



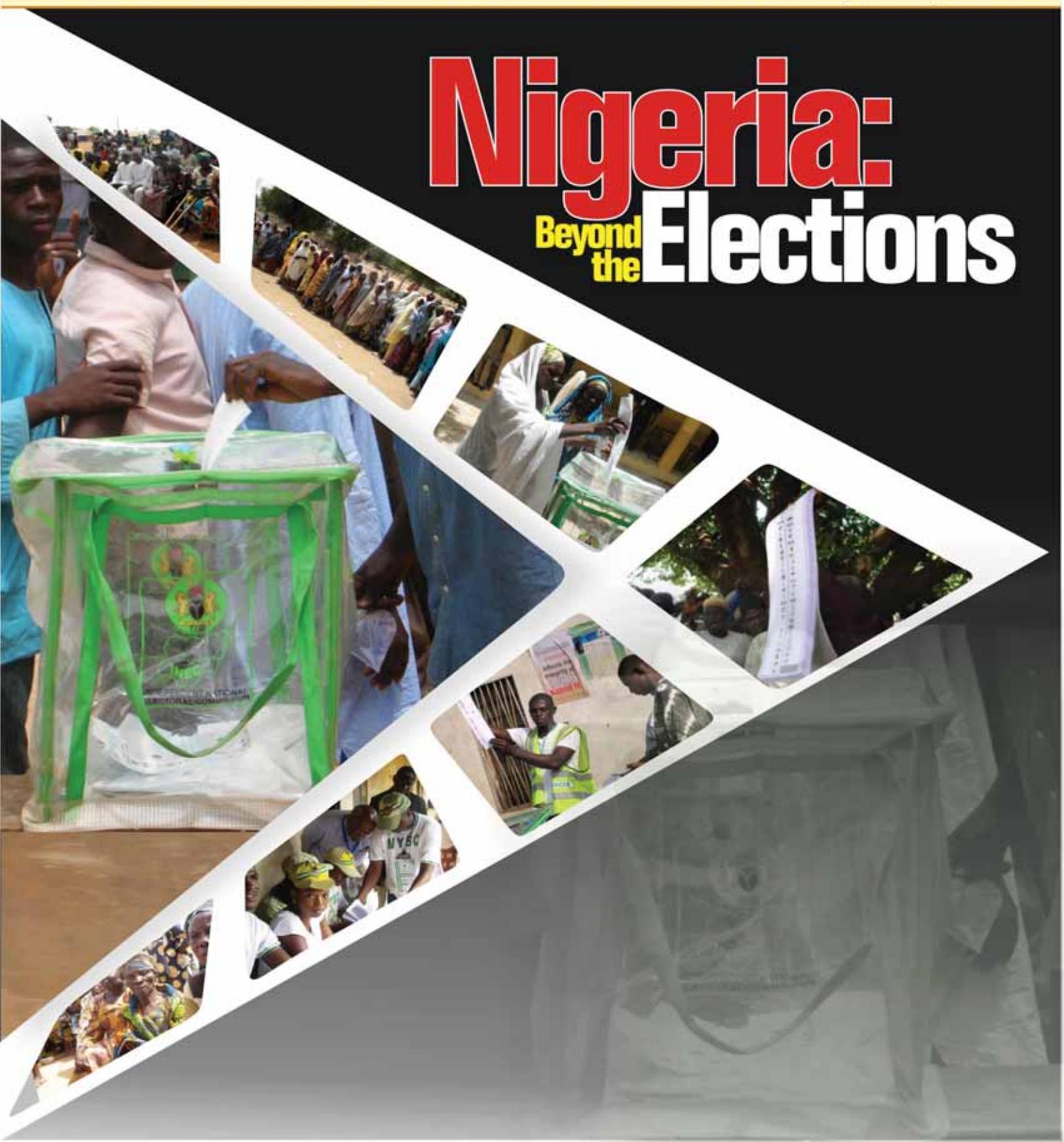
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Nigeria: Beyond the Elections





Rising to the Challenge

Members of the Society of Nigerian Artists pose with Ambassador Terence McCulley.

By James Moolom

On May 19, 2011, the United States Ambassador to Nigeria, Mr. Terence McCulley hosted a reception to acknowledge and thank members of the Society of Nigerian Artists (SNA) for their artwork on display at his residence. Apart from thanking the artists for their generosity, Ambassador McCulley also used the event to underscore the importance of the visual arts in promoting U.S.–Nigeria cultural ties.

When he was named the representative of President Barack Obama and of the American people to the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Ambassador McCulley, in line with tradition carefully selected American artwork, through the Department of State's Art in Embassies program, to display at his official residence in Abuja.

Unfortunately, that collection was not be available for several months.

Given Ambassador McCulley's love for the visual arts and his knowledge of Nigeria's rich cultural heritage, he requested a collection of works by contemporary Nigerian artists be assembled for a special exhibition at his residence. The Embassy's Public Affairs Office, and the leadership of the Society of Nigerian Artists promptly assembled artworks from across the country for the special exhibition. There are 33 pieces of art and sculpture by 21 talented artists on display. A special thanks goes to Mr. Uwa Usen, President for SNA and Mr. Muhammad Sulaiman of the Cultural Center in Abuja for their support and excellent coordination in relation to the exhibition.

Several SNA members attended the reception including Mr. Uwa

Usen, and Professor Jerry Buhari of Department of Fine Arts, Ahmadu Bello University in Zaria. While underscoring the significance of the event, Professor Buhari commented: "What a privilege for me to have my artwork displayed at the residence of the American Ambassador. I'm sure the other artists feel just the way I feel and frankly speaking I will always cherish this honor. How I wish senior Nigerian government officials including governors, ministers, would host similar events. I'm happy I came from Zaria to attend this reception."

In his welcome remarks, Ambassador McCulley thanked the artists for providing the opportunity for him to see Nigeria through the eyes of their artwork. In addition, he expressed the U.S. Embassy's appreciation for the generosity of the artists and the quick work of the SNA in putting

Nigerian Artists: Continued on page 19



Terence P. McCulley
U.S. Ambassador to Nigeria

Democracy is Hard Work

Goodluck Jonathan on his election victory and his inauguration on May 29, 2011. Nigeria should be especially proud of the active role played by its young citizens in helping ensure a broadly successful election, described by local and international observers as the best so far in Nigeria's democratic history. I applaud Nigeria's youth for their participation in this important civic event. Your generation has already served your country with honor, and your achievement makes clear that Nigeria's future is in good hands.

This edition of CROSSROADS—my third since arriving in Nigeria—focuses on the essentials of good government: transparency, accountability, strong and functioning democratic institutions, and a prosperous economy. As my own country celebrates its independence on July 4, I am reminded that democracy is hard work. With the political campaigning behind us and the elections over, the hard work of governing is just beginning. Now is the time for Nigeria's leaders and its citizens to come together and build the future that both the country and its people deserve.

This edition also highlights a new

children's television series—"Sesame Square," funded by the U.S. Government and the American people, intended to provide early learning opportunities for Nigeria's children. Based on the much-loved "Sesame Street" program in the U.S., this special Nigerian edition introduces familiar, furry faces like Elmo and Grover to new Muppet friends named Kami and Zobi. I enjoyed meeting these new Muppets, and I think you will, too. A separate educational report highlights the 2010 Nigeria Education Data Survey, funded by the U.S. Government through the U.S. Agency for International Development.

