

NIGERIA STATE GOVERNORS' FORUM
Seminar Proceedings

April 26-29, 1999
Abuja, Nigeria

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE

Working to
strengthen
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**NATIONAL
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FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS



NIGERIA STATE GOVERNORS' FORUM

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**Co-Hosted by:
the Alliance for Democracy (AD)
the All People's Party (APP)
and the People's Democratic Party (PDP)**

*April 26-29, 1999
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Democracy depends on legislatures that represent citizens and oversee the executive, independent judiciaries that safeguard the rule of law, political parties that are open and accountable, and elections in which voters freely choose their representatives in government. Acting as a catalyst for democratic development, NDI bolsters the institutions and processes that allow democracy to flourish.

Build Political and Civic Organizations: NDI helps build the stable, broad-based and well-organized institutions that form the foundation of a strong civic culture. Democracy depends on these mediating institutions—the voice of an informed citizenry, which link citizens to their government and to one another by providing avenues for participation in public policy.

Safeguard Elections: NDI promotes open and democratic elections. Political parties and governments have asked NDI to study electoral codes and to recommend improvements. The Institute also provides technical assistance for political parties and civic groups to conduct voter education campaigns and to organize election monitoring programs. NDI is a world leader in election monitoring, having organized international delegations to monitor elections in dozens of countries, helping to ensure that polling results reflect the will of the people.

Promote Openness and Accountability: NDI responds to requests from leaders of government, parliament, political parties and civic groups seeking advice on matters from legislative procedures to constituent service to the balance of civil-military relations in a democracy. NDI works to build legislatures and local governments that are professional, accountable, open and responsive to their citizens.

International cooperation is key to promoting democracy effectively and efficiently. It also conveys a deeper message to new and emerging democracies that while autocracies are inherently isolated and fearful of the outside world, democracies can count on international allies and an active support system. Headquartered in Washington D.C., with field offices in every region of the world, NDI compliments the skills of its staff by enlisting volunteer experts from around the world, many of whom are veterans of democratic struggles in their own countries and share valuable perspectives on democratic development.



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SEMINAR PROCEEDINGS

April 26-29, 1999

**ORGANIZED BY
THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE
FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI)**

In collaboration with

**ALL PEOPLES PARTY (APP)
ALLIANCE FOR DEMOCRACY (AD)
PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDP)**

Introductory Remarks

NDI's Regional Director for West, East and Central Africa, Dr. Christopher Fomunyoh, opened the Nigeria Governors' Forum with a welcome address. Following these brief remarks, participants reviewed the schedule of events and objectives of the seminar, and introductions were made. (See Appendix II for a list of participants.)

Plenary I – “Federalism as a Constitutional Framework”

First Speaker: Mr. Richard Thornburgh

Mr. Thornburgh expressed thanks for the opportunity to participate in the forum with the future leaders of the 36 states in the Nigerian federation. He reminded the audience of the saying, “We are all prisoners of our own experience,” and remarked that his political background includes serving as the Governor of the State of Pennsylvania and in various capacities in the federal government, including as Attorney General of the United States. He hoped that his observations would contribute substantively to the discussions at the forum.

Thornburgh summarized the purpose of the forum as an examination of two essential questions: 1) what makes government work; and 2) how does government serve the people to whom elected officials are responsible. Thornburgh asserted that government functions best when it honors the rule of law, particularly when an independent judiciary is transparent in its operations, and when it imposes accountability on those who work in public offices. Most of all, in order for government to work well, elected officials must be responsible people of good character, integrity and commitment, who also display a good bit of humility while carrying out official responsibilities and setting realistic goals.

Thornburgh then moved to the concept of federalism, beginning with an overview of the U.S.

federal system and its development over time. The concept of a federation to unite the first 13 American colonies followed the American Declaration of Independence in 1776. Although the 13 newly created states gained independence as separate and sovereign entities, their leaders quickly adopted the Articles of Confederation to create a more effective governing mechanism. The central government created by this arrangement, however, proved too weak to govern the new Union, and representatives of the 13 States met in Philadelphia a few years later to rewrite the document.

The constitutional convention in Philadelphia yielded a completely new constitution that identified which powers the sovereign states would relinquish to the federal government. Thornburgh added that in the US system, the courts are frequently called upon to determine the constitutionality of the exercise of power by the federal government. The only powers held by the Federal government are those specifically mandated by the constitution. These powers include the power to sign treaties, oversee national defense, taxation and finance at the national level, regulate interstate commerce, and hold a national census once every decade. The document also includes a Bill of Rights guaranteeing certain rights and freedoms to individual citizens of the United States.

All remaining powers, such as the control of the police and state militias, belong to individual states. Each of the original 13 states, as well as those that subsequently joined the Union, has its own state constitution. As a result, states enjoy a significant degree of discretion and flexibility in the conduct of affairs within their borders. Thornburgh added that states also emulate the successes of their neighbors, learn from their mistakes, and often experiment with new governing techniques provided they are within the bounds of the law.

According to Thornburgh, President Reagan, who served from 1980 to 1988, was the first major political figure to decry the expanding range of activities undertaken at the federal level. This led to more and more American citizens and other leaders to publicly question increased federal power. Heightened public sentiment against broadened federal power triggered a process that has come to be known as the "Devolution Revolution," whereby some powers previously exercised by the federal government have been shifted to the state level. The concept of devolution received bipartisan support under President Clinton, who succeeded in transferring federal programs like welfare to the states and reduced the number of so-called "unfunded mandates." Thornburgh explained that before devolution began in earnest, the federal government frequently imposed extensive requirements on state-level programs it had established, but provided little or no money to fund the fulfillment of these responsibilities. State governors heavily criticized such "unfunded mandates," and in recent years states have received additional funds from the federal budget through revenue sharing and/or block grants.

Mr. Thornburgh closed his presentation by welcoming the governors-elect to the gathering and complimenting their willingness to meet as a group. He informed them of the National Governors' Association (NGA) in the United States, which meets twice a year to allow governors to share experiences and adopt joint decisions.

Second Speaker: Professor Fink Haysom

Professor Haysom expressed his appreciation to the convenors of the forum for the invitation to meet with the Nigerian governors. He then focused on the challenges faced by South Africa in defining the relationships between provinces and the central government since the end of Apartheid. Haysom outlined several governance techniques employed by South Africans to address these challenges.

Haysom spoke about the debate over federalism that took place in South Africa while democratically-elected leaders worked together to rewrite the constitution. He mentioned that South African leaders were careful to incorporate a balance between the will of the majority and the protection of minority interests into the new constitution. According to Haysom, South African lawmakers feared that misguided changes to the constitution could exacerbate ethnic divisions and increase the likelihood of violence. They realized that a country as diverse as South Africa could not be governed effectively from one center because of regional, ethnic and economic differences. At the same time, however, politicians were mindful of the legacy of the apartheid regime which sought to divide South Africans into separate "autonomous" homelands.

Constructing a unique system of "cooperative governance" to address these practical and historical concerns, led South Africa's leaders to draw on lessons and techniques from a variety of federalist systems. At the provincial level, executive power is vested in premiers (the equivalent of state governors), who are responsible for addressing the needs of the people in their provinces. Haysom informed the participants that the premiers meet regularly throughout the year to share experiences and ideas, think together as a group representing the entire populace, and propose solutions to specific problems.

Haysom also touched on why South Africans tended to favor a strong national government while Nigerians seemed to prefer decentralization and greater state power. He explained that some of the previous policies introduced by the South African provincial governments had a negative impact on youth education/training and on the welfare of the aged, particularly in terms of health care. In addition to these problems, Haysom noted that South Africans frequently criticized provincial governments for lacking the capacity to deliver adequate services. He pointed out that some of the provinces went into severe debt and were forced to borrow funds from the national government. He stated his belief that, as a result of these difficulties, most South Africans feel greater confidence in the national government than in the provincial governments.

Haysom also discussed communication problems between members of the same political party operating at different levels of government, specifically between premiers and members of national political party bodies. He suggested that some of these problems stem from the constitutional responsibilities of premiers, which often skews the distribution of power within a particular political party. The constitution provides premiers with a number of political powers that supersede those of specific party leaders.

Third Speaker: Chief Bola Ige (SAN)

Chief Ige discussed the historical context of Nigeria's past attempts at democratization and federalism. According to Ige, Nigeria has not experienced true democracy since 1914 because the various governments of the last 80 years were either colonial or quickly toppled by one of several military regimes. He noted that from 1914 to 1960 Nigeria was controlled by the British, and in the 40-year period since 1960 Nigeria has been under civilian rule for just nine years and three months, with the remaining time spent under various military dictatorships. Ige said that Nigeria's precarious political climate and poor living conditions were due to the lack of democratization and the resulting problems of low education levels, lack of security, weak rural and urban infrastructure, and an underdeveloped service delivery system.

Ige explained the geopolitical evolution of Nigeria and reviewed the dominant ethnic groups and nationalities that exist in the country. He stated that Nigeria's ethno-linguistic cleavages are compounded by educational, financial, and industrial imbalances that military rule has failed to effectively address.

Ige pointed out that Nigerians first came together in a political environment to discuss matters relating to the constitution, national reconciliation, and reconstruction in 1952. Since that time, Nigerian leaders from different areas, backgrounds, and cultures have frequently met to discuss issues of national concern. Despite these meetings, however, there has been no federalism in Nigeria since 1966 -- with the exception of one five-year period. Ige observed that between 1966-1975, Nigeria devised a federal system that offered residual powers to several states, but subsequent military administrations the syste, because they considered it not to be in the best interest of Nigeria. Ige added that, since 1963, all constitutions have been promulgated by the military.

Question and Answer Session - Plenary I

The following is a summary of questions raised by participants and panel responses:

Question 1: What is the status of local governments in other federal systems of government?

Response to Question 1: Local governments are considered agents of the states, and as such, they engage in substantial power-sharing with the state and federal governments. The state usually determines the best locations for local governments, based on many contributing factors, including the ability to generate funds for the government. One panelist noted that, sadly, some public officials see this as an avenue for achieving selfish aims. Panelists and participants decried the fact that in pre-transition Nigeria, the military unilaterally decided the location of local governments, a responsibility that should normally rest with the state government.

Question 2: In Nigeria, the federal government controls the public purse, through grants, federal allocations and other disbursements. Is this the best arrangement between the federal and state government? What is the situation in the United States? What has the U.S. learned from this?

Response to Question 2: The panelists agreed that it would be advisable for the formula for revenue control to favor all three tiers of government – federal, state, and local. It was noted that there are currently 770 local government areas in Nigeria, and the federal government takes 78 percent of the revenue generated, leaving the balance for state and local governments to share. Panelists observed that the situation could be improved through a strengthened system of revenue generation and the restriction of federal expenditure to priority areas like defense and international affairs. They further suggested that this situation could best be resolved through concrete dialogue to focus the attention of federal government officials on state and local government issues. Local governments should be willing to accept direction from the state governments since they are considered agents of the latter.

One of the panelists explained that in the American system, individual income taxes and sales tax are levied at state levels because citizens are more amenable to taxation when the value and impact on their lives is felt more immediately through services delivered directly by the states. Panelists also noted that the establishment of a specific formula is particularly important in order to ensure fiscal accountability.

Questions 3: Could the panelists discuss how Nigeria should move forward without the military, given its relevance and role in the development of the country over the last 33 years?

Response to Question 3: Ige stated that it would be less than candid to say the Nigerian military has not been helpful since 1966. He noted that if the military had not provided some benefit to society, Nigerians would not have embraced them in the past. He emphasized, however, that the 1979 constitution was promulgated by General Obasanjo and not the people of Nigeria, noting, “We came to power on the basis of Obasanjo’s constitution, and we had only four years to govern as civilians.” He suggested that Nigerians would have benefited from continued experimentation with the constitution but were prevented from further democratic experiments by the military. Nevertheless, Ige expressed optimism for the future of democratization in Nigeria, stating, “We have had enough of the military. We are going to dump them from governance.”

Question 4: How should governors tackle the problem of corruption in public offices, especially following a military administration?

Response to Question 4: Tackling corruption in public offices involves educating citizens on the duties and responsibilities of public positions, as well as exposing public officials who, perhaps in spite of exhibiting good qualities in governance, may turn out to be corrupt and more interested in achieving their own aims rather than public objectives. The panelists acknowledged that addressing this problem may be quite difficult, but maintained that public officials should always be held responsible and accountable for their actions. One panelist suggested that for military officers, investigatory committees could be created to probe questionable projects that need to be clarified.

Question 5: How can governors best address the problem of security in their states and in the country as a whole?

Response to Question 5: Haysom made specific reference to the South African experience in handling problems of insecurity in the provinces. He explained that in South Africa, the issue of security is broken into three components: intelligence, policing, and the military. He reiterated the importance of drawing appropriate lines between the functions of the military and the duties and responsibilities of the police. He noted that the South African constitution contains provisions to minimize confusion over the roles of the military and police. Furthermore, South Africa has prohibited private armies and militias. Unfortunately, the military in South Africa still performs some policing functions due to huge security problems that the police are not equipped to handle, and for which they requested military assistance. Under ordinary circumstances, however, the military's responsibilities should be limited to protect borders and participate in peacekeeping operations. Haysom advised Nigerians to use their laws and constitution to specify the ways in which the military should perform, particularly with regard to disasters and emergency situations.

