks more like a building site than a city but President Shehu Shagari has met his self-imposed target date by establishing temporary residence in the presidential guest house

From here he led the nation's 50 million Muslims — half the population — in the two-day celebration of Eid-El-Kabir, marking Abraham's intended sacrifice of Isaac He also presided over a lunch in the skeleton of the new state house to mark the 22nd anniversary of Nigeria's independence on October 1

Abuja is spectacularly situated at the very heart of Nigeria, beneath Mount Aso, a gigantic outcrop of sheer-faced granite rising 1 600 ft from the Gwagwa plains It lies about 300 miles north-east of Lagos in 4 800 square miles of federal territory carved out between the states of Niger, Kaduna, Plateau and Kwara

The government, ashamed by the squalor of Lagos, is hoping that Abuja will provide an opportunity for a fresh start in public standards

Alhaji Shehu Musa, the secretary to the federal Government, has appealed to Nigerians to reappraise their attitudes to order and discipline Heaps of refuse should not be allowed to disfigure the city, he said

Armies of beggars and destitutes should be prevented from parading the streets The growth of shanty-towns and mechanical workshops piled high with rusting machinery should not be allowed, neither should street trading

He also expressed the hope that Abuja could avoid the frequent breakdowns of its infrastructure which are the bane of Lagos Great hopes are being placed in the new capital's drainage system

Construction is proceeding apace in spite of the drastic decline in Nigeria's oil revenues and the consequent austerity measures. Six ministries with a staff of 20 000 are scheduled to be operating soon from the new capital

By the year 2000 Abuja is expected to have a population of 1,6 million

The construction process has already transformed the lives of the Africans living in 600 settlements, nearby Most of them are remote mud-hut kraals, connected to others only by footpaths and lacking health, education and welfare services

But with the development of the capital the migration to the roadsides had quickened The signboards of Taylor Woodrow of Britain, Cappa of Italy, Caro of West Germany, and dozens more, are on display, and Nigerians have travelled from every state in the federation seeking building work

The newly laid tarmac roads are already lined with tin-shack shanty towns enjoying the economic boom — The Times

President tempora

such as,

Nigeria backs Buthelezi in fight over land deal

RDM 8/10/82 226

By CHRIS FREIMOND
Political Reporter

NIGERIA, the most powerful state in black Africa, has come out strongly against the incorporation of KaNgwane and Ingwavuma into Swaziland

The move is likely to be a serious blow to Swaziland's international credibility and could influence other member states of the Organisation of African Unity to condemn the plan as well

A letter from the Nigerian Foreign Minister Professor Ishaya Audu, released at the weekend, assured the KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of "support and commitment" to measures that would ensure the freedom of black South Africans

Prof Audu said his government viewed the boundary adjustment talks between the Swazi and South African governments as a move aimed at perpetuating apartheid

He said his government stood by the OAU charter which stated that inherited colonial boundaries in Africa should be maintained

The letter, written on the instructions of President Shehu Shagari, was in response to letters from Chief Buthelezi earlier this year

And at the South African Black Alliance (SABA) conference in Johannesburg on Saturday, a resolution said the letter "not only strengthens our resolve to oppose this land deal to the bitter end, but also serves as a warning to Swaziland that any surreptitious attempts to wheel and deal with the oppressors of the millions of black people of South Africa . will always be rejected by free Africa with the contempt it deserves"

SABA comprises Inkatha, the Inyandza national movement of KaNgwane, the coloured Labour Party, and the Indian Reform Party

A capital move gets under way

Mercury 20/10/82

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LAGOS — The Nigerian Government has made a symbolic start towards moving the country's capital from Lagos to the future city of Abuja by holding the recent independence day celebrations there — as well as the first cabinet meeting outside Lagos.

For Nigerian President Shehu Shagari this is the fulfilment of a promise that six federal ministries would start moving to Abuja this month to start a process the Government hoped would be completed in 1986 or 1987

It seems unlikely that the move will be quite so quick, with severe economic recession slowing down even favoured projects like Abuja. Government officials and supporters of the move agree it could take up to the turn of the century before the project is completed

Millions of Nigerians who watched the colourful ceremonies on television this month could see huge cranes towering over the construction sites behind the parade ground

Behind the glittering scenes lay a half-built city still largely a huge building site and decorated by the signboards of construction companies from all over the world.

A senior Nigerian Government official thought Abuja was the 'largest construction development programme in Africa and possibly the whole world' — a reference to the huge amounts of money already swallowed up and still to be sunk in the project.

The new city is estimated to cost 11 billion naira (R18,4 billion) and more than 800 million naira (R1,38 billion) has already been spent on it.

These figures have caused considerable criticism, mainly from the major opposition parties who say such amounts could be put to better use, especially in the face of declining revenues from oil which accounts for some 95 percent of Nigeria's foreign exchange earnings.

The opposition party leaders claim they are not opposed in principle to a movement to Abuja. Rather, they charge that the ruling National Party of Nigeria is rushing the Abuja project as a way of quickly enriching its members who, they allege, are being favoured with major Abuja contracts.

Oil wealth

The federal Government seems determined to press ahead with Abuja within the limits of the country's economic recession, pointing out as justification the virtual suffocation of Lagos which all agree lacks room for further expansion

Nigeria's sudden oil wealth and the accompanying economic boom, which began a decade ago, brought heavy pressure on Lagos. It suddenly became an El Dorado for businessmen from all over the world as well as thousands of Nigerians who left the farmlands in search of opportunities in the city

Nigeria lags in paying trade debts

226

28 M
4/11/82

LAGOS. — Nigeria is running three months behind in settling its routine trade debts in foreign exchange. The debt amounts to at least $5 000-million, say Lagos bankers.

Delays in the remittance of foreign exchange by the Central Bank of Nigeria have led foreign banks to stop, or to curtail sharply, the confirmation of letters of credit

Foreign banks have sought guarantees from the Central Bank that remittances will be made, but the bank has refused this week to give such assurances, say Nigerian importers

Foreign suppliers are being forced to honour contracts without guarantees of promp payment, or to abandon their sales to the biggest and richest market in Africa

Difficulties in meeting its trade debt may force the Nigerian Government to borrow funds on the capital markets The Government is unwilling to approach the International Monetery Fund for a standby credit because of the conditions which would be attached to such an application

The Nigerian Government, faced with an increasingly serious foreign exchange deficit, is effectively pushing its problems on to foreign banks and suppliers, say bankers

Strict controls on the import of goods and the payment of foreign exchange for them were imposed by the Nigerian Government in April This led to Central Bank supervision of all foreign-exchange remittances

The controls included a stand-still on the issue of M forms — the document required before imports are allowed into Nigeria However, the Central Bank has resumed processing M forms in recent months — approvals worth N10 7Bn (R18 400 000) were given between April and mid-September But it has been delaying the release of foreign exchange to cover them

The delays have meant that foreign banks acting as correspondents for Nigerian banks have honoured letters of credit opened in favour of suppliers, but they have not received the funds from Nigeria to meet their expenditure

Refusal to confirm the letters of credit — and hence refusal to guarantee payment to suppliers — is aimed at reducing the financial exposure of the banks to Nigeria But the refusal to confirm deprives smaller exporters of export insurance cover

Standard Chartered and Barclays are said to be the main London banks involved They have close links with two of the major Nigerian banks handling letters of credit business — Union Bank of Nigeria and First Bank of Nigeria

Japanese bankers in Lagos said their parent companies had stopped confirming letters of credit

German bankers said letters of credit were being confirmed by their parents only to the extent that they were receiving overdue funds from Nigeria In effect, they were rolling over credit to Nigeria by confirming a new letter of credit when they received funds to settle an earlier commitment

The Central Bank has four categories of approving the remittance of foreign exchange The top priority includes interest and capital repayments on government debts, and expatriate remittances Payments have been made up to early October

Some letters of credit, classified as second priority, have been covered on applications dated up to early August The third and fourth categories, including bills of exchange, and payment of dividends and royalties, are upwards of three months in arrears

Nigeria's trade deficit was running at an annual rate of about $6 500-million in the first five months of the year Accurate figures for imports are unavailable for recent months, but the trade account is believed to be in deficit The reserves have fallen from $3 700-million at the end of last year to less than one month's import cover of $1 160-million at the end of August — Financial Times

NIGERIA

Row erupts on power sharing

From Reuter

LAGOS — The ruling National Party of Nigeria (NPN) may have damaged its chances in next year's presidential elections with a public row over a system of sharing power between the country's many tribes

NPN national secretary Suleiman Takuma created a stir this month when he announced the party had dropped its policy of rotating its nomination for President between Nigeria's three main geographical divisions

Party chairman Adisa Akinloye called a Press conference the next day to deny that the so-called zoning policy had been abandoned He said zoning was enshrined in the party constitution and only a party convention could change it

But Mr Akinloye's statement did not appear to reassure infuriated NPN politicians from the west and east, who are devoted supporters of the policy

Zoning was widely seen as a major factor in President Shehu Shagari's election victory in 1979, when the military, after 13 years in power, handed over to a civilian administration under a new constitution obliging the President to poll 25 percent of the vote in two-thirds of the country's 19 states

The requirement was designed to prevent political parties relying on their tribal bases in a country where three large tribes, the Hausa, Yoruba and Ibo from the north, west and east, traditionally rally round their own parties Some 200 smaller tribes are known as minorities

The NPN policy of zoning attracted substantial support for the party from outside its northern stronghold and secured many votes crucial to President Shagari's election victory, particularly from minority areas

It also allowed the NPN to claim it was the only party able to attract truly national support

But the northerners who dominate the party have never been happy with the prospect of having to support a non-northern candidate in 1987 in exchange for getting President Shagari renominated as their candidate in the elections next August, party sources say

This view is widely held but not expressed in public for sound political reasons, the sources say.

NPN politicians from the west and east however, saw Mr Takuma's statement last week as reflecting a predominant northern view of the issue

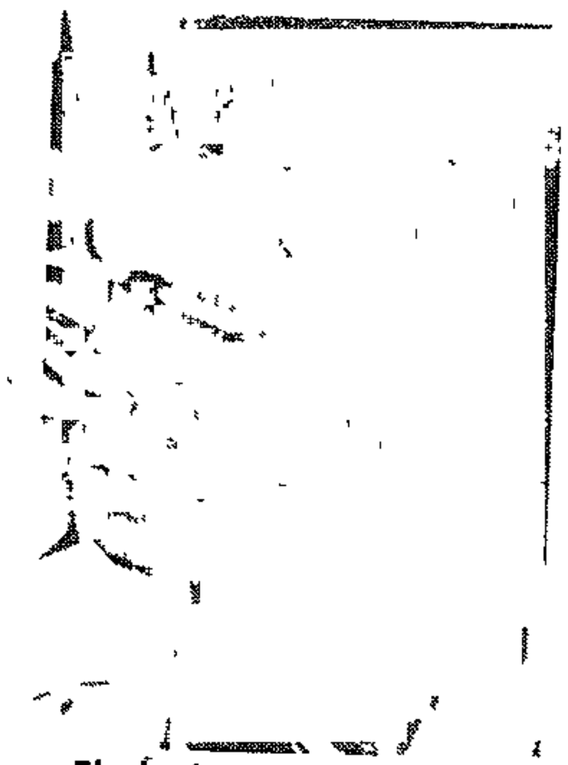
Some, including Governor Clement Isong of Cross River State in the east, a crucial minority area, have gone public with their protests The Governor threatened to reconsider his membership of the NPN if zoning were abandoned

He told reporters in his State capital, Calabar, that only zoning gave minority peoples a chance to run for the presidency

Nigeria deports millions

(226) Star 27/1/83

Last week's Nigerian decision to expel all illegal workers seems to be a bid for popularity by President Shagari's ruling NPN party before the summer election. Several countries are affected but none more than Ghana where the sudden influx of a million refugees could have a dramatic effect on the stability of the government of Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings.



Flight-Lieutenant Rawlings . . government threatened.

LONDON — An "Agege certificate" is a big shiny radio and cassette player, preferably teamed with a fashionably dressed girlfriend and a sharply cut three-piece Western suit — the hallmark of a Ghanaian who has lived and worked in the Nigerian dormitory town of Agege

Two million or so Ghanaians, Nigerians, Beninois, Liberians, Guineans and Sierra Leoniens, drawn into Nigeria in the hopes of a personal spin-off from the oil boom, are now paying the price of those dreams of consumer luxuries by abruptly joining Africa's five million or so refugees and streaming into transit camps in Nigeria or in neighbouring Benin

Harrowing individual disaster stories from the upheaval are one immediate result More serious, politically, is the potentially dramatic effect on the stability of the Ghanaian Government of Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings which is apparently again under threat of a well-financed invasion and coup attempt.

The Nigerian decision last week to expel all illegal workers — apparently in a bid for popularity before this summer's election by President Shagari's ruling NPN party — came as a bombshell to West Africa

The two-week deadline, and the enormous number of people involved, made most ovservers sceptical that the Nigerian Government could really mean what it said But neighbouring countries are being forced to take it seriously and have appealed jointly to Nigeria to extend the deadline

Ghana and Niger are the two worst affected with, respectively, one million and about 300 000 people estimated as being in Nigeria without valid papers

The huge pool of urban unemployed and the underemployed in Nigeria have become ungovernably resentful of the sumptuous lifestyle others have achieved and a soaring crime rate is reported

The exit of the refugees may perhaps help to stem this or, at least, raise the Government's popularity for trying to stem it

Ironically for both Ghana and Niger, those of their economic refugees who they would really like back — the professionals and skilled workers — are precisely those not affected by the expulsion as they have been able to obtain work permits

But panic-stricken refugees have besieged embassies in Lagos, the port and airport The Ghanaians are in the most difficult situation because Ghana's borders have been closed for more than two months — against smuggling and for security reasons

The Guardian, London

Ghana call to protect citizens

(226) Star 27/1/83

ABIDJAN — The Ghanaian Government, reacting to reports of harassment, has called on Nigeria to ensure the safety of about 1 million Ghanaian immigrants ordered to leave the country

An official statement quoted yesterday by Radio Ghana said "Following persistent reports of molestation of Ghanaians in Nigeria, including the seizure of their belongings by unscrupulous elements, the government (of Ghana) has made strong representations to the Nigerian Government reminding Nigeria of the responsibility to ensure the liberty and safety of Ghanaians still in Nigeria awaiting evacuation.

"It is hoped the Nigerian Government will make a public appeal to their citizens to exercise discipline and desist from molesting defenceless and innocent Ghanaians," it added

Nigeria originally gave about 2 million West Africans living in the country illegally two weeks to leave, but extended the deadline to March 1 for skilled and semi-skilled workers Unskilled people were not reprieved and they have to leave by next Sunday.

Vast numbers of West Africans have been attracted to Nigeria over the past decade by its oil boom, but oil revenues have declined in the world oil glut.

Some Nigerian observers say the expulsions, six months before national and presidential elections are scheduled, seems aimed at creating jobs for Nigerians put out of work by the recession

The Ghanaian statement quoted by the radio, monitored in Abidjan, said "It is not right for (Ghana's) development efforts to be disrupted from time to time as a result of the vicissitudes of Nigerian politics or the economic fortunes of that sisterly country"

Ghana has sent ships to Nigeria and to Togo and Benin to evacuate stranded Ghanaians

Five African airlines were due to start airlifting people from Lagos to Accra yesterday, but Radio Ghana said the Nigerian civil aviation authorities had refused them landing rights

It said Ghana Airways had cancelled all its domestic and west coast flights to speed up the evacuation — Reuter

See Page 11

2 million aliens leaving Nigeria

LOME — A convoy of trucks, buses, taxis and cars continued to stream through the Togo border into Ghana today, carrying thousands more of an estimated one million Ghanaians ordered out of Nigeria

But with expiry of the Nigerian Government's deadline for their expulsion as illegal aliens, at least 10 000 more were waiting on the Lagos dockside last night for ships the Ghanaian Government had promised to ferry them home

Togolese officials yesterday reckoned more than 300 000 exhausted and hungry refugees, many young men wearing only jeans and T-shirts and carrying few belongings, had flocked home as Ghanaian guards at the Aflao border point dispensed with formalities in a bid to get them through as fast as possible

Accra Radio, monitored in Abidjan, said food was scarce at the border point and warned it could take weeks to move all the refugees home unless Ghanaians responded better to a government appeal for vehicle owners to help

The radio reported 12 deaths among the refugees, two of them from exhaustion But it as not clear whether the number included six who, it said yesterday, died when their truck hit a low bridge in Accra

At the port of Lagos many Ghanaians complained they had no money for the overland trip home, although the price has dropped sharply They said they did not have enough money for food, that drinking water was scarce and toilet facilities non-existent

At the weekend, Nigerian authorities ordered the port cleared and asked Ghanaians still there to move to a special terminal at the airport about 25 km away

So far the authorities have made no move to implement the order, apparently waiting to see how many would decide to take the land route through Benin and Togo after Ghana announced it would reopen the Aflao frontier post.

Ghanaian shipping officials have been promising for the last four days that ships would arrive to ferry the aliens home. There has been no definite indication that the ships have left Accra on the 15 hour trip to Lagos

Nigerian Radio, monitored by the BBC, said about 50 000 Ghanaians were at the airport. It quoted a Ghanaian Airways official as saying the airline had increased its daily flight schedule to Lagos to at least five flights a day.

Nigeria gave all but skilled and professional foreigners without the legal right to work in the country two weeks to leave The exodus appears to have carried most illegal aliens out.

The authorities are due to carry out search operations to root out those remaining. But Interior Ministry officials say those who have made plain their intention to leave would not be subject to arrest, trial and subsequent deportation

Apart from the Ghanaians, the one million or so other West African nationals living illegally in Nigeria also have been returning home, though apparently causing fewer logistic problems

The biggest group after the Ghanaians are 700 000 Chadians. Their Foreign Minister, Mr Idriss Miskine, said yesterday his government did not plan any reprisals against Nigeria's move, despite its "suddeness and brutality"

Others have been going by camel, car, air, boat and on foot to Upper Volta, Senegal, Togo, Benin and the other members of the 16-nation Economic Community of West African States, whose rules allow ECOWAS nationals to visit other member States for 90 days without visas — Sapa

● See Page 11.

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Disaster predicted in Nigeria exodus

By IAN HOBBS
London Bureau

LONDON. — The vast exodus of people expelled from Nigeria could result in a major disaster in Ghana, international relief agencies warned yesterday.

Up to 500 000 of the estimated 2-million people ordered out of Nigeria to a future of destitution have already crossed the Ghanaian border and could become stranded, the relief agency Oxfam reported in London

Oxfam's disasters officer, Mr Marcus Thompson, said lack of transport in Ghana meant thousands were still trapped near the border in wretched conditions

He said it was a highly dangerous situation for the already grossly overstrained and near bankrupt Ghanaian Government

If people were not moved quickly, disease could spread like wildfire but lack of trucks, buses, fuel and spares was causing great concern, Mr Thompson said

The good news was that the awesome column of people moving overland through Benin and Togo, the two countries sandwiched between Nigeria and Ghana were achieving miracles in caring for and feeding the tragic flow of humanity

Mr Thompson said the human crisis caused by the summary Nigerian expulsion of illegal immigrants had been eased by the actions of Benin and Togo, with the aid of international relief agencies like the Red Cross

Nigeria came in for more international condemnation yesterday

Mr M Mustafa, editor of the magazine African Agenda, said the Nigerian action had "dispossessed and torn apart" thousands of people

He said Nigeria had shamed itself in the eyes of the world and could no longer speak as the leading African voice against racialism in Southern Africa

Critics are also asking what the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) has to say and do against what is being described as one of the greatest crimes against humanity in years

Sapa-Reuter reports that international organisations based in Geneva yesterday announced steps to aid the foreign workers expelled from Nigeria

The United Nations Disaster Relief Office said the Ghanaian Government had asked it for help in coping with about 400 000 citizens who had returned to Ghana

The deportees were facing extreme difficulties on their return home, the government told Undro in its appeal

The Organisation of African Unity also asked Undro for urgent humanitarian assistance in coping with "this crisis affecting millions of people", the UN said

The UN High Commissioner for Refugees has sent two special envoys to Benin Officials based in West Africa for the UN Children's Fund (Unicef) are to meet in Benin today to discuss relief needs

The International Labour Organisation has also appealed to the Nigerian Government to protect departing foreign workers from hardship and has offered emergency help to neighbouring countries overwhelmed by the mass exodus

The League of Red Cross Societies said that among the 2-million expelled West Africans, mostly Ghanaians, a quarter were still at the frontier with Benin waiting for permission to cross the border

It said between 100 000 and 150 000 people had reached the Benin border with Togo and another 100 000 were waiting at Togo's frontier with Ghana

A danger of cholera was reported from parts of Ghana where those returning were crowded into temporary camps Drugs, vaccines, food and truck tyres were urgently needed

A West German Red Cross ship, the Flora, would leave the French port of Marseilles tomorrow carrying 1 000 tons of food and emergency supplies paid for by the European Economic Community

The EEC has also promised the Red Cross about R53 700 to buy food and supplies for displaced people in Togo and another R64 500 for those in Benin

A Danish Air Force Hercules transport plane left yesterday with 6 500 blankets, and Red Cross officials said they had asked the Nigerian and Ghanaian governments to allow the plane to help shuttle refugees

UPI reports that about 16 people were killed in the mass exodus

At least 10 starved to death in temporary camps massed on the border between Benin and Togo and another six drowned as they were caught in a stampede to board ships home

In addition to the estimated 1 000 000 Ghanaians, the order has affected workers from Togo, Benin, Cameroon, Chad and other countries in the region

Star 28/2/83 (220)

Expulsion order was a disservice to Africa

It is essential that African countries co-operate in designing sensible, humane policies for their foreign populations, says Kojo-Bentsi-Enchill.

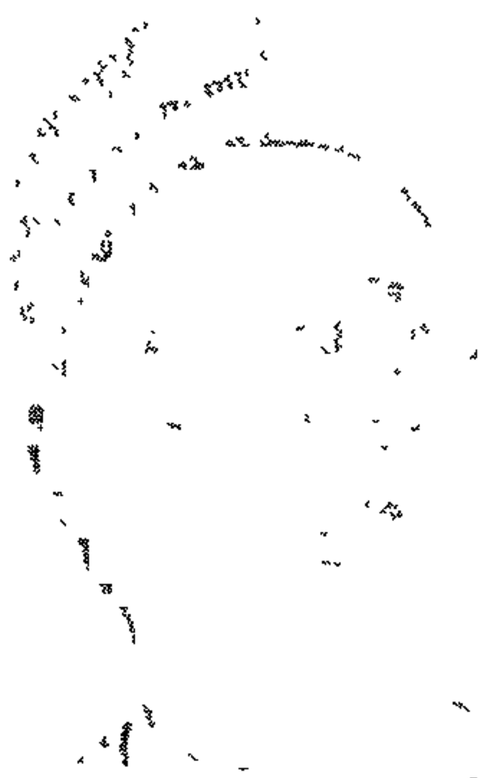
Nigeria's sudden expulsion of illegal aliens could be a worrisome forerunner of what could happen in other African countries as global recession results in deep economic stagnation and more and more countries victimise foreigners in their midst in a search for scapegoats or real solutions

This action may be a temporary popular success for President Shehu Shagari's National Party in an election year But it is doubtful whether Nigeria or any other similarly affected country has fully studied the real impact of their alien populations

It is not entirely clear, for example, whether the foreign populations represent an asset or a liability to the Nigerian economy The exceptions to the expulsion order that were made for skilled foreigners and for employees of government institutions will alleviate some disruption But there is bound to be a shortage of rural and household labour, and wages will rise as more demanding Nigerians replace departed foreigners

From the crudeness of the expulsion, it does not seem that alternative strategies of control such as registration, quotas or an amnesty were considered The expulsion will not allay mass discontent with the unemployment, corruption and staggering inequalities of wealth that make jittery Nigeria so heavy-handed in putting down internal unrest.

The move could not have come at a worse time for Ghana, which has been forced to interrupt long-term rehabilitation efforts The immediate priorities — relocation and resettlement — are being efficiently handled, but food and housing shortages will worsen



Shagari . temporary popular success in election year

The greatest challenge is to deploy returning Ghanaians in productive agricultural projects, but it is doubtful whether the resources for bold initiatives are available

Although Ghanaians and other Africans may now hesitate over migrating to relatively richer countries, the underlying economic causes will continue to operate Many will be driven to return surreptitiously to Nigeria and form a large exploited underclass uncertain of its rights and future

The real loser is black Africa The ineffectiveness of the Economic Community of West African States as an instrument of regional co-operation and development has been starkly revealed The social climate for joint action among African states has deteriorated Nigeria's leadership in Africa's international diplomacy has been harmed

The manner of the expulsion, the paucity and tardiness of internal criticism — and, indeed, the belated criticism from other African states — will not be lost on international opinion

Some Western observers will point to this conduct to offset criticism of their countries' links with South Africa or of their own racially discriminatory societies And rightly so, for if we Africans treat each other this way, little moral force remains to condemn others' faults

The really important thing is for African countries to embark on a careful study and assessment of their foreign populations and co-operate in designing long-term strategies for sensible, humane policies — New York Times

© Kojo-Bentsi-Enchill, a Ghanaian, is a specialist on international human rights

(226) RDM 6/8/83

Massive security as nation goes to polls

Nigerian democracy faces crucial test

LAGOS — In a crucial test of Nigeria's four-year-old democracy, up to 65-million voters spread between the tropical mangrove swamps of the south and the sub-Saharan north of black Africa's biggest and wealthiest nation go to the polls today.

The authorities have instituted a massive security operation with all police leave cancelled and the army on alert in an effort to ensure peaceful presidential elections they hope will prove that multi-party democracy can work in Africa

Over the past two days, as the marathon seven-month campaigns by six candidates took a break before the vote, police across the country have been making high-profile demonstrations of force to impress on the electorate their readiness to act

Wide Press publicity has been given to police plans to control Nigeria's passionately committed voters, and political and religious leaders have been pleading for calm

So far the appeals and the security operation, likely to be the biggest in Nigeria since the end of its bloody 30-month civil war in 1970, seem to be working and no serious incidents of violence have been reported recently

The election is likely to be a tight race between incumbent President Shehu Shagari of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) and Chief Obafemi Awolowo of the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN), who lost by a narrow margin in army-supervised polls in 1979 which saw the military hand over power to civilians after more than 13 years

President Shagari is generally expected to win again, but the intensity of the campaign and the fierce partisanship that has led to fears of violence reflect opposition optimism that the incumbent could be defeated in a fair election, something that would be a rare event in Africa.

Since January the candidates have been criss-crossing the country in an effort to win the geographical spread of votes demanded of a winning candidate by a United States-style constitution designed to ensure none of the three dominant tribes can win power alone

A winner has not only to take most votes but also gain 25% in 13 of the country's 19 states, a constitutional provision that gives the 250 minor tribes — some of them millions strong — a big say in who wins power at the centre

Charges of plans to rig the elections have abounded and if trouble were to break out today the immediate flashpoints are expected to be disputes over the accuracy of electoral registers at 161 000 polling booths

Most parties expressed disbelief last week when the Federal Electoral Commission (Fedeco) announced an electorate of 65 300 000 people, a 34% increase over the 1979 figure

Newspapers since then have been carrying reports of ghost voters they claimed to have discovered and peaceful voting now appears to depend largely on how well Fedeco plans work to prevent multiple voting — Sapa-Reuter

6 die in violence during poll in Nigeria

LAGOS — Six people were killed in violence in western Nigeria during voting to elect state governors, newspapers reported yesterday

The western state of Oyo was worst hit by the violence, which marred a generally peaceful election period that started on August 6 with presidential polls Police imposed a dawn to dusk curfew there from last night.

At least one person was killed in Ibadan, the state capital, during the voting yesterday when clashes occurred between supporters of the National Party of Nigeria and those of the Unity Party of Nigeria, which rules the state.

'Ballot-rigging'

Both sides alleged attempted ballot-rigging and intimidation of voters

Reports from Ibadan yesterday said several other bodies had been found and the official death toll was expected to rise Paramilitary police went into action in Ibadan yesterday to disperse crowds with teargas

Newspapers reported two deaths in Ijebu-Ode, in neighbouring Ondo state, one in Ilesha, in Oyo state, and two in the Maroko area of Lagos, one of them a police sergeant. Police confirmation of the reports was not immediately available

Houses and cars were also reported to have been burned in some

Oil-based Nigeria fosters ties to West

LAGOS — President Shehu Shagari, fresh from an unexpectedly big election win this week, seeks to consolidate Nigeria's experiment in democratic government and foster further economic ties with the West, analysts say

President Shagari, a 58-year-old former schoolmaster who registered to vote this year as a farmer from Sokoto state in north-western Nigeria, was also expected to maintain a hard line against white-ruled South Africa and strive to enhance his huge nation's influence on the African continent.

President Shagari's characteristics throughout a long public career have been caution and conciliation, in contrast to the competitive reputation of many Nigerians.

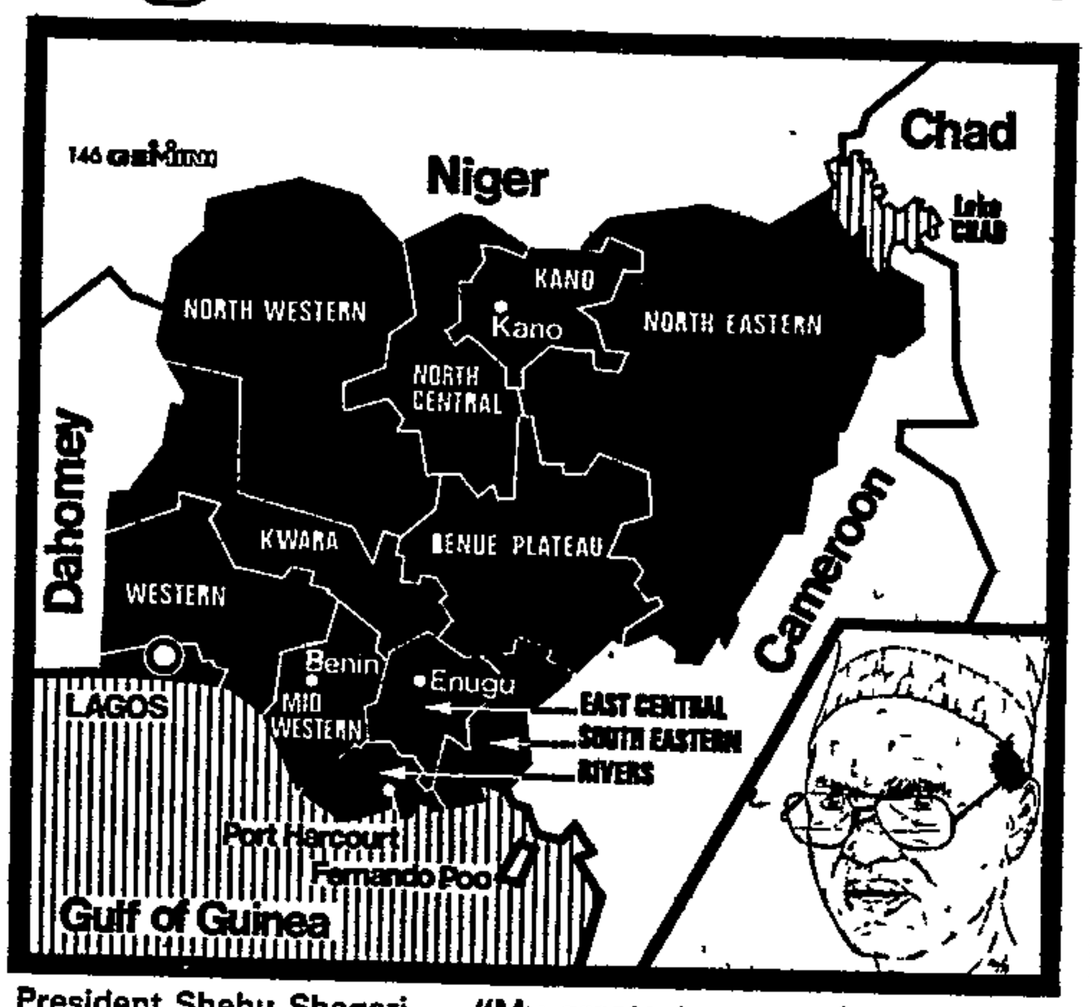
Regarded as scrupulously honest, President Shagari has been accused of tolerating the corruption that is widely suspected in high places in Nigeria

"In his first four years in office, there were no signs that he was able to control and manage his own men well," the Concord newspaper commented recently

"Some political analysts have said the President may be less constrained in a second term In 1979, he certainly picked many people who didn't have any business in government."

President Shagari, whose election four years ago ended 13 years of military rule, committed his first term to shoring up democratic government in Nigeria, a teeming, boisterous country of about 90-million people They belong to more than 250 ethnic groups and speak as many dialects.

President Shagari's National Independence Party drew inter-regional support, bolstering its base among his Fulani tribe and the Hausa, who together comprise an estimated 35 percent of the population



President Shehu Shagari ... "My greatest concern is to see that democracy survives in Nigeria. We owe that to our people and to the rest of Africa."

Regional rivalries remain keen, 23 years after this former colony became independent from Britain.

"My greatest concern is to see that democracy survives in Nigeria," President Shagari told a biographer "We owe that to our people and to the rest of Africa."

President Shagari, who is on cool terms with Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, is a capitalist who has nurtured a relationship with Washington that United States diplomats here characterize as "friendly and cordial"

The US is a leading crude-oil customer of Nigeria, a maverick member of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, producing about 1,3-million barrels a day.

Weakened demand for oil, Nigeria's principal foreign-exchange earner, cut revenues and prompted President Shagari to impose a series of unpopular import restrictions and other economic austerity measures last year.

President Shagari, son of a village headman, was born in May 1925 in Sokoto state, and entered politics in 1954 with election to the federal House of Representatives

After independence, he held several cabinet posts, including those of economic development and internal affairs

When Nigeria's 30-month Biafran civil war, which ravaged eastern Nigeria ended in 1970, President Shagari became Minister of Rehabilitation and Reconciliation.

He bolstered his reputation as a conciliator last year by pardoning the exiled leader of the Biafran rebellion, Chukwuemeka Odumegwa Ojukwu — Sapa-AP

● **Ad agency adds Shagari to success list, page 10**

Nigeria

LAGOS — Six people were killed in violence in western Nigeria during voting to elect state governors, newspapers reported yesterday

The western state of Oyo was worst hit by the violence, which marred a generally peaceful election period that started on August 6 with presidential polls Police imposed a dawn to dusk curfew there from last night.

At least one person was killed in Ibadan, the state capital, during the voting yesterday when clashes occurred between supporters of the National Party of Nigeria and those of the Unity Party of Nigeria, which rules the state.

'Ballot-rigging'

Both sides alleged attempted ballot-rigging and intimidation of voters.

Reports from Ibadan yesterday said several other bodies had been found and the official death toll was expected to rise Paramilitary police went into action in Ibadan yesterday to disperse crowds with teargas.

Newspapers reported two deaths in Ijebu-Ode, in neighbouring Ondo state, one in Ilesha, in Oyo state, and two in the Maroko area of Lagos, one of them a police sergeant. Police confirmation of the reports was not immediately available.

Houses and cars were also reported to have been burned in some towns as large groups of vigilantes hunted for what they said was evidence of attempts to rig the elections

Ibadan residents said the city, Nigeria's second-largest, had been tense since the announcement of the presidential election results earlier

Senior police officers met in Lagos yesterday to discuss the situation, but there was no immediate word on whether further action was being contemplated — Sapa-Reuter

with the West, analysts say

President Shagari, a 58-year-old former schoolmaster who registered to vote this year as a farmer from Sokoto state in north-western Nigeria, was also expected to maintain a hard line against white-ruled South Africa and strive to enhance his huge nation's influence on the African continent.

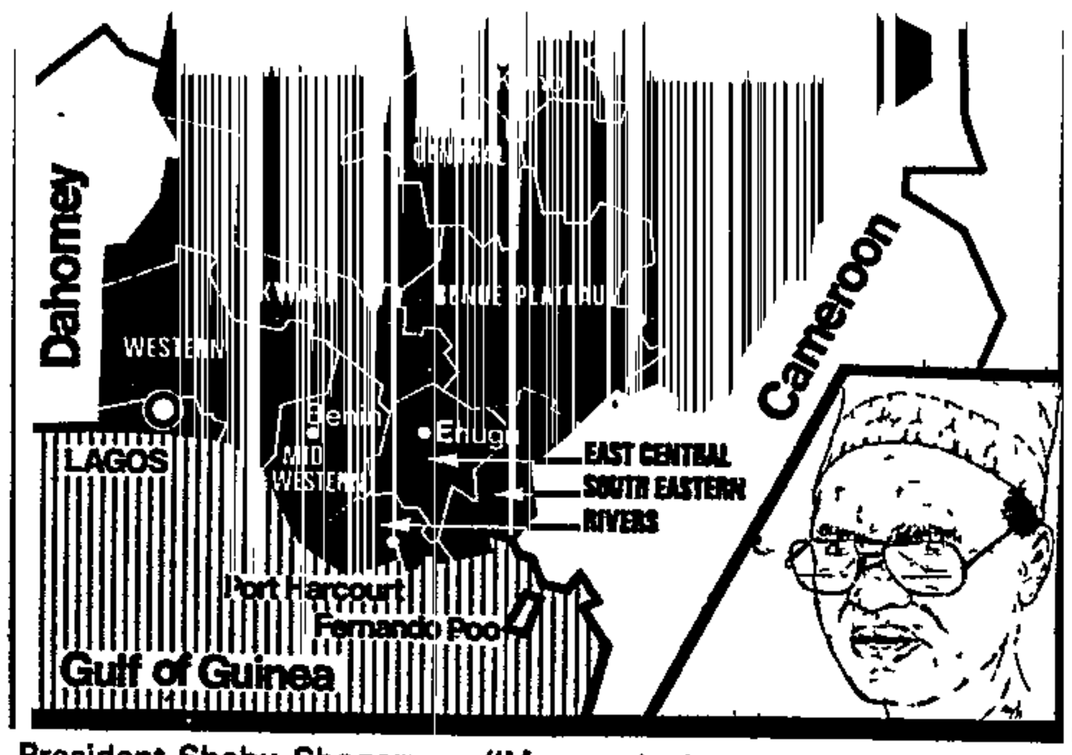
President Shagari's characteristics throughout a long public career have been caution and conciliation, in contrast to the competitive reputation of many Nigerians.

Regarded as scrupulously honest, President Shagari has been accused of toleratng the corruption that is widespread in Nigeria, together comprise

"Some political analysts have said the President may be less constrained in a second term In 1979, he certainly picked many people who didn't have any business in government."

President Shagari, whose election four years ago ended 13 years of military rule, committed his first term to shoring up democratic government in Nigeria, a teeming, boisterous country of about 90-million people. They belong to more than 250 ethnic groups and speak as many dialects.

President Shagari's National Independence Party drew inter-regional support, bolstering its base among his Fulani tribe and the Hausa, who together comprise



President Shehu Shagari . . "My greatest concern is to see that democracy survives in Nigeria We owe that to our people and to the rest of Africa."

is to see that democracy survives in Nigeria," President Shagari told a biographer "We owe that to our people and to the rest of Africa"

President Shagari, who is on cool terms with Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, is a capitalist who has nurtured a relationship with Washington that United States diplomats here characterize as "friendly and cordial"

The US is a leading crude-oil customer of Nigeria, a maverick member of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, producing about 1,3-million barrels a day

Weakened demand for oil, Nigeria's principal foreign-exchange earner, cut revenues and prompted President

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● **Ad agency adds Shagari to success list, page 10**

The soft-spoken man who will toughen his policies

226 City Press 21/8/83

ion

CP Correspondent

NOW THAT 58-year-old former schoolteacher Shehu Shagari has won a second term as president of Nigeria, Africa's wealthiest and most populous nation, this soft-spoken man is expected to be more assertive both at home and in his foreign policy.

Near the top of his foreign policy agenda is his hard line against apartheid. And Nigeria is expected to maintain its close links with the Frontline State – Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe – of which club Nigeria has almost become an honourary member – over the years.

Peace

Shagari, a conciliator who did much to bring peace to Nigeria after 1970 and the bitter civil war against the attempted secession by the Biafran region, trounced his closest opponent, Chief Obafemin Owo-

● President Shagari . . . a hard line against apartheid.

lowo, in the August 7 presidential election

Observers believe this resounding win will greatly boost Shagari's confidence.

His election four years ago to his first term as president followed 13 years of military dictatorship His first commitment therefore was to bolster democratic government in this teeming, boisterous country of 80 to 100 million people, who belong to more than 250 different ethnic groups and speak as many different dialects.

"My greatest concern is to see that democracy survives in Nigeria," Shagari told biographer. "We owe that to our people and to the rest of Africa."

Africa, dotted with one-party states, has been the focal point of Shagari's foreign policy, including striving to preserve the 50-nation Organisation of African Unity.

The current crisis in Chad, which has prompted Libyan, French and United States intervention will further tax Nigeria's ability, as Black Africa's most powerful state, to hold the OAU together.

Domestically, the weakened international demand for oil, Nigeria's principal foreign exchange earner, cut revenues and prompted Shagari to impose a series of unpopular import restrictions and other economic austerity measures last year

Honest

But the state of the economy was overshadowed in the presidential campaign by personality issues, which centered on the six candidates

Observers pointed out that no real ideological differences separated the pro-Western Shagari from his main rival, Chief Owolowo.

Regarded as scrupulously honest personally, Shagari has been accused of tolerating the corruption that is widely suspected in high places in Nigeria.

"In his first four years in office, there were no signs that he was able to control and manage his own men well," one Nigerian newspaper commented recently.

"Some political analysts have said that the president may be less constrained in his second term."

Shagari, the son of a village headman, was born in May 1925, in Sokoto State, and entered politics in 1954 with election to the Federal House of Representatives.

After independence, he held several cabinet posts, including those of economic development and internal affairs.

When Nigeria's 30-month Biafran civil war was ended in 1970, Shagari became Minister of Rehabilitation and Reconciliation.

He bolstered his reputation as a conciliator last year by pardoning the exiled leader of the Biafran rebellion, Chukwuemeka Odumegwa Ojukwu

Ojukwu returned home from the Ivory Coast and joined Shagari's National Party of Nigeria.

(226) ROM

Isuzu goes to Nigeria

DETROIT. — The board of General Motors has approved an agreement with the Nigerian Government to assemble Isuzu light trucks at a plant near the Chad border from late 1985.

Mr W C Mott, executive vice-president of GM's overseas operations, said the venture would include 15 Nigerian investors and three foreign firms.

The plant would cost more than $25m. GM and Isuzu of Japan, a GM affiliate, would each have a 15% stake in it. GM would retain management control

The plant, to be built 150km from the Chad border in Maiduguri, would be able to assemble 20 000 Isuzu trucks, vans and minibuses a year and would employ 800 workers, said Mr Mott.

Peugeot of France is the only other company making light trucks in Nigeria. — Sapa-Reuter.

Nigeria plans African peace force to replace Cubans in Angola

CAPE Times 21/11/83 226

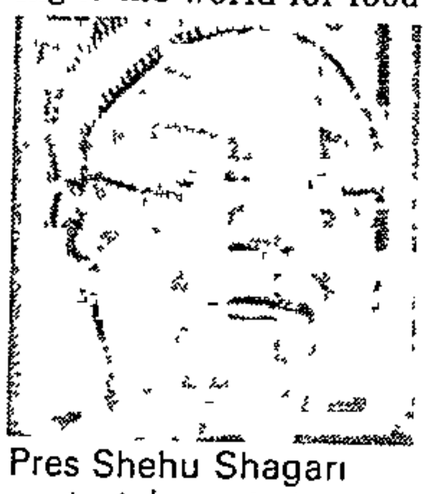
LONDON — In the middle of this week the Commonwealth meets in New Delhi much concerned to restore its importance in the world Nigeria, too, will be there intending to demonstrate its importance in the Commonwealth

The organization undoubtedly feels that it was brushed aside, as Britain, the home of the Commonwealth, was brushed aside, by the American decision to invade the island of Grenada In any resurgence of the Commonwealth the Nigerians are determined to play their part and make the voice of Africa heard and respected

Give the lead

The success of the Nigerian elections, as a major exercise in democracy in the world, will undoubtedly raise the Nigerian influence in the Commonwealth President Shehu Shagari will appear there as a man who has strengthened his popular position, strongly backed by a smaller and more competent cabinet, and on the way to crushing incompetence, corruption and hesitancy at home He is again determined to give Africa the lead it has lacked for the past two or three years

In that vacuum a spectre of desiccation and drought has hung over the continent from north to south Nigeria proposes to do her bit, at least, in the recovery of the land and agriculture by expanding the green revolution at home which her financial muddle recently curtailed Perhaps she will even be able to provide some help in feeding the 22 African nations on whose behalf the UN is now appealing to the world for food



Pres Shehu Shagari to take initiative

— but with 90 million mouths of her own to feed, Nigeria won't be able to do much

There is, however, one problem to whose solution the Nigerians propose to make a major contribution That is Namibia President Shehu is well aware that Namibia represents both a world and African failure For the past nine months it has almost seemed that everybody from the United Nations to the remnants of the Turnhalle party has given up in despair and allowed South Africa the victory of a stalemate Anybody wishing to give a lead to the states of Africa cannot allow the present "no-go" position over the future of South West Africa to continue

The Swapo fighters have continued to attack with hit-and-run sorties and advances either in Ovamboland or in briefly maintained excursions into lower Namibia In spite of South African military claims that Swapo has been wiped out as a military force it continues to be at least, a military nuisance with reserves that may build up again Sam Nujoma may not be the most brilliant leader any liberation group ever had, but he has a dogged quality He manages to keep the African leaders supporting and supplying him, and he has faithful friends around the world like the United Nations Namibian Support Group

Perhaps the fact that the Namibian question has become one of the most enduring causes in world politics owes its existence there to an equally dogged man, the Rev Michael Scott Michael Scott has recently died and now lies buried in Golders Green cemetery, London, and perhaps his last thoughts were about the struggle for the liberation of South West Africa which he continued to promote in exile from his base in the Africa Bureau

The South African government will be able to take no comfort from his departure from the scene, for by now there is no likelihood that the world's recurring preoccupation with Namibia will ever go away for long, any more than will the world's disapproval of apartheid Nor does the new activity among the smaller Namibian political parties look like convincing the international community of real change

Now the Nigerians intend to raise the whole issue again at the Commonwealth meeting What's more Nigeria does not intend to allow the matter of the presence of the 30 000 or so Cubans in Angola to fog the question of the presence of even more South African troops in North Namibia and Southern Angola President Shehu intends to offer the Angolans a force drawn from African nations if Cuba is willing to withdraw its troops or the Angolans ask them to leave The Nigerian president admits that while South Africans come and go as they please in Southern Angola, the Angolans have every right to seek protection He doesn't see why Africa should not provide it

If the Commonwealth is going to be asked to provide a peace-keeping force to guard the island of Grenada against further American and Cuban intervention there, President Shehu doesn't see why the Africans of the Commonwealth should not be asked to provide a peace-keeping force for the Angolans against South African intervention there supported by the Americans

The Nigerians are presently much out of pocket due to mismanaging their oil sales, but

From

Anthony Delius

are quite happy to provide their share of troops to an African force — and as Nigeria is by far the biggest African nation it will no doubt provide the biggest share of the Angolan force

The Nigerians also feel that Africans are not so helpless that they have to turn to the island of Cuba for help in protecting disordered parts of their own continent This they feel is a disgrace, whether it happens in Angola or in Ethiopia, and replacing a Cuban force in Angola with an African one can only be a step in the right direction

The Nigerians have already had some practice in joining an African force to protect the Chadian people from that Cuban admirer, President Gaddafi, and his Libyan Foreign Legion It is true that the Nigerians didn't accomplish much in Chad, but practice there may make more perfect in Angola

Nigeria likely to form cabinet today

AKGUS 3/1/84 226

Argus Foreign Service

ACCRA. — Nigeria appeared calm after the New Year's Eve coup which placed the world's fourth-largest democracy back in the hands of a military junta

Military authorities who toppled civilian President Shehu Shagari on Saturday are expected to form a federal cabinet today, Sapa-Reuter reports Radio Lagos as announcing

The formation of the cabinet and appointment of military governors for Nigeria's 19 states would be discussed at the first meeting of the 16-member Supreme Military Council, the radio said.

In its first news bulletin for two days Radio Lagos said yesterday the atmosphere throughout the country was peaceful and said Nigerians appeared to see the return to power by the military as a "welcome sign of economic relief"

Leader

The coup was led by Major-General Mahamua Buhari, a former military governor of Northern Nigeria and Federal Oil Minister, who heads the newly created military council.

There has been no word yet on the whereabouts of ousted President Shagari, who was sworn in for his second four-year term in October after an overwhelming election victory However, Brigadier Sunny Abacha, who announced the coup, described it as "bloodless"

A dusk-to-dawn curfew remains in force, all entry points have been sealed, the constitution has been suspended and all holders of elected office dismissed

Most news of the internal situation has emerged in Radio Lagos announcements monitored in neighbouring states

Martial music

Since the coup the station has played day-long sessions of martial music interspersed with announcements from the junta

Security forces have been warned to maintain "high discipline", avoid provocation and refuse to be intimidated by "reactionary elements"

The lives and property of all Nigerians and foreigners had been guaranteed, the radio said

Africa's most populous state experienced its fifth coup since it gained independence from Britain in 1960 only days after President Shagari presented a tough budget and called for sacrifices from all Nigerians

New Nigerian ruler tightens hold on govt

From JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON — Nigeria's new military ruler summoned the first meeting of his Supreme Military Council for today, Lagos radio said yesterday

The meeting, to debate and approve members of the National Council of State and the Federal Executive Council, was seen as the latest step to consolidate military control of the government.

Mohammed Buhari

Major-General Mohammed Buhari, who seized control of Africa's most populous nation in a bloodless coup on Saturday, was moving swiftly to start his programme to fight corruption and economic crisis

Nigeria's borders and airports remained closed 48 hours after the coup in Africa's biggest democracy Links with the outside world were blocked

Expatriate Nigerians in London have welcomed the bloodless New Year's Eve coup in which the military seized power from the democratically-elected government of President Shehu Shagari

Several told London Radio yesterday they welcomed the coup because President Shagari's government had been returned to power through widespread rigging in the August elections and was not accountable to anyone

They said something had to be done to put a stop to "rampant corruption" and a government that was leading Nigeria to economic ruin

In another interview on BBC radio, a leading voice in Nigeria's democratic opposition, Mr Mike Abaku, said the new military ruler would not "annihilate anyone" but would seek to recover government funds stashed away in other countries

General Buhari, who has previous experience of government, has promised to stamp out corruption and vowed that "clean and efficient government" would follow the "corrupt, inept and insensitive" civilian administration of President Shagari

New African leader soldiered in UK and India

LONDON — The new military leader of Nigeria, Major-General Mohammad Buhari, has for 10 years been one of the key political figures in the country under military and civilian administrations.

He has run the National Petroleum Corporation, two big northern states, and, for the last three years, the Army's Fourth Division.

Major-General Buhari was born in the northern state of Kaduna almost 42 years ago His military training was undertaken in Britain and in India.

He returned home to run the biggest logistical job in the large Nigerian army — supply and transport.

The weekend takeover — to "save our beloved nation from total collapse" — is a repeat of Major-General Buhari's first foray into politics nine years ago

Then he was one of the men behind the coup in July 1975 which brought General Murtala Mohammad to power for a brief six months and galvanised Nigeria's internal and foreign policy as no Government has managed before or since.

At home, 10 000 military and civilian officials were purged. Abroad, Nigeria threw its weight behind African recognition of Angola's MPLA Government in November 1975 when Western countries were backing the FNLA-Unita coalition at the moment of independence from Portugal.

Brigadier Buhari, as he then was, was a powerful state governor

"If anyone was going to take things over, it would have been him," said an American diplomat who knows the general. "He has a lot of drive and a lot of interest in doing something for his country."

The general is described by diplomats as moderate to slightly conservative politically He is the seventh leader of Africa's most populous country since its independence from Britain in 1960

General Buhari is tall, well-spoken and has a slender face. His English is marked by accents picked up in his cadet days in Aldershot and acquired through his love of tennis and golf

Major-General Buhari is likely to capitalise on an upsurge in nationalist feeling in the country as he starts the purge on corruption.

"Let no one be deceived that workers who have not received their salaries in the past eight awful months will receive such salaries between today and tomorrow, or that hospitals which have been without drugs for months will be provided with enough drugs immediately," he said in his first address to the nation. — Reuter, The Star Bureau, New York Times News Service.

Coup may save Nigeria from economic disaster

LONDON — The seeds of Nigeria's fifth military coup were sown within months of President Shehu Shagari's election to office in 1979

With scant regard for the integrity and reformist zeal of the previous military leaders, the politicians, senior civil servants and entrepreneurs of the victorious National Party of Nigeria (NPN) began a systematic plunder of the oil-rich economy

Corruption in Nigeria was nothing new It had flourished even under the regime of General Yakubu Gowon, despite the priority given to its eradication.

But under Mr Shagari — a reluctant and malleable candidate for the presidency — the NPN machine pursued the accumulation of wealth by fraud with a reckless cynicism.

"This is the Nigerian way," NPN supporters would say to reporters during the presidential elections in August.

Blatant electoral malpractices, like business skulduggery, were dismissed with a remarkable complacency that permeated the entire party

During the six weeks of the election, which resulted in a massive victory for Mr Shagari, it was apparent that his closest advisers felt in no way restrained by the tradition of the army as the guardian of national pride and integrity

Not surprisingly, there were very few people who speculated about the return of a military regime while the country was in the throes of exercising its democratic process for the first time in 17 years under civilian rule

There was a certain euphoria that the elections were taking place at all.

The army, everyone was assured, was in full support of the democratic experiment, whatever the shortcomings.

Apologists for the NPN would stress that the Shagari landslide was a positive development. outbreaks of violence in the west had been contained, a sense of national unity had overcome the old tribal divisions and the President seemed set on a new, tougher course of action.

Among the intellectuals, however, the past four years had left a deep sense of shame at the economic mismanagement and conspicuous greed for power

Only the courageous few spoke out and they seemed like voices in the wilderness — since one of the most heinous Nigerian sins is to denigrate one's country

It was this Nigerian pride which incensed NPN officials when the Western Press wrote of the open sewers of Lagos or the dangers from armed robbers or the inefficiency of the telephone service.

And yet everywhere one went in that vast country there was a feeling of disappointment about the performance of the politicians

For the sophisticated electorate the fact that Nigeria, the richest state in black Africa, was now having to go cap in hand to the International Monetary Fund while the contractors and distributors and the bureaucrats were lining their purses, was an affront.

Time and again people from all walks of life would remember nostalgically the days of the military regime.

The Shagari regime heralded a return to the lavish days of the early 1970s with State governors spending money on grand and prestigious projects.

Gifts of expensive cars to secure the loyalty of traditional rulers were commonplace.

The army officers, many of them trained in England, contemplated these distortions from their barracks for four silent years.

President Shagari's new austerity budget, his dismissal of many Ministers and his declared intention to root out corruption came too late.

While his new administration carried some conviction, it is clear that the coup had been in the planning stages months before — Guardian News Service

General Muhammed Buhari .. pledge to fight corruption

Shehu Shagari accused of not being able to cope with oil crisis

Payment on huge loan is a test

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The credibility of the new Nigerian military regime faces a major test today when the first repayments are due on about R2,3 billion of bank loans arranged last year to refinance part of the country's trade debts.

Bankers who have become increasingly concerned in recent months at Nigeria's delay in solving its foreign debt problems believe prompt repayment of the slightly more than R60 million due today would strengthen Nigeria's position in the international financial community

Two major refinancing deals are involved in the repayment. One involves 26 banks and the other more than 40

A Nigerian team is due to meet the International Monetary Fund in Washington on January 16 to try to complete arrangements for a further R3 billion loan package.

A spokesman for Britain's Export Credits Guarantee Department said the department expects to continue talks with Nigeria to help refinance its portion of this short-term trade debt and that the coup should be no obstacle.

Bankers in New York said they had no idea whether the loan payments would go ahead as scheduled

"We were certainly expecting payment to be made on time as we believe they have the resources," one banker said

If payment did not go ahead on schedule, he added, it would probably be because of chaotic conditions in Lagos. If the delay was more than temporary however, "it would be serious for everyone"

CAPE TIMES

s, Wednesday, January 4, 1984 ★

Nigeria: Council sworn in

LAGOS — A 19-member supreme military council was sworn in yesterday as Nigeria's highest ruling body following a coup that swept the civilian administration of President Shehu Shagari out of power on Saturday, Radio Nigeria has reported

It said three additional members were named to the council to join the 16 announced on Saturday — some of them members of the last military government that ceded power peacefully in 1979 elections

The council yesterday lifted a dusk-to-dawn curfew and reopened the country's airports

There was no immediate word on the closed-door deliberations of the council after the swearing-in ceremony It was due to consider the appointment of a Federal Executive Council (FEC) to act as a cabinet

The new head of State, Major-General Mohammed Buhari, told permanent secretaries on Monday that they could expect civilian ministers to be appointed to the FEC

Economic crisis

At yesterday's ceremony, General Buhari said the country's economic crisis which prompted Saturday's coup was his government's top priority

He repeated earlier statements that his government would stamp out corruption, fraud and waste which he said were the hallmarks of Mr Shagari's regime

The News Agency of Nigeria yesterday quoted witnesses as saying that the former president had arrived in handcuffs and under military guard at Lagos Airport from the northern city of Kaduna where he had been taken after his arrest in Abuja, the projected future capital in central Nigeria.

● It is reported from London that Nigeria's new military government yesterday repaid the first R61-million instalment on a R2,3-billion bank loan on time, raising cautious optimism in the international banking community that it would honour the country's debt commitments

Agreements

Two agreements signed last year converted some of the massive trade payment arrears run up by the previous government of President Shehu Shagari into a three-year loan

With oil exports, which provide more than 95 percent of Nigeria's foreign exchange, running at around 1,3-million barrels a day; little more than half their peak four years ago, Nigeria has amassed foreign debts of R17,5-billion and a backlog in trade payments of R5-billion

General Buhari has said Nigeria will remain in Opec (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries), which sets its members' oil prices and quotas

This has also helped to allay fears that Nigeria might try to add to its foreign exchange earnings through increased exports on the glutted world market, setting off an international price war — Sapa-Reuter

Nigeria's coup shatters West's hope of democracy

OUT ... former president Shagari

I can say confidently that democracy has succeeded in Nigeria

From JOHN BATTERSBY in London

THE CLINICAL precision of the Nigerian military coup, in a country where democracy had supposedly taken root, has shattered a Western dream and raised the question of whether the system has a future in Africa

After the failure of the Westminster model, adopted five years after Nigerian independence from Britain in 1960, the country went through more than a decade of turbulent military coups, counter-coups and civil war

Then followed a period of elaborate preparation by the military regime for a return to democratic rule — this time under the American-style Presidential system — with President Shehu Shagari becoming the country's second democratically elected leader in 1979

In August last year, a landslide poll found Shagari reinstated as president for a further four years. It is now accepted that the highly controversial poll involved widespread bribery and ballot rigging.

At the Commonwealth Conference in New Delhi last November, Shagari played a high-profile role both in public and in the closed round-table talks, between the leaders and representatives of 43 countries.

He was chosen as the first of the five heads of government who delivered addresses to the opening session of the conference in reply to the hostess, Mrs Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India

Cutting an imposing figure in his flowing traditional white robes, the elected leader of the National Party of Nigeria was very much on display as a shining example from Africa's showcase democracy

He sat next to the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher and had frequent exchanges with her during the ceremony

Shagari made it clear that, after four years in office, he was now seeking to play a greater role in international affairs and in developments on the African continent.

Above all, he wanted to be at the forefront of efforts to pave the way for an international settlement in Namibia.

To this end, he devoted much of his speech to an attack on South Africa and set the Namibian question high on the Commonwealth's agenda.

He also spoke of the urgent need for North-South dialogue on economic issues and suggested that, in times of global economic depression, the West should be doing more to ease the plight of developing countries.

A large presence of Nigerian journalists at the conference projected an image which confirmed the reputation of the Nigerian Press, as one of the most vigorous and independent in Africa.

The country also boasts one of the most vigorous multi-party systems in Black Africa and has a good record on human rights, with no political prisoners being held at present.

In a recent interview with the international Herald Tribune, Shagari left no doubt about his confidence in the permanence of a democracy in Nigeria.

"This is a shining example for Africa to emulate," he proclaimed, adding that Nigeria was one of the few countries in Black Africa that had dared to experiment with democracy.

"I can say confidently that democracy has succeeded in Nigeria. I don't think any Nigerian would want to see a return to military rule — and I think the military knows this," Shagari said.

The words show just how out of touch he was. The man who engineered the New Year's eve coup, British-trained Major-General Muhammad Buhari, and many of the men on the supreme military council, were appointed by Shagari.

His confidence in the degree to which Shagari-style democracy had taken root in Nigeria was equally misplaced.

Behind the convincing facade of democracy, a picture of economic mismanagement, ballot-rigging, bribery and corruption began to emerge, as the economy deteriorated with the slump in world oil prices.

Oil is Nigeria's main economic asset and is responsible for a staggering 95% of the country's foreign earnings.

The sharp fall in the world oil price in 1980 led Nigeria into an economic crisis, which played a central role in the meticulously planned military coup executed on New Year's Eve.

Perhaps the most scathing indictment of Nigeria under Shagari, comes from the internationally renowned and respected Nigerian author and poet, Wole Soyinka, in an article written after the controversial August elections last year

"Discredited, rejected, even loathed by the majority of Nigerians, the National Party of Nigeria, buoyed by the image-building of its leader Shagari by the Western Press — meek, unassuming, de-tribalised, the guarantor of peace and stability — went confidently ahead to commit the most breathtaking electoral fraud of any nation in the whole of Africa.

"At every level — from acts of brutal ejection of the Opposition at the polling booth by law-enforcement agencies, to the simplest but most daring motion of all, swapping the figures at the very point of announcement — the scale of the robbery was unprecedented," Soyinka wrote.

But the underlying reasons for the well-planned coup undoubtedly lie in the deepening economic crisis of a vulnerable economy, almost entirely dependent on its revenue from oil.

Shagari had fallen into disfavour with international bankers because of Nigeria's tardiness in repaying loans.

He was unpopular with the International Monetary Fund because of his refusal to devalue the Naira, and with the oil multinationals, because of a growing fear that he might withdraw from Opec and precipitate a crash in the world oil price.

There was therefore considerable cause for concern in British business circles that the Nigerian market was heading for collapse.

After the United States and the European Economic Community, Nigeria is Britain's biggest trading partner with investments there exceeding R3 000-million — 40% of all Britain's foreign investment.

It is true that the slump in oil prices has had a catastrophic effect on the Nigerian economy, for which Shagari could not be entirely blamed.

But the oil and banking world were not happy with the way he was coping with the situation.

The Nigerian president's recipe of an austerity budget to counter the 40% inflation rate hit the poor people hardest, and incurred the wrath of the IMF, which had been insisting on a devaluation of the Nigerian currency before granting further loans to the oil-rich state.

The drop in oil prices has made it difficult for Nigeria to repay its massive R14 000-million foreign debt largely from British and American banks.

It had therefore turned to the IMF to secure a R2 000-million loan but, had failed to reach agreement at the time of the coup

It is interesting to note that the oil world has responded favourably to the new military regime in Nigeria and has taken comfort from the fact that Gen Buhari was in charge of Nigeria's oil interests in a previous government.

One of Gen Buhari's first public announcements was a widely publicised assurance that he would not withdraw Nigeria from Opec and raise the spectre of a slump in oil prices.

Perhaps Shagari had something, when he said in a recent interview

"What really beats me, what I really cannot understand is that some of the Western countries, who adore democracy and who shout its virtues from rooftops, often prefer to encourage military regimes or totalitarian governments," he said.

"They don't seem to care as long as they can do business with some of these regimes."

Nigerian accuses ANC of economic sabotage

CAPE TOWN — A visiting Nigerian preacher has accused the African National Congress (ANC) of "economic sabotage" in his country and vowed to take legal action against the organisation

The Reverend Noel Mahmud Okereke, who described himself as a preacher, journalist and publisher, alleged that the ANC served as a "conduit for billions of dollars in foreign exchange from Nigeria during the government of Mr Shehu Shagari"

Mr Okereke said he had documented evidence that money apparently intended for the ANC from corporate institutions and individuals found its way into the accounts of prominent Nigerian individuals

He said he was going to take the necessary legal steps to have warrants of arrest issued to prosecute ANC officials when they entered Nigeria

The present Nigerian military government feared the "embarrassment of playing into the hands of the apartheid gallery" and therefore did not take up the matter, he said

South Africa's inclusion in the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was essential in terms of pan-African solidarity

The country was in the most important stage of its political evolution as a confederation and for this reason black Africa would have to be seen as a partner in the process, he said — DDC

Anti-SA action 'too weak'

226

LAGOS — Nigeria has criticised action taken against South Africa by Western countries as being too weak to make Pretoria change its apartheid policy. 18/9/85

A statement from the Ministry of External Affairs said pressure from the West on South Africa was "hardly adequate to make the intransigent Botha regime change its ways" — Sapa-Reuter. SOWETAN

Bringing you news from around the world

Angola raid condemned

20/9/85 226 Soweta

LAGOS — Nigeria has condemned "in the very strongest terms" South Africa's military push into Angola in pursuit of Swapo insurgents.