Finally, both as a visitor to West Africa and in my current position as Ambassador to Nigeria, I have been impressed by the vibrancy of Nigerian art. The once bare walls of my residence now sparkle with 33 representative pieces of Nigerian artwork donated through the Society of Nigerian Artists. I am honored to have these pieces bringing color and life to my residence, until a collection of American art from the State Department's "Arts in the Embassy" program arrives. Each story in this issue is a treat, I hope you enjoy!

Ambassador Terence P. McCulley

Dear CROSSROADS Readers: Let me first congratulate the Nigerian people, in particular the members of the National Youth Service Corps, past and present, for their admirable commitment and personal sacrifice during the April presidential, legislative and gubernatorial elections. I also congratulate President



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Education Data for Decision Making

By Idika U. Onyukwu

Through the assistance of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the UK Department for International Development (DFID), Nigeria now has reliable educational data for decision-making according to former Minister of Education Professor Ruqayyatu Rufa'i. The former Minister spoke at the national launch of the 2010 Nigeria Education Data Survey (NEDS) report in Abuja on May 16. NEDS is a sample-based household survey on school demand, confirmation of census-based enrollment data, and a comparison of education data between the states (e.g. access to and quality of education). NEDS was implemented by the National Population Commission (NPC) in collaboration with the Federal Ministry of Education

and the Universal Basic Education Commission. The previous surveys were conducted in 1990, 2003, and 2008 with the assistance of USAID and DFID with technical assistance from Research Triangle Institute (RTI).

The United States Ambassador to Nigeria, Terence P. McCulley, joined the Vice President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria Architect Namadi Sambo in launching the 2010 Nigeria Education Data Survey and Digest of Education Statistics (NEDS) in Abuja.

It is expected that the survey will play a pivotal role in closing the gaps between policies and the quality of education delivered by providing verifiable qualitative and quantitative data necessary to form and implement an education strategy. This will assist the Government of Nigeria in achieving the Education For All and Millennium Development Goals.

Here are some of the key findings

of NEDS:

1. Although there was a moderate increase in primary school attendance from 1990 to 2003, attendance since then has remained static.

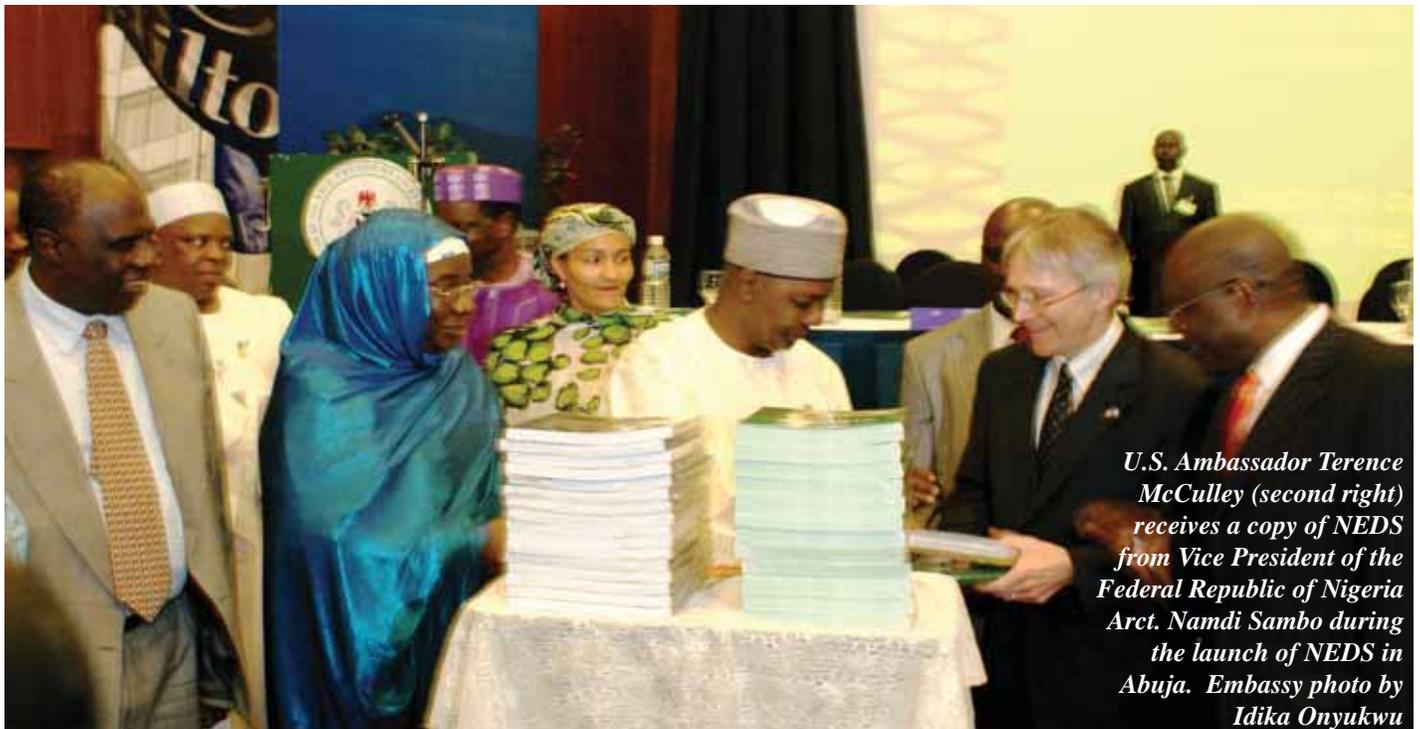
2. The percentage of children ages 6-11 attending primary school increased from 1990 (51%) to 2003 and remained stable up to 2008 at 61%.

3. Over time, children ages 6-11 in urban areas remain more likely to attend primary school than children in rural areas.

4. Primary school drop-out is not a significant problem in Nigeria, with drop-out rates remaining low in 2003 and 2008. Drop-out at grade 6 remains high but reduced in 2010, primarily as a result of the introduction of the Universal Basic Education (UBE) which legally mandates opportunity for access to grade 7.

5. The percentage of youth ages 12-17 attending secondary school increased notably and consistently from 1990-2008 (24% - 44%).

6. By 2008, the gender gap between male and female youth closed, now there are equal percentages of male and female youth attending



U.S. Ambassador Terence McCulley (second right) receives a copy of NEDS from Vice President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria Arct. Namdi Sambo during the launch of NEDS in Abuja. Embassy photo by Idika Onyukwu

secondary school.

7. Youth ages 12-17 in urban areas were much more likely than those in rural areas to attend secondary school across all years.

8. Despite steady growth in secondary attendance, the North West (24%) and North East (22%), these regions continue to have the lowest net attendance ratios (NARs). The South East (59%) and South South (58%) regions have seen 10 and 6 point increases in secondary NARs and are closer to the South West region with 65% NARs.