Thornburgh explained that in the U.S. law enforcement is viewed as an exclusively legal responsibility. While local governments maintain their own police forces, the governors also oversee state police forces with smaller and more limited jurisdictions. The powers of state and local police forces are determined by each state government and generally seek to limit the power of state authorities vis-à-vis local enforcement agencies. Law enforcement responsibility also exists at the federal level, where efforts are targeted toward the enforcement of federal criminal laws, which generally relate to matters such as counterfeiting, tax evasion, multi-jurisdictional organized crime activities, official corruption, or cases in which the state or local agency is unable or unwilling to act. Generally speaking, there is no role for the military in law enforcement in the U.S.

Thornburgh also described the National Guard, which is a force of citizen soldiers in every state that carries out a variety of duties. For the most part, the National Guard exists for emergency situations such as natural disasters or other special circumstances in which additional manpower or expertise is needed. On rare occasions, the National Guard has been used to deal with unrest or a threat to public safety, and it can also be "federalized" in order to act as a supplement to the military.

Plenary II – “The Role of the State Executive”

First Speaker: Mr. Robert Rae

Mr. Rae discussed Canada's experience with federalism, highlighting the fact that Canada, Nigeria, the United States, and South Africa all share a common history as former British colonies. He explained that Canada's first experience with self-government came when a British nobleman named Lord Denning visited Canada after an internal rebellion in 1837 and subsequently submitted a report suggesting Canada should enjoy self-rule. Interestingly, Lord Denning argued that Canada could achieve national unity if French Canadians gave up their own culture and language and assimilated into the English culture. Although Canadians accepted the concept of self-government, they rejected the theory of assimilation and eventually invented their own brand of federalism after gaining total self-rule in 1857. The Canadian definition of federalism continues to evolve today in order to meet the changing demands of its citizens and society.

Rae remarked that the concept of federalism continues to guide the administration of Canadian provincial governments. He then drew on his own experience to describe the major challenges that he faced while governing as Premier of Ontario from 1990 until 1995. These challenges were: 1) progress on constitutional relationships and reforms; 2) the effects of a major recession; and, 3) a serious challenge to public finance. Of these three concerns, Rae maintained that constitutional issues, or more specifically, dealing with the nuts and bolts of the relationship between the provincial and federal governments, preoccupied him the most during his tenure as a provincial premier. Given that constitutional amendments are extremely difficult to accomplish in Canada, Rae discovered that focusing on one issue at a time was the most useful means of addressing the complex problems of national unity.

According to Rae, although most Canadian provincial premiers claim no particular enthusiasm for constitutional reforms, they do show a high degree of eagerness to improve the mechanism of the federation. He summed up the premiers' frustrations by saying, "everyone talked about decentralization and devolution of power to the provinces, but in Canada, the money did not follow the devolution, and consequently premiers ended up with more responsibilities and less money." Furthermore, although Canada has devolved to the provincial level the responsibility for natural resources, tourism, management of health care system, education, social security, and the administration of justice, there are few national institutions that integrate the viewpoints of premiers and provincial legislatures into the central government.

Canadian policymakers have therefore created a series of extra-constitutional institutions that encourage dialogue and information-sharing, such as a biannual premiers' conference and regular meetings between provincial and national ministers of education, social services, and health. Rae stressed that the premiers' conference in particular provides an opportunity for governors to discuss with their colleagues best practices and lessons learned regardless of party differences. He added that most premiers generally find that they face the same problems and political challenges and often administer similar programs. In time, Rae added, many premiers developed close working

relationships and were able to call on each other for advice and support during difficult decisions.

Rae also highlighted the importance of the role of local, regional, provincial, and state governments in attracting new investment, particularly in this new age of globalization. He reminded the audience that organizations such as the International Monetary Fund and private multinational corporations are increasingly looking for investment opportunities at the local level. He suggested that if government officials are particularly efficient in recruiting new businesses, companies may relocate based on these productive relationships.

Rae concluded by discussing his early experiences in office, when Ontario was in the midst of a very serious recession. His administration inherited a deficit from the previous government, but chose to address other issues before tackling the budget problem in hopes that economy might improve. Instead, the recession continued and the deficit grew bigger; within a few years, the province was forced to reduce the public sector by over 20,000 employees during a period of 18 months in order to better balance the budget.

This situation taught Rae that there will always be difficult decisions to make. He added, "Often the decisions are more difficult because of the expectations you have created. Every politician's worst enemy is his own past speeches." He told the participants that his strongest recommendation was to make tough choices early and to stand by the course of action selected, no matter how difficult the solution. From a political perspective, Rae continued, "If you want to get re-elected, do the awful things first, and give yourself some room to do better things a little later on in your term. If you do it the other around, you'll be popular for the first six months and everybody will think you're a hero. Those same people will be bitterly disappointed when you eventually let them down." Furthermore, Rae encouraged the governors to rely on each other in such times, saying, "And when you suddenly have to make the difficult decisions, the group that will provide you with early support, understanding, and courage, is your fellow colleagues – other governors. This group will reaffirm the things you have to do, and will also help each one of you in determining what has to be done in order to get where you need to be."

Second Speaker: Ms. Carole Hillard

Ms. Hillard focused her comments on the governors' relationship to three key constituencies: the federal government, the state legislature and constituents. Beginning with the relationship between state and federal governments, Hillard declared that the state cannot compete individually for power with the federal government. She added that it had been her experience that a governor should hope for a strong congressional delegation and governors' organization in order to articulate the issues and concerns that a particular state believes the federal government should address.

Hillard cited several examples in which governors had worked together through mechanisms such as the National Governors' Association in order to effect change at the federal level. The issue of collecting sales tax on catalogue and internet-based sales is one such instance: Hillard explained that although South Dakota's main source of revenue is a sales tax, state officials have found that

many catalogue and Internet transactions are exempt because of federal laws regarding interstate commerce. She discussed the efforts of the National Governors' Association to convince the federal government to employ its constitutional powers to regulate interstate commerce and eliminate these tax loopholes. Hillard also referred to the Welfare Act of 1997 as an example of the states working together to achieve a common beneficial goal. Prior to the passage of that bill, the federal government had determined how the states administered the welfare system, often leading to a great deal of waste, fraud and duplication. The new legislation required the federal government to return \$2 billion to the states so that each state could design its own welfare system according to its specific needs and demands.

Hillard went on to mention that South Dakota and its neighboring states work together on a regular basis on a number of issues, such as flood prevention, disaster response, economic development and tourism. The states in that region have many shared problems and have found it more efficient to work together to find common solutions. She recommended that when dealing with the federal government, governors should choose a few key priority projects and then articulate them very carefully in order to present a compelling argument for their funding and/or implementation. She urged the governors to meet with their congressional delegations as well in order to ensure that they understand state and regional priorities.

Moving on to the topic of the relationship between the governors and state legislators, Hillard remarked that most legislators best understand only two things – what governors can do *to* them and what they can do *for* them. However, she added, governors must recognize that state legislators are their partners in the business of government, and should strive to build a good relationship with them. Hillard advised governors to clearly define their agendas, ensure that state legislators understand their commitment to certain key issues, and stress the importance of policy rather than politics. She also encouraged governors to coordinate with state agencies and the cabinet in order to speak with a unified voice. Hillard maintained that, “the thing that solidifies and reconfirms these commitments is the budget speech, where the governor clearly establishes his priorities. The budget message must coincide with the agenda in priority issues. It is so much better to do a few things very well than to have a broad agenda that can't be accomplished.” Hillard concluded that, ideally, governors should be able to summarize their agenda in one statement.

As for the governors' relationship with constituents, Hillard stated that, “good communication is the single most important factor.” She recommended that governors and their staffs attempt to reply to every phone call and letter from constituents, even if only to inform the citizen that his/her letter was received and appreciated by the governor. Governors should also keep abreast of and refer to local events when speaking in a town or city in order to demonstrate a connection with the lives of its citizens. Hillard cited roundtables as one effective means of connection and communication. She mentioned that one U.S. governor frequently travels to different parts of the state to meet with representatives of labor and business. From these consultations, he learns more about citizen ideas and concerns about economic development in areas like mining, industry, education and health care. By involving constituents in his decision-making process, the governor also allowed citizens to take greater ownership of the process and therefore he also earned support for his economic reform

efforts.

Hillard's final recommendation related to the importance of maintaining an orderly, organized and efficient schedule. She advised the participants not to schedule more than 60 days in advance because schedules will change constantly, and long-planned events that have to be cancelled on short notice could be politically costly. She also cautioned against too many unscheduled meetings, as they can often create delays and conflicts with scheduled appointments. Lastly, Hillard encouraged the governors to make time for their own families and to prepare them for the pressures of public life.

Third Speaker: Mr. Alhaji Lateef Jakande

Mr. Jakande began by explaining his former role as a governor in Nigeria within the context and terms of the 1979 constitution. According to Jakande, the 1979 constitution gave the governor very wide powers, particularly in Section (5), reproduced in Decree No. 3 (section 33), which states that the executive authority of the state rests with the governor. Under this arrangement, the governor appoints commissioners, determines the functions of the deputy governor and assigns executive responsibilities to the commissioners at his own discretion. Jakande further referred the audience to Section 174, reproduced verbatim in Decree No. 3 (section 47), telling them to note in particular that the governor, not the executive council, carries the executive responsibility for the governance of a state.

Jakande acknowledged that the governors must recognize certain statutory limitations to their power, namely: 1) the legislative branch; 2) the judiciary; and, 3) the executive branch and federal level of government. With regard to the role of the legislature in Nigeria, Jakande cited the State House of Assembly as the only body empowered to remove a governor from office through impeachment. Jakande also mentioned the powers of the judiciary, found in Section 42 of Decree 3, and highlighted the independence of the judiciary as provided for in the 1979 constitution. Governors may appoint judges and the chief justice on the advice of the judicial advisory committee, but their power over the judiciary ends with the nominations. Jakande cautioned that, "Governors should maintain good relations with the judiciary, but they have no business interfering with the judges once appointed."

Lastly, Jakande discussed the role and power of governors vis-à-vis the federal government. He noted that the constitution outlines the subjects over which the federal government has exclusive authority to make laws, as well as the areas where the state and federal government have concurrent jurisdiction. In these latter cases, the laws passed by the federal government generally supercede those passed at the state level. Jakande advised the participants that cooperation represents the best approach to working with the federal government, because "it is better to get them on your side than to have them work against you." He assured them that governors should not surrender their rights, but rather, "they should cultivate good professional relationships with leaders of the federal government to achieve their aims."

Jakande then moved on to efforts at collaboration by Nigerian governors, reminding the

audience of the attempt under the Third Republic to establish a progressive governors' forum, in which the governors from the progressive parties met regularly. He also referred to the national economic council where the president, vice president and the governors consulted on a consistent basis. According to Jakande, these forums allowed the governors to meet, share views and offer assistance to each other. He expressed his hope that as Nigeria started afresh, the participants would establish a similar body to include all three political parties that will allow them to benefit from a team approach to economic and political challenges.

Jakande concluded by telling the participants that their goal should be to improve the quality of life of the people during their tenure. He asserted that, "Governors-elect should keep in mind the promises they made to the people and remember that from [inauguration day], everybody will look to them to deliver the goods." Recognizing that governors do not have the capabilities to deliver everything at the same time, Jakande encouraged them to select a maximum of four issues of primary concern to their constituents and then to set goals in order to achieve these key issues.

Question and Answer Session – Plenary II

The following is a summary of some of the questions raised by participants and panel responses:

Question 1: Regarding the powers and responsibilities of the elected governors on the appointment of high court judges, do governors assume responsibility for ensuring the independence of the judiciary during trial? Also, the federal government restricts the authority of the governor to appoint high court judges by requiring the ratification of the federal judicial commission. Isn't this obligation a serious negation of the principles of federalism?

Question 2: With just a month left in office, the current administration is making appointments which they call "constitutional," for example, vice chancellors for a state university, chairmen of state civil service commission, and so on. When we take office, what should we do with these appointees?

Question 3: The administrator of the state where I live recently embarked on the sale of government property, specifically housing estates, which have been owned by the state for the past 30 years. Leaders of my political party voiced their opposition to the sale in the press, and a group of concerned citizens obtained an injunction from the court against the sale of these properties. Despite these public protests, the governor proceeded with plans to sell the estates before turning over power to the new administration. My political party publicly cautioned the government and prospective buyers that the incoming administration would revoke any purchases of the estates. Should we take this action against anyone who buys one of the houses?

Question 4: What can the state government do to address federal abuse of the Land Use Decree by seizing land from owners without adequate compensation or failing to use the land for the purpose for which it was seized?

Related question: When a state government needs to appropriate land belonging to private citizens

or to a community, how can you appease the community while satisfying the interest of the electorate at large?