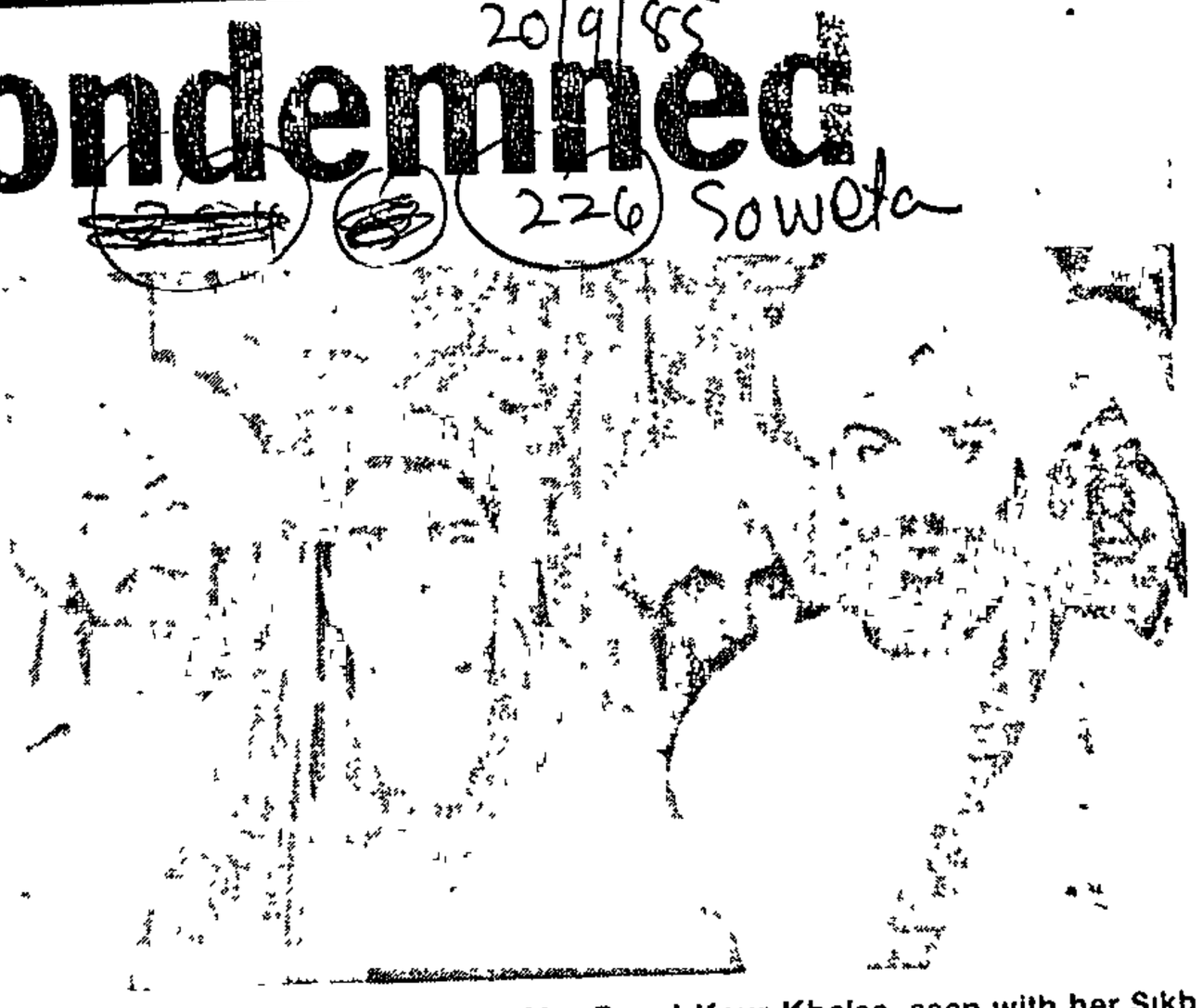
A statement from the Ministry of External Affairs described the incursion as "bankrupt and illegal under international law"

"It cannot distract attention from the domestic turmoil within South Africa itself, and will not save South Africa from the consequences of its ill-advised policy of apartheid domestically and (from) aggression internationally"

The statement said the newly-appointed Minister for Special Duties, Air vice-marshal Ishaya Shekarri, would visit Angola and the other Frontline States to express solidarity

Nigeria's new leader, Maj-Gen Ibrahim Babangida, who took power in a coup last month, had sent a message of sympathy to Angola, the statement added

Gen Babangida last week appointed Mr Bolaji Akinyemi, who has a reputation as a radical on African Affairs, as Foreign Minister His Ministry has condemned Western sanctions against South Africa as too weak to bring about change in apartheid — Sapa-Reuter



ASSASSIN WIDOW IN RACE: Mrs Bimal Kaur Khalsa, seen with her Sikh supporters, is a strong candidate in two state assembly districts in Punjab state despite the fact that she is the widow of Beant Singh, a former security guard who assassinated Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

Warning on extremists

PATHANKOT — Prime Minister Mr Rajiv Gandhi stood near the Pakistan border yesterday and told an election rally in Punjab state to beware of outsiders posing as Sikh extremists.

With one week left until Punjab's September 25 election, Mr Gandhi went ahead with the rally despite drenching rain which turned the field where he spoke into a quagmire

Security officials also made no concessions to the weather and snatched umbrellas from Ghandi supporters as they passed through two metal detectors into the field about 30 km from the Pakistan border

"In this election you must see where the roots of extremism lie, whether in Punjab or outside, and who is doing it by growing long hair and beards", he told a shivering crowd of 10 000 in an area regarded as an extremist stronghold

The crowd was comprised mainly of Hindus with fewer Sikhs than at three meetings Mr Gandhi has addressed

Nigeria move to hand over power after budget shocker

226 Mercury 1/1/86

LAGOS—The Nigerian military leader, Gen Ibrahim Babangida, yesterday unveiled tough 1986 budget proposals and threw his country's political future open to a national debate aimed at leading to a handover of power

In a nationwide broadcast he said the budget, which comes at a time of severe economic problems, should be seen as the start of an 'era of economic reconstruction, social justice and self-reliance' during which Nigerians should be ready to make sacrifices

He also said his Government, which came to power in a coup four months ago, would not stay in office a day longer than was needed to lay the framework for 'a better and more stable Nigeria — economically and politically'

A political bureau would be set up to co-ordinate national debate on how to move from a military to a participatory form of government and ensure an orderly system of political succession

When the political bureau finished its work at the end of 1986, 'Government will announce a new political programme and prepare for a handover of power,' Gen Babangida said

Earlier this month, the military government announced it had foiled a coup plot against it and said it had arrested 14 officers from the army, navy and air force

Gen Babangida's budget proposals foresee spending of about R28 billion, 3 percent below 1985 forecasts, and total income of about R41 billion against last year's projected revenues of R29,5 billion

But Government income would be increased in 1986 by extra levies and subsidy cuts totalling R6,3 billion, which would be channelled to education, health, roadworks and export promotion, he said

Fuel subsidies would be cut to 20 percent of their current level, doubling the cost of petrol and increasing the price of diesel by 168 percent

Nigeria is heavily dependent on road transport for passengers and goods and economic analysts believe that higher fuel prices will push up inflation at a time when the rate of increase is slowing

Exporters would be given incentives to sell abroad, while all imported goods would be subject to a blanket 30 percent levy to back a policy of reducing import dependence

The Nigerian currency, the naira, which has been progressivley devalued by about 20 percent in 1985 to reach virtual parity with the dollar, would continue to be allowed to slide in an attempt to increase international competitiveness of non-oil exports

Foreign exchange earnings were forecast at R25,3 billion with oil expected to account for 83 percent, instead of more than 95 percent in the past, as a result of greater exports of non-oil commodities

Oil barter deals would continue to be used as a short-term recovery strategy, he said, adding that non-oil commodities could also be used to pay for imports

He said Nigeria, saddled with foreign debts of about R53 billion, would meet its obligations as far as possible, but repayment would be at a slower rate than foreseen for 1985 — (Sapa-Reuter)

Nigeria urges US to press harder for change in SA

(226) STAR 15/1/86

By Neil Lurssen,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Nigeria's Foreign Minister, Mr Bolaji Akinyemi, has urged the United States to take the lead in putting international diplomatic and economic pressure on South Africa to abandon apartheid.

Addressing a conference in Washington on international relations, the Foreign Minister said Nigeria did not believe South Africa would abandon apartheid because of the pious preaching or polite persuasion of the US policy of constructuve engagement.

"The so-called reforms implemented by Mr Botha are no more than the reformulations of the basic tenets of apartheid," he said.

"We believe that there is a need for the United States, as the acknowledged leader of the Western alliance, to come forward with positive policies that would guide the rest of the international community in putting appropriate diplomatic and economic pressure on the South African regime."

Mr Akinyemi said the total elimination of apartheid and the speedy independence of Namibia were the chief preoccupations of Nigeria's foreign policy

Nigeria claimed no monopoly of moral rectitude on racism or racial discrimination, but its government and people felt they could never be free while "our brothers and sisters" were being systematically brutalised and dehumanised in South africa

Nigeria was committed to the creation of a harmonious and truly multi-racial society in South Africa, he said

Five years of US constructive engagement had not brought Namibian independence or the regional stability of the end of apartheid any nearer. The level of violence in the region had risen alarmingly

Nigeria believed the US had an important role to play in the resolution of a crisis that threatened to engulf the whole of Southern Africa in a bloody racial confrontation.

But, he said "The road to hell is being paved with the good intentions of constructive engagement."

Nigeria believed, as did the US, that Security Council Resolution 435 was the only basis for Namibia's independence, Mr Akinyemi said.

25/3/86. BUSDAY

Nigeria in crisis over Islam body

226

LAGOS — The Nigerian military government is facing one of the toughest choices of its seven months in office, after a controversial decision to join the Islamic Conference Organisation (ICO).

Nigeria upgraded its participation from observer status to full membership when ICO foreign ministers met in Fez, Morocco, in January. The move, welcomed by Muslims, outraged the Christian community.

Military leader General Ibrahim Babangida responded by appointing a Christian-Muslim committee to examine the implications of full membership.

That panel has now submitted its report to government, which must decide what to do next. "The ball is now in the government's court," said Catholic Archbishop Gabriel Ganaka, who sat on the committee during its six weeks of deliberations

The panel's report has not been made public, nor has government said anything about it. The authorities face the choice of staying in the ICO, reverting to observer status, or pulling out entirely.

To withdraw from the ICO, a grouping of 46 states which are either Islamic or have large Muslim minorities, would not please Nigerian Muslims; while Christians, citing Nigeria's status as a secular state, have been calling for an immediate pull-out.

Exact figures for religious affiliation are not available, but the last accepted census of 1963 showed 47% of the population were Muslims, mainly in the north, with Christians in the south accounting for about 35%. Babangida is a Muslim.

Christian anger was aroused not only by the decision to assume full membership but also by the manner in which the decision was announced.

Nigeria took its seat at the ICO meeting in early January, but three weeks of official silence passed in Lagos before Babangida confirmed that the country had joined.

Meanwhile, the No 2 man in government, Chief of General Staff Commodore Ebitu Ukiwe, a Christian, said he was unaware Nigeria had joined and that the issue had never come before the policy-making Armed Forces Ruling Council

While Babangida did not invite debate on the ICO question, reaction — particularly from the Christian community — was swift and vociferous.

Church leaders accused government of violating the constitution and favouring Islam, while Anglican Bishop of Lagos Abiodun Adetiloye spoke of civil strife. "A religious war, if it is fought, will tear the country in pieces," he said

Nigeria has not seen real violence between Christians and Muslims, although bloody clashes in recent years between heretical Muslims and security forces in northern parts of the country have left thousands dead.

Babangida has sought to play down Christian fears about ICO membership and stressed the benefits to Nigeria, while appealing to the Press to refrain from what he described as dangerous insinuations and inflammatory statements.

He said some countries which had joined the ICO were secular states with substantial non-Muslim populations. "Despite its name, ICO member-nations are distinguished more by their identity as Third World nations than by religious affinities. Its business is strictly international co-operation and the struggle for economic development and self-reliance." — Sapa-Reuter.

Nigeria may seek debt rescheduling

LONDON — With the sharp drop in the price of oil cutting deeper into Nigeria's potential foreign exchange revenues, bankers meeting in London to discuss the country's foreign debt agree that a near-term rescheduling of part of the debt appears inevitable.

And while the bankers remain uncomfortable with a rescheduling that is not accompanied by the country agreeing to an economic adjustment programme with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), they concede that the drop in oil prices has made the thought of any such programme impractical for now.

Representatives of 20 of Nigeria's commercial bank creditors met in London before Easter to form a committee of 10 or 12 banks to discuss certain of its debts. This will be followed by another meeting between all the representatives and a team of Nigerians, led by the new Finance Minister Chu Okongwu.

The second meeting was called by Barclays Bank earlier this month at the request of the Nigerian Ministry of Finance.

The talks will begin against the background of a failure by the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (Opec), of which Nigeria is a member, to reach a consensus on production and pricing.

The Nigerians did not specify which debts they were seeking to discuss, — Reuter.

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OBASANJO

The Nigerian General who has SA's ear

THE PATTERN OF POLITICS/Hermann Giliomee

SUDDENLY the SA political deck of cards has a new ace Out go Dr Chester Crocker and Chief Mangosotho Buthelezi and in comes the tough General Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria

No foreign visitor of recent times has made such a big impression on Cabinet members as Obasanjo At the end of the recent visit by the Eminent Persons Group (EPG), Obasanjo and Chris Heunis had a long discussion in which several intriguing constitutional possibilities were raised

This week, Pik Botha was quite explicit in his preference for this man — who knows the "realities of Africa" — to the "do-gooders" of America and Europe

Sources close to the Cabinet and the EPG say that Obasanjo, without for a moment condoning apartheid, listened sympathetically to the view that SA is a multi-ethnic state which requires a unique political solution that would provide special protection to ethnic minorities

In the vexing issue of the "National Question," most nationalist thinkers and politicians in Europe and Africa have tended to favour, what Benjamin Neuberger calls, the Jacobin way

Its goal is to transform a heterogenous state as quick as possible, and by force if necessary, into a homogenous nation-state in which ethnic diversity is barely tolerated, if at all

In contrast to someone like Nyerere, with his policy of rapid and forcible Swahilization, all the Nigerian leaders since the civil war have been in favour of what can be called the pluralist option

Gowon, Muhammad, Obasanjo Shagari and Buhari have all supported the right of self-determination for Nigeria's ethnic groups, with the qualification that self-determination must be achieved within and not outside the Nigerian Federation

However, they have all made a clear distinction between "pluralism," which accepts the equal value of all nationalities, and "tribalism," which they see as an ideology of discrimination, arrogance and national inequality

People close to Obasanjo say that on his recent visit to SA he was particularly incensed by the Group Areas Act, which makes it impossible for blacks to escape the townships

One can easily imagine Heunis earnestly assuring Obasanjo that the Botha government's policy is really based on pluralism and not on tribalism, and that the homelands are being brought back into the SA state

And Obasanjo reportedly had most attentive listeners when he started talking about his attempt in the Seventies to steer Nigeria from a military dictatorship controlled by the biggest ethnic group — the Hausa — to a viable democracy

In his system the various ethnic groups were protected from domination through a system of checks and balances, and the devolution of power to regions which took ethnic diversity into account but did not absolutise the principle

Obasanjo comes from one of the very small ethnic groups in Nigeria which together forms about a quarter to a third of Nigeria's population (a remarkably similar proportion to that of the whites, coloureds and Indians put together)

When he took power in 1975 after staging a successful military coup, Obasanjo, as the first non-Hausa in power had a special incentive for breaking down the political predominance of the three big-ethnic groups — the Hausa, the Yoruba and the Ibo

He restructured Nigeria first in 12 and then in 19 federal sub-states before holding elections in 1979 which brought a return to democracy in Nigeria after 13 years

Translated to the SA context, this would mean a federation of 18 or 19 entities comprised of the eight economic development regions and the homelands while leaving open the possibility of a merger of a homeland and a region along the lines of the KwaZulu-Natal experiment

Constitutional schemes are cheaper by the dozen in SA, and the crucial question is whether the ANC will be prepared to participate in a system which would enable them to take power through democratic elections in perhaps the majority of the federal substates and which would allow for power sharing at the level of central government between ANC and the National Party

This may not be all that farfetched On the national question the ANC is not hostile to the pluralist position, acknowledging four national groups in the Freedom Charter

And while strongly condemning Buthelezi, the ANC stressed in their recent discussion with the delegation of business leaders that it has never attacked President Mangope

Apart from whether the ANC will be prepared to accept a compromise, the crucial question is of course whether the Afrikaners and whites in general consider themselves really as a small, endangered minority whose future political well-being lies in a properly constructed democracy with minority safeguards

There is also another possibility This is that government believes that the only basis of stabilising SA is on the basis of a non-racial autocracy dominated by the Afrikaners.

This would demand the scrapping of all the apartheid laws, but it may also mean the suspension of the remaining vestiges of democracy (elections and a free Press)

From this perspective it is a cardinal mistake to compare the Afrikaners to one of the small ethnic groups to which Obasanjo belongs The Afrikaners may in fact be the Hausa of SA. The Hausa wrested power from Obasanjo in the election of 1979 and then staged a coup shortly afterwards to entrench their power

A dominant tribe in Africa rarely shares power except on its own terms The challenge to Obasanjo is to persuade both the Afrikaners and the Hausa that there will be no permanent peace without popular democracy

It will be a tough task.

□ *HERMANN GILIOMEE is a professor of political studies at the University of Cape Town*

Nigeria to assist liberation struggle

THE Nigerian government is to grant 50-million dollars (R125-m) to the liberation movements and the Frontline states over a five-year period.

Some of the liberation movements referred to are the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and the South West Africa Peoples' Organisation (Swapo)

Making the announcement recently, Professor Bolaji Akinyemi, the Foreign Minister, said the grant for the period 1986-91 is part of his country's extensive contributions to liberation organisations in Southern Africa

Transactions

He also announced that Nigeria, by its refusal to take part in transactions involving South Africa, had lost almost R20 billion between 1974 and 1984

"My government has pledged to match South Africa "step by step" Where South Africa destroys, we will rebuild, where it suppresses, we will embolden, where it represses, we will liberate," he said

The Minister committed Nigeria to meeting South Africa's "recklessness and panic measures" with "calm but resolute resolve on our part"

Nigeria, he said, sought no other reward than the satisfaction of knowing that "when the history of this epic struggle is written, it should be said of us that we had the courage to join the struggle, that we had the vision to run the race and that we had the strength to keep the faith"

CALL FOR END TO BRUTALITY

AMNESTY International is appealing to the Nigerian government to end brutal executions of armed robbers, who die slowly from repeated shots when they face firing squads

Amnesty officials in London have been studying reports that convicts in the central Niger state are first shot in the ankles, after which volleys are aimed progressively higher at five-minute intervals

Mr Abubakar Sule of the Niger State Office in Lagos said this method of execution had been in use for a year and was designed to deter would-be offenders

Only two men had been executed so far in this way, but large numbers of convicts have been executed elsewhere in Nigeria for armed robbery

The offence became a serious problem before the death penalty was reintroduced in 1984 by the military government of General Mohammed Buhari

Nigeria's iron man searches for the popular will

Nigeria's military government bans political parties but is encouraging political debate in a grassroots public forum called for by its leader, Maj-General Ibrahim Babangida (above). ANGELA COBBINA reports from Lagos

AS Nigeria begins the promised four-year countdown to civilian rule, a nationwide debate backed by the government is underway on the type of political system the country will adopt

The debate has been launched by Nigeria's military leaders who at the beginning of the year announced they would be stepping down from the government in 1990

It is the third country-wide forum to have been set up by the populist-style government of Maj-General Ibrahim Babangida, who came to power in a "palace coup" last year.

The first was over whether Nigeria should accept a loan from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) The government indicated it was in favour, but the people said "no". The $200-billion (R500-billion) loan was turned down

The next was rather less spectacular and concerned foreign policy The consensus appeared to be that national self-interest should predominate over pan-African perspectives

Now Nigerians, a people never lost for opinions, are being asked to decide the complexion of civilian rule socialist, free market, one party, multi-party, federation, con-federation?

The debate has commanded a good deal of attention from a public thoroughly disillusioned with its string of failed governments since independence from Britain in 1960 The message is "We don't want to make the same mistake again"

The "politics debate" is being overseen by a 17-man team which has been touring each of Nigeria's states collecting submissions and attending meetings

To ensure grassroots opinion is not neglected, surveys in local dialects are carried out on market days in the 301 local government areas

Under the chairmanship of a prominent academic, Dr Samuel Cookey, the group has urged organisations such as Women in Nigeria and the Nigeria Labour Congress to hold conferences on Nigeria's future government

But Cookey admits much more needs to be done to get ordinary people involved in the debate

He attributes the subdued response to poor publicity Others suggest most Nigerians are so disillusioned with politics they would sooner ignore it and devote themselves to earning a living

Many also doubt promises that the debate will change the course of Nigeria's history They dismiss it as another populist stunt by Babangida, after all, they point out, he rejected the IMF, as requested by public demand, just to impose most of its contentious austerity conditions anyway

The debate does give public opinion an outlet from the continuing ban on political parties This ban was enhanced recently by Babangida's announcement that ministers and officials in the ousted Shagari government would be barred from involvement in civilian politics for 10 years or more

Importantly for Babangida, it gives him a plus to compensate for the many minuses he has recently scored With one attempted coup already put down, the real question is whether, in the absence of any radical transformation of Nigeria's prospects, he can survive long enough to see in the new era of 1990

Five military coups have already occurred in Nigeria. The first was in 1966 when Tafawa Balewa's independence government was overthrown by a group of middle-rank officers Balewa and other leading figures were assassinated

The military stayed in power for only seven months before they were toppled by another set of soldiers, led by Yakubu Gowon

The bitter ethnic rivalries that partly lay behind these coups plunged the country into the bloody three-year Biafran war, in which the eastern and richest part of the country sought independence

A period of calm and prosperity followed as Nigeria enjoyed the fruits of its newly-discovered oil wealth But Gowon did not return to barracks as promised and he, too, was removed by fellow officers

Olasegun Obasanjo did not make the same mistake In 1979 he handed over to an elected civilian goverment led by a former teacher, Shehu Shagari

Four years later, Shagari was returned to power in a poll widely believed to have been rigged. The blatant corruption of his government led to its downfall a few months later

His successor, the austere Muhammadu Buhari, inherited an economy in tatters A year ago he was overthrown by Babangida, a member of his own military government

The current debate has indicated widespread agreement that the military cannot solve Nigeria's problems

A major bone of contention concerns the number of political parties A one-party state would offend Nigeria's ingrained democratic sensibilities, while the multi-party system, tried by both Balewa and Shagari, harbours unhappy memories

Parties have also been blamed for fanning the flames of ethnic rivalry Even during the nationalist struggle they tended to form along tribal lines, with those of the northern Muslim élites gaining ascendancy

The delicate issue of tribalism lies behind another major thrust of the debate — federation versus confederation

Although federation implies a more centralised type of government and confederation translates as autonomous states within a state, they both seek to overcome the thorny problem of regional imbalance

This can be traced back to the British who, following a classic policy of divide and rule, invested the most power in the northern emirs at the expense of the other two major ethnic groups, the Yoruba of the west and the Ibo of the east.

Post-independence leadership has tended to hail from the Hausa-speaking north The one serious challenge to this trend led to the ruthless pogrom of the people thought to be behind it, the Ibos of Biafra.

Until recently any talk of confederation was banned as a challenge to the idea of Nigeria's "national character", which has been carefully nurtured since the trauma of the Biafran war

Now the confederalist lobby speaks openly of northern domination They blame the nation's founding fathers, Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba, for encouraging it by pursuing ethnic rather than nationalist politics

"Any talk of the Nigerian nation belonged to the realm of propaganda," Dr George Obiozor told a recent conference of the Lagos-based Nigerian Institute of International Affairs

His opponents argued a confederation would squeeze out Nigeria's numerous minority tribes from their place in the existing 19-state federal set-up

Although such talk is lost on the average Nigerian, there is wide support for the underlying effort to halt the disease that has plunged a country into chronic political and economic instability. — Gemini

Nigeria 'offers to aid Mozambique'

The Star's Africa News Service

GABORONE — Nigeria has offered to send troops to Mozambique to help Zimbabwean soldiers already stationed there, it was reported here.

The Reporter newspaper said Nigeria had offered to send troops to guard the Beira corridor.

There have been no other reports of the offer.

The newspaper said India had offered a squadron of MiG-21 fighters to guard the Beira corridor.

Last week reports published in London said India had offered to send 12 MiG-21 fighters to protect the corridor.

Six of the fighters would be stationed in Chimoio, in Mozambique and the other six in Zimbabwe.

The Reporter, quoting informed sources, said India had offered to send a full staff of fighter pilots and technicians who would be based in Harare.

the expulsions. — Sapa-Reuter

bias over the bombing of Libya.

Fear grips Nigeria's Press as parcel-bomb kills leading newsman

LAGOS — Nigeria's Press was in a state of shock and fear today after the country's first reported parcel-bomb killed a leading journalist.

Dele Giwa, the US-trained editor of the campaigning *Newswatch* magazine, was blown up in his Lagos home yesterday after opening a package.

"This is a bad sign of things to come," the Nigerian Union of Journalists (NUJ) said in a statement expressing shock and disgust at what it termed the first such bomb attack in the history of Nigeria.

"Dele Giwa was one of the best journalists the country has known," the union added.

Colleagues said Giwa (39) was interrogated at the headquarters of the State Security Service last Friday and accused of plotting to import arms to help stage a socialist revolution.

He denied the allegations and was allowed home.

A *Newswatch* statement said an unidentified motorcyclist delivered the parcel-bomb to Giwa's home in a Lagos suburb at 11.45 am yesterday.

Giwa's son, Billy (19), took it to his father who was eating a late breakfast in his study.

"As he opened the parcel the bomb exploded, fatally wounding him," the *Newswatch* statement said.

Two people in the room were injured, State television reported.

Giwa died on arrival at a local hospital. Witnesses said his lower body was severely mutilated.

No immediate comment was available from police about their efforts to catch Giwa's killer. — Sapa-Reuter.

Puzzle over mystery weapons

Nigeria says it will return to fixed oil prices

NEW YORK — Nigeria has told US oil companies it will return to fixed prices, a move consistent with Opec's policy established in Geneva last month, US oil company sources said

The action drove world oil prices higher

Currently Nigeria uses a system called netbacking. Under a netback arrangement crude oil is priced according to the value that oil products, including gasoline and heating oil, will sell for on the open market

Netback pricing was a main feature of the 1986 price war that sent oil tumbling to as low as $9 a barrel from $30, oil traders said

The move, which follows a similar netback cancellation by Saudi Arabia on Tuesday, was seen by analysts as strengthening the cartel's resolve to maintain oil at or above $18 a barrel

World oil prices rose further on the news, continuing a year-end surge that has pushed them above the $18 a barrel target established by Opec members at their meeting in Geneva two weeks ago

The spot price of West Texas Intermediate, the key US marker grade, climbed as high as $18,-10 a barrel on Friday while North Sea Brent crude, the major international marker grade, reached a January delivery price of $18,35 in New York

Several US oil company sources, speaking on condition that they not be identified, said Nigeria has informally told them that their netback arrangements would be cancelled and that they would be officially notified by telex when fixed prices go into effect

Oil companies confirmed that in addition to Saudi Arabia, Abu Dhabi would cancel its netback contracts Kuwait and Iran have informed customers that their netback agreements will be cancelled, US oil sources said

Under terms of its Geneva accord, Opec members were to cancel netback agreements and begin a fixed pricing system on February 1 Under the agreement Nigeria is supposed to set afixed price for its premier grade, Bonny Light, at $18,92 a barrel

But Nigeria has let customers know it will provide a transition period to fixed prices rather than make an abrupt change on February 1, oil company sources said

Nigeria has already notified one US oil firm that at least part of its contractual purchases will be priced on a formula basis in the first quarter of 1987 before fixed prices are fully adopted — Sapa-RNS

UK credit could cover Nigeria

(226)

A RECENT agreement on trade credits with Britain has given Nigeria hope that by June their economic outlook will be better than it has been for several years

Nigerian officials hope the agreement reached with Britain marks a turning point in their efforts to get back into the good books of Western trade partners

Under the agreement, Britain's Export Credits Guarantee Department will resume cover for companies doing business with Nigeria Lagos hopes others will follow their lead

Britain originally suspended credit cover in 1983 when trade arrears started to accumulate in the wake of falling prices for Nigeria's main export, oil

Disagreements followed between Nigeria and external creditors about the size of the trade debt, with Nigeria prepared to accept only a small proportion of the claims as genuine

Talks with other creditors are still going on But a comprehensive agreement by June, together with a resolution of the problem of debts owed to private foreign banks, could leave the country on a much sounder economic footing than at any time since the government of President Ibrahim Babangida came to power in 1985.

An agreement would mark the end of the gamble Nigeria took when it decided to bypass the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and negotiate separately with its official and commercial bank creditors.

Daily Mail 10-6-87

226 30/9/87

NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL

Nigeria 'favours dialogue to eradicate apartheid'

Professor Akinyemi

NEW YORK — Nigeria favours a dialogue to resolve South Africa's problems through the total eradication of apartheid, the country's Foreign Minister said in an address to the United Nations General Assembly

Professor A Bolaji Akinyemi said that if the South African authorities talked to the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress with a view to ending the violence "the racists" started, then the United Nations could squarely face other major issues

But, while supporting dialogue, Professor Akinyemi said Nigeria had always stated its belief in the armed struggle in South Africa and SWA/Namibia, "predicated on the necessity to wrest from an unjust order those basic freedoms that many nations have always fought for in Europe and America"

He said the groundswell of the anti-apartheid movement in the United States had assumed such proportions that the American Congress was unequivocal in its desire for positive change

"Apartheid is no longer perceived along partisan, ideological or racial lines," Professor Akinyemi said

Nigeria had watched with deep interest the approach of businessmen, trade unions and students in taking concrete action to underline their commitment to political freedom and economic emancipation for the majority of South Africans

Regrettably, he said, certain powerful individuals in high government positions remained unmoved, but the winds of change would sweep away all vestiges of repression and the unjust apartheid laws

While the process of shaping international opinion towards decisive action had been prolonged and frustrating, the present situation augured well for 23-million black South Africans

Professor Akinyemi said Africa was plagued by intractable conflicts, most of which were traceable to the "racist minority regime" of South Africa and its "nefarious activities"

He said that now more than ever there was need to put in place concrete measures to eradicate apartheid, but he offered no new proposals and made no specific reference to past demands for economic sanctions

NIGERIA

Step-by-step reform

A year after adopting its World Bank-sponsored structural adjustment programme, Nigeria is preparing to introduce further far-reaching economic reforms The economic performance of Africa's most populous country is being watched closely, especially by those sub-Saharan countries who mistrust the World Bank and IMF reform strategies Nigeria launched its economic reforms in September 1986 with the establishment of the second-tier foreign exchange market, the abolition of import controls and most exchange controls, a revised tariff system and the dropping of price controls

The most important single reform was the foreign currency auction system which has performed far better than anywhere else in Africa The Naira has fallen by some 65% in the past 15 months and is now worth US23c compared with US70c before the auctions Fears that the auctions would result in rapid inflation and a splurge of consumer spending on luxury items have not materialised Inflation is around 12% and some two-thirds of the imports into the country under the auction system have been industrial inputs of one kind or another The gap between the auction market rate and the black market rate for the Naira has narrowed dramatically from 300% to less than 20%

The success of the auctions is linked to the tough monetary policies followed by the Central Bank, which squeezed excess liquidity out of the system before launching the auctions, and also to the responsible conduct of the banks who have been careful to channel funds to industrial users wherever possible The Nigerians have been auctioning $100m a fortnight, implying total imports of around $2,6 billion annually This isn't adequate to maintain economic activity and as a result the manufacturing industry is operating at 25%-30% of capacity, while some industries — especially vehicle assembly — are barely operational Bankers believe that if the Nigerian economic experiment is going to succeed, Lagos must have substantially more foreign exchange to fund its auction programme — which implies borrowing abroad or attracting additional investment inflows

To do this, Nigeria must stay on-side with the World Bank and the IMF, since their seal of approval is essential to the attraction of capital flows from abroad Both agencies have told President Babangida's military government that it must eradicate the costly subsidy on domestic petrol consumption, phase out the fertiliser subsidy and raise tariff rates for electricity and telephones All of these measures will be very unpopular, but the signs are that the Babangida government will introduce most of them in its 1988 budget next January At the same time, because real living standards have been falling for nearly 10 years while unemployment is increasing rapidly, the government will have to announce some concessions to the man-in-the-street

The most likely is a general increase in fringe benefits for workers rather than a new wage award At the same time, the government is stepping up its domestic spending on rural development projects, communications and construction works — all of which should ease the unemployment situation, if only marginally

The Nigerians must also get their act together on debt rescheduling Because of administrative delays, last December's debt restructuring agreements with both the Paris club of official donors and the London club of commercial banks, have not yet been fully implemented. Lagos desperately needs to fund its action programme and finance the imports needed for reflation in 1988 ■

CAPE TIMES 26/11/87 (ed) 226

Nigeria offers training to ANC

LAGOS — Nigeria said on Tuesday it had offered military training facilities to black nationalists in South Africa

An official statement said the offer was conveyed to Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress (ANC), in Lusaka by Nigeria's high commissioner in Zambia

Nigeria, black Africa's most economically-powerful and populous state, has made the abolition of apartheid a major objective of its foreign policy

The statement said the decision to offer the ANC military training facilities was in keeping with Nigeria's commitment to the anti-apartheid struggle — Sapa-Reuter

NIGERIA - GENERAL

1988 - 1989

Protests greet Thatcher in Lagos

LAGOS — Protests and a firmly-worded speech by Nigeria's military leader put South Africa immediately on top of the agenda when British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher arrived here yesterday.

A few hundred trade unionists, waving banners shouting "Thatcher Go Home" and tearing up Union Jacks, greeted her at the airport

The demonstration over Britain's refusal to sever trade links with South Africa was orderly and no incidents were reported Earlier, trade union leaders burnt a British flag at their headquarters

There was confusion on whether or not the authorities would allow the protest rally to be held

A government spokesman said peaceful demonstrations would not be stopped but the police commissioner said an existing ban on demonstrations was still in force

Any attempt to breach the ban will not be tolerated' he said

Earlier Mrs Thatcher said she expected her cool and possibly hostile stop-over in Nigeria 'to be different'

Asked about the anti-apartheid demonstrations and the lukewarm government response to her visit Mrs Thatcher said she would not be changing her view that sanctions were not the way to bring change to South Africa

I look forward to going there very much indeed and I go in a very constructive way I'm no stranger to demonstrations I've met demonstrations in my own country Its going to be a different visit to this one but I can cope with a few demonstrations

But Mrs Thatcher has ordered a search for one of her Special Branch security guards who has been missing in Lagos for four days.

The Daily Express newspaper said the guard was sent to review security arrangements before her visit

But a spokesman for Mrs Thatcher their had been a misunderstanding due to communication problems and he did not believe the officer was in any trouble

After her three successful days in Kenya Mrs Thatcher faces a tough second and final leg in Nigeria

The British press ... ment the large and vocal press as well as many of Nigeria's 100-million people want Britain to do far more to dismantle apartheid

The president General Ibrahim Babangida referred firmly but politely to the issue

I trust that your study visit to the continent will result in a heightening of your awareness of Africa's problems and certainly of the strength of feeling which exists on the question of apartheid' Gen Babangida said

He said Nigeria expected Britain to play a big part in achieving the one universally desired result in the African continent"

In her reply, Mrs Thatcher reiterated her view that she and her critics disagree on means, not on ends

"There is no difference in our desire to see apartheid in South Africa ended" she said

"We shall not agree on everything, she said before beginning private talks with her host We are both renowned for our strong and independent views she added

Mrs Thatcher said that her visit which she acknowledged had been sought rather than proffered was important because of Nigeria's importance in Africa and extensive trade with Britain

She said a future visit to South Africa which she had mentioned to Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi as possible if it could speed race reform was unlikely this year because of a heavy travel schedule

Meanwhile Nigeria's press kept up its criticisms of her visit

Five national newspapers devoted editorials to Mrs Thatcher which ranged from outright hostility ... criticism of the Prime ... benefits of her 28-hour visit

The hardest-hitting comment headlined Dialogue with the Deaf came from the government-owned New Nigeria

'We might as well be talking to a brick wall in the next couple of days" it said

Britain's overt and covert support for racist South Africa is to Nigerians an act of betrayal' said the independent Guardian

In contrast Mrs Thatcher won extravagant praise from Kenyan newspapers which rated her visit as a roaring success

Mrs Thatcher was clearly overwhelmed by the friendship she encountered in Kenya

'By any standards, its one of the most fantastic visits I've ever paid The welcome of the people was beyond one's wildest dream' she said

Mrs Thatcher and her husband Denis will spend a few hours in Kano this morning before returning to London — Sapa-DPA

UK paper urges Iron Lady to visit SA

LONDON — Britain's largest circulation daily newspaper, The Sun, yesterday urged the Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, to visit South Africa as soon as possible, saying it could do a great deal of good.

In an editorial, the newspaper said black countries would "certainly create a fuss", but this should be overlooked.

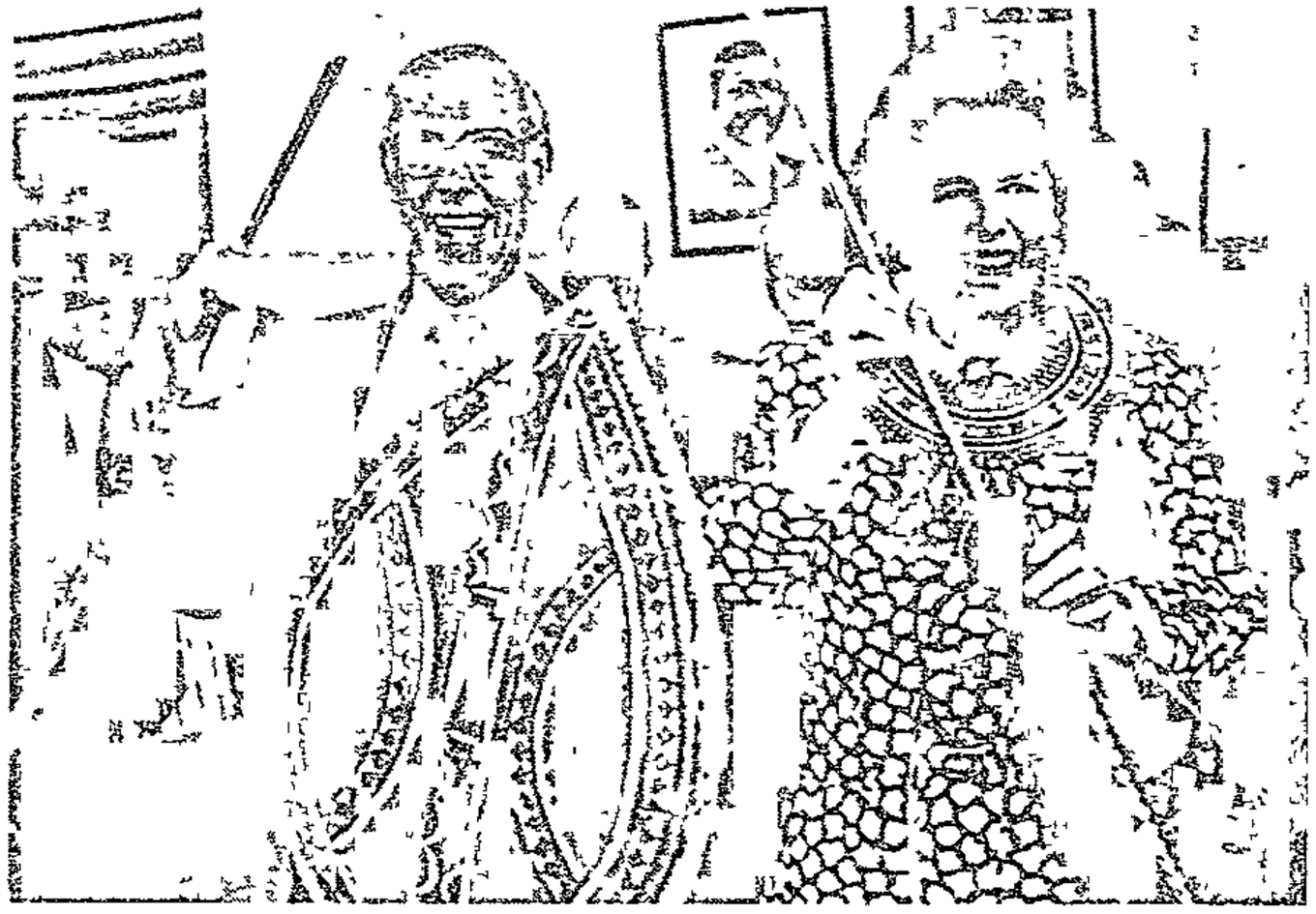
By visiting South Africa, Mrs Thatcher would not confer approval on its government any more than approving of Mr Mikhail Gorbachov's ruling party when she visited the Soviet Union.

The Sun said Mrs Thatcher would be received in Pretoria with "far more courtesy" than she ever received elsewhere in Africa.

"She would be listened to with respect.

"Her criticism and advice would be noted.

"The visit could do a great deal of good, particularly for the black citizens of South Africa." — Sapa



Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and her husband Dennis show off some traditional African gifts they received in Kenya (Reuters)

Thatcher staff manhandled by Nigerians

LONDON — Nigerian troops manhandled members of the Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher's staff yesterday, hitting her press secretary in the stomach with a rifle butt, and reducing three of her female assistants to tears with their rough handling.

The press secretary, Mr Bernard Ingham, was hit in the stomach as police battled to control huge crowds during Mrs Thatcher's visit to Kano He and Special Branch bodyguards wrestled with Nigerian officials to try to allow Downing Street staff to follow the Prime Minister s progress to the pavilion ordered by Kano's Emir, or traditional ruler

Mrs Thatcher remained cool as the fighting went on behind her

The Emir told his people to meet Mrs Thatcher in style — which they did

Her five-hour visit to Kano was marked by crowds, colourful pageantry — and thousands of demonstrators shouting "Thatcher go home"

Officials said at least 500 000 people crowded onto the streets between the airport and the pavilion Others put the figure closer to a million

A few groupings of anti apartheid demonstrators in the huge crowd waved placards describing the prime minister as a "murderer" and a "chief of thieves" referring to her continued resistance to South African sanctions

Some of them punched and kicked her car which was forced to slow down on the way from the airport

Mrs Thatcher dismissed the protests as organised and of little significance

"It was a comparatively small demonstration compared with the number of people who turned out and that goes to show it is a free society"

Asked about the chaotic scenes Mrs Thatcher said "Bearing in mind the fantastic numbers they didn't do badly controlling it"

She added "What a fabulous day I've never seen so many people out in the streets There must have been hundreds of thousands'

Mrs Thatcher who previously visited Africa only briefly in 1979 for a Commonwealth summit in Zambia said her trip had improved her ties with black Africa enormously

Asked about her differences with the Nigerian government over the imposition of sanctions against South Africa, she replied "We've won the argument

"Although we have different views this subject did not play an overpowering part in our discussions There was too much else to talk about"

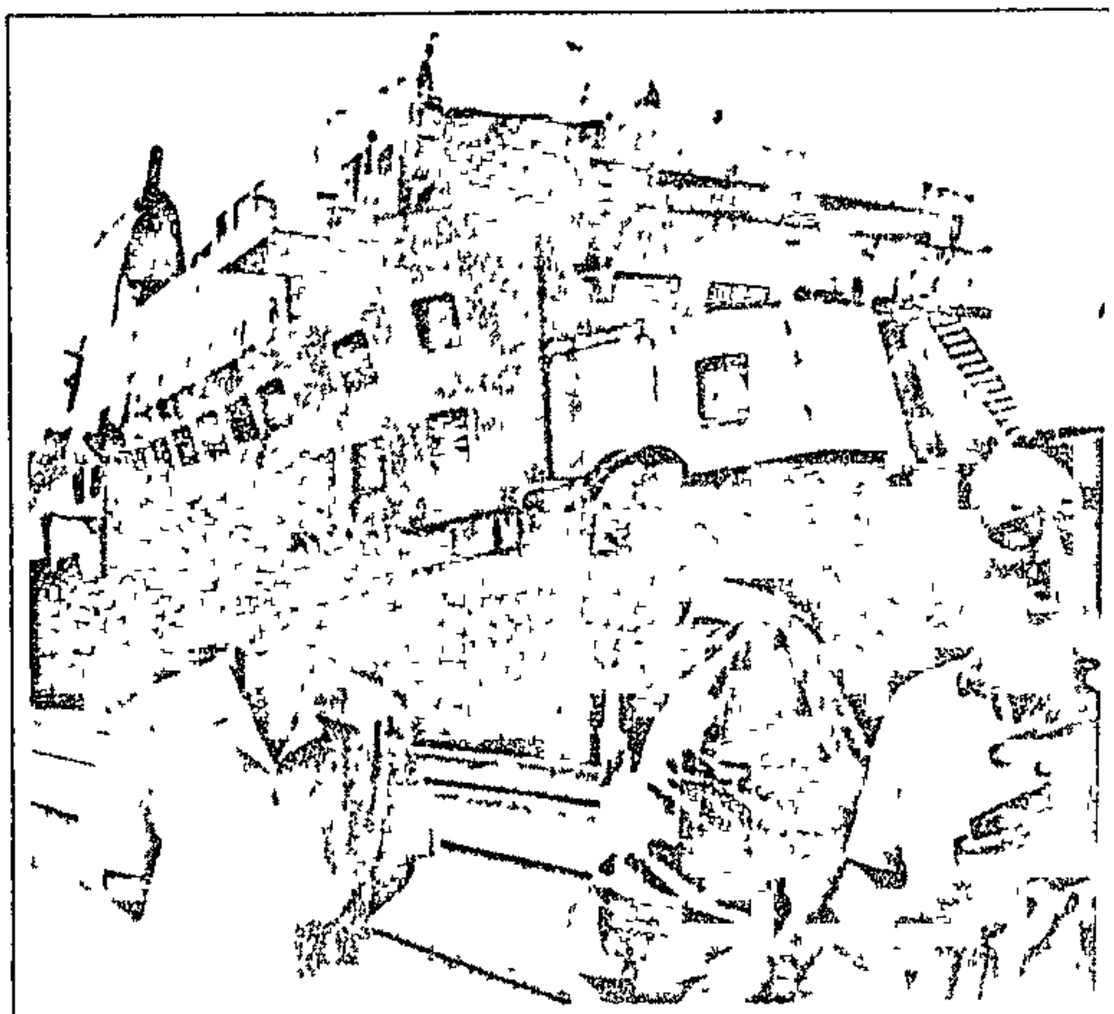
The protests and crowds did not detract from the colour of the reception she received at the Emir's palace, where she watched a traditional display of horsemanship, involving 3 000 horses, ridden by exotically robed tribesmen

Referring to the gift of a horse by the Emir Mrs Thatcher said she had asked him to look after it for her "because it will be much happier here"

● Meanwhile in Moscow, the Communist Party daily Pravda urged Britain to use its influence for change in South Africa as it had helped Zimbabwe become an independent state

Commenting on Mrs Thatcher's visit to Kenya and Nigeria, Pravda said her attempts to mollify black African states had failed — DDC-Sapa RNS AP

Picture page 9



Examining the wreck of the Herald of Free Enterprise in Port Elizabeth harb were Assistant Chief Constable Brian Reynolds (centre) and Detective Su Richard Rixon of the Kent police Ready to assist them was Colonel C N Human

EL shopper mugged at knife point

Daily Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — A 38 year old man was attacked and robbed of over R1 000 at the Vincent Park shopping centre

Mr Glen Kraut of Sandgate Road, Stirling, was threatened at knife point before he was knocked unconscious and robbed by three unknown men at midday on Thursday

Mr Kraut said yesterday that he drew R1 600 from two automatic teller machines and went downstairs to the toilets where he was confronted by a young man who told him there was a sick old man lying on the floor of the parking garage nearby

He followed the man into the garage and was suddenly pushed against a wall

"The young man lunged at me with a knife and slashed my head Mr Kraut said, pointing to a vertical cut on his forehead

Two other men appeared and tried unsuccesfully to get his watch off his arm before finding his wallet

'They banged my head against the floor, and I don't remember much after that Mr Kraut said

The police liaison officer in the Border Major Trevor Hayes said no arrests had been made

Alarming cri

COVENTRY (England raided a Coventry 'C pany seven times in weeks and then provide insult -- they stole the system

A spokeswoman for "They probably needed guard the £10 000 worl have stolen from here

Patient winner saves tax

ALBANY (New York) An accountant waited days before stepping forward to claim a million New York st lottery jackpot

The wait "was rath easy when you consid the tax advantages waiting until 1988, s Mr Bernard Charlebo explaining he sav about $15 000 in taxes

The 55 year-old ce fied public account said his family kn about the winn ticket but no one

SA sets out to woo Equatorial Guinea

Star 9/2/88

(226)

MALABO (Equatorial Guinea) — South Africa's campaign to win friends and influence in black Africa has spread to Equatorial Guinea, the tiny island in the backwaters of staunchly anti-apartheid Nigeria

Now Nigeria, the regional power, is sending clear signals that it will not allow the flirtation on its doorstep to turn into a serious affair

The South African presence so far is tiny, amounting to precisely three residents on the volcanic island of Bioko, formerly the Spanish colony of Fernando Po

But, contrary to the claim of President Teodoro Obiang Nguema that they are private investors, the South Africans have come with the full backing of the Government

Nigeria's ambassador, Captain Festus Porbeni, said. "At the moment, we say the threat to us is only perceived. But we are worried because it could build up to something else"

Central to the fears of the military government in Lagos is the island's strategic location in the Bight of Biafra, 15 minutes by air from Nigeria's vital oilfields

The depressing poverty of Equatorial Guinea, a curiously constituted nation of 300 000 people made up of the island and a slice of the central African mainland 700 km away, makes it hard to reject help from any quarter

"Los Sudafricanos" are well-known and liked on the island where, with a population of only 60 000, there are no secrets

They arrived in 1986 with 150 head of cattle and set up a mountain-top farm with the goal of ending Guinea's total dependency on imported red meat

Less than two years later, the herd has more than doubled and the South Africans have built a thriving vegetable business. In the run-down capital of Malabo they have joined President Obiang's wife, Constanzia, in a luxury leisure complex where the restaurant serves Cape wines

Mr Hilton Lack, spokesman for the three South Africans, said "What we are looking for is friends The success of practical projects will be a window for us in Africa

"The only thing we are looking to get out of Equatorial Guinea is that important countries like Nigeria will see that we are doing a good job"

Mr Lack says he is a career public servant who is working for the Foreign Ministry's technical aid agency

His status contradicted recent remarks by President Obiang when he conceded publicly for the first time that a South African connection existed

But Captain Porbeni, a naval officer, is sceptical He said the livestock farm is now closed to visitors without a permit and alleged that the South Africans are supplied from home by a C-130 transport plane, normally used by air forces.

Mr Lack, who formerly served in South America, said he planned to send 20 Guineans for technical training in South Africa and to bring a doctor to treat people living near the farm at Moka.

The South African "hearts and minds" campaign in Equatorial Guinea reflects a policy shift in Pretoria which was endorsed by President Botha when he opened Parliament last week. — Sapa-Reuter

VIO 26/2/88 (226)

Nigeria warns neighbour on SA ties

LAGOS — Nigeria has warned tiny Equatorial Guinea that it will "make the necessary move" if South Africa is granted access to military facilities

The country's Minister of Defence, Lieutenant-General Domkat Bali, said in a surprise broadcast this week

"We are increasingly worried about the rising influence of South Africa in that country, particularly when such influence could be detrimental to our nat onal security interest"

Nigeria has held a series of talks with the government of the small West African nation on its South Africa connection, and has offered small amounts of aid

Gen Bali said it had been noted that South Africans presently in Equatorial Guinea were involved in agricultural projects He warned

"When we notice that the South Africans have been given access to facilities like the airport then I can say that our military will make the necessary move"

Equatorial Guinea is a small enclave on the African mainland surrounded by Cameroon and Gabon and several islets It comprises several islands and has a population of 300 000

Nigeria refuses to force Namibian issue by sending troops to Angola

(226)

D|P 5|3|88

HARARE — Nigeria has ruled out military involvement in Angola aimed at achieving a settlement in South African ruled Namibia by replacing Cuban forces in the Marxist state

"There is no intention now to send Nigerian troops to Angola or anywhere else," the Nigerian defence minister, General Donkat Bali, said

Gen Bali was asked whether Nigeria, with black Africa's biggest economy and most populous nation, would be willing to send troops to war ravaged Angola to replace Cuban forces and remove one of the major obstacle to Namibian statehood.

"I don't think Nigeria has the economic ability to sustain troops in Angola," he replied

South Africa and the United States have demanded the withdrawal of an estimated 30 000 Cuban troops helping Angolan Government forces contain a long rebel campaign, as a condition for an independence settlement in Namibia

Gen Bali, on a fact-finding mission to southern Africa, said Nigeria had learned from its role in a peace-keeping operation in Chad the expense involved in maintaining an army abroad

Pressed by reporters, he retorted. "Do you think Nigeria can economically sustain troops in Angola or anywhere else?"

But he pledged continued military support for guerilla movements fighting for majority rule in South Africa and Namibia "We will help where we can," he said

Asked if he agreed with the idea of a pan-African army, Gen Bali stated "The main problem is the political will The economic problem is there. Africa can sustain such a force but the political will has to be there"

Earlier, Zimbabwe's defence minister, Mr Enos Nkala, had urged greater Nigerian involvement in African affairs

"Our view is that now is the time for Africa to act together, to be seen to suffer together (and) to be seen to progress together," he told a press conference

"It is our genuine belief that Nigeria, as a big country in Africa, should be involved in African affairs"

Mr Nkala said that Gen Bali, who arrived from neighbouring Mozambique last weekend, had been taken on a tour of Zimbabwe's military establishments and briefed about the situation in Mozambique

Landlocked Zimbabwe has some 12 000 troops in Mozambique guarding vital trade routes and helping Mozambican forces battle rebels trying to topple the government

The Nigerian minister held talks with the Zimbabwean President, Mr Robert Mugabe, before leaving for Zambia and Tanzania — Sapa-RNS

Nigerian airbus denied entry

LAGOS — A Nigeria Airways airbus en route to London and Rome was forced to return to Nigeria on Sunday, after it was denied entry into Algerian airspace because of outstanding service debts owed to Algerian civil aviation authorities.

The airbus had already entered Algerian airspace when it was ordered out

Nigeria Airways' outstanding debts with Algeria date back to 1974, but the amount was not immediately known

The airline's total debts amount to $250 million In recent weeks the Nigeria's airbuses have been impounded in West Africa and Europe, and the airline has cancelled some airbus flights to prevent its planes from being impounded for outstanding civil aviation service debts.

In February French authorities impounded a Nigeria Airways airbus because of an unpaid debt of $13 million — Sapa-AP

D|D. 16|4.|88 (226)

Petrol price increase causes riots

LAGOS — Nigeria has closed five universities and called in riot police to quell demonstrations by thousands of students against increases in the price of petrol

The closures followed campus demonstrations and widespread street violence in the town of Jos

Newspaper reports said the protests in Jos against fuel price rises caused scores of injuries and may have led to the deaths of between six and 12 people

The dead included students, policemen and civilians

A night curfew remains in force in Jos, where the streets are now reported to be calm

Riot police have taken up positions at strategic points, including the main market area

The petrol price increases were a result of the removal of state subsidies

The removal of subsidies is a major plan of Nigeria's economic recovery programme and the move has been endorsed by the International Monetary Fund

The violent response to last weekend's marginal increase in the price of petrol (less than one US cent per litre) might force the government to reconsider any future price hikes

Nigerian petrol remains among the cheapest in the world at just below 10 US cents a litre

The government maintains that subsidies on oil products amount to $18 a barrel but labour leaders and some economists say this figure is exaggerated as it is not based on the actual cost of production in Nigeria — Sapa-RNS

Crackdown looms as dissent mounts

226

D/D 26/4/88

LAGOS — Nigeria's military government, sensing a mounting challenge to its authority on the issue of fuel price increases, has threatened to use an iron fist to crush all public protest

Police have rounded up and detained suspected ringleaders behind recent unrest marked by countrywide demonstrations

Worker and students protests in the country has led to six deaths in the central city of Jos

Widespread industrial action looked increasingly likely as labour leaders refused to swallow government explanations that the marginally higher prices were necessary

Trade Union leaders were due to hold a meeting yesterday to decide on protest measures

However, Police Chief Muhammadu Gambo warned them and others in a nationwide broadcast on Sunday

"Henceforth, no demonstration or public procession of any kind will be allowed throughout the land," he said

The iron fist of President Ibrahim Babangida has already been seen in his decision to close more than 20 universities

Traditionally militant Nigerian students have been leading the protests

They have been joined in action by workers in the northern state of Kano who have been on strike for a week

Tanker drivers are among those who have defied a nationwide ban on strikes, leading to a fuel shortage in the state

Striking government workers in Kano were dismissed on April 21 and newspapers have since reported the arrest of strike leaders

"The demonstrations and strikes were premeditated, planned and executed by some mischievous individuals, ostensibly to protect the public interest

"However, their real intention was to upset the peace and tranquility of the nation," the statement said

"The individuals concerned have been arrested," it added

Those arrested were, however, not named

Mr Gambo said a petrol price rise of only 2,5 kobo, (less than one US cent), a litre could not have caused the demonstrations

Nigerian petrol, at about 10 cents a litre, remains among the cheapest in the world

The Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC), which implemented the price rises on April 10, says higher fuel prices are needed to reduce losses incurred from subsidising fuel to the domestic market

Union leaders accused the government of passing the buck to the NNPC, which was recently made an autonomous and fully commercial body

They see the hand of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank pressuring the government to remove fuel subsidies totalling about 20 per cent — Sapa-RNS

Mr Ibrahim Babangida .. will crack down on riots.

D/D 6/5/88

(226)

Nigeria rebukes Equatorial Guinea over SA presence

LAGOS — Nigeria has delivered its sternest rebuke yet to Equatorial Guinea about the South African presence there

The Nigerian foreign minister, Major-General Ike Nwachukwu, rammed home his government's displeasure during a 24-hour visit to the tiny country this week

On his return to Lagos he said that Equatorial Guinea had formally confirmed that South African nationals were involved in a livestock project on the island of Bioko, formerly Fernando Po

"We made it quite clear that this is unacceptable to Nigeria, since it is a threat to our life and security They promised to do something about it," he told reporters

The remarks highlighted a new vigour in the Nigerian approach since previous muted warnings over the project, which began in 1986, have gone unheeded

Nigerian analysts, who have been monitoring the situation in Equatorial Guinea, fear that Pretoria is gradually constructing a rapport with President Teodoro Obiang Nguema which could have serious strategic consequences, official sources said

Concern in Lagos centres on the fact that the island is only 40 minutes by air from Nigeria's south-eastern oilfields

The island has a deepwater port, a runway where long-haul aircraft can land and the Pico Basile, a 3 000 metre mountain which is an ideal satellite centre capable of receiving and transmitting communications throughout the region

President Obiang Nguema insisted that the project was run by three private businessmen although one of the South Africans said he was a civil servant sent by Pretoria's foreign ministry to manage aid projects

Nigerian officials said a military response was not an option at this stage

The present policy of mounting diplomatic pressure and modest economic aid will be continued, they said

SA specialists will leave Guinea when projects end — envoy

LAGOS — Nigerian pressure on Equatorial Guinea to expel South Africans working there appeared to be succeeding yesterday DID 11/5787

The former Spanish colony's ambassador here, Mr Fortunatus Okenve, said in an interview that seven South African agricultural specialists "will leave as soon as they complete specific projects"

The interview, published in several domestic newspapers, was the first official sign that Equatorial Guinea was heeding mounting Nigerian diplomatic pressure over the issue (226)

Nigeria's foreign minister, Major-General Ike Nwachukwu, told the Guinean President, Mr Teodoro Nguema, that the South African presence on the island of Bioko, off Nigeria's south-eastern coast, was an unacceptable security threat

However, Mr Okenve denied Nigerian press reports that Pretoria was constructing a satellite station and an air base on the island

"These are projects that require the movement of heavy equipment and there is no way they can be undertaken secretly," he said — Sapa-RNS

P1D 13/5/82

SA, Guinea discussions continue

226

PRETORIA — South Africa is going on with discussions with Equatorial Guinea for the proposed continuation of projects there, a statement from the Department of Foreign Affairs said yesterday

"It is regrettable in the extreme that the Nigerian Government should see fit to apply pressure on the government of Equatorial Guinea to end food production and road-building

"These projects are the most successful yet to have been launched in Guinea and profit the region as well as West Africa," the statement added — Sapa

head

SA men out of Equatorial Guinea

Star 19/5/88 (226)

By Claire Robertson, Pretoria Bureau

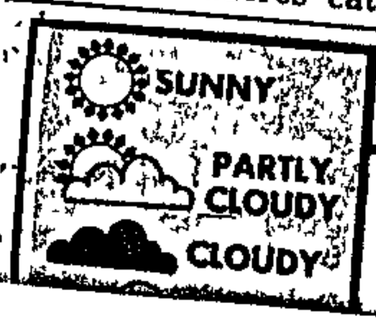
South Africa had withdrawn seven aid workers from Equatorial Guinea at the "reluctant request" of the west African state, the deputy-director of Foreign Affairs, Mr Glenn Babb, said today.

The R1,4 million aid project in Equatorial Guinea, started three years ago, involved road building, medical aid and the establishment of a cattle ranch on the island of Bioko, where the capital Malabo is situated

South Africa hoped that the Granja de los Ganaderos cattle ranch would continue to operate "to the benefit of west Africa in general", even though the South Africans had left, Mr Babb said.

Equatorial Guinea's neighbour, Nigeria, recently stepped up pressure for the expulsion of the South Africans, despite the fact that the island state had insisted that they posed no threat to Nigeria and were involved in humanitarian work

Malabo is only 40 minutes by air from Nigeria's oilfields, and that country has accused South Africa and Equatorial Guinea of using the ranch as a cover for a planned air strike



THE WEATHER

PIETERSBURG
9/23

Nigeria: SA team has quit Guinea

LAGOS — Nigeria announced yesterday that all seven South Africans working in Equatorial Guinea had left the country, following strong objections from the military government in Lagos (226)

Nigeria's ambassador in Malabo, Captain Festus Porbeni, said "The leader of the South African team was the last to leave last Monday — as of now, our anxiety is over" PIO / 915180

The was no immediate confirmation of the Nigerian announcement from Equatorial Guinea itself.

Pretoria intervened publicly in the row on May 12 when the Department of Foreign Affairs assailed Nigeria for putting pressure on its neighbour to end valuable aid projects

"South Africa is continuing discussions with Equatorial Guinea for the proposed continuation of the projects," the department said in a statement

Meanwhile the Guinean foreign minister, Mr Marcelino Nguema Onguene, was due to hand a personal message from his president to the Nigerian leader today, diplomatic sources said —Sapa-RNS

D15 2015788 (226)

Guinea sends message to Nigeria, denies SA links

LAGOS — Equatorial Guinea sent a message to Nigeria yesterday denying South Africa's presence in that country, a Nigerian Government statement said

It said the denial was contained in a message from the President of Guinea, Mr Teodoro Obiang Nguema, to the President of Nigeria, General Ibrahim Babangida

Earlier this week Nigeria announced that all seven South Africans working in Equatorial Guinea had left the tiny country following strong objections from Lagos

Nigeria launched a campaign to get Equatorial Guinea to expel the seven South Africans involved in agricultural and road projects, saying their presence there was an unacceptable security risk for Nigeria

The island of Bioko is only 40 minutes by air from Nigeria's strategic oilfields and it has an airport, a deep-water port and a 3 000-metre peak suitable for a telecommunications project

In the view of senior officials in Lagos, any rapproachment between Malabo and Pretoria was a potential threat to Nigeria which, as black Africa's richest nation, regards itself as a frontline state in the war against South Africa's apartheid

The Nigerian statement said Equatorial Guinea pledged it "would not do anything to endanger Nigeria, its neighbours, or Africa as a whole"

Gen Babangida accepted an invitation to visit Malabo as part of Nigeria's desire to strengthen relations with Equatorial Guinea, the Lagos statement said

In South Africa, the deputy director general of foreign affairs, Mr Glen Babb, confirmed that Pretoria had withdrawn its nationals at the Guinean Government's "reluctant request"

Mr Babb told reporters that the seven South African nationals were aid workers mainly involved in the establishment of a cattle ranch on Bioko

He said South Africa hoped the ranch would continue to benefit west Africa — Sapa-RNS

SA aid workers quit Equatorial Guinea

By Claire Robertson
Pretoria Bureau

South Africa had withdrawn seven aid workers from Equatorial Guinea at the "reluctant request" of the West African state, the deputy-director of foreign affairs, Mr Glenn Babb, said yesterday.

The R1,4 million aid project in Equatorial Guinea, started three years ago, involved road building, medical aid and the establishment of a cattle ranch on the island of Bioko, where the capital Malabo is situated.

Mr Babb said South Africa hoped the Granja de los Ganaderos cattle ranch would continue to operate "to the benefit of West Africa in general" even though the South Africans had left.

Equatorial Guinea's neighbour, Nigeria, recently stepped up pressure for the expulsion of the South Africans, despite the fact that the island state had insisted that they posed no threat to Nigeria and were involved in humanitarian work.

FEARED AIR STRIKE

Malabo is only 40 minutes by air from Nigeria's oilfields and that country accused South Africa and Equatorial Guinea of using the ranch as a cover for a planned air strike.

Claims that South Africa was extending the airport and building a satellite station on Bioko have been denied.

Guinea, Nigeria act against dumping

CONAKRY (Guinea) — Norway's Consul-General has been arrested for complicity in the secret dumping of 15 000 tons of toxic waste from the United States, the government said yesterday.

The arrest was the latest event in a growing scandal over the dumping of toxic wastes in Africa by developed countries.

Mr Ibrahima Sory Diaby, Guinean Secretary of State for Security, also announced on Radio Conakry that several Guinean employees of the Ministry of Commerce had been arrested for granting import licences for the waste.

Nigeria protested this week to Italy about the secret dumping of tons of toxic waste, including radioactive material.

The military government, angered and humiliated by the discovery of more than 1 000 tons of Italian chemical waste in southern Nigeria, recalled its ambassador to Italy in protest.

Greenpeace International charged yesterday that US companies have stepped up plans to ship hazardous wastes this year to Africa.

Representatives of the environmental group distributed its findings in a document during a conference in Conakry — Sapa-AP.

88

ANDY COURSES

OURSES • June 22nd

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Why the fuss, asks Koko resident

LAGOS — As droves of foreign and Nigerian experts descend on the enchanting delta town of Koko to inspect an alleged toxic waste dump site, the old man at the centre of an international incident wonders what all the fuss is about

Mr Sunday Nana, the 65-year-old owner of the depot where the waste material lies in broken containers, says he and his family have had no health problems

"My children and I are keeping fine," Mr Nana said, pointing to the perilously-balanced stacks of drums which almost surround his bungalow

"I'm still strong, I can still fight you," he said with a laugh on Sunday

Mr Nana has become a media celebrity since the depot was discovered on June 5, unleashing a worldwide debate about the dumping of dangerous waste from the industrial world on poor African countries

But the retired timber worker is getting fed up with all the attention, particularly from Nigerian security agents who, he said, had shuttled him back and forth to Lagos and Benin City, the nearest state capital, for questioning

In Lagos he was told 500 people had died in Koko already because of pollution from the waste, which the military government says is radioactive

"Nonsense," he exclaimed "In Koko you have never had even five people die at one time — never"

Certainly life looks remarkably normal in Koko, an unspoilt settlement 400 km south-east of Lagos

On Sunday people were strolling home from church while farmers tended their palm plantations At the local police station the desk corporal politely greeted two foreign correspondents while a couple of petty thieves arrested overnight reflected glumly on their lot

Despite the government's declared intention to evacuate the town, Mr Nana said none of the people wanted to move

Sitrv 2i/6/88 (226)

FIVE SHIPLOADS

"I will never go I will die in this place," he said defiantly

"I am not a scientist but if they say it is dangerous, let them remove it"

The waste, amounting to 3 800 tons according to the government, was brought in five shiploads between August 1987 and last month It was imported through Koko's small port with forged documents, the government says

Mr Nana confirmed that last September he agreed with an Italian expatriate, Mr Giancarlo Raffaelli, and a Nigerian associate, to store the drums for R200 a month

Since the scandal broke Nigeria has detained two foreign ships, made several arrests and threatened to execute those found guilty by a special tribunal

But Mr Nana, with the apparent support of local people, has absolutely no guilt complex

"I feel no blame. This is my land and I have rented it out three times before

How can I know it is dangerous?" He asked

The waste is unprotected from the elements and unguarded by police Some has leaked from broken drums and lies in a sticky mess on the ground An unpleasant chemical odour is noticeable

The conversation was briefly interrupted by an agitated young man wanting to know our business He greeted Mr Nana like an old friend but reminded us sternly that the waste nearby was dangerous

He did not introduce himself but he was a local state security official checking on visitors to the famous depot

The day before, a scientist from the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna took samples as Nigerian doctors examined Mr Nana and his sons — Reuter

Another plea for Sharpeville 6

LAGOS — Speaking at a concert devoted to the *Solidarity Day with Soweto*, Foreign Minister Ike Nwachukwu demanded that the South African Government repeal the death sentence passed on the Sharpeville Six currently on death row for the murder of the Lekoa deputy mayor in 1985.