9. On Adult Education, educational attainment among men and women ages 20-24 has maintained a steady increase over time.

10. Between 1990 and 2008, literacy has steadily increased among younger women. In 2008, 61% of women could read compared to 49% in 1990.

Per-pupil Household Expenditures for Primary Schooling

The 2010 NEDS also collected information on how much money households spent on each pupil's schooling during the 2009-2010 school year.

Overall, Lagos and Rivers States have the highest mean per-pupil expenditure for schooling; N25, 185 and N23,277, respectively. Each of these is more than three times the national average of N7,691. The FCT follows with the next highest per-pupil expenditure of N18,004. Zamfara and Jigawa States, however, have the lowest mean per-pupil expenditure for schooling, with N1,220 and N1,387 respectively. This clearly suggests the cost of schooling is higher in the southern states than in the northern states.

Preparing Nigeria's future



Variations within zones are also revealing. In the South West zone, Lagos State has the highest expenditure by a large margin with N25,185, followed by Ondo State (N11,304), while Ekiti State (N8,470) has the lowest mean per-pupil household expenditure for schooling within the zones; although these are all well above the national average.

In the South-South zone, Rivers State also ranks first by a large margin with N23,277, followed by Delta State (N10,033). Bayelsa State (N6,892) has the lowest mean per-pupil household expenditure for schooling within the zone. The average of the two lowest means, Bayelsa and Akwa Thorn States (N6,992), is slightly below the national average.

In the South East zone, Abia State has the highest expenditure with N13,462, while Ebonyi State (N5,861) has the lowest mean per-pupil household expenditure for schooling. The average of the two means in Ebonyi and Enugu States (N6,208) is slightly below the national average.

In the North Central zone, the FCT has the highest expenditure by

a very large margin with N18,004, followed by Kogi and Kwara States (N7,422 and N7,32), respectively. Plateau State (N3,006) has the lowest mean per-pupil household expenditure for schooling within the zone. The averages for Benue, Niger, Nassarawa, and Plateau States also fall below the national average.

Worthy of note are the mean per-pupil household expenditures for schooling in each of the States in the North West and North East zones, which are below the national average. Parents/guardians in the North East zone seem to spend the least in terms of expenditures for primary schooling, spending only between one-sixth and one-half of the national average expenditure. For example, Borno State spends N3,650 (highest in the zone), and Bauchi State spends N1,220 (the lowest).

The North East and North West zones, and some states in the North Central zones, are least likely to spend money on a child's schooling than states in the South West, South South, and the South East zones of the country. ❖



Embassy staff, Ann Flynn and Karen Mehring, (center), join members of the Nigerian Red Cross to distribute planting seeds and pesticides to local farmers in Jos. Embassy photo by Daniel Mehring.

Renewing Hope in the **HILLS OF JOS**

By Karen Mehring

In a small village, nestled in the foothills of Jos, Plateau State, a feeling of hope was growing. Thanks to U.S. Embassy Abuja staffers, Karen Mehring and Ann Flynn, 63 families received bags of seeds and tools to help rebuild their farms. In the community of Ratsat, like many in the area, farmers experienced mass destruction due to ethno-religious violence that swept through Plateau and Bauchi states during January – May 2010. The violence in this area took over 700 lives, with widespread destruction of homes, crops, seed stores, tools, and businesses of both Christian

and Muslim households. While the government sent in military troops to restore order, the U.S. Embassy looked for another way to assist.

Ann Flynn, the Embassy's Human Rights Officer, applied for and received a \$25,000 grant from the Julia Taft Fund in late 2010. The fund is a low cost and quick way to provide refugee assistance or protection administered by the U.S. Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration. The money was granted to the Nigerian Red Cross (NRC), assisting up to 100 families each, in the communities of Ratsat (Christian) and Lere (Muslim) to rebuild their farms. Each family was given seeds of maize, sorghum, cowpea and soybean as well as new tools. The objective was for families to not only be able to plant

enough for themselves but to sell what they don't need.

When the team arrived on Tuesday,



A recipient happily makes her way home with planting seeds, farm tools and pesticides. Embassy photo by Daniel Mehring

May 24, the NRC allotted the seeds and tools into piles ready for distribution. Ann and Karen were on hand to help with the distribution to thank the NRC and community Elders and to meet the beneficiaries. Ann Flynn stated, "On behalf of the people of America, we are pleased to support and assist the people of Nigeria". The allotments were given to each of the community families and using wheelbarrows or motorbikes, the bounty was taken to their homes. Now they just need to have a good long rain for the seeds to sprout!

The team then departed to visit a 2010 U.S. Ambassador Special Self-Help (SSH) Grant awardee in South Jos. The Open Doors for Special Learners was established in 2003, with a SSH Grant award that constructed the first building. Today, the school has three new buildings constructed from local donations and foundation grants. The original building has been converted to vocational and physical therapy rooms. The 2010 grant was for plaster and paint for the newer buildings, in efforts to reduce the erosion caused by the extreme elements of Nigerian weather. During the last four months, the buildings were plastered, painted and the eaves were covered.

The school provides educational and vocational training for developmentally handicapped children and youth. In addition to traditional classroom lessons, vocational training, using cooking, gardening, candle making and sewing lessons, provide the students with self reliance skills. Physical and speech therapies are offered as well. Currently the school enrollment is rebuilding after a drop off due to the violence from last year, and they hope to be at 100 students again, by

Donated planting seeds, farming tools and pesticides laid out ready for distribution in Jos. Embassy photo by Daniel Mehring.



next semester. The school offers an afternoon reading clinic with one-on-one instruction, for public school children who are having difficulty reading and writing. Resources, consultations and workshops are offered to parents and educators to further the understanding of special educational needs of developmentally

disabled children.

The U.S. Embassy is very pleased to assist the people and communities of Nigeria. For more information about grants or educational resources, visit our web site at: <http://nigeria.usembassy.gov>.



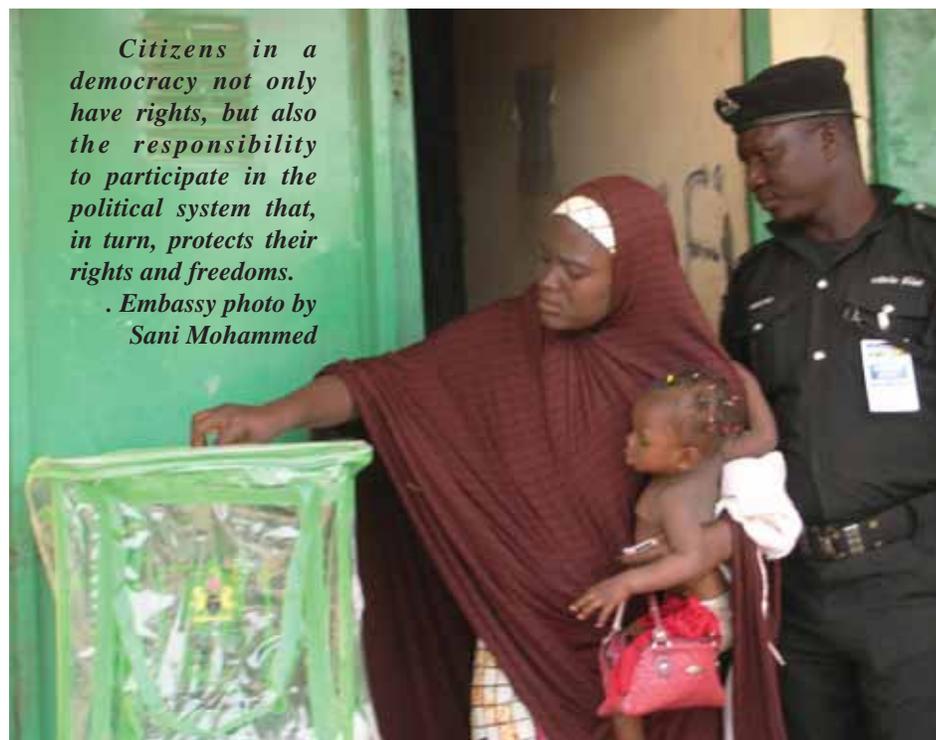
A mother with her baby tied on her back figures how to bring her allocation of farming seeds, tools and pesticide home. Embassy photo by Daniel Mehring.