Question 5: Part of the governor's responsibility is to improve the lives of the people, which includes rehabilitation of roads. In my own state, the roads are very bad and some have not even been touched since the end of the civil war. Some are graded as federal roads, so the state is not supposed to rehabilitate them without the permission of the federal government. However, some of these roads are vital to transportation in my state, and the average villager does not care whether the road belongs to the state or the federal government. Furthermore, we have already made promises regarding this issue. Is it possible to rehabilitate these roads, even against the desire of the federal government or before getting compensation from the federal government?

Question 6: We are about to take power, and we find that the states are loaded with very huge debts, although we do not know how the debts were acquired. Given the combination of these debts and Nigeria's inadequate revenue-sharing system, I do not see how the states will survive. Can you provide some suggestions for dealing with this problem?

Question 7: Currently, the state tax is controlled by the federal government and reallocated to the states based upon the number of local governments. From available statistics, the states that produced the highest tax revenue have been denied the benefit of the revenue itself due to the Petroleum Trust Fund (PTF). Could you please address this issue?

Question 8: A very serious and sensitive problem that we will inherit as we assume office next month is the issue of minimum wages for state employees as fixed by the federal government. From all indications, no state government today has the financial capacity to honor the payment of this minimum wage. From your experience, what will be our best approach to this dilemma?

Question 9: During the course of my campaign, representatives of several local governments expressed an interest in the creation of more local governments, a desire I understand that some of my colleagues have witnessed as well. Mr. Jakande mentioned that he had created "local management committees" in order to avoid court challenges to local governments when he was governor of Lagos. Could he please elaborate on how these local management committees were funded, given that they were not part of the schedule as reflected in the constitution?

Question 10: When, if ever, did we have true federalism in Nigeria? And is it the style of leadership or style of government that is responsible for the current state of Nigerian federalism?

Question 11: How has lobbying become part of the American political process? What suggestions can you offer as to how we can make it part of our own nascent democratic political process?

Responses

Response to Questions 1 and 2: According to Jakande, appointments to civil service commissions

are traditionally for a given period of time and appointments for vice chancellors are to be handled entirely by the governor. He suggested that if the person appointed is not fit, simply transfer him/her to another position and appoint a competent person in his/her place. Regarding appointments of judges, Jakande declared that the federal government has no business with the state judicial council, which usually advises the governor on whom to appoint. In addition, governors may change judges if they find them to be unfit prior to the exit of the military from power.

Response to Question 3: Jakande maintained that anyone buying the properties does so at his own risk if the purchase follows public warnings by both the party and the incoming governor. He advised the participant that the new administration should take possession of the property and gather evidence of the warnings in case the buyer attempts to sue to contest the nullification of the sale.

Responses to Question 4: Hillard recounted the experience of a group of South Dakotans who had thousands of acres of farmland confiscated by the federal government in order to build series of dams in the state. The people were compensated, but not at the value of the lands. She stated that it was a great sacrifice on their part, but it was also a federal mandate of confiscation of state property. The taxpayers who were the landowners had the option of going to court to resist the seizure of their property, but in order to avoid court proceedings, the federal government agreed to a contract with them, whereby every seizure of land had to be approved by the governor's office. The state government made a great effort to protect and safeguard these people by maintaining a certain degree of control over the federal government's confiscations.

Jakande added that, with regard to property seizure, Nigerian law obliges the state government to provide land if the federal government wants it, but the latter must state the purpose for taking it. In some cases, the federal government has obtained land without later using it. He urged state governments to employ all diplomatic means at their disposal to get the land back in these instances. He told the participants that the land use decree is useful if properly applied, but for its purposes, "It is better to have a program and request for the land from the president." He further stated that the main problem with the land use decree is that it does not make adequate provision for compensation. He explained that, before compensation can be made, the land must be developed, so the governors should find a way of getting people to develop these lands.

Follow-on Question: On the question of land acquired by the federal government for a purpose, does the ownership of the land revert to the owner?

Alhaji Jakande: "No, that is not the law. The law says the states have the land, and the federal government can only appeal to states for land. If the federal government gets a particular piece of land for a particular purpose, but that purpose is not served, you should have a program of your own for which you can use that land. You then tell the president that you need the land for this particular purpose, say, for building schools."

Response to Question 5: Jakande advised that, since the road in question is a federal government road, the participant should put the burden on the federal legislators that represent the state. He told

participants that they should focus and spend their money on state roads only and inform villagers that the federal government prevented repairs to the federal roads. Jakande maintained that this approach is better than spending money on federal roads that will never be repaid. He also suggested that another way, which might be overly complicated and would take longer to implement, is to find contractors who would be willing to finance the rehabilitation of federal roads and recoup their payment through toll collection.

Response to Question 6: Jakande suggested that immediately after taking office, governors should itemize outstanding debts and the purpose of the money. He told the participants to put these accounts aside in a debts file and then to start their own programs to address promises they had made to the electorate. He advised telling creditors to be patient and inviting any who are contractors to tender bids for the new projects. The new governors should establish a committee to investigate the debts, focusing on why they were incurred. Because this process could take some time, the contractors should be informed to wait for payment until committee reports are submitted. He concluded that, "In the meantime you will be doing the job for which you were elected."

Follow-on Question: This can be possible with internal debts? A lot of these debts are external and the federal government is deducting them, and we do not know what they were used for. How do we solve this problem?

Alhaji Jakande: "Even if they are external debts, find out the practical information you need to know, such as who are the creditors, what was it used for. If you are satisfied that the debts do not correspond to a specific project, you should object and tell the federal government that as far as you are concerned, these debts should be canceled."

Responses to Question 8: Rae emphasized that the experience and solutions in every federal system are different, but the fundamental problem is the same: how to decentralize and devolve greater responsibilities to the governors, who are closer to the people. He added that this issue is particularly true in the high-expenditure areas of health, education, social services and basic infrastructure. According to Rae, part of the answer in Canada has been for the federal government to withdraw and give more authority to the provinces. He asserted his belief that the question of revenue allocation should be subject to constant negotiation and change, rather than in the constitution, where it cannot be easily altered. In his words, "Fundamentally, [revenue allocation] is a product of bargaining power, political influence and public opinion that needs to be addressed." He concluded that in Canada, the provinces have complete and total jurisdiction over resource development and have first claim to any revenue from the development of mineral, oil and gas resources, in addition to a strong formula for equalization.

Jakande asserted that there is a federal account where money is paid and shared. The PTF is not a constitutional body, but rather a financial device created by the military. He pointed out that the education tax fund is also not in the constitution, but the governors should have the common goal of fighting against it with the aim of amending all wrongs. He further explained that the sales tax was instituted during the military regime and is not included in the exclusive powers of the federal

government, but is in fact a state tax. He suggested to the participants that these are the types of issues they should investigate further after taking power.

Responses to Question 9: Rae advised that the governors should first get together to study the financial impact of the minimum wage. Ultimately, he said, the governors should try to have a clear idea about what the minimum wage will cost on state-by-state basis. He suggested that they then meet with the federal government and inform them of the negative implications and cost if they do not help fix the problem. In his words, the governors should, “get the facts, assess the impact, make your case collectively, then reassess the situation in a period of one to two years.” Rae also counseled the governors to keep abreast of new avenues through which the federal government might get money – for example, from increased oil revenues – and engage them on the minimum wage issue before that money is spent.

Thornburgh shared his personal experience with the issue of the high cost of state employees, relating the situation in his state when the state government workforce had to be reduced by some 15,000 unnecessary jobs. However, he went on, the government was able to undergo the process without firing a single person. Instead, over a period of eight years, the state stopped hiring, and simply eliminated positions left vacant by resignation, retirement or death. He emphasized that the workforce reduction helped the government both by saving money through the reduction of root spending and by the added benefit of forcing supervisors to manage well. For instance, eight people were required to do the work of what ten people had done in the past, and the managers had to use their staff resources more efficiently.

Response to Question 10: Ige declared that, since 1963, the only constitution that remains in the statute book in Nigeria is the 1979 constitution. He explained that, although the 1979 constitution is federal, a decree is superior to the rules laid out in the constitution because of the recent military governments. Therefore, if anything in the constitution is contrary to what is in the decree, the decree takes precedence. In reality, Ige added, Nigerians should not expect the military to abide by a federal constitution because it is not in their character; they are used to a command structure, and therefore the idea of federalism is foreign to them.

Response to Question 11: Hillard explained that lobbyists are a part of the system in the U.S., hired to represent a variety of interest groups, including labor unions and corporations. For example, in her small state, there are three lobbyists for every legislator. Hillard emphasized that the state has a firm set of guidelines to control the activities of lobbyists, such as prohibitions against giving gifts to legislators, strict limits on providing entertainment to legislators and requirements for transparent and carefully documented interactions. She added that good lobbyists can actually be a good source of information, and legislators and state government officials often come to rely upon them for a fresh perspective.

Plenary III – “The Role of Governors’ Associations”

First Speaker: Mr. Richard Thornburgh

Mr. Thornburgh's presentation focused on the political and institutional pressures the governors-elect are likely to experience in office, and ways in which a governors' association could mitigate some of those demands. He began by reminding the participants that their political parties played an important role in determining their electoral success, and asserted that they owe an allegiance to provide party leadership during their tenure in office. Governors have the opportunity while in office to shape their parties' programs within their own state by enumerating their own political philosophy. They also have the chance to participate in the shaping of national policies through their interaction with national leaders. Indeed, Thornburgh maintained that they should feel obliged to support the national political leadership with the insights and experience they develop as state governors. From time to time, for example, they will be involved in recruiting and supporting candidates in the party to run for elections.

Nevertheless, Thornburgh allowed, there will inevitably be conflict at the state level -- not only with the political opposition but even within one's own party. According to Thornburgh, "It is really difficult, if not impossible, to be an effective governor without some sensitivity to the political forces at work within your jurisdiction. You should recognize that you often have to compromise in order to achieve your goals -- not compromise principle but rather, the pursuit of principle." He emphasized that the use of a "carrot-stick" approach to move programs forward is perfectly legitimate and should be exerted, if necessary, against the opposition or even to keep discipline within one's own party.

Thornburgh declared that managing the relationship with the state legislature is likely to be one of the most challenging and demanding aspects of each governor's job. He highlighted the importance of identifying allies to work with towards achieving mutual goals, as well as knowing where the hazards lie. He cautioned against using the governing process strictly for partisan gains, noting that those who do so often end up paying an enormous political price. Ethnic or other loyalties also sometimes override party considerations and provide a special kind of challenge for a governor who must accommodate these loyalties while seeking to implement his/her agenda.

The other key relationship the governors will have is with the federal government, especially the president and his administration. Thornburgh noted that, on issues of major importance, governors from the opposition parties -- and sometimes from the ruling parties -- will often find themselves disagreeing with the president. Many problems transcend state boundaries, and Thornburgh urged the governors to work together regardless of party affiliation. He pointed out that in the United States, governors from different parties often collaborate to try to increase levels of support for important infrastructure programs such as highway funding.

Mr. Thornburgh urged the governors-elect to consider formal mechanisms to institutionalize good working relationships with their counterparts and to observe the axiom of "strength in numbers." He cited the National Governors Association (NGA) in the U.S. that includes all state governors, both Democratic and Republican, and has a year-round staff to organize annual meetings, provide research and foster communications and information sharing among governors. The

Association operates on a committee structure, with committees headed by serving governors. In addition to the NGA, there are also Republican and Democratic governors associations that discuss party-specific issues, as well as regional groupings, such as the Northeastern Governors' Association, which includes governors from both parties from the northeastern United States.

According to Thornburgh, all of these organizations exist primarily to share experiences and lessons learned with others, in addition to having the opportunity to borrow good ideas from others. The secondary role of these governors associations is advocacy, or speaking out for issues that are of interest to the states and reporting on those issues to both the executive and legislative branches of the federal government. In summary, the potential exists for governors as a group to accomplish a great deal more than their individual wisdom and capabilities could generate. In order to do so, Thornburgh maintained, they must make effective use of party mechanisms and relationships, cooperate effectively with other branches of government and create organizations that bring governors together for their own mutual benefit.

Second Speaker: Mr. Robert Rae

Mr. Rae echoed and elaborated upon the remarks made by Mr. Thornburgh. In his view, the tension inherent in partisan politics creates the driving force behind elections and gets candidates elected into office. This tension is both natural and vital to a democracy; in Rae's words, "political competition is the lifeblood of a democratic system." He reiterated that once elected, officials should be mindful of the central role political parties played in determining their success in the election and in defining what the candidate attempts to accomplish in office. Because elected officials were propelled to their office by virtue of their party affiliation and party loyalty, Rae asserted that they must remember to maintain links with their party while in office, declaring, "If you lose connection with your party, very quickly the party will lose connection with you."

Rae cautioned that an additional tension shared by most governors in Nigeria is that far fewer resources likely exist for distribution than electoral promises made to the public might suggest. The competition created among states and regions for scarce resources can be very difficult to manage. He advised the participants to be ready and prepared as governors to advocate on their own behalf and to fight for the interests of one's state or region.