"Social justice will be attained in South Africa only if the Pretoria regime legalises the activities of all anti-apartheid organisations, lifts the state of emergency and sets all political prisoners free", said Ike Nwachukwu.

He stressed that Nigeria will continue to oppose apartheid until the aim, for which the Soweto school students had given their lives, was attained

Meanwhile, Gennadi Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry of Information Department, said at a Press briefing held at the Foreign Ministry Press Centre that the Soviet Union was "seriously concerned" about the decision of the South African Supreme Court to reject the appeal by the Sharpeville Six

He stressed that the State had failed to produce any irrefutable evidence of their complicity in the murder of the Lekoa deputy mayor

"The Soviet Union supports the appeals of the United Nations and leaders of other countries to the South African authorities to show humaneness and repeal the death sentence", Gerasimov said.

Commenting on the second round of talks to begin in Cairo between Angola, Cuba and South Africa with the mediation of the United States on settling the conflict in Southern Africa, Gerasimov said Moscow hopes that all participants will demonstrate a "constructive and responsible approach, conducive to achieving reasonable agreements with full respect for UN decisions and the norms of international law"

Talk of the Town

THE publicity shy author of our Thursday column, *Talk of the Town*, is back after a month's leave. The column will appear again from next Thursday

Africa's most populous nation is suffering from a shortage of reading material, and what is available is priced beyond the pocket of most ordinary Nigerians. TUNDE OBADINA examines a literary drought which writers believe is encouraging illiteracy, academics warn will impair the quality of the country's skilled manpower and newspaper publishers say will create a dangerous education gap.

Nigeria's unseasonal literary drought

LAGOS — Nigerians say they are suffering from a literary drought — and that the ensuing famine may kill the country's reading culture

Says university lecturer poet Niyi Osundare "It is extremely painful when I find teachers dictating (books) to undergraduates This is the height of illiteracy

"You are teaching a class of 200 students and the only text available to the whole class is the one you have Books are photocopied over and over again until their spines are broken "

Many university libraries, he points out are like archives "Some have not made new acquisitions for the past five years "

The bookshops are not much better Their shelves are almost empty "

Osundare warns "Illiteracy is being encouraged by the current situation People who want to read books simply cannot find them '

Inadequate teaching materials are part of the grievances of university lecturers against the authorities They complain that universities are being forced to produce second-rate graduates who will not be able to provide the manpower for modernisation

Asks Osundare "How can we construct bridges and skyscrapers for ourselves, make improve agricultural, not with hoe and cutlass but in the real modern sense, if the right kind of education is not being given to our students? '

Foreign exchange

As with other scarce commodities, the cause of the book famine is tied to the general economic predicament Foreign exchange shortages brought about by falling oil revenues have drastically reduced the country s ability to pay for imports

Substantial devaluation as part of the government s Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) has reduced the purchasing of the naira So imported books have become expensive, well beyond the reach of most Nigerians

The internationally acclaimed *Anthills of the Savannah* by Nigeria's own Chinua Achebe, published in Britain, has been available here for N90 (about R207) "How many people in Nigeria can afford N90 for a single novel?" asks Osundare

But the dearth of imported books may lead to a shift in reading habits, away from the still popular Western thrillers and romance novels Comments Nigerian writer Cyprian Ekwensi "They read Harold Robbins and all the big blockbusters from America and Britain They don't mind paying N25 for a copy But when it comes to buying local authors they look down on their works because they think they will not find the exotic backgrounds and romance they are looking for '

Publishing lull

The enforced publishing lull comes at a time of great creative activity Writer and critic Biodun Jeyifo says of 'the unseasonal literary drought" "While there seems to be a new ferment of creativity, the harvest goes largely to other lands and the leavings left to us here are often not affordable to even those of us who are more protected against the ravages of the SAP "

Suggestions for easing the famine include using recycled newsprint for books, and making use of the production facilities of the newspaper industry

But the newspaper industry is itself facing a production crisis A wide variety of newspapers and magazines are available, but the circulation of most hardly justifies their existence

An acute newsprint shortage has led to the rationing of newspapers by publishers and vendors

Newspaper and book publishers are putting pressure on the government to reduce import tariffs on books and printing materials

Warns Osoba "We are toying with the security of this country if we don't ensure that the people are informed of the going-ons in the country " — *GEMINI NEWS*

(226) Chess 23/10/88

Nigerian 'brain drain' becomes critical

The best qualified Nigerian professionals are quitting the country and seeking better-paid jobs in the Western world.

Writer JOSIAH UGURU, in the current issue of *New African* magazine, tells the stories of the top doctors, pilots, lecturers and journalists who have decided to take the golden bait

PATRIOTIC exhortations can no longer sway Nigerian professionals from flocking abroad in search of better job opportunities

Western and Arab embassies in Lagos have had to beef up their staff strengh to cope with the growing number of Nigerians who now besiege the embassies for travel permits

The exodus would have been a positive development (given the high rate of unemployment in the country), but for the fact that most of the emigrants make the cream of Nigeria's specialists.

In the past three years, the country's 13 teaching hospitals have lost over 200 of the total 311 specialist doctors

According to the out-going president of the post-graduate Medical College of Nigeria, Professor Ayo Banjo, no fewer than 40 of the specialist doctors resigned from the University College of Ibadan alone The University of Benin Teaching Hospital has also lost a large number of specialists

Last March, a consultant plastic surgeon, Dr Segun Aromolate, in an article published in a quarterly medical journal, *Clinical Medicine*, revealed that 25 of the country's 50 orthopaedic surgeons have joined the exodus, leaving Igbobi Orthopaedic Hospital acutely understaffed

In the aviation industry, over 50 pilots and engineers have left Nigerian Airways to pick up lucrative appointments in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf oil states

These days only a few academics who go abroad for their sabbaticals ever bother to return Almost in one fell swoop, the faculty of law of the University of Benin was deserted by 14 senior academics who are now ensconced in lucrative jobs in European and American universities

Although many of the emigrating professionals cite various reasons, like job satisfaction and official high-handedness in labour matters, it is obvious that better remuneration is at the bottom of the exodus

Some believe the flight of academics from the universities was spearheaded by older intellectuals like Professors Chinua Achebe who retired from the University of Nigeria, to pick a lucrative teaching job in America and Wole Soyinka who, before his Nobel Prize award in 1986, spent more time on American and European campuses and theatres after his retirement from Ife University

Educationists attribute the declining standards of university education in Nigeria to the fact that few lecturers actually bother to teach at all, not to talk of exhausting their syllabuses Lecturers who have not landed a good postion abroad and remain in Nigeria, spend more time scouting or doing research jobs for Unesco and other international bodies that pay in hard currency

Among the non-specialists emigrants are those who say they can no longer cope with the economic hardships, the menace of armed robbers, unemployment and job insecurities and even constant harassment form security officials

Morris Akade, the former group foreign affairs editor of the Concord group of newspapers, is one of those who have decided to throw in the towel

"I find that in this country you have to cheat, steal and possibly kill to survive I am not yet ready to that low, " he says

It is no wonder that these days people throw parties to celebrate the acquisition of an American or European country's visa While it is easy for the specialists to obtain resident permits, the non-specialists have to resort to illegal means and thus live abroad under the shadow of deportation laws

In a statement on July 28, President Babangida expressed concern over the "current brain drain", especially of medical personnel But Nigerians believe that the government has to do more than express concern over the problem

Some suggested upgrading the salaries of specialists to contain the exodus The official position is that the government has no money to do that

JOHN F Kennedy killed by an assassin's bullet

KENNEDY

American president who won the hearts of Africa

Sowetan 22/11/88

226

KENNEDY AFRICA REMEMBERS

LAGOS — To an African growing up in the early 1960s, the late American President John Fitzgerald Kennedy was a hero Africa equated him with compassion

Two initiatives we readily identified with his short but indelible term were the Peace Corps and food aid These were part of an unprecedented humanitarian assistance package that came into being just nine months into his presidency

The young American university-trained graduates serving in the far-flung areas of our continent with little material reward promoting education technical know-how and development projects were indeed fired by Kennedy s dynamism and compassion

We in Africa heard that call in his January 1961 inaugural address in which he exhorted young Americans Ask not what your country can do for you ask what you can do for your country

I can attest to those far sighted programmes Just five years after the birth of the Peace Corps my maths teacher in secondary school was an American Peace Corps volunteer (one of three in the school) Kenneth Schumann

He exhibited a spirit of service and sharing even outside the classroom paying our school fees buying us books and even giving up his pocket money

By MICHAEL CHUKWU
a Nigerian journalist based in Lagos

Kindness

Ken s milk of human kindness' still flowed after his return to the United States He sent me money through another volunteer which came in handy in later secondary school years

American food aid supplemented our school lunches I drank powdered milk from the United States and ate pancakes and bread made from free American wheat flour

It was a period when most newly independent African countries were embarking upon their first development plans and found a helping hand in Kennedy Africa was young humanism was on the march and the continent indeed caught his eye

His vision of humanity also found expression in the creation of the US Agency for International Development (USAID) which came to direct official US bilateral aid to developing countries

Nigeria was one of the early beneficiaries of President Kennedy s vision In 1962 two years after independence Nigeria received 225 million dollars in support of its development plan It was one of the largest US aid recipients in the world

In his race for the White House Kennedy brought glamour to presidential politics and we thrilled to it as we did to the innovation of television campaigning

Television debates between presidential candidates which first brought Kennedy and Richard Nixon into American living rooms in 1960 now are the high point of election campaigns

But more important from our perspective Kennedy defused religion as an issue of race

It will be 25 years today since Kennedy was mowed down by an assassin s bullet in a motorcade in Dallas Texas

Nonetheless every American who lived through that day can recall what he or she was doing when that shot rang out

Kennedy s assassination and his funeral were described at the time as the greatest simultaneous experience in American history

The immediacy of television played a role of course but people watched because of the kind of President Kennedy had been And Africa watched with equal attention mourning his loss

John Kennedy was cut down in his prime but he definitely left his footprints in the sands of time

B/Day 5/11/89

New loans will help deficit, says Nigeria

226

LAGOS — Nigeria, pledging to make "every effort" to honour its foreign debts, said this week new loans would help government deal with a burgeoning budget deficit and huge overseas borrowings

Budget and Planning Minister of State Alhaji Abubakar Alhaji was explaining details of an austerity budget announced at the weekend by President Ibrahim Babangida The budget is aimed at cutting imports and boosting farming and small scale industry

Alhaji said $2bn — 37% of foreign exchange revenues, 80% of which come from oil sales — had been allocated to service repayments on Nigeria's foreign debt of $26bn

In naira terms, repayments on external and internal loans in 1989 will nearly double to 13,03-billion naira

Alhaji said fresh loans from the World Bank and other foreign creditors should narrow Nigeria's projected 1989 budget deficit of 12,88-billion naira, ($2,43bn at the pre-budget official exchange rate)

Alhaji said new loans should furnish about $1,13bn

The first tranche of a $500m World Bank loan should by now have been released, co-financing of about $200m is expected from Japan and an international creditors meeting in London next week could help mobilise more funds.

Alhaji said money from current projects, such as those funded by the UN Development Programme, would provide about another $472m — Reuter

Nigeria eases curbs on foreign investment

Nigeria has eased restrictions on foreign investment, in a move designed to boost the country's privatisation programme, speed up a debt-conversion scheme and reinforce the role of the private sector.

President Ibrahim Babangida said he had abolished the 40 percent ceiling on foreign holdings, which applied to a wide range of activities and was imposed in the 1970s

Henceforth, foreign investors will be allowed to acquire a 100 percent interest in a Nigerian venture, with the exception of banking, insurance, petroleum prospecting and mining, where a 40 percent limit remains in place

The news coincides with a renewed commitment by the government to a privatisation programme, outlined in principle over a year ago, which identified 96 companies that were either to be sold to the private sector or to be put on a commercial footing

The administration hopes that lifting ceilings on foreign investment will encourage holders of promissory notes, issued to trade creditors in lieu of cash payments, to take advantage of the country's debt conversion scheme

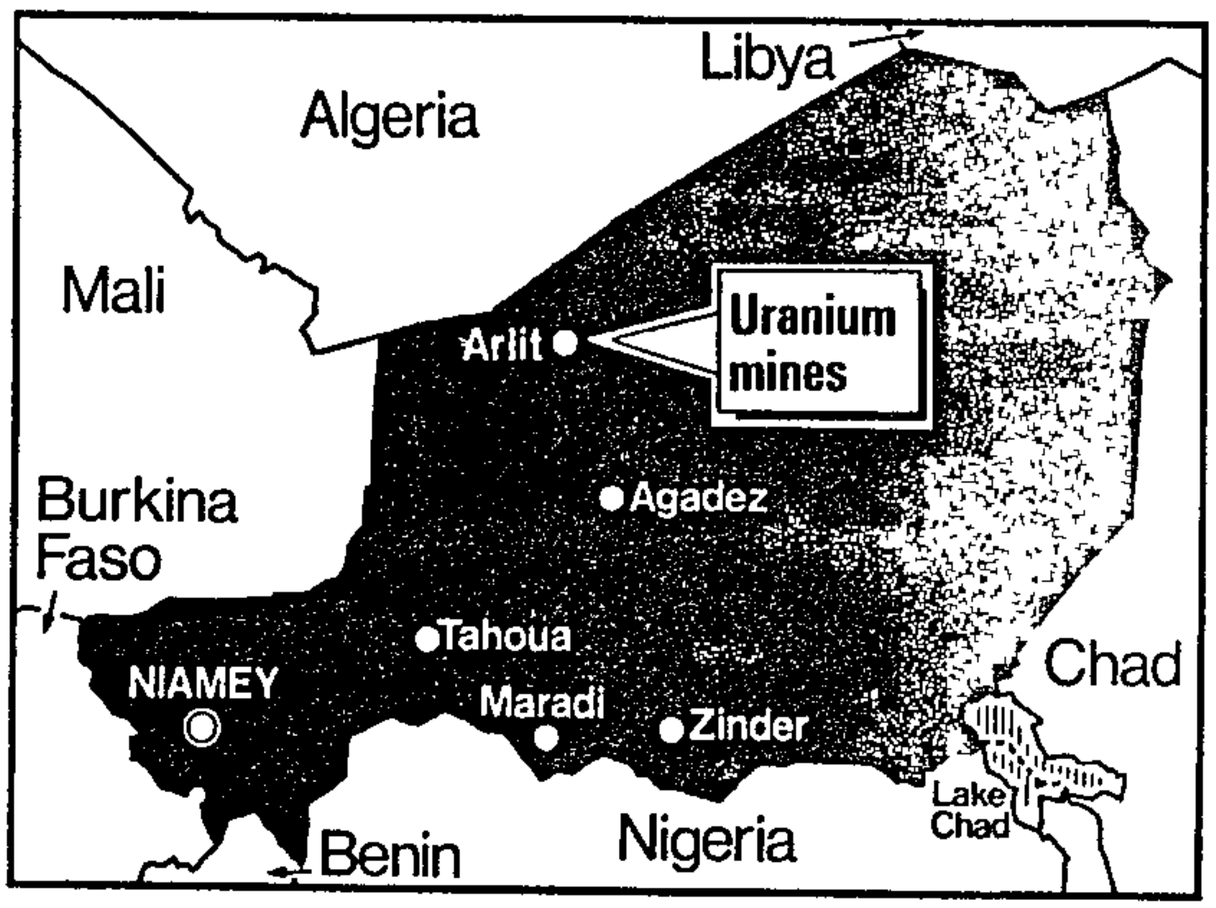
Under the scheme, note-holders are entitled to convert their dollar-denominated notes into naira at the going rate The proceeds can then be invested in new or existing enterprises

One hurdle to the scheme's success has been the reluctance of many note-holders to invest in Nigeria unless they had effective control of the enterprise.— Reuter.

226 24/1-2/2/89.

'Ghost' workers provide real money

The nomadic Tuareg, famous for their horsemanship, are being forced by drought into a new and very different way of life — in Niger's uranium mines. GARETH POWNALL reports, however, that falling prices for "yellow cake" are now threatening this livelihood too, as well as bringing them into conflict with others in what used to be a uranium boom-town.



DROUGHT in Sahel is forcing thousands of Tuareg nomads to seek work in the world's largest complex of underground uranium mines But due to a dramatic fall in uranium prices, most are being turned away

The bleak, outback town of Arlit, northwest Niger, has become a centre for refugees caught in a West African mineral rush Three times a day up to 500 Tuareg men are transported in rusty lifts from the desert heat 250 metres down into water-filled caves glittering with seams of uranium Those who cannot get work wait patiently at the surface

As 80 percent of Niger's export earnings come from the sale of uranium for nuclear reactor fuel, the job pays well This rapidly-growing shanty town of up to 20 000 marked by the red goat-skin tents of the nomads, is booming

But the boom may be over Niger, the world's seventh biggest producer of "yellow cake", or uranium oxide concentrate, cannot sell its commodity Prices in a glutted marked have forced production down to half its 1980 level

In response to the 1970s oil crises, industrialised countries set up ambitious nuclear energy programmes and Niger produced at least 4 500 tons of oxide concentrate a year.

The subsequent oil-glut and increased environmental concern in the wake of the 1986 nuclear fire at Chernobyl reduced demand to 2 960 tons in 1988.

The slide in prices has been matched by the collapse of Niger's ambitious development plan

Bordered by Libya to the north, it hoped to imitate Tripoli's use of oil-money by rapid modernisation based on uranium sales.

In 1986 such sales accounted for only 12 percent of state revenue.

In an attempt to shore up the ruins of the plan, mining ministry officials at Arlit have embarked on a policy of over-production.

Tuareg are used to work the two main mines incessantly. A typical shift, breathing the gases and bad air of the suffocating shafts, lasts 14 hours. And because they need the money, many nomads run their shifts back-to-back

Said Tuareg miner Mu'ta Kaffa Asben "Down in the mines you are worked very hard It is dangerous to use water drills and many of us have died doing this. But if we are not to be moved out of the town we need to earn money."

The Tuareg — predominantly fair-skinned Berber pastoralists — traditionally kept African slaves, or Bozo Here, in a drought-prone nation of 6,5 million with only three percent of its 1,3 square kilometres of land arable, the warriors have themselves become slaves

It is not unusual to see Tuareg tents attached to the sand-coloured, brick houses of the Fulani majority.

Nomad women are bonded to Fulani households simply to secure right of tenure While no official discrimination exists, Tuareg suffer the disadvantage of lacking indentity cards

"Officially the Tuareg do not exist," said one mining manager

For centuries the Tuareg have kept aloof from government and state but now hunger has forced them in from the desert The 300 000 nomads consist of federations of the Ahaggasr, Azjer and Asben tribes

Known for their warlike qualities and horsemanship, the men wear turbans of indigo and women the blue veils

The local people fear, mistrust and resent having to share resources with them Violence breaks out occasionally

President Ali Saibou, a general who came to power last year, has been doing his best to calm these fears and to fight the recession

France, the former colonial ruler, has agreed to purchase uranium at a support price yet to be negotiated

In 1988 France, through an affiliate of the French Atomic Energy Commission which partly owns the Arlit mines, bought 1 960 tons at prices roughly twice those on the spot market

But talks in Paris in the autumn failed to produce a price for 1989

According to Ali Saibou's aides, the French may insist on the closure of one of the mines at Arlit, a condition rejected as unacceptable by Mining and Energy Minister Adamou Souna because of "Niger's worsening unemployment problem"

- GEMINI NEWS

Kill Soyinka — Muslims

Sowetan 28/2/89

LAGOS — About 300 muslims in northern Nigeria demanded the death of Nigerian writer Wole Soyinka over his support for controversial British author Salman Rushdie, according to Press reports in Lagos yesterday. (226)

The call came during a demonstration over the weekend outside the British consulate in the city of Kaduna

Nigeria faces ruin as forest turns to desert

LAGOS — The dense rain forest of south-eastern Nigeria survived the ice age only to be locked in a life-and-death struggle with the 20th century

From the air the forest still looks invulnerable, but barren patches appearing in the age-old jungle bear testimony to "slash-and-burn" farming which exhausts the soil and makes new forest growth impossible

"Forest can become desert in as little as 20 years," says Philip Hall, technical director of the Nigerian Conservation Foundation (NCF)

The thick vegetation of the Kanyang Mountains and Oban Hills in south-east Nigeria's Cross River state is just a fraction of the forest that once covered 180 000 sq km of the country

Over 90 percent of Nigeria's original jungle has been destroyed over the past 50 years by clearance for timber, urban development and growing pressure for farmland, Hall says

Further deforestation will disrupt weather patterns and water supplies. Soil washed off the land will silt up rivers and kill off coastal mangrove habitats, threatening fishing grounds off the Nigeria/Cameroon coast

The Cross River forests have been evolving relatively undisturbed by climactic changes for 200 million years, producing a rich variety of animal, bird and insect species unique in Africa, says Julian Caldecott, managing a World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) project in the area

Gorillas, thought to be extinct in Nigeria since soon after World War 2, were rediscovered in the Kanyang Mountains region of the jungle last year. Protecting them has become a celebrated element in a broader conservation programme

NAOMI WIMBORNE

Caldecott heads a team of WWF personnel working with state government staff to set up the Cross River State National Park. The aim is to combine conservation with helping people survive in the environment

Saving the gorillas will also benefit the Boki people who share the forest and rely on it for their livelihood. The Boki live in the mountains around Kanyang, growing cocoa and other crops, hunting and gathering the fruits of the forest, and fishing in its rivers. They have adopted a self-imposed ban on killing gorillas

Nigeria, once a net timber exporter, introduced a ban in 1974 to conserve raw materials for local manufacturers

The country consumes huge amounts of wood, and figures suggest Nigeria will have to spend R1 500 million a year on imports by the year 2000, or establish 10 000 sq km of plantations. Hall says a serious threat remains from felling by commercial forestry companies

— Reuter

Nigeria seeks coal investors

NIGERIA — The Nigerian Coal Corporation (NCC) is seeking foreign investors to help transform the country's huge coal deposits into a major export earner, NCC general manager Festus Ugwu said.

NCC requires about $32m to mechanise the country's two main underground mines in Enugu, to meet local energy needs and to generate foreign exchange.

Proven coal reserves at peak production would last another century, and could well outlast Nigeria's substantial supplies of oil and gas, said Ugwu — Reuter.

Nigerian privatisation plan is 'world's most ambitious'

B1 Day 14/3/89 426

Own Correspondent

LONDON — Nigeria's privatisation programme is the most ambitious in the world, according to Hamza Zayyad, chairman of the Technical Committee on Privatisation and Commercialisation

He hopes to have privatised no fewer than 67 enterprises by June 1990,though this target looks to be out of reach given that, to date, only one small operation, Nigeria Flour Mills, has been completed

The privatisation decree, gazetted in July 1988, identifies 92 enterprises with a potential market capitalisation of more than 20-billionn niara Of those, 25 will be partially privatised and 67 fully privatised.

Partial privatisation means reducing the federal government's equity stake below 50%, except in the case of the four development banks where government will continue to hold 70% of the shares

Full privatisation applies to a very broad range of enterprises from hotels to insurance companies and from cattle ranches to textile manufacturers Even when the exercise is complete, government-presence in the economy will remain large with majority holdings in 16 banks, and minority holdings in 31 industrial companies, including six motor vehicle assembly plants

In addition to privatisation, 14 enterprises are to be partially commercialised Commercialisation implies the establishment of profit-oriented enterprises operating without subventions from government They will be able to set their own prices, capitalise assets and borrow money.

This promises to be the toughest part of the entire operation, embracing such enterprises as Nigerian Railways, the National Electric Power Authority (Nepa) and Ajaokuta Steel Company, all financial and bureaucratic disaster areas

Only one full privatisation has been undertaken so far Last month, 6,9 million shares in Flour Mills of Nigeria were put on the market at 80 kobo each — 10,6% of the issued share capital

Share offers of this kind and the one planned shortly for African Petroleum, will probably be the major vehicle for privatisation, given the emphasis on spreading equity ownership widely

Riots close four more Nigerian campuses

LAGOS — Authorities ordered the closure yesterday of four campuses here, bringing to 13 the number of academic institutions closed since student riots started a week ago

At the same time the state-controlled Daily Times newspaper said troops would guard Nigeria's strategic installations against demonstrators

At least six people, including a policeman, were reported killed in the riots

Police have arrested more than 200 protesting students in Benin — where the protests began — and Lagos alone, according to newspaper reports

The protests have spread to campuses nationwide

Lagos newspapers reported ordinary citizens had joined protesters in Benin in the first days of the demonstrations The protesters broke into a local jail and freed 600 prisoners

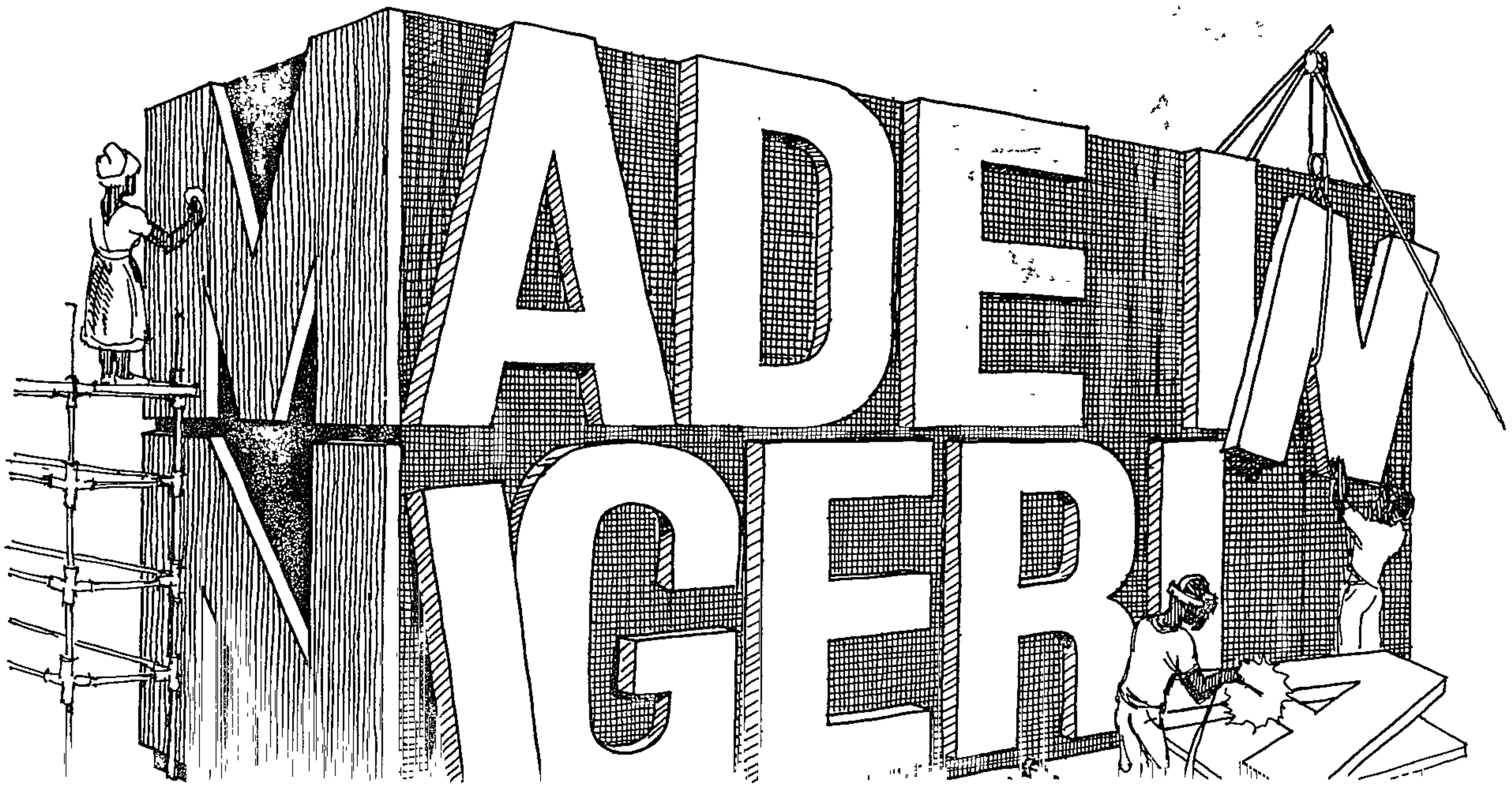
On Tuesday, the military government closed universities at Ibadan and Nsukka after students demonstrated against government adherence to an austerity programme demanded by Western creditors

Some students also demanded abolition of tuition fees — Sapa-AP

AFRICAN DREAM

■ Starved of foreign exchange, Nigerian entrepreneurs are making their own tools and machines that are just as effective as imported machinery They also have the advantage of being locally repairable.

Following is a report by JOSIAH UGURU published in the current issue of *New African* magazine.



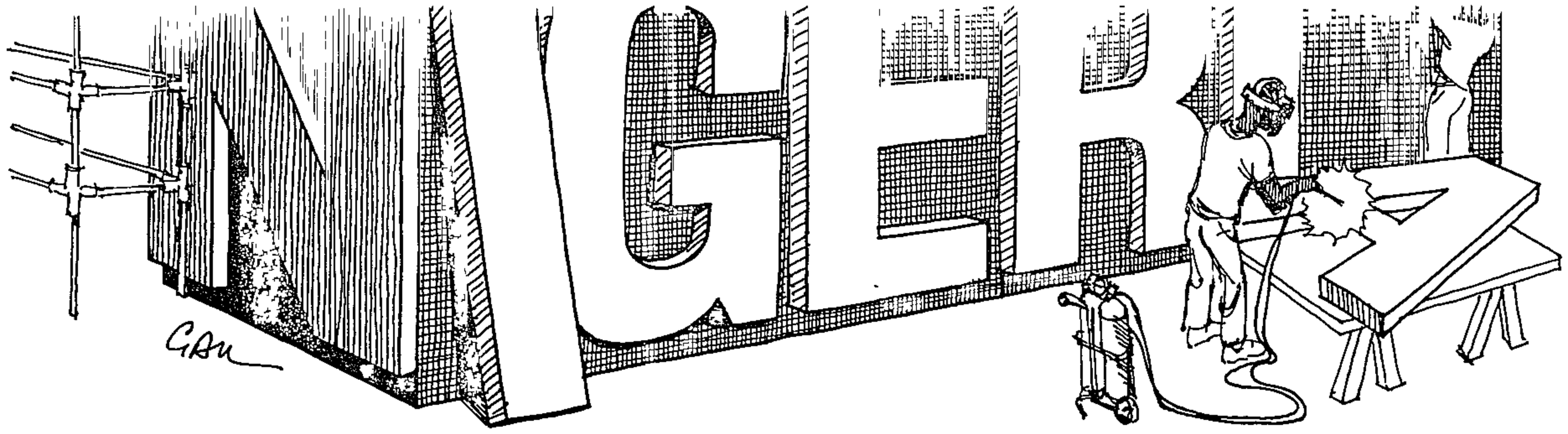
THERE is a silver lining to the cloud brought by Nigeria's Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP).

It has pushed Nigerians into making their own machines

In the past, Nigerians were resistant to local goods and preferred imports Thus, the ingenious artisans from Aba in Eastern Nigeria imitated a wide range of imported, manufactured products, and disguised their source with foreign labels.

But with the value of the local currency falling inexorably against the dollar, making imports highly prohibitive and triggering rapid inflation, Nigerians have been forced to give up their cynicism and look inwards.

The result has been a wel-



Local's not only lekker, it's just as good

factured products, and disguised their source with foreign labels

But with the value of the local currency falling inexorably against the dollar, making imports highly prohibitive and triggering rapid inflation, Nigerians have been forced to give up their cynicism and look inwards

The result has been a welcome boom for local technological innovation

The technological drive is pioneered by individuals, research institutes, adult education institutions and businesses.

But the most promising local feats are recorded by enterprising individuals in the least expected places

In many parts of Imo State, for instance, you see small contraptions designed or adapted locally.

Obscure local foundries are producing locally designed machines to make simple things like aluminium electric cable chips, toothpicks, popcorn and chalk.

An industrial consultant, Dr Iboko Imo Iboko, who has been studying the trend, said R1 200 can buy a candle-making machine, with a capacity of producing 2 000 candles an hour, designed at a local foundry

With about R2 400, a medium scale farmer could commission a palm kernel extracting machine producing 1 250 litres of palm oil an hour

Most inventions are basically utilitarian, with strong emphasis on local content Hamson Madukwe Igwe designed a local version of an English cutting machine, because he could not afford the import price

Igwe, who has already set up a small factory, said while an imported standard sealing machine manned by several people cuts and seals over 100 000 pieces in eight hours, the local version manned by one person cuts about 25 000 pieces in about the same time.

But a major advantage of the local version is that its energy consumption is about 45 volts compared with about 1 000 volts required by the standard import.

Twenty-nine-year-old Cosmos Akabueze is running a thriving cobbler's service with a local version of shoe grinder that he designed.

Electronic

He has also made a laundry unit comprising an extractor, washing unit and press

Akabueze is already working on constructing local versions of sophisticated electronic security equipment

Typically, Akabueze does not believe in transfer of technology

He says "I don't believe the white man knows much more than we do in terms of natural intelligence I believe the only difference is that he bothers about something until he has found an answer But here, we talk too much and do very little People are too lazy here. That's the difference"

Since the early 1970s, Nigerians have sung the praises of a local genius Damian Anynwu who constructed a radio transmitter which entertained people within a 40 kilometre radius, a television transmitter which provided reception up to five kilometres, a body contact microphone which was activated by human touch, plus secret monitoring devices, headphones and electric guitars

Damian claims to have produced these with raw materials produced by him from a local concoction of herbal derivatives

Despite national awards and visits to his Ikelly research base at Mbaise town by successive state governors and several ministers, his unique inventions have not been popularised, perhaps, because of doubts about the esoteric nature of the inventions

Since the early 1980s, the Owerri-based Radio Labs Nigeria has been producing science teaching equipment and apparatus of the most intricate and sophisticated type for use in secondary and adult education institutions

The inventor is a university trained engineer, Ezekiel Izuogu, who says his products are very cheap and as good as the imported types

Izuogu thinks that technology transfer from overseas is a grand ruse

"It is ridiculous for anybody to depend on technological transfer and even more so for the federal government to sponsor seminars on technology transfer

"We are being fooled by expatriates into thinking that they are prepared to lose their lucrative African markets for finished products by transferring technology to us"

Stifled

He cites instances of many gigantic government and industrial projects which have been stifled shortly after take off, or rendered stillborn by expatriate partners in order to foster dependence on them for finished products

"It's a type of conspiracy In many cases, the foreign partners would simply cut off the supply of spare parts and raw materials or raise their prices to such astronomical levels that the local industry could not make profit to survive The next thing is that such projects are abandoned with millions of naira already spent If any nation wants technology, it must evolve it from within."

Most local machines are basically adaptations of foreign designs to suit local needs

For instance, Adebowale Electrical Industries which used to assemble electrical and assorted electronic products has been forced by foreign exchange shortages to open foundries where iron pipe fittings, vehicle bodies, grain silos, gearboxes and other industrial spare parts are locally produced

Recently, a British Broadcasting Corporation crew which visited Aba in Imo State, ran a story entitled "Aba The Taiwan of Nigeria"

One company which "stunned" the crew was the Aba-based Nails and General Steel Manufacturing Industry, established by a 34-year-old entrepreneur, Chief Onwuka Kalu

Nagsmi is not only the largest nail manufacturer in Africa, the company, according to Kalu, has the "mandate of copying, duplicating and where necessary, adapting any metal-based spare part"

With such mandate, the company produces industrial spare parts of all types.

Prototypes of required parts are first ripped apart by the company's engineers to enable them to master the design.

Kalu has no qualms about this method, arguing that industrialised nations like Japan, China, Taiwan and Korea all started with "copy engineering"

Assorted

The country's research and tertiary institutions are also coming out with assorted prototypes, although many are yet to be commercialised

Kwara State Polytechnic is said to have more than 40 patents on the technological innovations while the Anambra State University boasts that it has designed computer software which has already been commercialised

To properly harness these technological development, the federal government, last June, launched a National Science and Technology Fund

shop in August 1987 and

Nigeria calls for democracy in SA

Sowetan 21/7/89

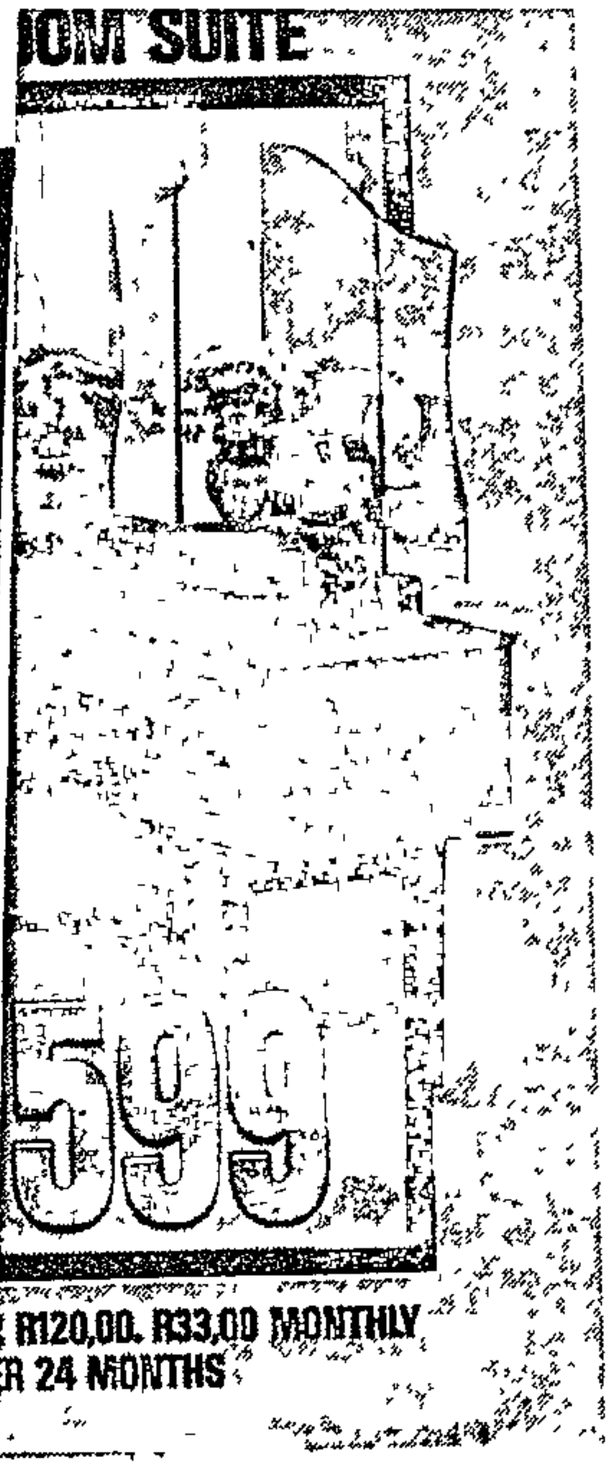
226

HARARE: Visiting Nigerian president, General Ibrahim Babangida, was hosted by Zimbabwe president Robert Mugabe on Wednesday.

Babangida called for concrete action to bring peace and harmony to Southern Africa.

He said Nigeria would not give up its demand for mandatory sanctions on South Africa until apartheid was dismantled and replaced by an authentic democracy.

"We shall not be deceived by mere declarations of intent."



New parties in Nigeria face daunting guidelines

SAW 29/7/89 BY GERALD BOURKE (226)

Military dictators, once dug in, are usually determined to stay put. Nigerians of the species tend to be something of an oddity, perhaps because Africa's most populous nation has proved ungovernable.

Once again, Nigeria's military rulers are preparing to hand power over to a civilian government

Last week, the biggest milestone so far in this latest transition, due to be completed in 1992, was passed

Less than three months after the lifting of a five-year ban on political activity, 13 new parties applied for official registration

It was the culmination of a brief but intense period of campaigning

Because the country's two previous democratic experiments were marred by widespread incompetence and corruption, the generals barred hundreds of influential politicians from participating

Sources close to the government believe that the nationwide rioting last month was sparked by frustrated members of the old guard

The riots were the latest in a long series of threats to the transition programme since it was announced by General Babangida shortly after he seized power four years ago

His apparent determination to be succeeded by responsible civilians is underlined by stringent safeguards

The guidelines laid down for the establishment of new parties were particularly daunting

Applications had to be accompanied by the name, address and photograph of every member.

Morever, the manifesto of each party had to state clearly its position on 26 different issues

This week, the military is sifting through the manifestos and will eventually pick two parties to contest the elections

Given the military's growing impatience with what it sees as extremists, especially on the left, both survivors are likely to be close to the centre — The Independent News Service

dependence in the territory."
ROBERT GENTLE repo

Nigeria has 32 years of oil supply

LAGOS — Nigeria's proved oil reserves, currently estimated at 16,6-billion barrels, would permit the pumping of crude for another 32 years, according to Petroleum Resources Minister Rilwanu Lukman

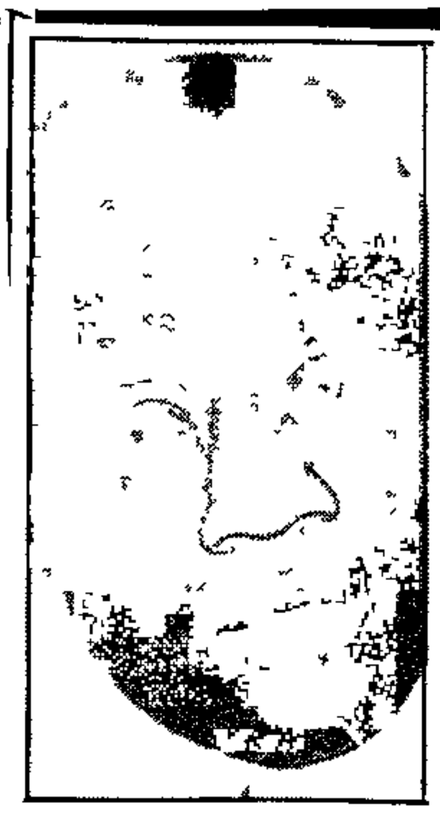
Lukman, who is also president of OPEC, said in a speech this week reserves had shrunk from their 1974 peak of 20,9-billion barrels, but their life expectancy had risen because of a production decline in response to adverse world conditions. (226)

In the 1970s, high prices and a huge exploration effort coincided with production rising to a 1979 peak of 2,4-million barrels per day (bpd), while the life expectancy of the reserves fell to 20 years, Lukman said

Production was now around 1,4-million bpd, he said BIOan 14/9/87

A 1986 agreement with the major oil companies active in the country encouraged exploration to build up reserves

Subsidiaries of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) are actively involved in exploration, as well as building up more efficient refining and domestic marketing operations, and exploiting export possibilities for Nigerian oil and gas. Gas reserves are estimated at 3,77-trillion cubic metres — Sapa-Reuter



General Babangida.

Military leader creates two parties

STAR 226 9/10/89

LAGOS — Military leader Major-General Ibrahim Babangida has thrown Nigeria into confusion by tailor-making two political parties to lead the return to civilian rule

In a nationally broadcast speech on Saturday he said none of 13 political parties tendering for recognition would meet his government's criteria for returning power to civilians in 1992

He said he was scrapping all the proposed parties, partly because of their ties with old power structures, and creating "one a little to the left and the other a little to the right of the centre"

"Everybody is confused," said Abdul Oroh, a senior political writer for the independent political weekly *African Guardian*

"We have never heard of a military government creating two parties to succeed itself"

But he and other analysts believe the military is serious about restoring democracy in 1992

General Babangida insisted during his hour-long speech "It is uncharitable to insinuate that this military government does not want to go It is already going we shall go"

He said the associations which had applied for registration were offshoots of previous parties whose ethnic and religious manoeuvring and election-rigging had led to the disintegration of the last civilian government, forcing the military to seize power in 1985

The government will sponsor the two new parties — the Social Democratic Party and the National Republican Convention — and provide each with a constitution, symbol and manifesto

The aim was to stimulate the growth of a new political order from the grassroots, General Babangida said — Sapa-Reuter

Give SA a chance — Nigeria

LONDON — President F W de Klerk's prisoner release won dramatic support from independent Africa's most powerful country on Wednesday when Nigeria's High Commissioner in London, George Dove-Edwin, said SA deserved a breathing space before sanctions were intensified

In a statement that could swing next week's Commonwealth leaders summit in Malaysia away from imposing new financial sanctions, Dove-Edwin said his government might suggest putting the new SA government on probation for up to six months

His statement, made on BBC TV's Newsnight programme, appeared to reject the Canadian demands to intensify pressure on SA's ability to reschedule its massive foreign debt burden

It seems certain to relieve the hostility and sanctions pressure on British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher — as long as

IAN HOBBS

De Klerk lives up to his reform promises

Welcoming the releases and De Klerk's talks with church leaders, Dove-Edwin said "A period of probation which we (Nigeria) might be willing to go along with would be maybe four to six months in which we would say, all right, we accept the administration is only one month in place

"They have made some fine statements. They have taken one or two small gestures — which are important in the SA situation.

"If they then perform as their promises appear to indicate, then, as the small gesture that they have taken now seems to foretell, of course they are welcome to four or six months to do more."

Nigeria, by far the most influential African country, could carry the votes of an overwhelming majority of Commonwealth states to support the view.

Disease kills 18

LAGOS, Nigeria - A disease with symptoms similar to yellow fever has claimed 18 lives in Imo state in southeastern Nigeria, anhd sent hundreds of people fleeing their village.

The government reported hundreds of people had been hospitalised suffering from the illness. Health officials had not immediately identified the disease, however.

Hundreds flee

Symptoms of the disease included several days of high fever accompanied by the vomiting of blood. Some of the symptoms were similar to yellow fever, which is endemic in Nigeria.

Hundreds of inhabitants had fled the area to avoid the disease. - Sapa-Ap.

Sowetan 24/11/89

NIGERIA — GENERAL

1990 — 1991

Nigerians dancing to a tricky new political tune

STAR 5/11/90 (226)

By GERALD BOURKE

General Ibrahim Babangida leads Nigeria in tricky democracy dance.

Nigerians are learning to dance to a new tune It's a two-step, but many find the accompanying martial music difficult to follow The Third Republic shuffle — "a little to the right, a little to the left" — was composed by General Ibrahim Babangida, the country's president, and is being orchestrated by the Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC) Yet it is supposed to be the signature tune for a civilian government

It all began earlier last month when General Babangida unveiled the manifestoes of two political parties which are to contest a series of elections before the army's scheduled return to barracks in 1992. Both parties are creations of the military It invented their names, wrote their manifestoes and is supposed to be their sole source of funds

Politicians of all persuasions, cramped by six years of khaki-boy rule, are fuming over President Babangida's latest coup If, as he keeps insisting, he wants to restore the country to civilian rule, then he should leave them to their own devices, they say

But they are careful to say so only in private Anyone who protests in public risks being accused of attempting to sabotage the transition process and conviction carries a lengthy jail sentence Hundreds have already been detained on such a charge

The AFRC last week laid down strict rules governing how the so-called "new breed" of politicians can conduct their campaigns Any reference to the discredited old guard carries the risk of a hefty fine and imprisonment

Emotive speeches are frowned upon The police are empowered to break up rallies at will. And the country's vigorous press has been warned against pandering to politicians seeking promotion

Many Nigerians believe the military is right to take whatever precautions it deems necessary to avoid a repetition of past failures Others argue that a regime which took power by force has no right to stage manage the transition — The Independent News Service.

General Ibrahim Babangida ... leading his country on a carefully orchestrated "democracy" shuffle.

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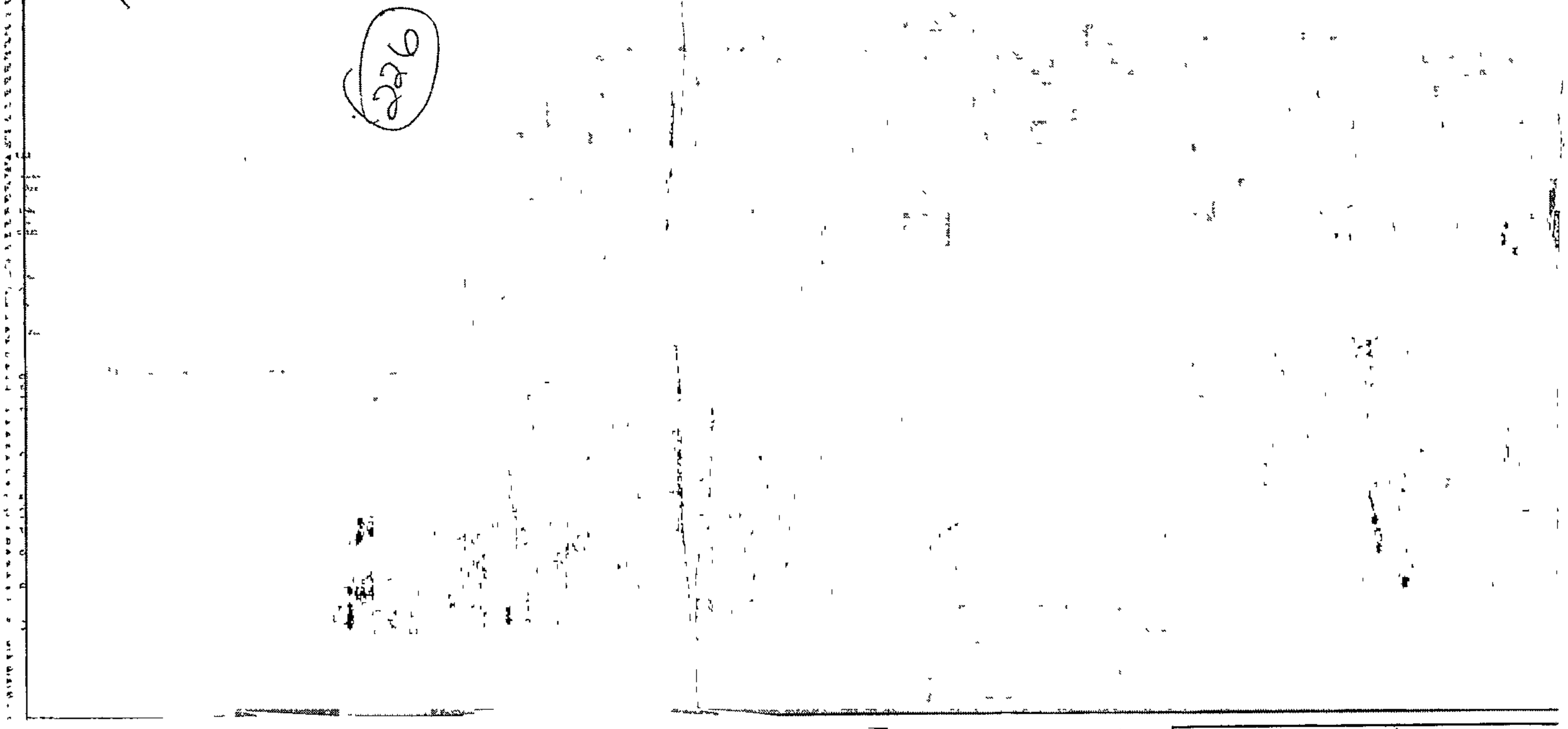


Anyone who thinks that South African taxis are sometimes overcrowded should try hailing one in West Africa This Nigerian Mercedes truck groans under the weight of an indeterminate number of passengers, plus luggage, at Agades, Niger. There's always room for one more!

Nigeria's 'Maradona'

226

A major reshuffle in the Nigerian government by President General Ibrahim Babangida has raised questions about the growth of Islamic influence within his administration. Among the casualties was Lt-Gen Domkat Bali, a prominent member of Nigeria's Christian community, CAMERON DOUDU reports.

FEW Nigerians allow themselves to be surprised any longer by their president, General Ibrahim Babangida.

The president has been carrying out sleights of hand with such regularity that Nigerians call him Maradona, after the great Argentina footballer (who was involved in a controversial hand-ball during a World Cup game).

Last year Babangida dissolved the Armed Forces Ruling Council (AFRC) — the body which, theoretically, appointed him head of state.

The same year, he again shook the country by refusing registration to all 13 political associations that had applied to contest the elections leading to the departure of the military government in 1992

But, earthshaking as these events are in Nigerian political terms, they did not satisfy President Babangida's sense of drama He produced a coup de grace at the end of 1989 with a political reshuffle

The casualties included three of the most powerful members of the AFRC the Defence Minister, Lt-Gen Domkat Bali (who was also chairperson of the Joint Chiefs of Staff), the Air Chief of Staff, Air Marshall Ibrahim Alfa, and the Chief of Naval Staff, Rear-Admiral Patrick Shokoni

Babangida took over the defence portfolio himself and appointed the army Chief of Staff, Lt-Gen Sanni Abacha, as the new chairperson of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Domkat Bali became Minister of Internal Affairs, without a seat on the AFRC.

Normally, that would have been the end of the affair Given a choice between holding some sort of official position and nothing at all, most Nigerians would take an appointment and continue to enjoy official privileges

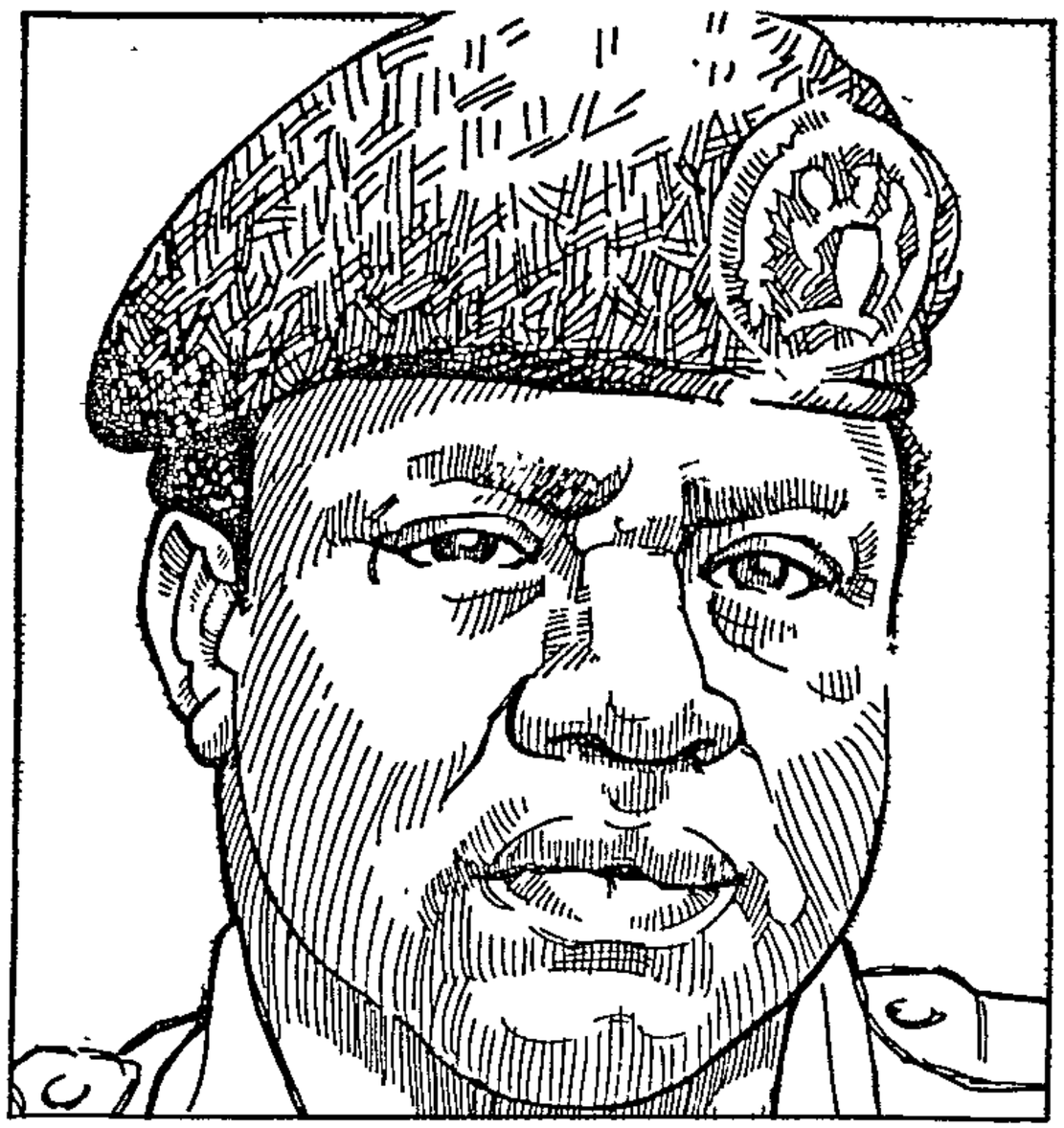
Bali thought otherwise First, he failed to turn up to be sworn in to his new appointment. Then, contrary to all precedent, Bali gave a press interview in which he produced a rejoinder to the president's account of events He even accused the president of duplicity and authoritarian behaviour

When the president consulted him about the cabinet reshuffle, he had raised the issue of his retirement The president had asked him to stay on until the government had "stabilised" after the changes But the way things had turned out, it would be a "personal humiliation" for him to accept the job offered to him, said Bali

The president had "usurped" the military administration to establish "a personal dictatorship"

Important as these charges from General Bali were, they were not as important as the connection made between his departure and the growth of Islamic influence within the Babangida administration

Bali is a member of Nigeria's Christian community, which constitutes about half the population, while Babangida is a Muslim



President Babangida. Takes his nation's breath away

Apparently, the Christians regarded Bali as representing their voice in the government, and Babangida's taking over the defence portfolio pained them.

The Christians also resented that the Ministry of External Affairs had gone from Major-Gen Ike Nwachuku, a Christian, to Alhaji Rilwanu Lukman, a Muslim

They suspected there was a move to increase Muslim influence in the government so that Nigeria can qualify as a member of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC).

The OIC membership question has been a touchy one ever since it was reported that Nigeria, which is constitutionally a non-religious state, had joined the organisation in 1986

Protest

All these considerations came together in the minds of Christians to set off protest demonstrations by them in four cities in the Muslim north of the country

Fortunately, there was no loss of life In the past, religious riots have claimed many lives and led to places of worship being burnt down

President Babangadi has been quick in trying to defuse the situation In appointing people, his only concern was who could serve the country most efficiently, he said

Some civilians, including Nobel Prize-winning author, Wole Soyinka, have rallied to support the president

Soyinka is afraid a new coup-maker might overthrow Babangida and delay the army's return to the barracks in 1992 — *GEMINI NEWS*

Nigeria's 'Maradona'

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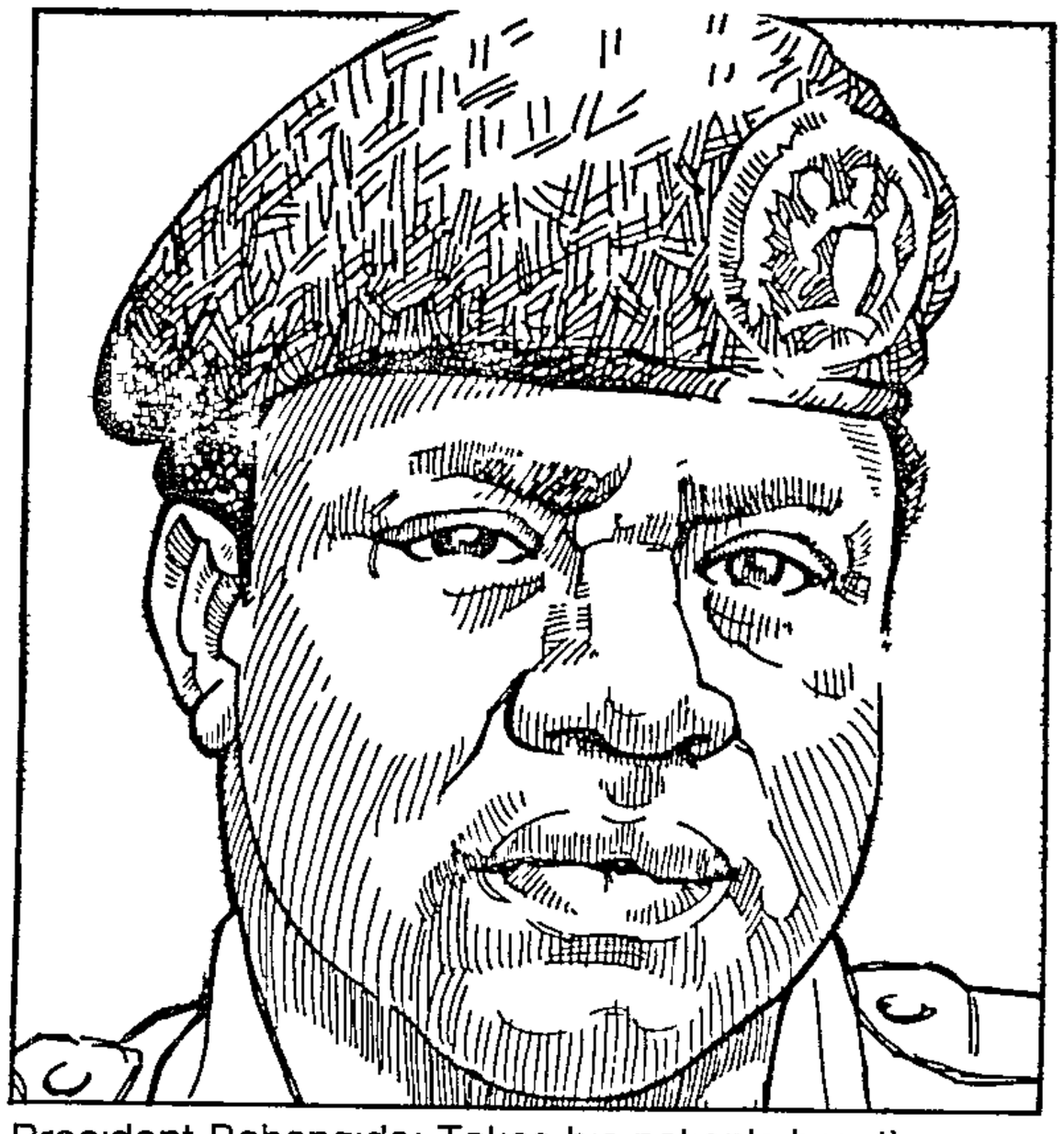

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Soyinka is afraid a new coup-maker might overthrow Babangida and delay the army's return to the barracks in 1992 — *GEMINI NEWS*

Memoirs banned

LAGOS - The High Court has banned the publication or sale of the memoirs of former Nigerian leader General Olusegun Obasanjo

The injuction, issued on Monday and published on Tuesday, came at the request of Judge Taslim Elias, a judge of the International Court of Justice in The Hague who is suing Obasanjo for allegedly libelling him in the book *Not My Will.*

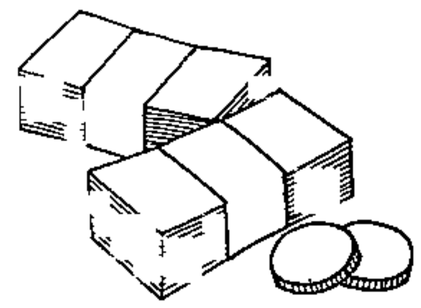
Elias claims the publication portrays him as incompetent in managing Nigeria's judicial affairs while he was chief justice of this West African nation in the 1970s.

Big claim

He is claiming 15 million dollars in damages from the retired general, whose book outlines events in Nigeria under his leadership from 1976 to 1979

Obasanjo returned Nigeria to civilian rule in that year But it lasted only until 1983, when elected civilian President Shehu Shagari was ousted by the military The present Nigerian leader, Gen. Ibrahim Babangida, has promised to return power to civilians in 1992

Now Nigeria goes for privatisation



MONEY TALK

EFFECTIVELY, there are only four stock exchanges on the African continent – the largest, Johannesburg, is followed by Harare and the small exchanges in Nigeria and Kenya.

The Nigerian stock market will now receive its biggest boost since independence, as a result of a far-reaching decision by the Nigerian government to privatise large parts of the State sector

Foremost among them are the 13 lucrative State-controlled insurance companies, to be sold through share offers, as happened with Iscor last year

The Nigerian government has launched an ambitious sales campaign to convince investment-minded Nigerians that it is in their best interests to invest money in these company shares

The campaign goes much further than Iscor's privatisation campaign, though For instance, large posters have recently appeared all over Lagos extolling the virtues of share investment

Nigerian businesses run by the State are suffering from serious defects which, the government hopes, will be gradually resolved by privatisation, or "commercialisation"

One of the main problems is that most of the State-controlled companies are hopelessly overstaffed with people who don't do a full day's work

Despite several reorganisations, the public sector's debt rocketed as a result of badly-managed parastatals and, in many instances, plain theft by government officials

Nigeria has some of Africa's largest parastatals, ranging from insurance companies and banks to large energy, communication, mining and construction firms

Government leaders regularly accuse these companies of squandering the nation's resources through inefficient business practices

The decision by the Nigerian government to rid itself of these companies was formalised in a decree in 1988

The current public share issues are part of a comprehensive plan developed since then

The first three companies to be privatised were African Petroleum, National Oil ad Nigerian Flour Mills

Their share issues were, like Iscor's in South Africa, heavily over-subscribed

Shares in 126 major government companies will be sold to the public during the current campaign

Investor enthusiasm is, however, being tempered by slow processing of share applications

Tragedy of black kids ditched in UK

Afron 25/2/90

HUNDREDS of African children are left in Britain with British foster parents Sometimes their real parents, often students, return home leaving no contact address

The children are virtually abandoned and left in the hands of unregistered foster-parents, growing up in a hostile world and facing an uncertain future

Jerry Light is a 48-year-old money-lender from Leigh Park Estate, Portsmouth, on the south coast of England and he and his wife Dot say that over the past eight years they have privately fostered nearly 40 West African children

Until recently they had five Nigerian children under the age of three staying at their four-bedroom house

The children's natural parents are Nigerian students living in London but unable to look after their children due to pressure of work and study

The British government says at least 3 000 children are being privately fostered – a serious under-estimation according to Save the Children Fund, which is concerned about what it says are abuses of the private fostering system

It has now set up an African Family Advisory Service to help ease the problem Senior project worker Laurie Joshua lists the areas of his concern

"Firstly, the foster parents often have little or no knowledge about the child's background and pass the children around the 'localised market' of families taking children, often with little or no regard for the child's welfare (226)

This often results in the children developing behavioural problems which are compounded by chronic overcrowding

"We conducted a survey in a random area, taking in 11 families Of those families, in two cases the foster parents were over 70 years old, in one there was a conviction for violence, in another for indecent assault and in one case the natural children of the foster parents had been taken from them as they were considered by the local council to be incapable of looking after children properly

"Frankly, in some cases we are talking about people who really should not be looking after children."