Beyond Elections

Excerpts taken from "Washington File" articles by Eric Bjornlund (lawyer, development professional and co-founder of Democracy International Inc., which designs, implements, and evaluates democracy and governance programs. And Alexandra Abboud (Washington File Staff Writer). These articles, published by the Washington File and USA Democracy in brief, are products of the Bureau of International Information Programs, U.S. Department of State.

In a healthy democracy, elections are the starting point for a stable government that protects minority rights, ensures free speech, respects the rule of law, and promotes a strong civil society.

Elections are widely recognized as the foundation of legitimate government. By allowing citizens to choose the manner in which they are governed, elections form the starting point for all other democratic institutions and practices. Genuine democracy, however, requires substantially more. In addition to elections, democracy requires constitutional limits on governmental power, guarantees of basic rights, tolerance of religious or ethnic minorities, and representation of diverse viewpoints, among other things. To build authentic democracy, societies must foster a democratic culture and rule of law that govern behavior between elections and constrain those who might be tempted to undermine election processes. As Secretary of State Hillary Clinton remarked at Georgetown University, "Democracy means not only elections to choose leaders, but also active citizens and a free press and an independent



Citizens in a democracy not only have rights, but also the responsibility to participate in the political system that, in turn, protects their rights and freedoms.

. Embassy photo by Sani Mohammed

judiciary and transparent and responsive institutions that are accountable to all citizens and protect their rights equally and fairly. In democracies, respecting rights isn't a choice leaders make day by day; it is the reason they govern." (Washington, D.C., December 14, 2009)

Smooth political transitions after elections are essential. In a healthy democracy, candidates who lose elections relinquish power gracefully and peacefully. By doing so, defeated candidates can emerge with their dignity intact and through

example contribute to the strength of their nation's democratic traditions, practices, and customs. Likewise, by reaching out to and showing respect for their political opponents, winning candidates help bridge differences and minimize the potential for conflict that can undermine democracy and development.

The Rule of Law

Democracy requires respect for the rule of law, which survives regardless of the outcome of elections. The United Nations Security Council defines the rule of law as when "all persons, institutions and entities, public and private, including the State itself, are accountable to laws that are publicly promulgated, equally enforced and independently adjudicated, and which are consistent with international human rights norms and standards."

The rule of law comprises legitimacy, fairness, effectiveness,



and checks and balances. Legitimacy requires that laws reflect a general social consensus that they be enacted in an open and democratic process. Fairness includes equal application of the law, procedural fairness, protection of civil liberties, and reasonable access to justice. Effectiveness refers to the consistent application and enforcement of laws.

Fairly enforced laws that protect all citizens help establish a democratic state's legitimacy. Because such laws in a healthy democracy command public respect and loyalty, citizens accept disappointing election results. A nation where laws are implemented fairly and disputes adjudicated impartially is more



the independence of the judiciary. New leaders, regardless of how broad their electoral mandate, should neither call these norms into question nor threaten the rights of any citizen, including those who supported a losing candidate.

As a result, respect for the rule of law encourages peaceful election transitions. A defeated candidate who refuses to accept election results simply will find himself lacking support; citizens instead will view such a figure as an outlier, possibly a lawbreaker, and definitely a threat to their shared civic culture. Again, citizens are less likely to support revolts or to back candidates who refuse to accept election results



stable. Unjust or discriminatory laws, on the other hand, undermine public respect. If sufficiently egregious, such laws risk public disobedience or even revolt and create a climate less tolerant of unsatisfactory electoral outcomes. This is why U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower observed, "The clearest way to show what the rule of law means to us in everyday life is to recall what has happened when there is no rule of law."

Rule of law implies respect for fundamental civil rights and procedural norms and requires that these transcend the outcome of any given election. In a democracy, the election returns cannot affect protections for freedom of speech, freedom of the press, or

in a country where legal processes are respected and the state is seen as legitimate.

In the United States, an independent judiciary, with the U.S. Supreme Court as the highest authority, has the ultimate responsibility for ensuring the government respects the rule of law and that all citizens are treated equally under the law.

U.S. Supreme Court Justice Anthony Kennedy, during the American Bar Association's November 11, 2005, International Rule of Law symposium, outlined what he believes are the three major components of the rule of law:

- The government is bound by the law;
- All people are treated equally

"Now is the time for Nigeria's leaders and its people to come together and build the future that they deserve—a multiparty democracy that addresses the aspirations of all Nigerians, especially its youth, who did so much to make the recent elections a success and who will define the nation's future.

As Africa's most populous country, Nigeria can show what is possible when people of different parties, ethnicities and faith backgrounds come together to seek peace, provide for their families, and give their children a better future. Today, Nigerians have an historic opportunity to move forward together and make their nation into a model for Africa. As I told President Jonathan, I look forward to strengthening our partnership with Nigeria so that this and future generations of Nigerians can live in peace, democracy and prosperity." (President Obama, May 4, 2011).

U.S., Nigeria Focuses on Renewable Energy



Locals collect oil in 2006 from a polluted stream in Oshie, near Port Harcourt, Nigeria, where toxic oil spills are commonplace.

U.S.-Nigeria Binational Commission's Energy and Investment Group meets

*By Charles W. Corey
Washington File Staff Writer*

under the law; and

• The law recognizes that “in each person, there is a core of spirituality and dignity and humanity.”

A Government “of Laws and not of Men”

John Adams, who with Thomas Jefferson drafted the Declaration of Independence, wrote in 1776 in his *Thoughts on Government*, “a republic is an empire of laws, and not of men.”

In the U.S. legal system, the separation of powers as outlined in the U.S. Constitution ensures that the three branches of U.S. government, legislative (the Congress), judicial (the courts) and executive (the president and his Cabinet) are given certain powers that can be exercised only by one branch. This separation, according to the founders, ensures that one person or group of people cannot concentrate all political power in their own hands, thereby creating a government that is run not by the whim of a few people, but rather by laws that are passed by Congress, a body that is elected by the people.

Practically speaking, for the U.S. government to act, several safeguards are in place to ensure that one branch cannot wield power without deference to the other branches.