Rae underlined the importance of leadership as the key to a healthy federation at the state, regional and national level, adding that governors can work together to provide this leadership despite the economic difficulties presently facing Nigeria. He encouraged the participants to view as both a challenge and an opportunity the transition from military, non-party rule into a period of party-led, federalist government, based on democratic participation. From a practical standpoint, Rae recognized that the governors themselves must decide what kind of organization or association they may want to have, what kind of budget they can afford in the first year, and how much time they want to spend with their fellow governors.

One important reality he highlighted is that all politics is fundamentally local. He reminded the

governors-elect that if they may choose to accept all sorts of invitations and trips but they should always remember that, in order to be re-elected, they must meet the needs of their constituents. Rae summarized by stating that, "as life is going on, [the constituents] will be asking, is the water running out of the tap, are the kids going to school, are the taxes reasonable? These are the truly important tasks, not the number of honorary degrees you get from universities or how many trips you made during your tenure. In other words, if you want to be re-elected, address the issues your constituents deem important first."

Third Speaker: Dr. Okwesilieze Nwodo

Dr. Nwodo began by congratulating members of the audience on their elections and thanking NDI for the role it plays in supporting democracy in Nigeria. His remarks recalled the experience of governors under the Second Republic and their efforts to form a progressive governors' forum. He shared the challenges he faced as a governor, relating that the first problem he encountered, less than three months after assuming office, was the federal government slashing 5% of the revenue promised to every state. Two months later the naira was devalued by more than 50%, further exacerbating the budget shortfall. Although the state budget had been completed within weeks of his assuming office, it proved to be completely useless less than six months later. Meanwhile, Nigerian citizens continued to look to the state governors to help solve their problems.

According to Nwodo, this budget crisis led to the creation of a governors' forum comprised of Second Republic state governors. They came together, formed a united front, discussed their problems and presented their grievances to the president in hopes of solving them through negotiations. By cooperating as a group in these meetings, the governors realized some success in resolving their chief concerns. For example, the federal government had increased public-sector salaries to a level the states could not afford, but through these discussions they were able to convince the federal government to share the cost burdens caused by these increases. Governors were also able to agree on a solution to the vexing problem of pensions for state civil servants in regions that had been redivided.

Nwodo related that the security vote was another issue that arose during the governors' forum, as well as travel allowances, after a number of scandals regarding how much governors spent while on tour. Participating governors discussed the issues and agreed to spend a uniform amount on security, as well as a system to determine how much they could spend on international tours and the number of people that could accompany them on such trips. When power was eventually taken from the governors by the Babangida regime, the governors from the forum were indeed investigated for spending. Because the examiners found a unified system of spending regarding security votes, however, the participating governors were not taken to jail. However, several other non-participating governors of the Second Republic were imprisoned because of abuse of security votes.

Nwodo cited the issue of local government service commissions as another battle the governors fought and won together. During the Second Republic, local governments were autonomous and were permitted to act freely without state interference, as directed by the

constitution. Unfortunately, according to Nwodo, this led to a great deal of corruption. For example, the local government service commissions had the power to run the primary school board, which they often used in order to incorporate ghost workers onto their payrolls, costing the state millions of naira. The governors' forum took up the issue and was successful in forcing the federal government to reexamine the policy in order to check corrupt practices.

Nwodo commented that the interaction inherent in the governors' forum also helped him form beneficial working relationships with his counterparts in other states. He shared his appreciation of the personal interactions with his colleagues that led to close bonds that survived long after their tenure as governors had expired and in spite of different party affiliations. He further extolled these types of bonds as an important means of bringing Nigerians together across ethnic, regional and ideological cleavages.

In closing, Nwodo offered several "new frontiers" for the incoming governors to conquer. First, he urged the governors to explore ways in which their states could survive and thrive during the structural readjustment of the country's economy, suggesting that they seek to exploit economic resources such as oil and solid minerals in order to increase state revenue. Nwodo also encouraged the federal and state governments to invite private and foreign investors to participate in exploring these resources. He also mentioned the importance of joint ventures among states, especially where they might save money by reducing redundancy and increasing efficiency.

Question and Answer Session – Plenary III

The following is a summary of some of the questions raised by participants:

Question 1: Regarding the U.S. National Governors' Association, do you usually have the meetings in the capital, as we are doing here in Abuja, or are they scattered all over the country on a regional basis?

Question 2: Did your party headquarters react to your problems in those days? Did they help you and show concern for your plight or was there no reactions from the political headquarters?

Question 3: First, how does one draw a line between a party relationship and party interference in the art of governance? Second, you advised us to try as much as possible to fund our parties. What source of government funding can we use to fund the party?

Question 4: It is likely that on assumption of office that we will face the problem of strike actions because of the issue of minimum wage, which the present government officials feel reluctant to deal with. How do we deal with this complex problem?

Question 5: On the issue of oil producing areas, do you have any comments or suggestions that could assist us in developing a united position as to how to divide revenues from the exploitation of those resources among the states and federal government?

Question 6: First, what is the stand of the government when it makes a state appointment that may conflict with a national appointment? Can you make your own appointment by yourself without federal government's approval? Second, what happens when a judge or the commissioner of police appointed by the federal institutions has done wrong? Can they be removed – especially if their presence is inimical to your progress?

Question 7: What is the dividing line between restructuring and federalism? Can you restructure without tampering with the physical boundaries of the components that constitute the Nigerian federation?

Question 8: Do governors elsewhere have security votes, and if they do, what do they do with this money? Also, can you shed more light on political retirement?

Responses

Response to Question 1: Thornburgh answered that the U.S. National Governors' Association holds two meetings a year. One of them always takes place in Washington, giving the governors the opportunity to meet with the president and with congressional leaders. Normally the Republican and Democratic Governors Associations also hold meetings at that time so as to economize on traveling time. They also hold one other meeting a year elsewhere in the country. Regional groups also generally meet at the time of the national gathering and hold one additional meeting throughout the year. As much as possible, the regional groups try to economize by having these meetings at the margins of the National Governors' Association meeting.

Response to Question 3: Nwodo suggested that the governors can partially solve the problem of party interference by establishing a party caucus in which the party leadership is involved. They will be present during the policy formulation so they participate in discussing issues before a decision is taken; with this active role, there will be less friction. He added that while he was governor, he had a "kitchen cabinet" with members from his party, including the secretary of the government, experienced politicians, two local government chairmen and two chairmen of parties in the local government. According to Nwodo, he discussed everything with them, which gave them a sense of belonging and responsibility in the decision-making process. He cautioned, however, that, "No matter how good the decision you arrived at, there will always be harassment. There is no limit in satisfying the parties. Political parties are very difficult to deal with and how you manage the party relationship is simply a matter of diplomacy."

In terms of party funding, Nwodo went on, the government is the greatest provider. There are many ways of funding a political party by the government, such as contracts, allocations to party members, patronizing party members and dividing the jobs in percentages and giving them out accordingly. Nwodo explained that, "This helps you in reducing the tension by empowering the political parties. Don't make the mistake of ignoring the party. If you make it weak, it cannot interfere credibly. If you don't take the party along, it will show before the next election."

Response to Question 4: Nwodo decried the minimum wage issue and the failure of the government to find a serious means to address it. He added that the political parties had not done enough other than provide informal advice to the head of state to try to solve the problem before leaving office. He advised the participants to put the issue aside for now and deal with it once they take office. He added that, "The governors' forum will help you establish a united front to discuss with the federal government about how it will be solved at the state level, but it is a problem you can't run away from."

Response to Question 5: Rae responded by outlining the situation in Canada, saying that the provinces own the natural resources and therefore there is an initial right of taxation that goes to the local governments as opposed to what is claimed by the federal government. He pointed out that states or provinces without significant resources often fail to recognize the additional expenses that are an inevitable consequence of developing resources to be usable. For example, in the oil and gas industries, there is a significant environmental cost, and in the mining industry there are also significant clean-up costs and other environmental costs, such as the cost of inspection. In Nigeria, Rae asserted, the main issue concerns the rights of the oil producing states. At the same time, Rae maintained, many state governments in Nigeria that lack a lot of natural resources are jealous that they are not getting a share of what is the national patrimony. Ideally, the states will end up reaching some kind of compromise.

Responses to Question 6: Rae related that removing appointed personnel was one of the most difficult issues he had to face as a newly-elected premier at the beginning of his term. He explained that he had no confidence in the principal cabinet secretary, a senior civil servant, because of the financial situation he faced when he took office. He did not immediately dismiss him, but over a period of time he replaced him with someone who was more junior, which was seen as a controversial appointment. Rae advised the participants to find someone they personally have confidence in and not someone the government has confidence in, because they will be the ones to work with and be responsible for the employee.

Nwodo provided information more specific to the Nigerian context, telling the participants that, with regard to state and federal governments, the governors under this military regime cannot appoint a head of state of service or secretary of government without clearance from Aso Rock, which has to be done through the Office of the Chief of General Staff.

Nwodo added that in a political dispensation, no consideration is given to what the government thinks about who is selected as chief of government. In a presidential system a governor can appoint the secretary of government from anywhere – a university lecturer or anybody at all who seems best suited for the position. However, he went on, the head of service by seniority is usually the most senior permanent secretary. Nwodo advised the participants not to dismiss the most senior secretary, even if incompetent, but rather to move him elsewhere or find a job without real responsibility so that he does not go to court.

As for the commissioner of police, Nwodo suggested that the participants sit down and develop answers to these types of problems, because they are exactly what develops and the participants must be prepared to solve them as efficiently as possible. For example, if the police commissioner is incompetent, the governor could write a report to the Inspector-General of Police complaining about the appointment and requesting that he be removed from the state.

Thornburgh expanded on Nwodo's answer, explaining that there is no national police force in the United States, making the question difficult to answer in that context. The state police force is under a commissioner who is a member of the governor's cabinet and is therefore subject to his directions.

Response to Question 7: Nwodo declared the importance of moving away from dictatorship towards federalism. He decried the fact that Nigerians are so used to the command structure of the army and stated that federalism does not work that way. He advised that Nigerians must see the constitution before knowing how much autonomy the different arms of government have been given and how they will interact. Nwodo encouraged the participants to entrench federalism and the idea of a degree of autonomy within the confederation of states, unlike in a military system. He pointed to central autonomy within the federating units as the source of the latitude to expand horizons and told the participants that, "As heads of government, how you create a new base from which to develop your state is part of the beauty of democracy and federalism."

Responses to Question 8: Nwodo noted that, in any given month there may be no security problems. At other times, however, problems may arise due to sensitive issues such as a student union protest. At times when the president visits a state, the governor must increase security by mobilizing more police forces and other security agencies. He emphasized that it is responsibility of the state government to ensure that the president comes and goes without any problem, and argued that there should be an allocation for this in the budget.

Thornburgh added that a special kind of fund is provided in the budget in the United States for contingency cases in areas of emergency situations. If any kind of emergency comes up, officials can re-program funds very easily.

With regard to the question of political retirement, Nwodo answered that, at the governors' forum under the Second Republic, they determined that judges should have pensions commensurate to their last pay. He added that army generals in Nigeria carry their pay till they die, as well as continuing to have security men and other government care after retirement. Nwodo maintained that the civilian governor or president is only person who retires, goes to the village and subsequently becomes a beggar. Nwodo also posed the question of how Nigerians should treat people who served credibly, and recalled that during the governors under the Second Republic had discussed pensions for civilian governors and presented it to Babangida, but were unable to follow up on it. He mentioned that former presidents established their own association during the Babangida regime to research their retirement problems. He suggested that perhaps the incoming governors could further investigate the matter.

NIGERIA GOVERNORS' FORUM
Abuja, Nigeria
April 26-29, 1999

AGENDA

MONDAY, April 26

12:00 noon - Governors and other Participants Check-In at Hilton Abuja
4:00 pm

6:30 pm **Opening Reception** (Lagos Room)

Reception for Governors-Elect, International and National Participants. Also invited are political party representatives, members of civil society, press and the international donor community.

Opening Remarks by NDI Regional Director, Chairs of PDP, APP, AD, and U.S. Ambassador.

TUESDAY, April 27

9:00 am **Opening Plenary Session** (Niger-Benue Rooms)

Opening Remarks by Dr. Christopher Fomunyoh, NDI

Review schedule of events, objectives of forum and introduction of all participants and speakers. Each participant should give name, state, party, and whether they have held elective office.

9:30 am **Plenary I -- "Federalism as a Constitutional Arrangement"** (Niger-Benue Rooms)

Panelists: Richard Thornburgh, Professor Fink Haysom, Chief Bola Ige
Chair: Robert Rae

This session will address the nature of federalist democracies, the application of federalism in different countries and issues related to Nigeria's current state of federalism. Speakers will share the problems and attributes of their respective federalist systems and discuss different approaches Nigerians can consider for the future.

11:00 am Coffee Break

11:15 am **Question and Answer Session**

12:15 pm Lunch Speaker: Richard Thornburgh (Plateau Room)

1:45 pm **Plenary II** -- "The Role of the State Executive -- Relations with Constituents, the State Legislatures and the Federal Government" (Niger-Benue Rooms)

Panelists: Robert Rae, Carole Hillard, Alhaji Lateef Jakande
Chair: Fink Haysom

This session will highlight the relationships each governor will encounter – from the ordinary citizen, civil society organizations, and industry leaders to members of the state assembly and the federal government -- and discuss mechanisms to create successful relationships among these constituencies.