Nigerian Dr Femi Bada says many of the children become withdrawn due to lack of attention and some hardly talk at all "It can be very traumatic for a child to be put with complete strangers, especially when they are moved about a lot"

Bada says some of the children are placed with foster parents at the age of only six weeks old Save the Children Fund says between 1986 and 1988, 205 children were left behind by parents who returned to Africa

Says Bada. "In effect they have been abandoned It's because there are no bonds between the natural parents and their children They become strangers The parents go home promising to keep in touch, but more often than not, they don't"

If the parents return without their children the local authority or Save The Children Fund ask the parents what plans they have for the children (20) (10)

Under a technical agreement between the United Kingdom and Nigeria a training programme has been launched to improve the skills of Nigerian social workers in following up referals from the UK

If the parents cannot be contacted or are unable to look after their children in Nigeria, the children are put in the care of the social services or made wards of court

Bada says he intends to study the long-term effects on the abandoned children In 85 of the 205 children left behind, Save the Children says the foster parents could not even give the child's proper name or the name and address of the natural parents in Africa This shows the inadequate monitoring by local authorities and the lack of care by both natural and foster parents

Social services in Portsmouth say they are powerless to prevent such abuses The director for the area, Jenny Owens, says "The situation is largely out of control We can't keep track of it But as the natural parents have chosen to place the children there themselves it must take a low position on our list of priorities"

The British government is introducing legislation it hopes will cut down on the abuses of the private fostering system by putting the responsibility on the natural parents to register their children with the relevant local authority How effective this will be remains to be seen – *New African*

AFRICA

BIDay 2/4/90

Trying to teach Nigeria the rules of democracy

226

It is a case of democracy by decree for bored Nigerians as the country prepares for civilian rule for the second time since 1960. CATHERINE BOND reports from Lagos.

THE billboards in Lagos are fighting apathy. "Be a player, not a watcher," they urge, above an illustration of bored Nigerians. "Join the party of your choice."

For the second time in its post-colonial history, Nigeria is edging back towards civilian rule This week, the people are being asked to join two new political parties established by the military government of President Ibrahim Babangida, who says he wants to hand over power in October 1992.

The man with the unenviable task of setting transition on the right track is Prof Humphrey Nwosu, chairman of the national electoral commission, one of several bodies set up by government to tell Nigerians about democracy and make them stick to the rules.

Power

Critics say this is democracy imposed, not evolved. But Nwosu says its aim is to get rid of "primordial sentiments" that drew politics along ethnic and religious lines in the first (1960-66) and second (1979-83) republics.

"If you leave it in the hands of politicians who want nothing but power, they exploit the situation," he says.

Twenty out of 30 independent years have been spent under military regimes, and Nigerians say it is time the highly politicised, 80 000-strong army went for good

A six-week exercise to enrol party members to the Social Democractic Party or the National Republican Convention has begun. But, so far, the turnout has not been impressive

Most agree this authoritarian approach is a good thing but there are doubts Like many other Africans passing through a new era of self-criticism, they do not have much confidence in themselves

"It won't work because there is no patriotism here," said one Nigerian "We have three major ethnic groups Yoruba, Hausa-Fulani and Ibo We have nothing in common except the colour of our skin"

Government hopes young men and women — the "newbreeds" — will emerge to lead the parties In an effort to break with the past, it has banned several thousand politicians who have held public office

But nothing will deter a professional politician in Nigeria Muhammad Abubaker Rimi, ex-governor of Kaduna state, says Babangida has done progressives a favour by forcing them to unite under the SDP banner

Newbreeds, he claims, will not stand a chance unless introduced to the electorate by political godfathers

The core of politics is still a battle of wits between the old politicians and the military.

Temporarily, the military has gained the upper hand through a campaign of calumny to discredit the old politician brigade — with the unfortunate result of putting some Nigerians off politics altogether

Once elections begin over the next two years, a strong underlying issue is likely to be religion

Nigeria's mainly Muslim north has Christian enclaves, just as the south has large numbers of Muslims, and fundamentalism is said to be growing.

Austerity

However, the hottest campaign issue should be government's economic austerity programme, which has been blamed for widening the gap between rich and poor

Once-prosperous Nigeria is joining the league of poor African nations, with annual inflation estimated at 65%

Public honesty could make a big difference in the new Nigeria, but politics and wealth are still thought of as one. — Daily Telegraph.

HANDING NIGERIA BACK TO ITS PEOPLE

Sowetan 18/4/90

226

By NAOMI WIMBORNE

ETI-OSA, Nigeria - "If we stay at home and no-one comes forward, our country will go on dying," said Udemoh Udoren, collecting his party membership card from a government-run registration centre.

The 45-year-old farmer had just joined the rightist National Republican Convention, one of two parties created by military President Ibrahim Babangida as part of his plan to hand power in Africa's most populous nation to civilians by 1992

Neither it nor the slightly left of centre Social Democratic Party (SDP) had any members until enrolment began on March 26

They still have no leaders, and both their programmes were written by Babangida's Armed Forces Ruling Council

Defying most predictions, millions of Nigerians have responded to a massive campaign urging them to "be a player not a watcher", rushing to enlist in their first political electoral process since 1983

After living under military rule for 20 of their 30 years of independence, many appear convinced their future should not be left in the hands of soldiers.

"The military see coups as a route to wealth and power," said Abubakar Rimi, former civilian governor of northern Kano state who was jailed after the 1983 coup

It is a unique experiment in political engineering, tightly controlled by the military

Babangida is demanding a complete break with religious bigotry, electoral fraud and violence, and the rivalry between Nigeria's three main ethnic groups which led to a traumatic civil war in 1967-70.

He has outlawed thousands of former politicians and banned embryonic parties he said exhibited all the old vices.

Some Nigerians are sceptical about Babangida's motives

"It will be a long time before Nigeria says farewell to military rulers," said Rimi, who is one of those banned

Onwuka Kalu, a businessman who led one of the disbanded organisations and is now on the sidelines, said at least 60 per cent of those involved in the parties Babangida scrapped were still active

Sceptics say Babangida's guided democracy will be a tragic waste of an estimated two billion naira (R650 million) being spent on almost 1 000 local, state and national party offices, a Centre for Democratic Studies and other items.

But for others, the money will be well spent if only the party members can proceed peacefully from choosing their leaders at congresses scheduled for July, through local elections in December to a military withdrawal to barracks in October 1992

- Sapa-Reuter

...ecessity in 'Hillbrow' this month has only added to the unease felt by residents in the overcrowded ● Picture by Stephen Davimes.

Nigeria tottered on religious divide

Star 24/4/90 (226)

Most coups in Africa are announced in language more appropriate to the Second Coming than a putsch. Freedom, salvation, unity, brotherhood and clean government are usually given as the reason for some young officer overthrowing his masters and seizing the country.

Sunday's attempted seizure of power in Nigeria was followed by the chilling announcement that "This is not just any coup but a well-conceived revolution by middle-belt and southern parts of the country" Furthermore, the coup announcer said that the five northern Muslim states had been "excised' ' from Nigeria and northerners working in the south should return home within a week.

If this coup had been "successful" there would have been a civil war which would have torn Nigeria to pieces with horrific ferocity. The ever-threatening division between the predominantly Islamic north and the Christian south would have become a reality.

The least that can be said of the 4½ years of President Ibrahim Babangida's rule is that he — and Nigeria — have survived A stocky soldier with a quiet manner and a winning smile, he is nicknamed Maradona because of his apparent ability to keep ahead of the game and surprise both allies and enemies.

During his presidency he has faced three main challenges To institute and maintain a harsh programme of economic restructuring, to maintain the balance between Christians and Muslims, and to keep himself in power long enough to deliver his promise to return the country to civilian rule in 1992.

Threats to rule

In the past year the President has had to cancel three overseas state visits because of threats to his government Last May, riots against the Structural Adjustment Programme caused him to cancel a visit to Paris. He did not go to the Commonwealth Conference in Kuala Lumpur last October because there was a crisis when he refused to allow the six emerging political parties to stand in elections. Last January, he postponed a trip to the United States after a religious row began over the resignation of the only Christian in a senior military role

Since he and fellow officers seized power from the civilian Shagari government in 1983, President Babangida has gradually gathered the reins of power into his own hands. At the same time Nigeria is an open society. An astonishingly free press, active trade unions and a vigorous legal profession do not allow military rulers to overstay their time at the top.

President Babangida promised to return Nigeria to civilian rule but banned all the old politicians and their parties. He instituted a debate on Nigeria's political system and encouraged the formation of new parties

This year religion and region again focused on the balance of Christians and Muslims among Nigeria's service chiefs When President Babangida took over, there were three Muslims and three Christians among the six senior military chiefs. When General Domkat Bali was removed as Minister of Defence at the end of last year, the last Christian was removed. If this coup attempt does cause further strife, the divide will be a religious one. — The Independent

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THE WORLD

Muslim-Christian divide inspires Nigeria's plotters

Suspicions over Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida's religious background inspired the latest coup attempt in this divided nation, reports
MICHAEL HILTZIK

IF it had been successful, last Sunday's coup attempt in Lagos by a group of middle-ranking army officers would have been the seventh in Nigeria's 30 years of independence from Britain

Nigeria, which with more than 110 million people, is the most populous country in Africa, and has often been roiled by tribal disputes and by a religious division that pits the Muslims in the north, who hold a small majority, against Christians in the south.

Although for most of Sunday the whereabouts and condition of President Ibrahim Babangida were unknown, he surfaced later in the day to talk with reporters, according to the official News Agency of Nigeria.

"The unfortunate situation in Lagos this morning has been brought under control," he said, adding that his military aide, Lieutenant-Colonel UK Bello, had been among the loyalists slain in the fighting in Lagos, and that most the of the rebel leaders had been captured and would be tried

Early on Sunday morning, after rebel troops had seized control of Radio Nigeria headquarters in Lagos, a man identifying himself as Major Gideon Oguaza Oka announced over the air that, on behalf of the Christian regions of the "middle belt and the southern parts of this country, I wish to happily inform you of the successful ousting of the dictatorial, corrupt, drug-baronish, inhumane, sadistic, deceitful, homosexually centred and unpatriotic administration of General Ibrahim Babangida"

Oka said the northern states of Borno, Bauchi, Kano, Katsina and Sokoto — all almost entirely Muslim — would be excised from the country and not allowed to rejoin the 21-state federation until they had proved their loyalty to the new regime Northerners working in the south would be forced to return to their homes, he added

By noon local time, however the radio station had been retaken by government troops, and a military leader said the coup had been crushed There was sporadic fighting in Lagos throughout the day, particularly around the State House and Dodan Barracks, the downtown military installation that has functioned as Nigeria's government centre since Babangida took power in 1985 By the end of the day that fighting appeared to have ended.

In the wake of the coup attempt, the military government moved quickly to allay fears that the plot's most significant casualty might be Babangida's plan to return power to civilian control on October 1, 1992

"No amount of threat or blackmail will distract the government's attention in this regard," said Sanni Abacha, the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, in a radio address "We are set to hand over to a democratically elected government in 1992"

President Ibrahim Babangida ... a touch of Maradona's finesse

Like his seven predecessors as leaders of independent Nigeria, Babangida, 49, is Muslim But over his five years of power he has shown such finesse at balancing the country's contentious political and religious interests that an admiring domestic press has dubbed him "the Maradona of politics", reference to the wily Argentinian soccer player, Diego Maradona

Most Nigerians believe that Babangida is intent on delivering power to an elected civilian government in 1992, although the transfer was originally scheduled for this year. Babangida has steadfastly maintained that he will not run for office as a civilian.
— Los Angeles Times

THE WORLD

The art of takeovers with Nigeria's master of the coup

Thinking of staging a coup? Nigeria's General Ibrahim Babangida is the man to speak to, reports **PATRICK WILMOT**

GENERAL Ibrahim Babangida is Nigeria's most accomplished coup maker, no mean feat in a country which has experienced scores of successful and unsuccessful coups in its 30 years since independence

He confessed (some say boasted) to Nigeria's *Newswatch* magazine recently that he had participated in all the successful coups except the first, the January 1966 insurrection in which most of the civilian leaders of the first republic were killed

He was also presumably well equipped to prevent coups, and boasted that the coup in which he overthrew Major General Mohammed Buhari in August 1985, was the final coup, the coup to end all coups

One of his justifications for executing General Mamman Vatsa in March 1986 and the 10 other alleged coup plotters was to teach ambitious officers that coup making was serious business

Previously the unwritten rule was that coup attempts in which no blood was shed should not be punished with death, and the evidence indicated that Vatsa and the other accused had barely got to the talking stage of coup plotting, a far cry from the confessed successes of the coup master himself

What the killing of Vatsa established was that Babangida could not be removed in a bloodless coup, since failure meant death This served as a double-edged warning, not only to the challengers to the power of the president, but also to the president himself, that the gloves were off

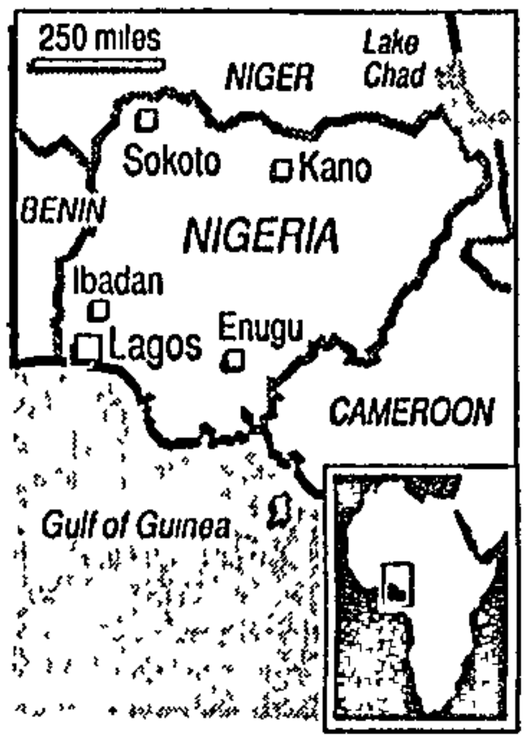
Prior to Vatsa's execution, Babangida had listened to, and manipulated, critical views, earning himself the ambiguous epithet of Maradona, after the celebrated footballer

After the Vasta incident, he became increasingly intolerant and paranoid, crushing all opposition and cultivating an army of sycophants

The Nigerian Labour Congress, academic staff union of universities, National Association of Nigerian students, and *Newswatch* all felt the presidential boot A legal critic, Gani Fawehinmi, who accused senior security officials of murdering a journalist, Dele Giwa, spent most of last year in jail, and other journalists were interrogated by the state security service

The government voted to set aside vast amounts of money to pay campus informants and vigilante groups who threatened and harassed alleged critics Many lecturers were dismissed, deported, and jailed for bizarre crimes, such as purchasing a gallon of petrol to set fire to a convocation square of solid concrete where Babangida was supposed to preside

Buhari and Brigadier Tunde Idiagbon, Babangida's predecessors, were ousted partly because they boasted about their toughness and contempt for human rights and freedom of speech Babangida continued in this repressive tradition, further undermining whatever legitimacy his regime might have hoped for through manipulation and control of the media

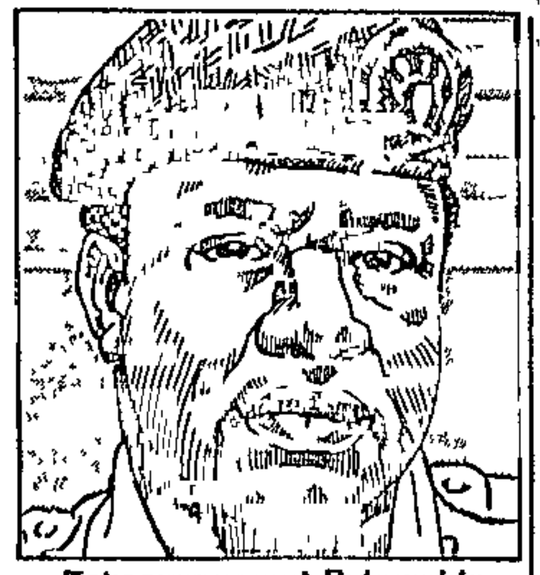


Nigeria: 21 years of military rule

He employed the machiavellian principle that men must either be crushed or pampered because they are able to revenge minor injuries but not fatal ones

Babangida's generosity was legendary even before he became president He assiduously cultivated the loyalty of his lower ranks through judicious gifts at marriages, funerals, and birth ceremonies

However, this bartered popularity began to wear thin when his biting austerity programme intensified the poverty of the poor and effectively destroyed the salary-earning middle classes, leaving the spectacular corruption and flamboyance of the instant millionaires and uniformed *nouveau riche* to mock the severe hardship of the vast majority of the population



Takeover expert Babangida

Like heads of state before him, Babangida surrounded himself with a cabal of praise singers who made him increasingly unpopular, while at the same time leading him to believe that he was a very popular leader

These men and women are now doubtlessly congratulating him on successfully crushing the latest coup attempt, without considering how the politically illiterate rebel group of junior officers could have succeeded in creating the confusion it did

Twenty years after the end of the civil war, a group of Nigerian soldiers still do not accept the unity of the country This says little for the moral leadership of the regime and casts further doubt on the right of the military to rule, even for a limited period

Twenty-one years of military rule have shown no benefits commensurate with the suffering inflicted on the Nigerian people

Gunsmoke is hazardous for the health of nation and military alike. — The Guardian

Nigeria asks for patience

B10 — 14/5/90

LAGOS — President Ibrahim Babangida has pleaded for patience and understanding from Nigerians as his military government tackles economic and social problems highlighted by a bloody foiled coup.

On April 22, middle-ranking officers who led rebel troops in clashes accused government of corruption, nepotism and sadism in pursuing harsh economic measures and perpetuating Muslim domination

More than 200 rebel soldiers and an unknown number of civilians have been arrested (226)

Nigeria's oil-dependent economy has suffered from a recent fall in oil prices, while trade unions have been agitating for a new minimum wage which has been frozen at 125 naira ($15,80) a month since 1980, when the naira was worth $1,25 — Sapa-AP

AFRICA

Nigerians hope to lead inter-Africa co-operation

B/Day 8/5/90 (226)

LAGOS — Nigerian businessmen see their country spearheading a drive for inter-African economic co-operation.

The price of failure will be destitution in a world dominated by Western-led trade blocs, they say

UAC — black Africa's biggest trading conglomerate — chairman Ernest Shoekan says "Short of forming ourselves into our own trade bloc, I just do not see any reprieve on the horizon for the rest of the 1990s"

Nigeria should play an important role in forging African economic unity, he told a business gathering on May 1

With the right policies, particularly full economic liberalisation, Nigeria can become "the hub of economic activities in Africa", he says

Other African countries, particularly West African, expect Nigeria to take the lead.

Said Bundu Abbas, Sierra Leonean executive secretary of the Economic Community of West African States (Ecowas) "There is every reason for the community to look to nigeria for a leadership role."

African nations, crippled by foreign debt and a net outflow of resources, fear they will lose out in the fast changing patterns of world economic relations.

Analysts say the creation of a single European market after 1992 and the emergence of other trade blocs in the industrialised world threaten to worsen Africa's already unfavourable trade terms

Assurances from Western donors, including the IMF, have not stilled fears of losing foreign aid as resources are diverted to assist Eastern Europe

"Eastern Europe's gain will become Africa's loss," Shonekan said

To avoid total marginalisation in an increasingly competitive world, African countries must look more inward and work together on individual development, analysts say

Co-operation

Economist Isaac Aluko-Olokun says Nigeria is well placed to raise awareness on this need.

The country has four years of experience in implementing a free market oriented structural adjustment programme

Similar policies have since been adopted elsewhere on the continent, Aluko-Olokun says

Shonekan says Nigerians can also promote co-operation by investing in other African countries

Nigerian Association of Chambers of Commerce president Nlogha Okeke urges the formation of a parliament to accelerate West African economic integration

"Nigeria should concentrate on playing a leading role in West Africa," he says

Ecowas, created in 1975 to expand West African economies by removing trade barriers and developing integrated industries, says less than 5% of recorded trade is intra-community

Bureaucratic controls and trade barriers still act as blocks to inter-African trade, says Lagos-based International Capital Markets group MD Michael Osine

"It's easier for someone in Ivory Coast to buy from Europe than from Nigeria," he said

Many African leaders support economic integration in principle while in practice guarding their national power base, he says

But according to Abbas, the political will is there What is lacking is the mechanism for achieving it

He hopes Europe's moves towards integration will spur African countries — more than half of them former European colonies — into action

"If they (Europe) now see the imperative to come together, then there is an even stronger case for Africa," he said — Reuter

Nigeria cuts oil output

LAGOS — Nigeria is to cut in its oil output in line with moves by other Opec states to support prices, which have fallen by up to 25 percent this year

"The amount that Nigeria was supposed to be making in excess of its quota was 140 000 barrels a day (bpd) This is the amount by which we intend to cut down," Oil Minister Jibril Aminu said

The 13 members of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries decided at an emergency meeting in Geneva last week to cut output by 1,445 million bpd to try and mop up an oil surplus seen as responsible for the sharp fall in prices

Nigeria's output was estimated at 1,75 million bpd in April against an allocated quota of 1,611 million

With total group output 1,5 to two million bpd above its 22 million bpd ceiling, set last November, prices for the actively traded Brent oil crashed below $16a barrel last month from as high as $20 in January

Opec's target price for a basket of its crudes is $18 — Sapa-Reuter

Mandela due to visit Nigeria

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela was due in Nigeria yesterday for a four-day visit

This is the third leg of a tour which will extend his travels outside southern Africa to Africa's most populous country, reports Sapa

The visit comes at a difficult time for Nigeria with the atmosphere still uneasy three weeks after disaffected army officers tried to overthrow President Ibrahim Babangida.

KIN BENTLEY reports from London that Mandela is virtually certain to address the opening of a key meeting of Commonwealth foreign ministers in Nigeria this week, at which sanctions against SA will be high on the agenda

The nine-member Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on SA meets in the new federal capital, Abuja, on Wednesday and Thursday to discuss developments inside SA

The meeting, the first by the committee in six months, comes at a time when it has been revealed the European Community is considering a Dutch plan for the phased lifting of sanctions in response to expected major steps towards the elimination of apartheid

Other issues to be discussed include the provision of assistance to "victims of apartheid".

However, given Mandela's insistence that sanctions only be lifted when irreversible changes have been made, it seems unlikely that the ministers will call for a relaxation of sanctions.

● Comment: Page 6

Monday May 14 1990

Mandela thanks Nigeria

Sowetan 14/5/90

LAGOS - ANC deputy leader Mr Nelson Mandela told a cheering crowd of Nigerians yesterday that he was grateful to them and their government for helping win his release.

Mandela was speaking to thousands at the national soccer stadium in Lagos. (#1) (226)

The crowd roared, interrupting Mandela when he said. "As you know, I have been in prison for 27 years." After the roar subsided, he continued: "Many people, many countries, many governments, many organisations, many individuals, called for my release. With them in that call were the government and people of Nigeria.

"I am here today partly because of the contribution to that cause of the government and people of NIgeria."

He leaves Nigeria on Thursday for Algeria. - Sapa-AP.

Mandela thanks 'helpful' Nigeria

Cape Times 14/5/90 226

LAGOS, Nigeria — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela told a cheering crowd of Nigerians yesterday that he was grateful to them and their government for helping to win his release

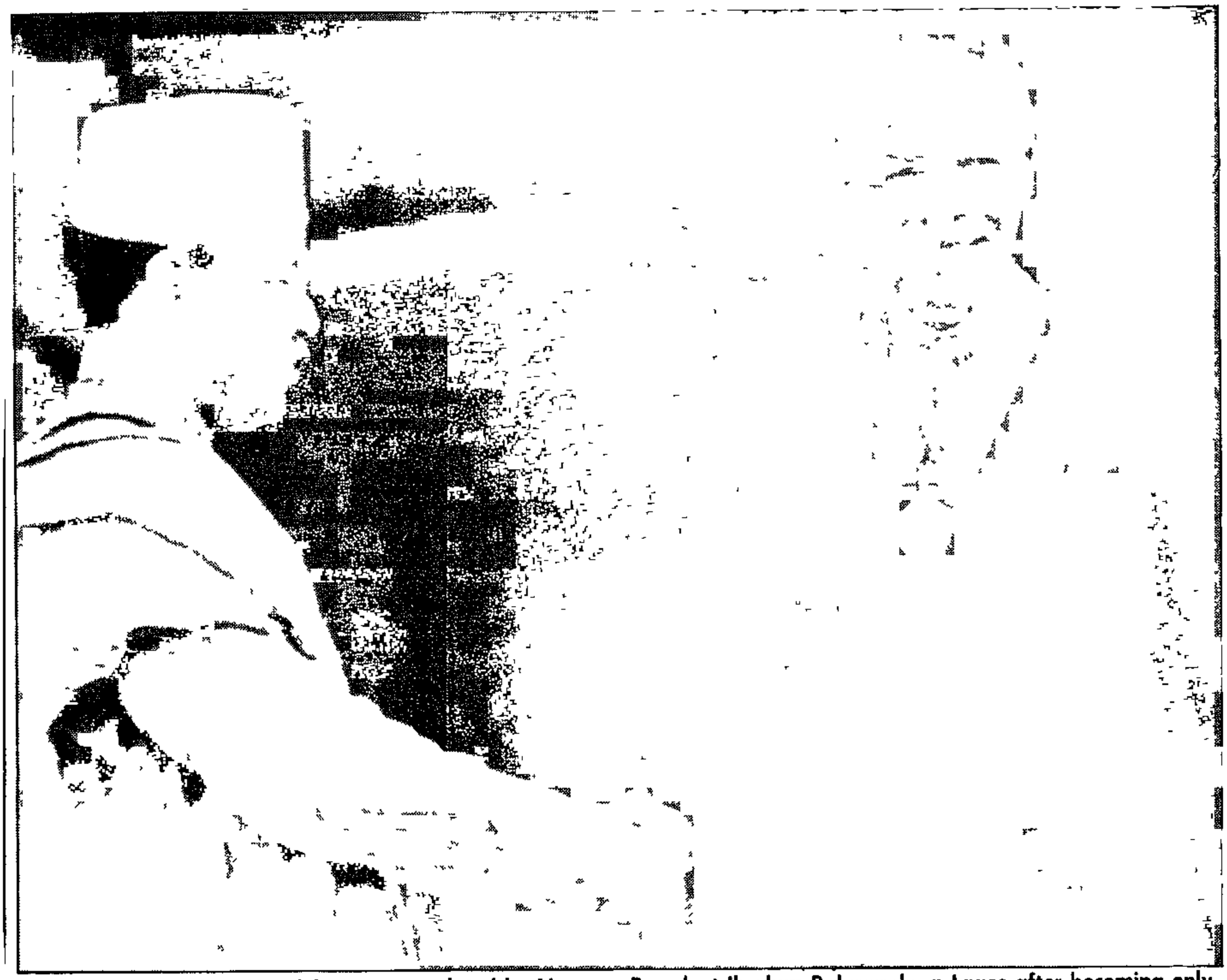
Mr Mandela, who flew here from Luanda, Angola, told a crowd of thousands at the national soccer stadium "Many people, many countries, many governments, many organisations, many individuals, called for my release With them in that call were the government and people of Nigeria

"I am here today partly because of the contribution to that cause of the government and people of Nigeria"

Mr Mandela said Nigeria had helped the black cause in many international bodies, including the United Nations It also provided financial and material support to the ANC

Mr Mandela, on a tour of African nations, was met by Rear-Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, the second-ranking man in the country's military government, on his arrival yesterday afternoon After the rally he was scheduled to meet the Nigerian president, General Ibrahim Babangida

Mr Mandela is to leave Nigeria on Thursday for Algeria — Sapa-AP



Honoured . . . Nelson Mandela is congratulated by Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida in Lagos after becoming only the second foreigner to receive the Order of the Niger ● Picture by Reuter.

Star 15/5/90

Mandela given Nigerian honour

226

LAGOS — Nigeria yesterday awarded ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela one of its highest honours, praising him as the ambassador of freedom.

"Nelson Mandela is a source of inspiration for all humanity the ambassador extraordinary of freedom and justice," said President Ibrahim Babangida, the military leader of Africa's most populous nation

He made Mr Mandela a Commander of the Order of the Niger, an honour previously granted to only one foreigner, British anti-apartheid campaigner Father Trevor Huddleston

Accepting the award, Mr Mandela said that he did so on behalf of the leadership of the ANC and the people of South Africa

He said he had had one formal and several informal meetings recently with President de Klerk Both had insisted on dealing with issues which would bring the two sides together rather than drive them apart

●Mr Mandela also received a belated City of Glasgow award, originally issued while he was in prison, and an honorary doctorate of laws from the University of Lagos — Sapa-Reuter

WELCOME: Mr Nelson Mandela meets Nigerian president General Ibrahim Babangida in Lagos. Mr Mandela is on a four-day visit to Nigeria

ARGUS 15/5/90 226

Mandela showered with awards on Nigerian trip

LAGOS — Mr Nelson Mandela has received Nigeria's highest honour, the Great Commander of the Order of the Niger

Nigerian president General Ibrahim Babangida conferred the award on Mr Mandela yesterday

General Babangida said "We realise and accept with a full sense of duty and responsibility that now, more than ever before, when the apartheid beast is wounded, is the time to redouble our dedication to the total destruction of that inhuman system

"We have had no doubt, not for one single moment, that your struggle is our struggle and your victory, which must come, is also our victory"

Mr Mandela also belatedly received a City of Glasgow award, originally issued while he was in prison

Mr Mandela said he accepted the awards on behalf of the ANC "No single individual can assume the role of hero, the role of Messiah, believing that he can bring about solutions overnight

"Let me warn you immediately that it is a pleasure to be showered with a large variety of gifts, with awards by famous centres, famous institutions and famous men and women

"But if the recipients of those gifts and honors come to believe that they are heroes, that they are Messiahs, they are likely to bring more problems than they can solve"

Mr Mandela also received an honorary doctorate of laws degree from the University of Lagos

Today Mr Mandela is to attend a meeting of foreign ministers of the British Commonwealth committee on South Africa

The Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington that Mr Mandela is to be showered with a ticker-tape parade in New York when he visits the United States for 10 days in June

Other highlights in what will be a triumphal tour of the US between June 20 and 30 will include a meeting with President George Bush at the White House and an address by Mr Mandela to a joint session of Congress — Sapa-AP

Nigeria gives Mandela highest honour

226
Sowetan 15/5/90

LAGOS - Nigeria yesterday awarded South African black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela one of its highest honours, praising him as the ambassador of freedom "

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He made the 71-year-old African National Congress (ANC) deputy president a Commander of the Order of the Niger, an honour previously granted to only one foreigner, British anti-apartheid campaigner Trevor Huddleston.

Accepting the award, Mandela said that he did so on behalf of the leadership of the ANC and the people of South Africa.

"No single individual can assume the role of a hero or a messiah. Honours received must be understood as given to the organisation to which he belongs and the people he represents," he said.

He said ANC's goal - dismantling of South Africa's apartheid system of racial discrimination - required unity between progressive groups.

"Political tolerance is the spirit (which informs our) relationship with the democratic forces, and with the government," he said.

He said he had had one formal, and several informal meetings recently with South Africa's reformist president FW de Klerk. Both had insisted on dealing with issues which would bring the two sides together rather than drive them apart, Mandela said.

Mandela and his wife, Winnie, are touring seven African countries. - Sapa

Nigerian in SA to learn about change

PRETORIA. — The former head of state of Nigeria, General Olusegun Obasanjo, said yesterday that he had come to visit South Africa to learn first-hand about the changes taking place in the country.

Gen Obasanjo, who held talks yesterday with President F W de Klerk and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said that since he left South Africa as a member of the Eminent Persons Group in May 1986, "a lot of water has passed under the bridge".

"We listened and kept close watch on the events happening in South Africa," said Gen Obasanjo, who was dressed in traditional Nigerian garb for a photo session at the Union Buildings.

Gen Obasanjo, visiting South Africa both in his private capacity as well as on behalf of the government of Nigeria, said the events in South Africa were of great concern and interest to Nigeria

He said he was impressed with the courage shown by the state president and his initiatives

The changes taking place needed support to hasten the process so the country could enjoy peace and harmony.

This was also important because of the important role the country had to play in Africa

"The white South African and the black African have nowhere to go, so we might as well work together in seeking a solution To move forward as one people, one continent," the general said

● Portugal's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Joao de Deus Pinheiro, is strongly in favour of future co-operation between South Africa and Portugal, Mr Botha said yesterday.

He and Mr Pinheiro were addressing a news conference in Pretoria after the Portuguese foreign minister met Mr De Klerk. — Sapa

Former Nigerian head visits SA to see changes 'first hand'

THE former head of state of Nigeria, General Olusegun Obasanjo, said yesterday he came to South Africa to learn first hand about changes taking place

Obasanjo, who yesterday held talks with State President FW de Klerk and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pik Botha, said since he left South Africa as member of the Eminent Persons Group in May 1986, "a lot of water has passed under the bridge"

"We listened and kept close watch on the events happening in South Africa", Obasanjo, who was dressed in traditional Nigerian garb, said at a photo session at the Union Buildings

Obasanjo, visiting South Africa privately as well as on behalf of Nigeria, said events in South Africa were of great concern to the Nigerian government.

He said he was impressed with the courage shown by the state president

During the photo session Botha said Nigeria was, because of its vast potential, one of the most important countries in Africa, for South Africa

"General Obasanjo is a moderate balanced man and really a friend South Africa feels honoured by his visit."

During the photo session, Obasanjo said "The white South African and the black South African have nowhere to go, so we might as well work together in seeking a solution. To move forward as one people, one continent".

De Klerk said he was glad Obasanjo was here in a positive spirit.

Obasanjo, who will return home at the weekend, is still to meet the Deputy President of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela.

Obasanjo was head of state from 1976 to 1979 and became a member of the EPG during the 1980s. — Sapa

Nigerians vote for religion

■ Religion rather than politics will dominate when the two political parties created by Nigeria's military rulers elect their national leaders next week, it was reported yesterday. At party conventions starting tomorrow, attention will focus on the divide between the dominant and traditionally Moslem north and the largely Christian south, rather than policies affecting Nigeria's 100-million people. (226)

Mail & Guardian, 20th-26th July 90

AFRICA

Call for review of Nigeria's IMF plan

B Day 19/7/90

226

LAGOS — Nigerian manufacturers are pleading with government to review a four-year-old IMF-backed economic reform programme, which they say is bleeding them dry

"We cannot accept wholesale these IMF prescriptions. The shock therapy has been crippling," Manufacturers' Association of Nigeria MD Oladapo Fafowora said

In July 1986 the military government began deregulation, devaluation and trade liberalisation policies to try to restore an economy battered by collapsed oil earnings, an over-valued local currency, import dependency and debt

Finance Minister Olu Falae met Nigeria's commercial bank creditors in London this week to try to win a reprieve on some debt to free cash for local production

The IMF reforms have stoked inflation, driven interest rates up as high as 30% and slashed the exchange value of the naira to almost an eighth of its 1985 level

Headlong

Critics say the measures have devastated industries, decimated the purchasing power of fixed income workers and rendered Nigeria a victim of an IMF design to sap the economy of about $32bn owed to foreign creditors

President Ibrahim Babangida said in June that his administration had by its "headlong" approach to economic restructuring "unwittingly stepped upon the toes of virtually all constituencies in the country since 1986" But he maintained that the short-term pains of economic adjustment would produce long-term benefits for sub-Saharan Africa's biggest economy

Babangida's optimism appears to be supported by Central Bank figures, which show that Nigeria's GDP rose 4,1% last year compared to 1,2% in 1985. But manufacturing output rose only 2,2% in 1989 compared to 19,2% in 1985.

Fafowora said his sector would either continue to decline or at best stagnate.

Rising production costs had reduced average capacity utilisation to less than 30% and forced many businesses to fold.

Firms relying on locally available raw materials have done much better than those depending on imports, and government says this vindicates its policy of encouraging local sourcing It has shown little sympathy for manufacturers it says consume more foreign exchange than they contribute to GDP But the manufacturers say commercial traders who thrive on unfettered liberalisation squander far more hard currency than they do.

Financial Post publisher Ashikiwe Adione-Egom said "Liberalisation is killing industry What you can import is cheaper than what can be produced here."

Fafowora said consumer demand had fallen so low that many producers could not sell what they made

Nigerian Textile co-director Oludotun Ilo said. "The structural adjustment programme is necessary It just needs retuning and refining"

He urged government intervention to ensure such areas as farming and industry got priority in allocation of resources.

Fafowora argued for a multiple foreign exchange system with lower rates for priority sectors, greater tariff protection for local producers and the lowering of the rediscount rate Government-backed schemes for on-lending concessionary loans to small- and medium-scale enterprises could be better applied to make sure credit reached those who needed it, he said — Sapa-Reuter

Farmers irate over Nigerian cocoa ban

B10 ay 17/8/90

(226)

AKURE — Nigerian cocoa farmers have become almost fanatical about chocolate bars and drinks because of a government plan to ban raw cocoa exports.

"We should be drinking cocoa — it's shameful," said a delegate to loud applause at a recent cocoa trade conference where coffee and tea were being served

At the national cocoa board in neighbouring Ghana, cocoa breaks are in and tea and coffee breaks are a thing of the past. The Cocoa Producers' Alliance, grouping cocoa-growing nations, supports such moves as contributions to boosting consumption and thus prices, depressed by six successive seasons of a world glut

Exasperated by the prolonged slump, Nigeria's military government has said unprocessed export sales will cease at the end of 1990 It wants to replace raw cocoa bean exports with semi-processed products like cocoa butter, hoping the added value will boost forex earnings

Nigeria's processing capacity falls far short of cocoa bean output. The announcement caused jitters among producers who feared a surplus of up to 110 000 tons on the home market next year. Their exhortations to consumers to buy more cocoa products seemed likely to founder on traditional resistance.

There were less controversial uses for cocoa in making bread, soap, cosmetics, pharmaceuticals, shoe polish and fertiliser, said Lawrence Opeke, an agronomist and executive secretary of the Cocoa Association of Nigeria (Can) Lagos-based Equenem Industries claimed a ready market for its wines made from cocoa beans — but non-traditional uses were unlikely to make a big dent in the anticipated surplus.

If government sticks to its plan for an all-out ban, Nigeria must soon dramatically boost its consumption and grinding capacity or face the prospect of wasting more than half of 1991's cocoa harvest

"The ban is going to spell doom for farmers and traders," said Johnson Fagboyegun, 63, a Can vice-president. Less than 10% of Nigeria's annual 160 000-ton cocoa output is processed locally. Government hopes the ban will spur local entrepreneurs to set up additional plants.

Farmers and traders say it will take at least 18 months to implement such plans.

Traders fear that a premature attempt to insulate Nigerian cocoa from world market forces could backfire, with other producing countries benefiting from Nigeria's loss — Sapa-Reuter.

A military transport plane carrying the Spanish ambassador and other nationals fleeing the civil war in Liberia arrived safely in Madrid yesterday. But members of the 78-strong group of evacuees, which included other Spanish diplomats and the papal nuncio in Liberia, said the scheme came perilously close to failure after rebels hesitated to let through 10 Liberian nationals. After five hours of negotiation, they relented. Here they are shown at Freetown airport, Sierra Leone, en route to Madrid. Picture REUTER

EC to give Nigeria $365m

LAGOS — The EC is to give Nigeria 365m ecu — about $365m — under the Lomé IV Convention.

This is regarded as the biggest single allocation to any member of the African, Carribean and Pacific states (ACP)

It is also the biggest made to Nigeria under any of the four Lomé conventions, an EC source said in Lagos yesterday

The EC has provided to date 1,7bn ecu in development assistance and associated financing to Nigeria since the signing of the first Lomé Convention in 1975 in which it received about 9m ecu

It got 50m ecu under Lomé II and 213,5m ecu under Lomé III — ANO

Motherhood - a recipe for death in Nigeria

226
Sowetan
24/10/90

Nigeria where every few minutes a woman dies in pregnancy or child birth mostly because they are too young to have children

ABUJA - Larai married at 11 and almost died in childbirth at the age of 13 when she collapsed with a ruptured womb after two days in labour.

She lost her baby and joined thousands of young Nigerian women made outcasts in their teens each year - crippled and incontinent because of poverty, tradition and a lack of basic medical care

"When we began our work in 1985, we found 300 girls like Larai roaming the hospital waiting for an operation performed only 10 times a year," said Amina Sambo, coordinator of the National Council of Women's Societies Vesico Vaginal Fistula (VVF) programme.

She is based in Kano in predominantly Moslem northern Nigeria where the frequency of pregnancy among girls not physically ready for it increases the incidence of VVF - tearing of the uterus into the bladder or bowels because of obstructed labour

Vagina

Victims either die or go through life with urine, faeces or both leaking uncontrollably into the vagina

They are frequently sent packing by their polygamous husbands

Many turn to prostitution

Sambo led a fund-raising campaign to build an operating theatre in Kano which now patches up 24 VVF sufferers a month

"We must call on our men to refuse to put immature girls in the family way It may be the first and last time they will ever become pregnant," Health Minister Olikoye Ransome-Kuti told a conference on safe motherhood last month

An internationally-recognised apostle of cost effective, basic health services, he has pressured the military-led federal government to promote birth control and improve care for mothers and children

Progress is painfully slow, for cultural as well as financial reasons, Sambo said

"We concentrate on raising awareness - explaining the dangers of child pregnancy, that pregnant women of whatever age need medical care, and that girls should stay at school until they are old enough to marry," she said.

Risks

Motherhood carries 400 times as much risk in Nigeria as in Europe or North America, said experts at the conference in Abuja, the country's planned future capital

Nigeria accounts for a tenth - 75 000 a year - of all world deaths from motherhood.

Every few minutes a Nigerian woman dies in pregnancy or childbirth from haemorrhage, infection, obstruction, rupture, hypertension or abortion complications

Most would not die if they had the knowledge, the social status and the financial means to avoid getting pregnant too young, too old and too often, and to benefit from the advice and care of trained medical staff

But few do, certainly not the 70 percent or more who live in rural areas far from the towns where this vast country's few doctors, nurses and midwives cluster

Clara Ejimbi, a community physician in northern Kaduna state, said she covers 35 000 people without the help of a single gynaecologist. There is not even an ambulance.

"Ninety-nine percent of deliveries are handled at home by TBAs - traditional birth attendants ," she said

These are usually older women in the community illiterate and without any formal medical training, but well able to help a healthy mother with a normal delivery

Basic

It is when complications arise - as they often do with undernourished and overworked mothers living without such basic amenities as sanitation and safe water - that things can go badly wrong

Irene Thomas, one of Nigeria's first woman doctors and a veteran campaigner for safe motherhood, is working to educate TBAs against traditional practices which endanger women from different ethnic and religious groups all over Africa

Ritual genital mutilation - so-called female circumcision - leaves scars which obstruct childbirth

Taboos on certain foods may deprive pregnant women of a healthy diet.

Women continue working during pregnancy and signs of danger are accepted as normal, or as omens of another kind - swollen feet as a sign of twins, for example

Labour

If labour drags on - five days is not uncommon - the family is more likely to consult an oracle than a doctor

Or the local barber may be called to make gashin cuts, slashing at the vagina or cervix with an unsterilised blade

"No scientific reasons are provided to substantiate these practices, the pain, trauma disability and even death of the victims notwithstanding," Thomas said

Women have little say in determining their own fate, having to defer to fathers, husbands and traditional chiefs - *Sapa-Reuter*

Wiping Nigeria's debt slate clean

B Day 26/11/90 (226)

LONDON — For the fist time in more than a decade there is light at the end of the Nigerian debt tunnel.

A solution to the problem that has dominated the country's political and economic agenda, soured relations with the international business and banking communities and forced successive governments to impose austerity policies is within reach.

"We want to wipe the slate clean," says Finance Minister Alhaji Abubakar Alhaji, adding that this would leave the civilian government scheduled to take office in 1992 with a manageable foreign debt

Nigeria's attempts to conclude a debt-reduction agreement with its commercial bank creditors stalled after last month's rejection by the banks of a buyback proposal covering 60% of the $5,6bn debt on the grounds that it was "not voluntary". With both sides making concessions, however, a deal is now likely

A solution to the commercial debt impasse, a new standby credit from the IMF and a rescheduling agreement with the Paris Club of official creditors could mean that when the civilians return, the debt to service ratio will be below 20% This would open the door to the much higher import levels needed for growth

Mindful of past mismanagement of oil windfalls, President Ibrahim Babangida's administration is determined to get it right this time.

Perceptions of Nigeria have changed, at home and abroad. Domestically, there is a growing clamour for higher imports, more spending on social services and the infrastructure as well as the "democratisation" programme Abroad, foreign creditors have little sympathy for one of the main beneficiaries of the Gulf crisis So far, however, the balance is clearly in Nigeria's favour

Recognition that the windfall may be short-lived is strengthening the hand of those arguing that a debt buyback operation would be the most efficient use of the surplus.

Indeed, in the first half of 1990, Nigeria spent $2,7bn on debt service — $600m more than the entire 1990 debt-service budget — partly, presumably, because it has been buying back some of its debt in the secondary market Bankers put the figure of repurchased commercial bank debt at more than $1,5bn

This is the main explanation for government overspending in the first half of the year when public spending was 33% above budget

Once this is taken into account and loan repayments are treated as below-the-line expenditure, as they should, the public sector is comfortably in surplus.

At the same time, tight monetary policy has brought inflation down from 40% in 1988-89 to 9% in the first half of this year, and falling.

Real GDP, which rose 4% in each of the past two years, is set to increase by at least 6% because of the rise in oil production

There was a current account payments surplus of almost $1bn in the first half of the year, when oil earnings averaged $18,3 a barrel. Oil exports of $4,9bn in the first six months are projected at $6,5bn in the latter half, and with outflows of no more than $8,5bn, the surplus for the full year will exceed $3bn

It is premature to claim that the Babangida government has turned the Nigerian economy around. There is still a long, long way to go with many pitfalls along the way — not least the possibility of much lower oil prices when the Gulf crisis subsides and a return to the bad old ways of reckless public spending, during and after the transition to civilian rule

But the military has changed the rules of the Nigerian game Gone is the automatic opposition to structural adjustment and resort to the IMF; currency devaluation is no longer taboo, and deregulation and liberalisation have made great strides since the president lauched the reform programme four years ago Privatisation is moving slowly ahead

The combination of debt reduction and structural reform is creating a platform for sustained recovery during the 1990s, but one crucial loophole remains to closed — that of foreign investment. The underlying hostility to foreign capital enshrined in the indigenisation decrees remains If, before returning to their barracks, the soldiers can manage this most emotive of reforms, then prospects for post-1992 economic growth and political stability will be much enhanced — Financial Times.

Oilmen head for the no-crisis Gulf

B1Day 29/11/90 (D) 226

LONDON — Western oilmen are stampeding to the Gulf — not the Persian Gulf, but West Africa's Gulf of Guinea, an area stretching from Nigeria down to Angola, and including Cameroon, Gabon and Congo.

If this region is not exactly virgin territory for the world's oil industry, it is taking on much greater importance as an alternative to excessive dependence on the Middle East and because it mostly produces light, low-sulphur crude oil, much in demand by American and European refineries.

In fact, West Africa is emerging as one of the hottest oil properties in the world with extensive new licence zones coming up for bids

Giant fields

Output from West Africa is running at about three-million barrels a day (b/d) — just above North Sea levels Analysts predict that by the mid-1990s production could rise by at least 50%

"Beyond geography, geology is playing a major role in attracting oil companies There is a feeling that there are still some giant oilfields to be discovered in West Africa," said Matthew Shaw, oil analyst at Edinburgh-based County NatWest Woodmac.

Nigeria, Africa's largest oil-producer, is attracting most attention. The government announced that 136 blocks would be made available to foreign companies in 1991.

Dave Norman, senior international adviser with Northern Michigan Exploration Company, said "American oilmen are tripping over each other to get to Lagos and talk terms with Nigerian officials, who are trying to broaden the oil industry's base from the seven large oil companies already in the country."

Nigeria hopes that new exploration activity will enable it to boost reserve levels significantly to more than 20-billion barrels by the end of the 1990s.

Own Correspondent

Similarly, more than US$6bn is to be spent to raise production capacity by 25% to 24-million b/d by 1994.

At the same time, Nigeria is putting the final touches to a $25bn scheme to become sub-Saharan Africa's first exporter of liquefied natural gas (LNG) to clients in Europe and North America by 1995

Production is set to soar in other West African countries too. Angola, whose production doubled between 1985 and 1989, should register another 30% growth in 1991 to 575 000 b/d.

According to a study by Norland Consultants, $17bn is to be invested in the development of offshore deposits between 1990 and 1994. Moreover, ongoing exploration will continue at a fast pace, with new offshore areas in the central and southern part of the country being drilled for the first time.

Congo, too, is experiencing a boom, with production rising by 15% a year. Output is set to surge above 200 000 b/d in 1992 Recent offshore finds have raised hopes, while onshore exploration is just moving into high gear.

Gabon offer

New discoveries in Gabon's hinterland have radically improved the country's oil future. Production has grown by 40% since 1989 to 280 000 b/d as new inland deposits are brought on-stream.

Gabon is to offer Western companies a swathe of high-potential onshore acreage next year. "More systematic exploration should turn up significant new hydro-carbon resources, perhaps surprising even the most optimistic forecasts," said Norman.

Cameroon, the only West African country to experience declining output, has finally amended its oil code to make the climate more attractive to foreign investors. — Daily Telegraph

Nigeria will welcome birth of 'new SA'

LAGOS — Nigeria will welcome the birth of a new SA, Foreign Minister General Ike Nwachukwu said at a conference of the Nigerian Society of International Affairs.

The minister noted Nigeria's policy towards SA should be based on realities but at the same time be cautious. Sanctions would not be lifted until racism was eliminated.

"Nigeria should show its backing for the democratic forces, including the Democratic Party ... and even President F W de Klerk with a view to encouraging a transition to a multi-party government," Nwachukwu said.

He insisted on recognising the Afrikaans- and English-speaking white South Africans as part and parcel of the ethnic mosaic of SA.

Nwachukwu said that Africa needed long-term regional economic co-operation and the consolidation of regional economic organisations, such as the East African Economic Community and the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, to be joined in the future by SA. — ANO

Nigerian call for peace in SA

LAGOS — Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida has urged black leaders in SA to end factional fighting which he called "the shame of Africa" (226)

He said he was disappointed by the fact that ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela and head of the Inkatha Freedom Party Mangosuthu Buthelezi had yet to meet to stop the "fratricidal carnage that has been the shame of Africa", he said in a speech made available yesterday.

He called on the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party, as well as other anti-apartheid groups, to "bury their pride and sink their differences" B Day 20/12/90

Babangida made the comments in a speech last weekend to the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs in Abuja, which is to become the federal capital of Nigeria

More than 3 000 people have been reported killed this year in SA's factional fighting.

The ANC has accused Inkatha, and government, of stirring the unrest to undermine its strength in the urban areas. — Sapa-Reuter.

No hitches as Nigerians vote (226)

LAGOS - Nigeria's first party political elections in seven years passed off peacefully on Saturday, but initial reports indicated a very low voter turnout, especially in the south of the country.

The elections, described by the government-owned newspaper *New Nigerian* as "a referendum on democracy", were contested by two government-created parties - the left-of-centre Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the conservative National Republican Convention (NRC).

The parties are meant to represent a break with old sectional rivalries, corruption and violence which have given the military the excuse to rule Nigeria for 20 of the 30 years since independence from Britain Sowetan 10/12/90

Augustus Aikhomu, vice-president in the government which organised the elections as a step towards a handover to civil rule in 1992, said the orderly polls vindicated their approach - *Sapa-Reuter*

BDay 5/12/90 (226)

Nigerian govt urged to put brake on public spending

LAGOS — Nigerian bankers and the private sector are urging the government to reduce runaway public spending next year, citing Central Bank figures earlier this year which showed the budget deficit rising sharply in 1990.

Memoranda from the Chartered Institute of Bankers (CIBN), manufacturers and others in the Organised Private Sector (OPS) urged a tighter 1991 budget, due to be announced on December 31.

They point to the Central Bank figures in September which showed that in the first half of 1990 the government exceeded its budgeted deficit for the whole year.

"We need a high level of fiscal discipline to slow down government expenditure," said International Merchant Bank treasury GM Bismarck Rewane.

The bank's report showed that despite a rise of more than 50% in revenues — mainly from oil — government spending was 14,9bn naira in the red in January to June compared with just over 14bn naira budgetted for the whole year. The deficit was 6,5bn in the first half of 1989.

Public debt charges were most to blame, but the costs of returning Nigeria to democracy have also been high.

A $1,7bn aluminium smelter has been added to other major construction projects including the Ajaokuta steel complex and the new capital city, Abuja.

The private sector said in its memorandum that high inflation had weakened domestic demand for local products.

Rewane proposed a higher interest rate regime to discourage borrowing, and said current lending rates around 28% lagged behind annual inflation of more than 40%.

Budget and Planning Minister Chu Okongwu, however, put inflation at about 18% in November against 50% in January.

The bankers' institute wants more emphasis on open market operations, saying the government had distorted the system.

Bankers said there were indications that more deregulation could be on the way. — Sapa-Reuter.

Zimbabwe buys Nigerian crude

Star 10/11/91

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LAGOS — Zimbabwe is buying about R38 million worth of crude oil from Nigeria, which has promised cheaper supplies to African nations hit by increased fuel prices

The agreement was signed yesterday by visiting Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe and the Nigerian leader, General Ibrahim Babangida

● Lagos newspapers report that Mr Mugabe and his entourage narrowly escaped a road accident on Tuesday.

A car swerved to avoid the president's convoy and ploughed into spectators who had gathered to welcome him at the roadside

Neglected villagers blockade oil wells

Oil has brought wealth to Nigeria, but not to the villagers who live in badlands near the wells, reports KUNLE ADEKOYA.

LAGOS — Rural communities in Nigeria's oil-producing areas have resorted to blockading the oil wells of major producers after claiming they have been neglected by the government for years.

Angry villagers have this year blockaded installations owned by Shell Petroleum Developing Company — the biggest oil company in Nigeria — more than 20 times

In one attack, villagers from communities in Imiringi, Elebele and Otuasega on the Kolo Creek in River State, where Shell has 37 wells, forced their way into the company's central control room, shut down the whole system and blockaded the helipad and the access road.

Undertaking

Shell, which operates more than 1 000 oil wells in about 85 fields linked by 1 700 km of pipelines, finally gave an undertaking to construct a road in each of the three communities.

"Shell loses about $1 million for every day a blockade lasts because it has to pay for equipment and contractors who work on the oil rigs whether or not there was a blockade," said Lawson Jack, who heads the firm's public and government affairs department

Shell's experience is shared by other oil companies such as Gulf, Elf and Mobil in their various operational bases in the country

Nigeria's rural communities have complained for many years that they have not been provided with vital infrastructure such as roads, health facilities, water and electricity, despite the money made by the country from oil.

Oil is the source of 85 percent of Nigeria's foreign exchange needs, but the oil-producing areas remain poverty-stricken

While elsewhere the benefits of the government's Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) have begun to be felt, most of the oil regions still lack basic amenities such as roads, health facilities, water and electricity, despite the money made by the country from oil.

According to social commentator Dr Tunde Akinjide "the discovery of oil was a curse" to the oil-producing communities

"It meant poverty, hunger and disease It meant suffering barefaced deprivation and capitalist exploitation, the magnitude of which could only have been compared with what happens to a cow in the hands of a selfish dairyman concerned only with milking and disposing of it as soon as the milk well dries," he said.

Villagers have also resorted to sabotage attacks on oil installations. After one attack, Shell had to suspend pumping oil from a station that accounted for 16 000 barrels of oil per day.

Terrain

Within the first 10 days of the incident, Nigeria lost an estimated 360 000 barrels of oil, Shell officials said.

However, the government is doubtful it can make any real development in the unfriendly terrain of the oil producing regions.

Petroleum Resources Minister Jibril Aminu said the terrain of some of these areas is so harsh it is "difficult to pursue serious economic activities" — DPA Features

Fear and loathing at Lagos airport

Sowetan 28/2/91.

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FOCUS

This is the final article in the Focus series by Staff Reporter PHANGISILE MTSHALI, who recently toured West Africa. Today she takes a look at Nigeria.

BEFORE I left Cote d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast) for Nigeria, the BBC correspondent in Nigeria, Mark Doyle, gave me some advice.

It went "Guard your baggage with your life and hang on to your passport - do not give it to anyone but the most senior of officials"

I thought he was just being cynical But I had hardly spent five minutes at Mortala International Airport, Lagos, and was already confused by all the warnings I hed been given about Nigeria.

I watched shocked as customs and immigration officials openly demanded money from illiterate passengers they were supposed to help

Unfriendly

One of the officials grabbed my passport, paged hurriedly though it, shouted something unfriendly in a local language and threw it to one side

"I do not understand your language," I shouted back at him

Ten minutes went by before he glanced at my passport again and noticed it was South African He froze and shouted at his seniors, his manner changed completely I was escorted like a VIP to a certain room and within 10 minutes I left the area

Screaming

But misfortune had not finished with me. I was in Nigeria but my luggage had not arrived with me on the 5pm flight and nobody knew what had happened to it - not even Nigeria Airways After an hour of screaming and threatening I was told to come back at 10pm as maybe it would be on a later flight

Then I left the airport building to the search for my driver, Mr Michael Idowu Sonibare, who had been waiting for four hours

People who say that Soweto is the biggest black city in the world have obviously not visited Lagos. The city is bustling with people dressed in traditional *Babalika* dress, a three-piece garment with long shirt and pants and an oversized top made in silk My mood lightened at this colourful sight

Scary

This was short-lived as the drive to my hotel was hair-raising It was so scary I had to ask my driver whether there were any traffic regulations Motorists changed lanes without any warning, overtook and forced their way into the crowded street

Halfway towards my hotel I had learnt to admire their driving skills as they avoided accidents with expertise and refrained from swearing It is said that 30 people die daily in Lagos road accidents

"Driving in the city is much better now," Michael said

"Before they built the expressways a theoretical 30-minute journey would take you up to four hours But with the oil boom of the past year they tried to ease the jam and now you can travel without problems between 11am and 3pm Other times are still horrible"

To ease the traffic problem authorities introduced a curfew on cars Cars with registration numbers starting with odd number should be in Lagos only Monday, Wednesday and Friday and those starting with even numbers on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday

Of the three countries I visited Nigeria was the most developed - the express ways, skyscrapers, beautiful residential suburbs, airlines and a modern international airport

Distress

The oil boom has also been a cause of distress

"The Biafra War resulted from the oil discovery," managing editor of *NewsWatch* Mr Yakubu Mohammed said

"States on the eastern side wanted to form their own seperate country and we were not going to allow them It was very ugly but we have now outgrown the tribal conflicts"

After a few hours I had strong feelings that everyone was trying to sell me something You cannot budget for a trip in Nigeria Everything costs you - from getting an official stamp to asking directions.

Howling

When I returned to the airport for my luggage, one passenger was howling over his bag - it had been neatly sliced open and someone had taken all his money and documments

Watching this pitiful scene someone commented that Lagos was "a city that has lost its soul"

Nigerian politics is easier to understand Chief Commander Ebrahim Babangida rules this Muslim country and his temporary military government is preparing to hand power over to two state-funded political parties in 1992

"The military has handed power to civilians before," said Muhammed. "It will be different this time It is true we have had seven coups in our post-colonial history but the military always return to the barracks when things have been straightened out"

I spent two days in the area and I already hated it

Then I flew to Kano in northern Nigeria It was a completely different kettle of fish People were friendlier, more caring. Its hawkers and taxi drivers were not as intimidating as their counterparts down south The weather was dry and windless compared to the humidity of the south Kano's economy is based on agriculture whereas Lagos is a city in its true sense with a wide variety of markets and factories.

I loved Kano and its people, who still hang on to their traditional practices and beliefs

At the end of my West African tour I decided that if I was to live in Nigeria I would make friends in Accra, have my meals in Abidjan and head for Lagos for entertainment.

'A city that has lost its way . . .'

Nigeria is keeping a close eye on SA, reports **John Owen-Davies**

High hopes of an African powerhouse

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Star 20/2/91

NIGERIA, an implacable foe of apartheid, is watching the unravelling of white rule in South Africa with rising hopes of big economic and political gains.

"Once apartheid is out of the way, Nigeria is eager to get its hands on the enormous technical expertise in South Africa," said Oladapo Fafowora, head of the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria "South Africa has a lot to offer."

Leading Nigerians speak privately of Nigeria and post-apartheid South Africa becoming the two powerhouses of sub-Saharan Africa. Both countries are richly endowed with minerals

Nigeria's military government, sensing real change in South Africa is close, has striven to persuade Pretoria and its anti-apartheid opponents to reach a settlement

In contrast to once strong Nigerian rhetoric, President Ibrahim Babangida last December referred to President de Klerk as someone who "by and large had won himself the public image of a man of integrity".

"We are quite impressed with what is going on but we believe the momentum and pressure for change is not enough," an official Nigerian source said.

"Once the United Nations lifts sanctions and we are fully convinced that the momentum of change is on course, we can start a dialogue," the source added

African diplomats said it was possible Nigeria would call for more contacts with South Africa at an Organisation of African Unity (OAU) meeting in June.

In an apparent effort to gain a major foothold in southern Africa, Nigeria has been seeking economic and transport links with Namibia.

General Babangida welcomed Mr de Klerk's moves this month to repeal some anti-apartheid laws but said more needed to be done before it was clear that changes were irreversible

Nigeria has given strong support to anti-apartheid movements such as the ANC, the PAC and Inkatha.

"Together with them, we shall leave no stone unturned until the final liquidation of apartheid is achieved and a just, multiracial and egalitarian society is attained in South Africa," General Babangida said in a speech last week.

Nigerian businessmen believe firm links with a post-apartheid South Africa will be beneficial for Nigeria, Africa's most populous country and a leading member of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (Opec)

Nigeria's oil reserves are expected to drive the economy for another 50 years, but its still large economy has slumped since oil boom cash was squandered during civilian rule in the early 1980s

Former Nigerian leader Olusegun Obasanjo, who has good links with the Lagos government, said after visiting South Africa last July he was optimistic about the chances of establishing links with Pretoria, if apartheid was on the way out

There have been persistent rumours that South Africa, recognising Nigeria's political and economic clout in black Africa, has been trying to forge links with Lagos — Sapa-Reuter □

Nigeria to float stake in salt

LAGOS — From today, Nigeria will float its entire stake in the National Salt Company as part of its wide-ranging programme.

Technical Committee on Privatisation and Commercialisation spokesman Emeka Maduagbuna said it would be the 21st flotation under a programme backed by the IMF which started in January 1989 to promote wider share ownership and greater efficiency.

Maduagbuna said 25% of the shares would be allocated to core group investors in the form of public sector organisations or technical managers.

The government had decided that between 25 and 40% of shares in at least 18 businesses earmarked for sale should be sold to investors to guard against adverse effects of thinly spread share ownership. — Sapa-Reuter

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Nigeria's troubled path to democracy

LAGOS — Critics say the Nigerian military government's regimented route to democracy may destroy the goal instead of achieving it. B|Day 18|3|91

Laws supposed to ensure a peaceful transition for Africa's most populous nation "allow the military to foist on the people .. a novel kind of test-tube democracy," the Nigerian Civil Liberties Organisation said in a report. (226)

It denounced the carefully drawn plans of President Ibrahim Babangida for installing a civilian government in 1992, including how local elections were conducted on December 8, 1990.

Corruption and tribal and religious rivalries combined to bring down the three previous civilian administrations. All fell to military coups.

The report cited instances of voters being attacked and of chief and landlords making sure people lined up behind them.

A more fundamental cause of voter apathy was a lack of choice after the government created two parties and banned all 13 others that wanted to contest the elections. — Sapa-AP

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Africa's other giant is waiting

Star 25/3/91 (226)

African states, impatient to begin dealing with South Africa, are treating the De Klerk reforms as the key to the side door, writes GERALD L'ANGE of The Star Africa Service. The former Nigerian head of state, General Olusegun Obasanjo (right), sees both nations working closer together in the future once apartheid has been eliminated.

THE NIGERIAN attracted little attention as he sat in the visitors' gallery at the formal opening of the current session of the SA Parliament in Cape Town last month

Not many members knew who he was But those who did were keenly aware of the significance of the presence of a representative of Africa's other giant

As much as any other recent development, the informal visit by the Nigerian representative — and the group of Nigerian journalists who accompanied him — demonstrated Africa's growing fascination with the emerging new South Africa

So far this year, representatives of at least 15 African governments have visited SA They include two different delegations from Nigeria and representatives of Gabon, Zaire, Rwanda, Cape Verde, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Guinea Bissau, Togo, Senegal, Ghana and the Congo as well as a delegation from the African Development Bank

All of their countries are members of the Organisation of African Unity and most of them officially maintain the economic, sporting and cultural sanctions it has imposed on Pretoria in tandem with the United Nations.

Unofficially they probably all do business with SA, contributing to the explosion of African trade with SA that has almost reached R10 billion a year and is growing.

Like many other African countries, they are looking forward to the abolition of apartheid so that they can deal freely and openly.

The De Klerk reforms have given a measure of unofficial respectability to the once furtive exchanges, so much so that sanctions have become increasingly irrelevant

But not entirely so The sporting and cultural boycotts still hurt. And the trade would flow much more smoothly and would grow faster if it could be directed through open and official channels With communications in Africa as bad as they are, informal channels tend to be inefficient.