Some examples of these safeguards include the president's ability to veto laws, and the Congress' authority to override vetoes only with a super

Advancing renewable energy in Nigeria was the focus of the first-ever meeting of the U.S.-Nigeria Binational Commission's Energy and Investment Working Group, held at the State Department June 10–11, 2010. The United States and Nigeria signed joint communiqués on renewable energy, and the United States pledged to do all it can to help Nigeria achieve a greater level of energy independence — which is key to its long-term economic growth and development.

At a ceremony June 11 marking the conclusion of the talks, the U.S. coordinator for international energy affairs, David L. Goldwyn, and the permanent secretary of Nigeria's Federal Ministry of Petroleum Resources, Elizabeth B.P. Emuren, signed a joint communiqué to advance renewable energy opportunities in Nigeria.

Goldwyn told those in attendance that the first meeting of the working group shows that the United States and Nigeria are partners in many areas, including trade, regional security and energy security. Electric power is essential to Nigeria's economic growth and development, he stressed.

For two days, Goldwyn said, the group focused their discussions on electric power, gas, energy efficiency, renewable energy and fundamental areas of reform such as power generation, transmission, distribution and gas supply. The group also addressed how change will happen in the country's power sector and “what needs to happen in order for more electricity to be delivered in an affordable way.”

Key elements were identified for change, he said, including “the introduction of market pricing ... cost-recovery tariffs, and ... a clear regulatory and institutional framework” that will allow investors to make investments. Goldwyn said the United States was “delighted to get really extensive presentations from Nigeria ... [detailing the] path forward ... [and] how those changes will happen and the time calendar on which they will happen.

“From a U.S. government perspective,” he said, “we are happy to help in any way that we can and we are going to help in a number of ways,” particularly through the efforts of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID).

Independent power producers will be the key to Nigeria's power development, he said, as he also praised Nigeria for moving to reform its petroleum sector to include increased transparency.

Speaking for Nigeria, Minister Emuren called the working group's deliberations “extensive and fruitful.” ❖



majority of votes.

Because the U.S. Congress is a body of elected officials, those officials are charged with carrying out the will of the people who elected them. According to Kennedy, this provision ensures "the government is bound by the fact that the law must originate in the consciousness of the people."

The Supreme Court, the highest court in the U.S., ensures that laws, both federal and state, do not violate the rights of the people, which are enshrined in the U.S. Constitution. Even when Congress passes a law that is supported by the president, and enacted into law, a person who is affected by the law has a right to petition the courts if he or she believes the law violates rights guaranteed by

the U.S. Constitution. But for this system to work, it is necessary to ensure an independent judiciary.

According to Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, establishing an independent judiciary is not an easy task. "Judicial independence just doesn't happen all by itself," she said. "It's very hard to create, and it's easier

"No matter where it takes hold, government of the people and by the people sets a single standard for all who would hold power."

than most people imagine to destroy."

An independent judiciary is one that is not subject to the whims of elected officials. Judges and lawyers in the United States are bound by judicial codes of conduct that clearly outline what judges may and may not do.

To ensure judicial independence in the United States, the judicial code of conduct, administered by the Judicial Conference (whose presiding officer is the chief justice of the United States and whose members include top judges from federal circuits and districts), outlines acceptable behavior. The Judicial Conference has committees that enforce the code and call judges to account if a complaint is made. Financial disclosure forms are required



*Democracy rests upon the principles of majority rule and individual rights.
Embassy photo by Sani Mohammed*

to avoid corruption. All of this, says O'Connor, "makes a tremendous difference in enabling the public of the nation to have a little bit of confidence in the impartiality and the fairness and integrity of the judges that are serving."

But even though judges are required to adhere to a code of conduct and can be called to account for not following the code, they are in no way held to account for independent decisions that they make in cases.

"Judges must be independent not so they can do as they choose, they're independent so they can do as they must," said Kennedy.

Respecting and Moving Beyond Elections

Democracy creates certain public expectations and understandings, including respect for the rule of law and for the outcome of elections. It requires respect for values beyond elections. Speaking in Cairo, in 2009, President Obama emphasized these fundamental truths:

"No matter where it takes hold, government of the people and by the people sets a single standard for all who would hold power: You must maintain your power through consent, not coercion; you must respect the rights of minorities, and participate with a spirit of tolerance and compromise; you must place the interests of your people and the legitimate workings of the political process above your party. Without these ingredients, elections alone do not make true democracy." (Cairo University, Cairo, Egypt, June 4, 2009)

Characteristics of Democracy

Democracy is more than just a set of specific government institutions; it rests upon a well-understood group of values, attitudes, and practices – all

of which may take different forms and expressions among cultures and societies around the world. Democracies rest upon fundamental principles, not uniform practices.

Core Democratic Characteristics

- Democracy is government in which power and civic responsibility are exercised by all adult citizens, directly, or through their freely elected representatives.

- Democracy rests upon the principles of majority rule and individual rights. Democracies guard against all-powerful central governments and decentralize government to regional and local levels, understanding that all levels of government must be as accessible and responsive to the people as possible.

- Democracies understand that one of their prime functions is to protect such basic human rights as freedom of speech and religion; the right to equal protection under law; and the opportunity to organize and participate fully in the political, economic, and cultural life of society.

- Democracies conduct regular free and fair elections open to citizens of voting age.

- Citizens in a democracy have not only rights, but also the responsibility to participate in the political system that, in turn, protects their rights and freedoms.

- Democratic societies are committed to the values of tolerance, cooperation, and compromise. In the words of Mahatma Gandhi, "Intolerance is itself a form of violence and an obstacle to the growth of a true democratic spirit."

Essentially, democracies fall into two basic categories, direct and representative. In a direct democracy, citizens, without the intermediary of

elected or appointed officials, can participate in making public decisions. Such a system is clearly most practical with relatively small numbers of people – in a community organization, tribal council, or the local unit of a labor union, for example – where members can meet in a single room to discuss issues and arrive at decisions by consensus or majority vote.

Some U.S. states, in addition, place "propositions" and "referenda" – mandated changes of law – or possible recall of elected officials on ballots during state elections. These practices are forms of direct democracy, expressing the will of a large population. Many practices may have elements of direct democracy. In Switzerland, many important political decisions on issues, including public health, energy, and employment, are subject to a vote by the country's citizens. And some might argue that the Internet is creating new forms of direct democracy, as it empowers political groups to raise money for their causes by appealing directly to like-minded citizens.