- What mechanisms can be used to develop productive relationships with the Federal Government?
- How can governors work most effectively with State Assemblies?
- Developing constituent relationships– how to interact with the electorate.

3:15 pm Tea Break

3:30pm **Question and Answer Session**

5:00 pm End of Day – Free Evening

WEDNESDAY, April 28

9:00 am **Plenary III** -- "Governor Relations and Inter-Party Relations" (Niger-Benue Rooms)

Panelists: Richard Thornburgh, Prof. Fink Haysom, Dr. Okwesilieze Nwodo
Chair: Carole Hillard

This session will look at how governors interact with one another, both inside and outside their party; how competition for scarce federal resources affects relationships; and the value and role of a national governor's association as a vehicle for democratization.

- The Governor's role within the party
- What are the mechanisms used to work productively with governors from other parties?
- Governors associations – a professional organization to share ideas or a vehicle for change?

10:30 am Coffee Break

10:45 am **Question and Answer Session**

11:45 am **Discussion Groups Assigned: Shari Bryan, NDI**

Participants will be divided into groups of six or eight, ensuring multi-party representation. Each group will be assigned a former governor/international participants and a rapporteur who be responsible for leading the discussion and drafting findings. Discussions will focus on:

- identifying critical issues facing Nigeria's 36 governors
- making recommendations to address those issues
- discussing an agenda for sharing information and enhancing the professional development of governors

12:00 pm Lunch Speaker: Robert Rae (Plateau Room)

1:30 pm **Discussion Groups Meet**

3:00 pm Tea Break

3:30 pm **Discussion Groups Meet**

5:00 pm End of Day – Free Evening

THURSDAY, April 29

9:00 am **Plenary IV -- Group Reports (Niger-Benue Rooms)**

Chair: Carole Hillard

10:30 Coffee Break

10:45 **Rapporteurs Meet to Draft Findings (Niger-Benue Rooms)**
Participants Meet to Discuss Press Release

11:45 Closing Lunch and Announcement by Nigerian Participants of Group Findings (Plateau Room)

1:15pm Press Conference

2:00pm Participants Depart Hilton

Governors' Forum Group Report Group #1

Participants:

Akande - Osun State
Ibrahim - Yobe State
Lawal - Kwara State
Adamu - Nasarawa State
Egwu - Ebonyi State
Bonie - Adamawa State
Mahmood - Bauchi State
Kwankwaso - Kano State
Udenwa - Imo State
Udili - River State

Question 1: What are the top five priority issues likely to face your state during the next year?

Osun State:

1. Free Education at Primary and Secondary levels
2. Abolish payment of fees in hospitals
3. Build a state secretariat
4. Provide portable water in Ijesha land
5. Farmers' Cooperatives - provision of food and fruit crops

Yobe State:

1. Abandoned projects generally
2. Water for human and animal consumption/education
3. Rural Development
4. Security
5. Agriculture and Fertilizer

Nasarawa State:

1. a) Rehabilitation of dilapidated social infrastructure to make them functional and sustainable -- health, education and water
- b) Utilities and physical infrastructures -- rural roads and rural electrification
2. Provision of social infrastructure where they are non-existent at the inception of our administration
3. Boost agricultural production -- extension workers, implements, fertilizers and establishments of farmers cooperatives
4. Poverty and illiteracy eradication
5. Establishment of small scale industries to process agricultural produce and exploration processing of solid minerals to generate employment and wealth for economic growth.

Ebonyi State:

1. Qualitative and Quantitative Education

2. Provision and rehabilitation of urban and rural roads
3. Health facilities to all local government areas
4. Establish industries and creating enabling environment for private sector participation
5. Provision of Housing for civil servants and development of the state capital city.

Adamawa

State:

1. Rationalisation of the over bloated civil service -- for generation of more revenue
2. Acute water shortage in the whole state including the state capital
3. Abandoned projects (e.g., hospitals and schools)
4. Revamping the education system
5. Security

Bauchi State:

1. Rehabilitation of educational institutions
2. Health sector
3. Security-armed bandits
4. Rehabilitation of ailing industries
5. Rehabilitation of state roads

Imo State:

1. a) Rehabilitation of Roads
- b) Provision of portable water
2. Rehabilitation of ailing industries - Private enterprise
3. Re-orientation of the civil service
4. Re-structuring of the education sector - funding
5. Debts and federal projects

Rivers State:

1. Orientation of the civil service
2. Rehabilitation of public infrastructure
3. Enhancing revenue and anti-corruption drive
4. Free social service in health for people below 18 years and over 60 years
5. Free education at all levels
6. Enhancement of communal peace in oil producing areas

Question 2: What are some of the key issues all states have in common?

1. Water, roads and electricity
2. Corruption and security
3. Education and health
4. Revenue generation and allocation formula
5. Industries and job generation/creation

Question 3: Is there a need for a framework for information sharing among governors and deputy governors?

Yes! Yes! Yes!

Question 4: If yes, what mechanism or forum would be appropriate for information sharing?

1. National Governors' Forum for all the 36 states in the Federation
2. Zonal Governors' Forums
3. Party Governors' Forums

Question 5: What recommendations would your group like to share with NDI?

1. NDI should establish a permanent advisory group that can help keep an eye on the development of a Governors' Forum.
2. Relations with other state governors' forums or associations from other federal democracies should be established.
3. NDI should periodically invite members of the Governors' Forum to participate in forums or seminars in other countries in which NDI operates.

**Governors' Forum Group Report
Group #2**

Participants:

Tinubu - Lagos State
Hashidu - Gombe State
Wamako - Sokoto State
Shehu - Jigawa State
Iginiedion - Edo State
Usman - Taraba State
Ekpenyong - Akwa Ibom State
Akume - Benue State
Elue - Delta State

Question 1: What are the top five priority issues likely to face your state during the next year?

Delta State:

1. Peace/Security
2. Utilities (Water, Electricity)
3. Roads
4. Education
5. Health

Akwa Ibom State:

1. Industrial rehabilitation
2. Education
3. Health System
4. Roads
5. Workers welfare

Sokoto State:

1. Education
2. Industrialization
3. Health
4. Rural Development
5. Security

Benue State:

1. Workers Salaries
2. Education
3. Rural Water Supply
4. Rural Roads
5. Power Supply

Lagos State:

1. Utilities
2. Transportation
3. Education

4. Health
5. Housing

- Taraba State:
1. Road network
 2. Electricity
 3. Health
 4. Education
 5. Manpower development

- Jigawa State:
1. Water supply
 2. Agriculture
 3. Urban development
 4. Manpower development
 5. Education and Industries

- Gombe State:
1. Education
 2. Health
 3. Water Supply
 4. Agriculture
 5. Security

- Edo State:
1. Roads
 2. Utilities (water, electricity)
 3. Education
 4. Health and Security
 5. Sports and Youth Development

Question 2: What are some of the key issues all states have in common?

1. Education
2. Health
3. Utilities (water, electricity)
4. Peace and Security
5. Roads

Question 3: Is there a need for a framework for information sharing among governors and deputy governors?

The need for the framework for information sharing and professional development among the multiparty Governors of Nigeria is certainly "yes" for the purpose of harmony, understanding and unified service to sustain democracy through out the federation.

Question 4: If yes, what mechanism or forum would be appropriate for information sharing?

The mechanism should be put in place through the formation of a "National Governors' Forum" (NGF) with its functional secretariat in the Federal Capital, Abuja with a secretary to man its office. Meetings are to be held on a quarterly basis and a special meeting can only be held when the need arises.

Question 5: What recommendations would your group like to share with NDI?

1. The Forum should have an affiliation with the USA and Canada as models and equally have a relationship with some international donor bodies to: develop the economy of the country and expand our industrial base.
2. This group will not conclude its assignment without commending the efforts of the National Democratic Institute for its wonderful job of bringing about the peaceful art of governance devoid of political differences to achieve economic and political stabilities.
3. In the light of the above, we earnestly request a repetition of the conference towards the end of this year so as to improve and furnish the National Governors' Forum with information facilities for taking off and running of the organization, and continue to liaise with the federal government on the need for true democracy.
4. It also need not to be overemphasized the need to extend this workshop to the members of the National Assembly and National Executive Councils for maximum utilization in order to achieve durable democracy in the country.

**Governors' Forum Group Report
Group #3**

Participants:

Kaka - Ogun State
Adebayo - Ekiti State
Aliero - Kebbi State
Sani - Zamfara State
Kachalla - Borno State
Botmang - Plateau State
Jonathan - Bayelsa State
Kure - Niger State

Question 1: What are the top five priority issues likely to face your state during the next year?

(The group did not respond to this question.)

Question 2: What are some of the key issues all states have in common?

1. It will be necessary to conduct a comprehensive audit/assessment of the financial resources of the states and the commitment of the state governments including the public sector wage bills and the size of the civil service.
2. Immediate procurement and distribution of fertilizer and agricultural inputs, including the establishment of agricultural loan schemes.
3. Embark on rural development with special attention to water supply, electricity supply, construction of feeder roads, and provision of housing and transportation.
4. Education and health care delivery.
5. Industrial development with particular attention to setting up small scale industries.

Question 3: Is there a need for a framework for information sharing among governors and deputy governors?

We have agreed that there is a need for the establishment of a Nigerian Governors' Forum to serve as a framework for information sharing and socio-economic development of the various states.

Question 4: If yes, what mechanism or forum would be appropriate for information sharing?

The forum should meet at least twice a year after which a meeting should be held with the President to discuss its resolutions which are expected to influence the development and implementation of national policy issues. They should have a full fledged secretariat with all necessary facilities for its smooth operation in Abuja.

Question 5: What recommendations would your group like to share with NDI?

1. We hereby call on the NDI to have a close working relationship with the Nigerian Governors' Forum and also to assist the forum in fostering a close relationship with its American counterpart.
2. Futhermore, the NDI should assist the three (3) political parties in Nigeria in capacity building and establishing sound democratic institutions.
3. Finally, the NDI should ensure that when they hold seminars of this nature, they should ensure that they avoid inviting party officials as it is desirable to de-emphasize the issue of party affiliation at a meeting of the Governors. There should be a separate seminar for party officials and leaders.

NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

April 29, 1999

CONTACTS

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Nigeria's Governors-Elect Convene at National Forum

Abuja, April 29, 1999 -- Nigeria's 36 newly elected governors met in a three-day forum in Abuja to discuss matters of mutual interest, their roles and responsibilities as elected officials, priorities that they may face upon assuming office and common issues of concern to their constituents. The forum was organized by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) and was co-hosted by Nigeria's three political parties, the Alliance for Democracy (AD), the All Peoples Party (APP), and the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). In addition to the Nigerian participants, international experts from the United States, Canada and South Africa served as resource persons for the forum.

The forum was attended by Governors-Elect Mr. Bonie, Adamawa State; Dr. Mbadinuju, Anambra State; Alhaji Kachalla, Borno State; Chief Igbinedion, Edo State; Alhaji Hashidu, Gombe State; Chief Udenwa, Imo State; Alhaji Adamu, Kebbi State; Senator Tinubu, Lagos State; Mr. Akume, Benue State; Dr. Egwu, Ebonyi State; Dr. Musa, Kano State; Rear Admiral (rtd.) Mohammed, Kwara State; Engineer Kure, Niger State; Chief Akande, Osun State; Alhaji Sani, Zamfara State; Alhaji Adamu, Nasarawa State; Alhaji Ibrahim, Yobe State; Dr. Odili, Rivers State and Otunba Adebayo, Ekiti State.

Attending on behalf of governors who were unavailable were Deputy Governors-Elect Dr. Jonathan, Bayelsa State; Chief Elue, Delta State; Chief Ekpenyong, Akwa Ibom State; Alhaji Mahmood, Bauchi State; Alhaji Saleh, Taraba State; Alhaji Kaka, Ogun State; Mr. Bot-Mang, Plateau State; Alhaji Wamakko, Sokoto State; and Alhaji Shehu, Jigawa State. Also attending as the only female Deputy Governor was Senator Bucknor-Akerele, Lagos State.

Panelists at the forum included Honorable Richard Thornburgh, former Governor of Pennsylvania and former Attorney General of the United States; Honorable Robert Rae, former Premier of Ontario, Canada and President of the Forum for Federations; Professor Fink Haysom, Chief Legal Advisor to President Nelson Mandela; Honorable Carole Hillard, Lieutenant Governor of South Dakota; Chief Bola Ige (SAN), former Governor of Oyo State; Alhaji Lateef Jakande, former Governor of Lagos State; and Dr. Okwesilieze Nwodo, former Governor of Enugu State. Also participating on behalf of NDI were Dr. Christopher Fomunyoh, Regional Director for Central, East and West Africa and Ms. Shari Bryan, Project Director for NDI's Nigeria programs.