Pretoria thus has a strong incentive to seek formal relations with African states, even if it is only at the level of a trade commission or an interests office It is looking to African countries to disregard the OAU and establish open links with SA, as Madagascar did last year

There is a good chance that several states will take the plunge this year, say South African diplomats, especially if the De Klerk reform programme keeps on track

Kenya has taken an important step in that direction by allowing SAA to land at Nairobi and South African citizens to visit the country But it is still reluctant to go all the way Other countries being eyed by Pretoria are thought to include Morocco, Egypt, Gabon, Senegal, Congo and Cameroon

The big catch would be Nigeria, the giant of black Africa both in terms of population (at 110 million the largest) and economy (one of the largest with a gross domestic product of R72 billion in 1988)

Politicians in Nigeria are said to envisage a post-apartheid situation in which SA would dominate a southern and eastern economic bloc and Nigeria a western equivalent, with close co-operation between the two groups

"I do not see any obstacles to Nigeria and South Africa working together in international organisations and even becoming close to each other after apartheid's abolition," ex-Nigerian president Olusegun Obasanjo said recently

General Obasanjo's visit to South Africa in July 1990 is understood to have been made at the behest of President Ibrahim Babangida The general's scouting expedition has been followed by the visit this year by the other Nigerian politicians and the journalists

A Nigerian newspaper, the Guardian, recently quoted unidentified African diplomats (who would logically be Nigerian) as saying that at the OAU summit in June in the Nigerian capital of Abuja, Nigeria may call for developing contacts with South Africa

The report does not spell out what kind of contacts are envisaged But a proposal for even the most tentative contacts, coming from Nigeria, would have an enormous political impact and, if firmly proposed, would be hard for OAU member-states to resist

It would be one of the most dramatic salutes to the De Klerk reforms that has yet been given Assuming the intention is there, whether it is actually made will probably depend on whether Mr de Klerk is seen to be maintaining the momentum of the reforms between now and June

As long as the ANC and PAC keep calling for sanctions to be maintained, the OAU is likely to maintain formal support for this stand But recent developments suggest the formal policy might then be bypassed by informal dealings with SA to an extent that would make the formal stance largely irrelevant.

The opening of informal "interests" offices that would in reality function as trade and consular offices would suit Pretoria's purposes very well, even if not as well as full diplomatic recognition

Foreign Affairs would then be hard-pressed to find the funds and staff for offices in addition to those in Malawi, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Zaire, Swaziland, Lesotho, Ivory Coast, Mauritius, Comoros and, soon, Madagascar □

African states trade through the side door

Sowetan 25/3/91 226

African states, impatient to start dealing openly with South Africa, are treating the De Klerk reforms as a key to a side door.

THE Nigerian attracted little attention as he sat in the visitors' gallery at the formal opening of the current session of the South African Parliament in Cape Town last month.

Not many members knew who he was But those who did were keenly aware of the significance of the presence of a representative of Africa's other giant.

As much as any other recent development, the informal visit by the Nigerian representative - and the group of Nigerian journalists who accompanied him - demonstrated Africa's growing fascination with the emerging New South Africa.

So far this year representatives of at least 15 African governments have visited South Africa. They include two different delegations from Nigeria and representatives of Gabon, Zaire, Rwanda, Cape Verde, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Guinea Bissau, Togo, Senegal, Ghana and the Congo as well as a delegation from the African Development Bank.

All of their countries are members of the Organisation of African Unity and most of them officially maintain the economic, sporting and cultural sanctions it has imposed on South Africa in tandem with the United Nations

IBRAHIM BABANGIDA

Unofficially they probably all do business with South Africa, contributing to the explosion of African trade with the Republic that has almost reached R10 billion a year and still growing

Like many other African countries, they are looking forward to the abolition of apartheid so that they can deal freely and openly with South Africa

Reforms

The De Klerk reforms have given a certain measure of unofficial respectability to the once furtive exchanges, so much so that the sanctions have become increasingly irrelevant.

But not entirely so The sporting and cultural boycotts still hurt. And the trade would flow much more smoothly and would grow faster if it could be directed through open and official channels

With communications in Africa as bad as they are, informal channels tend to be inefficient.

Pretoria thus has a strong incentive to seek formal relations with African states, even if it is only at the level of a trade commission or an interests office It is looking to African countries to disregard the OAU and establish open links with the Republic, as Madagascar did last year.

There is a good chance that several states will take the plunge this year, according to South African diplomats, especially if the De Klerk reform programme keeps on track.

Pretoria's ideal is for one of the major African states to deal openly with the Republic, which would almost certainly precipitate similar action by a number of smaller states

Kenya has taken an important step in that direction by allowing South African Airways to land at Nairobi and South African citizens to visit the country on tourist or business trips

Reluctant

But it is still reluctant to go all the way

Other countries being eyed by Pretoria are thought to include Morocco, Egypt, Gabon, Senegal, Congo and Cameroon.

The big catch would be Nigeria, which is the giant of black Africa both in terms of population (at 10 million the largest) and economy (one of the largest with a gross domestic product of R72 billion in 1988) Politicians in Nigeria are said to envisage a post-apartheid situation in which South Africa will dominate a southern and eastern economic bloc and Nigeria a western equivalent, with close cooperation between the two groups

"I do not see any obstacles to Nigeria and South Africa working together in international organisations and even becoming close to each other after the abolition of apartheid, ' former Nigerian president Olusegun Obasanjo said recently

"After apartheid" remains the catchword of official policy But there are signs that the Nigerians may be prepared to start moving towards rapprochement even before apartheid is universally pronounced dead, the way having been partially cleared by the De Klerk reforms

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Diplomats

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...believe military rule is probably best for Nigeria, Africa s most populous nation with many scores of languages and an almost equal mix of Christians and Moslems whose rivalry has triggered bloodshed in the past.

Military may act in Nigeria again

Soweta 25/3/91 226

LAGOS - Nigeria's military leaders appear determined to restore civilian rule next year but there is no guarantee that they will remain in barracks if democracy again fails to meet their expectations.

Nigeria has been led for two of the past three decades by the army, which regards itself as saviour of a nation that has been shaken by civil war and religious rivalry

Military eyebrows have already been raised at reports of political thuggery and unbridled ambition in sections of the two hand-picked parties vying for civilian power in October 1992

The previous era of civilian rule in 1979-83 sank under a morass of corruption and the squandering of cash earned from Nigeria's oilfields.

Civilian rule after independence from Britain in 1960 ended in a 1966 coup, the first of a succession of army interventions to rock the West African country.

In a clear message that the army was determined to revert to civilian rule in 1992, President Ibrahim Babangida said. "We shall not permit any person to bring the transition to a halt."

General Babangida, who led a 1985 coup, urged civilian politicians during a speech in the northern state of Katsina on March 1 to shun profligate lifestyles when they assumed power.

"Only the best moral standards will satisfy Nigerians," he was quoted as saying by newspapers

Despite Babangida's high moral tone and expectations, people from many walks of life believe he may not be the last military president

Some say privately that military rule is probably best for Nigeria, Africa's most populous nation with many scores of languages and an almost equal mix of Christians and Moslems whose rivalry has triggered bloodshed in the past

A senior Western military source said. "The Nigerian officer sees himself as a political animal

Civilian

"Therefore, if civilian government does not perform to the wishes of the people and the military, there is a strong possibility that they could come back again"

George Emeka, a Lagos salesman, said "I think the military will return if a civilian government does not do as well as expected by the army, which wants to satisfy the masses"

Babagana Kingibe, chairman of the Social Democratic Party, one of two chosen by government to fight elections, believes the military is unswerving in its desire for civilian rule.

"On both sides of the divide there is an awareness of the need to demilitarise the country," Kingibe, an ex-ambassador and senior civil servant, said.

"We (civilians) are not just hapless sitting ducks for the military to pick off at will. We should not be, we need not be and we will not be if we have our way," he added.

Kingibe's party narrowly beat the conservative National Republican Convention in nationwide local elections in December.

The two parties will contest state elections later this year, and federal and presidential elections by October 1992

"The transition (to civilian rule) is going according to plan," said George Obiozor, a former Babangida adviser who now heads the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA).

The phased programme was jeopardised briefly last April during a failed coup attempt by junior officers seeking to expel five mainly Moslem northern states from the 21-state federation

The army has been preparing its 100 000-strong force of men and women for civilian rule since then

"Nigerians in general must learn to accommodate one another We must see ourselves as people with one destiny in ensuring peace and stability," the army's monthly magazine, *Soja*, said

Culture

"Nigerians must adopt the culture of dialogue and avoid violence .. Every Nigerian must see this country as greater than anyone," it said in an editorial

Plans have been announced to streamline the army to just over 60 000-strong and make it more professional. Some civilian politicians are reported to want an even greater reduction.

"In the Nigerian situation, democracy is the only integrative glue that can bind different subnational groups together into a nation with common destinies," former army head of state, Olusegun Obasanjo wrote in his book *"Not my Will"* - *Sapa-Reuter*

George Hunt

2306 BREE STREET, TI

When counting heads can be a serious offence

226

Star 26/3/91.

Out of Africa

GERALD L'ANGE

IF our census takers think they had problems this year they should see what the government of Nigeria is facing as it prepares to conduct that country's first head count since 1973

There is even more at stake in Nigerian censuses than there was in the one this year in South Africa, which was bedevilled by the controversy over the counting of people in "dangerous" black townships from a helicopter, in the same way that animals are counted in game reserves

The Nigerians have not done anything so demeaning, but their censuses have been so controversial in other ways that they have not been able to conduct one since 1973 And that was annulled a few years later, which has left Nigeria without an official population figure.

All demographic calculations are based on guesswork and are therefore much less reliable than even the estimates of the airborne enumerators in South Africa.

Current estimates vary between 90 million and 120 million So what's 30 million between friends? An awful lot, in fact, because a great deal of very unfriendly competition hangs on census results in Nigeria

They can influence matters ranging from the balance of power between the Muslim and non-Muslim areas, to the allocation of revenue between the various states.

The population is so large and ethnically diverse that census tallies tend to become twisted in favour of whoever has the power to do the twisting at his particular level.

Despite precautions against corruption, such as having two soldiers accompany each enumerator, the result of the 1973 census produced some patently absurd figures Public rejection was so strong that the count was annulled when the next coup came around (1975, General Murtala Mohammed, remember?)

Now, two or three coups later, General Babangida's government is about to have another go at counting the Nigerians How it proposes to make it more accurate than the previous ones has not yet been disclosed

But in the meantime the government has taken steps to prevent any prejudgment of the outcome; it has forbidden the government of any state to discuss the probable size of its population without written authority from the National Population Commission It views this aspect seriously enough to have set severe penalties for ignoring the order

In the South African census, the worst thing that could happen to an enumerator, apart from being bitten by a dog (and several were), was to have his helicopter motor cut out over a shebeen in Alexandra township But the Nigerian census-takers may have to steer an even more hazardous course between a government that will throw them in jail if they falsify the returns, and competing local political groups who will threaten to "get" them if they don't

□ □ □

The decision about who to have as guest of honour at Namibia's first independence celebration on March 21 was a difficult one for the Windhoek government President Mugabe of Zimbabwe was the ultimate choice, but not the first

Windhoek had asked Fidel Castro, but the Cuban said he couldn't make it Some observers suspect that the first choice was actually President de Klerk of South Africa, but that this was blocked by a faction arguing that the former "colonial" boss would be an inappropriate guest

Mr Mugabe was then approached, despite his having stayed away from the independence ceremonies last year. There was some frostiness about that omission at the time, but he appears to have been forgiven Perhaps Windhoek has accepted that he really did have a good reason, which is widely assumed to be that he refused to be seen in the company of the head of the apartheid government □

Nigeria's steel projects a $6-bn white elephant

Star 5/4/91

226

NIGERIA — A steel industry is regarded by many in Nigeria as the key to sustained economic growth.

Thirteen years after committing itself to the sector, however, and at a cost of $6 billion, Nigeria is not far down the road to fulfilling its ambitions

Of the two factory projects undertaken, the one-million-ton-a-year Delta Steel plant is operating at just 13 percent capacity, while the Ajaokuta plant has yet to start production.

In the 1991 budget, however, steps were taken to protect the local industry.

Import duties on ingots were increased from 10 percent to 50 percent and on many other products, such as bars, rods, angles and wire, from 40 percent to 80 percent.

But observers believe the industry has so many fundamental flaws that the main effect of the new import tariffs will be to penalise the consumer with inadequate supply and higher prices.

Industrial protection will have no effect on the progress of the Ajaokuta steel plant, which is still several years from completion. The plant is based upon aged Soviet technology and will require 1,3 million tons of coking coal a year to keep its furnaces burning.

Nigeria lacks coking coal of a high-enough quality and at least 800 000 tons will have to be imported annually to create the necessary blend.

While this will result in increased production costs, a far greater problem is that the plant is 250 km inland on the Niger river. Either the river will have to be dredged, a monumental task, or a 150 km railway line will have to be built to link the site with the national network.

The Delta Steel company, a technologically advanced direct-reduction plant, is at least up and running, if only at a fraction of its installed capacity.

It suffers from technical difficulties for, as a company document concedes, the rated capacity of one million tons of steel is, in fact, unattainable because of inadequate power supply from the Nigeria electric power authority.

It was to assist Delta Steel that the import tariffs were raised and officials project output this year of 350 000 tons.

The transportation costs for the ore, at about $34 a ton, are twice the price of the ore itself. Nigeria has iron ore deposits, but these are of poor quality.

For the $6 billion it will cost just to build Ajaokuta, Nigeria could have imported its annual steel requirements 20 times over. — Financial Times.

Gerald L'Ange examines future ties between South Africa and Nigeria

Poised at gates of West Africa

Star 22/4/91

NIGERIA'S High Commissioner in Botswana, Mustafa Zubairu, does not envisage his government establishing full diplomatic relations with Pretoria until universal suffrage is in place in South Africa

But he does not rule out the possibility of other exchanges developing between the two countries in the meantime, provided the process of abolishing apartheid continues

In an interview in Gaborone Mr Zubairu said the opening of relations with a post-apartheid South Africa could benefit not only Nigeria but all of Africa

"With your developed industries and technology you have many things to offer to West Africa," he said And West Africa could offer many products to South Africa

"I'm sure South Africa would love to buy our oil"

Asked whether he could envisage close political and economic co-operation between Nigeria and South Africa, Mr Zubairu said "In the long run, yes, I can see that as a real prospect"

There could be similar co-operation between South Africa and other relatively wealthy African countries such as Egypt and Algeria, he said

He accepted that as an African country South Africa was better placed than non-African countries, geographically as well as through first-hand experience of African conditions, to meet the technical and other needs of the continent

"I think all of us agree that the whites in South Africa are Africans For decades now we have all agreed on that But we don't want them to practise apartheid because by doing so they show they are not African If you are an African you have no fear of the other Africans who are in the same country as yourself

"Although I don't want to disparage the European nations it is true that some machinery they sold to us was unsuitable But if South Africa gave us good machinery all would benefit, especially as we have a big internal market of 80 million or more people"

Mr Zubairu thought there would be a specially heavy demand in Nigeria for South African medical and veterinary products

Nigeria, he said, could serve as a distribution point for South African products throughout West Africa

"By selling something to Nigeria you are also selling it to other countries It will filter through to Cameroon, Chad, Niger, Burkina Faso, Benin, Togo, Ghana, the Central African Republic"

On the crucial issue of when apartheid will be judged to have been abolished, Mr Zubairu said the basic criterion in his view would be the institution of a one-man-one-vote system He said he could not say whether his government would insist on that condition being met before it agreed to establish full diplomatic relations

However, he believed many countries in Africa would like to encourage President de Klerk — "a very honest and courageous person" — in his reforms If he maintained the momentum of reform it would be sufficient reason for the opening of new exchanges with South Africa

Asked for his views on the continuing violence in South Africa, he said he could not see why the Government could not stop it

"Any government can stop violence in its territory The onus is on the government In Nigeria any violence can be stopped by our government easily" □

General Ibrahim BABANGIDA

High-profile activist flirts with danger

Sowetan 28/5/91

(226)

LAGOS - Nigerian human rights activist Mr Beko Ransome-Kuti leans back in his medical surgery chair and says prison would be a badge of honour.

"I just do what has to be done. I feel that to be locked up would be like an award," he said in an interview.

In many other Third World countries under military rule like Nigeria, an activist with such a high profile who flirted with danger as he does would probably already have been jailed.

"I think the government takes me seriously," said Ransome-Kuti (50), whose brother Olikoye, also a doctor, has been health minister since 1985 - a civilian in cabinets dominated by military men.

"Human rights here is much better than in a lot of other African countries but I don't see why we should not achieve international standards," Ransome-Kuti said

"The current situation all depends on the whims and caprices of the president (General Ibrahim Babangida)," he added.

A week rarely passes without Ransome-Kuti's Committee for the Defence of Human Rights berating the government for alleged abuses

The allegations include shootings without trial, torture and what he calls a fake transition to civilian rule - the military's pledge to stand aside by October next year.

Ransome-Kuti's suburban surgery doubles as a consulting room for people who believe they have been wronged, such as a banker who said his employers were cheating on his salary

In a quiet voice as a secretary tapped out the CDHR's latest information release on a computer, he brushed aside suggestions that having a highly-placed brother helped to keep him out of major trouble.

"We get on very well We understand each other's position," said Ransome-Kuti, who spent six months in the notorious Kirikiri jail in Lagos in 1985 during a doctors' strike.

Another brother, Fela, a staunch anti-militarist and a prominent Afro-Beat singer, suffered similarly around the same time for alleged currency irregularities.

That was before Babangida seized power in late 1985 from General Muhammadu Buhari

One of Babangida's pledges was to restore respect for human rights in Africa's most populous country, which has been under military rule for much of the time since independence from Britain in 1960.

Ransome-Kuti has called Babangida "a military person whose human rights record leaves a lot to be desired"

But in an unusual juxta-positioning between an army leader and a severe critic, Ransome-Kuti said: "Compared with other military leaders he is a nice man, and clever

The CDHR this year has alleged that the government is holding without trial relatives of suspected plotters behind a failed coup attempt in April, 1990 - *Sapa-*

Ulmail 3|5-9|5|91

Nigeria considers lifting SA sanctions

PRESIDENT Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria has upset several key Commonwealth countries by disclosing his government is considering lifting most sanctions against South Africa. The major shift by Africa's biggest country was made conditional on the repeal of all remaining apartheid laws.

Babangida, in a little-noticed speech, recently cited what he called "President Frederick de Klerk's commitment to a peace process" as his reason for contemplating the lifting of sanctions.

Winds of change overtaking winds of war

226 Star 11/6/91.

GERALD L'ANGE

THE winds of change are outblowing the winds of war in southern Africa, bringing hope for the first time in years to the embattled region

After decades of warfare, destruction, misery and death, the people of the region are at last seeing real prospects of reconstruction

The winds were fairly gusty this week In Lisbon yesterday the leaders of Angola's MPLA government and the Unita rebels signed a ceasefire agreement that opens the way for the country's first democratic election

And in Rome on Wednesday representatives of Mozambique's Frelimo government and the Renamo rebels ended months of wrangling and reached agreement on the agenda for negotiations aimed at ending the war

In Abuja, Nigeria, the foreign ministers of the Organisation of African Unity heard a plea from Nigeria for the lifting of sanctions against South Africa

The ministers rejected the plea for the present, but for such a move to have come from Nigeria, formerly a leader of the anti-apartheid lobby, is seen as a reflection of a widespread belief in Africa that a new era is beginning

By going to the negotiating table after years of fruitless fighting, the adversaries in Angola and Mozambique are giving South Africans a living demonstration of the futility of violence

The winds of change began, ironically, in Moscow, which had long been the source of much subversion and political upheaval in Africa The collapse of Marxism-Leninism and therefore of Moscow's hegemonic ambitions in Africa made possible the agreement signed in New York in 1988 for the withdrawal of the Cuban and South African troops from Angola and independence for Namibia

MOVES TO PEACE: Fapla and Unita soldiers join each other in jeeps as the two sides begin the process of monitoring the ceasefire. **Picture: Dale Lautenbach**

Deprived by these developments of their source of arms and of their Cuban backup, the MPLA commanders in Angola made one last effort to defeat Unita in the field When that failed, they had little option but to meet Unita at the negotiating table

From Angola and Namibia the winds blew straight into South Africa The abandonment of apartheid by the National Party was made possible by the withdrawal of the "red" threat from Angola, by the discovery that a similar threat was not going to be presented by a Swapo government in Namibia, and by the collapse of the "total onslaught" theory

The winds blew through the African National Congress headquarters in Lusaka, persuading a majority of the executive to suspend insurgency Pretoria's destabilisation in the neighbouring states then became pointless

As in Angola, negotiation became the name of the game in South Africa and the ANC leadership came home

In Mozambique the Frelimo government, no longer cozened by warm Marxist breezes from Moscow, abandoned communism and the one-party state concept and adopted a new constitution providing for political pluralism and free enterprise

It thereby met the main demands of the Renamo rebels, leaving them with no reason to continue with war Reluctant and suspicious, the rebels have been dragged to the negotiation table in Rome

There seem now to be no insoluble differences between the two sides However, given the animosity with which the war has been conducted and the deep suspicion between the two sides, it may be too much to expect that it will be all downhill from here to the election

Even if the Renamo leaders now seek quick progress to the election, a major problem will remain in ensuring that the voting is not interfered with by the large numbers of heavily armed men in the bush who appear to have no allegiance to anything but outright banditry

There is no such problem in Angola, where allegiances and chains of command are fairly well defined and where prospects for a fairly clean election are therefore much better

An embryo United Nations monitoring force is already in place, left behind from the monitoring of the withdrawal of Cuban troops

Both Angola and Mozambique are still a long way from having democracy and peace And South Africa is only at the start of what could be a long road to these objectives

But, aside from the violence in South Africa, the dynamics of peace in the region are now stronger than the dynamics of war and this is a situation that has not prevailed for decades

● *The author is Editor of the Saturday Star's Africa News Service*

West African leaders hope for peace

Sowetan 8/7/91

ABUJA (Nigeria) - West African leaders have ended a summit in Nigeria hopeful of achieving regional solutions to strife-torn Liberia, widespread political unrest and slow-paced economic integration.

"A new spirit is born," said Senegalese President Abdou Diouf, elected new chairman of the 16-nation Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)

Diouf said West African leaders had realised that domestic stability was needed to integrate their impoverished economies

226

Account

The leaders were optimistic that a Liberian peace accord, reached in the Ivory Coast last week between Liberia's interim president Amos Saywer and rebel leader Charles Taylor, would speedily end the 18-month-old conflict.

ECOWAS was formed in 1978 to remove trade barriers and promote integrated industries. - *Sapa-Reuter*

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Sowetan 8/7/91

WASHINGTON - The world spends more than R2,8 trillion a year on military troops and hardware, according to a World Bank report released yesterday

"Governments need to take every possible step to reduce military expenditure," the report says.

In the late 1980s military spending totalled R2,4 billion a year for high-income countries and R476 million for developing nations. 8/7/91

"If military expenditures were reduced, the world would be a better place," the report says.

It cites Costa Rica, which has reduced military spending in favour of more support for health and education - *Sapa-AP*

Nigeria offer

CT 4/6/91 226.

African foreign ministers for SA?

ABUJA, Nigeria. — Nigeria's leader yesterday proposed that African foreign ministers visit South Africa to help the Organisation of African Unity decide whether to lift sanctions against the country.

This radical suggestion, which came as a surprise to Africa watchers, was made by General Ibrahim Babangida at the opening of the annual summit of the 51-nation organisation

It appeared to be an attempt to put off a decision on the issue and underlined how divided African leaders have become on South Africa for the first time in the 27-year history of their organisation

"The time has come for the battle to be taken to the doorsteps of South Africa," General Babangida, who was also elected as the new chairman of the OAU, said

He suggested that a delegation of foreign ministers go to South Africa to assess whether the organisation should sustain an economic blockade to keep up the pressure on Pretoria or lift sanctions to signal support for political reforms

"This is not a clarion call to lift all sanctions against South Africa," General Babangida said "We shall carefully assess every stage in the evolution of South Africa to a democratic and non-racial society before reaching a definitive decision"

While the director-general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, said last night that the OAU seemed to show "a new spirit" and that a delegation would be welcome in South Africa, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, later dismissed out of hand a visit to investigate sanctions

South Africa was no longer interested in investigations by outsiders, Mr Botha said

He warned that Africa was being marginalised in world affairs because it was unable to deal with issues such as efficient government and multi party democracy

Zimbabwe, for example, had supported the continuation of sanctions at the OAU on the very day it had proposed the extension of the preferential trade agreement with South Africa

"My African brothers will have to learn that the days of deceit are over

"The events in Eastern and Central Europe have also had an effect in Africa

"My African brothers will have to understand that they are regarded as being marginalised in the world

"We as South Africans must deal with our problems as South Africans"

In his call, General Babangida also demanded that leaders of South Africa's rival black organisations "join hands to forge a united front to protect the helpless masses"

His threat is not without substance The government of this powerful West African nation has threatened to cut aid to organisations like the ANC unless black-on-black violence stops

Nigeria leads a minority of African countries, including Kenya and Madagascar, which want to follow the European Economic Community in lifting all sanctions to signal support for Mr De Klerk's reforms Mr De Klerk is due to visit Kenya this weekend

● In Johannesburg yesterday, PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander claimed that the PAC delegation at the summit were startled at the ANC "somersault" and their behind-the-scenes call for a phased lifting of sanctions against South Africa

The ANC apparently favoured the lifting of the sports isolation of South Africa and the restoration of visa rights to South African citizens if Pretoria frees all political prisoners and satisfies other ANC demands

Reuters quoted sources who attended Mr Nelson Mandela's meeting with the Southern African leaders and their host President Babangida, as saying there was a strong lobby to relax Africa s sanctions

They fear that the international community is poised to normalise relations with South Africa and that Africa risks being stuck with an unenforceable policy

LIBYANS WALK OUT

ABUJA, Nigeria — Libya walked out of the Organisation of African Unity summit yesterday in a protest against Nigeria, which is hosting the meeting.

The Libyan Foreign Minister, Mr Ibrahim Mohamed Besharı, said his delegation would leave immediately

Mr Besharı, who headed the Libyan delegation in the absence of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, said Libya was protesting against Nigeria's intervention in other countries such as Liberia — Sapa-Reuter

BP returns to Nigeria with $250m

LAGOS — British Petroleum would invest $250m in oil exploration in Nigeria, a company official said at the weekend This move ends a 12-year ban linked to sanctions-busting with SA

BP exploration CE John Browne said survey work and data analysis had started on two blocks the company had been awarded. He gave no details

Browne spoke at a news conference with Nigerian Petroleum Minister Jibril Aminu, who said "BP will return as a fresh company and its new operations will not in any way be linked to its past operations"

In 1979, the government nationalised BP's interests in Nigeria, Africa's biggest oil-producer, after the company's participation in an oil-swap deal that led indirectly to the shipment of Nigerian petroleum to SA.

Latest statistics, for 1985, show that Nigeria was the fifth-largest producer in 13-nation Opec, providing about 3% of world production. — Sapa-AP

Cholera epidemic sweeps Africa

LAGOS — Africa's worst cholera epidemic in years is spreading fast and has struck hardest in Nigeria, where health officials reported yesterday that the disease had killed 843 people in the past 10 days

Nearly 13 000 Nigerians had contracted the disease in that time, bringing the overall toll since cholera hit in May to 22 901 people infected and 2 161 dead

The new figures came in a report published yesterday by Dr Gabby Williams, Nigeria's director for disease control.

One of the cholera deaths occurred in Lagos, the capital, Dr Williams said, raising fears the disease could spread wildly in the sprawling metropolis where slums have open sewers. It is not known how many of Nigeria's 100 million people live in Lagos The other victims come from 15 of Nigeria's 21 states

Across the border, Cameroon's Health Minister Joseph Mbede reported 955 cases, including 176 deaths, up to July 26

Mr Mbede and Dr Williams warned that the reported figures probably were much lower than reality because of communications difficulties

Cholera, a disease of poverty spread by faecal-contaminated water and food, has infected about 60 000 Africans in 11 countries this year and killed more than 4 500 Health officials said it was the worst epidemic in 15 years

The disease is easily prevented if communities have safe drinking water and proper sanitation The cure also is simple oral rehydration salts to counter the diarrhoea that causes a quick, painful death if not quickly treated

The UN Children's Fund and World Health Organisation and the US Agency for International Development are helping governments to buy and dispatch rehydration kits to affected areas

Other countries suffering cholera epidemics are Angola, Benin, Chad, Ghana, Liberia, Mozambique, Niger, Togo and Zambia

But Africa is not the only continent to be affected by cholera

It is reported from El Paso in Texas that a cholera epidemic that has struck down more than 250 Mexicans is moving north toward the United States border

The warning came this week at a cholera prevention conference in El Paso called by the Pan American Health Organisation to stem an epidemic that has killed more than 2 500 people in South America — Sapa- AP

Living in terror of police bullets

CIPMEN 4/8/91. (226)

NIGERIANS today live in constant fear for their lives Any day you step outside your house may be your last

It is no exaggeration to say that I may be dead by the time you read this That is how close we live with death now

It is not fear of Nigeria's vicious armed robbers that has gripped the nation In fact, the joke now is that when in danger run to the armed robbers for protection! In comparison to the real menace, the armed robbers are considered a friendly lot

The real threat to our lives is the arbitrary police bullet The slogan "The policeman is your friend" is a sick joke in Nigeria The ominous phrase is "Watch out, the police will waste you!"

Over the years, the police have wasted many innocent Nigerian lives

Road blocks mounted by the police for routine checks, have become killing fields

Often, all it takes for a trigger-happy policeman to empty the magazine of his machine-gun could be a minor argument Sometimes a more conscientious cop will first seek the permission of his superior before killing someone

Drunken policemen have been known to shoot people and sometimes they shoot people just because they "have had a long day, are tired and cannot stand the bickering"

These deaths are often labelled "accidental" In the past, accidental killings were truly accidental Today, the police seem to relish the opportunity to "accidentally" shoot someone

If you are an ordinary citizen, an "unknown", and the police shoot you down, you are branded "a dangerous armed criminal"

> The real danger today in Nigeria is not armed robbers but the police. Abacha's government PINI JASON tells no punches in attacking the perverse police system that is undermining society in the West African state.

Sometimes, shootings have been more difficult to explain away In the 1970s a US-based athlete, African track champion Dele Ndubuisi Udoh, had been invited home for international trials

He went out one evening with his coach, there was an argument with some policemen at a checkpoint and Dele Udoh was shot dead at close range

Last November, the Umuechem community of some 20 000 people in Rivers State demonstrated against the destruction of their environment by oil companies

A contingent of mobile police was sent to quell the demonstration By the time they had completed the job the entire village had been razed and 20 people massacred

In March, the police moved into the Oke Oba suburb of Lagos, lined up seven members of a family, including a teenage schoolgirl, and shot them The police claimed the family were "armed robbers"

On May 15 this year, a friend of mine and a former colleague at the Guardian of Lagos, Dr Nwogu Okere, was killed in a hail of police bullets Dr Okere, then general manager of an outdoor advertising company, had been driving on a Lagos highway

The police said his driver failed to stop at a checkpoint

They caught up with him at a petrol station Dr Okere raised his hands in surrender but the police opened fire

The police claimed he had been in a stolen car but Okere was being driven in his official car with the company logo clearly visible.

Two weeks later, on May 27, Kayode Oladimeji, a hairstylist, and his friend, Andy, went to the airport to meet a friend, Dele Ojo, who was returning home after 10 years in the US On their way back, they were shot dead by the police

Even during the ostentatious gathering of African heads of state for the Abuja OAU Summit, the police failed to control their itchy trigger-fingers

Nigerian students had threatened nationwide strikes to coincide with the summit In panic, the government closed several institutions of higher learning However, students at the Yaba College of Technology managed to stage a demonstration Two were shot dead

The police claim they did not shoot the students, blaming the killings on "a secret cult" within the college

This incident was reported by the *Guardian Express*, incurring the wrath of the Lagos State Governor, Col Raji Rasaki

While President Ibrahim Babangida, the newly-installed OAU chairman, was lauding the values of humans rights and free speech at Abuja, Governor Rasaki ordered the police to close the office of the *Guardian* for 10 days

Direct air links with Nigeria in the offing

LINDEN BIRNS

DIRECT air links between Nigeria and SA could become a reality if talks between Nigerian-based airline Bellview, SAA, the Directorate of Civil Aviation and Foreign Affairs are successful, a Bellview spokesman said at the weekend

Bellview's joint owners, Kayode Odukoya and Alfred Kalisa, were in SA on a discreet visit to examine the SA market, and will return on Thursday to begin talks with the various SA authorities

"We're in discussion with SAA and the Transport Transport and hope to receive permission to start regular services between our two countries," said Odukoya, who described last week's visit as a relations-building drive

"There is already a lot of traffic between Nigeria and SA, but not on any direct route and that is what we want to set up," he said

Bellview would establish the route on SAA's behalf Once political relations between the two countries had stabilised and it was politically viable, SAA could join Bellview on the route or even take it over, he added

Bellview's Soviet-built Tupolev Tu-154 tri-jet flew to Jan Smuts Airport on a private charter last Wednesday and returned to Nigeria yesterday morning.

Odukoya said the airline operated Boeing 737 passenger aircraft, Ilyushin IL-76s and Antanov An-12 cargo/passenger planes in addition to its 180-seater Tu-154s

Civil Aviation spokesman Stuart Huckwell said he was unaware of any talks having already taken place, even on an unofficial level

SAA spokesman Zelda Roux confirmed that airline management had held discussions with Odukoya and Kalisa last week.

"They put their suggestions on the table and SAA has taken note of these, but at this stage we have not taken any decisions or made any firm commitments with regard to Bellview or an air link to Nigeria"

Odukoya said that after the reception he and Kalisa had received he was optimistic of securing landing rights and a scheduled air services operating licence for the route

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Nigerian delegation for talks in SA

CT 3/9/91 Political Staff (226)

THE former Nigerian head of state, General Olusegun Obasanjo, is to lead a 16-person delegation of Nigerians to South Africa next week

The delegation, invited by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), will spend September 11 and 12 in South Africa for discussions with Mr Nelson Mandela and a wide cross-section of South Africans, Idasa said yesterday

The delegation hoped also to see President F W de Klerk but an appointment with him had not been confirmed yesterday

General Obasanjo, who was a member of the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons Group (EPG), won respect from a wide spectrum of political groupings

He is now chairman of the Africa Leadership Forum, which promotes multi-party democracy and economic reform in Africa

● Sapa reports that four French senators will arrive in South Africa tomorrow for a 10-day visit to assess the country's constitutional development The delegation is led by the president of the Senate's Law Commission, Mr Jacques Larche

Ex-Nigerian leader to visit SA next week

(226) star 3/9/91.

Political Reporter

Former Nigerian head of state General Olusegun Obasanjo will visit South Africa next week for talks with prominent politicians and business leaders.

General Obasanjo, a member of the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons Group that toured the country in 1986, will lead a group of 16 Nigerians on a visit to the country at the invitation of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

Idasa executive director Dr Alex Boraine said yesterday that General Obasanjo would arrive next Tuesday for a three-day visit, after attending a major conference of the Africa Leadership Forum in Namibia.

The former Nigerian military leader is the chairman of the forum, a body which aims at the unification of economic, trade and political systems in Africa.

Dr Boraine said General Obasanjo would meet ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Arrangments were being made for meetings with President de Klerk, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, and representatives of political organisations such as the Azanian People's Organisation, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party, as well as the South African Council of Churches.

NEWS IN BRIEF

(226)

Nigerians head for SA

FORMER Nigerian head of state Gen Olusegun Obasanjo is to lead a delegation of 16 Nigerians to SA next week at the invitation of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa).

The delegation, which will be here on September 11 and 12, will hold talks with ANC president Nelson Mandela and a cross-section of South Africans, Idasa said yesterday. BIDay 3/9/91

And the French embassy said in Pretoria yesterday four French senators would visit SA for 10 days from tomorrow to assess constitutional development. The delegation would be led by Senate law commission president Jacques Larche

Scrap black local authorities - Cast

Sowetan 4/9/91

THE Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal have decided that black local authorities should be dissolved and a new national body formed to negotiate the new energy legislation.

Cast said this after their conference in Johannesburg at the weekend

By IKE MOTSAPI and Sapa

It said it would negotiate with the Transvaal Provincial Administration and white councillors for solutions to the crisis in local government.

Cast would also adopt a unified strategy for negotiations on the future of local authorities, rather than the *ad hoc* method currently employed by the various civics.

It was also decided to call for the scrapping of the National Energy Act, and the setting up of a national forum of civics to include other interested parties to formulate a new national energy policy.

Former Nigerian head is to visit South Africa

226

Sowetan 4/9/91

FORMER Nigerian head of State General Olusegun Obasanjo will almost certainly meet President De Klerk when he visits South Africa next week for talks with prominent politicians and business leaders

Obasanjo, a member of the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons Group which toured South Africa in 1986, will lead a group of 16 Nigerians on a two-day visit to the country at the invitation of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

The group, arriving on Tuesday next week, is to meet ANC president Nelson Mandela and arrangements are being made for meetings with President De Klerk, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, and representatives of political organisations such as Azapo, the PAC, the Inkatha Freedom Party as well as the South African Council of Churches.

Idasa executive director Dr Alex Boraine described Obasanjo as a key actor in the shift towards democracy in Africa

He said the visit was particularly significant in terms of extending and strengthening South Africa's relations in Africa - *Sowetan Correspondent*

Nigeria seeks debt concessions

Star 25/9/91

LAGOS — Major economic and political reforms in Nigeria could be hampered if Africa's biggest debtor nation does not win substantial debt concessions, analysts said here before talks this week between the country and its commercial bank creditors (226)

Tony Ede, Central Bank of Nigeria spokesman, said "We need debt relief in order to be able to create the conditions for civilians to come in and not have economic hiccups"

Nigerian government officials are meeting representatives of commercial bank creditors in London to try to resolve differences stalling a debt restructuring deal which Nigeria hopes will help ease its debt burden, government sources say

President Ibrahim Babangida, who is carrying out a phased return to democracy by the end of 1992, has promised to bequeath the incoming civilian rulers a more manageable debt burden than the one he met when he seized power in 1985

With Nigeria's debt now about $33 billion as against $17,4 billion in 1985, economic commentators say the government will have to take major steps if it is to keep its promise

"Every effort must be made to ensure that the new government is not immediately saddled with a monstrous debt bomb," the independent Business Concord said in an editorial last week

"Otherwise, the democracy that has been the yearning of Nigerians for decades may be severely threatened"

Finance Minister Alhaji Abubakar Alhaji and CBN governor Abdulkadir Ahmed are expected to try to persuade bank creditors in the London talks to accept the bonds offered by Nigeria as collateral for a debt conversion scheme, one of three options in a deal to restructure a $5,6 billion debt

The deal, reached in principle last March, became unstuck after the banks rejected Nigeria's offer of US Refcorp bonds as collateral, preferring US Treasury Zero Coupon bonds instead Sapa-Reuter

Nigerian casts doubts over Babangida's plans

Fighting is wrong, says ex-soldier

226
Sowetan 25/9/91.

LAGOS - Could Nigeria's Biafran war, which grabbed world attention in the late 1960s, have been averted by a few beers in an army oficers' mess?

This is the tantalising question posed by former Biafran rebel leader Mr Emeka Ojukwu, still revered by many of the Ibo people he led in a failed three-year war of secession that claimed up to one million lives.

"It was not Ojukwu that fought Gowon," he told *Reuters* in his spacious colonial-style Lagos home

"If it had been left to Ojukwu and Gowon there would have been no fighting and they would probably have drunk it out in the mess with a number of bottles of beer," he said

Ojukwu (57), an outspoken and charismatic British-trained army officer who now exudes the air of a prosperous businessman, was referring to Nigeria's then military leader, General Yakubu Gowon

There were no drinks and the rest is history, etched into the minds of millions of people in this country with a history of tension among some of its estimated 300 ethnic groups

Dialogue

"I believe dialogue should have continued (but) there were forces in Lagos at that time that did not see the usefulness of continued dialogue," said Ojukwu

He does not name the "forces" but says they are now instrumental in preventing him from meeting Gowon

"I can speak to him (Gowon) and phoned him once in London We promised we would have dinner together

"Now we have come back to Nigeria It has been most unfortunate that the forces are manipulating us again to some extent Now everyone is so wary about protocol," he added

Ojukwu, not afraid to speak his mind about the current military administration and its plans to restore civilian rule, believes the Biafran war served a useful purpose for Nigeria

"I think there is certainly more mutual respect vis-à-vis (the different) groups in Nigeria I believe that the one thing that is fixed in the Nigerian psyche is that there should be no fighting war again internally "

It says much for Nigeria that Ojukwu is allowed his freedom after losing one of the world's bloodiest conflicts in several decades

"This may sound bigheaded (but) I am the Nigerian that most Nigerians have not had the guts to be There is always this love-hate relationship in each Nigerian vis-à-vis Emeka Ojukwu

"Internally, they have great respect for me I am the soldier that every soldier aspires to be," Ojukwu said

When he returned from Ivory Coast in the early 1980s after 13 years in exile, many thousands of people turned out to welcome him And he still attracts large crowds

"He is a leader. There are many of us who would still follow him," said one Nigerian official, who asked not to be named

Ojukwu, whose ensign officer in the British-trained federal army before the war was current Foreign Minister Ike Nwachukwu, said. "One thing about the British system of training for the armed forces is the emergence of a certain *esprit de corps*

"There is no way one can wipe out the feeling of camaraderie that exists in a force that has had that background "

Ojukwu freely criticises President Ibrahim Babangida's military government which plans to hand over power to elected civilians late next year

"It is a brilliant essay in double talk," he said, querying the need for a three-year transition process when it took only six months in some countries

"I don't think, actually, he (Babangida) wants to hand over. Most people in his position would not want to hand over The important thing is, can he stay beyond 1992?" he said

Civilians

Babangida has said he planned to make way for elected civilians in 1992 and that he believed his government would be the last military one in Nigeria, ruled by the army for 21 of the 30 years since independence from Britain.

Ojukuwu's house, near the residences of Vice-president Augustus Aikhomu and several leading ambassadors, is a scene of almost constant activity

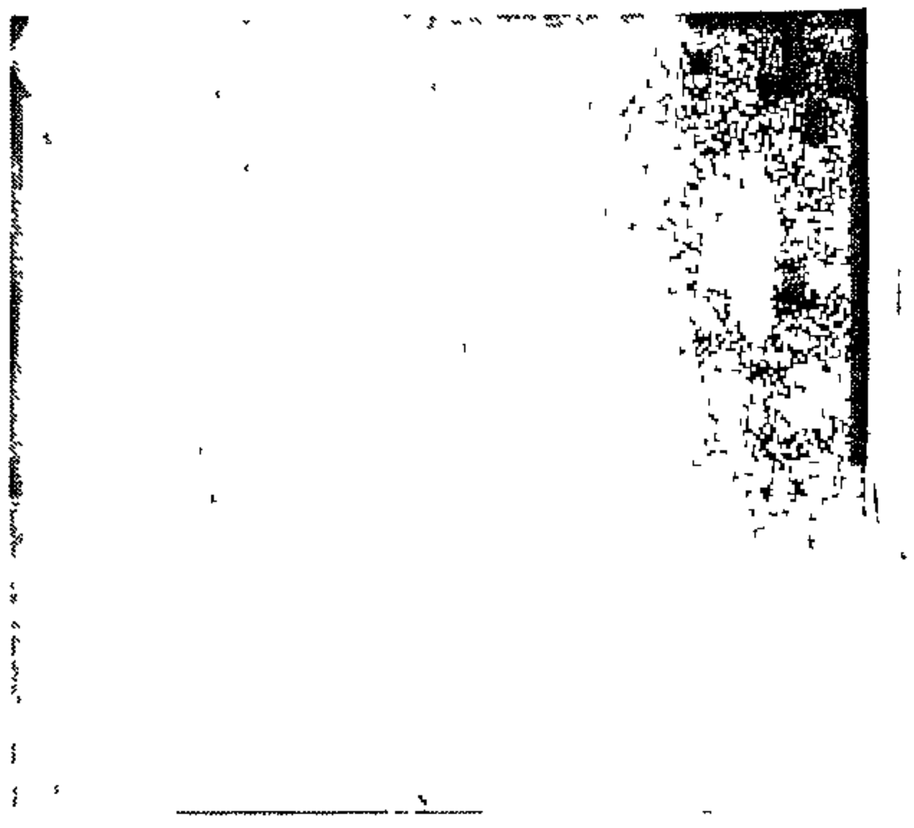
"I do a lot of public relations work, in that I remain very much at the disposal of the general populace - naturally, more Ibos than any other group," he said, after ending talks on the possibility of Ibo states doing business with Brazilian firms

"I have no bank account as of now I am in the very lucky position where I can pick up a phone today and say to somebody, an Ibo, that my generator is not functioning By this evening I will have a generator, brand new "

Among several cars in Ojukwu's driveway, including a Fleetwood Cadillac, was a new Peugeot 505 which he said had been given to him by a man who noticed one of his cars broken down on a road

Ibos, living mainly in four eastern states, form Nigeria's largest ethnic group after the Hausas in the predominantly Moslem north and Yorubas in the mainly Christian south

Ojukwu's love life, described as kusty has consumed many local newspaper pages - *Sapa-Reuter*



President Ibrahim Babangida says he plans to make way for elected civilians in 1992 and that he believes his government will be the last military one in Nigeria.

Makeba starts charity

226

So we ran 25/9/91

By VICTOR METSOAMERE

SINGER Miriam Makeba and two top Nigerian personalitities have established a charity drive aimed at solving the educational, health and social development problems affecting the African child.

The drive was unveiled at a Johannesburg hotel yesterday.

It was initiated by Makeba, Nigerian TV producer Faith Isiakpere and businessman Chief Onwaku Kalu.

The charity's biggest launch will be held in Nigeria in November.

It will be marked by a major music show in Lagos.

Some of the acts expected at the show are Mbongeni Ngema's Sarafina Choir, Ladysmith Black Mambazo, Hugh Masekela and Yvonne Chaka Chaka.

RICA

Bad bankers face charges

LAGOS — Nigerian military President Ibrahim Babangida has told his country's bank executives to mend their ways or risk losing their jobs. 226

Newspapers on Wednesday quoted a message from Babangida to a public meeting, saying executives should eliminate or reduce bad debts and fraud, and ensure their operations were well managed.

He said bank officials with a consistent record of bad management would be liable to lose their jobs or face prosecution under two new decrees

These give the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) greater powers to intervene in the affairs of financial institutions and to impose stiffer penalties.

Poor management and rampant fraud in many Nigerian banks has led some into major financial problems, which could threaten the country's banking system — Sapa-Reuter B/Day 11/10/91

B/Day 14/10/91

Nigeria sells off stake in hotels

LAGOS — Nigeria is to sell its entire stake in Durbar Hotel plc, the first of three state-owned hotel groups to be sold to the public under a wide-ranging disinvestment programme. (226)

Hamza Zayyad, chairman of the technical committee on privatisation and commercialisation, said last week that 36,5-million ordinary shares (75% of the company's holding) would be offered to the an public.

It will be the 25th offer under a programme started in 1989 to promote wider share ownership in sub-Saharan Africa's biggest economy. — Sapa-Reuter.

Nigerian govt invites FW and Pik

LAGOS — President de Klerk or another senior South African official is likely to visit Nigeria, current head of the Organisation of African Unity, in the next two months, official Nigerian sources said yesterday

"A visit is definitely on target for before the end of the year It will be either De Klerk or (Foreign Minister Pik) Botha or both," a source close to President Ibrahim Babangida said

A visit by Mr de Klerk to Lagos would signal that the OAU, some of whose 51 members have already forged ties with Pretoria, was about to end SA's formal isolation in Africa

"If they come here, they will definitely not be turned back Nigeria, as OAU leader, is obliged to listen to the other side and to help the cause of peace"

The sources indicated that tentative plans for Mr de Klerk or Mr Botha to visit Nigeria two months ago were shelved following revelations that the Government had secretly funded the Inkatha Freedom Party

"Now, Inkathagate or no Inkathagate, the negotiations in South Africa will go on," one source said — Sapa-Reuter.

Chaos as artists board the Lagos bandwagon

(226)
w\mail 29\11\- 5\12\91

By DREW FORREST

AFTER a chaotic cliff-hanger of a week, 170 South African artists, organisers and assorted hangers-on were set to fly out to Nigeria yesterday for the "Children of Africa" concert at the weekend

"Set to" is the operative phrase: by mid-morning the bus for Gaborone, where the party was due to board the plane, had yet to leave Johannesburg

But organiser Rapitsi Montsho was confident that the transport problem threatening the South African end of the concert had finally been solved

If the local artists do make it to Lagos, where they are due to perform on Saturday, it will be courtesy of the Nigerian government It was government officials, according to Montsho, who cut the Gordian knot by making an aircraft available.

As Nigerian planes cannot land in South Africa, Botswana was chosen as the rendezvous point

The original plan had been to charter a South African Airways flight at a cost of some R500 000, but money pledged by Nigerian industrialist Chief Onwuka Kalu, routed via London because of financial sanctions, had not arrived by Wednesday this week

It is unclear whether the problem of SAA landing rights in Lagos was ever resolved Money pledged to local artists for rehearsal time also reportedly failed to reach South Africa

At the height of this week's cash crisis, local Children of Africa staff met African National Congress department of welfare officials The ANC had been peripherally involved by securing visas for the South Africans and arranging to have the local party met in Lagos, said ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus Head of social welfare Winnie Mandela also recently travelled to New York as part of a fund-raising team.

The concert, to coincide with an international conference in Lagos, was conceived as an event staged by Africans to raise funds for African children's charities and aid projects Money raised from the sale of tickets and from film, TV and recording rights will go the Children of Africa Trust.

A showcase of African musical talent, with a leavening of US and British artists, the festival features top South African performers including Ladysmith Black Mambazo, Hugh Masekela and Miriam Makeba

Local sources comment that at least a year should have been allowed to put such a large project in place and that the South African operation was initially under-financed

The names of Whitney Houston and Luther Vandross, originally touted to sing at the concert, have been quietly dropped from the press releases

It is understood that contracts with these artists were never tied up.

Exacerbating the local financial woes has been the cost of air-tickets for Mandela and fellow-fundraisers who recently travelled to the US. Allegedly costing R75 000, these are said to have been purchased from local travel-agents on the strength of a guarantee from an American-based recording company

By mid-week, it is understood, the required cash had still to materialise

Children raise photographs of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein and banners reading "Don't kill Iraqi children from hunger and disease" and "We want medicine" at a demonstration staged in Khartoum by Arab communities in Sudan at the weekend

A man shouts from the crowd as Knights of the Ku Klux Klan national director Thomas Robb speaks on the steps of the Dubuque, Iowa, city hall at the weekend A handful of blacks tried to disrupt Robb as he spoke about this midwest city's recent racial tensions

Nigeria elections may be decided by naira burgers

Sowetan 2/12/91 (226)

BENIN CITY - Lucky Igbinedion is armed with T-Shirts and caps emblazoned "It's Lucky Time" as handouts in his election drive to become civilian governor of Nigeria's Edo State.

Igbinedion, a 34-year-old United States-educated businessman, is typical of many modern candidates standing in Nigeria's 30 federal states for the December 14 elections, and who see young people as a key to victory and a permanent end to military rule

Officials estimate that about 20 million of the 65 million eligible voters in the sprawling west African country are aged between 18 and 30, making them a potentially influential group

"The young people are very important. We are concentrating much more on them and women," Igbinedion said at his Benin City headquarters, 220km east of Lagos

Patrick Dele Cole, a candidate for the presidency in elections next year, said in Lagos "A lot of people in the past talked about the youth, but nobody listened to them

"We have to get them to talk to us so we can find out what their aspirations are, and to show we are responsive to their ideas"

Cole and Igbinedion are part of a new breed of political contenders to emerge since 1987, when the army banned thousands of former administrators from standing in elections

Igbinedion believes his own relative youth is a major asset in a country ruled by the military for most of the past three decades and, in between, by civilians from the elite

"I am spending enough money to stay on top," he said in an office crammed with shirts, caps, calendars and bags ready for the campaign that started officially at the end of November

He is backed by the wealth of a self-made family that owns Okada, sub-Saharan Africa's biggest private airline

He is the candidate for the right-of-centre National Republican Convention in Edo, standing against the Social Democratic Party's John Oyegun, a 52-year-old former senior official

Edo, one of nine new states created by President Ibrahim Babangida last August, did not witness the rampant corruption that marred elections in other states in October

The National Electoral Commission last Monday banned 12 candidates - from the SDP and the NRC - from standing in fresh party primaries ordered in nine states outside Edo because of alleged electoral fraud

Differences between Nigeria's mainly Muslim north and largely Christian south, and between about 300 ethnic groups, have been major stumbling blocks to political harmony

Edo's relative calm has allowed some basic political activity to take root but, as elsewhere in Nigeria, major issues such as a poor national economy and mass unemployment have been shunted to one side in favour of personal charisma

The SDP and the NRC are campaigning nationwide on a platform of general promises to improve the lot of Nigeria's ordinary folk, many of whom receive about 250 naira (R69) a month

Igbinedion's plan to target young people and women stems, in part, from the open queueing and counting system of voting, which the military introduced to replace the closed ballot method

He said "When it comes to standing in line, often for many hours, the youth have stronger legs to stand and the women are more patient than others"

Newspapers said cash and other inducements such as "naira burgers" - chunks of bread stuffed with cash - were being used at polling stations - *South African Press Association - Reuter*

Ready to rule but nowhere to sleep

Sowetan 9/12/91

226

ABUJA - Nigerian civil servants moving from Lagos to the new capital, Abuja, are worried about lack of housing and other facilities in the still-unfinished city.

Association of Senior Civil Servants secretary-general Mr Solomon Onaghinon says "The fear of some people is that they may have to live in trees"

Military President Ibrahim Babangida and his office are scheduled to move to Abuja on December 12, marking the end of Lagos as capital for this huge African nation

Abuja, set among rocky outcrops, is dubbed "Unity City" because of its location in a neutral area between Nigeria's Muslim-dominated north and the mainly Christian south

Unlike Lagos, Abuja belongs to none of Nigeria's main ethnic groups and is seen by officials as a potential melting-pot for a country whose economic and political development has been dogged by sectarian rivalries

Abuja offers relief from the chaos of Lagos where traders, pedestrians and vehicles compete for space on choked up roads

Shortages

Onaghinon says public servants support the move from Lagos to the more serene Abuja, but are concerned about shortages of basic facilities, including housing, schools and clinics

"If you want people to go to Abuja and be productive, you must provide a conducive atmosphere to work in," he says.

Despite these apprehensions, Abuja is a reality with which everyone - including the private sector, which has been slow to invest in the new city - will sooner or later have to come to terms

"More business is going to be done in Abuja This has been happening in the past six to eight months as more government functions move to Abuja from Lagos," a Western diplomat said

Construction - on scrubland - of the new city started in 1976, but work only began in earnest during the oil boom of the early 1980s Construction workers are still working round the clock to develop the planned capital

Rushed

The plan for the city envisages 3,1 million residents by the year 2000 More than seven million now crowd into decaying Lagos

But Abuja, which has already cost more than $5 billion (R14 billion), is hard pressed to cater for its growing population, now estimated at less than 250 000

Mr Frank Oramulu, vice-president of the Nigerian Labour Congress, says the move is being unnecessarily rushed

Political analysts say the military appears eager to settle the administration in Abuja before a planned handover of power to an elected civilian government by the end of 1992

The government has said workers will be adequately catered for in Abuja, despite fears that a shortage of low-cost state housing may force some to seek scarce private accommodation

Annual rental for a two-bedroom flat can be as high as 25 000 naira (R7 000), equal to the yearly salary of senior civil servants

IBRAHIM BABANGIDA

Oramulu says middle-income and junior workers will be worst hit by the housing shortage "The national minimum (wage) can't pay for a room in Abuja," he says

Ramshackle

Many workers now commute to their offices from homes in ramshackle settlements up to 30km outside the city

"The problem will get worse when the seat of government moves here in December," Mr Magaji Razak, an Abuja-based lawyer, told reporters

"People will soon start sleeping under bridges unless the government builds more accommodation for its workers, or the private sector start building estates to rent at reasonable rates," he added

Oramulu says many workers are likely to leave their families behind in Lagos, at least until they secure reasonable living conditions

"The dislocation of the family unit will tell hard on middle-income and low-paid workers," he says

Abuja residents say the cost of most goods is higher than in Lagos, forcing some to travel south for provisions

"An honest public officer who depends on his monthly salary will find it extremely difficult to live in Abuja," said Umaru Danladi, a civil servant from north-eastern Borno State

Cut-throat

"Everything here, ranging from food and other essentials, is sold at cut-throat prices," says Danladi, who works for one of the six government ministries already operating from Abuja

Major ministries now in Abuja include Foreign Affairs and Trade

Most Western embassies have plans to construct offices and residences in Abuja, a US diplomat said

Britain, Nigeria's former colonial power and main trading partner, aims to have at least 20 diplomats stationed in Abuja by mid-1992

The loss of capital status is unlikely to significantly diminish the importance of Lagos

With almost half the country's industries, Lagos will remain the nervecentre of sub-Saharan Africa's biggest economy for the a long while yet, say commentators

"Perhaps the only things that the people of Lagos are likely to miss is the usual siren-blaring official cars that punctuate the traffic-flow and the road-closed syndrome whenever the President or a visiting head of state is passing through Lagos," wrote Leke Salau in the *Daily Champion* newspaper

- Sapa-Reuter

Sama looks into concert dispute

Sowetan 13/12/91

By ELLIOT MAKHAYA

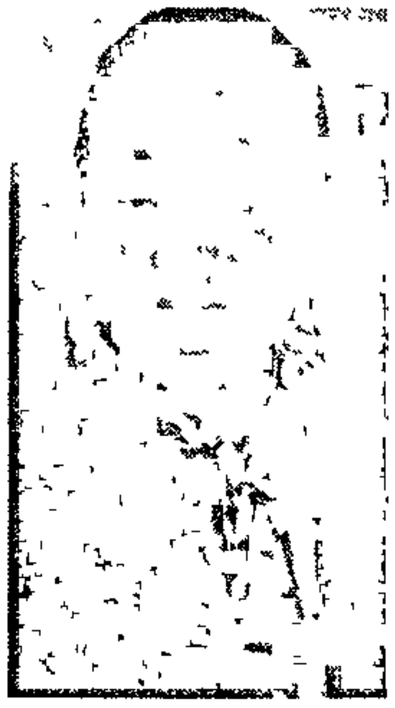
THE South African Musicians Alliance has instructed its lawyers to investigate some of the alleged irregularities during and after the Children Of Africa Concert in Nigeria.

Artists who recently returned from the ill-fated Children of Africa concert in Nigeria, this week filed a complaint with Sama

Jabu Ngwenya, a Sama official, said artists alleged that Miriam Makeba was given 110 000 pounds sterling (R550 000) at the airport by the Nigerian government "as payment for inconvenience caused to the artists"

The artists believe that the money should have been split between themselves

In an interview this week, Miriam Makeba told a Star Tonight journalist that the "undisclosed" amount of money was given to her "to ensure their (artists) safe passage home"



MIRIAM MAKEBA

JABU NGWENYA

"We have referred the matter to our lawyers," said Ngwenya "and they in turn will fax the Nigerian government about the money given to Makeba and how it was supposed to be used"

Another bone of contention in this debacle is the artists' performance fees Miriam Makeba, who is vice-president of COA, claimed this week that her life was threatened because of people who knock at her door demanding payment.

She further claimed that before the concert, the artists were given cheques by the Johannesburg COA, which bounced

Mr Rapitse Montsho, an official of Johannesburg COA, said that it was just a transactional delay and that he has explained to the artists who understood his problems

"The Nigerian Bank sent money to the Bank National de Paris in London, and our London office has to instruct that bank to send the money to Johannesburg," said Montsho

"When I issued out the cheques, I had thought that the transaction was already complete Children Of Africa is going to honour its contractual obligations with the artists"

Montsho said he was upset that Miriam Makeba who was COA vice-president was "distancing" herself from the organisation

"We should have resolved the matter internally before rushing to the press and making personal attacks on each other"

There are allegations that artists were stranded in Nigeria after the concert?

"Not at all How can artists be stranded when they have three meals a day, personal vehicles and shop around?"

The only problem, said Montsho, was the artists flew back home, via Botswana, after a four-day delay

A letter written to Chief Onwuka Kalu, president of COA, by the hotel management where the artists stayed, assured him that the artists were "exceedingly overwhelmed with joy as evidenced by their shopping sprees, group pictures and press statements"

AROUI

Crucial polls for Nigerians

Sowetan
13/12/91
226

LAGOS - Nigerians vote tomorrow in crucial elections for state governors and assemblies after bruising campaigns that have clouded prospects for a permanent end to army rule

The polls in all 30 states of Africa's most populous country will be a test of military plans to restore civilian rule late next year after national assembly and presidential elections.

Nigeria has been under army rule for 21 of the 30 years since independence from Britain - years scarred by religious and ethnic tensions, corruption, electoral fraud and violence

President Ibrahim Babangida has reiterated a commitment to the transition to civil rule, in line with a tide of democracy sweeping away dictators in Africa and elsewhere

"Today, there is an unquestioned and universal belief that democracy, even though it has different versions, is the only form of government which the international community will respect," he said

New governors are expected to be installed on January 2 - *Sapa-Reuter*

Spurning privacy to fight Aids

(226)

Sowetan 13/12/91

LAGOS - On television, after the seven o'clock news, a young man announced that he had chosen to be a responsible father and space the births of his children.

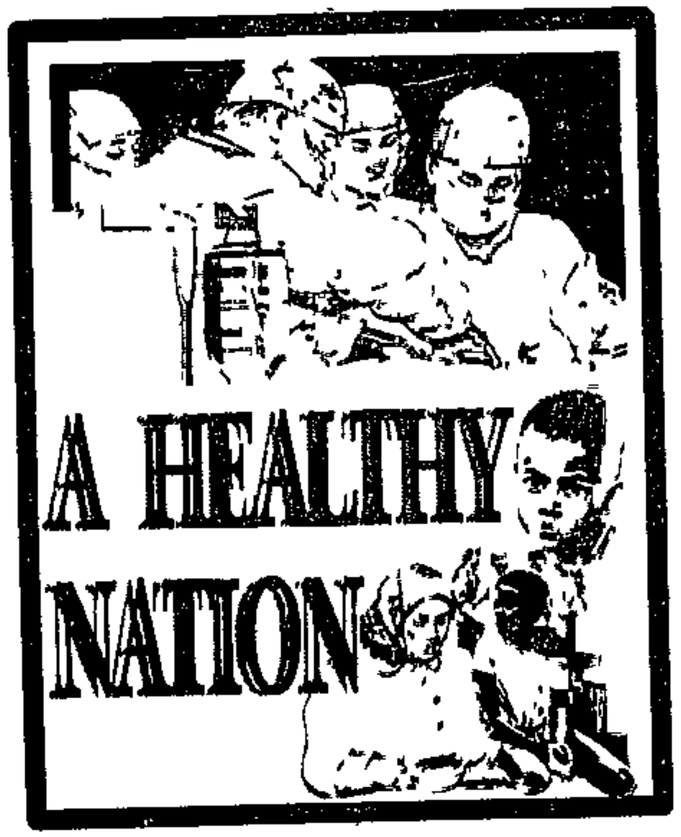
"I have also chosen Right Time condoms," he said, "because the Right Time condom is simply the convenient and reliable means of child-spacing, with the co-operation and encouragement of my loving wife"

Africa's largest population is beginning to talk more openly about birth control and Aids The dialogue has touched traditional views of women, privacy and responsibility, forcing Nigerians to re-examine what they expect of their leaders and themselves

Condoms are sold at street stalls and women attend meetings to press for their reproductive rights, but change has not come without opposition

The National Council of Catholic Women's Organisations demands a return to "sound moral education" Some parents oppose sex education in schools and demand that the state protect children from society's growing permissiveness

Nigerian Television does not acknowledge receiving complaints, but Right Time condom commercials now are broadcast only after 10pm



This reluctance to discuss sex publicly has hindered efforts to combat sexually transmitted diseases

About 600 000 Nigerians are estimated to carry the HIV virus, although fewer than 100 cases of full-blown Aids have been reported since 1986

Health workers fear the silent threat of ignorance and denial Public education and counselling are at the heart of a campaign against acquired immune deficiency syndrome begun in September by health minister Olikoye Ransome-Kuti

More than 80 percent of Aids infections in Nigeria are attributed to sex, and Ransome-Kuti announced a R5 million programme to raise public awareness about how to avoid the deadly disease.

Less than half of Nigeria's blood supply is screened against the HIV virus, but testing facilities are expected to be expanded with a grant from the British government

Although Ransome-Kuti said Nigerians must be frank about the dangers facing them, the government programme has not addressed homosexuals

"Talk to any African government about homosexual issues and the spread of Aids, and they simply tell you that homosexual activities only go on in the Western world," said Mr Obi Zikora, president of Gentlemen Alliance

Zikora said discrimination against homosexuals forced his advocacy group to start its own counselling and health education programme

Aids tests are reported to be available in every Nigerian state, but Zikora said the stigma attached to homosexuality frightens away many who should be examined

"I can't go to a straight doctor because I don't know what I'm going to be telling him," said Mr John Garoba, secretary of the group "He'll want to hear me talk to him about how it all happened"

Health Ministry pamphlets warn that Aids can be passed between men, but they concentrate on prostitution and blood transfusions

At truck stops outside the capital, the organisation StopAids provides counselling, condoms, first aid and referral services to drivers and prostitutes

Project director Ms Pearl Nwashili expressed hopes of using a Ford Foundation grant to extend operations outside Lagos, but said earning the trust of local chiefs is a slow process

Condoms have become big business, reaching beyond television advertisements to promotional tours of outdoor markets.

Mr E A Owoade, national sales manager of Pharco Pharmaceuticals, said attitudes toward condoms have changed with the spread of Aids - Sapa-AP

Nigerians go to polls

■ **LAGOS:** Armed police were out in force yesterday as Nigerians began voting for state governors and assemblies — a major test of the military government's plans to lead Nigeria to civilian rule late next year

Only essential vehicles were allowed on roads under tight security arrangements for the two-party elections in all 30 states of the federation

Tom Ikimi, head of the conservative National Republican Convention, said he was determined to cement democracy in Nigeria, an oil-rich country dogged by poverty

Nigeria elections

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Sowetan 17/12/91

LAGOS - Nigeria's social democrats, hit by internal squabbles, lost ground to conservatives in traditional southern strongholds in state governorship elections at the weekend

The polls in 30 states, which passed off with few reports of violence, were a key part of the government's plans to restore civilian rule by 1992

The Social Democratic Party (SDP) lost to the National Republican Convention (NRC) in four mainly Christian southern states which it had been tipped to win The pro-welfare SDP had carried the four states in local council elections last year - *Sapa-AP*

NIGERIA - GENERAL

1992

Nigeria's cupboard may be bare

W\Mail 3|11 - 9|11|92

(226)

Nigeria's planned transition from military to civilian rule may be hampered by an enormous budget deficit run up by the military government **By KEITH RICHBURG**

AS Africa's most populous country begins feeling its way toward civilian rule, many Nigerians and foreign economists with an eye on the rising tide of official red ink fear that six years of military government may have left a legacy of financial chaos

The planned transition to democracy some time next year, the high cost of sending a military peace-keeping force to help quell the Liberian civil war and the projected government move to the still unfinished new capital of Abuja all have contributed to what economists say will be a massive budget deficit of up to $4-billion by the time final figures are announced next year

Other major expenses include creation of nine new regional governments, all of which require federal funding, construction of a long-planned but controversial aluminum smelting project that will be the largest in sub-Saharan Africa, and completion of a massive Soviet-designed steel plant at Ajaokuta on the Niger River that is still unfinished after 12 years of work

Like nearly every other public project in the country, these outsized endeavours are aimed at enhancing Nigeria's prestige as black Africa's arguably most important nation

Critics charge that these projects provide vehicles for official corruption that could be the greatest single hindrance to productive development.