However, today, as in the past, the most common form of democracy, whether for a town of 50,000 or a nation of 50 million, is representative democracy, in which citizens elect officials to make political decisions, formulate laws, and administer programs for the public good. ❖

Editor's Note: The opinions expressed in this article do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the U.S. government.) Read more at: <http://iipdigital.usembassy.gov/st/english/publication/2010/01/20100126154105mlenuhret0.850166.html#axzz1NwMnKuh3>

Business Looks for Good Governance in Developing Markets



By Scott Eisner
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“Foreign direct investment has no fixed allegiance or nationality,” said Ghanaian President John Atta Mills at a recent business summit. *“It goes where it is most welcome.”* President Mills knows that to attract capital investment from U.S.-based corporations and other multinationals, developing nations must offer political stability, rule of law, and a business-friendly economic climate. Corporate investment decisions are neither subjective nor arbitrary, but instead represent a hard-headed assessment of whether a given nation offers the good governance required for operations to thrive. Scott Eisner is

the executive director of the Africa Business Initiative for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

The developing world is the last growth frontier for many major corporations, and the U.S. business community is avidly seeking opportunities there. The benefits of investing in developing nations are many: lower-cost labor, abundant natural resources, and large consumer markets to name a few. In a global economy, however, these countries are often anomalies for sophisticated companies to operate in. Seemingly insurmountable problems — such as political instability, uneducated work forces, murky business environments,

and poor infrastructure — are preventing American companies from competing for the last marketplaces where they might continue expansion. The potential problems simply may outweigh the opportunities in many companies’ internal cost-benefit analyses. Twenty years ago, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce developed a simple document titled “Twelve Rules for International Investors: What goes into a U.S. company’s decision to invest overseas?” Its aim was to explain to foreign governments the criteria that U.S. multinationals use when gauging whether and where to invest abroad. Forbes magazine has used these rules in preparing its annual “Best Countries for Business” report.



Good Governance Attracts Investment

Some of the criteria for attracting investment — the size of the domestic market or the availability of raw materials — are realities that governments cannot change at will. Either a country is blessed with natural resources, or it is not. If an internal market is small, no law can be passed to make it big. But many other criteria are entirely within the realm of government action. Are taxes, tariffs, and regulations onerous? Is doing business simple, straightforward, and easy? Is corruption rife? Is the judiciary fair and efficient? Governments can enact and enforce laws that will create a good operating environment for business and make their nations more attractive investment destinations.

For instance, companies need reasonable guarantees that their investments will be secure regardless of the political winds within a particular national economy. In most industries, if a corporate executive believes that the company's people, facilities, and other investments would be unsafe because of an ongoing political situation or recent political upheaval in a given country, the firm will not invest there. The risk is too great. Interestingly, American companies are not necessarily looking

at democratically governed nations as potential investment destinations. Political stability with a nonviolent regime is generally sufficient for companies when looking at a nation's governance as part of its matrix in determining where to invest. Security of investment is requisite.

In addition to political stability, having an educated workforce is key to attracting foreign direct investment (FDI). American companies operate with a unique business model. The majority of Fortune 500 companies (an index of top companies compiled annually by a respected business periodical) enter a new market with a long-term view. By and large, these companies expect their international branches to be self-sufficient, and they want them to employ local workers. They recognize that local people can navigate their own domestic business environment more easily than expatriates, and they know that improving the local standard of living and the local economy will ultimately lead to a larger consumer base.

A large part of the success of American companies internationally is based on their non-imperialistic mode of investing. This cooperative

outlook can be an enormous benefit to an investment destination with the potential to provide employment for the locals. Understandably then, it is imperative for a country's population to have the education or technical background to be employed by a major American firm. Companies find that lack of education is one of the biggest hurdles in the developing world, and many of them find it necessary to include a technical school or training course as part of their initial investment. This adds to the cost of doing business, as well as to the timeline for getting that business running.

Aside from political stability and a skilled workforce, companies that are considering investment in the developing world require a number of other basic necessities in order to invest in a particular nation. Investors need transparent processes for establishing and doing business in a country. The requirements cannot change without notice. Further, American investors need to operate within a system that has a level playing field. All American firms are bound by the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act, and so they cannot pay bribes without risking penalty by the American justice system. Therefore, it is difficult for American companies to compete in a nation that operates on a bribe system.

Another baseline element needed to attract private sector investment is transparent and reliable rule of law. Corporations need assurance that a country's justice system works. They must have confidence that if they are sued or need to take legal action, a fair outcome can be achieved.

A Good Business Environment Beyond those basic elements,

companies are looking for a business-friendly environment. The executives who participated in the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's 2009 study, *A Conversation Behind Closed Doors: How Corporate America Really Views Africa*, said that many developing nations vying for the attention of investors are making positive changes to their domestic business environments. These are the countries that will be attracting FDI. Simple adjustments — such as making multiple-entry business visas affordable and easy to obtain — go a long way with possible investors. Offering an effective “one stop shop” that guides investors through the local process of establishing a business makes it less daunting.

Clearly, some countries succeed wildly in attracting International investment, as in the case of Panama or Rwanda. For instance, the Panamanian government offers foreign and domestic investors a range of incentives, including tax credits and fixed-rate import duties. And this year Rwanda was named by the World Bank as the fastest global business reformer in terms of the ease of doing business.

Singapore is another compelling example. A small island state with no natural resources to speak of has become an industrial powerhouse with one of the highest standards of living in the world. Or consider the difference between South Korea and its northern neighbor, which arguably enjoys a better resource endowment. South Korea is now home to one of the largest and most dynamic economies in the world and a prosperous society, while North Korea's state-controlled economy is reliant on international donors to feed its people.

As a cautionary example, recent actions by the government of Ecuador

If a country can achieve political stability and clamp down on corruption to create a transparent business environment, educating citizens and building out the necessary infrastructures will follow — either from private investment or through international assistance.

reveal the price of anti business policies in terms of forfeited investment and jobs. The business climate has deteriorated as the Ecuadorian government undertook the largest uncompensated expropriation of a U.S. investment anywhere in the world in recent decades (the 2006 seizure of US \$1 billion in oil field assets); interfered in a judicial proceeding of major significance; raised tariffs; and is now threatening to seize the intellectual property of international companies. The results are clear: Foreign investment as a percentage of GDP in the 2005-2007 period was among the lowest in the Latin American region (alongside Venezuela and Bolivia), according to the U.N. Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean.

Another huge detraction for companies researching investment in a particular country is the absence of basic infrastructure. The untapped potential of Africa's agricultural sector is a quintessential example. Sub-Saharan Africa has massive tracts of arable land and is home to an enormous variety of agricultural products; however, a large amount of the food grown never makes it to market. A lack of road infrastructure in this region prevents efficient transport

of produce, so frequently crops rot before they reach buyers. If a reliable network of rail and roadways linked farmland to ports and major urban marketplaces, countless major agricultural companies would be investing there.

Electric and telecommunications infrastructures are as important in the global economy as transportation. Can vendors and buyers and employees and employers communicate in a timely manner? The old adage has never been truer — time is money. On a recent textile factory tour in Ethiopia, I was told that in order for the factory to receive a new design, an employee had to download it in a city that is a four-hour drive away, burn it to a CD, and drive the four hours to deliver the new order. If any alterations are made to the design, the process repeats itself. This is clearly not a cost-effective way to run a business, but in a country with very limited Internet access, it is reality.

The majority of characteristics that the American private sector looks for in prospective investment destinations are not capital-intensive. Instead, the necessary changes require the determination of the nation's government to become an attractive place for doing business. If a country can achieve political stability and clamp down on corruption to create a transparent business environment, educating citizens and building out the necessary infrastructures will follow — either from private investment or through international assistance. ❖

Editor's Note: The opinions expressed in this article do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the U.S. Government.