During the plenary sessions, the Governors addressed three broad subjects relevant to good governance in Nigeria. The first plenary focused on federalism as a constitutional arrangement, issues related to federalism, and examples of federalist systems in the United States, Canada and South Africa. The second plenary addressed the role of the State Executive and his relationship with the federal government, the state assembly and local constituents. The third plenary examined governors relations with one another, and their role and relationship with the leadership and members of their respective political parties. International participants shared experiences as former governors and made suggestions on how these important relationships can be developed and maintained. The group discussed various mechanisms that can be used to enhance collaboration and productive relationships among governors of all three parties, and the importance of a national governors association.

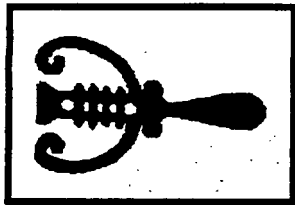
At the conclusion of plenary sessions, participants formed three working groups to discuss and identify issues that are critical to their respective states, and to the nation as a whole. These issues include the need to improve the provision of public utilities such as water, electricity and road infrastructure; education, health care, housing and transportation; the need to promote peace and security of citizens; and economic development in the areas of industry, agriculture and job creation. Participants also agreed on the need to foster revenue generation activities and to facilitate improved revenue allocation to the states. At the end of the forum, the governors expressed the desire to continue their deliberations and to set up a permanent mechanism for dialogue, consultation and collaboration among themselves.

The participants requested that NDI organize a follow-up workshop and continue to provide technical assistance to the Governors as they work to establish their own structures within the country. They also sought NDI assistance in helping them liaise with similar groups and organizations in other emerging and established democracies. The participants urged NDI to extend its capacity building programs and workshops to the three political parties, as well as to the National Assembly and National Executive Council, in order to foster a durable and sustainable democracy in Nigeria.

The group of Governors and Deputy Governors-Elect commended NDI for its efforts and its contribution to the peaceful political transition currently under way in Nigeria.

-###-

NDI is a non-profit organization based in Washington, DC. Working to strengthen and expand democracy worldwide, the Institute has programs in Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, the Former Soviet Union, Latin America, and the Middle East. In Nigeria, NDI sponsored international election observation delegations for the local, state and national elections. The forum held this week was funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).



THE GUARDIAN

CONSCIENCE, NURTURED BY TRUTH

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Our agenda for next republic, by governors-elect

ANY military incumbent, who spoke on behalf of his colleagues, maintained that resistance to military rule through guidance by the incoming executive governors was thrashed out at their meeting under what they called the "Cooperative Mechanism" agenda. But Tinubu would not disclose the approach he and his colleagues would adopt.

Lagos State Governor-elect, Bola Ahmed Tinubu, will not let the cat out of the bag yet as to how exactly we will do this since we have not taken over. But let me add that good governance is the antidote to military adventurism. Leaders must not cooperate with corrupt practices. You know the fish starts to rot from

From Oghoghor Obayuwana, Abuja

forum's conclusions were reached on the need to:

- Improve on the provision of public utilities such as water, electricity and road,
- Tackle infrastructural problems, problems of education, healthcare,

housing and transportation.

- Promote peace and security of citizens as well as economic development in industry, agriculture and job creation, and
- Foster revenue generation activities and find ways to facilitate improved revenue allocation to the states.

The governors-elect also expressed their desire to continue deliberations and to set up a permanent mechanism for continuous dialogue, consultation and collaboration among themselves.

Tinubu told reporters yesterday that the governors-elect are *Continued on Page 2*

Blueprint for national healing, by Soyinka

A national healing process anchored on truth, restitution and reconciliation was proposed yesterday by Prof. Wole Soyinka.

He said restitution for past wrongs against the citizenry was pivotal to structural integrity of the Nigerian nation. "Without restitution as the key stone under the proposed national healing process, the entire Nigerian state

By Chukwudi Abiandu, Oma Djebeh and Layiwola Adeniyi

the Eighth Anniversary Lecture of TELL magazine, where eminent jurist, Dr. Akinola Aguda, decried social dislocations threatening the country.

Speaking on the topic, "Engaging the past: Lessons from South Africa," Soyinka employed a



ing the structural integrity of the archway is the key-stone. Without the key-stone, as any architect will inform you, we risk a hiatus that may lead to a collapse of the archway in rubble, even at the moment when the community passes under it on their pilgrimage to vistas of new beginning and the promise of healing..."

According to the eminent icon, a 1986 Nobel Literature Prize winner, it is not for persons who deliberately, systematically subverted nation's economy and depleted its treasury to walk the streets freely, especially since "within the same terrain, it was ever even for a moment considered appropriate that bank managers who were guilty only of unwise — or more accurately, arguably unwise — investments or loans decisions, should (spend) upwards of four years in prison detention."

...dential polls adjudged to have been won by the late Chief Moshood Abiola.

Soyinka, in his lecture which drew intermittent ovation from the capacity hall of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA) on Victoria Island, Lagos warned that the absence of healing necessitated the 1967-70 Biafran war and the current restive temper in the oil-producing communities.

He explained: "It is not mere rhetoric therefore when a loud clamour arises for structures of dealing with the past. Among these echoing most prominently are a Sovereign National Conference and a Truth Tribunal. Today, I am concerned principally with the latter. So, let me use this opportunity to make a clarification. No one has suggested a Truth and Reconciliation Commission in the

Continued on Page 6

operatives reported a slowdown in system performance. Specifically, the speed of accessing data and loading time have been impaired leading in some cases to destruction of hard disks and Basic Input-Output-System (BIOS) components.

Early reports indicated that the virus manifested in some systems at the University of Ibadan on April 26. Dean of Postgraduate School at the university, Prof. Jide Adeogun, reported severe disruption in some computer-based facilities. He added: "The incident has wreaked havoc on the students' records and academic activities as important data could not be accessed from the systems".

In Lagos, a graphic artist at Planet Grafix, a Surulere-based colour separation company, Mr. Adedayo Adeniyi, reported manifestation of the virus in the company's system on Wednesday. He explained: "When I came in the morn-

We found it was working. I switched on my own system, it booted. Then, there was public power outage and we changed over to the generator. I tried booting again, and there was a blank screen".

Corroborating the story, a creative director at Taijo Wonukabe Limited, a Lagos-based communications outfit, Mr. Ogbeniyi Egbe, added that he was aware of a couple of other organisations hit by the virus.

Further investigations by *The Guardian* showed that the systems of some corporate organisations and individuals were badly damaged, as valuable databases were destroyed by the ravaging electronic monster.

For instance, the General Manager (Operations), Task Systems Nigeria Limited, one of the nation's leading information technology companies, Mr. Chikezie Ezirim, confirmed that one of the company's system linked to the internet was badly affected. He said, however, that the technical crew had re-

...cines (MBSM), Victoria land in Lagos, company's Maintenance coordinator, Mr. Ony Patrick, said his outfit since Monday received distress calls from some users owing to complete breakdown of their systems.

According to him, the pact of the virus on data in the customers' systems was worrisome as disks and other components were damaged. Patrick, however, said three of systems had been put into operation by reformatting the disks and reloading the software.

At Cyberspace Limited Internet service provider company, one official requested anonymity, firming that distress had been received from some clients, which company had responded.

Although informed from the financial services industry about the impact of the CIH virus is scanty, analysts agree that its implications for systems in the sector may not be profound. Outfits are likely to take precautionary measures.

Beyond Nigeria, the virus may similarly be ravaging computer systems. For instance, a web-based service, *Wired News* Tuesday cited Dan Takata, a software support engineer with Data Fellow, as saying that a lot of systems in the United States had their hard drives deleted with substantial loss of information base.

The report further stated that Takata said the company was compiling a list from victims' calls, with one in seven callers complaining that their systems BIOS has been attacked.

"Unlike the *Melissa* (this month) which tentatively affected a high number of users by clogging e-mail systems, the stealthy CIH virus severely damages individual PCs directly," Bill Pollak, spokesman for CERT Coordination Centre at Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh said there had been reports of CIH problems from 17 organisations, representing about 38 individual personal computers.

By comparison, *Melissa* virus prompts calls from about 50 systems representing hundreds of affected personal computers.

Blaming users for perceived negligence, a marketing manager at Lagos-based Management Information System (MIS) Bonny Mekwanye, ascribed the attack to inadequate

Governors-elect set agenda on democracy

Continued from Page 1

strongly opposed to the present federal structure where the centre plays Father Christmas to the component units.

The nation, he maintained, "should be run as a true federal structure. Inter-state trade will be encouraged while cooperation; based on mutual respect, will be the order of the day. We have taken a position on this..."

He described yesterday as a new beginning for a virile democracy in Nigeria. "We have decided to distance ourselves from cliques and divides along party lines. Infra-structural deficiencies cannot be addressed on ideological basis. The days of governance differ from those of campaigns; now we will only have time for service and cooperation."

On the vexed issue of

minimum wage, Tinubu warned the Federal Government against setting booby traps for the incoming civilian governors.

"The Federal Government has the responsibility of not leaving behind this kind of liability. Enmity should not be created between us and the labour force.

For now, no governor-elect can say he has seen its handover notes or bank notes from out-going administrators," he said.

According to him, the governors-elect would not make any commitment on the minimum wage "in the dark room," adding, however, that "when we come in, we shall resolve all these issues. The beauty of democracy is that it has mechanisms for resolving all matters."

The desirability or otherwise of the Petroleum (Special) Trust Fund (PTF), according to Tinubu, was not discussed at

the forum. "We only discussed how we can best demonstrate and institutionalise good governance," he explained.

He promised that the problem in the Niger Delta "will be solved... we discussed it among ourselves..."

But he could not comment on whether the resolution will come before the civilians assume power because "it is a continuous process. You have to wait and see."

The Governors-elect and participants at the forum yesterday requested an NDI follow-up workshop

and technical assistance to the would-be chief executives as they work to set up their own structures within the country.

They also sought NDI's assistance to liaise with similar groups and organisations in other emerging and established democracies.

NDI was also urged to extend its capacity-building programmes to the three political parties as well as the national assembly and the national executive council in order to foster a durable and sustainable democracy in Nigeria.

Today's weather

Most places will be stable and quiet throughout the morning hours. In the afternoon, however, showers are expected over some places along the south east coast while areas between Ogoja and the Mambilla Plateau will be prone to thunderstorms. Slight warming up is expected everywhere.

Maximum temperatures will be 42°C in the extreme north, 39°C in the central states, 34°C in the inland areas of the southern states and 32°C along the coast.

1400 GMT TEMP (°C) OF MAJOR CITIES

| CITY | OBSERVED | FORECAST | TREND |
|------------|----------|----------|----------|
| SOKOTO | 29/499 | 30/499 | RISING |
| MAIDUGURI | 40 | 41 | CONSTANT |
| KANO | 42 | 42 | RISING |
| KADUNA | 37 | 38 | RISING |
| BAUCHI | 36 | 37 | RISING |
| JOS | 37 | 38 | RISING |
| YOLA | 29 | 30 | RISING |
| ABUJA | 38 | 39 | RISING |
| ENUGU | 36 | 37 | RISING |
| IBADAN | 33 | 34 | RISING |
| LAGOS | 32 | 33 | RISING |
| P/HARCOURT | 30 | 32 | RISING |
| CALABAR | 30 | 30 | CONSTANT |
| ABEOKUTA | 30 | 30 | CONSTANT |
| | 32 | 33 | RISING |

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CMAG clears way for

Continued from Page 1

returning to the Commonwealth with the assumption

member-governments asking them to agree to end the

military leader, Gen. dulsalami Abubakar, f

Governors-elect Want Wage Crisis Resolved Before May 29

From Chuks Okocha
in Abuja

The 36 governors-elect have called on the outgoing military government to resolve the crisis generated by the new national minimum wage before it leaves office on May 29.

The governors-elect, who ended their forum, which was convened by the United States-based National Democratic Institute, yesterday in Abuja, said that the mil-

itary should not use the minimum wage which sparked off strikes by labour throughout the country as a booby trap for the Fourth Republic.

Fielding questions from newsmen after the conference, the Lagos State governor-elect, Senator Bola Tinubu, who spoke on behalf

of 35 others said, "the issue of the minimum wage is a creation of the military government and we want them to solve it before leaving office on May 29."

According to Tinubu, "we don't want the out-going government to create any liability for the in-coming administration."

"We want the Federal Military Government at the centre and the military

administrations in the states to solve all the problems created by them including the issue of the minimum wage," Tinubu said, adding that "it is their creation and therefore they must solve it."

Cautioning against using the issue of minimum wage as a booby-trap for the next civilian administration, Tinubu explained that the governors-elect took the resolution

Continued on Pg. 2



THE NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR

THIS DAY

THE PURSUIT OF TRUTH AND REASON

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FOURTH REPUBLIC

Obasanjo Will Reorganise Military -- Atiku

The incoming civilian government of General Olusegun Obasanjo will re-organise and retrain the military to enable it fulfil its constitutional role of defending the territorial integrity of the nation, the Vice president-elect, Abhiji Abubakar Atiku, said in Houston, the United States of America (USA) on Wednesday.