Some expenses were unavoidable, officials say, such as government funding of the transition to democratic rule, which includes the cost of setting up a national electoral commission and funding two government-sponsored political parties

Taken together, however, all these various projects, programmes and expenses have combined to put the country's economic house in disarray Deficit spending has boosted inflation to an estimated 40 percent annually and sent interest rates for the private sector soaring out of reach

Despite longstanding vows to diversify, the country still relies on oil revenue for 95 percent of its export earnings and more than 80 percent of its budget receipts It enjoyed an economic boom during the 1970s only to see the industry flounder as a result of lower world oil prices in the 1980s

Six years ago, when President Ibrahim Babangida adopted Nigeria's own version of a tough structural adjustment programme, the thinking was that a military regime would have the discipline to exercise budget restraint and make the painful choices needed to pull the country out of the economic mess of the day

As a result, Nigeria won praise from international creditors and became something of a model for other black African countries then shrinking from similar, unpopular austerity measures

Now, with Babangida scheduled to hand power back to civilian leaders this year, the military regime's reputation for sound economic management is in serious question and civilian politicians have begun wondering if they will find anything left in the public till

"The corrective action required in 1992 will have to be very sharp and severe," said one Western economist here "They have got to get a grip on this if they're going to leave behind an economic legacy that is better than what it was when they came in"

This economist and others said they expect the problem to grow worse because the military rulers seem intent on spending enormous sums on uncompleted building projects before handing over power

Aside from galloping inflation, the Nigerian currency unit, the naira, is seriously overvalued Officially, the naira is exchanged at nearly 10 per US dollar, but at state-licensed exchange bureaus, the rate is more than 15 to one — a difference of 50 percent.

The country also is weighed down with a $35-billion foreign debt, and debt-servicing accounts for more than a third of the annual budget. Officials blame the burden of heavy loan repayments for the poor performance of the economy and are seeking debt relief But as long as the government shows little sign of getting its fiscal house in order, creditors will be reluctant to grant concessions — The Washington Post

Bulawayo acts to ease the thirst

W\Mail 3|11 - 9|11|92

By ANDREW MELDRUM Harare

AT the Bistro, currently Bulawayo's trendiest restaurant, the lunchtime tables buzzed with talk of holiday parties and presents, business affairs and personal affairs But the conversation was most animated when the subject turned to water, the lack of it, household water rationing and the level of the city's dams

Bulawayo, Zimbabwe's second largest city with a population of nearly a million people, is threatened by the fact that its water supply is drying up

"Only 18 weeks of water left Save water," states the huge billboard over Bulawayo's main shopping street.

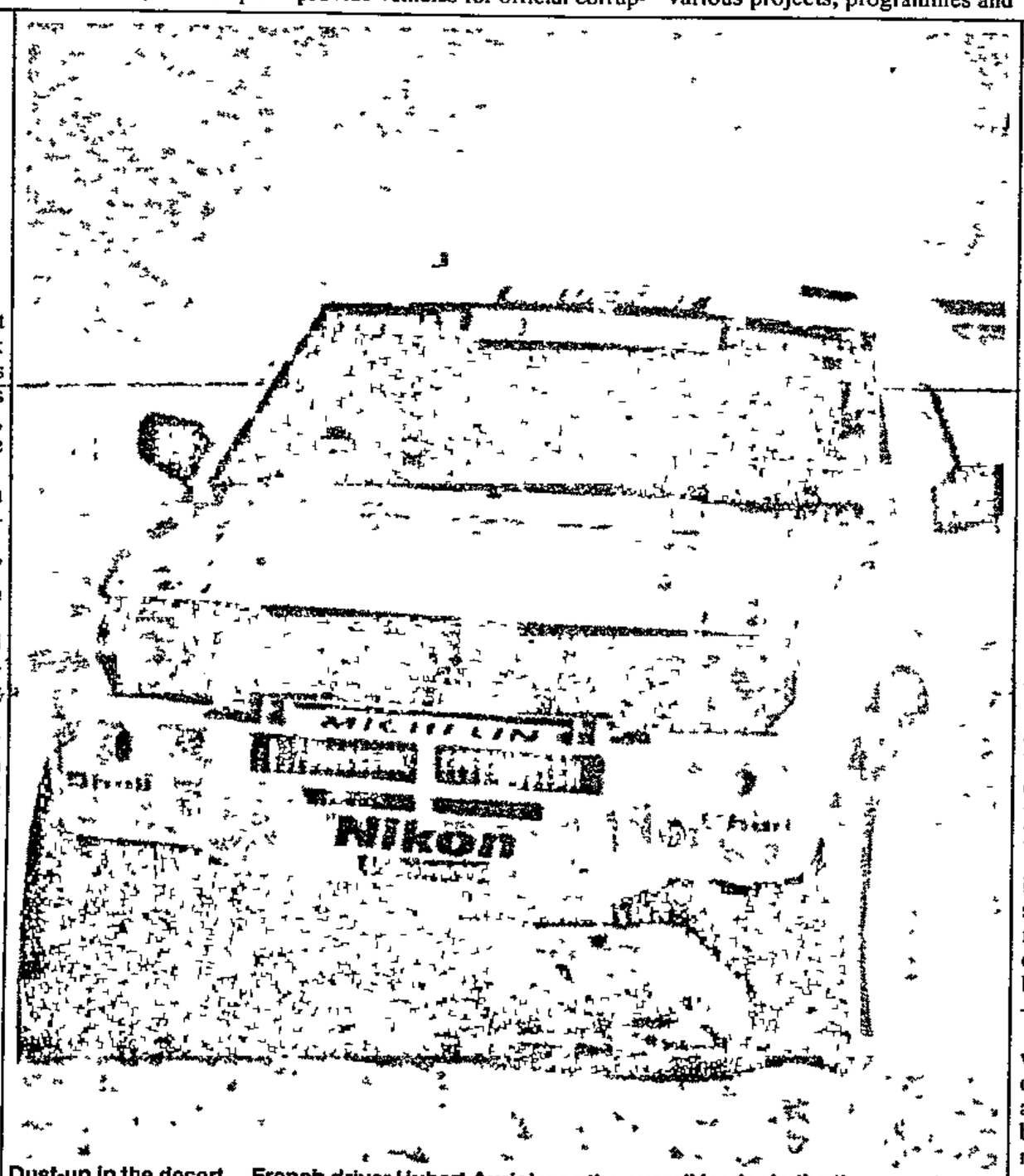
After four drought years since 1980 and several more seasons of patchy rains, the dams that provide drinking and industrial water are shriveling up at an alarming rate

Municipal rationing measures have cut industry to 80 percent of its requirements and limit each household to 600 litres a day, but more drastic measures are needed

Refusing to take the crisis sitting down, Bulawayo came up with a plan to pipe water from the Zambezi River, 400km away After five years of vainly appealing to the Harare government for assistance in developing new water supplies, a coalition of Bulawayo businessmen and politicians took matters into their own hands and funded a feasibility study

Since its launch four months ago, the Matabeleland Zambezi Water Project has raised Z$5,5-million (R3-million) in donations ranging from large corporations to pensioners cheques and the proceeds from school fetes But the fundraisers are still very far away from the estimated Z$900-million (R500-million) needed to build the pipeline

Optimists predict that ground could be broken in 1992 and the entire pipeline pumping water by mid-1993 With only 18 weeks of water left, time is running out.



Dust-up in the desert French driver Hubert Auriol was the overall leader in the three-week Paris-Cape Town rally this week. Competitors and organisers of the even travelled in convoy through Chad on Wednesday under military escort after reported guerrilla attacks forced the cancellation of the daily stage The Chad unrest is not the first trouble to beset the race Sand storms have followed the competitors for several days and last week a pilot and mechanic were killed in a crash in Libya Photograph AP

Bets on duration of third republic

Sowetan 28/11/92.

(226)

FOCUS

LAGOS - Political strife and old rivalries that brought down Nigeria's previous eras of civilian rule in army coups are casting dark shadows over prospects for a durable "third republic" planned for late this year.

Since elected governors took over from the military in the federation's 30 states on January 2, power struggles have threatened to tear apart the two army-approved political parties vying for full power

And, in what is likely to be a bitter race for president, old sores look likely to fester again in this country tormented by religious and ethnic tensions

Military President Ibrahim Babangida's phased and tightly-controlled programme to restore civilian rule in Africa's most populous country has been decried by human rights activists and others as a sham and a diversion

"The situation is dangerous and suggests that prospects for the new civilian government are bleak," a senior editor with a state-run media organisation said

"I think the civilians will come in but they might not stay for long There are people in the military already preparing for the future," said the editor, who asked not to be named

Mr Patrick Dele Cole, a candidate for presidential elections expected around September, said "The situation is quite serious If we are not careful, people will get disillusioned"

Cole belongs to the Social Democratic Party, with roots in Nigeria's mainly Christian south The rival right-of-centre National Republican Convention gains strength from the largely Muslim north

Nigeria's politicised military has ruled for 21 of the 31 years since independence from Britain Its interventions have been generally welcomed by a public seeking a semblance of order in a pressure-cooker society riddled with corruption

Babangida, a general who seized power in a 1985 coup, has tempered his commitment to restoring civilian rule late this year with warnings against political violence

"Whether the transition programme will fully succeed will depend rather on whether the two opposing political tendencies are able to strive for consensus and accommodation on critical issues," he said in a budget address on January 1

Some army officers are known to be betting on how long the third republic will last, believing their next turn to reap the rewards of power could come in just a few years

Many politicians say chances of a coup ending current plans to transfer power cannot be completely discounted but that the possibility is slim, given the democratic tide sweeping other countries

Babangida escaped in a coup attempt launched by disgruntled junior officers and others in April 1990 After that, 69 people were reported to have been tried and executed

His rule has been marked by sudden swerves that have caught many people off balance and, in cases such as the transition to civil rule process, aggravated political party disarray

Official denials that Babangida has a hidden agenda, possibly to retain power, have failed to assuage the fears of some politicians, commentators and businessmen

Instability in the SDP and the NRC intensified last August when he created nine new states, and in December when he allowed ex-legislators to join the political fray They had previously been banned from re-entering politics

Leaders of the NRC and SDP, so-called new breed politicians untainted by excesses during the 1960-66 and 1979-83 civil rule eras, are under pressure from rehabilitated legislators to resign

Both parties are contesting results of December's polls for governors in about 15 states, while trying to grapple with administrative debts left by military governors in some states

Several states have not yet installed elected assemblies because of squabbling that has erupted into fist and stick fights

"It is unfortunate that many governors don't realise that democracy is about negotiation and compromise," SDP chairman Baba Gana Kingibe told reporters

Both parties have scorned calls by some powerful previously banned politicians for a consensus government and a national conference to chart a course for democracy in Nigeria

"This is absolute rubbish It is an irrelevancy, an attempt to mar the established institutions," Cole said

"There will have to be a national conference and it may decide on multi-partyism," Yusif Maitama Sule, a Cabinet Minister in both previous civilian governments, said

IBRAHIM BABANGIDA

Maitama Sule, a likely presidential candidate, was one of many thousands of legislators allowed to return to politics by Babangida in an apparent attempt to revitalise a faltering transition process

Nearly 20 people, including Shehu Musa Yar'Adua, No 2 in the 1976-79 military regime, and former security chief Umaru Shinkafi, have declared their presidential aspirations so far

Yar'Adua, Shinkafi and Maitama Sule - all political heavyweights - are from the north, which has provided most of Nigeria's top leaders

"The presidency this time around is for the south The north should concede this, otherwise there will be a stalemate," Mr Samuel Ikoku, an ethnic leader in the south-east, told the weekly *African Guardian* news magazine

Nigeria has bitter memories of sectarian and ethnic strife, including a civil war that claimed up to one million lives - *Sapa-Reuter*

Pay us what you owe us!

C1 Pres 9/2/92

A NIGERIAN newspaper publisher has set up a $500 000 (about R1,4-million) fund for an African crusade for reparations for centuries of foreign exploitation of the continent.

(226)

Bashorun Mashood Abiola, owner of the Lagos-based Concord group of newspapers, said the foundation bearing his name would help mobilise Africans and educate their young to seek compensation.

Several African heads of state have backed calls for reparations and the issue was discussed at last June's OAU summit in Nigeria.

Supporters of reparations want compensation for 500 years of slave labour in the Americas and for exploitation of their lands by European colonisers in the 19th and 20th centuries. –Sapa-Reuter

US envoy set to go to Nigeria

By Hugh Roberton
Star Bureau

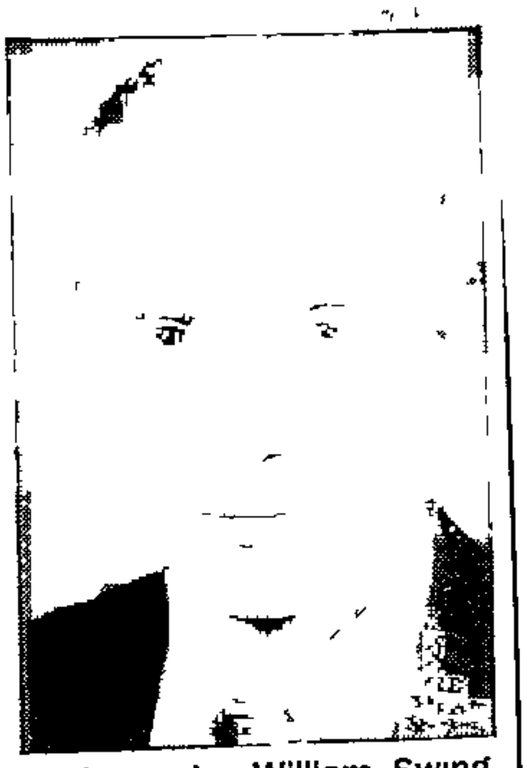
WASHINGTON — The United States Ambassador to South Africa, William Swing, is expected to be replaced later this year by a senior State Department official, Princeton Lyman, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Refugee Programmes

According to officials, the changeover will take place in August, when Mr Swing's three-year tour of duty comes to an end and after the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has approved Mr Lyman's appointment

It is understood that Mr Swing, who is one of the State Department's most experienced Africanists, has been asked to serve as US ambassador to Nigeria, which is undergoing a faltering transition from military to democratic rule

Mr Lyman is liked and respected in Washington and the approval of his appointment by the Senate is likely to be a mere formality

One of the reasons for choosing Mr Lyman is thought to have been his expertise in the management of large foreign aid budgets US aid to South Africa is now some $80 million (about R230 million) a year, almost all of it for educational and humanitarian assistance



Ambassador William Swing will serve US in Lagos

Although this is relatively small, plans are afoot for a multibillion-dollar aid programme for the country once a new government has been installed

Mr Swing, who is highly regarded in Washington and has a reputation for being a hard-driving and demanding head of mission, is likely to return to the US for some months before he goes to Lagos

Foreigners swindled in Nigerian scams

B/Day 9/3/92

(226)

LAGOS — Nigerian "419" gangs are getting rich by swindling foreign businessmen anxious to seal deals

About 60 of these "419" gangs — the name comes from a section of Nigeria's criminal code calling for jail terms up to five years for those convicted of obtaining cash or goods by false pretences — represent a sophisticated criminal enterprise reaching to the US, Europe and Far East.

Foreign diplomats believe the gangs have sucked in tens of millions of dollars through a variety of frauds since 1989.

Investigators have identified several types of fraud activities, including scams involving financial documents, visas and bogus oil exports

"We have been concerned for several years," said Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) spokesman Tony Ede "We have been getting a series of inquiries from overseas about purported CBN documents It started in the US, moved to Europe, then to Asia and now back to Europe."

CBN last year warned foreign firms against swindlers using Nigerian names who had extorted millions under the guise of transferring cash abroad with fake approval

Investigators fear hardened criminals have infiltrated gangs set up by former bankers and businessmen seeking to maintain their living standards following the '80s oil price crash.

"A new dimension is bringing foreigners here under the guise of genuine business and extorting money from them, sometimes with threats of physical violence," one diplomat said.

The latest ploy starts with a gang writing to foreign firms or individuals — names are often gleaned from trade journals, trade shows, directories and newspapers — and offering lucrative but bogus business deals.

A businessman is enticed to visit Nigeria, where he is told to pay tens of thousands of dollars to help push through a deal with officials Once paid, the fraudsters disappear

Some victims are told a contract requires their firm to register in Nigeria for a bogus fee of up to $80 000

Investigators believe some gangs bribe their way into government offices to add an air of authenticity.

Another reported tactic is enticing a businessman to Lagos but saying no visa is required because of the nature of a deal

After being met at the plane door and circumventing customs and immigration, the businessman is liable to criminal prosecution for illegal entry. "He is ready to pay large sums of money to his so-called business contact to get out of Nigeria safely," one source said.

Crackdown

CBN's warning followed a case in which swindlers sought offshore banks to transfer up to $15m at a time in excess claims on bogus contracts, together with pledges of 40% cuts for the account holders.

"It takes two to tango," said Ede, reflecting a view that the gangs themselves are not the only ones to blame for sustaining the frauds

Investigators said the fraudsters frequently lured their targets with expertly forged documents from the central bank and ministries such as finance and oil

The scale of scams has alarmed the military government, which says it is investigating about 900 Nigerian suspects, including a former government minister

The crackdown emphasises concern such activities could hurt efforts to expand business in an oil-rich, but economically troubled country — Reuter

...ns the wrong message — Sapa-AP.

tries. — Sapa.

Refugees flock to Kenya

GENEVA — Refugees from war, drought and famine were pouring into Kenya although that country was also suffering from the effects of drought, the UN, said yesterday

"It's really looking bad," said UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) spokesman Christiane Berthiaume

The number of refugees in Kenya had jumped from 14 000 about five months ago to 123 000, and that figure could double in the next four to six weeks, she said.

The UNHCR projected that 80 000 to 125 000 new refugees would arrive from Somalia, Ethiopia and Sudan within that time.

They appeared to be heading for Kenya because of continuing strife and famine in their countries

Most were coming from Somalia

In that country's capital, Mogadishu, relief workers reported appalling destitution as a result of civil war.

Kenya has granted five sites for refugee camps but the UNHCR is seeking three more — Sapa-Reuter.

Naira slumps as Nigeria scraps controls

LAGOS — Nigeria's naira nearly halved in value this week, slumping to 17,9 to the dollar from 10,5 on Friday amid confusion marking the first business day since the government scrapped controls and threw the currency market wide open

The Central Bank said it expected the move to diffuse the concentration of foreign currency away from a handful of banks that dominated the market and made big profits by selling it at higher rates on the parallel, or black, market

The deregulation was sure to send costs of imports soaring in the oil-producing nation with Africa's most powerful consumer market serving more than 100-million people

On Friday, the bank announced it was halting the auction system and would compete with commercial banks buying and selling foreign exchange, effectively floating the naira — AP-DJ.

Nigerian scams fleece foreigners

South 21/3-26/3/92

226

PAUL IS A young Nigerian getting rich swindling foreign businessmen anxious to seal lucrative deals

He is a small cog in a sophisticated criminal enterprise reaching out to the US, Europe and the Far East

Paul is not ashamed of what he does When a visiting businessman was duped out of $80 000 in Lagos, Paul said to a local newspaper "Serves him right"

He belongs to a Nigerian "419" gang, one of an estimated 60 which foreign diplomats believe have sucked in tens of millions of dollars through a variety of frauds since 1989

The name 419 comes from a section of Nigeria's criminal code calling for jail terms of up to five years for people convicted of obtaining cash or goods by false pretences

The scale of scams has alarmed the military government, which says it is investigating over 900 Nigerian suspects, including a minister in the 1979-83 civilian government

"The Nigerian image has been damaged by drug traffickers, now by these business tricksters," vice-president Augustus Aikhomu said

"We have asked the security departments to double their efforts in making sure people involved in such activities are brought to book," he added

Investigators, including foreign officials, have identified several types of fraud activities They include scams involving financial documents, visas and bogus oil exports

They said fraudsters frequently lured targets with forged documents from the Central Bank and leading ministries

"We have been concerned for several years," said Mr Tony Ede, spokesperson for the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN)

The latest ploy starts with a gang writing to foreign firms or individuals and offering lucrative but bogus business deals

A businessman is enticed to visit Nigeria, where he is told to pay tens of thousands of dollars to help push through a deal with officials Once paid, the fraudsters disappear

Investigators say some victims are told a contract requires their firm to register in Nigeria for a bogus fee of up to $80 000

Swindlers seek blank but signed corporate stationery, proforma invoices and recipient bank details — leaving accounts open to major manipulation after initial come-ons are forgotten by both the perpetrators and embarrassed businessmen — **Sapa-Reuter**

Bruising fight on for Nigerian presidency

B Day 23/3/92

LAGOS — Money and a thirst for power in a winner-takes-all society are emerging as dominant factors in the race to become Nigeria's first elected president in ten years.

More than 50 people, including wealthy merchants and ex-generals, are set for the bruising race Some plan to spend millions of dollars in a country where many people cannot afford a loaf of bread

226

The outcome of the December 5 poll is likely to determine whether Africa's most populated country, with 116-million people, can establish a viable democracy or will again be clamped under military rule.

There are signs that lessons have not been learnt from a political past rife with corruption and a history of religious and ethnic tensions

Newspaper adverts have urged the army to keep its grip on power, while human rights activists have called the tightly controlled transition to civil rule a sham

The military has ruled for two-thirds of the time since independence from Britain in 1960

Some leading presidential candidates wielded influence in the previous 1960-66 and 1979-83 civilian administrations that fell to military coups amid charges of rampant corruption

Nearly 40 people are seeking the presidential nomination for the Social Democratic Party, one of two military-approved political parties, which has roots in the mainly Christian south.

After bitter governorship campaigns last year, the National Republican Convention swept most of the Muslim-dominated north and the Ibo-dominated southeast, leaving many people certain a northerner would become president. Contenders from the powerful religious and business "Kaduna Mafia" have emerged as front-runners — Sapa-Reuter

Visit to Nigeria a coup for De Klerk

STAR 4/4/92 226

MARTIN CHALLENOR
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk is to visit Nigeria next week

SABC radio last night quoted Nigerian news bulletins as saying the visit would be announced after South African and Nigerian diplomats had finalised the arrangements this weekend

Tuynhuys has not yet issued any comment.

South Africa and Nigeria are considered the economic giants of Africa, and Nigeria has always taken a keen interest in South African politics.

This is an extremely important visit for De Klerk.

Nigerian president Major-General Ibrahim Babangida is the current chairman of the Organisation of African Unity The 1991 OAU summit meeting took place in Abuja, Nigeria's new federal capital.

Babangida came to power in 1985 in Nigeria's fifth military coup. Since then he has struggled to restore Nigeria's economy, damaged by years of mismanagement and corruption and by the fall in oil prices

Babangida has promised a return to civilian rule this October A constituent assembly to draft a constitution was elected in 1988

This will be the most high-powered African head of state to be visited by De Klerk He has previously gone to Namibia, Ivory Coast, Morocco, Senegal, Kenya and Swaziland

Lawyer sues Nigerian govt over currency

(226)

A PROMINENT Lagos lawyer has sued the Nigerian federal government over the devaluation of the naira, the national currency, this week.

In another suit, lawyer and critic Chief Gani Fawehinmi is asking the government to account for all crude oil sales during the Gulf War, particularly between August and December 1990, and how the government disbursed its foreign exchange earnings. South 4/4 - 9/4/92

Defendants in the suits, filed Monday at the Lagos High Court, are President Ibrahim Babangida, the attorney-general of the federation, the minister of finance and the governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria. The continuous devalution of the naira since 1986 is illegal and unconstitutional and has contributed to the nation's economic adversity, the lawyer said in one of his suits.

The 50 percent devaluation of the naira last March 5 and others since 1986 — when government introduced economic reform programmes — and this month, amounted to a promotion of monetary instability in Nigeria and a negation of sound financial practice, he stated.

A former Lagos correspondent for the Financial Times of London, Mr William Keeling, was expelled from Nigeria in June for what authorities here described as his "inaccurate reportages", denying the newspaper's article on Nigeria's revenue from crude sales.

William, quoting representatives of international organisations, had reported that a large portion of the extra money Nigeria made following the outbreak of the Gulf War was not accounted for by the Central Bank of Nigeria. — Sapa-AFP

Pik for PAC talks

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

THE PAC and the government will hold talks in Nigeria next week

The PAC announced yesterday it would meet a government delegation in the town of Abuja

The meeting would be held under the neutral chairmanship of President Ibrahim Babangida, the current chairman of the Organisation of African Unity.

The PAC said the first meeting would be preparatory in nature and would lay the ground for a summit between PAC president Clarence Makwetu and President FW de Klerk. ST Times 5/4/92

"We understand Mr Pik Botha will lead the government's delegation," Mr Makwetu said yesterday.

Nigerian radio reported on Friday that President De Klerk would visit that country next week.

It is understood Mr Botha will fly to Nigeria a day before Mr De Klerk to meet the PAC.

PAC-Govt meeting may yet founder

STAR 6/4/92

The first official bilateral talks between the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Government, set to take place in Nigeria, could still run aground over the issue of chairmanship.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha last night stressed in a statement that in preliminary talks with the Nigerians there was never any suggestion that the meeting with the PAC would be chaired by the Organisation of African Unity or that it would occur on foreign soil.

The original announcement of bilateral talks between the Government and the PAC was made by the liberation organisation's president, Clarence Makwetu, at the PAC congress in Umtata at the weekend Mr Makwetu referred specifically to the fact that "the PAC and the regime will meet shortly at the neutral venue in Abuja, Nigeria, under the neutral chairmanship of President Ebrahim Babangida who is the current chairman of the OAU"

Mr Botha said although the Government was prepared to hold talks with the PAC — which has remained steadfastly outside Codesa — foreign participation was "entirely unnecessary" He added that the Government would prefer the meeting to take place in South Africa and that "since the 'playing field' has been levelled for all parties pursuing a peaceful process, there is no impediment to the PAC joining the negotiations in South Africa".

Mr Botha said that as a gesture of goodwill, the Nigerian government had inquired about possible talks with the PAC — although it had never proposed the meeting as formal negotiations or as a summit, to be held on neutral territory under the chairmanship of the OAU

There is speculation that, if the question of chairmanship is satisfactorily resolved, Mr Botha will meet a PAC delegation led by the organisation's deputy president Dikgang Moseneke this week, before the start of the official visit to Nigeria by President de Klerk

But PAC publicity chief Barney Desai has cautioned "It will be difficult logistically to meet the Government this week, but we'll make every effort to meet as soon as possible"

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus expressed hopes that this bilateral contact would be a prelude to the PAC becoming a full participant in the process of constitutional negotiations. She made it clear that it would be "ridiculous" to regard such one-on-one organisational contact as a substitute for Codesa

Mr Desai said that the PAC was anxious to convene a meeting of the Patriotic Front — a broad alliance of more than 90 anti-apartheid groupings brought into being in October — and was taking "active steps" with the ANC in this regard

Mr Desai explained that the PAC had taken note of calls from the OAU and African leaders to work for unity and to engage the Government in negotiations

The PAC congress maintained it would "intensify" its armed struggle despite the planned talks — Political Staff and Sapa.

PAC sees Nigeria meeting as victory

Sowetan 7/4/92

THE PAC has, within its own frame of reasoning, scored a major victory, in that it has succeeded in getting the Government to the negotiating table on its own terms.

FOCUS

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

In the broader political context there is an awkwardness about the PAC's "victory" - especially among political organisations in Codesa and political observers

Last April the PAC received a letter from the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, in which the Government suggested that the two parties hold bilateral discussions about a constituent assembly

The PAC was on a similar high at the time, because it had until then refused to enter into any talks with the Government

The PAC, justifiably, used the United Nations Consensus Declaration of 1989 wherein it was resolved that the Government had to remove (unilaterally) all the obstacles - which the ANC on the other hand actually negotiated with Pretoria - as the primary reason for its refusal to enter into formal talks

There was also another reason the PAC was busy talking to the ANC about the formation of the Patriotic Front at the time

This was at the time interpreted as the PAC's big chance to respectability, as it was starting to feel sidelined in the grand scheme of things - especially since the ANC had in no uncertain terms established itself as the putative government of South Africa

The PAC's reply at the time was an unequivocal "no"

The Africanists said that the problem in South Africa was a national one, and not one that could be resolved between two parties

In other words the PAC did not see the point in meeting the Government for bilateral talks

The movement was very proud of itself then, more especially since it now had its bigger brother (the ANC) beside it

But the point the PAC missed at the time was that talking was no guarantee of any agreement between the two - the Government could agree to "talk" about anything under the sun

Following the announcement this past weekend of the meeting between the Government and the Africanists, the PAC feels similarly euphoric

So one might be tempted to ask What will these suggested talks bring?

The answer at this stage will be speculative and even conjecture, but the point that needs to be made at this stage is that - if the mooted talks in Nigeria are indeed real, and there have been widespread denials from the Government's side - the PAC stands accused of the same fault for which it has always blamed the ANC

It has held "secret" talks with the Government on some level or another

The Nigeria talks did not materialise instantly at the PAC's congress in Umtata last Saturday when it was announced that the two would meet

Similarly, each time the Government and the ANC met for major public agreements - such as the Pretoria and Groote Schuur Minutes - the two parties did not just arrive at a certain venue on a certain day and move to agree on certain things Naturally bilateral talks were held

A fitting analogy would be that of a marriage - or a wedding ceremony

When two people get married on a specific day, the actual public ceremony lasts no longer than perhaps one or maybe two hours

It is during the bilateral discussions (as it were) between the two people in the days and months before and after the public ceremony that most of the details of the marriage are dealt with

In the case of political agreements and public meetings, it is safe to assume that a similar number of talks are held

There have over the past year or so been numerous reports of PAC and Government meetings which have taken place

On November 29 last year, during Codesa's preparatory meeting, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, nonchalantly dropped a clue about one such meeting

The PAC, obviously so it would not lose face with its following, denied that there had been any meetings

Coetsee's remark was met with the standard rhetoric

Then about two weeks ago, news filtered into the country of "delicate diplomatic manoeuvring" with the Nigerian government acting as a go-between the South African Department of Foreign Affairs and the PAC to set up a meeting in Nigeria

The official response from the PAC was the standard one, but the Government (the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha) was that there was no such manoeuvring

And anyway, he said, if he wanted to meet them he would not do so in Nigeria, because he could do it anywhere, as he had before

In circles close to the Government, news of State President FW de Klerk's visit to Nigeria later this week was suppressed

Simultaneously, each time a Minister or National Party official was approached for comment on initial talks with the PAC the response was that "it has to be done in a way in which they could save face"

Last Friday, the PAC went into its third national congress in Umtata still fiercely rejecting talks with the Government at Codesa

On Saturday, the PAC announced it would be meeting the Government and had succeeded in securing the meeting at a neutral venue (in Nigeria) and under a neutral convener (President Ebrahim Babangida)

However, the unanswered questions are critical to complete the picture

What happens after the Nigeria meeting?

Does the Government return and continue in Codesa?

Does the PAC return and join Codesa, or will it participate only in elections to a constituent assembly which are expected later this year?

Life for the PAC cannot be better, it has secured its meeting on its own terms

While this obviously means something to the PAC, to everyone else it means relatively little

One senior ANC negotiator yesterday said that a meeting between the PAC and the Government was "no big deal" and that there had been meetings abroad between itself (ANC) and the Government and no big deal was made of that either

He added that the meeting was a "face saving" exercise, and that it was just one option which had been developed to get the PAC to get involved in negotiations

"They're getting back to square one (of tentative first round talks)," he said

FW a guest of Nigeria

Sowetan 7/4/92

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk confirmed yesterday he would visit Nigeria as the guest of President Ibrahim Babangida

He confirmed the visit while addressing the media after talks with Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at his Tuynhuys office in the afternoon

De Klerk joked that he was always asked to confirm such visits announced by host countries before the media seemed satisfied with their validity.

He said the visit, as with that to Kenya, was viewed as a particularly important extension of contact with African states

"In the case of Nigeria it is important that President Babangida is also current president of the Organisation of African Unity and in that context discussions will focus on multi-lateral co-operation in Africa"

De Klerk will arrive in Nigeria on Thursday for a two-day official visit He is the first South African head of state to visit the West African nation - *Sapa*

ANC hits out at De Klerk's Nigerian visit

Bidcay 7/4/92

LAGOS — The ANC hit out yesterday at President F W de Klerk's planned visit to Nigeria

A Foreign Affairs Department official confirmed yesterday that the President, his wife Marike and Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha would visit Nigeria on Thursday and Friday, at the invitation of President Ibrahim Babangida, who is also the head of the OAU

George Nene, chief ANC representative in Nigeria, said "We are not happy that De Klerk, who still represents a minority government, gets an invitation to a country like Nigeria before Codesa sets up an interim government"

Nene said the ANC was not consulted on the visit "It is too early to invite De Klerk, even if it is for a good cause It is worse in a sense that the opinion has not been sought of major players"

Asked whether ANC president Nelson Mandela had been consulted on the visit, Nigerian Foreign Minister Ike Nwachukwu said the decision was based on Nigeria's interests "Nigeria is a country We have our policies and our policies will not be dictated by anyone else's interests but our own"

He said the visit, the first by an SA head of state, was aimed at encouraging De Klerk's reform efforts, which Nigeria fully supported

The PAC has suggested meetings with the SA government on neutral territory and under neutral chairmanship But on Sunday Botha dismissed as "entirely unnecessary" any prospect that the OAU might chair such talks Government was prepared and would prefer to meet the PAC leadership in SA — Sapa-Reuter-AFP

FW set to meet Pik in Nigeria today

(226)

By Dawn 9/4/92

FOREIGN Affairs Minister Pik Botha and a team of senior officials left yesterday for the Nigerian capital of Abuja.

They will be joined today by President F W de Klerk on the first visit by an SA head of state to the key west African country. De Klerk's visit is considered important in that Nigeria's president, Ibrahim Babangida, is chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, which is expected to discuss SA's membership in June.

PAC spokesman Barney Desai said a delegation led by PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke and the SA government delegation, probably led by Botha, would hold their first bilateral meeting in Abuja tomorrow or on Saturday.

The aim of the meeting was to lay the ground for a meeting between De Klerk and PAC president Clarence Makwetu, he said, adding that talks would centre on the PAC's demand for a constituent assembly.

The problem of who would chair the meeting would be decided only in Nigeria, Desai said, but the PAC was insisting on a neutral chair. "The meeting has been brokered by Nigeria, and the matter of who will chair it will now be decided there."

The Transkei region of the ANC has criticised the proposed meeting. Spokesman Nat Serache said yesterday "It is ironic that the PAC, which is so vocal in denouncing 'collaboration', saw fit to collaborate with the SA President and his hosts in violating the diplomatic isolation of the SA government." — Sapa.

Into Africa's open arms

STAR 9/4/92 226

If Abuja beckons, can Cairo and the rest of the continent be far behind? Star Africa Service Editor GERALD L'ANGE reports.

PRESIDENT de Klerk's visit to Nigeria this week puts an unofficial but vital seal on South Africa's re-acceptance in Africa

And the announcement yesterday that the Ivory Coast is to open an embassy in Pretoria puts an extra shine on that seal It makes Abidjan the first African capital to exchange ambassadors with Pretoria since Malawi did so more than a quarter-century ago

These are two of the richest diplomatic prizes that have come to South Africa as a result of the progress being made in Codesa, and of the big positive vote in the white referendum There have been others the Seychelles disclosed this week it would open consular relations with Pretoria, and Djibouti lifted trade and travel restrictions

Still more are expected to follow soon, with Zambia thought likely to open diplomatic relations at a relatively high level

But Nigeria remains the main prize Pretoria has always put more value on recognition by Nigeria than it has with any other state on the continent The fact that its leader, President Ibrahim Babangida, is chairman this year of the Organisation of African Unity gives additional value to his invitation to Mr de Klerk to make an official visit Nigeria is one of four countries seen by Pretoria as nuclei of future economic blocs, the others being Kenya, Egypt and South Africa, itself Pretoria already has a presence in Nairobi, and is expected to exchange diplomats with Cairo soon

Mr de Klerk's visit to Abuja is considered by some analysts to be a likely prelude to diplomatic relations with Nigeria There is some uncertainty, however, whether Nigeria would prefer to wait until an interim government is in place in South Africa.

The Nigerians had refused an earlier request for a visit by Mr de Klerk, but apparently now feel that the referendum result makes such a visit politically acceptable Some analysts have suggested that Nigeria has been more than willing for some time to embrace South Africa and needed only a good excuse

It now finds itself able, without difficulty, to reject an ANC protest against the De Klerk visit, advising the ANC rather curtly that it considered the visit in Nigeria's interests and these interests would always come first Whether the same attitude would be applied to diplomatic relations is uncertain

If Nigeria were to open diplomatic relations with South Africa, even at a lower level than full ambassadorial status, Pretoria could really feel its isolation in Africa was over Other countries would feel free to follow suit After that, admission to membership of the OAU would have a somewhat academic value — the cherry on the top, so to speak

The flow of business and government visitors between the two countries reflects a vigorous interest in bilateral trade, and this may be a deciding factor. Initially, however, Nigeria may prefer to exchange trade missions, as Zimbabwe and several other countries have done

The Ivory Coast's decision was not unexpected, given its role over many years as Africa's leading proponent of dialogue with Pretoria South Africa has been allowed to maintain a trade mission in Abidjan for some time, but Abidjan has not opened a reciprocal office in the Republic The presence of a second African embassy in Pretoria is likely to clear the way for others, and the sight of black diplomats in flowing robes may soon become a familiar one on the Pretoria cocktail party circuit

What if Codesa fails? Well, the growing flow of diplomatic recognition suggests that African countries are increasingly taking the view that reform has become irreversible and that, either through Codesa or some other medium, apartheid is destined to vanish

Against this the cries by the ANC and PAC that apartheid is not yet dead are sounding fainter It is not that Africa is rejecting the liberation movements so much as that it feels that liberation is already at hand and they must now look to what lies beyond apartheid

While appreciating the political imperatives that make the ANC and PAC take their stance, African countries appear in general to be impatient to get on with exploring the benefits that might be found in dealing with a cleansed and absolved South Africa

Most African countries are looking beyond the symbolic value of diplomatic recognition to the perceived benefits of trade and technology Some of the doors that are opening in Africa offer few if any material benefits to South Africa But others offer considerable profit. For instance, the opening of Djibouti will give South African exporters access to one of Africa's busier ports and even richer opportunities will be opened if Egypt removes its present restrictions on South African vessels docking in its harbours

One way of looking at Mr de Klerk's Nigerian visit is that Abuja intends it mainly as an acknowledgment of his reform efforts and an encouragement to keep going, with full acceptance being offered as soon as an interim government is in place If this is so, South Africa is likely to be bombarded by diplomatic recognition from around Africa once it has an interim government □

SA not part of African family yet — Nigerians

STAR 10/4/92 (226)

By Alan Dunn
Political Staff

ABUJA — Nigeria has signalled to President de Klerk's delegation that more has to be done, quickly, before South Africa joins the "African family".

While praising Mr de Klerk for his reforms, top government officials and several newspapers said yesterday they wanted a speedy conclusion to the negotiations at Codesa

Presidents de Klerk and Ibrahim Babangida sit down today at an historic encounter to craft the beginnings of co-operation between the two countries

The two leaders are scheduled to talk for 90 minutes at the State House, amid great excitement in the SA camp at the significance of Africa's two giants eventually breaking the decades-old ice between them

Bilateral relations, trade and South Africa's short-term relations with the rest of Africa and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) will probably be high on the agenda

Mr de Klerk started his brief visit with a 21-gun salute and red carpet welcome at Abuja's airport The welcome, in blazing equatorial heat and humidity, had all the trappings of a full State visit.

The president and General Babangida inspected the presidential guard and shook hands with a welcoming line of Nigerian ministers and top officials

Marike de Klerk received a bouquet as she stepped off the presidential jet

The general then accompanied Mr de Klerk in a presidential motorcade on the 37 km highway to the capital Mrs de Klerk and Maryam Babangida rode in a tailing vehicle

South African officials said the wording of the formal invitations for last night's State banquet put the status of the visit beyond any doubt — it was a State affair

"We are pleased with the progress so far," Foreign Minister Ike Nwachuku told his counterpart Pik Botha when they met yesterday, "but we would want to see quicker progress made"

General Nwachuku said Nigerians looked on the "Boers" as one of several tribes in Africa They saw no difference between them and other tribes

A new South Africa would strengthen Africa, he added

Mr Botha replied "As far as I'm concerned, this is the most important visit of my career outside my country"

South Africa and Nigeria were the two giants of sub-Saharan Africa and the visit was a milestone, he said

Mr Botha said he saw no differences in the ideals the Nigerian and South African governments were striving for

"We now feel free and liberated to come to our brothers and say 'look, let us forget about the antagonisms of the past and build together'"

Nigerian newspapers amplified the cautious welcome given to the South African delegation which was widely reported on front pages and commented on in editorials

The National Concord said it "must be regarded as a first handshake, not as an all-time embrace" Moves towards that embrace at an appropriate time could start in today's talks

Other newspapers, such as The Guardian, described South Africa as a racist enclave

"Mr de Klerk's visit to Nigeria, one of the countries that steadfastly championed the global ostracism of Pretoria, is a major diplomatic victory for the man who has changed the tone of SA politics through his reform measures," it reported

But its editorial, siding strongly with South Africa's black nationalists, expressed doubts about Mr de Klerk's ability to complete the job "History has taught us that the dissolution of a social system cannot be carried out by the managers of the system

"At best, these managers can become part of that dissolution process if they are willing and able to read the movement of history correctly"

Abuja's Newsday reported that General Babangida was expected to urge Mr de Klerk in their talks today to accelerate his reforms — especially in the light of the March 17 referendum outcome

Nigeria's economy is no good-o

WIMaul 10/4-15/4/92

226

President FW de Klerk flew this week into a country of rocketing prices and rising tensions

By **KARL MAIER**

in Lagos

HOPPING around pools of stagnant water to attend customers at her stall in central Lagos, Morayo Yusuf said that in her 12 years as a market woman she had never seen prices rise so fast.

"The buyers are not coming anymore, the quality of the goods is not good anymore, and the prices keep going up," said Yusuf, who sells plastic jugs, powdered milk and other household provisions at the Sandgross market off Simpson Street "We are being pushed to the wall, and there is going to be trouble if this continues "

What kind of trouble there could be, Yusuf did not specify, but tension in the markets is rising, as President Ibrahim Babangida s military government continues with its plan to restructure Nigeria s oil-dependent economy

While the government's structural adjustment programme (Sap) has won acclaim from the International Monetary Fund and Western lenders and should help in negotiations this year to reschedule Nigeria's $30-billion foreign debt, Africa's biggest, it is hated in the urban markets

"Nigeria no good-o. Dey wan kill us," Yusuf shouted, as nearby shoppers and merchants nodded in sombre agreement Several market women said they feared that if violence erupted, it would be worse than in 1989, when students and workers rioted against the Sap measures.

As a market woman, Yusuf, a mother of three, is of a special breed. She is powerfully built with a sharp tongue and opinions to match. Market women are the glue that holds together the economies of Nigeria, Ghana and neighbouring countries, and a government ignores them at its peril

Nigeria's new inflationary spiral was touched off by the government's decision on March 5 to float the national currency, the naira In the past month, prices of everything from staples like cassava meal and milk to radios and televisions have risen by between 50 and 80 percent.

To emphasise the point, Rachidat Etti, a six-year veteran of the market, walked around picking up items for sale and gave their price histories A tin of powdered milk has risen from 290 naira (about R40, the exchange rate is 20 naira to the dollar) to 650 naira (R100), a 50kg bag of rice from 450 to 650 naira, and a small bag of sugar from 4,50 naira to nine naira. A plastic one-litre jerry can cost one naira 10 years ago, today it sells for 20 naira "They (the government) must do something because there is no one here, there is no market anymore."

The official value of the naira itself has plummeted with the exchange rate moving from 18 naira to the pound to 32 (or 36 at some independent exchange houses) While the government said it was seeking to strengthen its currency by narrowing the gap between official and unofficial exchange rates, the result has clearly been the opposite

The problem is that there are too many naira in circulation chasing too few pounds and dollars The government has pledged to cut its massive budget deficits and restrict the money supply to ease pressure on the naira, but Nigerians' thirst for imports and the foreign currency they need to purchase them remains unquenched.

Even Babangida seems confused "Frankly, I have kept on asking my economists why it is that the economy of the country has not collapsed up-till now What is it that is keeping it up?" he said in an interview published by the state-owned *Daily Times*. "Surely, it is not our knowledge, it is not our theories, it is not anything that we have read. I still have not found an answer "

Although some Nigerians are hoping that the answer will be found in the transition to civilian rule, after seven years of army rule, scheduled for January next year, Yusuf and other market women are not too sure

"Politicians? Politicians are all the same, it does not matter if they come from the north or the south," said Romoke Ritan, who has been a market woman for 10 years

Yusuf said. "If that one (politician) comes we will dance to his tune, and if the other comes, we will dance to his tune But at home I will vote for nobody "

FW's coup at meeting of Africa's giants

WIMaul 10/4-15/4/92

226

By KARL MAIER Abuja

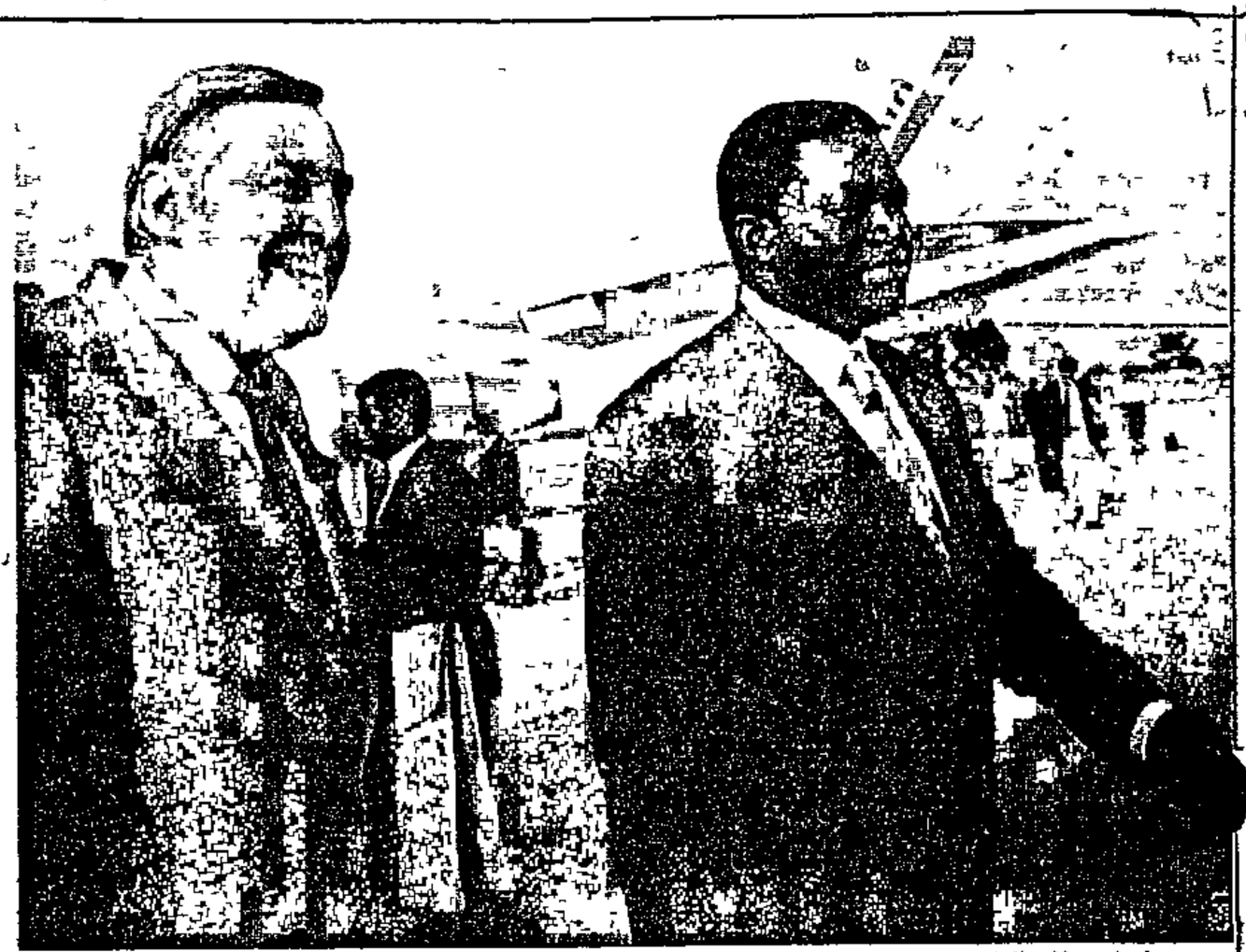
TWO African giants set aside decades of hostility to open a new era of regional co-operation yesterday when President FW de Klerk arrived in Nigeria for two days of talks with military leader General Ibrahim Babangida

Nigerian officials said the agenda for the talks would include landing rights for South African Airways, eased travel restrictions, improved communications links and possibly establishment of consular ties De Klerk arrived in Nigeria just two days after the Ivory Coast announced it was establishing full diplomatic ties with Pretoria

The De Klerk visit, which Nigerian officials refused to confirm until early this week, signals a dramatic turnaround in Nigeria's consistent policy of isolating the white minority government. It also marks De Klerk's biggest diplomatic triumph on the African continent since a visit to Kenya last year and bodes well for his efforts to gain membership in the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the African Development Bank.

Nigerian officials said the decision to issue an invitation to De Klerk came after the overwhelming yes vote in the all-white referendum on March 17

"We have come to the point where the change is almost irreversible and we must support that change," said Foreign Minister Major-General Ike Nwachukwu The effective end of Nigerian sanctions against South Africa came last week, when Nwachukwu indicated that legitimate trade between Nigeria and South Africa, the continent's two most powerful economies could be in



Diplomatic breakthrough .. Foreign Minister Pik Botha meets his Nigerian counterpart, Ike Nwachukwu

Nigeria, the continent's most populous country with 88,5-million people, attracts $1-billion a year in foreign investment, mostly in its oil sector, while South Africa is Africa's biggest industrial power Officials and businessmen are hoping the Babangida-De Klerk meeting will spark economic co-operation South Africa is particularly interested in Nigerian oil and in the country's potentially huge markets for consumer goods, while Nigeria's flagging economy needs both investment and technology

Announcement of the visit sparked controversy, however, and has strained relations between Nigeria and the African National Congress George Nene, the ANC representative to Nigeria, said the authorities had not told him of De Klerk's arrival and had not invited him to a briefing on the matter for African diplomats last weekend.

"This does not have the blessing of the ANC," he said. "De Klerk will use this visit to bolster his image among whites and among blacks It is a propaganda victory " That, he added, could help De Klerk take more hardline positions in the multi-party negotiations within the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) The ANC has questioned the De Klerk government's commitment to real change and has pointed to growing evidence that South African security forces have abetted the "black on black" violence in the townships.

Reggie Kumalo, the Pan Africanist Congress representative, said. "The way we see it is that Babangida will be shaking hands with apartheid when De Klerk comes here " Nevertheless, there were reports that either Foreign Minister Pik Botha or De Klerk himself would use the occasion to hold talks with PAC officials, possibly including PAC leader Clarence Makwetu.

Nigerian officials have described yesterday's encounter as part of the Abuja government's efforts to play a role in promoting a settlement in South Africa within the Codesa framework. In a message to the PAC's third national congress in Umtata, Babangida urged the PAC to join Codesa

ANC leader Nelson Mandela visited Nigeria in June last year, and Makwetu came earlier this year Diplomatic sources said the timing reflected Babangida's eagerness to host De Klerk before his tenure as chairman of the OAU runs out in June

●PAC in Nigeria PAGE 17

Pik pleads for 'world-beating' African unity

BIDay 10/4/92 0226

BARRY STREEK

ABUJA — A strong plea for unity in Africa to enable it to take on the industrialised world was made yesterday by Foreign Minister Pik Botha and his Nigerian counterpart Ike Nwachukwe

Unity would result in a stronger SA, Nwachukwe said at the start of talks between the two governments

People in Nigeria and Africa were pleased with the progress being made at Codesa and would like to see further progress so that everyone could feel happy and welcome in one African family

"In our view the Boers are one of the several tribes that make up Africa," Nwachukwe added

Botha said the visit to Nigeria was the most important trip he had undertaken

"This is a historical fact of Africa — that SA and Nigeria are the two giants of sub-Saharan Africa — and now that apartheid is dead we can meet each other as fellow Africans"

The visit to Nigeria by President F W de Klerk was a landmark one for both countries It was a symbol of Nigerian support of the new SA and a signal to the rest of Africa that it accepted that apartheid really was dead, he said

Botha said there were now no differences of principle between his government and party and the government of Nigeria. "We now feel free and liberated, free to share with our brothers in Africa who believe in the same principles."

While the two men did not go into any details about their agenda before the start of their meeting, the warmth in their opening comments indicated that the talks between De Klerk and President Ibrahim Babangida were likely to result in much closer ties between the two countries. This is expected to be the case in regard to trade and diplomatic relations, as well as to visa requirements.

Red carpet for De Klerk

FW DE KLERK

Sowetan 10/4/92

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ABUJA (Nigeria) - President FW de Klerk was given a 21-gun salute and a red carpet welcome soon after his arrival at the Nigerian capital yesterday.

De Klerk and his Nigerian counterpart, Mr Ibrahim Babangida, who is also current chairman of the Organisation for African Unity, then held talks at the State House to craft the beginning of co-operation between South Africa and Nigeria.

Sowetan Correspondent

On Wednesday, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha was given a warm welcome by Nigerian officials on his arrival before he held talks with Nigerian Foreign Minister, Mr Ike

●To page 2

Warm welcome

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●From page 1

Nwachukwu

De Klerk's welcome at Abuja's airport, in blazing equatorial heat and humidity, had all the trappings of a full state visit

He and Babangida inspected the presidential guard and shook hands with a welcoming line of Nigerian ministers and top officials in their colourful, traditional garb Sowetan

Mrs Marike de Klerk received a bouquet as she stepped off the presidential jet, including "Afrikaner" blooms 10/4/92

Babangida then accompanied De Klerk in a presidential motorcade to the capital

Their arrival at De Klerk's five-star hotel was delayed as the cavalcade swept around Abuja

Doubt

The lengthy wait sparked speculation that the two presidents may have engaged been in serious private talks in their limousine, while Mrs De Klerk and Mrs Maryam Babangida rode in a tailing vehicle

South African officials said the wording of the formal invitations for last night's state banquet put the status of the visit beyond any doubt - it was a state affair which, in diplomatic parlance, meant the highest status one leader could give another

On Wednesday, Nwachukwu told Botha "In our view, the Boers are one of the several tribes who make Africa Now we believe that a new South Africa will strengthen Africa"

Botha, referring to the result of the March 17 referendum, said "the whites of South Africa have given to you a signal that apartheid is dead" - *Sapa-AFP*

Nigerian visit puts seal on SA's return

Sowetan 10/4/92

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Sowetan Africa News Service

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's visit to Nigeria yesterday put an unofficial but vital seal on South Africa's re-acceptance in Africa.

And the announcement yesterday that the Ivory Coast is to open an embassy in Pretoria puts an extra shine on that seal It makes Abidjan the first African capital to exchange ambassadors with Pretoria since Malawi did so more than a quarter-century ago

These are two of the richest diplomatic prizes that have come to South Africa as a result of the progress being made in Codesa and of the big positive vote in the white referendum There have been others the Seychelles disclosed this week it will open consular relations with Pretoria and Djibouti lifted trade and travel restrictions Still more are expected to follow soon, with Zambia thought likely to open diplomatic relations at a relatively high level

But Nigeria remains the main prize Pretoria has always put more value on recognition by Africa's largest and most powerful state than any other on the continent The fact that its leader, President Ibrahim Babangida, is chairman this year of the Organisation of African Unity gives additional value to his invitation to De Klerk to make an official visit

Nigeria is one of four countries seen by Pretoria as nuclei of future economic blocs, the others being Kenya, Egypt and South Africa itself Pretoria already has a presence in Nairobi and is expected to exchange diplomats with Cairo soon

De Klerk's visit to Abuja is considered by some analysts to be a likely prelude to diplomatic relations with Nigeria There is some

FOCUS

uncertainty, however, whether Nigeria would prefer to wait until an interim government is in place in South Africa

The Nigerians had refused an earlier request for a visit by De Klerk but apparently now feel that the referendum result makes such a visit politically acceptable Some analysts have suggested that Nigeria has been more than willing for some time to embrace South Africa and needed only a good excuse

It now finds itself able without difficulty to reject an ANC protest at the De Klerk visit, advising the ANC rather curtly that it considered the visit in Nigeria's interests and these interests would always come first. Whether the same attitude would be applied to diplomatic relations is uncertain

If Nigeria were to open diplomatic relations with South Africa, even at a lower level than full ambassadorial status, Pretoria could really feel its isolation in Africa was over Other countries would feel free to follow suit After that, admission to membership of the Organisation of African Unity would have a somewhat academic value - the cherry on the top, so to speak

The flow of business and government visitors between the two countries reflects a vigorous interest in bilateral trade and this may be a deciding factor Initially, however, Nigeria may prefer to exchange trade missions, as Zimbabwe and several other countries have done, rather than start with a higher level of diplomatic representation

The Ivory Coast's decision was not unexpected, given its role over many years as Africa's leading proponent of dialogue with Pretoria South Africa has been allowed to maintain a trade mission in Abidjan for some time but Abidjan has not opened a reciprocal office in the Republic The presence of a second African embassy in Pretoria is likely to clear the way for others and the sight of black diplomats in flowing robes may soon become a familiar one on the Pretoria cocktail party circuit

What if Codesa fails? Well, the growing flow of diplomatic recognition suggests that African countries are increasingly taking the view that reform has become irreversible and that, either through Codesa or some other medium, apartheid is destined to vanish The consensus seems to be that, one way or another, democracy is on its way in South Africa.

Against this the cries by the ANC and PAC that apartheid is not yet dead are sounding fainter It is not that Africa is rejecting the liberation movements so much as that it feels that liberation is already at hand and they must now look to what lies beyond apartheid

While appreciating the political imperatives that make the ANC and PAC take this stance, African countries appear in general to be impatient to get on with exploring the benefits that might be found in dealing with a cleansed and absolved South Africa

Most African countries are looking beyond the symbolic value of diplomatic recognition to the perceived benefits of trade and technology Some of the doors that are opening in Africa offer few if any material benefits to South Africa. But others offer considerable profit For instance, the opening of Djibouti will give South African exporters access to one of Africa's busier ports and even richer opportunities will be opened if Egypt removes its present restrictions on South African vessels docking in its harbours

One way of looking at De Klerk's Nigerian visit is that Abuja intends it mainly as an acknowledgment of his reform efforts and an encouragement to keep going, with full acceptance being offered as soon as an interim government is in place.

If this is so, then South Africa is likely to be bombarded by diplomatic recognition from around Africa once it has an interim government

BREAKTHROUGH: South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha (left) and his Nigerian counterpart Ike Nwachukwu meet at Abuja international airport, Nigeria.

Codesa may be out, but outside is in for PAC

South 11/4 - 16/4/92

Six members of the PAC national executive are heading for Nigeria to meet with the South African government in a move seen as an attempt to reassure those pushing for participation in negotiations.

THE PAC has emerged from its third national congress holding firmly to its anti-Codesa stance

It decided it was willing to talk about the modalities for a constituent assembly with all interested parties — but not at Codesa (the Convention for a Democratic South Africa).

This forum was labelled an undemocratic one that could not ensure the transfer of power

However, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu announced amid loud cheers that the PAC would be meeting the South African government in Nigeria

The announcement seemed to be aimed at reassuring those, inside and outside the PAC, pushing for participation in constitutional talks and an attempt to get a little closer to the Codesa bandwagon

The meeting would be chaired by Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida, currently the chairperson of the Organisation of African Unity

Makwetu said the meeting would lay the basis for a summit between himself and President FW de Klerk to discuss the modalities for elections to a constituent assembly

The PAC was quick to hail the announcement as a victory for its insistence on talks outside South Africa under a neutral chairperson

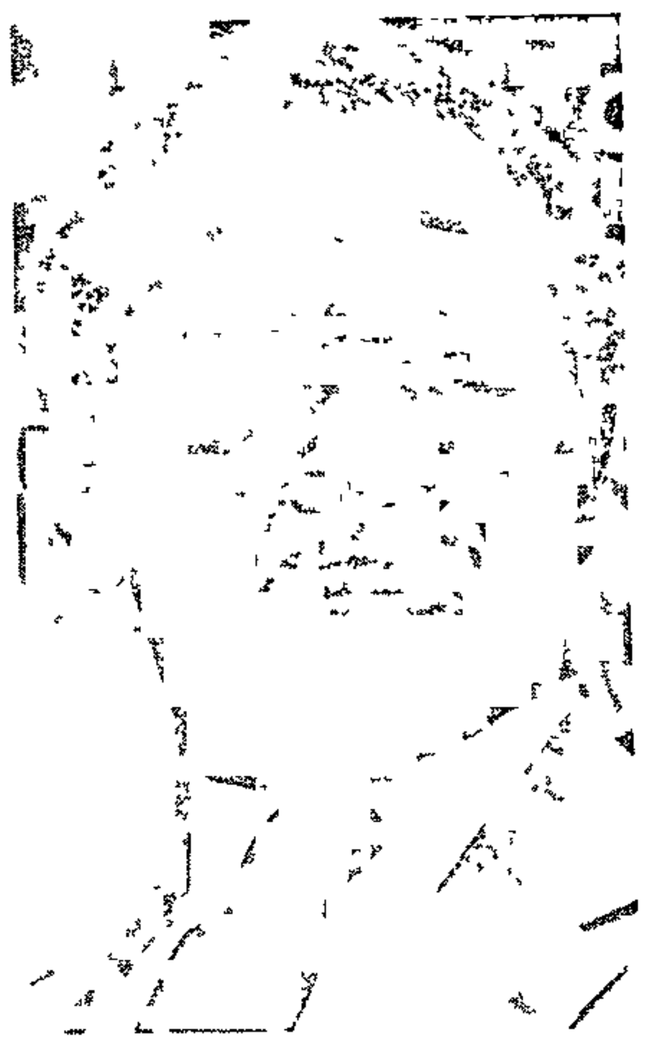
The South African government responded with a statement that left many questions unanswered

No formal meeting had been arranged, said the statement from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, although Nigerian officials had informally asked about a meeting with PAC leaders

"This was a goodwill gesture on the part of Nigeria At no stage, however, was it suggested that such a meeting would constitute a formal negotiating session, or summit, with the PAC under the chairmanship of the OAU on foreign or neutral territory"

The government said such a step would be unnecessary, reaffirmed its commitment to Codesa, and said it would prefer to meet the PAC inside South Africa

What it didn't say was whether



Clarence Makwetu

there would be a meeting of some sort in Nigeria, although officials later said Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha would "readily" meet the PAC if they were in Nigeria when he was there

The PAC believed the meeting would be on A six-member delegation from its national executive was due to head for Nigeria this week

The PAC also decided that it could not drop its armed struggle, because of ongoing violence in the townships

The congress resolved that as long as African people were subjected to "state-sponsored violence" in urban and rural areas, the armed struggle would not be suspended or abandoned

There was no shortage of pressure on the PAC to join negotiations Transkei's military ruler, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, said the struggle could not reach its logical conclusion while there was bickering among the liberation forces

He hoped the PAC would soon meet the SA government Diplomatic observers used their messages of support to refer pointedly to the benefits of negotiations

MAKWETU complained bitterly that the United States government was singling out the PAC as the only political group not to receive support

This was based on the misconception that the PAC was opposed to negotiations, he said

One resolution said the PAC would "resolutely pursue" its policies to overthrow the "settler colonial regime" and establish a socialist, Africanist democracy

The PAC rejected "any attempts by the US or any other foreign government to force the PAC to alter its policies and programmes to suit its own interests"

Despite factional rumblings before the congress, the PAC managed to contain the differences

There were predictions of a walkout over the question of negotiations, but this did not happen

The integration of the external mission and internal leadership seems to have been achieved reasonably smoothly The executive was enlarged from 30 to 40 members and the external mission was dissolved

The PAC's headquarters would be in Johannesburg, leaving only the military wing headquarters outside

On the Revolutionary Watchdogs, an East Rand group contesting previous executive elections, the congress decided to mandate the national executive to resolve the problem

The three-person presidency, with Makwetu, first deputy Mr Johnson Mlambo and second deputy Mr Dikgang Moseneke, was returned

There were cheers of "Makwetu, you're the lion" when the proposal to return the three was accepted

There was a battle for secretary-general, between incumbent Mr Benny Alexander and the national organiser, Mr Maxwell Nemadzivanani Alexander won 219 votes to 144

At the start of the conference, he earned enthusiastic laughter for his Afrikaans version of the PAC slogan, one settler, one bullet "Een boertjie, een koëltjie" **— Ecna**

What is

And now, something new out of Africa

ST Times 12/4/92

ALL SET FOR OAU? Pik Botha relaxes in Nigerian dress but the cigar is a not-so traditional Havana

STORY AND PICTURE, CLAIRE ROBERTSON

AS South Africa prepared for the end of three decades of ostracism by Africa, Foreign Minister Pik Botha donned a traditional West African danshiki and dark glasses — to look the part of our man at the OAU

South Africa is expected to be represented at the Organisation for African Unity conference in Dakar in two months' time — as an observer — and is likely to be admitted as a full member next year

The Nigerian ambassador to the OAU, Chief Segun Olusola, said members would not oppose South Africa's admission to the body after the signal of acceptance given by Nigeria during a visit by President FW de Klerk this week.

And, to celebrate on the flight home, Mr Botha changed into Nigerian traditional dress.