*Nigerian instructor
Dr. Pita Agbese
addresses civilian
and military
participants on the
subject of ethnic and
religious conflict.*



Keeping Nigeria's Borders Safe

Representatives from all branches of the Nigerian armed forces, civilian ministries, and national agencies responsible for security issues gathered for a week-long Trans-Sahara Security Symposium (TSS) in order to strengthen interagency relationships. The TSS, a U.S. AFRICOM sponsored civil-military operations training program, provides an opportunity for all parties to work together in the rapidly evolving regional and global threat environment and to ensure Nigeria remains a leader within the West African sub-region.

“There are fast changing global security threats facing Nigeria today. The past 7 TSS programs in Nigeria have focused not only on raising awareness within the government of Nigeria and its people of these present dangers but also on letting the players in the security community and civil society realize that these are challenges that must be mutually and jointly addressed.” Brigadier General (ret) Jones Arogbofa (Nigeria) said. BG (ret) Russ Howard (U.S.) stressed “The TSS provides Nigeria with a forum to discuss common security problems. More importantly, the TSS gives Nigeria the opportunity to discuss and formulate solutions

to problems of national and regional security.”

Local and international military specialists and civilian authorities also participated further stressing the importance of regional, interagency and civil-military collaboration. Guest speakers LTC Abdourahmane Dieng (ECOWAS), Mr. Oliver Stolpe (UNODC), Mr. Mbenga Mabo (NDLEA), and Dr. Charles Agbo and Air Commander A.A. Bankole (both NEMA directors) offered participants real time examples and case studies that will directly impact their professional development far beyond the TSS training. ❖

Fostering Mutual Understanding Through Interfaith Groups



U.S. Consul General Joseph Stafford being ushered into the Mosque at Oja-Oba, Ibadan by Dr. A. A. Rufai, an Islamic Scholar. Embassy photo by Clemson Ayegbusi.



out to the Muslim world in order to foster religious tolerance, peace and mutual understanding. He also noted Islam plays a key role in pursuing peace. In his welcome remarks, delivered on behalf of the Chief Imam-in-Council by Dr. A.A. Rufai, the CG's visit was described as a welcome development in inter-religious harmony between America and Nigeria. The chief Imam stated he had been following with keen interest the foreign policy proclamations of President Barack Obama, and had come to the conclusion the President's intentions were noble and sincere, and his policy was backed by Islamic scripture. He commended President Obama and his government for its policies which emphasized mutual understanding, respect, and peace. At the same time, the Chief Imam noted, "Our brothers and sisters in Palestine remain the only nation today without a country of their own just because Israel does not want it." On behalf of the Muslim community in southwestern Nigeria, the Imam called on the government and people of America for an early resolution of the Palestinian crisis. In a brief interactive session following the Chief Imam's remarks, the Consul General highlighted the importance of reaching out to religious communities in Nigeria and noted the vital role of Islam in Nigeria. He emphasized the U.S. Government's high respect for Islam

By Clemson Ayegbusi, Cultural Affairs Specialist

On March 30, the U.S. Consul General (CG) Joseph Stafford traveled to the traditional southwestern city of Ibadan to meet with Muslim and Christian clerics and their congregations. The objective of the meeting was to foster religious tolerance, peace and mutual understanding and to build on the good relationship between the people of the United States and the people of Nigeria. Accompanying the Consul General were the Consulate's Public Diplomacy and Cultural Officer, Peter Piness, and Cultural Affairs Assistant, Clemson Ayegbusi. The delegation visited Ibadan's Central Mosque, the University of Ibadan Mosque, and the Chapel of the Resurrection at the University of Ibadan.

One of the Islamic clerics called the CG's visit to Ibadan's Central Mosque historic. The CG was received by the Sheikh Busari Shuarau Aruna III, the Chief Imam-in-Council. Sheikh Aruna also serves as the Patron of Imams and Islamic leaders in Southern Nigeria. The CG toured the large mosque which was constructed in 1964 and serves over 2,000 worshippers. It also operates an Islamic Nursery and Primary School. The CG said he had come to Ibadan's Central Mosque to promote President Barack Obama's commitment to reach

side Christianity and Judaism. He mentioned violence [in the name of religion] is a rejection of Islamic ways. In responding to the comments about Israel, the CG again mentioned the U.S. Government's full respect and admiration for Islam and commented that the U.S. is working hard to reach an agreement in the Middle East. At a luncheon in honor of the Consul General at his villa, Alhaji Arisekola remarked that seventy five percent of the nearly ten million inhabitants of Ibadan were Muslim, and how they lived in harmony with those of other religions. He affirmed that Islam was a religion of peace and that true Muslims were peace-loving, liberal and tolerant of people of other religions and persuasions. He sincerely thanked the American Government for its good work and contributions towards Nigeria's national development. In his response, the CG referred to Islam as one of the world's heavenly religions that condemns violence in the name of religion and praised the work of Nigeria's Inter-Religious Council (NIREC). Later that afternoon at the University of Ibadan's mosque, the Consul General held a roundtable discussion with Islamic scholars

and executive members of the Muslim Students' Association, University of Ibadan chapter. The Chief Imam and a Professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Dr. Abdul Rahman Oloyede, expressed appreciation to the CG for his outreach efforts to Nigeria's Muslims. In his goodwill message, the CG emphasized how American Muslims have enriched the United States over the years. Immediately after visiting the University of Ibadan's mosque, the Consul General paid a courtesy call on the directors of the neighboring Chapel of the Resurrection at the University of Ibadan. There, he met with the Chairman of the Chapel, Professor Reuben Arowolo, the Chaplain, the Very Reverend Timothy Olatunji, and the Assistant Chaplain, the Very Reverend Oyelade. The CG said his visit to the Chapel was aimed at promoting religious harmony and mutual understanding. The Chairman described the visit as a landmark in the history of the Chapel, and thanked the CG for his goodwill remarks. He later guided the CG around the beautiful Chapel and noted the Chapel was ready to collaborate with the U.S. Mission in Nigeria on interfaith events. ❖