Says economy will be opened to foreign participation

By Sunday Areh

who said earlier at another forum also in Houston, that an Obasanjo administration would open the economy to foreign participation, did not elaborate on the incoming

government's plan for the military. However, the Chief of General Staff, Vice Admiral Okhai Mike Akhigbe, said on Wednesday that the present administration

was working on a new policy on the military for the incoming civilian administration. Addressing a symposium in Port Harcourt organised by the Nigerian Air Force, Akhigbe said under the new

policy, the nation would have a military with fewer men. "But these fewer men will be men of quality and knowledge. As we are going to have fewer men the command and control of the Armed

Continued on Pg. 2

Soyinka Calls for Trial of Abacha's Son, Mustapha, Omenka, Others

ernment will only have to keep up the momentum. I met General Obasanjo by chance in Ibadan yesterday (Wednesday) and we discussed the Niger-Delta problem", he told them.

After the Head of State's opening message, the chairman of the Rivers State Council of Traditional Rulers and *Gbene-mene Nyo Khana*, His Royal Majesty, Mene W.Z.P Nzidee invited Mr. Ledum Mitee, acting president of the Movement for the

(MOSOP) to present the Head of State with the demands of the Ogoni people.

Apart from the call for the creation of Ogoni state out of the present Rivers State, they also called for more local government areas in Ogoniland arguing that Khana Local Government was the largest in the country.

They said an expedited social infrastructural development including the provision of water, roads and electricity was needed for the people to

— GOVERNORS-ELECT *Cont'd from P1* —

because, "no governor-elect is in the position to discuss or negotiate with the workers on the minimum wage because we don't know the state of the account of the states.

"No" governor knows the true balance of account or what is in their hand-over notes. Therefore, we cannot negotiate with the workers," he said.

Also speaking, the Borno State governor-elect, Alhaji Mala Kachala said: "we want to start or take off on a clean slate without any hinderance. "The military is on the verge of completing the transition programme, the issue of the minimum wage is part of the problem. So, my position is that they should complete and resolve it before May 29."

The governors-elect also indicated their willingness to ensure true federalism, because according to them, it is the only thing that will ensure stability in government.

Also speaking on the issue, Tinubu said: "We want federalism to ensure equality and fairness. We want it to generate competition in the true sense of federation."

Ekiti state governor-elect, Chief Niyi Adebayo explained the position of the 36 governors-elect on federalism thus, "in principle, it means we accepted the restructuring of the federation to be in line with the practice of true federation, but we are waiting for the constitution." He added that whatever they discussed was without the knowledge of

the contents of the constitution.

Kachalla spoke in the same vein. "We feel that the constitution should be promulgated to give us an insight of what we are expecting."

The governors-elect said that the issue of the Niger-Delta was only mentioned and not exhaustively discussed. They said they needed constitutional backing before venturing into discussions of such a burning national issue.

The governors-elect promised to ensure good governance in their various states, when they take office, explaining that "it is only good governance and other anti-corruption tendencies that will keep the military out of governance. Only committed and honest leadership will ensure the survival of the Fourth Republic," they said.

According to a communique of the meeting read by Dr. Christopher Fomunoyh, Regional Director for NDI in West Africa, the workshop discussed national issues like improving provision of water, electricity, roads, education, health care, housing and transportation.

Also, he said that the governors-elect discussed the need to promote peace and the security of the citizens and economic development.

The governors-elect expressed the desire to continue their deliberation in this regard and set up a permanent mechanism for continued dialogue, consultation and collaboration among themselves.

tially foreign ministers of eight nominated member-states agreed to recommend that Nigeria's suspension imposed in the wake of Ken Saro-Wiwa's execution along with his eight kinsmen in November 1995 be lifted once Nigeria's new civilian government assumes power.

The much anticipated lifting of the suspension order became

ded to act after Nigeria had embarked on a long-promised return to democracy which culminated in February presidential elections to end 15 years of military rule.

"CMAG decided to immediately recommend to Commonwealth heads of government that Nigeria's suspension from membership of the association be lifted," the ministers said in

In addition, the Ogonis called for the rehabilitation of the various victims of human rights abuses through the payment of compensation to their families.

However, in his response, the Head of State described some of the demands as "complex" pointing out that in view of the calendar of the transition programme, it was no longer in his position to create new states and local governments.

He said whereas he was prepared to order expedited development of infrastructural needs, he would in his hand-over note spell out to the civilian administration his preferences on the matter.

Abubakar was accompanied to the meeting by Transport Minister, Vice Admiral Festus Porbeni, GOC 82 Division, Major General Oladayo Popoola, Major General G.A. Mohammed of the Army Engineers Corps, Rear Admiral Victor Ombo, Major General Sam Momah, the Inspector General of Police, Alhaji Ibrahim Coomassie and others.

The Military Administrators of Bayelsa and Rivers States, Lt. Col. Paul Edor Obi and Group Captain Sam Ewang were also in attendance.

The meeting is the first ever to take place between the Federal Government and MOSOP since the organisation was launched on January 2, 1993 by the late Ken Saro-Wiwa who was hanged by the regime of late General Sani Abacha along with eight other Ogoni leaders.

Describing the development as a new dawn in the annals of the Ogoni struggle, Prof. Theo. Vincent, Vice Chancellor of the University of Port Harcourt, said General Abubakar should be praised for his candour, promises and assurances. As the over two hours meeting ended, General Abubakar called on all present to sing the National Anthem to reaffirm faith in the Federal Republic. He also had a private meeting with MOSOP leaders at Government House before departing for Abuja.

General Olusegun Obasanjo, is due to assume office.

The CMAG statement said that despite deficiencies, the February elections were free and fair, and commended Abubakar for ushering in the transition to democracy since taking power, last year.

Nigeria was suspended from the Commonwealth on November 10, 1995, the day Sen-

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By Jide Ajani, Deputy Political Editor

DEPUTY Leader of *Afenifere*, Chief Bola Ige declared that the only option open to the Nigerian nation is a political restructuring of the country.

Speaking exclusively to *Vanguard* on why he sought to become president, Chief Ige declared: "I believe in the restructuring of Nigeria and that was my priority. That is my number one goal, that God would use me as an instrument of His purpose to restructure Nigeria."

He said for Nigeria to be a great country, restructuring remains the only available option, pointing out that it was not personal agenda.

"I believe that there is no sensible Nigerian, no responsible Nigerian leader in any of the nationalities which make up Nigeria who do not know that Nigeria needs restructuring politically."

The AD leader, who has already cut the picture of a politician brandishing the sword of restructuring declared emphatically: "In fact, it is the restructuring of Nigeria that would make the Federal Republic of Nigeria

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Towards a better life for the people

FRIDAY, APRIL 30, 1999. VOL. 15: NO. 4219 — N40.00

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Governors-elect attack Abubakar

By Jide Ajani, Deputy Political Editor, Abuja

THIRTY-TWO state governors-elect and/or their deputies rose from a three-day meeting yesterday in Abuja, accusing the General Abubakar regime of setting a booby trap for them through the accumulation of liabilities.

The situation, according to

the governors-elect, is capable of destabilising the incoming civilian administration.

They vowed, however, the booby trap notwithstanding, they would keep the military out of power in the country permanently.

Lagos State Governor-elect, Mr. Bola Tinubu who spoke for the group made it clear that the elected state chief

executives were prepared to make democracy work.

He said: "First of all, we need to get there. But let me tell you this. We believe that the purchasing power of the Nigerian workers has been falling for some time.

"However, you should not

Continues on Page 2

Ekwueme's panel yet to decide on Senate Presidency

THE six-man committee set up by the South-East zonal working committee of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) to recommend a candidate from the area for the Senate Presidency is yet to conclude its assignment.

The committee headed by second republic Vice President, Dr. Alex Ekwueme was set up on Thursday, April 22 meeting of the committee in Abakaliki.

Although six senators-elect from the zone at a meeting in Owerri endorsed Dr. Chuba Okadigbo for the position, PDP National Vice Chairman for the zone, Dr. Sylvester Ugho said the committee had "not concluded its work and the zone has therefore not endorsed any particular candidate for the office of the President of the Senate."

In a statement, Dr. Ugho, however, explained that the committee would "discuss with the senators-elect from the zone" on the issue with a

Continues on Page 2



PROF. Wole Soyinka (centre) exchanging pleasantries with Justice Akinola Aguda (left) while Chief Bola Ige (right) looks on at the 8th anniversary lecture of *Tell Magazine* held in Lagos yesterday. Photo by Adio Adelani.

Soyinka wants Truth Tribunal to try treasury looters

By Deba Uwadike & Mike Ebonugwo

NOBEL Laureate, Prof. Wole Soyinka called yesterday for a Truth Tribunal to address alleged perversions of justice during the past regime.

Prof. Soyinka who spoke at the 8th anniversary lecture of *Tell Magazine* in Lagos said

the move would lead to "healing" where what has been wrongly appropriated or profaned, be it material or indeterminate — such as one's belongings or dignity, must first be addressed.

"No one has suggested a Truth and Reconciliation

Commission in the manner of South Africa, definitely not. South Africa is simply not Nigeria, nor are the

Continues on Page 2

South-South legislators insist on Senate Presidency

By Emma Amaize, Benin City

SENATORS-ELECT and their House of Representatives counterparts from South-South say they will accept nothing lower than the office of Senate President or that of Speaker of the

House of Representatives.

At a meeting in Benin City on Wednesday, the law makers-elect said the South-South deserved one of the two positions on the strength of its performance in the elections that ensured vic-

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| WEEK 17 | 25TH APRIL - 2ND MAY 1999 | | | |
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| PLATT (CIF) 20/4/99 | \$/Ton | 189.00 | 155.25 | 190.50 |
| EXCHANGE RATE WEEK 17 | N/\$ | 90.00 | 90.00 | 90.00 |
| PLATT (CIF) 20/4/99 | N/R | 12.68 | 12.00 | 13.94 |
| NPA & Other Chgs | N/R | 1.84 | 1.84 | 1.84 |
| Cost (CIF) landed in Lagos | N/R | 14.52 | 13.84 | 15.78 |
| Bridging | N/R | 0.50 | 0.50 | 0.50 |
| Depot, Distribution Marketing Expenses | N/R | 5.20 | 5.20 | 5.20 |
| TOTAL | N/R | 20.22 | 19.54 | 21.48 |
| TAX | N/R | 3.00 | 3.00 | 2.00 |
| NOTIONAL PRICE | N/R | 23.22 | 22.54 | 23.48 |
| ROUNDED NOTIONAL PRICE | N/R | 23 | 23 | 23 |
| CURRENT PUMP PRICE | N/R | 20 | 19 | 17 |
| LOSS FOR IMPORTERS | N/R | -3 | -4 | -6 |

NEWS

Governors-elect attack Abubakar

Continues from Page 1
 create a liability when you do not have the revenue to implement a programme. The present administration that created that liability will be responsible for finding solutions.
 "You do not create a booby trap for the new civilian administration to face the wrath of labour insurgency immediately they assume office."

"It is a responsibility of the present administration and they should solve it. We'll do our best to make our demands known to labour as soon as we assume office."

"There's a problem of a government creating liability without putting the resources to meet that liability."

"That I would describe as irresponsible accounting. The credit and debit must balance. But you don't create a booby trap, where a new governor would be blamed for recklessness or create enmity between them and the labour force. Those who are crying out, they've not been exposed to the books."

"They are only anticipating that they would or would not be able to do it because of the level of expenditure they've seen."

"They've not seen the balance-sheet of the state. There's no way they are privy to the budgetary and expenditure activities of the outgoing administration."

"No governor-elect can brag that he has seen his handover notes, its treasury activities, or the bank statement of his state."

"Therefore, we cannot make commitment in a dark room. That is a dark alley suggestion."

Mr. Tinubu said the governors adopted a strategy to ensure the strengthening of democratic values through the "avoidance of corrupt practices and bringing about an open government."

"If as state executive, you're honest and committed to social service, you will not extend any invitation to the military," he stressed.

Although Mr. Tinubu declined to disclose the way and manner in which they (governors) would mobilise the masses to resist another coming of the military, he spoke of "the resolution to

bury the instrument of divide and rule mechanism from military adventurers.

"Using our ethnic diversity for our unity and cooperation is more important than using it for political division among ourselves. We believe we will keep military rule out of our lives permanently and forever and we are determined to do so."

He explained that the governor's conference chose not to discuss the issue of

South-South legislators insist on Senate presidency

Continues from Page 1
 tory for the party at all levels.

The South-East is also laying claims to the Senate Presidency for the same reason, while the North-West caucus of the PDP insists not only on the position but also that of the Speaker of House of Representatives.

The South-South national parliamentarians-elect in a communique at the end of the parley said "the South-South zone is the most marginalised in the country and so needs to be adequately compensated."

"This is the zone that produces 95 per cent of Nigeria's foreign exchange earnings. The zone scored

Ekwueme's panel

Continues from Page 1
 view to reaching a conclusion.

"This is in line with an earlier meeting held in Umuahia," he said.