During the visit M Botha's Nigerian counterpart, Major-General Ike Nwachuku, welcomed "the Boers as one of the tribes of Africa"

Mr Botha, in his own tribal dress of dark suit and tie, replied. "The tribe I represent has signalled that apartheid is dead"

● See page 2

Protesters pelt FW with stones

ST Times 12/4/92

STATE PRESIDENT FW de Klerk was yesterday forced to abandon his visit to Mitchell's Plain in Cape Town after protesters threw stones at him.

The incident happened while he addressed more than 10 000 people who gathered in and around a marquee The stones were apparently thrown by members of the ANC and the New Unity Movement.

Some of them hit Mr De Klerk, but he was not injured, the Cape secretary of the National Party and chief organiser of the rally, Mr Carl Greyling, confirmed yesterday

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

However, Mr Stoffel van der Merwe, National Party general secretary, said gravel, not stones, was thrown at Mr De Klerk

Mr Greyling said Mr De Klerk was escorted out of the marquee and driven to Tuynhuys The rest of his programme, including a walkabout in a Mitchell's Plain shopping centre and a luncheon, were also cancelled

Threats

In a statement issued yesterday, Mr De Klerk made no mention of the incident.

"The fact that, regardless of threats and intimidation, they gathered in their thousands along the route and venues, carrying placards, flags and stickers displaying their support for the NP, conveys a powerful message that bodes well for the future," he said

"All that serves as great inspiration to me

"It again proved that the NP has the capability of becoming the single most influential political organisation in South Africa"

The president's "roadshow" began at the civic centre where he was given a rousing welcome His cavalcade then moved to the marquee which was lined by thousands of people waving placards

Inside, Mr De Klerk struggled to make himself heard above the chanting of a small group of ANC and NUM supporters among about 3 500 people

The ceremony was scheduled to last an hour and Mr De Klerk was then to have walked to the nearby shopping centre to speak to the public

Inside the tent, supporters welcoming him jostled with those opposing his visit. A further 7 000 to 8 000 people waving pro-De Klerk posters gathered outside the tent.

Cheers

But as soon as the NP's Cape leader, Dr Dawie de Villiers, opened proceedings he was shouted down by chants of "ANC, ANC"

Mr De Klerk's speech was greeted by deafening jeers and cheers

Then, from the direction of the ANC and NUM protesters, stones started raining on Mr De Klerk and his aides Bodyguards, who were backed up by police, threw a cordon around him and whisked him to his car

He was then driven to Tuynhuys, leaving behind pandemonium and confusion among the people

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PIK'S ENGINES OF GROWTH PUFF FOR A UNITED AFRICA

ST Times 12/4/92

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON: Abuja, Nigeria

SOUTH AFRICA came home to Africa this week and in true form its fellow Big Brother of the continent killed the fatted calf.

Nigerians did not turn out in droves to cheer President FW de Klerk's motorcade through Abuja. Then again, there are no droves living in the underpopulated building-site-in-the-bush that is Nigeria's new federal capital.

But the official welcome matched the tropical heat of central Nigeria for warmth, with displays of mutual delight as the two giants of Africa met 30 years after suspending diplomatic relations in 1962.

This was the "most important visit of my career outside South Africa", said Foreign Minister Pik Botha. For many of his entourage it was the reward for years of work as contact with lesser countries culminated in the visit to the country considered SA's peer in sub-Saharan Africa.

Nigeria's President Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida's recognition of SA's reform holds considerable clout. As chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, he can influence South Africa's formal readmission to organised African politics. Although no official announcement was made, OAU membership is in the offing.

The visit also highlighted a vision of a new Africa, one united economically in the face of a unified Europe and economic pacts in North America and the Pacific Rim.

Mr Botha outlined his plan for economic co-operation in Africa, with four regions each "pulled" to prosperity by the locomotive of its region — South Africa, Kenya to the east, Egypt to the north and Nigeria in west Africa.

These engines of growth would in turn unite to speak for Africa — "and if there is one thing Africa needs urgently it is one voice" — he said.

"We must help our continent to survive against enormous odds. If Nigeria and South Africa can put together a strategy against the world tendency to discard us, we would be fulfilling a historic mission."

The Nigerian foreign minister, Major General Ike Nwachuku, said he believed a new South Africa would "usher in a stronger Africa and make it possible for Africa to be heard much louder than in the past".

South Africa has committed itself wholeheartedly to the continent — even halving its diplomatic representation in the United States to finance its push into Africa and the Far East.

The warm "welcome home" offered by Nigeria this week is bolstered by rich economic opportunities for South Africa in West Africa

Estimates of the potential trade between the two countries are as high as R3 000-million, according to Foreign Affairs officials.

Last year South African sales to Nigeria were worth just R1-million.

A country with an estimated unemployment rate of 40 percent, where a loaf of bread costs 50 percent more than the minimum daily wage, Nigeria is clearly looking to South Africa for an economic miracle.

The high expectations African countries have of South Africa's wealth and generosity are a headache for diplomats in the delicate courtship stage of relations.

Expectations are excessively high as regards economic assistance from South Africa. There is an enormous expectation that we will become a donor nation, but we have to let them know we simply do not have the wherewithal," said the Africa section chief at the Department of Foreign Affairs, Mr Derek Auret.

After the emotionally charged and intensely positive visit by President De Klerk, President Babangida sounded a note of caution in talks on Friday.

He emphasised the importance of a transitional government coming into being to facilitate the normalisation of relations between South Africa and Nigeria, according to a joint communiqué issued by the two leaders.

Nigerian officials spoke of their delight at being able to welcome the South African delegation.

The Nigerian man in the street shared the sentiment. "I'm so proud, I'm so happy. This Africa has to be one," said Lagos businessman Chief Patrick Abi.

A local cultural group composed a special song for President De Klerk to a tune from the South African musical *Ipi Tombi*. To a blushing Mr De Klerk they sang: "De Klerk saw a black man caught in a trap, he asked himself what shall I do? Apartheid is dying for good."

Then, to the delight of the guests at the state reception, the two presidential couples joined hands to the music of Ibo singer Nelly Uchendu.

After the SA presidential couple had flown out of Nigeria, the visit ended with a meeting between Mr Botha and a Pan Africanist Congress delegation at which the PAC said it repudiated a reported chant of "one boertjie, one bullet" made at a recent congress

Landmark trip for FW

Cheen 12/4/92

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha returned to SA from Nigeria this week after what has been described as one of their most important official visits (SAPA) (226)

Relations between Nigeria and SA have been sour since 1960 when the then South African government refused to attend the Nigerian independence celebrations

At the State banquet President Ibrahim Babangida said he was "delighted" that at last there was someone in SA that Nigeria could do business with. – Sapa

Nigerian ties likely

BARRY STREEK

INCREASED trade and technological co-operation between SA and Nigeria are on the cards after President F W de Klerk's two-day visit to the west African country

Details were not revealed, but officials believe trade between the two countries, currently about R7m, could rise to R3bn

The importance of trade in the talks was evident from the inclusion in the SA party of Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut president Attie du Plessis, SA Chamber of Business president Hennie Viljoen and SA Foreign Trade Organisation head Wim Holtes

In their joint communique at the end of the talks, Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida and De Klerk said "As far as economic matters are concerned, the two presidents reviewed the serious problems which confront the continent and agreed that close regional co-operation was essential for economic growth and progress"

De Klerk also said he expected South Africans "in various disciplines" to visit Nigeria soon

"I have also extended an invitation to Nigerians involved in specific disciplines to visit SA"

Nigeria had a GDP of $32bn, and in 1991 its exports, mostly oil, totalled $10,6bn with imports at $5,1bn

However, SA imported goods worth only $3,4m from Nigeria and its exports to Nigeria were valued at only $1m

"These are the two giants of Africa There is vast potential for the expansion of trade," Foreign Minister Pik Botha said

After Abuja trip, where to for PAC?

Sowetan 15/4/92

226

FOCUS

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

The PAC at the weekend returned from Nigeria, where it held its first publicly known talks with the South African Government.

The obvious question is, of course· Does anybody at Codesa expect any major political developments or achievements because of this?

The unanimous answer from delegates early yesterday was an emphatic no . .

The Nigerian visit also took place a little under a week after the PAC's Third National Congress, an event which was described by the Africanists as the birth of something great

But, instead of it being a nativity play (of sorts), the congress was more like a comedy of errors, and this is something which the PAC will have to live with for a long time to come . .

Nevertheless, the greatest achievement of the Umtata congress was apparently the "mandate" the leadership received to hold talks with Government in Nigeria. These talks took place last Friday — and they were very tentative at that

The immediate question in this regard is, naturally how did the talks go?

Well, according to reliable sources, the talks were more like an afterthought, or like an innocuous dessert after a sumptuous meal .

The PAC met South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, briefly at Abuja's (Nigeria) airport while the latter was making his way out of the country

Journalists who accompanied the Botha-President FW de Klerk junket to Nigeria for talks with that country's President Ibrahim Babangida were not even allowed near the meeting; some did not even know the meeting was being held — they had to wait in the aircraft for Botha.

Botha's official statement after the meeting was as meaningless as a mixed metaphor, and impacted on South African politics like a hand being pulled from a bucket of water.

The significant thing about last Friday's talks was the mendacity with which PAC second deputy president, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, dismissed the truth about his organisation.

Unbanning

Since its unbanning, the PAC has come under heavy fire for its slogan "One settler one bullet".

The stock reply from officials in the movement vacillated over the past two years from the ridiculous to the absurd and back, but most significant of all· The leaders absolved themselves and said that it was the "militant youth" that used the slogan.

Until the Umtata congress, when things revealed themselves for what they really are

The congress, as expected, started 90 minutes late. It was not this (actual late start) that so succinctly summed up the difference between pastiche and pantomime it was the time between the scheduled and the actual start and the morbid ugliness of what took place during this time that was a horror

Thirty minutes after the scheduled start of the congress there were fewer than 30 people in the hall where the meeting was being held, and another 30 minutes later there were only about 30 more people — by which time the PAC's Mr Waters Toboti was appealing to people to "please come in and sit down".

He also apparently felt that the only way he could get the delegates at the congress to actually pay attention to the importance of a national congress was to provide 'a kind of political opiate in the form of blood-thirsty and brutal slogans.

A few leaders had trickled in and were seated on the stage by this time, and Toboti called up youths to the stage to chant blood curdling slogan after blood curdling slogan — it was the old PAC mantra at its best.

"One settler, one bullet, one bullet, one settler, war among the enemy, peace among the Africans, peace, arm the people . "

The crowd was delirious, but the opiate soon wore off, so Tobotu swopped kids . .

The next one was more vitriolic, with a glazed look in his eyes and a spastic smile, he just jumped up and down and — frothing at the mouth — shouted hysterically "Kill them Apla, kill them".

The few leaders already on the stage (secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander, national organiser Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani and secretary for political affairs Mr Mhlubi Mbandazayo) were gloating gleefully

But this kid, too, could not produce a more meaningful (violent) slogan, so another one, wearing dark glasses and looking like the bodyguard of a tin-pot dictator, was brought on to the stage . . .

By this time the crowd was livid, and suddenly, as if programmed, Nemadzivhanani, the national organiser, jumped up and in a kind of manner which suggests. this is how you're supposed to do it, shouted· "Een Boertjie een koel"

That did it to the crowd As one, they broke through to the other side.

This slogan was recorded on television, journalists jotted it down in their note pads and my own entry into my notebook was: "Maxwell (Nemadzivhanani) So the leaders use the term too."

But it's a lie, the PAC's Moseneke said last Friday, the slogan was never used, actually, it never happened

Slogan

Foreign Minister Botha said after the meeting with the PAC in Abuja last Friday that he had asked Moseneke about the slogan (Een Boertjie een koel), and the whole thing was dismissed as a fabrication

It was old footage, Moseneke allegedly told Botha Botha accepted Moseneke's word, and the matter was laid to rest

However, according to reports, Nemadzivhanani was with Moseneke when the deputy president denied that the slogan was used

What is the truth then, that which is real or that which is not?

Maybe there is a reason (hidden somewhere in this example of honesty) why the PAC wants to hold talks with Government at a neutral venue and under a neutral facilitator

The truth is at home

AFRICA

Nigeria is not the country they thought it was

W1mail 16/4-23/4/92. (226)

By CAMERON DUODU

NIGERIANS have been doing quite a bit of arithmetic lately The results of the national census held last November have been released and a lot of juggling of the figures is needed to obtain an accurate profile of the country for the 1990s

Among the popular misconceptions jettisoned by the census are

●**Nigeria's total population is between 100 and 120-million.** The correct figure is 88,5-million But that still leaves Nigeria as Africa's most populous country

●**Nigeria has more women than men.** The two sexes are almost evenly placed There are 44,5-million men and 43,9-million women

Nigerian spinsters need not fear any longer that they will necessarily go to their graves unwed But what is good news for the spinsters may be bad news for indigent males

The more wealthy men tend to grab more than their fair share of wives — polygamy being acceptable to both the country's indigenous religions as well as to one of its biggest imports, Islam So men who are not well-to-do and don't already have wives may find the going a little tougher

●**Lagos, the "overcrowded" commercial capital — the new political capital is Abuja — has a population of between eight and 10 million.** The total population of Lagos state is in fact 5,6-million, so the capital city only accommodates about four million people

This revelation will take a bit of swallowing by taxi drivers, market women and other providers of services in the city, who know from day-to-day experience that footroom is one of the rarest commodities to be found

But the news will no doubt gladden the hearts of the electricity, water and telecommunications suppliers, who regularly complain that Lagos is so over-populated that it is impossible for them to plan how to meet the demands for their services, let alone obtain a large enough budget to enable them to satisfy the demands in the near future

On the other hand, it will also serve to reduce the validity of their excuses for not being able to fulfil the demands of those who need their services Maybe they won't be so happy after all

●**The northern states of Nigeria are largely uninhabited, as can be seen when one drives through states like Sokoto, Kano and Kaduna.** According to the census figures, Kano has only 50 000 less people than Lagos state; Sokoto has 4,3-million and Kaduna 3,9-million

Oyo state, whose capital Ibadan was regarded recently as one of the most populous black cities in the world, has only 3,4-million people

You may have gathered from the above that the interpretation of census figures in Nigeria is an art in itself And so far we have touched only on the sociological aspects without entering the political minefield represented by the figures

In Nigeria, the size of the population of a state plays a large part in how much money that state receives from the federal government's oil revenue Size, plus whether or not the state is an oil-producer, are two of the major considerations

It is the financial element that makes taking a census in Nigeria such a political hot potato The last acceptable census was in 1953 The results of one held a year before were abandoned, as was one held in 1962 The census that followed in 1963 was accepted with reservations and the results of the 1973 census were found unacceptable

What was happening was that census officials returned inflated figures if they happened to operate within their own states of origin and discounted figures if they were operating in "foreign" terrain

Precautions were taken to prevent the 1991 census falling prey to such shortcomings and they appear to have worked No serious doubts have yet been cast over the current figures, and it is hoped that a post-enumeration count will confirm them

This represents a major triumph for President Ibrahim Babangida and his Armed Forces Ruling Council. They have every reason to be proud of the fact that they are the first government in Nigeria since the country obtained its independence from Britain in 1960 to have conducted a nationwide census that did not result in riots, total disbelief or accusations of rigging — Gemini News

Police move to muzzle press

By KARL MAIER: **Lagos**

AS publisher and multi-millionaire Chief Moshood Abiola sat down to a state banquet in honour of visiting South African President FW de Klerk last Thursday in the capital, Abuja, police moved into his National Concord complex in Lagos to shut down his presses.

Armed police arrived in several trucks and an armoured car to enforce the military government's decision to close down one of Nigeria's leading media houses.

Abiola said on Monday the government had given no reason for the action but he urged President Ibrahim Babangida to revoke it immediately. He pledged that "whatever might have caused them to take the action will be carefully looked into".

Journalists at Concord and other publications believed the government was angered by critical reports carried in the past few months by the weekly magazine, ***The African Concord.***

"One reason the government has applied the sledgehammer has been the unrest in the air," said Sully Abu, editor in chief of the independent weekly, *The African Guardian*, said "When governments are in trouble, they try to muzzle the press."

Nigeria's capital in creation

STAR 16/4/92 (226)

Abuja, Nigeria's capital under construction, is the Brasilia of Africa. ALAN DUNN of The Star's political staff was there recently for two days to cover President de Klerk's overnight State visit. This is what he found.

ON THE carpet in the middle of the international conference centre's auditorium is a giant map of Africa

Each country is a shaped wooden block standing about 30 cm high on the carpet They are separate, trimmed in aluminium to emphasise independence and sovereignty Together they form the familiar continental outline

"I hope South Africa is there," remarked one journalist as they entered the cavernous hall for the talks between Foreign Ministers Pik Botha and Ike Kwachukwu.

"What?" said an incredulous Sunmi Smart-Cole, former managing editor of The Guardian newspaper in Lagos and official photographer chronicling the De Klerk visit for the Nigerian government "We've been expecting you!"

While his reply offered humour and a glimmer of typical Nigerian arrogance at being what they believe to be the continent's premier nation, he had every reason to be proud of the facility.

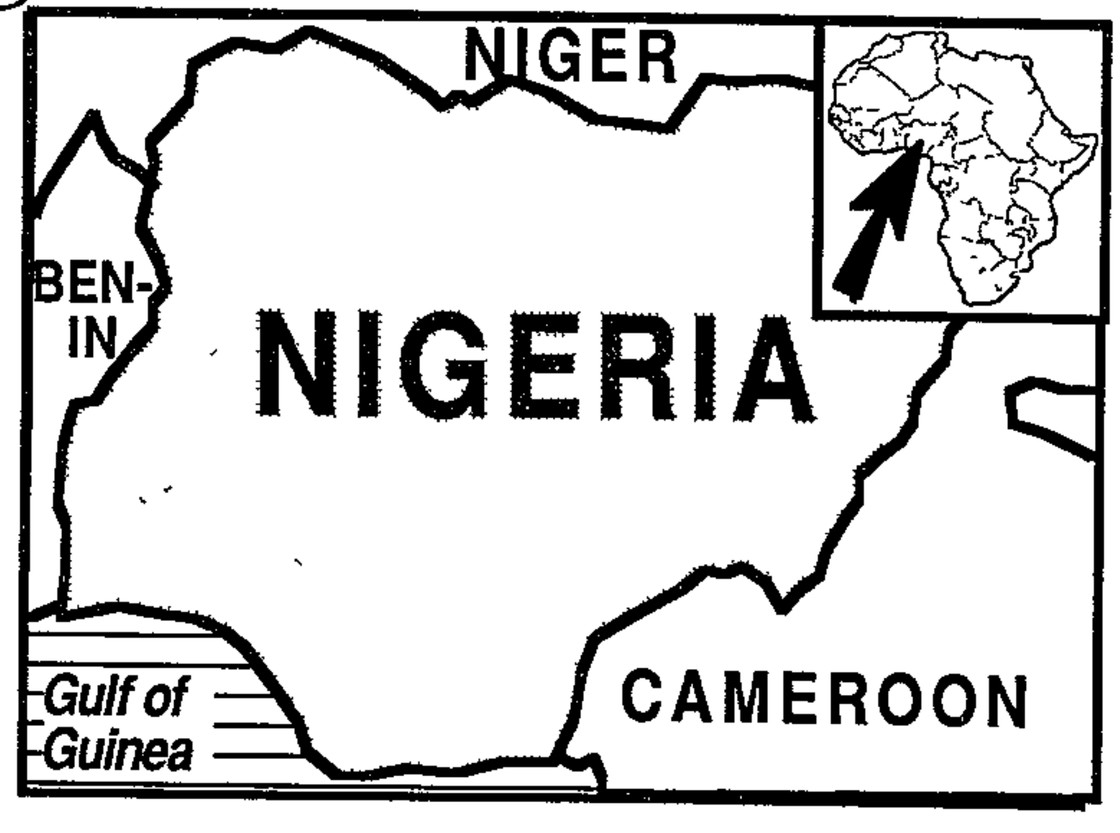
He showed the seat where Nelson Mandela, president of the African National Congress, had sat as an observer at the 27th Organisation of African Unity meeting between June 3 and 6 last year

The 1 500-seat centre is a showpiece, as is Abuja itself which is located in the centre of the country

Picture a gigantic building site scattered among sub-tropical vegetation, with untouched bush and grassland spacing the construction sites and fledgling suburbs. Highways and roads are in place, wide pavements are tarred, and street lights are planted and working.

While the conference centre, President Ibrahim Babangida's villa, and a few buildings are complete, scores of ministries, houses and hotels are still in the making

Building is at present the major industry and employer in Abuja outside government. Trucks and minibus taxis disgorge thousands of men on to



building sites at 7 am each day

Guesstimates put the unfinished city's population at rough ly 200 000 This will swell enormously as the transfer of government from Lagos, 800 km away, progresses

Locals say about 30 percent of government's transfer has taken place from the coastal city, which is generally regarded as chaotic, an urban nightmare clogged with traffic and veined with open and hopelessly inadequate sewerage. It has a reek and character of its own Nothing works in congested Lagos, say those who know it

In Abuja most things do, and the tap water is safe to drink Authorities expect it will eventually be home to 3,1 million people

Perhaps the best established and most efficient buildings in the city are the hotels the Hilton, Sheraton and three others with more in the making The Nicon Noga Hilton, where Mr de Klerk and his entourage stayed, is worth each one of its five stars

It is huge almost 800 rooms and suites, with a business centre, casino and a variety of restaurants. The room rate is R300 and breakfasts cost R22

Room service is prompt, as is the valet service It all functions smoothly

Apart from the fact that bursting Lagos had become unfit as a capital, the Federal Military Government's Decree No 6 of 1976 which established its replacement was seen as another effort to reconcile profound religious rifts in Nigeria between the Muslim and Christian sectors

Abuja is located midway between the Muslim north and Christian south, a quest for balance and peace in a religiously divided nation An imposing, gold-domed mosque is Abuja's most striking feature

Less than 400 m from it stands a towering conrete finger, an unpainted eyesore, topped with a cross This is the inter-denominational Christian church It and the mosque are national temples, intended as symbols of unity in the capital

Five shopping centres are operational in Abuja but, in the city centre, there are no shop-filled streets One market, selling anything from garments, liquor or radio repairs to plantains and yams, featured a healthy variety of textiles, footwear and foodstuffs on its shelves

At this stage Abuja has little soul There is no bustle, no buzz of pedestrians or traffic, no entertainment districts After hours, and even during the day, traffic is sparse — apart from 30-vehicle convoys, mainly Peugeots, transporting Mr de Klerk and General Babangida

Traffic snarls have yet to curse the capital

But they will, especially in the light of present policy by the Ministry of Federal Capital Territory It has liberalised land allocation there, cutting the time and process required for occupancy certificates

"Abuja plots are the cheapest in the country," entices an official pamphlet "Each plot is provided with water, electricity, telephone ducts and sewage chambers

"With all these facilities and the conducive business and investment environment created by government, real estate developers, industrialists, financiers and capable individuals are hereby invited to seize this opportunity and invest in Abuja

"This is one city where you can get the highest returns on your investments"

Promotional talk and incentives like that should soon see Abuja become a complete capital city □

City of smiles is camera-shy

STAR 16/4/92 226

By ALAN DUNN

ABUJANS are friendly folk They smilingly return greetings, and readily say "welcome" to visitors

This is the demeanour of small-town folk, of a place free of urban pressures, a place that is not yet a capital

They do so even when they learn the strangers are South Africans, people from the racist state that Nigeria has shunned and actively plotted against for decades

But the smiles turn to scowls when cameras appear

"No pictures!" they shouted as a group of reporters and news photographers alighted from a minibus to browse at a local market.

The Nikons could have been night adders and the Canons cobras the way they recoiled. Anger filled their eyes.

Invariably, as the shutters clicked on the walkabout, some would confront photographers to say it was illegal. They threatened to call police.

Some, however, did not share the popular aversion to being photographed

"You can take one of me," an electrician said as he poked about a transistor radio with a soldering iron He brushed aside jabbering protests from one of the confronters who dogged the photographers.

At least three of the photographers — professionals and happy-snappers — were involved in further brushes later that day as they drifted about Abuja One was accused of being a military spy and had his film confiscated and destroyed, and two others were embroiled in heated exchanges and some manhandling

For a country which enjoys free speech and press freedom — journalists say there are more than 200 newspapers in Nigeria — the dislike of being photographed by strangers seemed peculiar In Abuja alone, more than a dozen vibrant, tabloid newspapers are on sale every morning.

The amount of press freedom in Nigeria, which is ruled by President Ibrahim Babangida and an Armed Forces Ruling Council, is odd And, odder still in Africa, General Babangida seems to be holding to his promise to return the country to democratic civilian rule by October this year □

services had not been delivered

AFRICA FM 17/4/92 226

A lot in common

The significance of the historic meeting between President F W de Klerk and Nigerian ruler Major General Ibrahim Babangida lies mainly in the symbolic value of rapprochement between the continent's two giants

Nigeria dominates the west African region, while SA is the economic powerhouse

contin—

of southern and, potentially, sub-saharan Africa. The accords struck between the two states will form a bridge between Africa's most populous country (120m) and the most prosperous and technologically advanced

This, says Stellenbosch Africanist Willie Breytenbach, advances the hope of arresting Africa's seemingly ineluctable drift towards world economic marginalisation The Nigerians — and others — see SA as the springboard to Africa.

The immediate spin-off from the remarkably warm encounter between De Klerk and Babangida will be in the setting up and improvement of bilateral relations This could have important implications for diplo-

Nigeria's Babangida . *self-interest above ideology*

macy and trade Investment is not, however, expected to flow either way very soon Though it is an oil-rich State, with oil accounting for over 90% of GDP, Nigeria is in economic straits as a result of years of corruption and mismanagement and the fall in the oil price

The ANC, meanwhile, has clearly lost another diplomatic round as a result of the De Klerk-Babangida meeting, which it opposed This follows similar losses for the ANC in relation to Europe, Japan and the US over sanctions, not to mention the ex-East Bloc countries which quickly sought links with Pretoria Despite two visits to Nigeria by Nelson Mandela, ANC protestations were ignored by the Nigerians in favour of self-interest

However, all indications are that the question of SA's membership of the OAU (of which Babangida is the current chairman), as well as of other multilateral organisations such as the African Development Bank, will only seriously come on to the agenda after an interim government is formed in SA

Even then, opposition to SA's joining may be expected from hardliners Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Ethiopia and Uganda, who could insist on such a step only after an elected post-apartheid government is in place

Yet Nigeria remains the big fish in the OAU and the Commonwealth. Bilateral relations with Abuja, therefore, are critical to SA rejoining the African fold Most other African States could well be swayed by Nigeria's pragmatism and back SA membership upon the formation of an interim government — in which the ANC will, of course, play a key role.

Apart from Malawi, which has long stood out as the only OAU member to have formal ambassadorial relations with Pretoria, Ivory Coast last week announced it is to establish full diplomatic relations with SA Zaire will soon follow suit, as will Zambia, Morocco and Senegal Kenyan trade delegations have visited SA and diplomatic relations cannot be far away

Angola recently opened a charge d'affaires office in Pretoria as a prelude to exchanging ambassadors and Seychelles last week announced it is to set up a diplomatic presence in SA Strangely, neighbours Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland have yet to announce readiness to exchange envoys — though, like Zimbabwe, they have had trade and consular representation here for years

According to Breytenbach, Nigeria and SA share a quaint parallel in their problems of transition to democracy It is interesting, he says, that in Nigeria bureaucratic and military power is wielded by the Muslim Hausa and Fulani tribes based in the north of the country, who comprise 29% of the population In SA, the Afrikaners occupy a similar position The other major Nigerian tribal groups are the Yoruba (20%) and Ibo (17%), in a country with 250 ethnic groups and 395 languages and dialects

Thus, says Breytenbach, the common problem of the ruling elites is how to share power without losing control? There is no single ethnic group in either country that is big enough to form a majority and govern on its own Nigeria resorted to military rule, which it has had for all but 10 years since independence in 1960, while SA resorted to apartheid Both countries are engaged in the process of transition in which, says Breytenbach, the two dominant features are ethnic politics and the option of coalition government

President De Klerk *most significant African contact*

Empathy with the white South African's burden may, then, have had something to do with Babangida's flowing praise of De Klerk's reform initiatives ■

AFRICA

Farmers in bid to defuse maize row

B/Day 23/4/92

HARARE — Zimbabwe's commercial farmers are trying to defuse a row with President Robert Mugabe which could embitter the crisis over food supplies and the land nationalisation controversy.

Speaking at independence celebrations at the weekend, Mugabe accused the 4 500 commercial farmers of hoarding maize for their livestock while Zimbabweans queued for dwindling food imports.

Relations between the government and commercial farmers are already strained by the passing of the Land Acquisition Bill, designed to pave the way for nationalising 6-million hectares of prime farmland without right of appeal to the courts over compensation levels

Mugabe complained that farmers were asking for R800 a ton for the 300 000 tons of maize he said they had grown for their livestock.

This is the price Zimbabwe has to pay for imported grain, but farmers have been offered a producer price of R300 a ton

"These are the farmers we believe are part of our society, our nation," he added, saying that his government would be "taking note" of their response

MICHAEL HARTNACK

The Commercial Grain Producers' Association and the Commercial Farmers' Union issued a statement yesterday "to avoid any further misunderstandings or interpretations"

They estimated their lands would yield 280 000 tons of maize this year because of the severe drought, while their 2-million labourers and dependants would need a minimum 300 000 tons for consumption

To help "bridge the gap" until the arrival of foreign maize the farmers were offering a scheme to deliver what grain they had to the Grain Marketing Board

They had proposed a payment of R800 a ton, which would be the price farmers would pay to "buy back" imported supplies.

Observers here say the potential for the food crisis to develop political and racial overtones, with the government blaming the commercial farmers for distress, is unlimited, coming as it does on top of the land acquisition controversy

Zimbabwe to buy Cahora Bassa power

B/Day 23/4/92

MAPUTO — Zimbabwe had signed a multimillion-dollar deal to buy power from the giant Cahora Bassa dam in north-western Mozambique, the Mozambique news agency (AIM) reported last week

The agreement was signed at Songo, alongside the dam on the Zambezi

Construction of transmission lines was budgeted at $200m, 50% of which had to be raised by Mozambique and Zimbabwe

France had expressed an interest in providing soft loans to finance 20% of the cost, the agency said The European Investment Bank, the African Development Bank and some Nordic countries were other possible investors, industry sources said

The Mozambican and Zimbabwean governments hoped work could begin in six months and be completed in three years, the sources said Two parallel 350km transmission lines will carry 500 megawatts of electricity from Cahora Bassa to Harare under the deal

Portugal, which incurred huge debts to construct the dam, stands to gain from any sales It still holds 80% of the shares in the operating company, Hidroelectrica De Cabora Bassa. — Reuter

Nigeria to forge ahead with plant

B/Day 23/4/92

LAGOS — Nigeria's military government is pressing ahead with work on one of the world's biggest aluminium smelter plants despite domestic controversy over its scale

Finance Minister Abubakar Alhaji said last week 45% of the civil works on the DM2,4bn project had been completed.

Alhaji said most of the materials for the project had been procured from abroad and would soon be shipped to Nigeria

The project, started in 1990, aims to place Nigeria among the world's major aluminium exporters by the mid-1990s

But critics of the scheme say it is too ambitious and may end up like the vast Ajaokuta steel plant in central Nigeria, still unfinished after gobbling up more than DM5,5bn in construction work over more than a decade

The aluminium smelter is due to start producing molten metal in 1993 and is projected to reach its full capacity of 180 000 tons per year in 1995

The Nigerian government holds 70% of the equity in Aluminium Smelting Company of Nigeria, a joint venture incorporated in 1989 to build and operate the plant The remaining 30% is shared by German and US companies — Reuter

Karl Maier reports Nigeria is still ruled with iron fist

Torture is 'state policy'

STAR 23/4/92.

226

ABUSES of human rights and the military government's lack of respect for democratic principles are undermining Nigeria's transition to civilian rule, says the US-based group, Africa Watch

The human rights group, in a 29-page newsletter, says President Ibrahim Babangida's government continues "to hold itself above the law and to deny justice to its critics"

It criticises the use of secret trials and military decrees, and accuses the government of refusing to allow human rights activists, unions, students and the press to express their views freely

In its most recent action against the press, the government closed The National Concord media house on April 9, saying it was undermining state security

The Africa Watch newsletter follows an equally critical report published on April 18 by a prominent Nigerian group, the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights (CDHR), which accused the security forces of involvement in torture and killings

The Babangida government, which came to power in 1985, has strongly defended its human rights record, and says that the use of military decrees and tight controls are necessary to ensure a stable transition to civilian rule

The Africa Watch newsletter says the government's decision to postpone the handover to civilians from October 1 to January 2 next year, to abandon the secret ballot in favour of the "open ballot" system, and to create nine new states last year, has alienated many Nigerians from the political process

The CDHR, in its 1991 annual report, accused the security forces of using torture and being involved in 27 killings during the year

Complaints by human rights groups about torture, the 42-page report said, "are met with disturbing silence and more often with outright contempt, leaving us with no other impression than that torture is a state policy in Nigeria"

— *The Independent* News Service □

Nigeria accused of torture and killings

THE Nigerian security forces are carrying out summary executions and routinely torturing suspects to extract confessions, a Lagos-based human rights group claimed this week. Torture victims had been burned, shot, whipped, starved or hung upside down. Beko Ransome-Kuti, head of the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights (CDHR), stated in his annual report.

"In spite of the march to civil rule in Nigeria, it is regrettable to note that fundamental human rights are still in chains. 1991 witnessed a disturbing rate of extra-judicial killings carried out by the police," the report said. "In 1990 we were able to record 19 cases of such summary executions of accused persons, suspects and innocent commuters. This year (1991) we have been able to record 27 incidents," it said, adding that actual figures could be much higher.

SA poised for full world integration, says Obasanjo

STAR 29/4/92

By Thabo Leshilo
Political Staff

South Africa was poised to be fully integrated into Africa and the world as a country with democracy, harmony, growth and development surpassing all projections, former OAU chairman and Nigerian president, General Olusegun Obasanjo, said in Johannesburg yesterday

General Obasanjo was giving the opening address at the South African Foreign Trade Organisation's two-day international conference on the new scenario for trade and investment in southern Africa

A post-apartheid SA, he said, could compete favourably for capital and trade with the leading economies of the world

He said the recent whites-only referendum had indicated that the fear of extinction that had so characterised the Afrikaner's psyche and threatened to drive him into the laager was giving way to a genuine feeling of being South African

"It must be gratifying to South Africans that those who constructed apartheid are taking the lead in dismantling it," he added.

Now the chairman of the New York-based African Leadership Forum, General Obasanjo warned that a new society should not be predicated on anger, revenge and bitterness but on the basis of remorse, forgiveness and reconciliation.

It was encouraging, he said, that African leaders who had spent more than a quarter of a century in apartheid jails were without bitterness or hatred

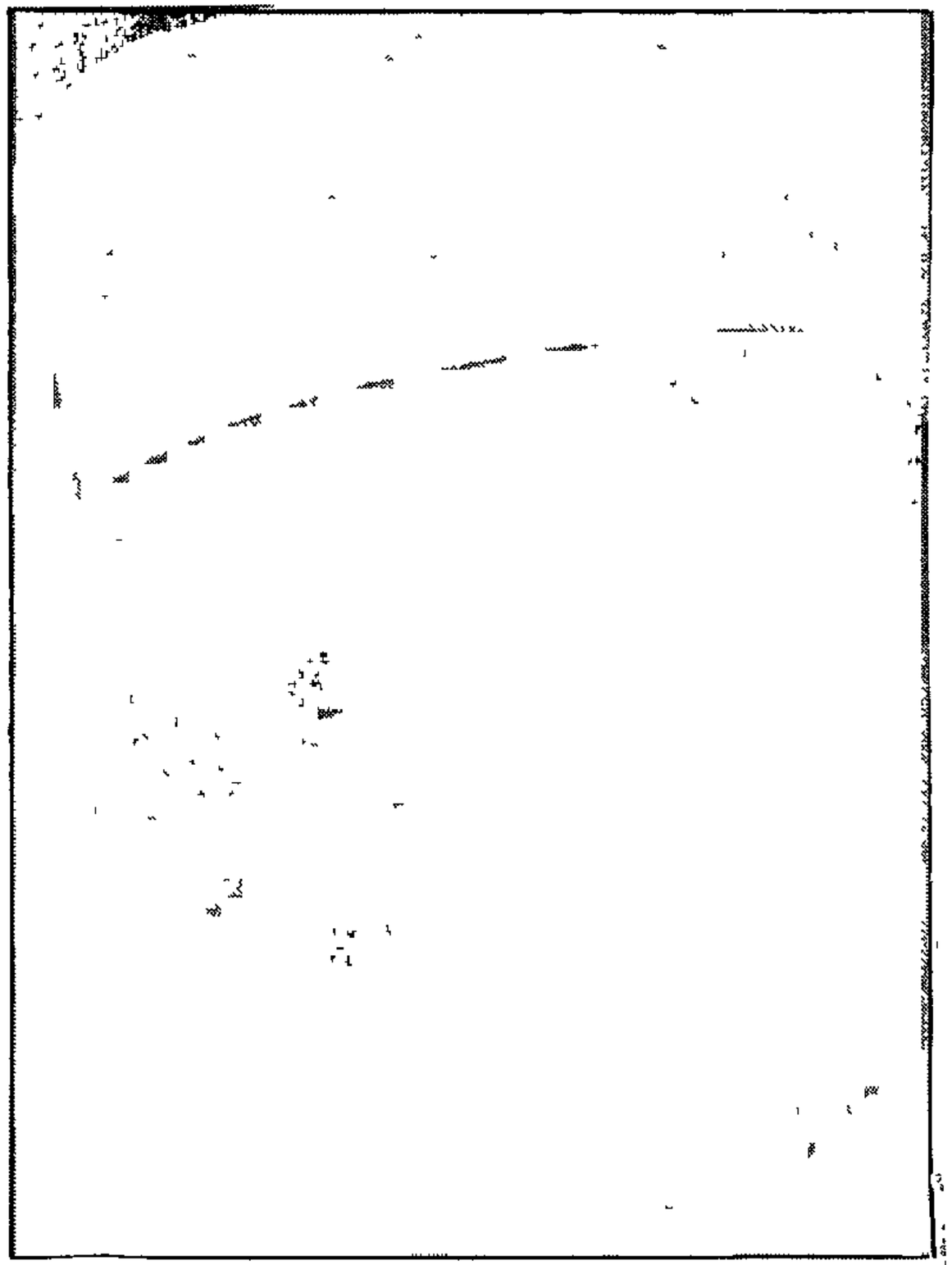
The referendum, he added, had removed the last doubts about the sincerity of President de Klerk and lack of good faith of his Government to eradicate apartheid.

It, however, did not remove the obstacles caused by violence to fostering peace and brotherhood.

"Co-operation, tolerance, confidence and trust cannot reign in a situation of violence — this is an antithesis to democracy," he said

General Obasanjo identified the next important task facing South African leaders as the elimination of violence

This had to be followed by the establishment of an interim arrangement for bringing about full democracy



Olusegun Obasanjo . new SA could compete favourably with leading economies of the world Picture Alf Kumalo

Babangida wants sanctions lifted

Sowetan 30/4/92

226

Sowetan Africa News Service

ARUSHA - The Nigerian president told African leaders the mandate given by whites was a warning to keep their eyes and ears open "so as not to be overtaken by history"

He was speaking at the Organisation of African Unity meeting on South Africa in Arusha on Tuesday, which ended with a proposal to call for international intervention to help stop the violence in South Africa

President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria, who recently received South Africa's President de Klerk in his capital, clashed with Tanzanian President Ali Hassan Mwinyi over the issue of maintaining sanctions

The Nigerian leader urged that sanctions be lifted gradually to encourage reform The Tanzanian argued that sanctions were what had forced Pretoria to reform and should therefore be maintained until apartheid had been fully dismantled

At the end of the one-day meeting the OAU's Committee on South Africa proposed that the OAU ask the United Nations Security Council to take action to secure international intervention to help stop the violence in the country

It also proposed that the OAU send a monitoring team of its own to report on the violence and try to help in the negotiations

Earlier ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela had requested that the OAU support the dispatch of an international force to South Africa to end the violence, which he said was inspired by the Government

"We are convinced that international monitoring and a role in securing a peace-keeping force will bring under the spotlight all those in our country who are determined to plunge us into the abyss," he said

"As long as the South African Police and the South African Defence Force continue to be the private armed forces of the National Party, so long will the slaughter of our people continue"

Mandela said he had contacted the OAU and the UN on April 9 about an international force similar to the UN force that monitored the Namibian independence election

According to OAU Secretary-General Mr Salim Ahmed Salim the Arusha meeting was held at the express request of Mandela

ANC dismisses Mangope's claims

Sowetan 30/4/92

By ABBEY MAKOE

THE African National Congress yesterday described as nonsense claims by Bophuthatswana leader Chief Lucas Mangope that the organisation had become a common factor in violence throughout the country

The ANC's director of information, Dr Pallo Jordan, said Mangope's allegation was tantamount to saying "women were a common denominator in rape cases"

Mangope made the claim during the opening of his parliament in Mmabatho

He said he had had a "long and constructive" meeting with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela on February 27 in which Mandela had conceded that it "had been ANC policy to destabilise" Bophuthatswana

Mangope said although Mandela was "at pains" to assure him that the ANC would stop threatening to topple the Bophuthatswana government, the organisation had failed to give effect to the undertaking by their leader

In a hard-hitting response yesterday, Jordan reminded Mangope that he had been toppled from power before the SA Defence Force swiftly moved to rescue him and his "so-called independent government"

Old money for new

226

LAGOS — Thousands of Nigerians crowded banks yesterday to beat a deadline for changing old coins and notes, some of them made almost worthless by rising inflation.

Banks were busy taking old money, ranging from half kobo ($0,0003) coins to one naira ($0,05) notes from customers eager to get rid of them before Sunday's deadline.

Central Bank of Nigeria spokesman Tony Ede said new one, 10, 25 and 50 kobo and one naira coins, introduced last May, will be sole legal tender from Sunday

The half kobo coin has been rendered useless by inflation, which bankers estimate at nearly 50 percent a year

"Today there is nothing you can buy with the half kobo It's not even used for change," Ede said. STAR 11/5/92

The introduction of a 50 naira ($2,7) note as the highest value note last year was seen as acknowledgement of the sharp fall in the purchasing power of the currency since International Monetary Fund-backed economic reforms were started in 1986.

"In these harsh economic times nobody wants to be left holding even a naira worth of old currency," a banker said

Prices of most goods, including food, have soared since March 6 when the naira was floated and fell by 43 percent and there are fears the momentum created by Sunday's deadline may further fuel inflation.— Sapa-Reuter

Namibia, Nigeria sign joint accord

WINDHOEK — Namibian Foreign Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab and his Nigerian counterpart Maj-Gen Ike Nwachukwu yesterday inaugurated a joint commission on economic, scientific and technical co-operation (226)

Nigerian head of state Gen Ibrahim Babangida and Nwachukwu arrived in Nambia on Tuesday for a four-day state visit — Sapa B/Day 7/5/92

Nigerian general with gift of garb

Sowetan 12/5/92 (226)

FOCUS

South Africa regards Nigeria as one of the most important countries in Africa. When the Nigerian External Affairs Minister, Mr Ike Nwachukwu, arrives here tomorrow at the head of an OAU mission, he will be the first serving Minister from that country to be officially received here. BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI of the Sowetan Africa News Service prepared this profile.

A NIGERIAN high society magazine once described Mr Ike Nwachukwu as a man "with the gift of the garb".

A natty dresser, Nwachukwu looks sartorial elegance itself whether in his military uniform (which he now eschews), a Saville Row suit or his imposing African robes

In a poll for the best-dressed man in Nigeria not long ago, he was pipped by his ex-Cabinet colleague, Mr Alex Akinyele, the former Information Minister, who incidentally is married to a South African

Announcing the pending arrival of the OAU mission here last week, the PAC's Mr Benny Alexander pronounced the Nigerian external Affairs Minister's name as Ike (as in Mike) and generally found his name quite a mouthful

Ike (pronounced eeke) Nwachukwu would not have been amused He is a stickler for detail and something of a perfectionist

Observers say this well-dressed retired army general with a quiet but well-modulated voice is just the man to smarten Nigeria's international image It is his second stint at the Foreign Ministry

He defined Nigerian foreign policy objective in a recent interview as what he calls economic diplomacy - the country's foreign relations will primarily be driven by its economic interests

"On being appointed Foreign Minister I felt we could use foreign relations as a weapon or machinery for economic development," he said

"The whole ball game today in diplomacy is economics"

It is believed that this economic diplomacy is partly responsible for the transformation of official Nigerian attitude towards South Africa

Nwachukwu's return to the Foreign Ministry coincided with State President FW de Klerk's speech, and he and former Nigerian military leader Mr Olusegun Obasanjo, who advises President Babangida on Southern Africa, are credited with moderating the country's stance on the Republic

Their efforts culminated with De Klerk's visit to Nigeria last month

Nwachukwu is also known for his sharp tongue When he was asked recently whether the ANC had been informed about De Klerk's visit to Nigeria, he replied tartly that his government would do what was in its country's interest

Nwachukwu is by far the highest-ranking government official to visit South Africa from a country which Pretoria regards as the most important on the continent

Although the South African Government has spoken out against foreign interference in the country's affairs, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha has said the OAU mission has his Government's blessings

Nigerian president Ibrahim Babangida has moderated the country's stance towards South Africa

The Government's attitude may have something to do with a desire not to imperil its new-found rapport with the Nigerians

Mr Ike Omar Sanda Nwachukwu, a retired major-general in the Nigerian Army, was born in Port Harcourt on September 1, 1940

He was commissioned into the Nigerian Army in 1963 after training at the Royal Canadian School of Infantry

He rose quickly within the army and held various posts including that of Provost Marshal of the Nigerian Army

After the 1983 army coup which deposed the civilian government of Mr Shehu Shagari, Nwachukwu was appointed the military governor of Imo State by the new strongman, Mr Mohamed Buhari

When the present ruler, Mr Ibrahim Babangida, displaced Buhari from power in an internal army putsch in 1985, he appointed Nwachukwu adjutant general of the army

A year later he was Minister of Labour and Productivity, and then External Affairs Minister in 1987.

He was not long in the External Affairs Ministry before he was appointed general officer commanding the First Division of the Nigerian Army in Kaduna He also became a member of the Armed Forces Ruling Council, the highest decision-making body in the country

He was re-appointed External Affairs Minister in 1990 Since his return to his present post, he has discarded his army uniform and dropped his military appellation from his name

Trade talks open in Lagos

B(Day) 13/5/92. (226)

LAGOS — SA businessmen seeking joint ventures and other trade deals opened talks in Nigeria yesterday after an ice-breaking visit by President F W de Klerk

"We are looking basically in exploratory talks at joint ventures in major sectors including industrial chemicals and rural development," Paul Runge, leader of the 14-member private sector delegation, said

The group, organised by the SA Foreign Trade Organisation (Safto), has members from the banking, chemical, oil, agriculture, engineering, publishing and shipping sectors

De Klerk's talks in Abuja last month with Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida, current head of the OAU, paved the way for overt business between sub-Saharan Africa's biggest economies

But Nigeria has made clear that full diplomatic ties must wait until SA had a transitional government acceptable to its nationals.

"We are optimistic and sooner or later we are going to have acceptance here," Runge said

Members of the delegation, which includes Standard Merchant Bank and Sasol, are expected to meet Central Bank of Nigeria officials during a one-week visit.

Nigeria, a major oil producer, is interested in selling oil and petroleum products to SA

A factor likely to hamper large sales of Nigeria's light oil is that SA refineries generally use heavy crude

Safto officials said SA could help Nigeria with its problematic refineries and discuss joint marketing of oil products

"A lot of my clients here are looking at opportunities to supply major oil companies in Nigeria," Safto official Andrew Maggs said "We are also looking at foodstuffs, pharmaceuticals and mining" — Sapa-Reuter

SA, Nigeria in trade talks

LAGOS - South African businessmen seeking joint ventures and other trade deals opened talks in Nigeria yesterday following an ice-breaking visit by State President FW de Klerk Sowetan 13/5/92 (226)

"We are considering exploratory talks regarding joint ventures in major sectors including industrial chemicals and rural development," Mr Paul Runge, leader of the 14-member private sector delegation said

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De Klerk's talks in Abuja last month with Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida, current head of the Organisation of African Unity, paved the way for overt business between sub-Saharan Africa's biggest economies.

But Nigeria, Africa's most populous country and an unrelenting foe of apartheid, has made clear that full diplomatic ties must wait until South Africa has a transitional government acceptable to its nationalists

Members of the delegation, which includes Standard Merchant Bank and Sasol, are expected to meet Central Bank of Nigeria officials during a one-week visit, Nigerian sources said

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Safto officials said South Africa could help Nigeria with its problematic refineries and discuss joint marketing of oil products - *Sapa-Reuter*

Sowetan 14/5/92

Students run amok in Nigeria

LAGOS - Nigerian students angered by fuel shortages smashed cars during a rampage in a crowded working-class area of Lagos yesterday

Eyewitnesses said they vented their anger on anyone with a good car in Oshodi (226)

There were no reports of clashes with police, who took up positions on Tuesday after students called for two days of protests

Other witnesses said police turned back many vehicles from Oshodi Some drivers had green leaves on their cars to show solidarity with the students

Nigeria is a member of Opec and the shortage is caused mainly by cross-border smuggling and hoarding - *SA Press Association-Reuter*

WORLD

NEWS IN BRIEF

Fuel shortages spark riots

LAGOS — Nigerian students, angered by chronic fuel shortages, clashed with riot police in the crowded, working-class Lagos suburb of Oshodi yesterday and witnesses said several people were believed killed or seriously injured BIDay 14/5/92

Some witnesses said they heard gunfire.

Police spokesman Frank Odita said police used teargas to disperse the students but he had no reports of gunfire He was unable to confirm reports that other areas were hit by violence (226)

The fuel shortages and increase in transport costs follow a 43% devaluation of the naira against the dollar, which has forced many Nigerians towards the poverty line

site slated for housing. It was the site conquered by King David in the 10th century BC — Sapa-Reuter.

Fuel crisis sparks looting in Nigeria

LAGOS — Anti-government mobs looted government offices and stores and burnt petrol stations and cars yesterday to protest against skyrocketing transport costs and demand the resignation of military ruler General Ibrahim Babangida

Riot police fired teargas but were unable to block the demonstrators. Reporters saw the body of a middle-aged man among protesters. Other sources said three people were killed but this could not be confirmed.

Protesters forced public transport off roads and looting caused most businesses to shut down, bringing the city to a standstill

Nigeria, an oil-producing nation, has been short of petrol for months because refineries have broken down. The government began importing fuel, but not enough to ease queues at petrol stations and halt increases in fares.

The violence spread to most sectors of Lagos — Sapa-AP.

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Lagos rampage continues

LAGOS — Hundreds of youths rampaged in central Lagos yesterday, their second day of rage over poverty and fuel shortages.

Police fired teargas to break up crowds attacking banks and offices in the main business area. Commuters scurried for cover.

Rioting started on Wednesday after university students called for military president Ibrahim Babangida to step down after almost seven years in power.

Youths took the students' call as a signal to burn or vandalise banks, garages, government offices, fire stations, schools and vehicles. — Sapa-Reuter

WORLD

Youths riot over Nigeria recession

Sowetan 15/5/92 (226)

LAGOS - Hundreds of marauding youths sent morning commuters scurrying for safety in central Lagos yesterday, a day after two people were reported killed in street violence in Nigeria's largest city

"It is bad, it is really bad," office clerk Chijioke Ujoatuamu said from the stricken area He said police fired teargas to disperse the youths, who fought with passersby and ransacked offices

Panic-stricken drivers and pedestrians hastily retreated from the main Broad Street area of the teeming capital, where many banks and offices are located

At least two people were reported beaten to death by youths on Wednesday after students protested against chronic fuel shortages and hardship caused by a massive currency devaluation

The outburst of violence is among the most serious in Lagos since military President Ibrahim Babangida seized power in 1985

Many buildings, including banks, fire stations and garages were reported razed by fire on Wednesday and police fired teargas to disperse demonstrators in the crowded northern Oshodi suburb of Lagos and other areas within a 15km radius

Residents in the northern Nigerian cities of Kano and Kaduna said police had reinforced surveillance at campuses there after national student leaders had called for a two-day protest

Last week 10 people were killed in Lagos and other states when commuters, angered by 400 percent rises in bus and taxi fares following the fuel shortages, clashed with police - *South African Press Association-Reuter*

Ousted president in Lagos

LAGOS — Ousted Somali president Mohamed Siad Barre arrived in Lagos from Kenya yesterday and was granted temporary political asylum by Nigeria's military government

The foreign ministry said it was giving him and his family temporary asylum as part of efforts by Nigeria, current leader of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), to bring peace to Somalia

Foreign Minister Ike Nwachukwu has been sent to Somalia to try to arrange national reconciliation talks in Nigeria's new capital, Abuja.

Mr Siad Barre was forced out of the Somali capital Mogadishu in January 1991 He crossed into Kenya last month after warlord Mohamed Farah Aideed attacked his stronghold near the border — Sapa-Reuter

Bloodbath as clashes grip Nigeria

226
STAR 19/5/92

LAGOS — Up to 100 people were feared killed in northern Nigeria as Muslims and Christians became embroiled in ethnic violence in areas around the city of Kaduna yesterday, residents said

"The situation is confused and very tense. Many people have been killed," said one resident, as police fired teargas and clashed with rioters in the city's main Tundunwadu Street.

Residents could not give an accurate death toll for the violence, putting the figure variously at between 25 and more than 100. They said many people were injured.

Residents said ethnic fighting at the weekend had given way to religious clashes and that several Christian churches had been razed since Sunday.

"Churches have been burnt and I was told two or three pastors were killed in churches," said Titus Ogbonyomi, the Christian bishop of Kaduna.

Bishop Ogbonyomi said security forces clamped a dawn-to-dusk curfew on the city, the north's political centre, on Sunday. — Sapa-Reuter

Scores die as fierce unrest hits Nigeria

BIDay 19/5/92. (226)

LAGOS — Police clashed with rioters in the northern Nigerian city of Kaduna yesterday after at least 23 people were reported killed in communal and inter-religious strife at the weekend.

Residents said police fired teargas at several hundred demonstrators after two days of fierce ethnic fighting with rifles, cutlasses and bows and arrows over disputed land

There were no reports of more deaths but residents said five bodies of people believed killed in on Sunday were sprawled near a road in Kaduna, political capital of the mainly Muslim north.

"Police fired teargas to stop the demonstrators, who smashed cars and looted buildings. Many people stayed at home," one resident said

Residents said at least 23 people were killed in the weekend unrest in Kaduna and Zango-Kataf, 120km away.

Foreign diplomats said they were checking reports that at least two Christian pastors and one policeman were among those killed in Kaduna on Sunday.

They said drivers were stopped at illegal roadblocks on Sunday and ordered to speak Arabic to prove they were Muslims

At least 14 people were reported killed in Kaduna in 1987 when churches and mosques were set ablaze during Christian-Muslim rioting Residents believed the figure was much higher

Last weekend's fighting started when Muslim Hausas, the main northern group, and mainly Christian Katafs clashed in Zango-Kataf

Kaduna is 750km northeast of Lagos, Nigeria's biggest city, where at least 11 people were killed and hundreds were injured in widespread rioting over poverty last week.

The clashes erupted at a sensitive phase of military President Ibrahim Babangida's programme to restore full civilian rule

Multi-ethnic Nigeria has been ruled by the military for most of the time since independence from Britain in 1960 — years scarred by religious and tribal tensions — Sapa-Reuter

Bloodbath in Nigeria

STAR 20/5/92 (226)

LAGOS — As the death toll from rioting in the northern state of Kaduna mounted, Nigeria's military government yesterday detained one of its leading critics, human rights activist Dr Beko Ransome-Kuti

Reports from Kaduna, about 800 km north of Lagos, said the death toll after four days of rioting could be as high as 300

Calm returned to the state as General Ibrahim Babangida ordered a dusk-to-dawn curfew and dispatched troops and anti-riot police from three neighbouring states to quell the unrest

Following last week's widespread riots in Lagos, the Kaduna violence has raised the level of tension in Nigeria, Africa's most populous nation with 88,5 million people and more than 250 ethnic groups It has heightened concerns about the future of the government's plans to return the country to civilian rule in January

Dr Ransome-Kuti, chairman of the Campaign for Democracy, was detained at his home in Lagos yesterday by 200 armed policemen and security agents, according to human rights lawyer Chief Gani Fawehinmi

"The arrest of Dr Ransome-Kuti and an executive member of the Campaign, Baba Omojola, showed that the government had gone mad and crazy," Chief Gani said in an interview The Campaign, a coalition of human rights groups, called early last week for President Babangida to resign

The trouble in Kaduna began on Friday in the town of Zango-Kataf, where a long-simmering dispute over land between the predominantly Christian Katafs and Muslim Hausa people erupted into widespread killing Combatants reportedly used automatic weapons, bows and arrows and cutlasses

When Hausa casualties from the Zango-Kataf fighting began trickling into the city of Kaduna at the weekend, the violence, with an increasingly religious overtone, followed in their wake

Christians in Kaduna said several churches had been burnt Several people were also reported killed in the town of Zaria, a traditional Islamic centre 80 km north of Kaduna city

The unrest in Kaduna, the political capital of the mainly Muslim north, followed two days of riots last week in Lagos, Nigeria's biggest city and commercial centre, over severe fuel shortages and soaring inflation At least 12 people were killed as clashes between unemployed youths and anti-riot police rendered large sections of Lagos virtual war zones

The Lagos protests were sparked by a call for a two-day general strike by the banned National Association of Nigerian Students to demand that President Babangida resign

General Babangida's seven-year-old military government has faced increasing opposition since the Central Bank's decision on March 5 to float Nigeria's naira against major foreign currencies The move, which was applauded by Western creditors and the International Monetary Fund, saw an immediate devaluation of the naira from 17 to 33 to the pound sterling and price rises for most basic goods of at least 50 percent — The Independent News Service

300 die in Nigeria

(226)
STAR 2015/92

LAGOS — Up to 300 people were reported killed in two days of fighting in northern Nigeria, diplomats in the city of Kaduna said some of the dead were beaten beyond recognition

● Page 6

300 killed in Nigerian riots

Sowetan 20/5/92 (226)

KADUNA (Nigeria) - Mortuaries overflowed with mutilated corpses yesterday after two days of violence that claimed more than 300 lives

"It was terrible People were killed as if they were dogs," said one businessman

Trouble started when Muslims and Christians clashed over farmland on Friday. It was the worst ethnic rioting in a decade.

Soldiers and police patrolled almost deserted streets littered with debris from wrecked cars

"The situation appears to be calm now but we are taking no chances People are still tense," a policeman said

A dusk-to-dawn curfew has been imposed.

At least 46 corpses, some mutilated beyond recognition, were piled on the floor of a mortuary at the Ahmadu Bello hospital in Kaduna - *Sapa-Reuter.*

Buildings burn in Nigerian conflict

B/Day 20/5/92 (226)

LAGOS — Christians and Muslims set buildings ablaze yesterday and battled against each other and federal troops in northern Kaduna, where a decades-old land dispute has enflamed traditional religious and tribal rivalries.

A Western diplomat reached by telephone yesterday said more than 100 people had been killed since the trouble started on Sunday Nigerian newspapers reported between 100 and 250 people dead but it was impossible to be accurate while rioting continued

"Dozens of buildings are burning in three or four parts of the city where the violence is continuing, but the downtown area is now under control of the police and army," the diplomat said

Hundreds of wounded are overflowing hospitals and clinics, suffering gashes from traditional weapons such as swords, machetes, clubs, poisoned spears and bows and arrows, according to one witness

Thousands of people, mainly Christians in the predominantly Muslim north of Nigeria, reportedly sought refuge at a military academy and police stations

Clashes began on Sunday in the neighbouring towns of Zonkwa and Zango Kataf in a land dispute between the small Kataf tribe, which is Christian, and the Muslim Hausa Fulani

Kaduna state government reported a "huge loss of lives" in Zongwa alone.

Dead and injured from Sunday's fighting were brought to Kaduna city, triggering riots there from Sunday night Kaduna is nearly 700km northeast of Lagos.

Witnesses said soldiers, police and airmen were firing tear gas and water cannons in running battles with various groups of protesters while others organised self-defence groups to protect property

Such violence is not new, but could be linked to increased tensions as ethnic groups fight for dominance on the brink of a promised return to civilian rule, with legislative and presidential elections scheduled July and December

This week's clashes appear unrelated to two days of riots that hit 10 Nigerian cities last week. They were sparked by years of economic hardship and recent price increases.

Nigerian police arrested leading human rights activist Beko Ransome-Kuti in Lagos yesterday after he made anti-military government remarks, a colleague said

During last week's rioting in Lagos over poverty, he urged Nigerians to "take the necessary steps to retrieve their sovereignty".

The statement was issued in the name of his Campaign for Democracy pressure group, which has criticised President Ibrahim Babangida's programme to restore civilian rule — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

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bones were illegally excavated FBI agents have sealed off the Black Hills Institute of Geological Research in Hill City and have packed the bones and files on the dinosaur in a vault at the South Dakota School of Mines and Technology.

Nigeria rapped over Barre

Star 20/5/92 (220)

NAIROBI — One of two warlords who destroyed Somalia's capital in a vicious four-month battle that killed thousands of people criticised Nigeria yesterday for giving asylum to the "ruthlessly brutal despot" Mohamed Siad Barre. Mr Siad Barre was overthrown in January 1991 but only left the Horn of Africa country last month

Albania moves against party

TIRANA — The Albanian government announced yesterday that it would seize all buildings owned by the former Communist Party in the second day of decrees against remnants of

Soldiers swoop in Nigeria

226

KADUNA (Nigeria) — Security forces, including soldiers in full battle gear, arrest nearly 250 people in crackdown after some of Nigeria's worst religious and ethnic violence for 10 years STAR 2/15/92

The reptiles in video boxes were intercepted by customs officers

Nigeria bans tribal groups

LAGOS - The Nigerian government has banned all associations based on tribal, ethnic and religious lines yesterday after three days of communal riots that killed more than 200 people

Few of the associations identified under the banning order appeared related to the violence in northern Nigeria, where friends and relatives yesterday began identifying bodies of victims

"All associations organised mainly along tribal, ethnic, religious or other parochial lines for the purpose of furthering the political interests of a group of persons or individuals in the country have been banned," Justice Minister Mr Clement Akpamgbo said in a statement published yesterday.

The restriction comes as this nation's 88,5 million people prepare for a long-delayed handover to civilian rule amid increasing political, social and economic tensions. Legislative elections are scheduled for July and presidentials in December.

Newspapers reported that security agents detained leading human rights leader Professor Beko Ransome-Kuti, who has accused President Ibrahim Babangida of creating chaos as an excuse to retain power.

The violence stemmed from a land dispute between a Christian and a Muslim tribe - *Sapa.*

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AFRICA

Nigeria bans interest groups

B1Day 21/5/92 226

LAGOS — Nigeria's military government yesterday banned all groups based on tribal, ethnic and religious lines after three days of communal riots killed more than 200 people

Few of the groups identified under the banning order appeared related to the violence in northern Nigeria, where friends and relatives yesterday began identifying victims' bodies

"All associations organised mainly along tribal, ethnic, religious or other parochial lines for the purpose of furthering the political interests of a group of persons or individuals in the country have been banned," Justice Minister Clement Akpamgbo said

The restriction comes as this nation of 88,5-million people, black Africa's most populous and powerful, prepares for a long-delayed handover to civilian rule amid increasing political, social and economic tensions Legislative elections are scheduled for June, presidential for December

Newspapers reported yesterday that government agents detained leading human rights leader Professor Beko Ransome-Kuti, who has accused President Gen Ibrahim Babangida of creating chaos as an excuse to retain power

No reason has been given for Tuesday's arrest of Ransome-Kuti, whose Committee for the Defence of Human Rights demanded Babangida's government resign last week after riots triggered by economic hardship hit 10 cities across the nation Eleven people were killed

Those riots did not appear related to the unrest in Kaduna state, where police said more than 200 people have died since clashes began on Sunday in the neighboring towns of Zonkwa and Zango Kataf, about 250km northeast of Kaduna city

The violence stemmed from a land dispute between the small Kataf tribe, which is Christian, and the Muslim Hausa Fulani In February, 36 people were killed there in clashes.

Such violence is common in Nigeria, which is has 250 tribes divided between the Muslim north and the Christians and animists of the south

Among 247 people arrested in Kaduna this week were Zamani Lekwot, a retired general and former military governor connected to the Association of Northern Elders, which is among proscribed organisations

Rioters set dozens of buildings and vehicles ablaze, including five churches, looted shops and homes of rivals until federal troops firing tear gas and water cannons frightened them off the streets

Hundreds of injured people are crowding hospitals and clinics with wounds inflicted by poisoned spears, bows and arrows, swords, machetes, daggers and clubs

More than 5 000 Christians sought protection yesterday in a Kaduna military academy Several police stations are overflowing with other refugees

Deputy Defence Minister Murtala Nyako, visited them Tuesday and called for the government to help with food and lodgings for those whose homes have been burned — Sapa-AP

Zambia registers over 100 investors

LUSAKA — More than 100 foreign investors have been approved by Zambia's Investment Board and are awaiting licences.

A further 100 potential investors had registered their willingness to come to Zambia following the amendment of the Investment Act of 1991, board chairman Evans Chibiliti said.

Speaking to reporters in Lusaka, he stressed the criteria used to select potential investors would ensure that the type of investment they planned would benefit Zambians

Chibiliti said the Act entailed that any potential investment in the country must be import-substitution and export-oriented.

However, an investment centre set up to monitor and facilitate investment programmes had stalled because of financial constraints

Chibiliti said efforts were being made to raise funds for the centre instead of relying on the government.

Once revamped, he added, the centre would provide a one-stop support facility to investors to provide everything they required

"This will ensure that the investors do not have to go from one institution to another looking for information that could easily be compiled by one institution and given to a person all at once," — Sapa.

More die as unrest spreads in Nigeria

LAGOS — Violence sweeping Nigeria spread to an overcrowded township of the inland capital Abuja and residents said yesterday several people had been killed

Tension was also high in Enugu, an eastern state capital which spawned the Biafra rebellion and Nigeria's civil war in the '60s

Residents in Enugu said security forces moved in armoured vehicles to guard main roads in an apparent effort to stop student demonstrators joining supporters from other areas.

Abuja residents said Wednesday's fighting was in Mararaba township, 15km from Abuja It followed religious and ethnic battles which killed up to 300 people near the northern city of Kaduna

"Some people were killed It was very bad. The whole place is in disarray," a resident in Abuja, 700km northeast of Lagos said.