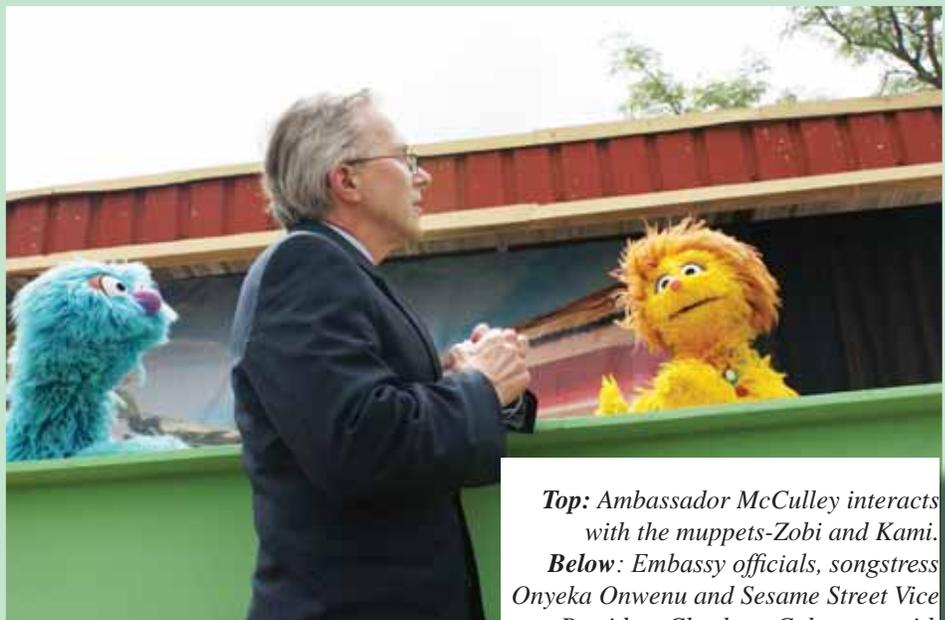


Left, U.S. Consul General Joseph Stafford addressing the Islamic congregation at the Mosque. Right: C.G. Stafford shakes hands after a presenting books to the Imam of Ibadanland, Sheikh Busari Suarahu Aruna III . Embassy photo by Clemson Ayegbusi.

There's a New Square in Nigeria: Sesame Square

On May 16, U.S. Ambassador to Nigeria Terence P. McCulley made two new friends, Kami and Zobi. This Muppets live on “Sesame Square” the new children’s program dedicated to learning and building good health and moral values. Children and parents alike can follow Kami and Zobi and all their friends on Nigeria Television Authority (NTA) at 9:30 am every Saturday and on Sundays at 5:30 p.m. Season one of Sesame Square consists of 26 half-hour television episodes designed to promote fundamental literacy, numeracy, good hygiene habits and health (including malaria prevention and HIV/AIDS education) in settings that foster children’s self-esteem, cultural pride, and respect for differences and diversity.

Sesame Square is funded by the United States through the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and co-produced by Nigerian production house Ileke Media and Sesame Workshop, the non-profit educational organization behind Sesame Street. ❖



Top: Ambassador McCulley interacts with the muppets-Zobi and Kami.
Below: Embassy officials, songstress Onyeka Onwenu and Sesame Street Vice President Charlotte Cole, pose with school children. Embassy photo by Idika U. Onyukwu



Rising to the Challenge

(Nigerian Artists: Continued from page 2) together the special exhibition, which has certainly enhanced the beauty of his residence. Ambassador McCulley also expressed appreciation for the chance to showcase talented and versatile Nigerian artists for the many government, business, diplomatic and



Uwa Usen poses with Ambassador McCulley beside his painting.

civil society leaders who will be visiting the residence.

In addition to the artists, Embassy staff, diplomats, and Nigerian government officials also attended the reception. Indeed it was an occasion to appreciate the work of the artists on display and as Ambassador McCulley jokingly said “not to discuss politics.”❖

IRC Membership News

The mission of the **Information Resource Centers (IRCs)** is to advance the Mission's Public Diplomacy goal of having American values respected in Nigeria by identifying, partnering with, and strategically disseminating information to Nigeria's institutions and contacts that influence policy and public opinion on issues central to U.S. interests.

Please register at <http://tinyurl.com/ircregistration> For any enquiries, please write to us: ircabuja@state.gov (North) and wylagos@state.gov (South)

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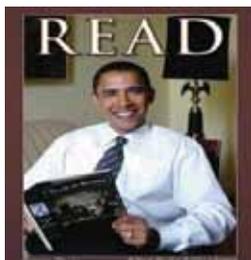
March/April 2011

Earth Day: The Progress We've Made

Posted by Administrator Lisa P. Jackson on April 22, 2011 at 01:37 PM EDT

Each year when Earth Day rolls around, we're given an opportunity to reflect on how far we've come in protecting the health and the environment of our communities. This Earth Day, EPA under President Obama's leadership is proud of all the progress we've made in just two years to protect the air we breathe, the water we drink and swim in, and the communities where we build our homes, schools and businesses.

In protecting our air, we've marked some historic "firsts": setting the first joint fuel efficiency and emissions standards with the Department of Transportation that will make American cars and trucks more fuel efficient than ever before, as well as establishing the first new standards for sulfur dioxide in forty years.



And just last month, we set another first: the first national standards for mercury, arsenic and other air pollution from our nation's power plants. These standards require power plants to use proven pollution control technology at their facilities, a change that will help prevent as many as 17,000 premature deaths and 11,000 heart attacks a year. For our young people, the new standards will help prevent 120,000 incidents of asthma symptoms and about 11,000 fewer cases of acute bronchitis among children.

We've also taken major steps to revitalize America's waters. The Great Lakes Restoration Initiative is setting a new standard of care for the source of 95 percent of America's surface freshwater. On the Chesapeake Bay, historic efforts are underway to protect waters that touch the lives and livelihoods of 17 million people. And one year after the Deepwater Horizon BP spill that hit the Gulf Coast and my home state of Louisiana so hard, the Gulf Coast Ecosystem Restoration Task Force, which the president asked me to chair, is developing a plan – not just to continue the important recovery from the largest oil spill in U.S. history, but to take on issues that have plagued the region for years. All that is happening at the same time we are collaborating with local communities to revitalize urban waterways, working with schools and small businesses to lead the world in the next generation of clean water technology, and helping communities put in place green infrastructure and other cost-effective tools that work with mother nature to filter and reduce pollution.

As we protect the water that flows through our communities, we're also protecting the ground these communities are built on. We've been cleaning up communities through swift implementation of the president's Recovery Act, which funded Brownfields and Superfund cleanups across the nation. To make certain every community – including low-income and minority communities that often face disproportionate environmental challenges – have a seat at the table, we've stepped up to expand the conversation on environmentalism. Read more: <http://1.usa.gov/IBvDvN>

Free eBooks

eJournal USA:

Ethical and Effective Policing

(Released on April 26, 2011)

In democratic societies, citizens grant increased authority to police in order to live in a safe community. They give police the power to detain, search, arrest citizens, and lawfully use physical force when situations dictate. In return, police departments must ensure that police officers adhere to high ethical standards. When they don't, the reciprocal trust between citizenry and police is disrupted, undermining the tacit social contract that is the basis of democracy. Read more: <http://bit.ly/kChKyr> (online)

USA Economy in Brief

(Released on April 26, 2011)

This 2011 revised edition shows how competition shapes the U.S. economy and reflects the never-ending debate through history about the proper role of government in the economy. Read more: <http://bit.ly/mDvUgV>

PODCASTS

Climate Friendly Parks in America

(Released on 12 April 2011)

"A few years ago, Zion National Park sold more than 60,000 plastic bottles of water annually to thirsty visitors. Most emptied bottles landed in trash bins and some littered trails in the pristine park. Today, visitors must bring their own bottles or buy reusable steel bottles at the visitor center and fill them up at one of six water-filling stations in the park." Read more: <http://bit.ly/lqcxvs>

Corporate Social Responsibility in America

(Released on April 12, 2011)

American President Calvin Coolidge said in the 1920s that "the chief business of the American people is business." It was a popular observation in a time of economic prosperity, when issues such as energy security and climate change were practically nonexistent. Read more: <http://bit.ly/iWlwmx>

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