At the April 22 meeting, the PDP South-East zone said it was entitled to the Senate Presidency for the following reasons:

•The South-East Zone was the only one among the six zones in the federation which in the local government council elections on December 5, 1998 produced a majority of council chairmen in all the five states of the zone;

•The South-East zone, along with the South-South were the only zones in the federation that produced a PDP governor in each of the states in their zones in the gubernatorial election of January 9, 1999;

•The South-East zone in spite of our dashed expectations and great disappointment in the outcome of the presidential primaries of the party held in Jos between January 13 and 15, 1999 voted massively for the party in the National Assembly and presidential elections held on February 20 and 27, 1999 respectively;

•The North-West zone elements of which are now clamouring for the post of President of the Senate to be zoned to it, already controls one arm of the government, namely: the judiciary, and

the Petroleum (Special) Trust Fund (PTF) although the meeting focussed on how to adopt an integrated approach to the issue of democratic values for the development of the country as a whole.

The conference, which was organised by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (which is based in Washington, D.C., USA) is one in a series of programmes aimed at

Strengthening democracy in Nigeria

In separate discussions with *Vanguard*, the Regional Director, West, East and Central Africa, Dr. Christopher Fominjoh and the Programme Director for Nigeria, Ms. Shari Bryan, said the elected officials showed great enthusiasm to the conference, adding that it signposted better things to come for the good of democracy in Nigeria.

guard that they had confirmed that the PDP at the national level has not zoned any of the offices in the National Assembly to any of the geo-political zones in the country and so no zone should lay claim to any office more than the South-South."

In attendance at the Benin City meeting were Senators-elect Chief Victor Oyofe, Chief Patrick Osakwe, Chief Fred Egame, Mrs. Stella Ornu and Prof. Osonbor.

Mr. Ndulak Irabor, Chief Anthony Efekoda, Dr. Willy Ogbuide, Chief Alumona Mercy Isei, Chibudom Nwuche, all House of Representatives members-elect also attended the meeting.

Yet to decide on Senate Presidency

followed.
 "The PDP was faced with the challenge to sustain its tempo and work for the survival of democracy in Nigeria."

"History will always bear witness that we have done well as a political organisation." Chief Lar stated further: "That said, we wish to state that the party has been concerned about the bills which have become a consequence of all our activities and operations. We are making concerted efforts to settle them."

"But to report that PDP is owing a total of N550 million out of which N300 million has been settled, is preposterous, mischievous and smacks of prejudice."
 "We are convinced that the report was aimed at setting the Nigerian people against the party leadership by attempting to associate it with profligacy and an irresponsible fiscal attitude."

Chief Lar said also that "the President-elect, His Excellency Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo and the Vice President-elect, His Excellency, Alhaji Atiku Abubakar, are clearly in the picture of the party's finances. The report is therefore, another attempt to cause confusion and present a picture that there exists a parallel leadership within the party."
 "In truth, the PDP is indebted to certain hotels, media organisations and other organisations whose services have been of immense help and contribution in our activities these past few months. But the figures as reported are totally and confoundingly spurious and preposterous. They are simply untrue."

"Indeed, the party used to settle its bills promptly, as can easily be verified, until after the Jos convention when the party had to invest a lot of its resources, generated within the party, to ensure the success of that historic convention, as well as the elections that

POCKET CARTOON



Bola Ige insists on restructuring

Continues from Page 1

blossom and be what I have always dreamt that Nigeria must be — that is, the first black super power.

"Nigeria will not be the first black super power unless it is restructured so that we can have a truly federal system of government in Nigeria. For me that is the most important task."

Chief Ige also emphasised that a Government of National Unity (GNU) would serve the best developmental interest of Nigeria as all hands must be on deck.

The Senior Advocate of Nigeria (SAN) however, made it clear that the call for a GNU should not be mistaken for a plea to the PDP to incorporate members of the AD and APP in the fourth republic federal cabinet.

"Nobody is begging the PDP to do the AD and APP in favour. What I am saying is that we need a government that will handle the crises of Nigeria in the next four years."

Read details of the interview in the political magazine section inside.

Soyinka wants Truth Tribunal

Continues from Page 1

historic forces that created apartheid or contributed to it dismantling the same as those that have informed the struggle for democracy and justice in Nigeria," he argued.

"We insist that it is not just, it simply is not just that those who deliberately, systematically subverted a nation's economy and depleted its treasury would walk the streets free men and women."

"This is not merely a territory of morality. It is also the territory of politics, if we shy away from structured revelation of these and other perversions of justice during the past regime, we entrench the travesty of politics that lay behind the very perversions of justice," he stated.

According to him, "dealing with the past must therefore never be conflicted with political masochism or as a distraction from urgent realities."

"Society does not require the balm of reconciliation to survive or for its many components to cohabitate within the provision of law and in obedience to its constitution, but society does require healing to survive, to enable it fulfil itself, to find the strength to reproduce its own existence, ideally at progressively higher level than formerly," he said.

Prof. Soyinka stated that while reconciliation, which is a large theological concept, value, and even virtue can be attained without remorse or restitution of sorts — healing simply cannot.

"The untreated victim psyche is condemned to remain either unproductive or else it develops in a direction at variance with the overall purpose of the collective entity, leading either to mutational outgrowth from the rest of the body, or a hostily ultimately disruptive sub-unit," he said.

In his address, Chairman at the lecture, Dr. Akinola Aguda said the appointment of service chiefs was political.

"To say that they do not hold political appointment only because they take charge of certain sections of the Armed Forces runs counter to common sense and to basic principles of constitutional law."

Ige speaks on appointments

Speaking to reporters at the end of the lecture, second republic Governor of the old Oyo State, Chief Bola Ige said no legislator elect of AD had accepted an offer of appointment to President-elect, Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo.

Chief Ige also said all the legislators-elect of his party would put up an exemplary performance at the National Assembly.

Responding to a question on the expressed willingness of AD legislators-elect to work for Gen. Obasanjo, the former Oyo State governor said he was not aware of that.

"I don't know of these people you are talking about. I have always spoken to Otonba Durojaye and he said he was misquoted," he said.

On the expected performance of AD legislators in the assembly, he expressed confidence that they would live up to expectations.

"I am quite certain that all the National Assembly members who are adherents of the Alliance for Democracy will carry the programmes they were asked to do."

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Minimum wage crisis

Govs-elect raise alarm

*Femi Ojewuyi, Abuja and
Lasisi Olagunju, Ibadan*

GOVERNORS-elect of the 36 states of the Federation rose

from a three-day national meeting in Abuja yesterday, raising an alarm over the lingering minimum wage crisis created by the outgoing military administration, declaring that the incoming civilian regime

would inherit a serious problem it might not be able to manage.

Also yesterday, the Oyo State governor-elect, Alhaji Lam Adesina, vowed that
(Continued on Page 2)



• From left, Justice Akinola Aguda, Prof. Wole Soyinka and Chief Bola Ige (SAN) at the eighth Anniversary Lecture of the TELL magazine held at the NIIA, Lagos ... yesterday. PIC BY NIYI OYETUNJI.

What I discussed with

23
Threats

I with bakar

Wednesday held a meeting in Ibadan of Tropical Agriculture by the Head of

Government House where he met with officials, including the Ogoni People

of various factions of the government and discuss their views. In fact, the acting president is mandated to deal with the scene also was the Ogoni People's chairman of

the State Government is right leg, told the burner of the

area which he reassured the people that they had been involved in the highest policy

issues and various people everybody in the country contribute in continuous development

concerned by the privatisation by the government, the committee, the Ogoni People, of the Nigerian issue.

in Sam Ewango, the capital to talk with the present environment for

ive next republic— Soyinka

olution of constitutional environment

and issue that needed pragmatism. Soyinka pointed to the page address, with those who had injustice on the people; the question whether they might confession or to them some to demonstrate beyond mere

cue from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, said Nigeria's structure much more dynamic than the example. This is his view, "the way towards reconciliation is the heart of the nation of political

to him, he re-

(Continued from Page 1)

any coup d'etat in the country after the May 29 handover would be resisted.

Spokesman for the 36 governors-elect, Chief Bola Tinubu of Lagos State, observed that it was unfair for the military to have initiated something they could not execute to the end, hoping to pass it on to the next government which already had many developmental problems to inherit.

According to him, it had become mandatory for states to pay the new wage of N3,000 whereas there were no resources with which to sustain the payment, adding that the problem had been further compounded by the huge debts which the incoming state governments would be confronted with.

He assured however that once governors were sworn in, detailed account would be taken on the state of their treasuries and funds would be sourced to implement the new salary scale.

Asked if the governors-elect envisaged any possible return of the military, Chief Tinubu, who declined comment on a planned action against any further military incursion, said however that the governors had resolved not to give soldiers any excuse for a come-back, by ensuring good governance through probity and accountability.

He said the forum also discussed the issue of the

Govs-elect raise alarm

Petroleum (Special) Trust Fund (PTF), extensively but said it was premature to disclose to the public decisions arrived at on the organisation.

The governors, according to a separate news release, said they discussed matters of mutual interest, their roles and responsibilities as elected officials, priorities that they might face upon assuming office and common issues of concern to their constituencies.

The forum which was organised by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) was co-hosted by the three political parties, Alliance for Democracy (AD), All Peoples Party (APP) and the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). International experts from the United States, Canada and South Africa served as resource persons.

In separate interviews, governors-elect for Imo and Edo states, Chief Chikwe Udenwa and Mr. Lucky Igbinedion, respectively, bared their minds on the revenue allocation formula, insisting that more money should be given to states for development.

While Chief Udenwa wanted the decentralisation of execution of projects with the funds directly given to states, Mr. Igbinedion insisted that oil revenue

should be shared and allocated to states in dollars along with all other foreign revenues, while revenues should be in local currency.

Chief Udenwa on his part, said he was opposed to the scrapping of the PTF, insisting that instead, a thorough appraisal of the activities of the fund should be made to ensure that states which had not benefited from such projects embarked upon by the fund were made to have their own share.

He added that although the PTF was unconstitutional the concept itself was brilliant, suggesting that what was needed to be done was to re-define its scope of activities and ensure that every part of the country and every citizen felt the impact since the fund belonged to all Nigerians.

Mr. Igbinedion said his priority for Edo State was to ensure that the lost glory of the state was regained, by putting the peoples interest at heart and providing such basic amenities like water, electricity, good roads and quality education.

He said the 'sex slavery' status which Edo acquired recently with the deportation of its indigenes from abroad for reasons of prostitution, would soon become a thing of the past once there was education of parents and provision of employment to the youth and families in the state.

Describing his relations with the Benin monarch as cordial, Mr. Igbinedion said: "I am a child of the institution and therefore have a father and son relations with the Oba of Benin."

He disclosed however that he would operate the state machinery purely through the constitution, adding however that he had some personal approach to communication and information dissemination through modern methods.

He also promised to build an estate for citizens of the state wishing to come back home, to help ease the problems of accommodation which they were likely to face.

COUP

Alhaji Adesina, who was answering questions from newsmen shortly after paying a courtesy call on the state administrator, Prince Amen Oyakhire, declared emphatically that no soldier dared stage a coup against the incoming civilian administration.

"I am speaking seriously now. Any coup by the military will be resisted. I do not think any reasonable soldier, any soldier in his right senses, would want to stage a coup again."

"Besides, what else will they (the Military) say they want again. Many of them are in the National Assembly. Even the President-elect is one of them, so what will they say they want again by staging a coup?" he wondered.

The governor-elect stressed however that good governance is the surest antidote to coup making in the country, saying the incoming administration would put the interest of the people first.

Earlier, while speaking, Alhaji Adesina had lauded Prince Oyakhire for putting the state on a stable pedestal, saying before the coming of the administrator, he was "a prisoner of war" and during Oyakhire's tenure he "became a king".

According to him, "all those charged with the education of children between the ages of five and 18 are on strike. Most of the civil service workforce is on strike. Doctors are, or were, on strike. Teachers in a number of the universities and tertiary institutions are on strike" and the whole country, according to him is grinding to a halt with the possibility of a nationwide workers strike being in the offing.

According to Justice

CBN, banks disagree over treasury bills

(Continued from Page 1)

by the former in its attempt to curtail the side effects of the huge quantum of cash in the banking system, following the release of parastatal accounts to banks.

The Nigerian Tribune yesterday reliably gathered that the controversial debiting of

Aguda, it is inconceivable that a human being in Lagos should earn N3,000 per month to take care of his transportation, accommodation and family needs.

The lecture was attended by a capacity audience that included Chief Bola Ige, Dr. (Mrs.) Tokunbo Awolowo-Dosumu, Dr. Beko Ransome-Kuti, Ambassador Olusegun Olusola, Admiral Akin Aduwo, Chief Tola Olujobi, Chief Wole Adeosun, Duro Onabule and several important dignitaries.

couple of years ago which he said contributed in no small measure to distress in the banking industry.

Otunba Balogun, who was speaking on the recent developments in the banking industry shortly after his bank's Annual General Meeting (AGM), said the compulsory debiting was based on the as-

Autonomous Foreign Exchange Market (AFEM) with high demands, adding that the money mopped up in the process attracted 17.5 per cent interest with the sole aim of curtailing the inflationary pressure on the economy occasioned by the release of parastatal accounts to banks.



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