Residents said many people fled the area or sought sanctuary at the local police station

Abuja is an incomplete city of more than 200 000 people, mostly civil servants Its outlying districts are inhabited mainly by minority tribes

The authorities decided to move the seat of government from steamy Lagos to Abuja partly because the new capital territory is not dominated by any one of Nigeria's three major tribes

Military president Ibrahim Babangida's official residence is in central Abuja, where Sudan's government and rebel factions are due to start peace talks on Sunday.

The latest violence started after a general security alert in the mainly Muslim north following the unrest in Kaduna on Sunday and on Monday

Troops and police have been patrolling Kaduna since Monday, enforcing an indefinite overnight curfew. Residents said mortuaries overflowed with bodies, some of them battered beyond recognition

The northern city of Kano, where several hundred people died in Christian-Muslim riots last October, was also reported to be tense

The scale of violence has raised concern that Babangida's tightly-controlled programme for a return to full civilian rule in Nigeria next January could be jeopardised — Sapa-Reuter

Ethnic and religious clashes in Nigeria

w/mail 22/5-28/5/92

226

By MARK HYBAND Lagos

ETHNIC and religious clashes left at least 23 and perhaps as many as 100 people dead in northern Nigeria at the weekend, two days after a student march in Lagos led to anti-government riots throughout the south of the country.

"The general hospital here is overflowing with wounded, suffering from all kinds of injuries, from stones and clubs, slashes from machetes and knives, wounds from bows and arrows and poisoned spears," said a Kaduna resident reached by telephone He was afraid to give his name for fear of repercussions

Thousands of people, believed to be minority Christians, in the Muslim-dominated north are flocking to a military academy and Kaduna police stations for protection, witnesses said

Residents said ethnic fighting at the weekend had given way to religious clashes and that several Christian churches had been razed since Sunday morning

On Saturday fighting broke out in Kaduna state between Kataf and Hausa ethnic groups after Kataf destroyed yam plants belonging to Hausa farmers at the town of Ungwan Rohongo The farmers responded by attacking the vandals

Police imposed a dusk to dawn curfew on the town and the Kaduna police inspector requested reinforcements after the fighting broke out and victims started to be ferried to three hospitals

By Monday the area was calm, though the death toll from the fighting is believed to have risen, with claims that up to 200 people may have died

The ethnic violence on Kaduna is almost a repeat of a similar clash in February when Katafs and Hausas fought over the relocation of a market in the town of Zangon-Kataf But the increasing frequency of violent incidents, which have traditionally been blamed on religious or ethnic differences, is now more commonly being explained by opponents of the military government of President Ibrihim Babangida as a response to the economic hardship caused by government efforts to liberalise the economy

On May 13 a student march in Lagos turned into a riot during which students demanded the resignation of the Babagidan government, which is due to hand over power to a civilian administration on January 2 1993

Clashes between students and riot police carried on overnight and up to 11 people were reported killed in Lagos, and 11 more in other southern Nigerian towns

Nigeria's weekly magazine *Newswatch* blamed the violence on unemployed people who joined the students' march

But the magazine also printed an interview with the leader of the banned National Association of Nigerian Students, Olusegun Mayegum, as saying that the situation of the unemployed reflected as much about the population's economic straits as the students themselves "The vandals are the products of the Nigerian socio-economic problem We must necessarily pay attention to them because they are the creation of our society," he said

General Babangida's Armed Forces Ruling Council government, which seized power in a 1985 bloodless coup, imposed a 42 percent devaluation of the Nigerian currency, the Naira, in March in an attempt to increase industrial competitiveness The move has sent prices soaring by up to 400 percent, in a country where the minimum daily wage is the equivalent of R1,50

As part of an International Monetary Fund-backed economic reform programme, fuel subsidies are also expected to be lifted, a move which is bound to have a serious backlash and increase demands or potentially inflationary wage rises

Paschal Bafyau, leader of the National Labour Congress, has called for either a 200 percent across-the-board wage rise, or a revaluation of the Naira to 10 to the dollar from its current 18

"The riots should not be a threat, but if they continue the political transition process will be disrupted," he said — The Guardian News Service

Pan-African con men woo local suckers

W1Mail 22/5-28/5/92 (226)

South Africans are proving eager players in the corruption game, going by the amount of locals falling for a Nigerian con job.

ARTHUR GOLDSTUCK *reports*

SOUTH AFRICAN businessmen are falling hook, line and sinker for a fraudulent pan-African approach to the "You may already have won ." style of postal soliciting.

First the hook:

The letter from Lagos, Nigeria, to the South African paint manufacturer begins quite sincerely: "Dear Sir, I am the special assistant to the Chief Accountant of the Federal Ministry of Mines and Steel and got your particulars through one of your numerous customers "

It is signed by one Dr Sule Ahmed, who goes on to inform the recipient that he has access to $40,5-million — the excess from an inflated contract the ministry had awarded for a mining project

The excess amount was intended "to favour the chairman of the Contract Approval Board and other government functionaries" in Nigeria

Then the line

"Now that our government is changing from military to civilian rule, myself and other top officers are interested in politics," Ahmed claims. "With this in mind, we have vital documents that will enable us to transfer $40,5-million to any incorporated account overseas After the transfer of the money, we will resign from our jobs and go straight to partisan politics. The money realised from this transaction will help us in our political campaigns "

Finally, the sinker.

"I must not fail to point out that this transaction should remain secret till the end, for the men involved are men of high repute in civil service and government I am writing you to assist us so the money will be paid to your account. The mode of sharing is: 30 percent for you; 60 percent for us, and 10 percent will be for miscellaneous expenses "

It would take people who are well inured to corruption to stand for this, let alone fall for it, and South Africans seem to fit the bill Numerous local businessmen — mainly on the east Rand — have even been lured to Nigeria by such letters for clandestine meetings with shadowy figures.

One, Boksburg businessman Christoffel van der Merwe, has ended up in jail in Botswana, where he tried to cash a Nigerian Central Bank draft for $20,5-million It turned out to be forged. And he is penniless after losing $134 000 to his Nigerian "partners".

Since the first letter began arriving on the desks of businessmen selected apparently at random, new versions from different sources have steadily been surfacing. They are worded slightly differently, and perhaps a little more sophisticated, but all refer to inflated contracts and all request the same documentation

It is as if the first few South Africans to be caught napping have started a craze in Nigeria, with every half-awake confidence trickster leaping on to the bandwagon

They appear to rely both on South Africans' newfound enthusiasm for promoting democracy in Africa and their experience in looking the other way when corruption taps them on the shoulder

The key to the scam is a request in the letter to "forward to me without delay the following data and documents" the company's bank account number "where the money will be transferred", three blank copies of the company's pro forma invoices, stamped by the bank, and three similarly stamped copies of blank company letterheads

"These blank sheets requested will be used to prepare a contract claim on your behalf, and later sent to the appropriate departments for necessary documentations and approvals," explains the latest version of the letter

One local company lured to Lagos went as far as registering a company in Germany, and opening a bank account there to receive a Nigerian bank draft The businessmen only became suspicious after they were told to pay two percent of the value of the draft — $250 000 in this case They promptly left Nigeria, having already spent $25 000 on the deal

An Alberton businessman sent the necessary documents after receiving a similar letter, but in this case involving $27-million In return, he was sent documents purporting to be Finance Ministry approval for the transfer, but was asked first to bring $16 000 in cash and souvenirs to Abidjan for government officials who would play a vital role in the deal. The suggested souvenirs included three 18-carat gold Raymond Weil watches

This proved too much even for a South African, and the businessman consulted his banker, who advised him to discontinue negotiations

during their visit to the Expo 92 Universal ... Seville, Spain, yesterday Picture: AP

Kenyan activists set free

Four of Kenya's most prominent political prisoners have won an appeal against a seven-year sentence for sedition. Opposition activist George Anyona, academics Edward Oyugi and Isaiya Ngotho, and Augustine Kathangu, an official of the ruling Kanu party, were freed yesterday after the High Court ruled they had been convicted on insufficient evidence

STAR 22/5/92

Quake kills 25 in Pakistan

PESHAWAR — At least 25 people have died and more than 60 have been injured in a powerful earthquake that rocked northern Pakistan

Nigerian unrest spreads

LAGOS — Violence in Nigeria spread to Maraba, a satellite town near the new capital, Abuja, and residents said some people were killed Up to 300 people have died in fierce religious and ethnic clashes in the northern city of Kaduna STAR 22/5/92

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Nigerian unrest continues to boil

STAR 25/5/92 (226)

NIGERIA has had a very bad month Outbreaks of anti-poverty riots, severe fuel shortages and bloody ethnic clashes in the north have forced the military government back on its heels

Hardly a day goes by when President Ibrahim Babangida's military government is not faced with a new threat to its programme for transition to civilian rule. Not since an abortive military coup in April 1990 have the problems come so thick and fast

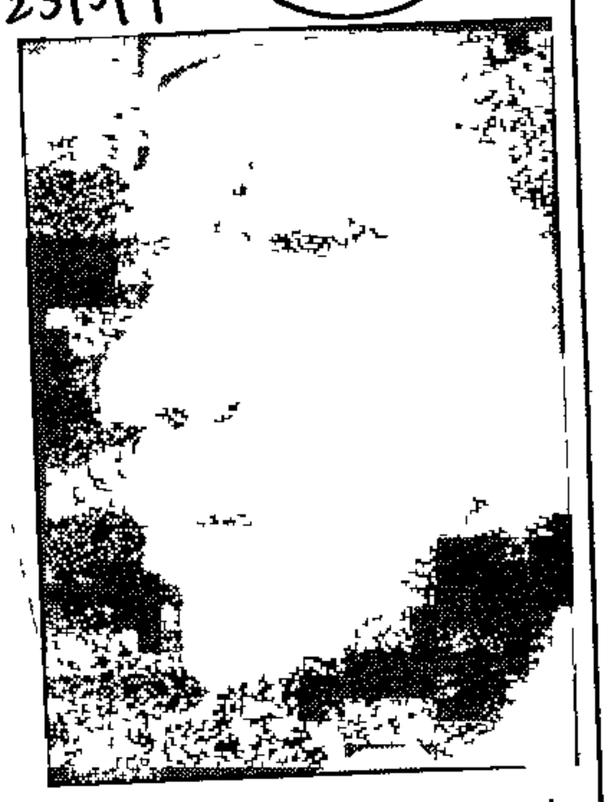
This week, it was ethnic clashes between the Muslim Hausa people and the mainly Christian Katafs in Kaduna, the political capital of the predominantly Islamic north, that claimed several hundred lives and demanded direct military intervention Last week, the southern metropolis of Lagos, Nigeria's commercial centre, was the scene of two days of chaos as unemployed youths ruined a peaceful march by university students by running amok, smashing cars, looting and extorting money from people who failed to carry green leaves as a sign of solidarity with the protest

Before that, fuel shortages became so severe that several southern cities were paralysed by queues of vehicles snaking through the streets That led to the first round of riots in Lagos on May 4, when commuters rebelled against an attempt by taxi and minibus drivers to increase their fares by up to 500 percent

An important turning point was the March 5 devaluation of the naira That sent prices for basic necessities rocketing by 50 percent and sparked widespread urban unrest

Since General Babangida came to power in a coup d'etat in August 1985, critics and supporters agree, he has maintained the political initiative with a tightly controlled programme to hand power back to civilians His skill in dodging opponents and crises earned him the nickname, Maradona, the quintessential dribbler through the minefield of Nigerian politics A quiver full of military decrees, which the courts cannot challenge, has allowed him to shoot down problems

The military created the country's only two legal political parties, the National Republican Con-



President Babangida In power since 1985

vention and the Social Democratic Party, and wrote their platforms in an effort to undermine the ethnic, religious and regional domination that has plagued Nigeria since independence from Britain in 1960 It has changed the date of handing over to civilians from October 1990 to October 1992, and then finally to January 1993

General Babangida has drawn consistent fire from Muslim fundamentalists in the north for refusing to turn Nigeria, nearly half of whose people are Christian or animist, into an Islamic state But it has been the mainly southern community of human rights lawyers and activists that has attacked the transition programme most vocally

The arrest last week of three leading members of the Campaign for Democracy seemed to set the stage for confrontation

"If the government thinks it can divert attention from the social protests enveloping the country by arresting patriots, it is simply engaging in self-deceit," said the Committee for the Defence of Human Rights.

"We call on Nigerian people to rise up with us to terminate the Babangida regime"

Few Nigerians and diplomatic observers expect that to happen, but even fewer believe the unrest will go away soon — The Independent News Service □

NEWS IN BRIEF

Talks delayed

ABUJA (Nigeria) - A Sudanese government advance party arrived in Nigeria's capital Abuja for peace talks with rebels

An official Nigerian statement said the talks, originally scheduled to start yesterday, would now open tomorrow Sowetan 25/5/92.

The Sudan News Agency (Suna) said earlier the talks were being postponed because Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida, who will moderate them, had to travel to Senegal

226

Nigeria civilian rule

LAGOS - Two civilian parties vying for power in military President Ibrahim Babangida's phased programme to return Nigeria to civilian rule by January 2 selected candidates for national assembly polls

The legacy of federalism

226

Sowetan 25/5/92

By BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI
Argus Africa News Service

VISITING Nigerian foreign minister Mr Ike Nwachukwu left a few noses out of joint with his comments that a federal-type of government would be the most suitable for South Africa.

Perhaps what surprised them about the comments is not the preference for a federal system per se, but Nwachukwu's intimation that ethnicity or tribal considerations should be a factor in putting together a federal state in South Africa

" In my country the various ethnic interests were taken into consideration when we carved out 30 states I would say adopt a federal system and give everyone in South Africa the opportunity to decide what is best for their groups," the foreign minister told a Press conference

Nwachukwu's intervention in the debate must have pleased the Government and those who wish to see a decentralisation of power in the new constitution

The ANC and its friends see devolution of power as a ploy to weaken or dilute the influence of the national parliament

Nwachukwu's detractors will say Nigeria is not exactly the shining example of a federal state that works As Nwachukwu was speaking in Johannesburg, 300 people were dying in clashes between Muslims and Christians in northern Nigeria

Rivalry

The rivalry between north and south, Muslims and Christians, is the common thread that runs through the country's politics

The success or failure of Nigerian governments depend in the main on whether they are able to strike an acceptable compromise between the interests of the two groups

The history of the country since independence from Britain in 1960 gives an idea of whether federalism has been successful

Nigeria became independent within the Commonwealth and almost immediately, tribal rivalries merged with politics

When tension escalated in the Western region in May 1962, regional government was suspended and a state of emergency declared

For the next five years, Nigeria slipped inexorably through political chaos to civil war Rigged elections in 1965 sparked off widespread violence, and in January 1966, a band of army officers, mainly of Ibo descent, attempted Nigeria's first coup de'tat

Attempts in May 1966 to bridge the north-south divide by uniting Nigeria's public services brought the north's resentment and fears of south domination to breaking point

Officers from the north staged a further coup in July 1966, which killed the country's leader, General Ironsi

Unrest

In the ensuing unrest, thousands of Ibos were massacred in the north - the Ibos claim the final toll was 30 000, but the army admits to only 5 000

Thousands more fled to the eastern region

The east's military commander, Lieutenant Colonel Ojukwu, refused to recognise the country's new military leader, Lieuteant-Colonel Yakubu Gowon

In May 1967, Gowon divided the country into 12 states - six in the north and three in the east The midwest was left intact and Lagos formed a separate state

Ojukwu ignored the move and declared the east of the country to be the independent Republic of Biafra

Ojukwu's action led to a two-year bitter and bloody civil war At least 100 000 people died from the war, but it was the widespread starvation, caused by the Nigerian government's long blockade of Biafra, that brought the total of Ibo dead to at least 500 000

Some estimates put the toll as high as two million After the war in 1970, Ojukwu fled to the Ivory Coast

Ojukwu has since returned home but the Biafran war has left a legacy of bitterness in Nigeria

When President Ibrahim Babangida lifted the ban on political activity three years ago, he stipulated that political parties should not show any regional, religious or tribal bias

The 13 parties that emerged were judged by the government to be in breach of these stipulations, and were all banned Two parties, both formed by the government, are now vying for honours to replace the military government in January next year

Terminology

To use Nwachukwu's terminology, the carving of Nigeria is something that is still going on President Babangida recently added another nine states to the 21

The seat of the federal government has been moved from Lagos in the south to Abuja in the north to assuage the northerners' fears of southern domination

In 31 years of independence, Nigeria has had seven coups, a civil war and only two civilian governments

But perhaps any other system of government would have fared worse, given the ethnic composition of the country

LIEUTENANT-CO

NEWS IN BRIEF

B/Day 26/6/92 226

Trial by tribunal

ABAJU — Nigeria's military government was setting up a powerful civilian tribunal to try people arrested after widespread rioting and destruction, an official said yesterday Several hundred people were reported held by police

STAR 27/5/92 (226)

Ouko killing suspect for trial

NAIROBI — A former Kenyan senior civil servant, Jonah Anguka, is to stand trial for the murder of Foreign Minister Robert Ouko. Dr Ouko's charred body was found in February 1990. Speaking in his defence, Mr Anguka said he was innocent and accused Police Commissioner Philip Kilonzo and Attorney-General Amos Wako of masterminding a cover-up of top government figures involved in the killing

AFRICA

Religious facade in Nigerian conflict

w/mail 29/5/-4/6/92. (226)

Power lies at the heart of Nigeria's violence, despite its outwardly religious appearance, reports

MARK HUBAND

FAT pink pigs trawl the open sewers of Television Village, trotting among the baked and blackened ruins of the mud shacks Among the rubble of clothes, a plastic football, uncoiling springs on burnt bedsteads and the charred pages of newspapers used to start a fire are melted jugs Muslims use to carry water to wash their hands and feet before praying

The Muslims fled last week after being attacked by their Christian neighbours in this township of Kaduna city In Ragasa and Kabala West townships, there were similar clashes In Kaduna state, up to 800 people were killed

Among the dead in Kaduna city were at least three Christian priests. Four churches and a Muslim centre were gutted But the leaders of the faiths deny the conflict is religious

Kaduna's Roman Catholic archbishop, Peter Jatau, blamed Muslims for the killings but said the issue was political. "It seemed a planned thing, done with the knowledge of people in authority There are so many rumours of people being trained militarily and of people coming from other parts of the country to create trouble"

The violence broke out on May 17 in the village of Zangon-Kataf, when Christians attacked Muslim farmers as part of a long-running conflict over the relocation of the local market, which led to killings in February.

Jatau said bodies of Muslims from Zangon-Kataf were brought to Kaduna city in a deliberately public way to encourage an angry response among Muslims

Power lies at the heart of the conflict, despite its outwardly religious appearance Zangon-Kataf is a largely Christian community, but political decisions are dominated by Hausa Muslims as the town is in the traditional chiefdom of the Muslim Emir of Zaria, Alhaji Shehu Idris The Christian Katafs have fought sporadic, and as yet futile, battles to try to have their superior numbers recognised, but a Muslim is always appointed to lead their community

The power of small local issues to flare up into appalling violence on both religious and ethnic lines is the most serious test the military government of President Ibrahim Babangida is facing

Diplomatic and political observers believe the outbreak of violence in Kaduna, coming only days after anti-government rioting in Lagos, has created the most serious crisis the government has yet faced, as it attempts to abide by its promise to hand power back to civilians on January 2 1993.

"Every sensible person knows the violence was not religious, but was planning for a coup by lower-ranking people in the army and police who don't want the military to hand over power," said Kaduna's most controversial leader, Sheikh Aboubacar Gumi, founder of the fundamentalist Izala sect "The bodies were brought to Kaduna in order to encourage people to start fighting"

His claim that the violence had a political angle was made more credible when Kaduna's police chief acknowledged that among the 247 people arrested after the rioting was Major-General Zamani Lekwot, a former military governor of Rivers state

Disunity is Nigeria's nightmare

The government last year increased the number of states to 31 in an attempt to incorporate regional differences within the federal structure. This has been met with complaints from ethnic groups who have not been given their own states to govern

Last week the government banned organisations which draw their support from selective states or interest groups Announcing the ban, Minister of Justice Clement Akpamgbo said: "The aim of breaking down narrow ethnic barriers in our search for credible leadership for the country can be completely destroyed if the activities of these associations are allowed to continue"

The democratic system planned by the military government is an attempt to break the corrupt, unbalanced and coup-prone systems prevalent since independence in 1960. — The Guardian

Larissa said he had been in pain for years from a spinal injury.

Kaunda aided rebel — claim

STAR 29/5/97 (226)

LUSAKA — Sudan Foreign Minister Ahmed Sahloul claimed on Wednesday that former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda had ferried planeloads of arms to Sudanese rebel leader John Garang. Mr Sahloul said: "We feel now we have a Zambian government that can hear us out." Dr Kaunda was approached for comment but said he wished to first read Mr Sahloul's report.

Kaunda ... no comment at the moment.

'Disrespectful' player fined

BILBAO — A player who relieved himself on the goalposts during a Spanish first division soccer match at the weekend is to be fined for "lack of respect for fans" Officials learnt of the incident from a photograph of David Billabona (22) urinating at

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BRIEFS

Renewed fighting in Nigeria

A DISPUTE over fertiliser erupted into new fighting between two northern tribes, claiming 15 lives, the Nigerian Vanguard newspaper reported this week. The paper said 19 others suffered wounds from gunshots and machetes in Taraba state.

Forty people were killed in clashes between the Tiv and Junkun people in May, and their decades-old land dispute has claimed more than 500 lives since October.

The first violence was reported when a Tiv woman was killed after the Junkuns accused the Tivs of hijacking a shipment of fertiliser. The two sides rallied their supporters and fighting broke out.

Big trade hunt in Africa

C/Press 28/6/92

(226)

ECONOMIC prospects for Africa depend increasingly on the fortunes of two dominant states in the region – SA and Nigeria.

Their leaders share the analysis that Africa's economic development revolves around four growth poles – SA, Nigeria, Kenya and Egypt. Of the four poles, Nigeria and SA are the most significant for Africa in terms of economic muscle and population. Although Egypt is a major recipient of Western aid its predominant orientation to the Middle East has reduced its importance as an actor in Africa.

For foreign commercial interests it is Nigeria and SA, within and beyond their respective sub-regions, that have the most potential to develop as platforms from which to export to other countries in the region While SA's potential as a harbinger of economic development under current conditions is seriously overstated in Africa, it is a market which constitutes about one percent of global business and one that few multinational companies can afford to ignore.

Shattering myths

Some of the most extreme illusions about SA's economic role in Africa are likely to be shattered in the next few years.

Industrial structures are likely to be further rationalised with much African business moving to SA as the logical regional industrial hub. While SA does not have a competitive advantage internationally in manufacturing, it does have a marked comparative advantage in Africa where manufacture makes up more than 30 percent of its exports. SAWith South African exports to Africa of some R6-billion (US$2-billion) and imports from Africa of just R1,5-billionin 1990, the trade relationship is very one-sided. Commodities are SA's main buying interest in Africa: Nigerian and Angolan oil, cocoa from the Ivory Coast and Ghana, Kenyan and Ugandan coffee, Zambian copper and Zimbabwean tobacco.

Coping with SA's domination in the African economic context will be a key problem for policy-makers in post-apartheid Africa; the only possible counterbalance is Nigeria. Success or dislocation in one of the "pole economies" will quickly affect the other countries in the region.

■ A difficult transition to democratic rule:

Moving from apartheid in SA's case – and military rule in Nigeria's case – to democracy is a critical process for both countries. A central issue in both countries is how far federalism can contain ethnic rivalries Current developments suggest both countries will face a protracted period of authoritarian rule in this decade

■ Dependence on commodity production:

Despite its relative sophistication in the African context, SA is still predominantly a primary commodity producer. Mineral exports alone made up 46 percent of SA's merchandise exports in 1991 and in non-drought years it grows the equivalent of a third of Africa's maize requirements; crude oil makes up 95 percent of Nigeria's exports.

■ Gross inequalities of wealth:

Inequalities in Nigeria have been worsened by recession, particularly in urban centres, over the past decade. While the overall GNP per capita in SA was $US2 460 (R6 888) in 1990, for whites it was $US6 530 (R18 284) and for blacks $US670 (R1 876), according to the World Bank.

■ Growing unemployment:

Estimates of unemployment in SA vary from the government's 18 percent to unofficial estimates as high as 40 percent; all are agreed it will rise further. In Nigeria, few accept the government's unemployment figure of 11 percent, while some economists claim it is higher than 25 percent.

■ Hectic rate of urbanisation:

Both countries are among the fastest urbanising societies in the world.

Johannesburg's crime rate is soaring as it replaces Detroit and Rio de Janeiro as the murder capital of the world.

■ Overblown and unproductive sectors:

The army of Afrikaner clerks who people SA's 15 racially based departments will be weeded out, but any restructuring of the civil service is unlikely to cut total numbers as social spending on blacks rises. Privatisation, however, has cut down some traditional government fiefdoms. Since 1986, the Nigerian government has cut the civil service payroll and started an ambitious privatisation programme. Both strategies have stalled and are unlikely to be resuscitated before a change in government. The efficiency of both civil services has been hampered by growing corruption.

■ Oversized military and security establishment:

This year, half SA's total defence budget of R4 380-billion was allocated to special projects or "dirty tricks" Until January next year at least, Nigeria's military will directly control the national budget.

Both countries see their military prowess (questionable in both cases) as integral to their standing in Africa and an important component of a possible peace-keeping force launched by the Organisation of African Unity, which they would hope to dominate between them.

■ Capital flight:

Both countries have suffered inordinately from capital flight and disinvestment

■ Chronic lack of investment in education and training:

Apartheid's worst legacy to the economy is the lack of skilled South African workers In Nigeria's education system, where spending on each pupil was cut by more than half in the 1980s, the effects have been similar

■ Poor export performance:

With rich natural resources and long-established markets for its primary commodities, neither economy has developed the necessary marketing skills to export its processed and manufactured goods.

However, SA, with its GDP more than double Nigeria's, will remain and probably reinforce its position as the dominant economy in the region.

Africa as a bloc was virtually invisible in the negotiations for the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade; a constructive Lagos-Pretoria axis could help change this. – Africa Confidential

Babangida plea for Codesa

Sowetan 29/6/92

(226)

ABUJA - Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida, outgoing chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, called for an end to violence in South Africa and the resumption of constitutional talks.

"Violence in any form is deplorable and never solved any problem," General Babangida, quoted by a state house statement, told visiting Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha

Botha met UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in the Nigerian capital amid the worst crisis facing two-year-old reforms aimed at ending 300 years of white supremacy

Botha sought the meeting to discuss the breakdown of South Africa's democracy talks after the Boipatong massacre of 49 blacks

Babangida, who had separate talks with Boutros-Ghali, agreed "with the South African Government on the need for all parties to the stalled Codesa talks to rejoin the process aimed at democratic rule"

"He restated his belief in Codesa and pledged to support current efforts at reviving the talks," it added

The African National Congress last Tuesday broke off the Codesa talks, blaming the Government for the massacre at Boipatong Official Nigerian sources said they had also expected ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela in Abuja ahead of this week's OAU summit meeting in Dakar, Senegal

Mandela is expected to meet Boutros-Ghali in Dakar

Botha said after meeting Boutros-Ghali· "I conveyed our viewpoint on negotiations and said we remain fully committed to resolving our problems through negotiations, and we think it is a mistake for any party to withdraw "

The call by Nigeria, Africa's most populous country, for a resumption of Codesa follows April's landmark visit to Abuja by President FW de Klerk - *Sapa Reuter*

Monday July 6 1992 **SOWETAN**

AFRICA NEWS Military govt returns to barracks

'Free and fair' voting in Nigeria's 2-party election

Sowetan 6/7/92 226

■ **Fear of violence precedes elections in Africa's most populous nation.**

LAGOS - The vote for the bicameral national assembly that will make laws when the military government returns to the barracks in January was free and fair, Nigeria's electoral commission said in a statement yesterday

The big question before Saturday's vote was whether the military government's elaborate preparations would produce a fair election and avoid the violence that has plagued previous elections in Africa's most populous nation

One person was killed in the south eastern town of Koko in a clash between supporters of the two parties running for the 589 lower house and 61 senate seats

Dozens have been killed in previous national elections The military government says this violence and the use of money to buy votes doomed the civilian governments that were elected

The military has intervened six times since independence from Britain 32 years ago, ruling the country for 22 of those years

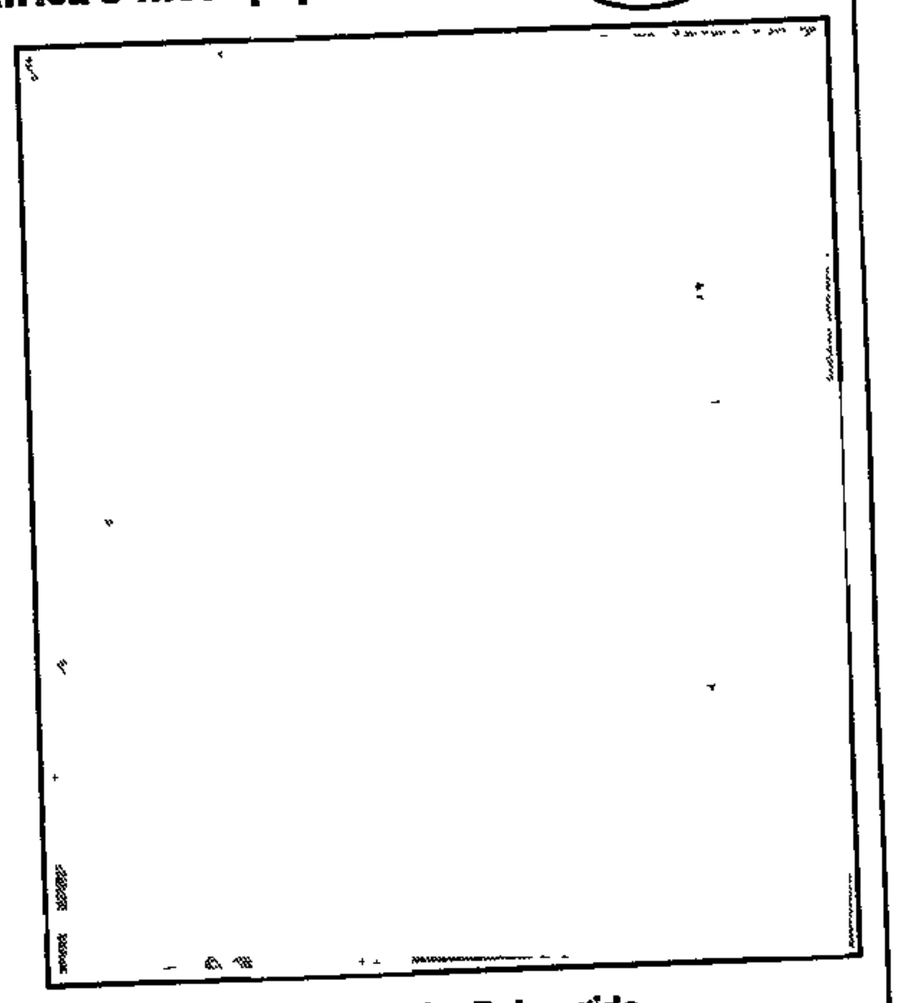
Early returns from the largely Christian and animist south showed the left of centre Social Democrats winning most seats This had been expected

The right of centre Republic Convention was expected to fare better in the predominantly Muslim north The two parties virtually split the gubernatorial elections held in December in the West African nation of 88,5 million people

The two parties have had some trouble establishing their identities. Both were created by President General Ibrahim Babangida who said one would be liberal, the other conservative

He said he hoped that by limiting the country to two parties, the tendency for regions, tribes and religious groups to form their own parties would be limited

He banned former politicians from participating in the election process until the parties had been formed and leaders picked They were later allowed to take part and



President General Ibrahim Babangida

critics say they have already taken over the parties

The duties of the new lower house and senate remain unclear as Babangida's Armed Forces Ruling Council will remain in power until January Presidential elections are scheduled for December

About 100 000 Nigerian policemen were deployed for Saturday's vote and the country's people were under orders to stay at home except when they were voting

Voters lined up in front of the stand of the party they supported and were counted by election officers The election commission ruled out secret ballots, saying this process had been used in the past to steal votes - *Sapa-AP*

the CSCE before a July 9-10 summit of national leaders

Evgeni Goussarov, Russian delegation head, said "We have to consider this 100-day appeal from Yugoslavia We have to give them the benefit of the doubt"

conference, Vladimir Pavicevic, said "What we have is a very reasonable request to give us a chance I am optimistic the new government to be formed by next week will be able to do it" — Sapa-AP

French truckers' dispute drags on

PARIS — The French government faces unpalatable choices in a truckers' dispute paralysing France's roads — it fears violence if it resorts to force and ridicule if it does not stand firm.

The protest, in its ninth day, is making government look more hesitant and vulnerable every day, critics say

Dozens of factories have had to close as parts fail to arrive

Food suppliers are struggling to get their produce into the shops and filling stations cannot maintain petrol supplies. Meanwhile, hundreds of thousands of motorists are spending the start of their summer holidays crawling along motorways or making long detours.

The trouble comes at a sensitive time for the socialist government, which hopes a referendum in September on the Maastricht treaty does not turn into a vote of confidence on its record

It insists the cause of the dispute, a new points-based driving licence, is not open to negotiation. However, it has been careful to maintain dialogue with the truckers. It mobilised riot police yesterday to break a blockade, alarming critics who said the move could unleash violence.

Agriculture is the only other sector so far to have joined in the dispute

President Francois Mitterrand, in Munich for a G-7 summit, is already the butt of jokes contrasting his domestic blockade with his recent visit to the besieged Bosnian capital Sarajevo to ease the way for humanitarian aid US President George Bush, one joke goes, is about to fly to France to open a "humanitarian corridor" to Paris — Sapa-Reuter.

Social Democrats win in Nigeria

LAGOS — The Social Democratic party was winning control of Nigeria's new national assembly with most votes counted yesterday, but it was unclear what the assembly could do before the military surrenders power in January

Official results gave the Social Democrats 294 seats in the 589-member house and the Republican Convention had 245 In the Senate, the Social Democrats led 41 to 29 for the 91 seats.

Presidential elections will be held in December

Both parties have had trouble establishing their identities after being created by the military, which ordered the Social Democrats to be slightly left of centre and the Republic Convention to the right.

President Gen Ibrahim Babangida has frequently intervened during the transition to civilian rule He said he would not permit the election corruption and undemocratic alliances that doomed previous elected governments

Corruption and mismanagement bankrupted an economy that boomed after major oil reserves were discovered in the late '60s

The military has ruled for 22 of Nigeria's 32 years as an independent nation Soldiers say they were forced to take over because regional, tribal and religious groups manipulated the governments

The election commission said Saturday's voting was free and fair, with little violence reported One person was killed in the south-eastern town of Koko

Babangida also banned former politicians from taking part in the early stages of the transition, and delayed the handover from October 1990 to January 1993

Human rights activists in the west African nation say the president's heavy-handedness has weakened the courts and other institutions, making it difficult for the new civilian government.

The military has repeatedly ignored court orders, and has frequently detained journalists and human rights activists — Sapa-AP

Nigerian polls hot up

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Southern 7/7/92, 226

planned handover of power next January. Southern 7/7/92

With m[illegible] announced, the Social Democratic Party needed only a few seats [illegible] majorities in the 91-member Senate and 593-seat House of Representatives according to a compilation of media reports. 226

s the despatch of troops

US elections in November — Sapa-Reut

Nigerian businessmen seek answers

LAGOS — Businessmen and bankers said yesterday they were unimpressed by Nigeria's army-supervised general elections because neither of the two political parties offered clear economic programmes

The Social Democratic Party won control of a new national legislature in Saturday's elections after vying with the right-of-centre National Republican Convention The Senate and House of Representatives are expected to play a key role in shaping the future of sub-Saharan Africa's biggest economic power BIDay 8/7/92

Both parties say Nigeria's debt-ridden and ailing economy tops their agenda. But businessmen say neither of the army-created parties has so far gone beyond rhetoric in election campaigns.

The private sector is particularly keen to know what the parties plan to do with the government's free-market reforms, started in 1986 to mend an economy crippled by low productivity, mismanagement and lower oil revenue.

The reforms, including foreign exchange deregulation and cuts in social expenditure, are now at a critical stage as popular pressure mounts for their reversal after a 41% currency devaluation last March sent prices rocketing (226)

A Lagos-based commercial banker said the parties had not squarely addressed fundamental economic problems "They say they will strengthen the naira within months That may impress voters but by itself it makes little sense to those who understand the fundamentals of economics," he added — Sapa-Reuter

Israel moves on uncut gems

AFRICA NEWS Nigeria gets a civilian government

Leaders ask for support

Sowetan 8/7/92 (226)

■ NIGERIAN LEADER appeals to his soldiers for calm in elections:

LAGOS - Nigeria's military ruler General Ibrahim Babangida urged the armed forces to back the country's future civilian authorities in an Army Day message, state television reported on Monday.

The report came as results from the weekend general election showed the left of centre Social Democratic Party (SDP) winning an absolute majority in the new Nigerian parliament. The SDP has taken 51 of 91 seats in the Senate and 329 of 589 in the House of Representatives, at the expense of the only other authorised party, the conservative National Republican Convention (NRC), the *New Nigerian* daily reported yesterday, citing official results.

The final results from Nigeria's 30 states were still expected - *Sapa-AFP*

STAR 8/18/92

Nigeria fights to rescue transition

226

LAGOS — Nigeria's military government yesterday sought to rescue its transition to civilian rule after staggered presidential primaries had been scrapped in the wake of large-scale vote-rigging and intimidation

Electoral officials and the two army-created parties met against a backdrop of concern that the re-emergence of old political problems could doom the republic

Calls for military President Ibrahim Babangida to stay in power have been renewed amid allegations that civilians will be unable to control Africa's most populous nation

Source close to yesterday's talks in Abuja said the original plan for six weeks of party primaries in Nigeria's 30 states would probably be replaced by up to three days of balloting before a presidential poll on December 5

"What is important is that the December 5 election date is not changed," said National Republican Convention (NRC) secretary Usman Alhaji

Candidates in both parties welcomed Thursday's decision to nullify the results of last Saturday's initial primaries and postpone indefinitely primaries set for August 8 and 15

The NRC said the decision was taken with the government to preserve party unity, credibility and discipline

Social Democratic Party presidential candidate Petrick Dele Cole said "I think this is a return to some sort of sanity"

Candidates said vote rigging and intimidation last Saturday was rife Most of the current front-runners in the presidential race were formerly banned from politics because of affiliations with the corruption-hit 1960-66 and 1979-83 republics

Several prominent Nigerians and a group calling itself "The Third Eye" — believed by diplomats to be from an arm of government — have called for Babangida to stay on — Sapa-Reuter

Talks on mining

226

■ SA firm in Nigerian coal venture:

Sowetan 20/8/92

LAGOS - Representatives of a South African mining company are in the south-eastern Nigerian state of Enugu to discuss exploiting coal and other mineral resources, the *News Agency of Nigeria* (NAN) said yesterday.

The agency said a six-man delegation from Terra Exploration and Development Company which arrived on Monday was also interested in supplying mining equipment.

South African businessmen had talks in Lagos in May and another team is expected this month

Len Hindmarch, managing director of Terra Exploration, told NAN the company had facilities to exploit coal and other minerals and to manufacture coal-handling equipment. - *Sapa-Reuter.*

Nigeria South 19/9-23/9/92

POLITICAL parties discarded results of a first round of presidential primaries held last month amid charges of vote rigging, vote buying and intimidation

Vice-President Augustus Aikhomu has warned that further irregularities when primaries resume this month could mean the military government will not hand over power to an elected civilian government on January 2 as scheduled (226)

Candidate Lema Jibrilu said voters in August's primary were not properly accredited, and security agents "colluded with politicians to rig the elections in some local governments"

"Malpractice was everywhere," said Mr Femi Oredein, spokesperson for presidential candidate Olu Finae

"Non-party people voted in several areas, and some polling areas had three different lists of voters," Oredein said

Nigeria keen on SA trade

PETER DELMAR

A HIGH-level Nigerian business delegation arrived in SA yesterday predicting that the west African state would become SA's major trading partner in Africa

The delegation represents a wide range of interests including shipping, dredging, banking, insurance, manufacturing, printing and agriculture.

Delegation leader Ukandi Damachi said SA could become a major supplier of technology to Nigeria, replacing northern hemisphere suppliers, particularly for the extraction of minerals. SA and Nigeria together accounted for 60% of Africa's GDP.

First Bank of Nigeria executive director Evelyn Brume said that unlike other African countries, Nigeria had the ability to pay for imports. Informal relations had been established with SA banks.

Probe into flawed poll welcomed

(226)

LAGOS — A military government order suspending flawed presidential primary elections in Nigeria received broad approval from politicians yesterday

President Ibrahim Babangida's Armed Forces Ruling Council on Tuesday put the nearly completed primaries on hold to allow officials to probe rampant charges of falsification of figures, threats and favouritism

But the council did not change its January 2 date for handing over to civilians after a December 5 poll BIDAM 8/10/92

"I think the suspension was desirable to sanitise the whole primary process Whoever emerges as president ought not to be associated with fraud," said National Republican Convention secretary Doyin Okupe

"We are not alarmed There is still time to remake things before the presidential election in December," said Social Democratic Party official Alexis Anielo

Allegations of electoral fraud had threatened to break up both army-created parties They also prompted fresh calls for Babangida, in power since 1985, to stay on to avert perceived chaos in a country bedevilled by ethnic and Christian-Muslim rivalries

The council decision raises the possibility that some presidency contenders may be banned from politics for at least 10 years under a recent decree on electoral malpractice

Foreign diplomats said they did not see an immediate threat to the transition programme but that the political waters had been muddied further — Sapa-Reuter

Violence hits Lagos

Sowetan 9/10/92

■ Expatriates are the targets of violent crime as recession and political turmoil plague the city:

276

LAGOS - Fear stalks the streets of Lagos after dark

A wave of violence has hit Nigeria's biggest city and other scattered areas of Africa's most populous nation only months before the military government plans to restore civilian rule

Two bullets ripped into Dutchman Albert Molenaar's chest and stomach as he sat in his car after visiting a restaurant with friends in a Lagos residential area

The gunmen bundled Molenaar, a 38-year-old resident of Nigeria working in the shipping business, and his driver, who was not harmed, out of the car and drove off into the night

Molenaar, saved by surgery, was another statistic in the spiral of violence Since late July, scores of Nigerians, two Britons and a Unesco engineer from the former Yugoslavia have been killed in incidents rooted in economic and emerging political problems

Lagos's expatriate population of more than 20 000 people, many of them used to guards and floodlights at home, regularly buzzes with reports and rumours of fresh attacks ranging from assaults to violent car and home thefts, sometimes in daylight

"It is as bad as I have ever seen it People are more desperate now," said Stewart Jones, a Briton who has lived in Nigeria's biggest city and commercial heart for 17 years

> **It is not the intention of policemen to maim, kill or injure. It is protection of lives and property**

Some Nigerian and expatriate residents in the two areas of the sprawling and overcrowded city have altered their lifestyles, particularly on venturing out at night

The situation was aggravated in early September when a Nigerian army colonel was shot dead by a Lagos policeman at a road checkpoint, heightening tensions between the two forces

All checkpoints were ordered dismantled after the attack and policemen, fearing army retaliation, stayed in barracks Armed police have returned to patrol streets but in smaller numbers

"Policemen were over-stressed and overworked to breaking point," police spokesman Frank Odita said, answering questions about alleged police extortion and violence at the former checkpoints

"It is not the intention of policemen to kill, maim or injure It is protection of lives and property

"But due to certain factors, accompanied by the kind of elements we are policing, it becomes more and more difficult to avoid mistakes," Odita added

Many Lagos residents are ambivalent about the demise of checkpoints - while removing areas of potential conflict, it has taken away a major barrier to criminals on the run

Favourite targets for armed robbers are foreign and four-wheel drive vehicles and Nigerian and expatriate homes where new tenants have just moved in

A main factor behind the crime rise is a debt-ridden economy that has boosted urban unemployment, and propelled many people towards poverty

The upsurge in political violence has been triggered by inflamed passions in the two parties vying for power when the army steps down - *Sapa-Reuter*

If we seek democracy, there's an excellent example up north, writes **Kierin O'Malley**

Ethnic lessons from Nigeria

STAR 13/10/92. (226)

NIGERIA, by far Africa's most populous state (88,5 million out of a continental population of about 670 million), is in the terminal phases of a four-year-long transition programme from military to civilian rule.

Presidential primaries have just been completed within the two political parties established by the Babangida government.

The inauguration of the Third Nigerian Republic — Nigeria has been ruled by the military for 22 of its 32 years of independence — is scheduled for January after presidential elections next month.

In spite of some obvious differences between Nigeria's current attempt at democratisation and the South African variant of the phenomenon that is currently sweeping the continent, two especially important lessons for South Africa can be identified.

The first lesson concerns the centrality of a social consensus on the nature of society, and specifically the degree to which the society is or is not plural, multi-ethnic or heterogenous

Nigeria's population is composed of three major sub-groups — the predominantly Islamic Hausa in the north and the predominantly Christian Ibo and Yoruba in the west and east respectively — and of an estimated 350 tribes

Faced with this ethnic mosaic, it has become a no-contest given that Nigeria is a multi-ethnic or plural society and that this fact has to be reflected in the choice of state and governmental structures

Even left-wing and Marxist scholars — who usually have a tendency to downplay the ethnic or sub-national dimension in favour of a class perspective — in Nigeria accept the plural nature of their society as a fundamental

The near complete social consensus in Nigeria stands in stark contrast to our local position where left-wing and Marxist intellectuals and political organisations continue to essentially deny the plural, deeply divided nature of South African society

While the African National Congress for example has unquestionably articulated a progressively more nuanced ethnic perspective since the late 1980s, it continues to see and attempt to portray itself as representative of all the peoples of South Africa — hence the organisation's description of itself as an embryonic people's parliament.

While the ANC almost certainly enjoys majority support in South Africa, it certainly cannot honestly claim to enjoy the support of or represent all South Africans.

Its claim to do so is not only dishonest and a denial of the country's ethnic diversity, but is also a major stumbling block in the road towards an accommodative negotiated settlement

A second lesson — which flows from the first — is that social consensus is also needed concerning the broad nature of the state that is to underpin the new democratic order and that this consensus is not something to be negotiated during the transition to democracy, but has to be arrived at prior to the commencement of the transition process proper

Flowing from its refreshingly honest acceptance of its multi-ethnic composition, Nigerian society is at one that democracy in Nigeria is only possible within a federal framework.

Federalism has in other words been a non-negotiable within the Nigerian body politic since the Biafran civil war which lasted from 1967 to 1970 Even the long periods of military rule in the post independence era have not undermined this federal consensus

There are to be sure differences of opinion concerning the optimum number of states and the degree to which state boundaries should follow ethnic contours, but these are differences of opinion within a federal paradigm

Proponents of a unitary form of state have occasionally emerged, but the Biafran war — which was triggered inter alia by the temporary abolition of the federation by the military in the mid 1960s and which involved the deaths of an estimated 2 million Nigerians — has created a social consensus on the need for a federal state which has invariably quickly marginalised such positions

Flowing from the lack of social consensus on the nature of South African society, there is a lack of consensus on the nature of a future state. A common discourse in terms of regionalism should not blind one to the continued incompatible unitary and federal regime models of the major domestic political players.

Regionalism as used by the ANC refers to a decentralised unitary state, while used by the NP as synonymous with federalism.

The absence of meaningful convergence concerning the nature of a future state between the major domestic political players is in itself the result of a lack of consensus on the need for accommodation. Until such a consensus begins to emerge — and it is dependent on the plural nature of South African society being recognised — the process of transistion to democracy in South Africa will remain contested and unlikely to succeed.

The breakdown in the Codesa negotiations earlier this year were a setback, but to the extent that the breakdown reflected the absence of the requisite degree of social consensus on 'fundamentals' needed for an ultimately successful transition to democracy was not totally unexpected

What South Africa needs now are not quick fixes, but rather serious deliberation on these fundamentals concerning the nature of the body politic Without the latter, we would appear likely to repeat Nigeria's unfortunate experiences in the late 1960s instead of learning from them and avoiding them □

● *Kierin O'Malley teaches African Politics in Unisa's department of political science and recently returned from a visit to Nigeria*

...the latest rate cut — Sapa-Reuter

Nigerian bank needs rescuing

B1 DAY 20/10/92 (226)

LAGOS — National Bank of Nigeria, the country's oldest indigenous bank, had been declared insolvent and needed an injection of about two-billion naira ($102m) to keep it alive, official insurance body the Nigerian Deposit Insurance Corporation (NDIC) said yesterday

"It is completely insolvent. We have given the owners a task force report.

"It is now up to them to see if they can put up the required capital in time to save the bank," an NDIC spokesman said

Banking sources said it was unlikely the cash would be found and the bank, in operation since the mid-'50s and owned by southern states, would probably close after two years in crisis.

The Central Bank of Nigeria took direct control of the bank in January because of its deteriorating financial condition and inability to meet depositors' demands

A National Bank of Nigeria official, quoted by the government-controlled weekly Business Times, told governors of the owner states the amount needed — enough to float 40 new banks — was unlikely to be forthcoming to resuscitate the "mortally insolvent" bank

It was one of nine commercial banks which the NDIC classified as distressed in 1990, after seven in 1989.

There is a total of about 120 banks in Nigeria — Sapa-Reuter.

in five months with the loss 30 000 jobs

Dubbed "Tarzan" for his flowi hair and dynamic speeches, t colourful Trade and Industry Se retary may be forced to change l mind in an embarrassing clim down from which his politic career may not recover

Drawing on the "Tarzan" ima embattled Prime Minister Jo Major won loud applause at t party conference when he told H seltine to cut through red tape help industry

"Out with your club On wi your loincloth Swing into action Major joked

Heseltine's position would untenable if the government lost vote in Parliament tomorrow ov pit closures — Sapa-Reuter

Aid donors notch up victory in Malawi

B1 DAY 20/10/92. (227)

HARARE — Western aid donors notched up another victory in their campaign to link cash to human rights at the weekend and opposition groups rejoiced as ageing Malawi life President Kamuzu Banda announced a referendum on the introduction of multiparty politics

Like Kenya's President Daniel Arap Moi before him, Banda — believed to be in his 90s — first bucked against the decision by donors to suspend non-humanitarian aid until he introduced political reforms

But Kenya is now heading for multiparty elections and Banda has taken the first step to end one-party rule after governing for 28 years

Banda has also faced unprecedented internal opposition this year, and the referendum announcement has been welcomed by the opposition Alliance for Democracy led by trade unionist Chakufwa Chihana who is on trial for sedition

The alliance listed several demands, including the appointment of an independent referendum commission to govern access to the media

It also called for the release of all political prisoners, an end to political trials, an amnesty for exiles and UN and OAU monitoring

In Lusaka another opposition group, the United Front for Multiparty Democracy, also gave a cautious welcome to the plan Spokesman George Kanyanya said "as soon as we get details and the position of exiles on the issue, we will be ready to pack our bags and go home"

The Commonwealth, which both Malawi and Kenya belonged to, said in Harare a year ago that members had to clean up their political acts

But it was the suspension of Western aid at a World Bank meeting in Paris in May that appeared to have brought Banda around.

On October 3 Banda, regularly accused of human rights abuses, told his Malawi Congress Party convention that the suspension of aid was hurting innocent people and accused donors of making "unnecessary" human rights demands

The convention ruled out multiparty politics, saying it had brought civil and tribal strife in Africa

Banda's grip on the country has reportedly weakened as he has become increasingly frail with age Much of the day-to-day running of the country is believed to be in the hands of Minister of State John Tembo

Banda did not set a referendum date, saying only it would be held as soon as possible — Sapa-AFP.

Nigerians expelled

Sowetan 23/10/92

LAGOS - The first group of more than 10 000 Nigerians expelled from Gabon after a swoop on illegal aliens in the central African country have returned to Lagos by ship (226)

Newspapers said at least 7 000 men, women and children, some complaining of maltreatment, arrived aboard the Nigerian cargo vessel River Ikpan on Wednesday, two days after leaving Gabon

Gabon said the Nigerians either did not have valid residence papers or had volunteered to leave Scores of Ghanaians and Malians were also held in the roundup, authorities said

the nation in brief

Travellers warned

SOUTH African passport holders have been warned not to travel to Nigeria without visas as it "will lead to unnecessary difficulties"

The Department of Foreign Affairs' warning follows an "increasing number of cases in which South African citizens found themselves in considerable difficulties in business transactions with Nigerian individuals and in travelling to Nigeria without visas". The department said it was unable to provide consular assistance to distressed South African citizens in Nigeria because no diplomatic or consular representation existed

Warnings issued on Nigerian scams

(226)

LLOYD COUTTS

THE Department of Foreign Affairs and Safto have warned SA businessmen to watch out for fraud when dealing with Nigerian business propositions.

Nigerian authorities have also told foreign businessmen to guard against illegal deals which ostensibly guarantee huge profits. BDM 29/10/92

"Substantial losses have been sustained by those who entered into the proposed transactions without due regard to prudent business practice," the department said.

It also advised South Africans not to travel to Nigeria without a visa, saying it was unable to provide consular assistance in the absence of diplomatic or consular representation.

Andrew Maggs, manager of Safto's Africa trade intelligence programme, said the warning came as no surprise.

"It doesn't surprise me in the least. Over the last six months there have been numerous stories of enormous scams emanating from Nigeria. A lot of our clients have prioritised Nigeria as a key market and we are alerting these clients to explain what they can enounter there.

"Some of these schemes are so blatant that you have to be naive to fall prey to them.

"But there are a lot of reputable companies doing business there and it is a pity that these scams are creating the impression that Nigeria is a no-no market,"

To Page 2

Nigeria BDM 29/10/92

(226)

Maggs said

He warned of unwise business practices, like dealing on an open account basis

Safto also had prioritised Nigeria as a valuable market for its clients and was taking delegations to Lagos, he added

According to Safto, serious Nigerian-based fraud was first noticed in the late 1980s in Europe and the US

One scam involves persuading foreign businessmen to send goods worth thousands of dollars to Nigeria

Businessmen then find the cheque used to pay for the goods is fraudulent, that the bank it is drawn on does not exist, that money transferred to their account has been transferred back out, or that the money came from an illegal source like a defrauded bank account

The department advised businessmen to deal with the organised business sector in Nigeria like the National Association of Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Mines and Agriculture, the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria and the Group of 15.

Nigeria delays again

ABUJA - Nigeria's military rulers are set to announce a third delay in their programme to restore civilian rule but there are no signs that they want to stay beyond 1993

President Ibrahim Babangida, who has already postponed the handover from October 1990 and again last month, plans to address Africa's most populous country early next week (226)

He has kept Nigerians in suspense for a month since his Armed Forces Ruling Council scrapped fraudulent presidency primaries and sacked officials of the two army-created parties seeking political power - *Sowetan Africa News Service and Sapa-Reuter-AFP* Sowetan 12/11/92

World in brief

No nationalisation

GABORONE - The Pan Africanist Congress has come out against the nationalisation of South Africa's giant corporations Sowetan

In a statement issued on Sunday at the end of a three-day economic seminar in the Botswana capital, the PAC said "Due to a number of weaknesses of the traditional nationalisation measures, and as instruments of redistribution, nationalisation of existing corporations in private hands was not recommended" 24/11/92

Books confiscated

BANGKOK - Hundreds of locally produced copies of pop star Madonna's sizzling book *Sex* have been confiscated by police in the Thai capital.

But police appear uncertain over the legality of the raids on Sunday on several book shops selling more than 1 000 copies of the glossy picture book containing nude photos of Madonna, according to a Press report. The question apparently is not one of copyright, on which Thailand is notoriously lax, but whether the book - in its original version as well as in local copies - violates the country's anti-pornography legislation.

Drivers face 'Raids'

LAGOS - In Nigeria they call it "Raids" and, with some 10 000 road fatalities a year, it makes Africa's most populous country one of the world's deadliest for drivers. 226

"All categories of road users have been afflicted with Road Accidents Immunity Delusion Syndrome and general discipline," road safety chief Olu Agunloye said, drawing a comparison between the road carnage and the killer disease Aids.

Sowetan 24/11/92.

Sowetan 24/11/92 (226)

Officials say there are about ~~240~~ deaths a year for every 10 000 vehicles in Nigeria, compared with three for 10 000 in Japan and slightly more in the United States The total comes to some 10 000 deaths a year - roughly equivalent to the number in France, which has far more vehicles.

7 die in train crash

NEW DELHI - At least seven passengers were killed and 15 injured when an express train collided with a derailed goods train in India's northern Uttar Pradesh state yesterday, domestic news agencies reported

Talks on British aid

HARARE - Britain yesterday held talks with Zimbabwe on future British aid to the country, which is facing a deepening economic crisis fuelled by a crippling drought and prolonged recession

British High Commission officials said the one-day talks in Harare would map out priorities for Britain's aid programme for Zimbabwe over the coming year, one of the largest for any country in the world Sowetan 24/11/92

Ceasefire is ignored

SARAJEVO - Fighting was reported in besieged Sarajevo yesterday after the worst day in the capital since a ceasefire, virtually ignored, went into force 12 days ago

The latest outbreak of fighting in the capital and elsewhere in Bosnia came a day after the West launched a full-scale naval blockade against Yugoslavia to try to bring the civil war to an end. The commander of UN peace troops in Sarajevo, General Philippe Morillon, said on Sunday he believed all combatants in the war - Muslims, Croats and Serbs - sincerely wanted peace. - *Sapa-Reuter-AP-AFP*

Nigeria caught in economic, political trauma

B/DAY 26/11/92. (226)

MICHAEL HOLMAN

WITH A mixture of resignation and apprehension, Nigerians are preparing for one of the most critical periods in their country's 32-year post-independence history, beset by political uncertainty and gripped by a deepening economic crisis

No one was surprised when Gen Ibrahim Babangida announced last week that the presidential election due to be held next month would be delayed until June Presidential primaries last August had been marred by rigging and other electoral malpractices by both the Social Democratic party (SDP) and the National Republican Convention (NRC)

But doubts surrounding the country's transition to civilian rule are unlikely to be set to rest by the decision. Both parties have to rebuild in the wake of the president's earlier decision to sack their executives, a task made more difficult by the ban on all 23 presidential candidates from contesting the new primaries

Nor is it clear how the authorities will be able to eliminate the electoral fraud that seems endemic

For many Nigerians, a civilian government, whatever its credentials, remains the lesser of two evils

Hence the forthright warning from Olusegun Obasanjo, the retired general who led Nigeria's military government from 1976 to 1979 before handing over to a civilian administration, toppled in a 1983 coup

Stick to January, he urged Babangida "Any prolongation of military rule will amount to war against the sovereign rights of people in Nigeria to choose their own leaders"

Yet a weak civilian government invites military intervention, and this remains uppermost in Babangida's mind, say officials

It may be that he set himself an impossible task when he began reforming Nigeria's political system

In a laudable but ultimately impractical attempt to root out corruption in politics and override ethnic and religious allegiances, Babangida imposed the SDP and the NRC on Nigerians Their manifestos, written by civil servants, were broadly similar, committing the parties to the economic reform programme which Babangida hoped would be the second part of his legacy to Nigeria

The programme, launched in 1986, has effectively lapsed A further devaluation of the Naira last March appeared to signal a fresh start, but by mid-year it was clear that fiscal and monetary targets were not being met. A policy agreement with the IMF has not been renewed

The painful consequence is that one of the greatest single obstacles to economic recovery remains unresolved Nigeria's crippling $30bn external debt

Last year, notes a recent World Bank report, debt service obligations totalled nearly $6bn, compared with $12bn export earnings

The servicing burden was eased at the start of this year when the government implemented an agreement with commercial bank creditors. About $3,3bn was converted under a cash buyback option, while the remaining $2bn was exchanged for collateralised bonds

While this significantly reduced the debt, it was of little comfort to the average Nigerian The economic balance sheet has further disturbing figures External debt servicing commitments on current projections will run at about $5bn a year for the rest of the '90s

"This is not compatible with any recovery programme," says a senior donor official "Nigeria is a net exporter of capital — how can it revive its industrial sector or revive social services under these conditions? Nigeria is now in a vicious cycle

"Mismanagement and corruption means that there will be no debt relief But without debt relief, the economic crisis deepens, and the solutions become more difficult"

Even the most sympathetic of donors concede, however, that the statistics tell only part of the story Much of the money borrowed during the boom years of the '70s was squandered on projects either misconceived or mismanaged, invariably involving vast kickbacks

Far from obtaining a sound return on money invested in telecommunications or steel, these sectors are a liability — drains on resources

Critics make a second point Had Nigeria followed through with the reforms initiated in 1986, and kept to the terms of successive IMF agreements, the country would today be eligible for the so-called Trinidad terms In theory about half of Nigeria's $17,8bn Paris Club debt could be written off In practice, it would have proved less, for some of the Paris Club governments are less supportive of the terms than others. But Britain, at least, Nigeria's largest official creditor, would have been willing to act

And Nigeria's drastic fall in per capita income from about $1 000 at the end of the '70s (a figure distorted by an unrealistic exchange rate) to under $300 could have been cushioned The country is eligible for concessionary borrowing from the IMF under the fund's extended structural adjustment facility But the essential precondition is IMF endorsement of economic policy

Now in his eighth year in office, Babangida is presiding over a country in disarray "We want to go down in history as having staked our credibility on a viable and democratic workable third republic," he told Nigerians last week History may well come to a different conclusion — Financial Times

LETTERS

Nigeria caught in economic, political trauma

B/DAY 26/11/92. (226)

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LETTERS

in public as it would be to outlaw

said

Soweto

'We won't give up' 20/11/92

LAGOS - Nigeria's Civil Liberties Organisation (CLO) said it would continue to campaign against extended military rule after police used teargas to break up a Lagos pro-democracy rally. (226)

esday December 1 1992

news in brief

Moseneke for Nigeria

TWO senior Pan Africanist Congress members left for Nigeria for three days yesterday as guests of President Ibrahim Babangida

PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke and secretary for legal and constitutional affairs Mr Wally Serutu are expected to hold talks with the Nigerian leader, other high-ranking government officials and business leaders, the organisation said yesterday

Sowetan 1/12/92

INTERNATIONAL NEWS Rule designed in Nigeria for Nigerians b

Popular idea cheered

Sowetan 7/12/92

(226)

■ **POWER SHARING** President Babangida promises to share power with parliament:

ABUJA - President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria at the weekend promised parliament he would share power with it during a period of transition to full democratic rule

However, the military ruler, who has promised to return the country to civilian government for the first time since a coup in 1983, provoked murmurs of dissatisfaction from the assembly when he announced that its draft laws would have to be approved by him before being put on its agenda

And, in an early sign of possible parliamentary resistance to military supervision, the new Senate later decided to consult experts over the legality of the arrangement under which a new executive body, and then Babangida himself, would be able to vet proposals for legislation

However, Babangida's promise to share power during the transition period, which is due to end on August 27 next year, brought cheers from the 4 000 people who crammed into the parliament building in Abuja, Nigeria's new federal capital

The president, vowing to "defend the gains of democratisation", said the power-sharing agreement would be "unique to Nigeria", a system "designed in Nigeria, by Nigerians and for Nigerians"

Babangida also called on the new assembly, elected last July under a two-party system set up by the military government, to "eschew tribal, religious, geographical and ethnical considerations" in their deliberations

The president was apparently referring to recent quarrels among members for the Social Democratic Party (SDP), which has a majority in both houses of parliament, over the sharing out of jobs, notably for the speakers of each house.

Later in the day, the two houses succeeded in electing speakers, with the Senate post going to Iyorchia Ayu, a former university teacher in the central city of Jos and former director of the government newspaper, the *Daily Times*

The job of speaker of the House of Representatives went to Agunwa Anekwe, a lawyer

Observers said the appointments, along with those of deputies to the two speakers, reflected the SDP's desire to give room to ethnic minorities in the sharing-out of posts - *Sapa-AFP*

African election furore

South 19/12/92 - 13/1/93 (226)

AFRICANS are voting in record numbers in a pro-democracy push that has already forced more than two dozen authoritarian leaders to share power or leave office

Balloting is taking place across the continent in what has been described as Africa's second independence, 30 years after the end of European colonial rule

Like Africa's first break with the past, the latest traditions have not been easy Sometimes they have fallen short of popular dreams, other times they have become bloody

But the first fragile democracy campaigns have spread, inspiring the continent and giving Africans the hope of futures where choice and tolerance are routine elements of political life.

Africans are finding that pressing for elections — or even holding them — is only one battle in a long campaign for democracy. Current developments in west Africa highlight the challenges

In Nigeria, president Ibrahim Babangida announced a delay in presidential elections from December until next June.

The rescheduling came after the ruling military council set aside the results of September elections which was criticised as fraudulent

Many Nigerians blame Babadinga's regime for the problems in the transition process The military leaders managed the electoral arrangements — establishing two political parties and banning all others, placing restrictions on candidates and redrawing state borders

Babangida disqualified the 73 candidates who ran in the September primaries and dismissed the leaders of both political parties Inauguration of an elected president is now set for August 29, 1993

In Ghana, the first presidential election in 13 years has precipitated a major political crisis

Albert Adu Boahen, a history professor, campaigned against Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, Ghana's military ruler for the past 11 years

But Rawlings shocked many Ghanaians by soundly beating his four opposition contenders with 58 percent of the vote, compared to Adu Boahen's 30 percent.

Opposition leaders claim the vote was rigged — although international observers judged it fair — and have announced a boycott of next week's parliamentary polls

The planned boycott led to outbreaks of political violence The worst incident was a clash last month, leaving 40 people wounded by gunshot

The outcome of national voting in Cameroon is even more controversial. Opposition leaders claim that the government of president Paul Biya rigged the October vote, and international observers have agreed that the elections were fraught with irregularities.

Biya has imposed a state of emergency on the Northwest province, the opposition's stronghold, following post-election violence that left at least ten people dead

ORT OF THE MATLA TRUST

Burning justice in Nigeria

226

LAGOS - A Nigerian mob poured petrol over two men trying to steal a car in Lagos's Oshodi shanty district and burned them to death, residents said yesterday Sowetan 24/12/92

"They were burned to ashes last night One was shot first but the bullet did not kill him," resident Adekehin Ojelabi said At least 100 drivers and passengers have been reported killed or injured in car thefts since August

Call for democracy

Sowetan 30/12/97 (226)

■ Move by two Nigerian elder statesmen:

LAGOS - Former Nigerian military head of state Olusegun Obasanjo, and a former minister, Anthony Enahoro, have teamed up to "promote a movement for democracy"

In a brief statement issued on Monday the two elder statesmen said their decision was born "out of concern with the general situation in Nigeria at this point in time".

They said their movement would be non-partisan and non-violent

They also said that they would be keeping the "situation constantly under review"

Retired General Obasanjo, Nigeria's head of state between February 1976 and October 1 1979, and Chief Enahoro, minister of information from 1967 to 1974, have been consistent in their criticism of the transition programme of President Ibrahim Babangida who came to power in a bloodless palace coup in August 1975 - *Sapa-AFP*